

THE HUNTING MOSAICS OF ANTIOCH AND THEIR SOURCES

A STUDY OF COMPOSITIONAL PRINCIPLES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY MEDIAEVAL STYLE

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IRVING LAVIN

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PREFACE

ONE of the great lacunae in the history of ancient art is that presented by the extreme scarcity of examples of monumental painting between the destruction of Pompeii in A.D. 79 and the commencement of the Christian tradition in the fourth century. The fault of course lies in the very nature of the evidence, for decorations on walls or ceilings are easily destroyed. Decorations on the floor have a much better chance of survival. Hence it is that, whereas examples of other forms of painting are few and far between, mosaic pavements abound in every region of the Roman Empire and throughout the entire period of its existence. Thus, mosaic pavements hold out perhaps the major hope for a comprehensive understanding of the crucial last phase in the evolution of ancient painting.

Yet only in fairly recent times has this potential contribution begun to be exploited. A number of factors have conspired to cause neglect, not the least of which is the rather low status accorded to pavements as works of art. To begin with, they are placed on the floor and serve the ignominious function of being walked on. Furthermore, some floor mosaics, particularly among those earliest in date and most meticulous in technique, are not original creations but imitations of easel paintings. In any event, the technique normally introduced a gulf between the artist who created and the craftsman who executed the design (or so it is often assumed). As a result, the stigma of artisanry, as opposed to artistry, has been especially tenacious in the case of mosaic pavements.

Partly for this reason, in the great flowering of archaeological exploration that began in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the quantities of pavements that almost every excavation yielded were regarded more as a liability than as an asset. What interest attached to them was largely iconographical rather than aesthetic, and on the whole it was deemed sufficient to record the subjects of examples with figural representations. Important progress has since been made, both in collecting the available evidence and in bringing it to bear on the problems of the history of ancient art. But the investigator who would make use of floor mosaics as art-historical documents still must find his way through masses of material, often widely scattered and, above all, lacking the *sine qua non* of historical analysis, a sound chronology.

All these considerations help to explain the extraordinary importance of the excavations carried out before the last war by American and French archaeologists at the great Syrian metropolis of Antioch. There emerged a spectacular array of floor mosaics, some three hundred in number, that provide an invaluable basis for the effort to utilize pavement decoration to fill the gap that begins with the destruction of Pompeii.

The fact that they may do so in practice as well as in theory, is due in large measure to the painstaking study of the Antioch pavements by Doro Levi. In

addition to placing the mosaics within the broad setting of late classical art as a whole, Levi has also established a generally reliable chronology. This chronology demonstrates beyond doubt that the known pavements form a substantially uninterrupted sequence. Although only a small part of the city was uncovered, we can be reasonably sure that the main steps in the development, as it occurred at Antioch, are represented. Here, then, we have a continuous series of monuments in a specific locale, beginning at a fairly early period of the Empire, and having a fixed upper limit at the very threshold of the Middle Ages (the city was captured and sacked by the Persians in A.D. 540 and no pavements that could be dated afterward were found).

The Antioch mosaics are significant, however, in a more specific way. The excavations were avowedly undertaken to evaluate a theory, namely, to determine the role of Antioch in the evolution of late antique art.¹ If, as many believed, mediaeval art was largely the result of Oriental infiltration into the Hellenic culture of the Mediterranean, then certainly Antioch, at the crossroads of Orient and Occident, would give evidence of the process. Thus, the continuous series of pavements uncovered provides an ideal "test case" for one of the key problems in the transition from classical to mediaeval art.

Much of Levi's work in connection with the Antioch mosaics was addressed to this question of foreign influence, and he reached the conclusion that the change could best be explained, not by any overwhelming influx from the Orient, but as the product of a logical and harmonious evolution within the essentially unified ambient of Greco-Roman culture.² As will appear, this is a thesis with which the writer is essentially in sympathy, though with certain hardly less essential reservations.

Levi's method was to give an exhaustive description of the stylistic evolution of individual components of the pavement designs, such as geometric and floral ornaments, figures, animals, etc., citing parallels and precedents from all parts of the Empire. In this way, the examples at Antioch become themselves illustrations of a larger evolution, and the picture of harmony within the Greco-Roman world emerges inevitably.

But Levi never really comes to terms with the pavement *qua* pavement. Even in a lengthy chapter on composition he deals chiefly with the arrangement of individual elements within the design, rather than with the design as a whole.³ Yet, if one focuses upon this latter aspect of the pavements' style, the harmony and logic of the evolution at Antioch disappears, or rather it persists only up to a point. Thereafter, a fundamentally different attitude toward the floor makes its appearance. And while the preceding development remained largely within the Hellenistic tradition, the new attitude bore many of the characteristics that were to become fundamental in mediaeval style.

¹ See C. R. Morey's Foreword to the first volume of the excavation reports (*Antioch I*).

² Levi has summarized his views in "L'Arte romana," *ASAtene*, 24-26 (new series 8-10) (1946-1948), p. 229 ff.

³ A more penetrating analysis of the Antioch pavements from this point of view will be found in Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (London, etc., 1938); some of the arrangements have recently been discussed by R. Stillwell, "Houses of Antioch," *DOPapers*, 15 (1961), p. 45 ff.

Viewed in this light, Levi's analysis stops short of gleaning from the Antioch pavements perhaps the most important lesson they have to offer. For precisely because they present an uninterrupted sequence, they show with rare clarity that mediaeval art did not come about in a simple linear progression. On the contrary, if the Antioch pavements are at all representative of the development in the eastern half of the Empire (and we shall see that they probably are), mediaeval art must be considered the product of a major revolution. Thus, even though we concur in Levi's rejection of Oriental inspiration, we are still faced with the critical question, whence did this new attitude derive? But here the question has more precise meaning than it usually does when the monuments involved are few, or when datings for them vary widely, or when they are portable and of uncertain provenance. In the case of the Antioch pavements, we are able to say exactly what the new characteristics are, and when and where they replaced the classical tradition.

The present study suggests at least a partial solution to this problem. Taking the Antioch mosaics as the *point d'appui*, the hypothesis is submitted that the new conception was not derived from the Orient, nor was it in any real sense the product of a harmonious evolution within the Greco-Roman world as a whole; rather, it was native specifically to the Latin West where it had long been manifest in a variety of regional traditions, among which that of North Africa in particular provides the essential background for the later developments at Antioch and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. In this view, the Oriental elements that occur, undeniably, in certain of the latter works are not indicative of the source of the underlying attitude, but were themselves adopted as a result of its transfer from the West into the Hellenic sphere. And it was the consequent interaction of the Latin with the Greek heritage, rather than a simple succession of the one upon the other, that helped lay the immediate foundations of Byzantine style.

Some explanation is perhaps in order concerning the manner in which the evidence is presented. The problems of chronological precedence, so often encountered when seeking to determine artistic relationships during this period, in the present instance offer no difficulty. Although the internal chronology of the Roman pavements of North Africa is open to considerable doubt—securely datable examples being extremely rare—there has never been any question but that the great majority belong to the third and fourth centuries; in any case the Vandal conquest of North Africa in A.D. 429–30 provides an effective if not absolute *terminus*, a quarter of a century before the crucial transformation took place at Antioch.

But the attribution of a major role to the Latin West, or even worse to a provincial western tradition, in the formation of early mediaeval art *in the Greek East*, runs contrary to a great deal of modern thought on the subject. It will become evident that we do not necessarily assume an immediate and direct "influence" from North Africa in the eastern half of the Empire (though the possibility cannot be ruled out), but rather a broad and progressive diffusion of a basically Western point of view, of which North Africa developed

certain special aspects. Nevertheless, we are obliged under the circumstances to consider in some detail two questions that are often regarded as being of secondary importance. Are the characteristics found in North African pavements really "local," or might they too have been imported from some source that later affected the eastern Mediterranean as well? And if the former is indeed true, then by what process might the achievements of this relatively obscure western province have been incorporated into the mainstream of European artistic evolution?

The procedure of our investigation, therefore, will be as follows. In the Introduction we shall define the problem as closely as possible by describing the chronology and nature of the transformation at Antioch. In Part I we shall examine a representative portion of the vast amount of North African material, to establish its essential character as well as its relationships to the later work at Antioch. The purpose of Part II is to trace the possible channels of transmission from West to East which seem to indicate that the formal and iconographical similarities may actually reflect a historical relationship. The discussion will take place within a limited frame of reference. We shall deal principally with figural compositions, considering ornamental designs only insofar as they are directly pertinent to the main argument. Furthermore, although the iconographical repertory with which the new attitude seems to have been associated must be taken into account, our primary concern is with matters of style. And we shall deal not with individual stylistic elements, but with the treatment of the floor as a whole. Finally, in the Epilogue we shall offer some evidence of the general historical framework in which the over-all development may be understood.⁴

The problem, the point of view, and the direction in which the solution must be sought, were first suggested by Ernst Kitzinger. Through more than a decade he has given unstintingly of his time and knowledge, and to him the writer is unrequitably indebted. The main body of research was carried out under a fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks. I am most grateful to the Director of that institution, Mr. John S. Thacher, and to the members of its staff, who facilitated every phase of the work with kindness and cooperation.

In addition to the particular acknowledgements made in the footnotes, I should like to express my appreciation for information, help in obtaining photographs, and other assistance, to the following: in Algiers, Messrs. J. Camon, J. Lassus, F. Villard, Mlle S. Warot; in Basel, Mr. H. Lieb; in Beirut, Messrs. W. A. Campbell, M. Chéhab; in Brussels, Mlle V. Verhoogen; in Istanbul, Mr. Paul Underwood of Dumbarton Oaks; in Madrid, Messrs. D. M. Noack, H. Schlunk; in Paris, Messrs. G.-Ch. Picard, H. Seyrig, H. Stern; in Princeton, Mr. R. Stillwell, Miss K. Higuchi; in Rome, Messrs. S. Aurigemma, G. Becatti, A. M. Colini, A. Guillou, E. Nash, N. Neuerberg, C. Pietrangeli, H.

⁴ In the course of the research certain related architectural problems came to the fore with which the writer has dealt in a separate article, "The House of the Lord," *ArtB*, 44 (1962), p. 1 ff. Inasmuch as the argument in some respects runs parallel to that presented here, often involving the same monuments, the two studies should be regarded as complementary.

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Finally, I am grateful to my wife for her infinite patience with a husband not unlike Thomas Hardy's Michael Mail:

a bowed and bent man, who carried a fiddle under
his arm, and walked as if engaged in studying some
subject connected with the surface of the road.

Under the Greenwood Tree

(This study was completed in December 1961, and only in a few instances has it been possible to take into account material that appeared subsequently.)

INTRODUCTION

"CLASSIC" AND "NON-CLASSIC" ARRANGEMENTS IN THE MOSAICS OF ANTIOCH

What we shall call the "classic" way of organizing the floor of a room may be observed, for example, in the triclinium mosaic of the House of Narcissus (fig. 1)⁵. The area bounded by the walls is regarded as a kind of matrix, subdivided by a series of concentric borders that surround a framed illusionistic picture. Every part is separate and independent, though carefully subordinated to the dominating element of the composition. The floor, as a surface, seems to exist merely as a setting for the rational vision of classical beauty in its midst. It is treated much like a wall on which a picture is hung—a neutral

⁵ Levi, p. 60ff., fig. 23 on p. 61, pl. x. The House of Narsissus is dated by Levi early in the second century A.D. (see chronological table, p. 625), but he emphasizes its archaic character (p. 383).

The term "classic" is used here somewhat loosely, since the indications are that the system was a late Hellenistic rather than a fifth-century development. The "concentric" organization is characteristic of Hellenistic mosaics of the second century B.C. (e.g. Delos, Pergamon; see Hinks, pp. li, liii.), but not of the earlier pebble mosaics (cf. I. Lavin, "Die Mosaikfussböden in Arsameia am Nymphaios," to be published in F. K. Doerner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios, Die Ausgrabungen... von 1953-1956*, Istanbul Forschungen, no. 23). The system seems to be a function of illusionism, developed, that is, as a way of organizing the floor about an illusionistic centerpiece. Its beginnings may be seen in the Dionysus floor newly discovered at Pella in Macedonia, a pebble mosaic in which, quite exceptionally, illusionistic devices are employed (E. Vanderpool, "News Letter from Greece," *AJA*, 62 [1958], p. 324f., pls. 84-86, fig. 4). On the other hand, it was certainly not restricted to floors with pictorial inserts, but could be used even when a geometric motif provided the centerpiece. In general the system seems to result from a Hellenistic desire to give the floor one or, at times, several points of concentration or focus. All this is in contrast to the majority of pebble mosaics, in which frieze-like or circular compositions tend to be employed without dramatic focus.

ground cut through by an illusionistic hole.⁶ In fact, the Narcissus panel, though not separately executed, is conceived in the Hellenistic tradition of the *emblema*, a sort of easel painting in mosaic, inserted into the floor.⁷

Obviously, this kind of system, when applied to a floor, meets with certain difficulties that it does not encounter on a wall. The picture on a wall can be seen from only one direction, whereas the floor of a room may be viewed from any point of the compass. Hence, the designer of a floor is encouraged literally to take the spectator's "point of view" into account. Two factors may be of assistance to him in determining which points of view will be the most likely: the function that the room fulfills, and its architecture (i.e., the location of the entrance). Thus, the creator of the Narcissus pavement has placed the picture at the "top" of the triclinium, so that it would be intelligible to the diners. But in this case the architecture of the room was at odds with its function, for the entrance also faces the diners. If the picture is to be seen right side up by them, it will be upside down to persons entering the room. The dilemma is inherent in the medium of pavement decoration and the classic designer, employing an illusionistic conception of space that absolutely determines one fixed viewpoint, must simply take his choice.

Some classical solutions to the problem are rather more flexible. In a room of the House of the Red Pavement at Antioch the design consists entirely of illusionistic pictures set in a geometric framework;⁸ eight such, oriented toward the four sides of the room, surround a central panel that is larger and of a different color scheme than the others. The artist has thus provided for at least four different viewpoints, by systematically destroying the floor as a uniform surface. The spectator, be it observed, does not walk continuously about the room, he jumps; each picture has its own viewpoint, separate and immutable. The design is a truly classic organization of self-contained units balanced statically one against the other.

Another alternative occurs in the House of the Mysteries of Isis at Antioch.⁹ Here a continuous frieze of figures is introduced as a frame around the main central panel. The device allows for a continuous succession of viewpoints around the room; but this applies only to the border, and the central picture continues to impose a single predominant orientation. The underlying prin-

⁶ Compare, the center sections of many, especially third-style wall decorations at Pompeii, where an illusionistic scene is inserted into a series of abstract concentric panels; e.g., the House of Spurius Mesor (H. G. Beyen, *Die pompejanische Wanddekoration* [The Hague, 1938], p. 294, fig. 138), or the House of M. Lucretius Fronto (L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* [Leipzig, 1929], fig. 33, p. 53).

⁷ Strictly speaking, the term *emblema* applies to a separate mosaic panel, usually a small (though sometimes quite large, as is the Alexander mosaic), very finely executed picture, actually inserted into the pavement of the room. The technique is a Hellenistic invention and while later examples are known (see *infra*, notes 88, 98), it became rather rare after the second century A.D. The device is so closely associated with Hellenistic illusionism that we feel justified in this paper in speaking of an "*emblema* tradition" in reference to the perseverance of this rational, naturalistic style into later periods, after the technique itself had been given up (so also Levi, e.g., p. 308, regarding the scene of the Amazonomachy at Antioch). When using the term in its narrower sense, we will add an adjective such as "true" or "real."

⁸ Room no. 1, Levi, p. 68 ff., fig. 28, p. 69, pls. XI-XIII.

⁹ Room no. 1, Levi, p. 163 ff., pl. xxxiii b.

ciple remains classic since the floor is still broken down into independent units, placed inside one another rather than alongside or opposite each other.¹⁰ The frieze is simply a translation into figural terms of one of the abstract borders that surround the *emblema* in the Narcissus mosaic.

If we examine now a later pavement from Antioch, the so-called Worcester Hunt for instance, we find that a major stylistic transformation has taken place (fig. 2).¹¹ The entire space of the floor is conceived as a single unit and is treated as such, without subdivisions. Instead of *emblemata*, irreducible compartments of space, the individual figure has become the basic building block of the composition; and that which surrounds the figures is not an artificial extension of our own world, but an amorphous, depthless ambient in which the artist arranges objects with complete freedom—upside down, obliquely, or in circles. In this way the problem of multiple viewpoints is fully resolved; we can now walk about the room (and not just along the circumference but in the interior as well) at an even pace, and always have something intelligible to see. In fact, this is the only way the floor really makes sense. Since the illusionistic space employed by the classical artist required the eye to be at a certain distance from the floor, he was forced to divide the area into smaller spatial units that could be grasped from a point no farther away than a man's height. The Worcester pavement does not consist of such isolated sections, each meant to be seen separately and as a whole; rather, at a given moment we comprehend only a small group of figures plus part of those juxtaposed. There is practically no figure or group around which we might draw a simple geometric shape, like a square or a rectangle, without including part of a group nearby. We are thus encouraged to progress from one group to the next, which in turn interconnects with the one following. For the static balance of independent parts in the classic pavements the artist has substituted an entirely new kind of unity—at once organic, since one part leads inevitably to the next, and dynamic, since the essential requirement for our observation of the floor is that we move. We are drawn into this movement; we cannot remain outside, contemplating a complete whole from a determined standpoint. There is no single point of reference, no one spot from which alone the floor must be "read"; only an infinite succession of partial views. The central element is still present, in the form of a standing male figure but he is not separated from the others, nor is he particularly emphasized; he lends the composition a subtle accent, but not an insistent orientation. Similarly, the trees in the corners and certain details in the arrangement of the figures serve to punctuate the composition, but do not compartmentalize it in the classic sense. All this, however, does not imply that the elements are arranged haphazardly. On the contrary, we shall have several occasions to observe that the late pavements at Antioch are very carefully organized, and in a way that also provides essential insights into the nature of their style.

¹⁰ The continuous figural frieze, in fact, is used as a border in some of the earliest pebble mosaics (e.g., Olynthus, Villa of Good Fortune, D. M. Robinson, "The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus," *AJA*, 38 [1934], p. 501 ff., pl. xxix); see also *infra*, note 215.

¹¹ Levi, p. 363 ff., fig. 151, p. 364.

This kind of design offered yet another possibility of which the classic system was incapable. Requiring, or rather admitting of no internal divisions, the composition could be extended infinitely in any direction without prejudice to the unity of the surface as a whole. It could thus be used to cover areas the proportions of which would cause the classic artist to break them down into more manageable sizes and shapes. For example, the long narrow corridor of the House of the Boat of Psyche (latter part of the third century) has been divided into a series of separate panels containing geometric designs, with figural compositions placed at regular intervals (fig. 3).¹² On the other hand, the whole north side of the undulating ambulatory of the Martyrium of Se-leucia (late fifth century) was filled with a continuous procession of animals, those in the center of the corridor (mainly birds) facing a variety of directions, and those along its edges facing outward (figs. 4, 5).¹³ Thus, while a multiplicity of possible viewpoints is assured, the unity of the entire area is also retained, despite its complex shape. The Martyrium mosaic is particularly revealing of the extremely intimate relationship to the architecture that may be achieved with such a design. The pavement seems "adhesive," following without interruption the curves and angles determined by the architecture.

It is clear that the later pavements at Antioch embody entirely new solutions to the formal problems of pavement decoration. Among the latter we have singled out as the touchstone for much of our discussion that of multiple viewpoints. But it should be emphasized that we have done so mainly out of convenience, to illustrate the underlying principles. For, although it is significant that the later floors at Antioch are calculated to be seen from various directions, this does not in itself constitute a really essential part of their differences from traditional pavements. We saw that classical designers also had ways of solving the difficulty. What distinguishes the later compositions is that they recognize, indeed emphasize, the integrity of the floor as a surface.¹⁴ It is this new attitude toward the floor that is fundamental, rather than any of the specific new solutions to which it gave rise. In fact, we shall deal with numerous examples outside Antioch in which the artist treated the floor as a uniform surface, without accounting for more than a single point of view.

Of course differences from the classical tradition are apparent in other respects also: color, handling of figures and ornament, repertory of motifs, even technique. But the present essay has the narrower scope of attempting to elucidate, at least in part, the source of these general principles of design. The limitation is perhaps justified by the implications of the subject. It is not simply a question of local Antiochene history of art, important as that may be. For, in effect, the new attitude involves the replacement of the classic con-

¹² Colonnade of the Hermaphrodite, Levi, p. 167ff., fig. 63, 4, p. 167, pl. xxxix a.

¹³ Levi, p. 359ff., fig. 149, p. 360, pls. lxxxvii-lxxxix.

¹⁴ A striking illustration of this point is provided by a much damaged mosaic recently excavated at Priverno, south of Rome, in a villa said to be of the Republican period. Here a square panel contained a composition of figures and setting arranged in a circle, as in the Antioch hunts. But the panel is a relatively small *emblema*, placed in the floor as a kind of illusionistic conceit, rather than as a means of unifying the whole surface (cf. *FA*, 12 [1957], no. 2894, p. 189, fig. 79; photograph of the *emblema*: Soprintendenza alle antichità, Roma I, no. 9173E).

ception of pictorial space as a more or less rational analogue of reality by an abstract space through which elements may be distributed in accordance with rules other than those derived from the observation of nature. Considered thus, it becomes a problem in the genesis of mediaeval style.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENT AT ANTIOCH

Before attacking our problem directly, two preliminary observations should be made. The first is that the innovations among the later figural pavements at Antioch seem to be associated almost exclusively with subjects of a genre nature, involving animals and especially hunting scenes. In addition to the Worcester pavement and that of the Seleucia Martyrium, such themes occur in the Megalopsychia Hunt (figs. 6, 7), the animal pavement of the House of Ktisis, the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt, and the Honolulu Hunt.¹⁵ At the same time, i.e., from the latter part of the fifth through the early sixth century according to the dates assigned to these mosaics by Levi, other sorts of narrative subjects, such as mythology, tend to disappear almost entirely from the Antiochene repertory. The question naturally arises whether the peculiar compositional features of these mosaics might simply be a by-product of their subject matter.

From a very early period, certain kinds of subjects do seem to have involved a loose distribution of the figural elements.¹⁶ Of this type, for example, was the famous *asarotos oikos*, or unswept floor, attributed by Pliny to Sosos of Pergamon (cf. fig. 30);¹⁷ and such also are the fish and marine scenes of which a number of examples were found at Antioch itself (cf. fig. 35).¹⁸ These types remain, nevertheless, a special case, since they are *ab initio* representations of reality in a disorganized state, rather than reorganizations of reality in its normal state. That the Antioch Hunts belong to the second rather than the first category is clear from their relationship to Hellenistic hunting scenes in which there is a definite suggestion of spatial recession (cf. fig. 106).¹⁹ We will see elsewhere that "disorganized" subjects themselves developed in a symptomatic way during late antiquity. But, while a certain process of assimilation may be said to have occurred, they cannot be taken as the cause of analogous developments in narrative subjects. The Antioch Hunts were not produced by a sort of "typological transfusion"; they were the outcome of an independent stylistic evolution, within an independent iconographic framework.

This leads us to our second preliminary observation, namely that the late hunting mosaics, while they form a distinct group, are by no means identical. There are differences amongst them that can best be explained by a chronolog-

¹⁵ Megalopsychia Hunt; Levi, p. 326ff., fig. 136, p. 324; House of Ktisis: p. 357f., fig. 147, p. 357; Dumbarton Oaks Hunt: p. 358f., fig. 148, p. 359, pl. LXXXVI a; Honolulu Hunt: p. 365, pl. xc b. (The Worcester and Honolulu pavements were in the same building.)

¹⁶ Levi, p. 606. See *infra*, under "All-over Designs."

¹⁷ *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 184.

¹⁸ Some are cited *infra*, note 141.

¹⁹ Cf. Levi, p. 238; see *infra*, p. 242f.

ical evolution within the group. The *Megalopsychia* Hunt (figs. 6, 7) has a medallion in the middle with trees inserted between the figures at the angles and at the center of each side of the square. In the pavement of the House of Ktisis the medallion and the angle-trees are present, but the trees dividing the sides of the square are missing. In the Worcester Hunt the angle-trees are again present, but the medallion surrounding the central element is absent. In the Dumbarton Oaks and Honolulu Hunts, finally, even the angle-trees are eliminated. There is, clearly, a progressive elimination of divisive elements within the composition, in favor of a more uniform and hence more organically flowing design.

Thus, although details are open to question, there can be no doubt that the late hunting pavements are the fruits of an evolutionary process.²⁰ But even the earliest member of the group, the *Megalopsychia* Hunt, is so highly complex an organism that we can hardly assume it to have been invented out of whole cloth. It presupposes an antecedent development, and this we must now seek to discover, commencing at Antioch itself.

The first major hunting pavement and the first important step in the evolution that concerns us occur at Antioch in one and the same monument: the floor of the triclinium of the so-called "Constantinian Villa," which takes its name from the period to which it can be assigned almost with certainty (figs. 8-11).²¹ Heretofore the Antiochene mosaicists had distinguished themselves by their tenacious adherence to the classical tradition. Down to the late third century the compositional arrangements employed are much the same as those we have discussed in the earlier pavements. In the upper level of the House of Menander, for example, there occur: the single *emblema* (Menander and Glykera floor, room 11), the arrangement of compartments about a central *emblema* (Narcissus pavement, room 2), the long shape divided into separate compartments (floor of room 13);²² and the west complex of the intermediate level of the House of the Buffet Supper contains the continuous frieze about a central panel.²³ The additive principle underlying all these designs has remained unchanged.

²⁰ A problem arises in connection with the chronological distribution of these pavements. Levi (chronological table, p. 626) introduces a gap of at least half a century between the *Megalopsychia* Hunt (just after the middle of the fifth century; see *infra*) and the remaining members of the group (first-second quarter of the sixth century). I see no stylistic discrepancies that justify such a time lag, and so would prefer to distribute the group more or less evenly through the second half of the fifth century. In fact the closeness of the development is illustrated by the Worcester and Honolulu Hunts: both are from rooms in the same building, yet the former includes the diagonal trees while in the latter they have been eliminated. Levi also dates the pavement of the Martyrium of Seleucia to a time immediately before the earthquake of 526, whereas it too should probably be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century (as it was in the excavation report, by W. A. Campbell, *Antioch III*, p. 53).

²¹ A coin of Constantine the Great was found imbedded in the mortar of the pavement, establishing a *terminus post quem*. That it cannot date after this is evident from its style. Cf. Levi, p. 226 ff.

²² Cf. Levi, p. 198 ff.; good archaeological evidence supports the dating of the upper level pavements to the late third century.

²³ Levi, p. 218 ff.; again archaeological evidence supports a late third-century date.

The Constantinian floor also consists of two sections, one square, the other rectangular; but the compositions within the two sections reveal an entirely different approach. The square (fig. 8) is simply divided by two diagonals that cross to form four equal triangular compartments. The latter contain trapezoidal panels with genre hunting scenes that, despite a number of mythological overtones, are quite unprecedented at Antioch.²⁴ The center of the pavement was not a pictorial *emblema*, larger and more emphatic than the others, it was a small octagonal pool. The pool of course is "neutral," focusing the composition but imposing no orientation. As a result, the four main sections that make up the design have equal pictorial value, and the pavement presents essentially the same elements from all four major directions. Furthermore, the trapezoidal figural panels created in the dividing process are such odd shapes in themselves that they can be understood only in relation to the design as a whole—in contrast to the normal square or oblong panel, which is entirely independent of its surroundings. And the figural compositions inside the trapezoids are carefully adjusted to "fit" (fig. 9).²⁵ To be sure, this was often the case in classical art, as in pedimental sculpture. But whereas in pedimental sculpture the adjustments are dictated by the architecture of the building, here they follow merely from the artist's design. Indeed, it is highly significant that he deliberately compromises the naturalistic consistency of the figural scenes in the interests of his general decorative plan. Important also is the very elaborate framing system; the rinceau border and figures of the seasons, far from seeming subordinate to the narrative scenes, assert themselves to such a degree that the design has an almost uniform pictorial "density." For all these reasons it is clear that the artist of the Constantinian pavement took as his point of departure the square area of the composition as a whole, and that his design while subdividing that area, preserves its unity to a greater degree than the classic system would have permitted.

There are other signs of a new departure in the Constantinian Villa. The rectangular mosaic that occupies the remaining portion of the triclinium (fig. 10) is divided into panels that alternately contain figures or abstract designs. This, too, represents a new kind of organizational unity. Earlier such small panels would have been disposed around some larger, dominant element;²⁶ here, they are uniformly distributed, without a larger centerpiece. Remarkable also are a series of small rectangular panels placed along the border of the hunting pavement. These contain scenes from pastoral life, the first of their kind at Antioch and an even more marked departure than the hunting representations from the tradition of allegory and mythology. Their style is also very different from anything that had gone before, and contrasts with that of the hunts. The latter, as Levi points out, closely imitate classical models and hence still preserve a strong measure of spatial recession and atmospheric

²⁴ The mythological elements are discussed by Levi, p. 240ff. Hunting motifs of an altogether different kind, had appeared in room 1 of the House of the Mysteries of Isis (*supra*, note 9).

²⁵ Cf. Levi, p. 609ff.

²⁶ As in the Argos and Opora mosaic of the House of the Boat of Psyche (Levi, pl. XLII a).

effect. In the pastoral panels the treatment of space is more abstract, and in one of them (fig. 11) the arrangement of landscape elements in superimposed registers, rather than receding planes, introduces a system that became a cardinal feature of mediaeval art.²⁷ It is interesting to observe that within the "progressive" context of the Constantinian Villa, a relatively more advanced style appears associated with the more purely genre subject matter.

Many aspects of the Constantinian pavement are without forerunners at Antioch. But the diagonal type of composition had been used there once before, and quite recently, in room 13 of the House of Menander, which is datable in the latter part of the third century (fig. 12).²⁸ Yet, while providing a precedent, it is difficult to believe that the Menander pavement was actually the source for that of the Constantinian Villa. In the former, each section is devoted to a separate, entirely traditional mythological subject (Leda and the Swan, Eros and Psyche, etc.);²⁹ in the latter, there is the series of hunts. These, moreover, lend an element of narrative continuity to the Constantinian pavement that contrasts with the Menander floor and, in a sense, anticipates the thematic unity of the later hunting mosaics.³⁰ Most important, the diagonal composition of the Menander floor is itself conceived as an *emblema*, placed in the middle of the pavement; the Constantinian Hunt occupies the major portion of the floor. On the other hand, certain features in the Menander floor stand in closer relationship to the later hunts than to their counterparts in the Constantinian mosaic. Naturalistic trees rather than strictly defined frames divide the sections; and a central element that is unframed (an eagle with outspread wings), suggests but does not insist upon an axial orientation—as in the Worcester, Honolulu, and Dumbarton Oaks Hunts. The most likely explanation for these apparent contradictions is that both compositions, as Levi has shown, derived from ceiling decorations, the diagonal arrangement reflecting the structure of a groined vault.³¹ The differences between the two floors may thus be the result of their dependence upon separate models, and despite the similar compositional type, they are probably independent of one another. They do not themselves constitute a coherent tradition, nor did they initiate one. Imitation of ceilings, to be sure, played an important role in the development of pavement decoration, and there are numerous examples of this at Antioch;³² but none occur there, it seems, after the Constantinian Villa. And, while the designers of the late hunts may have appropriated elements from the earlier examples, no one would be tempted to maintain that their compositions reflect vault decorations. The Menander and Constantinian pavements show a new interest in types that tend to

²⁷ Cf. Levi, p. 611; also C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art* (Princeton, 1953), p. 32, and *Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 38f. Registering will be discussed at some length *infra*, p. 226ff.

²⁸ Levi, p. 206ff., pl. XLVIA; see *supra*, note 22.

²⁹ Actually, two episodes of the Eros and Psyche myth are represented in the lateral panels (cf. Levi, pp. 159ff., 209f.), but this should not be construed as implying a consistent narrative.

³⁰ For the sequence of events in the Constantinian pavement, see Levi, p. 240ff.

³¹ Levi, pp. 207, 227ff.

³² Cf. Levi, index, s.v., "Ceilings, mosaic imitations."

deal with the decorative field as a whole.³³ It is in this sense that they are significant for the later development, rather than as the initiators of a direct line of evolution.

In fact, although the Constantinian Villa in particular indicates a sharp break with the past, it remains fundamentally different from the later hunts. As will already have become apparent, its innovations are couched within the framework of an essentially classical concept of pictorial space. The artist did not treat the entire floor of the room as one unit, but divided it into two unequal parts, clearly in order to accommodate the square formed by the perfectly symmetrical diagonal composition—as if it were itself an immutable *emblema*. Moreover, the latter still consists of separate compartments; the figural panels are still *emblemata*, despite their odd shape, and they still display a quite rational flow of space. Iconographically, they still present a series of coherent scenes, whereas the later mosaics contain an agglomeration of isolated episodes and single figures that permit a greater degree of freedom and fluidity because there are no “logical” breaks between them. While an important step has been taken, a very great gulf still separates the Constantinian floor from the late hunting pavements.

Since this discrepancy has as its counterpart a temporal interval of at least 150 years, it would be reasonable to expect to find a development at Antioch linking the two phases. But the pavements produced between the early fourth and late fifth centuries fail to corroborate the supposition. In fact, the Constantinian Villa, seems to have had no impact whatever. Figural pavements that follow closely upon it, like those in Bath E, which is quite securely dated to the first half of the fourth century,³⁴ are largely in the classical tradition of separate *emblemata* arranged additively. And mythological scenes of the traditional kind remained the rule for figural compositions down to the middle of the fifth century.³⁵ Indeed, the very persistence of pagan subject matter in the

³³ See the discussion of diagonal compositions *infra*, p. 219ff.

³⁴ Levi, p. 260ff., fig. 100, p. 260, pl. LXII bff. A *terminus post quem* of A.D. 305 is established by a coin of Galeria Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, who was married to Galerius, emperor from 305 to 311. Coins of the second half of the fourth century found above the mosaics suggest a *terminus ante quem*, and Levi places the mosaics in the first half of the century, after the Constantinian Villa (cf. p. 261 and chronological table, p. 626). Also dated by Levi in the first half of the century is the mosaic in the lower level of Bath F—a circular composition of fish with a bust of Thetis in the center, and set in an octagonal frame (p. 258f., pl. LXII a).

³⁵ Besides the two already mentioned, see the following: Mosaic of Chresis (upper level of the House of the Triumph of Dionysus, Levi, p. 278f., pl. LXIV a); Hunting Amazons (lower level of the Yakto Complex, p. 279ff., pl. LXIV b); Bath D (fragment in room 1, room 3, Hermes and Dionysus, p. 285ff., pl. LXV b-e); Tomb of Mnemosyne (p. 291ff., pl. LXVIA, b); Mosaic of the Amazonomachy (dated by Levi to the first quarter of the fifth century; *terminus post quem* suggested by clay lamps of the fourth century, p. 308ff., pl. LXLX c); House of the Green Carpet (probably Aphrodite and Ares or Adonis, dated by Levi to the mid-fifth century, with some archaeological support, p. 315f., pl. LXXIA).

The chief exception is the mosaic of the Hall of Philia (Levi, p. 317ff., fig. 133, p. 318), which contains a succession of pairs of animals flanking trees heraldically; even here, however, the genre element is clearly secondary to the significance of the representation as an allegory of the Golden Age. Levi ascribed this pavement to the third quarter of the fifth century, but a fourth-century date seems much more likely (cf. Kitzinger, “Studies in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics. I. Mosaics at Nikopolis,” *DO Papers*, 6 [1951], p. 96f.).

Antioch pavements is an illustration of the tenacity of classical tradition there, well into the period of Christianity.³⁶

The fourth and early fifth centuries did bring a number of important developments at Antioch, largely in the direction of unifying the floor area. In the figural scenes, for example, we find a tendency to expand the relative size of the composition; long, narrow panels are introduced, and occasionally the picture fills the whole room.³⁷ But the most radical changes took place within an entirely different frame of reference. After the pictorial florescence of the period of Constantine, the number of pavements with figural subjects diminishes, in favor of purely abstract designs.³⁸ There is reason to suspect that this style too, so inimical to the humanistic and Hellenistic tradition that had characterized Antioch heretofore, was an importation.³⁹ While it was probably a broad phenomenon with roots in the third century, this abstract style was certainly well suited to Christian needs; in fact its most brilliant and consistent expression at Antioch is found in the pavements of the cruciform Kaoussie church, dated A.D. 387.⁴⁰ Here, the uniformity of the surface is maintained by a continuous geometric configuration, or, as in the east arm, by dividing the floor into equal panels containing such configurations. Around 400 this convention was in turn modified by the reintroduction of human busts, animals, etc., into the regular panels formed by the geometric design. Pavements of the Bath of Apolaisis and the House of the Masks are typical examples of this phase, in which very modest figural elements are subordinated to a general decorative framework.⁴¹

But then, in the second quarter of the fifth century the Antiochene artists set out in still a new direction that, beyond adherence to a general decorative framework, had little in common with what had gone before. In the upper level of the House of the Buffet Supper occurs a series of pavements in which small, single elements, floral or geometric, are repeated at regular intervals through the whole surface; sometimes they are distributed in the interstices

³⁶ G. M. A. Hanfmann, review of P. Friedlaender, *Documents of Dying Paganism* (Berkeley, 1945), in *Speculum*, 21 (1946), p. 225ff. (cf. K. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas und Rom in der archäologischen Forschung seit 1939* [Bern, 1949], p. 204).

³⁷ Long panels are found in Bath E (*supra*, note 34), the Mosaic of the Amazonomachy, the Hermes and Dionysus pavement of Bath D, the Hall of Philia (*supra*, note 35).

³⁸ Levi, p. 613. The abstract style of the late fourth century at Antioch is paralleled elsewhere in metalwork and pavement decoration; cf. G. L. Brett, "Formal Ornament in Late Roman and Early Byzantine Silver," *BSR*, 15 (1939), p. 33ff.; E. Kitzinger, "The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial. V. The Silver," *Antiquity*, 14 (1940), p. 40ff.; *idem*, "A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi," *DOPapers*, 3 (1946), p. 125f.; W. Grünhagen, *Der Schatzfund von Gross Bodungen* (Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, 21) (Berlin, 1954), p. 7. To this group of monuments should be added the geometric rug from Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (cited *infra*, note 69).

As we shall see, North Africa continued to produce elaborate figure pavements during this period.

³⁹ On antecedents of the style in pavements, see *infra*, p. 216ff., under "Carpet Designs."

⁴⁰ Its foundation is dated by inscriptions of the time of Bishop Flavianos; only the four arms of the cross belong to the original foundation (Levi, p. 284f., pl. cxiii ff.).

⁴¹ The Bath of Apolaisis had been dated by Lassus to the second half of the fifth century, while Levi, quite rightly I think, assigns it to the period around A.D. 400 (p. 304ff., pls. lxvii d, lxviii, cxxia); the House of the Masks is closely dated to around 400 by archaeological evidence (Levi, p. 307ff., pls. lxix a, cxxii b).

of an oriented or oblique grid.⁴² These *semis* and "trellis" designs produce a completely uniform all-over pattern in which, in contrast to the fourth-century geometric floors, a light, airy impression is achieved by simplifying the framework and allowing much of the background to show through.⁴³ The term "carpet style" has been applied to such pavements, which are often thought to have derived from textiles, particularly textiles of Oriental origin.⁴⁴ The style dominated the second quarter of the century, and continues, after the hunting floors appear, through the remaining history of pavement decoration at Antioch.⁴⁵ Indeed, in an example such as the mosaic of the Striding Lion (fig. 13), where figurative elements facing different directions have been introduced into the diaper grid and an unframed centerpiece has been added, the general result is analogous to the late hunting floors.⁴⁶ It is an answer to the same problem—a uniform design both infinitely extendible and offering a variety of possible viewpoints—for which the hunting floors were to provide another solution when they were introduced a few decades later, just after the middle of the century. Thus, it is important to realize that these two contemporary groups are by no means contradictory. On the contrary, the late hunting pavements, in which all the elements also remain "on the surface," and which also achieve an effect of unity by the rhythmic distribution of these elements over the surface, might be thought of as the figural equivalent of the all-over *semis* and "trellis" designs. It could even be said that in certain instances the two types were fused, as when in the Ktisis mosaic, the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt, and the Martyrium of Seleucia, florets in a scale pattern are distributed through the space between the figures.

Nevertheless, one cannot imagine that a floor such as the Striding Lion was the progenitor of the hunting mosaics. In a sense it is merely a schematized version of earlier *dissecta membra* compositions like the *asarotos oikos*, rather than a systematic revision of coherent reality, as in the hunting pavements. The carpet style is of interest in showing the need for such a revision before the hunting mosaics were introduced, but it is of no direct value in establishing their geneology.

⁴² The upper level of the House of the Buffet Supper is well dated to the second quarter of the fifth century by archaeological evidence (Levi, p. 311 ff., pls. cxxiv–cxxxvi). This kind of design appears in the corridor and one of two adjoining rooms found in Dig D in the area of the Tomb of Mnemosyne and assigned, along with the latter, to the end of the fourth century by Levi (p. 291 ff.; fig. 122, pl. cxx d, e). There is, however, no evidence for a connection between these buildings, and the style of the mosaics in Dig D would correspond better to the second quarter of the fifth century.

⁴³ Another important device for emphasizing the surface of the floor that is introduced at Antioch in the later pavements of the House of the Buffet Supper is the scale pattern in the arrangement of the tesserae; cf. Levi, p. 440 ff.

⁴⁴ This derivation has been questioned by Levi, p. 449, note 167; on the generally rather dubious connection with textile design, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 446–453.

⁴⁵ Carpet style *semis* and trellises in a great variety of forms are in constant use at Antioch for at least a century; cf., e.g., what Levi regards as the very last monument before the Persian sack of A.D. 540, the Church in Machouka (Levi, p. 368 f., pl. cxxxviii d–f).

⁴⁶ Assigned by Levi to the third quarter of the fifth century (Levi, p. 321 ff., table p. 626, pl. Lxxiv a). On the other hand, Kitzinger (see *infra*, note 61) has assigned a sixth-century date to a group of textiles to which the Striding Lion pavement is clearly related. Furthermore, this pavement was found near and is probably contemporary with the Mosaic of the Biblical Inscription (Levi, p. 320, pl. Lxxi b), for which G. Downey has cited some paleographical evidence in favor of a sixth-century date (*Antioch III*, p. 84).

EXPLANATIONS OF THE LATE DEVELOPMENT AT ANTIOCH

We may briefly summarize the foregoing survey as follows. From the beginning through the third century the mosaicists of Antioch adhered exclusively to the classic *emblema* principle for figural compositions.⁴⁷ In the early fourth century, a new conception of the floor as a unit makes its appearance, though only in an isolated monument and still essentially within the *emblema* tradition. Subsequently, the new attitude is limited to designs of an abstract or quasi-abstract nature. Figural compositions continue in the pre-Constantinian vein until the third quarter of the fifth century, when the great series of hunting and animal mosaics begins. We have also seen, however, that the hunting pavements show an internal evolution of their own that in turn presupposes an earlier development bridging the gap to the original Hellenistic tradition.

We must conclude that the solution to our problem—when and how the revolution documented by the late hunting pavements took place—is not to be found in Antioch itself. The evidence can be explained only on the assumption of an influence from elsewhere, perhaps impinging sporadically upon the earlier phases of the conservative Antiochene development, but not really taking root until the second half of the fifth century.

That some outside influence was necessary to explain the later phenomena

⁴⁷ This is not to say, of course, that Antioch was completely static during this early period. On the contrary, changes in figure style, ornamentation, etc., are evident, and as Levi has amply demonstrated they reflect the main lines of evolution in Roman art. But even these general changes were interpreted in the light of an essentially classicizing local tradition that limited their scope and effect. (Levi also emphasizes Antioch's conservatism; cf. *ASAene*, 24-26 [1946-48], p. 296f.)

Moreover, it is important to realize that Antioch was not the only place in which the classical tradition was maintained. Examples from Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and now as far east and in as significant a site as the palace of the Sassanian kings at Bishapur in Iran, demonstrate the breadth and tenacity of the *emblema* tradition in the eastern end of the Mediterranean generally through the fourth century at least. Some of the more important examples are: the mosaics with various philosophical allegories and mythological figures and events found at Chehba, ancient Philippopolis (M. Dunand, "Une mission archéologique au Djebel Druze," *Syria*, 7 [1926], pls. LXVII-LXVIII, cf. *ibid.*, 6 [1925], p. 295f.; E. Will, "Une nouvelle mosaïque de Chahba-Philippopolis," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, 3 [1953], p. 27ff.), for which a *terminus post quem* is determined by the founding of the city by Philip the Arab in A.D. 244; pavements illustrating a dance of the Therapenides and Socrates and the Sages at Apamea (F. Mayence, "La VI^e campagne de fouilles à Apamée," *BMusArt*, ser. 3, 10 [1938], fig. 3, p. 101; H. Lacoste, "La VII^e campagne . . .," *ibid.*, 12 [1940], fig. 10, p. 9); the allegorical and mythological mosaics from Byblos, Beirut, Baalbeck (for which, see now M. Chéhab, "Mosaïques du Liban," *BMBeyrouth*, vols. 14 [1958], 15 [1959], nos. 1-5); the mosaics with allegories and personifications found at Alexandretta (*ILN* [August 15, 1931], p. 265, P. Chammass, *Alexandrette* [Alexandretta, 1931], figs. 12-20); mosaics from a late villa at Halicarnassus in the British Museum with Atalanta, Meleager, the Rape of Europa, the Seasons, etc., (Hinks, p. 125ff., nos. 50-56, but see also *infra*, note 441); a mosaic with the Hunt of Meleager and Atalanta found at Xanthos (P. Demargne, "Fouilles de Xanthos. Rapport sur les résultats de la campagne de l'année 1953," *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, 6 [1956], p. 43, pl. XIX, figs. 1, 2); a mosaic with three mythological panels from Tarsus (Ruhi Tekan, "Tarsus Mozaïği," *Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 4th [1948], *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından*, 9th Ser., no. 4 [Ankara, 1952], p. 415ff., in Turkish); for mosaics of the Hellenistic tradition in Armenia, cf. G. Bănăteanu, "Ein vernachlässigter Zweig der armenischen Kunst: Die Mosaik," *Byzantinoslavica*, 19 (1958), p. 108ff.; mosaic dated A.D. 228 with personification of the Euphrates, from Mas Udije on the Euphrates (H. Lucas, "Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien," *BZ*, 14 [1905], p. 58ff., pl. IV, figs. 21-22); mosaics from Zeugma on the Euphrates, some now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (F. Cumont, *Études syriennes* [Paris, 1917], p. 139f., "Nouveaux emblemata provenant de Balqis," *MéUSJ*, 11 [1926], p. 185ff.). On the remarkable mosaics at Bishapur, cf. R. Ghirshman, *Bichâpur*, II, *Les mosaïques sassanides* (Paris, 1956), ascribed to the reign of Shapur I (d. A.D. 272).

at Antioch has been evident from the outset.⁴⁸ A likely assumption was that the influence came from the Orient inasmuch as, since the time of Strzygowski, the art of the ancient Near East was thought to have played an overwhelming role in the creation of mediaeval art.⁴⁹ The literary evidence seemed to point to Antioch as the great point of contact with the Mediterranean during this period, and the mosaics found there seemed to confirm the theory.⁵⁰ Amongst the later decorative mosaics one could point to specific iconographic motives, the phoenix, the striding lion (beribboned, as also parrots), the peacock, opposed paired rams' heads, and to decorative patterns like the *semis* and the "trellis," and whole classes of subject matter, like the animal combats and hunting scenes, all of which seemed to have their origins in the ancient Orient, especially Persia.⁵¹

An opposite view was subsequently taken by Levi, who showed systematically that all the relevant motives were more or less well known in Greco-Roman art prior to their appearance in the fifth century at Antioch.⁵² He concludes that, although many of these elements may have been originally imported from the Orient, their occurrence at Antioch should be considered as a manifestation of this Mediterranean tradition of "Hellenized orientalism" rather than as the product of a resurgence of direct Oriental influence during the fifth and sixth centuries.⁵³ Many of the motives as found in the Antioch pavements are sufficiently unlike their supposed Oriental prototypes to indicate that a transformation so great had taken place as to divest the notion of "Oriental influence" of any real meaning. And where the similarity is greater, the Oriental examples may themselves be regarded as the products of a reverse influence of "Hellenized orientalism" upon the East.⁵⁴

Levi's studies have the great merit of demonstrating beyond question that the mere appearance of a characteristically Oriental motive or decorative pattern in the later mosaics of Antioch, even though it has no local precedence, is not in itself evidence of a direct importation from outside the Hellenic world. On the other hand, like many arguments concerning this embattled subject,

⁴⁸ See Morey, *Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 41 ff.; J. Lassus, "Les mosaïques d'Antioche," *CRAI* (1936), p. 41.

⁴⁹ In what follows, as in most discussions of the problem, two principal cultural traditions are involved, that of the ancient Near East and that of the Mediterranean basin, the latter subdivided into its eastern and western halves. To avoid confusion we shall in general reserve the term "Orient" for the first of these, "Greco-Roman" or "Hellenic" for the second, "Latin West" and "Greek East" to distinguish between the subdivisions of the latter.

⁵⁰ Morey, *Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 21 ff.

⁵¹ D. N. Wilber, "Iranian Motifs in Syrian Art," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, V (1937), p. 22 ff.; the difficulty, as Wilber observes, is in establishing a clear chronological priority for the Sassanian examples usually cited.

On the Phoenix, cf. J. Lassus, "La mosaïque du Phénix," *MonPiot*, 36 (1938), p. 81 ff., esp. p. 104 ff., Levi, p. 352 ff.; on the striding lion, *ibid.*, p. 322 (beribboned, p. 314 f.); the peacock, *ibid.*, p. 322 f.; the ram's heads, *ibid.*, p. 478 ff., also E. Kitzinger, "The Horse and Lion Tapestry," *DOPapers*, 3 (1946), p. 20; on the *semis*, the "trellis," and the "carpet style" in general, Levi, p. 437 ff., esp. p. 446 ff. and p. 449, note 167; on the hunting iconography, *ibid.*, p. 243 f.; in general cf. also Morey, *Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 40 ff.

⁵² See the references to Levi in the preceding footnote. The traditional position was subsequently reiterated by C. Hopkins, review of Levi, *JNES*, 7 (1948), p. 91 ff.

⁵³ Levi, pp. 315, 322.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 479.

it has the disadvantage of being too rigorous and one-sided. Isolated examples of Oriental motives in Greco-Roman art are not the equivalent of the vigorous, if not necessarily continuous, tradition they must surely have enjoyed in the Orient.⁵⁵ And when, as in the late "carpet style" pavements at Antioch, such motives appear together, suddenly, and in unprecedented quantity, it is sheer perversity to deny that there was at least a renewed "vogue" for things Oriental.

Whether the same can be said of the hunting and animal pavements seems much more doubtful. Again, the problem is in the first instance largely an iconographical one. Inasmuch as representations of the chase occur often in ancient Assyria and Babylonia, the appearance of these subjects in the Mediterranean sphere is taken as a result of and one of the proofs of Oriental influence.⁵⁶ This hypothesis might also be extended to the late antique period, and hunting scenes have been regarded as a characteristic instance of the role played by the Orient in the formation of early mediaeval art.⁵⁷ The late hunting pavements at Antioch, seemed to conform to this view, and "typically" Iranian features, including details of costume and pose could be cited in evidence.⁵⁸

The argument is, therefore, similar to that concerning the individual motives discussed earlier; and Levi's response was essentially the same, viz., even if hunting scenes were ultimately of Oriental origin, they had long before the late fifth century A.D. been established as an independent tradition in Greco-Roman art.⁵⁹ But his reply is much more effective here, in respect to the hunting scenes than to the striding lion, or the heraldic rams' heads; for while such motives as the latter are in any case relatively uncommon in the Hellenic world, the hunt and related genres were among the most popular of all subjects for representation.⁶⁰

Thus, examination of the problem from the iconographical point of view leads to at least partly conflicting results. But it is equally important to consider the formal context in which the specific motives and themes occur. Although we may grant an eastern source for some of them, it by no means follows that the general compositions into which they are arranged are also of Oriental origin,⁶¹ still less the underlying attitude toward the floor that made them useful and attractive to Antiochene artists at this particular period.

⁵⁵ Cf. Kitzinger, *DOPapers* (1946), p. 16f., with reference to the double animal protomes.

⁵⁶ Cf. Levi, p. 243.

⁵⁷ E.g., Strzygowski, *Werke der Volkskunst* (Vienna, 1914), I, p. 12ff.; *idem*, "Ravenna als Vorort aramäischer Kunst," *OC*, N.S., 5 (1915), p. 105; *idem*, *Origin of Christian Church Art* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 119f., 150.

⁵⁸ E.g., Morey, *Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 41f.; *idem*, *Mediaeval Art* (New York, 1942), p. 38; H. Seyrig, "Notes archéologiques," *Berytus*, II (1935), p. 46; J. Lassus, "Le thème de la chasse dans les mosaïques d'Antioche," *Congrès international pour l'étude du haut moyen âge*, 2nd (Pavia, 1950), *Arte del primo millennio*, p. 141f. Again, few if any of these features could be regarded as actually unprecedented in the Mediterranean region.

⁵⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁰ J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris, 1951). On Hadrianic hunting reliefs, see recently, I. Maull, "Hadrians Jagddenkmal," *JOAI*, 42 (1955), p. 53ff.

⁶¹ Kitzinger, for example, notes the very striking similarity of composition between the Striding Lion Mosaic from Antioch, and a tapestry in the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. (no. 71.33); here details may be definitely related to Sassanian art, but it is impossible on the basis of present knowledge to determine whether the composition as a whole is Mediterranean or Persian (cf. *DOPapers* [1946], pp. 43-46, figs. 44, 45).

Here we reach the most important result of Levi's studies of the fourth- and fifth-century mosaics, as confirmed by our own analysis of their evolution. The preference for unified designs, first announced in the Constantinian Villa, was realized by means of abstract or quasi-abstract decorative patterns as early as the third quarter of the fourth century, long before there is any evidence of Oriental influence. Thus, the really new attitude toward pavement decoration that appears in the decorative floors of this period, which the later hunting mosaics continue to reflect in figural terms, must be regarded as an independent development in the Hellenic world—even though by the second quarter of the fifth century certain Orientalizing motives and designs were found to answer very well to the requirements of this attitude.⁶²

The improbability of an Oriental derivation for this basic conception of floor decoration becomes particularly clear when we seek to discover its possible eastern sources. We encounter at once two facts of fundamental importance. There is no evidence whatever for a tradition of figured mosaic pavement decoration in the ancient Near East. To my knowledge, such mosaics have been discovered in only one instance before the Umayyad period, in the Sassanian palace at Bishapur—an important instance precisely because it is a royal palace. Furthermore, the mosaics there are clearly inspired from the Mediterranean, possibly from Antioch itself.⁶³

Hence, in order to find material for comparison we must turn to other media than mosaic decoration. It should be borne in mind, however, that in the present state of our knowledge the correlation of mosaic pavements with objects radically different in material and purpose is of dubious validity. Objection has justifiably been raised to such indiscriminate comparisons before,⁶⁴ and they seem especially premature in the present case, since different cultures are involved, and since the development within the various media in the Orient is often less clear than in the West. We cannot omit brief discussion of what seem to be the more significant cases, in view of the fact that some of them have entered into previous discussions of the problem. But we proceed with the reservation that, for the time being at least, their relevance is open to question.

Oddly enough, little attention has been paid in this context to the one class of eastern monuments that would appear to present a minimum of methodological difficulties, namely carpets, the Oriental form of floor decoration *par excellence*.⁶⁵ The carpet cannot be taken as the exact equivalent of the western mosaic pavement, for in addition to the basic differences of material and

⁶² Compare the conclusion reached by G. Rodenwaldt, in a very different context: "Die Befreiung von der griechischen Tradition bedeutete jedoch zugleich eine Annäherung an den Orient, in dem sich eine ähnliche Entwicklung vollzogen hatte, und damit eine Bereitschaft zur Aufnahme von Anregungen und Motiven des Orients." "Römische Reliefs. Vorstufen zur Spätantike," *JdI*, 11 (1940), p. 42.

⁶³ On the mosaics at Bishapur, cf. *supra*, at the end of note 47. Much the same may be said of the apsidal pavement in the Umayyad palace at Khirbat al Mafjar, cited *infra*, note 76.

⁶⁴ K. Parlasca, review of Levi, in *Gnomon*, 26 (1954), p. 114.

⁶⁵ For a recent survey, cf. K. Erdmann, *Der orientalische Knüppteppich* (Tübingen, 1955).

technique, it constitutes a surface independent of and usually smaller than the floor itself. Nevertheless, two pre-mediaeval textiles are of special interest since their designs, involving hunting and animal motives, can be reconstructed with reasonable accuracy.

One was found in a tomb at Pazyryk in the Altai mountains of southern Siberia and is ascribed to the fifth-fourth century B.C. (fig. 14).⁶⁶ It seems actually to have been used as a saddle-cloth in the burial. The second example was discovered on the floor of a tomb at Noin-Ula in northern Mongolia; it is datable to around the birth of Christ (fig. 15).⁶⁷ Both are roughly the same size, the one from Pazyryk being 2×1.83 m., that from Noin-Ula, 2.60×1.65 m. Most important is that, despite their wide chronological and geographical separation, the compositions are quite similar, suggesting that they represent a fairly coherent tradition. In each case we have a rectangular format with a field in the center containing abstract patterns, surrounded by a series of borders. Two of the five borders in the example from Pazyryk contain figured friezes, one with horsemen the other with stags. The middle of three borders in the Noin-Ula carpet has a frieze of animal combats.

Interestingly, and perhaps rather unexpectedly, these compositions to a certain extent recall the "concentric" designs that characterized some Hellenistic pavement decoration.⁶⁸ To be sure, the surface is nowhere penetrated by an illusionistic picture, and in this respect they distinctly parallel the pebble mosaics. But by the same token it is clear that they offer no precedent for the arrangements that occur in the later floors at Antioch. The decorative fields occupy only the relatively small central panels, and the figural motives are confined to the outer borders. Thus, the essential feature of both the "carpet" style and the hunting and animal pavements at Antioch is missing, namely, the treatment of the entire floor as one unit, without internal subdivisions.

Admittedly it is impossible to base far-reaching conclusions on such scant material, and undoubtedly other types of organization involving figures existed. But the evidence hardly supports a specific assumption that the kind of organization with which we are concerned was peculiarly Oriental, and provided the basis for the later mosaics of Antioch. Moreover, such an assumption would make it difficult to explain why the eastern artists, when they themselves were called upon to design mosaic pavements, looked to the West for inspiration, as they did at Bishapur.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ R. D. Barnett and W. Watson, "The World's oldest Persian Carpet," *ILN* (July 11, 1953), p. 69 ff., and *ibid.* (January 1, 1955), p. 26 ff.

⁶⁷ W. Perceval Yetts, "Discoveries of the Kozlov Expedition," *BM*, 43 (1926), p. 168 ff.; C. Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia, 1924-1925* (Memoirs of the Academy of History of Material Culture, III) (Leningrad, 1932), pls. 8-11, p. 33 f.; W. Meister, "Zur Geschichte des Filzteppichs im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.," *OZ*, N.S., 12 (1936), p. 56 ff.; P. Ackerman in *A Survey of Persian Art*, I (Oxford, 1938), p. 690.

⁶⁸ Cf. *supra*, note 5.

⁶⁹ We may note here that the purely abstract composition of another relatively early rug from Egypt, seems closely dependent upon western mosaic pavement designs; M. S. Dimand, "An Early Cut-pile Rug from Egypt," *MMS*, 4 (1933), p. 151 ff. (ca. A.D. 400), R. M. Riefstahl, "Ein Knüpfteppich spätantiker Tradition aus Ägypten im Metropolitan Museum zu New York," *RM*, 48 (1933), p. 127 ff. (sixth century). The earlier dating seems definitely preferable (cf. *supra*, note 38, also Parlasca, p. 121).

Among the monuments in other media that have been cited in evidence are a group of sarcophagi produced in Asia Minor during the late second and early third centuries A.D.⁷⁰ In particular, the mounted horsemen of the Worcester pavement (fig. 2) have been related to one sarcophagus of this group, from Sidamara, ascribed to the second quarter of the third century, with hunting scenes on the back and right side (fig. 16).⁷¹ And it can hardly be denied that, allowance being made for the chronological difference, the works have a great deal in common, especially their nobly proportioned and well-coordinated figures. But, in fact, the comparison points in a direction opposite to that for which it was intended. When we consider how "unclassical" Roman art generally had become by the time the Worcester Hunt was executed, we realize that the very similarity to the Sidamara sarcophagus bears witness not to an Oriental influence, but to the extraordinary tenacity of classical figure style at Antioch, even after the treatment of space had ceased to be classical. We shall have occasion to emphasize this point again in other contexts. The Asia Minor sarcophagi, indeed, are so strongly Hellenistic in their own right that they hardly lend themselves to an argument favoring Oriental influence in the West.

As a final example, it will be useful to consider one of the most crucial works in the whole problem of East-West artistic relations during the late antique period, the monumental reliefs that flank the entrance to the Sassanian royal grotto at Taq-i-Bustan (fig. 17).⁷² Both reliefs depict royal hunts, with the scenes arranged about a central figural composition larger in scale than the other elements of the design. Hence there is a generic compositional resemblance to the Antioch hunts, along with a lack of spatial recession, "realistic" treatment, and several details of pose.

Important difficulties stand in the way of any deductions as to historical connections based on these observations. To begin with, the date of the Sassanian reliefs has not been definitely established. In conformity with a tradition that can be traced only to the ninth century, they are usually associated with Khusraw II (A.D. 560-628) and dated in the latter part of his reign: recently, however, they have been ascribed to the ruler Parviz (A.D. 457/9-484), which would make them virtually contemporary with, but still no earlier than, the late hunting floors at Antioch.⁷³ Thus, their chronological relevance is, at best, doubtful.

It is also impossible to be quite sure about the exclusively Oriental character of the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs. For lack of evidence we cannot trace a continuous

⁷⁰ G. Rodenwaldt, "Sarcophagi from Xanthos," *JHS*, 53 (1933), p. 195ff.; *idem*, "Der Belgrader Kameo," *JdI*, 37 (1922), p. 35ff.; *idem*, "Ein lykisches Motiv," *ibid.*, 55 (1940), p. 53ff.; M. I. Ros-tovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *YCS*, 5 (1935), p. 157f.

⁷¹ Morey, *Mosaics of Antioch*, p. 40f; cf. *idem*, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina, Sardis*, V, pt. I (Princeton, 1924), p. 40ff.

⁷² E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), p. 57ff., pl. XLVff.; F. Sarre in *Survey of Persian Art*, I, p. 598ff.

⁷³ Erdmann, "Das Datum des Tāk-I Bustān," *AI*, 4 (1937), p. 79ff.; *resp.* M. Herzfeld, *AMIran*, 1 (1938), p. 91ff.; cf. *Survey of Persian Art*, I, 819, note 2. No general agreement seems to have been reached. The earlier dating would also apply to the stucco reliefs in the Pennsylvania Museum (Erdmann, *AI* [1937], fig. 14) and the silver dishes in the Bibl. Nationale, Paris, and in the Metropolitan Museum (cf. *idem*, "Die Sasanidische Jagdschalen," *JPKS*, 57 [1936], p. 210ff.).

evolution from the ancient Oriental to the Sassanian examples.⁷⁴ With the discovery of the frescoes at Dura Europos, not later than the mid-third century, depicting battle and hunting scenes, there can no longer be any doubt that the style and iconographical tradition continued to exist during the intervening period.⁷⁵ But the Dura frescoes differ in many respects from the later reliefs, and the possibility remains that at least some of the similarities between Hellenic and Sassanian monuments were the product of an influence from West to East rather than *vice versa*.⁷⁶ The possibility is given some weight by the fact that several elements in the Sassanian reliefs are indubitably derived from Roman art; as, for example, the winged victories in the spandrels of the arched opening to the grotto at Taq-i-Bustan, which certainly depend upon Roman triumphal arches.⁷⁷

But the most important point is that in the last analysis the differences between the Sassanian sculptures and the Antioch pavements run far deeper than their similarities. The reliefs depict royal hunts, whereas the Antioch pavements have a sort of "mytho-metaphorical" content.⁷⁸ This may seem merely an incidental difference of iconography, especially since imperial hunts played an important role in Hellenistic tradition. But, as a result, the Sassanian examples have a narrative coherence and comprehensiveness diametrically opposed to the isolated motives and abstract ideological refinements in the Antioch pavements.⁷⁹ This conceptual contrast has its counterpart on the formal level. In the reliefs, the royal chase is represented in all its tumultuous complexity—whole herds of animals, numerous members of the entourage, musicians, etc.; the entire event is included in one multifarious composition, in which the king himself appears twice. The vast quantities of nearly identical

⁷⁴ Similarities to and differences from Assyrian reliefs are pointed out by Sarre, in *Survey of Persian Art*, I, p. 599f.

⁷⁵ Cf. A. Little in *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Fourth Season* (New Haven, 1933), p. 182ff., pl. xviii f.; C. Hopkins in *ibid.*, *Sixth Season* (New Haven, 1936), p. 146ff., pl. xlii; F. Cumont and I. Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, *Seventh and Eighth Seasons* (New Haven, 1939), p. 112ff., pl. xiv f.).

⁷⁶ Cf. Levi, p. 479, and note 337, citing B. Clochet, *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibl. Nationale* (Paris, 1926), p. 41ff. G. Rodenwaldt, "Eine spätantike Kunstströmung in Rom," *RM*, 35-37 (1921-22), p. 106, note 5, recognizes a resemblance between the fourth-century Roman hunting sarcophagi (see *infra*, p. 254f.) and the work at Taq-i-Bustan, denying any direct connection but reserving the possibility of relationships between third-century forerunners of the sarcophagi and the Sassanian reliefs. Interestingly enough, the origin of the Sassanian silver dishes with representations of the king hunting, the earliest of which date from the third century, is also obscure (cf. Erdmann, *JPKS* [1936], p. 230, note 2). We have already noted the Mediterranean derivation of the pavements at Bishapur.

In the Umayyad period, see the hunting fresco from Qasr el-Heir (D. Schlumberger, "Deux fresques Omeyyades," *Syria*, 25 [1946-48], p. 86ff.). In the latter case, it should be noted that Schlumberger derives a second fresco in the building from Antioch (*ibid.*, p. 96ff.) and that recently H. A. R. Gibb has reconfirmed the tradition of Byzantine assistance in the decoration of the mosques of Medina and Damascus, emphasizing the generally "Western" outlook of the early Umayyad Califs ("Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," *DO Papers*, 12 [1958], p. 219ff.). A Hellenistic inspiration is also stressed for the apsidal pavement from the Umayyad building at Khirbat al Mafjar (R. W. Hamilton, "A Mosaic Carpet of Umayyad Date at Khirbat al Mafjar," *QDAP*, 14 [1950], p. 120, pl. XLVI; see now *idem*, *Khirbat al Mafjar* [Oxford, 1959], p. 327ff.).

⁷⁷ K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Berlin, 1943), p. 65; see further, Sarre in *Survey of Persian Art*, I, p. 599.

⁷⁸ See *infra*, note 441.

⁷⁹ See the analysis of the reliefs in Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans*, p. 64ff.

details are repeated in regular horizontal rows, producing a series of dynamic bands of tension across the surface. The spacing between the figures in each row is unchanging, but varies from one row to the next, as does the space between the rows themselves. As a result, patches tightly packed with figures are built up, which then dilate into areas of relative emptiness. These patches of compressed energy are placed here and there in the composition, with an eccentric regard for symmetry and balance.

The mosaicist, on the other hand, selects a few typical actions, not of a particular hunt, but of hunting in general (cf. fig. 2). These he distributes in an even but not monotonous rhythm. Similar but not identical groups face each other heraldically, and the resulting configurations are in turn balanced on the opposite side of the composition. There is no crowding, no tension. The whole is informed by a supremely rational sense of organization.

Admittedly we have simply distinguished between an Oriental and a Hellenic point of view;⁸⁰ but the comparison serves to emphasize that in the Antioch pavements and the Sassanian reliefs we are dealing with two entirely different traditions, neither of which can be satisfactorily explained in terms of the other. So that, even if we grant a continuous and independent evolution in the Orient, as well as some points of contact between the Iranian wall reliefs and the late Antioch hunting mosaics, we should still be faced with the problem of tracing the origin of the basic compositional principles at work in the pavements. Insofar as these principles are "Greek," they had remained in operation through the Hellenistic period—at Antioch, in fact, through the third century at least. But in the fifth century, as we have seen, they were applied with a concept of space that is profoundly un-Hellenistic. It is precisely with the latter constituent that we are concerned. And since the Oriental hunts do not suffice, we must find some other body of material that might offer a better explanation of the facts. In the light of our analysis so far, we can predict certain characteristics that this body of material will have. It will, in the first place, include examples close enough formally, iconographically, chronologically, and geographically to the late Antioch pavements to make the assumption of an influence reasonable. It will give evidence of a long and continuous tradition, of which the Antioch hunting pavements, with their own internal development, will appear as a logical continuation—allowance being made for local Antiochene predilections. And the tradition will continue through the first half of the fifth century since, as we have seen, the late hunting pavements of Antioch seem to be the result of an intrusion, not of an academic revival.

⁸⁰ Cf. Levi's analysis of the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs (*ASAtene* [1946-48], p. 288f.) in which he aptly stresses their linear fluidity, as opposed to the angular "staccato" rhythms of western examples like the Arch of Constantine; the latter term will also prove significant in our subsequent discussion.

PART I

THE ROMAN MOSAIC PAVEMENTS OF NORTH AFRICA

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

We have pointed out that, as far as figural scenes are concerned, the new compositional principles at Antioch made their appearance within a relatively narrow range of subject matter. All the relevant pavements have closely related motives involving animals and the hunt, and they are the only large-scale figural compositions among the later mosaics at Antioch. We have also seen that, with the limited exception of the Constantinian Villa, this kind of subject matter was no less unprecedented at Antioch than were the compositional principles in question; heretofore figural representations had been almost exclusively in the category of mythology and allegory. Thus, the stylistic revolution was accompanied by an iconographical one.

This is an extremely useful observation because it provides a clear iconographical basis from which to approach our formal problem. For, if we look to the entire classical world there is one region, and only one, where subjects of this kind played a really important role in pavement decoration. This region is North Africa, where literally dozens of examples are known. Whereas in other parts of the Empire such representations occur more or less sporadically, in North Africa they constitute a major and characteristic part of the mosaicists' repertory. This in itself would justify examination of the North African material with a view to its possible relevance for Antioch. And if North Africa might have provided the background in the matter of iconography, might it not also in the matter of style?⁸¹

But any attempt to deal with the pavements of North Africa faces one major difficulty, the absence of a reliable chronology. Fixed dates are virtually nonexistent, and no one has yet undertaken the arduous task of studying the hundreds of preserved monuments in the minute detail necessary to establish even a "theoretical" chronology.⁸² We emphasized in the Preface that the overall precedence of the North African material with respect to the late fifth-century hunts at Antioch is unquestionable. Although artistic production did not stop entirely with the Vandal conquest of A.D. 429-30, the great body of pertinent examples were produced before the invasions, hence well in advance of the revolutionary changes at Antioch. Given this clear precedence, the lack of specific dates would be relatively unimportant if the material were from a center or region of recognized significance, such as Rome or the Orient. As it is, for reasons also mentioned in the Preface, the mere fact of an over-all preced-

⁸¹ The one scholar to grasp the significance of the North African mosaics in a related context was Brett, *Great Palace*, p. 93 ff., who discusses them briefly as precedents for the Great Palace pavement (see *infra*, p. 266 ff.). For a summary of the views presented here, cf. I. Lavin, review (with C. Mango) of Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, in *ArtB*, 42 (1960), p. 70 ff.

A short survey of the general development of pavement decoration in North Africa will be found in G.-Ch. Picard, "La mosaïque romaine en Afrique du Nord," *GBA*, 52 (1958), p. 193 ff.

⁸² The *Inventaire des mosaïques* for North Africa, now far from complete, contains some 1500 entries.

ence is not sufficient. We must be able to show that the stylistic and iconographical features in question were in fact characteristic of North Africa, rather than being merely haphazard, if inordinately numerous, reflections of some source common to both North Africa and Antioch.

It being impossible for the present to meet this requirement by tracing a systematic evolution in North Africa, we can seek to establish the self-consistency, the coherence of the provincial tradition by other means. Thus, we have seen that in Antioch the new formal approach had no context, as it were; it appeared in diametrical opposition to the city's earlier classical orientation. In North Africa, on the contrary, there is no such gulf between classical and unclassical traditions. Indeed, it is questionable whether classical principles ever really took root in North Africa; even in cases where real *emblemata* occur, for example, we shall see that they were used in entirely unclassical ways. And, whereas in Antioch a very limited number of solutions to the problem of a unified floor space appear, full-blown and homogeneous, in North Africa we find a variety of different arrangements, some of them clearly experimental hybrids, tending to achieve the same results. This is true also from the iconographical point of view. In North Africa the hunting pavements do not appear in isolation, as at Antioch, but form part of a much larger category of genre scenes representing all aspects of contemporary life and landscape. Thus, again, what in Antioch seemed alien and isolated, can in North Africa be placed within a comprehensive setting.

These, in general, are the considerations that determined the organization of Part I. Forgoing a detailed discussion of chronology, we shall begin by analyzing certain categories or compositional types established on formal criteria. Since our primary concern is with figural compositions, these will be dealt with separately; but it is necessary, in fact it is a major "point" of the argument, to realize that the underlying attitude is essentially the same as for "decorative" designs. Having thus established the basic principles involved, we shall turn to a discussion of the ways in which these principles functioned in the pavements that have most direct bearing upon Antioch, those with genre scenes. It should be borne in mind that, inasmuch as they often overlap, the division into compositional types is of necessity somewhat arbitrary. Furthermore, no attempt has been made to include all the possible categories, nor yet to give complete accounts of those that are included. But from this "morphological" treatment of a representative selection of the material, it should clearly emerge that the principles at work in the late mosaics of Antioch were not only anticipated in North Africa but were also "at home" there.

Obviously, we cannot hope, nor should we wish, to avoid all matters of chronology. The very notion of a "comprehensive setting" in this context, carries the implication of a coherent development, however difficult this may be to trace in detail. And there can be no doubt that some of our categories are "earlier" than others (though once introduced they were rarely dropped), and that an evolution took place within the categories. Moreover, even though the dates of individual monuments are far from certain, there is nevertheless

a wide area of tacit agreement among scholars as to what is "late" and what is "early"; the main danger is in being too specific. And because we do at least have a lower *terminus*, even fairly vague chronological designations can be meaningful. Thus, in discussing our categories a broad chronological framework will emerge, the validity of which arises in some measure from the very fact that it is broad. And this framework helps to fortify the argument that the late Antioch pavements are, in part, the outgrowth of a tradition rooted in North Africa.

"DECORATIVE" DESIGNS

The Grid and the Checkerboard

Among the earliest and most common methods of maintaining the decorative unity of the floor was that of imposing on it a geometric organization in which small panels are repeated to give a regular rhythm. Two related types involving square or rectangular panels are what we may call the "grid," in which similar panels are repeated within a decorative framework, and the "checkerboard," in which the panels contain different motives and are placed alternately. Both the grid and the checkerboard schemes are known from the non-figural pavements of Pompeii⁸³ and, often including figural compositions, they were widely used in the western provinces of the Empire, including North Africa, from the second century on.⁸⁴ At Antioch arrangements consisting of large, more or less equal panels occur at a relatively early period (cf. fig. 68); but we have seen that a design of the present kind, in which small figural compositions are subordinated to an all-over pattern, does not occur there until the fourth century.⁸⁵

Perhaps the sharpest insight into the North African "aesthetic" of pavement decoration is provided by a remarkable group of grid and checkerboard pavements from villas in the eastern province of Tripolitania.⁸⁶ The group is distinguished by its use of true *emblemata*, the separately executed, inserted mosaic pictures that were one of the most characteristic productions of the Hellenistic age.⁸⁷ During the imperial period the *emblema* fell into disuse and, although isolated examples occur at least as late as the third century, they ultimately disappeared entirely.⁸⁸ Even at Antioch we have only one

⁸³ E.g., House VI, xvi, 7 (M. E. Blake, "The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and Early Empire," *MAAR*, 8 [1930], pl. 36, fig. 2), House VI, 1, 10 (*ibid.*, pl. 19, fig. 4).

⁸⁴ In general, for the development of designs with figural elements in geometric frameworks, see now Parlasca, p. 113 ff.

⁸⁵ In the rectangular section of the triclinium of the Constantinian Villa (fig. 10, see *supra*, p. 191).

⁸⁶ The mosaics found in the Italian excavations in Tripolitania, referred to here in the original publications, have now been gathered together by S. Aurigemma, *L'Italia in Africa. Le scoperte archeologiche. Tripolitania. I, I monumenti d'arte decorativa*, pt. 1, *I mosaici* (Rome, 1960).

⁸⁷ On the Hellenistic *emblemata*, cf. Pernice, p. 149 ff.

⁸⁸ As pointed out by Hinks, p. xlvi, and Pernice, pp. 20, 164, the *emblemata* from the Villa Adriana may well belong to the building that preceded it. On the later examples in Rome, cf. M. E. Blake, "Mosaics of the Late Empire in Rome and Vicinity," *MAAR*, 17 (1940), p. 102 ff.; also Levi, p. 3, note 11; for North Africa, see *infra*, note 98.

instance of their use.⁸⁹ Thus, the mere presence of true *emblemata* in the Tripolitanian mosaics suggests a marked predilection for Hellenistic features, and this is confirmed by the often quite illusionistic style in which the scenes are rendered. For this very reason, however, the way in which these artists used *emblemata* reveals all the more clearly their fundamentally unclassical approach.

The chief monument of the group is a large villa found at Zliten, on the coast some fifty kilometers southeast of Leptis Magna, where *emblemata* are employed in three of the rooms.⁹⁰ In one case nine square *emblemata* (of which parts of four were preserved, the famous scenes of agricultural activities on a large estate) were set at regular intervals in three rows to form a grid (figs. 18, 19).⁹¹ In the other rooms checkerboard patterns were formed by alternating figural panels with panels containing geometric designs in *opus sectile* (figs. 20, 21).⁹² Thus, although the designs do not actually fill the entire floor, not once did the artist place an *emblema* as the single central focus, in the Hellenistic manner. His arrangements are such that no one panel dominates the others, and the space within the borders presents itself as a coherent unit articulated by a rhythmic pattern composed of equal elements.

Emblemata arranged in the grid system also occur in the two pavements that have been reproduced from a Villa excavated in 1923 at the town of Homs on the sea just northwest of Leptis Magna.⁹³ In one of these a series of geometric borders surrounds a rich framework of garlands laden with fruit and containing four small compartments.⁹⁴ Into these compartments were inserted the *emblemata*, with representations of fruit, birds, and animals of exactly the type used in room H at Zliten. In the second room of the villa at Homs (fig. 22), within a geometric outer fill, a foliate scroll forms the border for an analogous arrangement of four panels (three preserved) in two of which winged putti are shown hunting various animals, while in another Eros prepares to wound Mars and Venus.⁹⁵ Thus, we have basically the same kind of scheme as in the room with landscape *emblemata* at Zliten: equal panels distributed uniformly so that all parts of the composition have the same emphasis.⁹⁶

⁸⁹ In the House of Polyphemus and Galatea, ascribed to the period preceding the earthquake of A.D. 115 (Levi, p. 25 ff.).

It is particularly significant that but a single true *emblema* came to light at Antioch, whose mosaics illustrate the development of the Hellenistic picture concept after the technique itself had gone out of vogue. The majority of examples from the imperial period occur in the Latin West where, as will become evident, they must be regarded as more or less deliberate emulations of an alien tradition.

⁹⁰ S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten* (Rome-Milan, 1926); cf. plans, figs. 10, 11, rooms D, H, U.

⁹¹ Room U; cf. *ibid.*, fig. 45 ff.

⁹² *Ibid.*, fig. 62 ff. (room H); fig. 77 ff. (room D).

⁹³ R. Bartoccini, "Rinvenimenti vari di interesse archeologico in Tripolitania (1920-25)," *AfrIt*, 1 (1927), p. 226 ff. (plan on p. 226); P. Romanelli, "Di alcuni nuovi mosaici tripolitani," *RendPontAcc*, 3rd Ser., 6 (1927-29), p. 85 ff.

⁹⁴ Bartoccini, *op. cit.*, figs. pp. 228, 229; Romanelli, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, p. 87.

⁹⁵ Bartoccini, *op. cit.*, figs. pp. 230, 231; Romanelli, *op. cit.*, fig. 2, p. 89; the hunting scenes are in the upper two panels, the Mars and Venus is in the lower right panel (the lower left is obliterated).

⁹⁶ An analogous arrangement was reconstructed by Romanelli for a pavement in a building found outside the Porta Nuova of Tripoli, of which part of the borders and an *emblema* were recovered (*Notiziario archeologico*, 2 [1916], p. 332 ff., esp. p. 344 ff., ascribed to the third century at the latest,

The interest of these pavements lies in their completely unorthodox use of *emblemata* in such unified designs.⁹⁷ They were probably neither unique nor unprecedented in this respect.⁹⁸ But so far as I know, the consistent use of true *emblemata* in this fashion is not paralleled elsewhere. The Tripolitanian group is thus a striking illustration of the adaptation of a classical heritage to the formal requirements of a profoundly different attitude, and the fact that the innovation was especially popular in Tripolitania is in itself an indication that we are dealing with a distinctive "local" point of view in which these requirements were felt with particular insistence.

A similar observation can be made, though without the technical basis, in regard to a pavement in the so-called Villa del Nilo at Leptis Magna (fig. 23).⁹⁹ The excavated portion of the building's bathing establishment was a tepidarium, rectangular in shape with sunken pools at either end. The floor space between the pools contained four pictures, not true *emblemata*, two of allegorical subjects (the Flooding of the Nile and the Adornment of Pegasus), the other two marine scenes of playful amorini and actual fishing (fig. 24).¹⁰⁰ Both the subject matter and the style of these panels follow purely Hellenistic traditions.¹⁰¹ The manner in which they are arranged, however, does not. The panels, which are all the same size and shape, are placed in the angles of a cross formed by a geometric border. Hence, each section provides, as it were, exactly one quarter of the decorative value of the whole. The whole floor is regarded as a single unit to be subdivided by a system that treats the surface uniformly, with no one portion predominating. While this is not a grid or checkerboard design in the strict sense, the principle is similar; and in view

p. 358; cf. Levi, p. 390, note 187). The same kind of composition appears at Antioch, in the last quarter of the fifth century (mosaic in the land of Rassim Bey Aduli, Levi, p. 349, pl. LXXXIV a-b).

An interesting variation occurs in a building found at Gurgi, west of Tripoli. In the large central room, presumably the triclinium, three *emblemata* were inserted at equal distances in a separate geometric compartment that is shifted toward one end of the pavement. It recalls the classic plan of the House of Narcissus at Antioch, but with the significant difference that the emphasis there assigned to one panel is here distributed equally among three. (Cf. R. Bartocchini, "Scavi e rinvenimenti in Tripolitania negli anni 1926-1927," *AfrIt*, 2 [1929], p. 95ff., plan with mosaics fig. 28, p. 96; according to Bartocchini, pp. 97, 101, the geometric pattern that now occupies one of the panels is a replacement for a marine scene, fig. 32, p. 100, that was removed to another room.)

⁹⁷ P. Romanelli, *RendPontAcc* (1927-29), p. 86, points out the remarkable frequency of the technique of true *emblemata* in Tripolitania, in contrast to its relative rarity elsewhere.

⁹⁸ That is to say, pavements containing several real *emblemata* are known, for example, from the Villa Adriana (Nogara, p. 16f.), and in the uppermost level of a room at Oudna (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 388, 3, p. 132; see also *infra*, note 134) for which a *terminus post quem* in the reign of Gallienus (253-68) seems virtually certain (cf. P. Gauckler, "Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina," *MonPiot*, 3 [1896], p. 213f.). In these particular cases, however, the arrangements seem to have been rather different from the Tripolitanian examples. (Gauckler, *ibid.*, p. 213, note 1, cites other true *emblemata*, then known, from Africa.)

⁹⁹ The excavation of this building took place in two campaigns. The first, in 1916, uncovered a corridor that we shall mention below, note 266, and was reported by S. Aurigemma, "Mosaici di Leptis Magna tra l'Uádi Lébda e il circo," *AfrIt*, 2 (1929), p. 246ff. The building did not receive its name until 1930, when the thermal establishment with the pavement presently under discussion was discovered near the corridor; G. Guidi, "La Villa del Nilo," *AfrIt*, 5 (1933), p. 1ff., plan fig. 1, p. 2. To my knowledge the building was never completely uncovered.

¹⁰⁰ Allegory of the Nile, *ibid.*, fig. 3, p. 6; fig. 4, p. 7; Amorini in a port scene, fig. 6, p. 13, fig. 9, p. 17; Adornment of Pegasus, fig. 10, p. 18, fig. 13, p. 23; Fishing scene, fig. 17, p. 27, fig. 18, p. 29, fig. 19, p. 31.

¹⁰¹ For the relationships to Hellenistic models, see *ibid.*, *passim*.

of the Hellenism of the scenes themselves, the arrangement represents a departure from tradition analogous to that of the other pavements we have discussed.

In general, then, these Tripolitanian floors display a very suggestive combination of old and new elements: unified designs that may reflect fairly general developments in the Latin West, individual pictures whose style and technique are decidedly in the Hellenistic vein.¹⁰² That Tripolitania should have developed these particular characteristics is perhaps to be explained by the peculiar superimposition of Latin upon Greek culture in a region whose indigenous population was barbaric. At least, the Hellenistic aspect in the pavements has been pointed out before, and related to the strong admixture of Greek tradition.¹⁰³

But their historical importance depends largely on the period to which they are assigned. If they are "early," they may represent a crucial stage in the emergence of Roman imperial art against the Hellenistic background; if they are "late," they would nonetheless represent a singularly revealing use of surviving (or revived) Hellenistic elements. Unfortunately, none of the buildings can be dated by archaeological evidence. Certain technical features (use of true *emblemata* and *opus sectile*) and the generally illusionistic style may be taken to speak for an early date, especially for the mosaics at Zliten;¹⁰⁴ and many scholars have accepted the ascription of Zliten to the first century A.D., proposed by the excavator on somewhat tenuous historical grounds.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, dates in the third century have been argued on the basis of the organization of the floors, and on the style of the busts of the Seasons represented in the *emblemata* of room H, which is much harder and more abstract than the style of the other mosaics of the building.¹⁰⁶ The mosaics at Gurgi have been

¹⁰² A remarkable instance of the perserverance of Hellenistic "illusionism" in Tripolitania are the wall paintings and fragments of vault mosaics illustrating hunting scenes, Nilotic landscapes, and other subjects in a Bath at Leptis Magna (J. B. Ward Perkins and J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Hunting Baths at Leptis Magna," *Archaeologia*, 97 [1949], p. 165 ff., ascribing these decorations to the third century); here, moreover, the Hellenism in figure style and spatial treatment is combined with a distinctly unclassical tendency to retain the unity of large continuous surfaces.

¹⁰³ Romanelli, *RendPontAcc* (1927-29), p. 85 ff., esp. p. 95. Aurigemma also emphasizes the element of Greek culture in Roman Tripolitania (*Zliten*, p. 264).

¹⁰⁴ The technical criteria are by no means conclusive, however; we have already pointed out that quite late *emblemata* are known (*supra*, notes 88, 98), and there was, at least in Italy, a definite revival of *opus sectile* pavements in late antiquity (G. Becatti, "Case ostiensi del tardo impero," *BdA*, 33 [1948], p. 206 f; *idem*, *Ostia IV*, pp. 357, 359, etc.).

¹⁰⁵ Aurigemma postulated that the negroid figures being sacrificed to wild beasts in the frieze of amphitheater scenes in room D represent Garamants, an indigenous tribe taken prisoner by the Romans in an uprising of A.D. 70 (*Zliten*, p. 269 ff.). K. Lehmann (*AA*, 41 [1926], col. 199) seems to accept Aurigemma's date, as does Levi (p. 33, note 24) and most recently G.-Ch. Picard (*GBA* [1958], p. 196, also "Les mosaïques d'Acholla," in *Études d'archéologie classique*, II, *AnnEstMém*, no. 22 [1959], 2, p. 90). Picard subsequently admitted the possibility of a later date for the Seasons (review of Parlasca, in *RA*, 1960, 1, p. 231, note 2). Miss Blake observed that the designs at Zliten were characteristic of the second century in Italy, but offered the possibility that they had developed earlier in North Africa (*MAAR* [1930], pp. 13-14).

¹⁰⁶ See *supra*, note 92. A. Rumpf placed the Zliten mosaics in the third century (*Griechische und römische Kunst* [Leipzig, 1931], p. 106 [Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft, II, 3]; in Rumpf's volume of the *Handbuch der Archäologie*, IV, 1 [Munich, 1953], p. 191, they are included in the Severan period). Stern attributes the busts of the Seasons to the third century, but accepts a first-century date for the landscape *emblemata* ("Représentations gallo-romaines des mois," *Gallia*, IX [1951],

placed in the late second or early third century;¹⁰⁷ those at Homs in the late third.¹⁰⁸

Clearly, final resolution of the problem must await further evidence, but it is probably safe to say that the group as a whole runs through the third century at least, and indicates a remarkable stylistic homogeneity and continuity in this region.¹⁰⁹ The innovation having been made, no real development beyond it seems to have taken place. This fits well with the historical fact that a rapid decline took place in Tripolitania in the second half of the third century.¹¹⁰ And in the end it must be said that the real creative forces in North African pavement decoration lay to the west.

Medallions

A related type of design, retaining the unity of the floor surface by arranging similar geometric compartments in rows, involves the use of circular medallions in this fashion. In this case, too, the form was probably quite common in the western provinces of the Empire during the second century.¹¹¹ But in North Africa it underwent certain developments which, if not unique, are singularly indicative of a particular attitude toward the floor.

This is already apparent in an important monument, recently discovered at Acholla on the southeast coast of Tunisia, which provides an early datable example of the type. It is a villa whose owner is identified by an inscription, which also establishes with practical certainty a precise date in the reign of Commodus, viz., A.D. 184.¹¹² The triclinium of the villa contained a pavement

p. 23). Parlasca (*Gnomon* [1954], p. III, and *Röm. Mos. in Deutsch.*, p. 9, note 10) considers the Zliten mosaics no earlier than the late third century. The present writer is also inclined toward a later dating, but their exact chronology, even within the wide range of I-III centuries A.D., does not greatly affect the main problem with which we are concerned.

¹⁰⁷ Bartoccini, *AfrIt* (1929), p. 101; Guidi, "Orfeo, Liber Pater e Oceano in mosaici della Tripolitania," *ibid.*, 6 (1935), p. 143; Levi, p. 391, note 201, appears to agree.

¹⁰⁸ Levi, p. 499, note 55.

¹⁰⁹ To a degree at least, the distinction drawn here between Tripolitania and the western provinces of North Africa is arbitrary. The very existence of Tripolitania as a province *de jure* cannot be proved before the period of Maxentius (cf. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* [Paris, 1955], p. 70, note 2). Moreover, it is possible that the stylistic differences were less clear than they seem today, and if one assumes that the Tripolitanian developments were essentially a phenomenon of the early Empire, then in certain respects, as we shall see, Proconsularis, Numidia, and Mauretania simply carry forward basic contributions that had been made there.

Nevertheless, Romanelli also remarked (without further comment, however) that certain kinds of compositions numerous in French North Africa do not seem to occur in Tripolitania, and that this is hardly a matter of chance (*RendPontAcc* [1927-29], p. 95). And Ward Perkins has demonstrated the predominantly conservative Hellenistic idiom in which the Severan architecture and sculpture of Leptis Magna is conceived; here, moreover, actual execution by Greek craftsmen can be proved ("The Art of the Severan Age in the Light of Tripolitanian Discoveries," *ProcBritAc*, 37 [1951], p. 269 ff).

¹¹⁰ A. Merighi, *La Tripolitania antica*, I (Verbania, 1940), p. 245 ff. It may be significant in this connection that, to judge from the published evidence, Tripolitania produced relatively few pavements compared to Tunisia and Algeria; a similar paucity has been observed for the Christian period as well (J. B. Ward Perkins and R. G. Goodchild, "The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania," *Archaeologia*, 95 [1953], p. 72).

¹¹¹ E.g., at Fliessem (Parlasca, pl. 22, 1, first half of the second century); at Rome (M. E. Blake, "Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy," *MAAR*, 13 [1936], pl. 17, 1, second century).

¹¹² G.-Ch. Picard, "Deux sénateurs romains inconnus," *Karthago*, 4 (1953), p. 121 ff.

of the usual T shape, filled with a design of uniformly distributed medallions enclosing figural representations (fig. 25).¹¹³ A notable fact here is that the medallions do not define separate illusionistic spaces; rather, the same background extends throughout so that a sense of the floor as a continuous surface is maintained. An effect of organic unity is achieved in the design by an intricate rope pattern that "ties" all the medallions together. Even more significant, however, is that the artist has carried out the pattern to fill the entire surface enclosed by the T.¹¹⁴ Thus, not only has he adopted a unified type, but he has exploited its potential in a very distinctive way—a phenomenon that we shall meet with again in a variety of contexts. In the House of the Muses at Althiburus, probably of the early third century, it is developed still further (fig. 26), for here the design, in a more elaborate form, is extended in one continuous pattern around the four sides of the peristyle.¹¹⁵

The contrasts between these pavements and those of Antioch could hardly be more complete. In none of the mosaics excavated at Antioch are figured medallions used over a broad expanse.¹¹⁶ The Acholla pavement confirms other evidence, to be considered presently, that in North Africa the late second century initiated a broad expansion of the range of types capable of imparting decorative unity to a large area.

A characteristically North African development of the medallion system was the use of floral wreaths as the framing device for the compartments.¹¹⁷ Examples are known elsewhere, as in Spain and Gaul,¹¹⁸ but it was especially popular in North Africa, where it formed part of a general tendency to replace the severity and abstraction of earlier designs by rich and colorful organic motifs. The process probably began in the second century,¹¹⁹ but the third

¹¹³ Only a portion of the pavement is shown in the illustration; see the description in *ibid.*, p. 123.

¹¹⁴ Compare also a pavement at Lemta, not far north of Acholla, *Inv. Tun.*, no. 116 a, Suppl. p. 21, ill. A design of simple circles containing figural elements is used in a T-triclinium in the "Maison du Virgile" at Sousse (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 136, p. 54f., ill.; cf. P. Gauckler, "Les mosaïques de l'Arsenal à Sousse," *RA*, 3rd Ser., 31 [1897], p. 8ff., pl. IX bis) ascribed by Foucher (no. 57.092, p. 43f.) to the early third century; also G.-Ch. Picard, "La datation des mosaïques de la Maison du Virgile à Sousse," *Atti del settimo Congresso internazionale di archeologia classica*, III (Rome, 1961), p. 243 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 574, p. 189, cf. A. Merlin, *Forum et maisons d'Althiburos* (Notes et documents publiés par la Direction des Antiquités et Arts, VI) (Paris, 1913), plan pl. v, pl. vi; ascribed by Merlin (p. 45) to the middle or the end of the second century, though the richness of the designs, as compared to the late second-century pavement at Acholla (*supra*, note 112) indicates a later date; cf. *infra*, note 146.

¹¹⁶ The small interlocking circles of a pavement like that in the House of the Phoenix (Levi, pls. LXXXIII b, CXXXV) belongs in the category of geometric carpets. Interestingly enough even the closest parallel, a mosaic without figural elements found in Sector D H 27-H (*ibid.*, p. 317, pl. CXXX a), is unusual at Antioch and occurs very late (second half of the fifth century).

¹¹⁷ On the North African predilection for laurel wreaths, cf. Hinks, p. lx, and the examples quoted there.

¹¹⁸ E.g., mosaics from a villa at Ocata (J. Puig i Cadafalch, *L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya*, 2nd ed. [Barcelona, 1934], fig. 477, p. 361; cf. E. Ripoll Perelló, "El Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona y sus nuevas salas," *Ampurias*, 17-18 [1955-56], pl. III, p. 304) and at Granéjols (*Inv. Gaule*, no. 383, p. 86, ill.) the latter being, in this writer's view, among several instances of influence from Spain or North Africa in the south of France (cf. *ArtB* [1963], p. 26).

¹¹⁹ Cf. the portico of the bath at Acholla, ascribed to the time of Trajan (G.-Ch. Picard, *AnnEst-Mém*, no. 22 [1959], 2, p. 78f., no. 2, and the discussion p. 87f.); also the great oecus pavement of the House of Sorothus at Sousse (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 125, p. 50, ill.), ascribed to the end of the second century by Foucher (no. 57. 119, p. 56ff., pl. XXVIII).

century must have been the decisive period, for by its end the development had reached a climax of chromatic luxuriance. This is evident from a villa recently excavated at Thuburbo Majus in central Tunisia,¹²⁰ in which two rooms have medallions of various shapes formed by laurel garlands and wreaths, containing animal and still-life representations.¹²¹ The medallions of the tepidarium (fig. 27) have a particularly striking array of animal protomes, extracted it would seem from a scroll design.¹²² Indeed, we shall find the floors of this building a virtual compendium of different, unified, decorative designs, that betray a marked preference for naturalistic forms. Although other regions of the Empire show an analogous tendency to elaboration during the third century, the development toward organic density we find here is typical of North Africa, sharply distinguishing it from the northern provinces, for example, where geometric forms continue to predominate.

In this respect the mosaics at Thuburbo are closely related to those in the villa at Piazza Armerina,¹²³ a fact that lends support to the excavator's dating of the former to the period of the Tetrarchy.¹²⁴ The medallion design occurs in a similar form at Piazza Armerina, i.e., wreaths containing animal protomes (figs. 28, 29),¹²⁵ and its extendibility reaches a kind of optimum; it is used to cover three sides of the villa's huge main peristyle (cf. fig. 107, no. 15) in a manner recalling the peristyle at Althiburus, though on a much grander scale.

All-over Designs

We spoke in the Introduction of certain kinds of subjects that were inherently non-spatial, such as the *asarotos oikos*, and various fish and marine scenes. In these cases a consistent spatial recession was never involved and objects could be distributed more or less *ad usum* through the given area to produce a "peppered" effect that retains the integrity of the surface. Such types, it was pointed out, were introduced in the Hellenistic period and, far from contradicting the illusionistic spirit of the age, constitute one of its most characteristic products. This is indicated not only by their *trompe l'oeil* effect but by the way in which they were used.

In the earliest preserved reflections of Sosos' composition,¹²⁶ such as the pavement signed by Herakleitos in the Lateran Museum for which brick stamps indicate a date in the period of Hadrian,¹²⁷ the *asarotos* is arranged in a band surrounding three sides of a square central compartment. In the example found at Aquileia, which may be still earlier, the *asarotos* extends around all

¹²⁰ L. Poinssot and P. Quoniam, "Mosaïques des Bains des Protomés à Thuburbo-Majus," *Karthago*, 4 (1953), p. 153 ff.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 3 (an *oecus*), figs. 4, 5 (the tepidarium).

¹²² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 160.

¹²³ On Piazza Armerina and the mounting evidence for a date in the early fourth century, see *infra*, p. 244 ff.

¹²⁴ Poinssot and Quoniam, *Karthago* (1953), p. 167.

¹²⁵ Gentili, *La villa*, p. 29, figs. 11, 12, and p. 13, citing other comparisons in North Africa.

¹²⁶ On the iconography of the *asarotos*, cf. M. Renard, "Plin l'Ancien et le motif de l'*asarôtos oikos*," in *Hommages à Max Niedermann* (Collection Latomus, 23) (Brussels, 1956), p. 307 ff.

¹²⁷ Cf. Nogara, p. 4, note 8, pl. vi.

four sides (fig. 30).¹²⁸ Thus, the unifying potential that arises from its inherent lack of orientation and uniform distribution is at best partially realized; for it functions primarily as a frame and is hence subordinated to a classic centralized composition in the floor as a whole.

The same is true of the fairly numerous examples of this type at Antioch. Here they are used not only as surrounding friezes, but also in panels placed more or less in the center of the room.¹²⁹ While providing a variety of possible viewpoints, they are still conceived as a picture "to be looked at," so to speak, rather than as a floor to be walked on.

In North Africa, and particularly in North Africa it would seem, this kind of composition underwent an extraordinary development. This may be seen in a pavement found in a luxurious villa at Carthage, the so-called "Maison de la Volière," with a design of freely distributed animals, plants, and birds (fig. 31).¹³⁰ The pavement has achieved a certain notoriety from having often been cited as precedent for sections of the vault mosaic at Santa Costanza in Rome, where virtually the identical scheme appears.¹³¹ But the real place of the Carthage floor in the North African development has been obscured by its having been reproduced from the rectangular panels that were cut out of the original pavement. This was in the villa's large, nearly square courtyard (9.50 × 10.80 m.), the center of which was occupied by an octagonal garden; the mosaic covered the remaining area between the octagon and the surrounding portico (figs. 32, 33).¹³²

Two points are significant here. To begin with, there can be no question of an illusionistic intent; the pavement has been thought to imitate an aviary, but the inclusion of quadrupeds in itself negates this interpretation.¹³³ Secondly, the composition is expanded to cover a surface of appreciable size and extremely unwieldy shape. For both these reasons, it is clear that the artist is now interested primarily in the decorative, rather than the illusionistic, potentialities of the device, since they permit him to fill such an area uniformly and without arbitrary interruptions.

Pavements of this modified *asarotos* type enjoyed a real vogue in North Africa, where they were used in a number of different ways on essentially the

¹²⁸ Cf. G. Brusin, "L'asaroton del Museo di Aquileia," in *Anthemion* (Scritti di Archeologia e di Antichità classiche in Onore di Carlo Anti) (Florence, 1955), p. 93ff., pl. vi; p. 104 on the dating, which has varied from the Republican period to the early second century.

¹²⁹ See Levi, p. 606. Mosaic of the Birds and the Kantharos (*ibid.*, pls. xv a, CLXXVIII c); House in DH 24-S (pl. CLXXVIII d); House of the Buffet Supper (pl. xxiii a, b); House of the Red Pavement (fig. 28, p. 69, pl. CLXXVIII a); House of Menander (fig. 27, p. 68, pl. CLXXVIII b); House of the Sun-Dial (pl. CLXXX b). Unfortunately, the context of the pavements found in Feleet Village (Levi, fig. 141, p. 348, pl. CLXXX c, d) is not clear; it would be interesting if they were the first examples (late fifth century) in which such designs were used to fill the whole floor of a room.

The type is used for surrounding friezes at Antioch in the House of Mysteries of Isis (Levi, pl. xxxiii b) and in the House of the Buffet Supper (pl. XLVIII d).

¹³⁰ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 640, p. 214f., ill. On the date, see *infra*, note 136.

¹³¹ E.g., Hinks, p. 1; most recently H. Stern, "Les mosaïques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," *DOPapers*, 12 (1958), p. 202f., who dates the Carthage floor in the third century.

¹³² Photographs of the court and its mosaics *in situ* in *L'Illustration* (Apr. 14, 1903), no. 3136, p. 224f.

¹³³ As observed by Stern, *DOPapers* (1958), p. 203.

same basis as in the Carthage courtyard,¹³⁴ and where variants were produced in which the effect of surface uniformity is almost "absolute."¹³⁵ Unfortunately, it is impossible to date their emergence precisely, though the vault of Santa Costanza provides us with a *terminus ante quem* of the early fourth century. The Carthage mosaic seems clearly of the early third century,¹³⁶ and we may surmise the type to have been introduced in the latter part of the second.

A closely related formula is represented by the *xenia*, or still-life subjects, in which a variety of objects, usually edibles, are grouped together with little or no indication of depth. The Hellenistic tradition is here represented by true *emblemata*, such as the probably Hadrianic examples from Tor Marancia in the Vatican,¹³⁷ and those in the Tripolitanian villas discussed above (cf. p. 207 ff.). By contrast, we find the type expanded to fill a semicircular apse in the "Maison du Virgile" at Sousse, on the southeast Tunisian coast (fig. 34).¹³⁸

An analogous but even more remarkable transformation took place in North Africa in the use of fish and marine scenes. What also began in the Hellenistic period as an illusionistic *jeu d'esprit*, as the numerous early examples from Pompeii and elsewhere demonstrate,¹³⁹ is expanded into a device for filling, with complete freedom, vast surfaces of any shape. In this case the Hellenistic period had itself in a limited sense anticipated the development, for the fish mosaic in the grotto of the sanctuary at Palestrina coincides with the walls of the room;¹⁴⁰ and at Antioch some of the spaceless marine scenes are among the larger, framed compositions (fig. 35).¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ Characteristically, five of the true *emblemata* discovered in a floor at Oudna (see *supra*, note 98) represented the *asarotos*; used in this way, the motive itself becomes part of a decorative pattern, no less completely opposed to the "centerpiece" concept found at Antioch than is the expanded version of the "Maison de la Volière" courtyard. One of the Oudna panels is reproduced by Brusin, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. 5; as we pointed out, there is evidence for dating this floor in the late third century.

The type is used to fill an apse, in a pavement from a villa found in the Roman cemetery of Henchir-Thina (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 29, p. 16f., addenda p. 351; R. Massigli, *Musée de Sfax* [Paris, 1912], p. 7, pl. VII, where it is dated in the second century). It would be important if the period during which the cemetery was in use could be determined.

An analogous design was used to decorate the large frigidarium (12 × 9.30 m.) of a bath recently excavated at Bir-el-Caïd, of which five fragments were preserved (Foucher, no. 57.234, p. 106f., who places it at the end of the second century; Stern, *DO Papers* [1957], p. 202f., attributes it to the third century, cf. G.-Ch. Picard, "Mosaïques africaines du III^e s. ap. J.-C.," *RA*, 1960, 2, p. 23).

¹³⁵ For example, an important pavement from El-Djem in which flowers are spread evenly and freely throughout the area surrounding a figural medallion (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 71, p. 29, ill.; cf. Levi, p. 448, who cites this mosaic as precedence for the later floret designs at Antioch). A similar mosaic from Carthage is in the British Museum (Hinks, no. 12, p. 72, fig. 80).

¹³⁶ The triclinium of the "Maison de la Volière" (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 644, p. 216f., ill.) was decorated with a rich floral carpet of the type of which we have a dated example, early third century, in the House of Sertius at Timgad (see *infra*, p. 217); I see no reason to doubt the contemporaneity of the pavements in the Carthage building. A third-century date is also assigned by Stern, *loc. cit.*

¹³⁷ Nogara, p. 14, pl. IV; cf. Levi, p. 599; Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 183.

¹³⁸ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 140, p. 56, ill., Foucher, no. 57.097, p. 46; the same building, ascribed to the early third century, whose triclinium we cited in note 114.

¹³⁹ On the early fish mosaics, cf. Blake, *MAAR* (1930), p. 138ff.; Pernice, p. 149ff.

¹⁴⁰ G. Gullini, *I mosaici di Palestrina* (Suppl. to *Archeologia Classica*, I) (Rome, 1956), pls. II, VIII ff.; see *infra*, p. 223, for the dating.

¹⁴¹ E.g., House of the Boat of Psyches (pls. XXXIX b, XLI); House of the Calendar (Levi, fig. 12, p. 37, pl. VI); House of the Drinking Contest (pl. XXXI a, c); House of Menander (pls. XLIV a, XLVII c); House of Oceanus and Thetis (pl. LB, c); Pool of Thetis (pl. LXII).

But they take on a completely different aspect in the Latin West, particularly in North Africa, which offers by far the greatest number and richest variety and must have been largely responsible for the main development. We find marine motives used in apses,¹⁴² in T-shaped designs (cf. figs. 26a, 71),¹⁴³ in a huge polygonal basin (fig. 36),¹⁴⁴ in the great rotunda of a frigidarium (figs. 37, 38),¹⁴⁵ even in a large cruciform pavement (fig. 39).¹⁴⁶ And the compositions illustrate not only the degree to which the North African designers appreciated the flexibility of such types, but also the variety of organizational devices they might introduce in order to solve visual problems that are sometimes very subtle. The designs seem, aptly, to "flow" across the surface, turning corners and filling angles without interruption in the triclinium at Althiburus, where the figural elements along the edges of the T tend to face inward (fig. 26a). The composition of the polygonal pavement was probably circular, with all the elements facing outward (fig. 36). The rotunda at Henchir-Thina had a similar design, except that it has been combined with the medallion system, so to speak; the figures, etc., are contained within hexagonal spaces whose sides are defined by fish (figs. 37, 38). Still more intricate is the cruciform pavement at Althiburus (fig. 39). In each of the squares that constitute the arms (one lost) and center of the cross, the vessels are arranged roughly in circles, facing outward at the side of the arm, inward at the center and extremities. Of course it might be argued that this arrangement would have arisen naturally from the positions assumed by the workmen who executed the pavement; but it also ensures that the spectator, whether he walks around the circumference of the cross or stands at its center, will have a maximum number of figures to see right side up. Thus the artist was able to suit an extremely complex set of visual circumstances without once requiring the spectator to shift his frame of reference.

Analogous all-over marine designs appear on a grand scale at Piazza Armerina; we find them arranged, for example, around a semicircular portico (figs. 40, 41) or, recalling the North African example just mentioned, around the octagonal chamber of the bathing establishment (figs. 42, 43).¹⁴⁷ Hence, we

¹⁴² E.g., a basin in the House of the Trifolium at Dougga (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 559-60, 2, Suppl. p. 60, ill.).

¹⁴³ Our fig. 26a (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 575a, p. 189f.) is reproduced after P. Gauckler, "Un catalogue figuré de la batellerie gréco-romaine," *Mon Piot*, 12 (1905), fig. 1, p. 119.

¹⁴⁴ A pavement, of which seven portions are preserved, described by A. Merlin and L. Poinssot (*Guide du Musée Alaoui. I. Musée Antique*, 4th ed. [n.p., 1950], p. 70) as having probably decorated a basin 15 meters in diameter.

¹⁴⁵ In the bath at Henchir-Thina (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 18, C, 4, p. 11f., ill.; drawing of the whole in R. Massigli, *Musée de Sfax*, pl. 1; the diameter was 7.50 m.).

¹⁴⁶ The frigidarium (8 m. square) of the bathing establishment of the House of the Muses at Althiburus (cf. *supra*, note 115; *Inv. Tun.*, no. 576c, p. 190f., ill.; plan in Gauckler, *Mon Piot* [1905], fig. 2, p. 123). The frigidarium pavement is ascribed to the second half of the third century by G.-Ch. Picard, *RA*, 1960, 2, p. 36.

Compare also the floor of the frigidarium of a bath at Themetra, first ascribed to the mid-third century by the excavator L. Foucher, *Thermes romains des environs d'Hadrumète* (Institut National d'Archéologie et Arts, Tunis, Notes et documents, 1, N.S.) (Tunis, 1958), p. 31ff.; G.-Ch. Picard, *loc.cit.*, places it in the second decade of the reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211).

¹⁴⁷ Cf. fig. 107, nos. 31, 9, respectively; Gentili, *La villa*, pp. 24f., 41, fig. 6; *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, pl. xxxviii. Drawings in *ibid.*, figs. 6, 8. The octagon is about 9 m. across.

Cf. on a minor scale the mosaic of an impluvium of a villa at Toledo (R. Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, II [Madrid, 1935], fig. 556, p. 714 and pl. following).

can be sure that this stage in the development had been reached by the end of the third century.¹⁴⁸ It should be emphasized that the circular arrangements filling the whole room, which seem to foreshadow the late hunts at Antioch, are themselves anticipated by the black-and-white pavements of Rome, where marine subjects also play an important role (cf. fig. 116).¹⁴⁹ So that the priority of the Latin West in the development of such compositions is hardly questionable. Equally significant is the degree to which these designs reflect the shapes and organization of the rooms in which they are placed. For an analogously intimate relationship between architecture and pavement at Antioch we must await the Martyrium of Seleucia, of the late fifth century (fig. 4).

Often the marine scenes are not totally "spaceless" in the sense of the *asarotos oikos*. With the inclusion of boats, marine deities swimming on the water, portions of the shore line, etc., they take on the character of more or less imaginary seascapes. The combination of normal marine landscape and an all-over distribution of fish had occurred in some of the Hellenistic examples, resulting in blatant contradictions.¹⁵⁰ In the later examples the various elements are intermingled, and frequently produce something of the impression of a bird's-eye view (figs. 36, 41, 44);¹⁵¹ the space can hardly be called contradictory, but, rather, seems fluid and ambiguous. By thus impregnating the all-over design with implications of depth, a semblance of illusionism is provided while the effect of a completely flat surface is retained. In this regard the basic analogy with the Italian silhouette mosaics again seems relevant. It is as though the North African artist sought to reconcile the latter with the Hellenistic seascape tradition.

"Carpet" Designs

Among the unified decorative types that had developed in the early Empire were floral arabesques, such as may be seen to good advantage in the Villa Adriana, and at Ostia (fig. 45).¹⁵² In these floors interconnected floral

¹⁴⁸ The famous "Jonah" mosaic in the basilica at Aquileia, likewise datable in the early fourth century (C. Cecchelli, "Gli edifici e i mosaici paleocristiani nella zona della Basilica," in *La basilica di Aquileia* [Bologna, 1933], p. 197 ff., pl. XLII ff.), seems clearly related to these North African traditions, and exemplifies the wide diffusion we shall find they began to enjoy during this period. (The Aquileia mosaic should be compared, for example, with a marine panel from the "Maison du Virgile" at Sousse, *Inv. Tun.*, no. 139, p. 55 f., ill., Foucher, no. 57.095, p. 45, pl. XXI; also *Inv. Tun.*, no. 217, p. 78, Foucher, no. 57.204, p. 91, pl. XLVI.)

In North Africa the adaptation of this type for Christian purposes may be seen in the tomb mosaics, for example, those of the fourth and fifth centuries recently published from a church near Kélibia on Cape Bon (J. Cintas and N. Duval, "L'Eglise du Prêtre Félix," *Karthago*, 9 [1958], p. 155 ff., e.g., pls. xv b, xix a, b, etc.).

¹⁴⁹ On the problems presented by the Italian silhouette mosaics, see *infra*, p. 252 ff.

¹⁵⁰ This is so, for example, in the Palestrina pavement (*supra*, note 140), and fish mosaics from Pompeii (Pernice, pls. 53, 54, 1). It has been explained as a superimposition of two pictures (W. Leonhard, *Mosaikstudien zur Casa del Fauno in Pompeii* [Naples, 1914], p. 8 ff.), a theory that was disputed by Pernice.

¹⁵¹ On the bird's-eye view, see *infra*, p. 223 ff. Figure 44 is a mosaic from Sidi-Abdallah, probably of the fourth century, in which largely conventional motives were used to "represent" a specific *fundus* (mentioned in an accompanying inscription; *Inv. Tun.*, no. 936, p. 301, ill.).

¹⁵² On the arabesques, cf. Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 202 ff.; on the Schola del Traiano at Ostia (mid-second century), cf. Becatti, *Ostia IV*, p. 199 ff., pl. LXXXVIII f. (I am obliged to Prof. Becatti

designs were laid down usually in black on a white ground, to give a delicate, lace-like effect that emphasizes the thin planar quality of the floor surface, as well as its continuity. Floral carpets of a very different kind appear in North Africa. A magnificent series from Carthage¹⁵³ and Timgad,¹⁵⁴ is intensely polychromatic, and thick, luxurious floral elements may all but completely obscure the background.¹⁵⁵ While based on analogous principles, the effect here is quite unlike that of the early arabesques. The unity of the design arises not so much from a flat stable pattern as from a continuous interplay of dense, organic masses.

So far as I know, carpets of this extremely rich variety are found only in North Africa. While it is hazardous to regard them as being the result of a straight-line development, a *terminus* in the early third century may be provided by a pavement from Timgad, one of the richest examples of this type (fig. 46).¹⁵⁶ The mosaic decorated a house that probably belonged to one M. Plotius Faustus Sertius and his wife, who are known to have donated a market to the city in the early years of the century.¹⁵⁷ This dating is confirmed by that of a very similar pavement found at Hippo Regius, which has been ascribed to the late second-early third century on the basis of the paleography of an inscription it contained.¹⁵⁸ In general then, we are dealing with another case of a unified compositional form introduced into North Africa, presumably from Italy in the second century, and thereupon developing in an entirely individual fashion.¹⁵⁹

A similar situation obtains in the case of pavements filled with continuous vine or acanthus scrolls, of which the more or less regular convolutions often contain animals, birds, and other figural motives. While floral scrolls as such have a long history in pavement decoration,¹⁶⁰ one of the earliest examples of

for his kindness in placing a set of proofs of this volume at my disposal while it was being printed.)

These are not to be confused with the late carpet designs discussed above, p. 195f., though this earlier type, too, has been explained as an imitation of real textile designs (M. Rostovtzeff, "Ancient Decorative Painting," *JHS*, 39 [1919], p. 161).

¹⁵³ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 644 (cited above, note 136); Hinks, nos. 18b, 19, 20, pp. 78-81, also p. liii.

¹⁵⁴ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 77, p. 20, ill.; no. 140, p. 35, ill.; no. 171, p. 41, ill.

¹⁵⁵ See also Hinks, pp. liiif., 81.

¹⁵⁶ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 171 (cf. *supra*, note 154).

¹⁵⁷ Cf. E. Breswillwald, R. Cagnat, A. Ballu, *Timgad* (Paris, 1892-1905), p. 188f.

¹⁵⁸ F. G. de Pachtère, "Les nouvelles fouilles d'Hippone, *Mémoires de l'École Française de Rome*, 31 (1911), p. 328, pl. xvi, reconstructed in E. Marec, *Hippone la Royale* (Algiers, 1954), fig. 48, p. 94; a date in the reign of Gallienus (A. D. 253-68) is argued by G.-Ch. Picard, *RA*, 1960, 2, p. 48.

¹⁵⁹ The Carthage examples in the British Museum (especially Hinks, nos. 18b and 19, also the early pavements of the villa at Oudna, Gauckler, *Mon Piot* [1896], pl. xx), being lighter and more open, are closer to the Italian designs and probably represent an early phase of the development.

¹⁶⁰ It is practically impossible to distinguish all the variant types, which often overlap. Still earlier than the "arabesques" just discussed are the centralized floral designs of pebble mosaics, such as a monochrome pavement from Sikyon (*BCH*, 64/65 [1940-41], fig. 7, p. 240; a fragmentary example using colored pebbles at Athens, C. Smith, "Panathenaic Amphorae; and a Delos Mosaic," *BSA*, 3 [1896-97], p. 184; Blake, *MAAR* [1930], p. 70). More naturalistic forms suggesting a vine arbor occur in later pavements, some of which will be discussed presently under "Diagonal Compositions" (cf. Levi, p. 509ff.). The original use for the rinceau-type under consideration here was for borders (Levi, p. 489ff.). In general, see J. M. C. Toynbee and J. R. Ward Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *BSR*, 18 [1950], p. 1ff.).

this distinctive type is a black-and-white mosaic in the Baths of the Seven Wise Men at Ostia (fig. 47).¹⁶¹ In North Africa it is rendered in polychromy, while again the forms become extremely luxurious;¹⁶² and the adaptability of the formula is exploited to the point where in the villa at Thuburbo, it is used to fill all four sides of the "ambulatory" surrounding the central portion of the frigidarium (fig. 48).¹⁶³ The principle is developed still further at Piazza Armerina, where a similar, continuous acanthus scroll containing birds and animal protomes covers the entire length of the great curved peristyle that precedes the trifolium (fig. 49).¹⁶⁴ We shall comment shortly on the significance of this manner of decorating such long narrow surfaces.

By the end of the fourth century important developments took place in the treatment of the scrolls. In a mosaic in a rich villa at Djemila they are sparser, much simpler, and more abstract than in the earlier versions (fig. 50).¹⁶⁵ Instead of at least approximating a natural growth, the convolutions are further regularized into even rows of almost geometric medallions, with a corresponding increase in the effect of uniformity. And, most important, the design is carried out, in a manner recalling the pavement at Ostia, to fill the whole room. The mosaics of the building at Djemila very probably date from around 400,¹⁶⁶ a fact that lends unusual interest to the floor in question; for the carpet scroll, in virtually the identical form seen here, became one of the most characteristic features of pavement decoration at the eastern end of the Mediterranean in the course of the sixth century (fig. 51).¹⁶⁷ Hence, the vine-scroll type provides a valuable corollary for the development we shall seek to outline more carefully in connection with the hunting pavements of Antioch.

There are also certain geometric pavements that may be included, because of their even and continuous effect, in the category of carpet designs. Such

¹⁶¹ Dated ca. 130 A.D. by Becatti, *Ostia IV*, p. 133 ff., no. 268, pl. LXXXIV ff.

¹⁶² E.g., a rectangular panel placed in the peristyle of the Villa of the Laberii at Oudna (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 376, p. 126 f., cf. Poinsot and Quoniam, *Karthago* [1953], fig. 6).

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, fig. 8.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. fig. 107, no. 41; Gentili, *La villa*, p. 49 f.; Pace, *I mosaici*, fig. 34.

¹⁶⁵ The so-called "House of the *Asinus Nica*," from a motif inscribed thus that appears in this and another pavement of the building (*Inv. Alg.*, no. 291, p. 67 f.; cf. Y. Allais, *Djemila* [Paris, 1938], fig. 21, pl. xi; Ofalac photo 1/5 bis in the Dumbarton Oaks files).

The scroll type was also early adopted for Christian pavements in North Africa, e.g., the tomb mosaics at Kélibia (Cintas and Duval, *Karthago* [1958], *passim*). See too the apse of a church at Cherchel (*Inv. Alg.*, no. 435, p. 104 f., ill.) attributed to the "fifth or sixth" century by Toynbee and Ward Perkins (*op. cit.*, p. 41). A presumably Christian pavement from a building at Sousse, inscribed Theodulus in Greek, probably dates from the sixth century (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 163, p. 63, ill.; Foucher, no. 57.164, p. 75).

¹⁶⁶ The acanthus scroll border here, as also in a group of Tunisian mosaics we shall discuss later, seems clearly related to and is presumably contemporary with that in the early fifth-century Cresconius basilica at Djemila (fig. 93; see *infra*, p. 239); Allais also gives a fourth- fifth-century date (*loc. cit.*).

¹⁶⁷ Among many examples, we reproduce for comparison the mosaic from the necropolis of Beisan (cf. M. Avi Yonah, "Mosaic Pavements at El Hammâm, Beisân," *QDAP*, 5 [1936], p. 13 ff.), which should be dated to the second half of the sixth century (cf. also J. W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* [London, 1941], p. 139). Other examples quoted by Avi Yonah, *op. cit.*, p. 19, and Kitzinger, *DOPapers* (1951), p. 109.

To the list should be added the Lebanese examples, in the villa at Jenah, ascribed to the early sixth century, and in the church at Zahrani, datable 524 (Chéhab, *BM Beyrouth* [1958], pp. 63 f., 75 f., 95, 99; [1959], pls. XXIX, L, respectively).

geometric carpets appear among the earlier pavements at Antioch as the floor of an entire room,¹⁶⁸ or sometimes as a background for panels of another design,¹⁶⁹ or in panels forming part of a larger complex.¹⁷⁰ Thus, the classical artist tended to use these designs within a limited formal context, i.e., for square or rectangular pavements of reasonably "balanced" proportions. When the context exceeded these limits, as in a long corridor, it was generally divided into compartments (fig. 3).¹⁷¹

In the Latin West, however, we find a very different kind of solution. In an early second-century house at Ostia, for example, a simple geometric design in black and white is extended without interruption around all four sides of a peristyle.¹⁷² In North Africa such carpets are generally more elaborate, executed in color, and carried to unusual extremes. The villa at Zliten provides a striking illustration. Here the narrow corridor along which the rooms of the main body of the building are distributed was covered with a continuous geometric pattern in polychromy throughout its entire length of nearly fifty meters (fig. 52).¹⁷³ Needless to say, the principle is essentially the same as in the peristyles treated uniformly with medallions and vine-scrolls, considered above.¹⁷⁴

In all these cases, again, the artists are exploiting and expanding a unifying potential that was realized at Antioch only much later. There, as we have said, an analogous use of geometric carpet designs does not occur before the late fourth-century Kaoussie church (*supra*, note 40). Even in this case, however, the elongation is distinctly limited, and such long corridors continue to be broken up at Antioch through the early sixth century.¹⁷⁵

Diagonal Compositions

Among the types tending to retain the unity of the floor, as well as to provide for a variety of viewpoints, are the diagonal compositions that appear at Antioch at a relatively early period (*supra*, p. 192f.). This kind of arrangement was perhaps derived from the decorations of Roman groin vaults; some of its forms, certainly, belong to the larger class of pavement types that imitate

¹⁶⁸ E.g., House of the Drinking Contest, Levi, p. 156ff., pl. c1c (Severan).

¹⁶⁹ Also House of the Drinking Contest, Levi, pl. xxx a.

¹⁷⁰ House of Cilicia, Levi, p. 57ff., pl. xcva (first part of the second century).

¹⁷¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 188.

¹⁷² Becatti, *Ostia IV*, no. 257, p. 130, pl. xxxiii, plan, pl. ccxxv.

¹⁷³ Aurigemma, *Zliten*, figs. 10 (plan), 31 (view). Practically the identical design was used in a villa at Tagiura, a short distance east of Tripoli, to decorate both arms of a long corridor (ca. 38 x 2.47 m.) that breaks at a right angle (Bartoccini, *AfrIt* [1927], p. 220ff., plan on p. 220, corridor illustrated top of p. 221). Cf. also the portico of a villa at Gigthis (Schulten, *AA*, 18 [1903], fig. 7, p. 97; *Inv. Tun.*, no. 3, p. 3), and the peristyle of the villa at Oudna (Gauckler, *MonPiot* [1896], pl. xx, plan).

¹⁷⁴ Very simple geometric designs in polychromy also occur on a large scale in the Baths of Caracalla (Blake, *MAAR* [1940], p. 88ff.); but these are exceptional at Rome (cf. *ibid.*, p. 98), and the earliest close parallel may be the pavement that decorated the cryptoporticus of Diocletian's palace at Spalato, which would provide a likely *terminus ante quem* for the development in North Africa (F. Bulié, *Kaiser Diokletians Palast in Split* [Zagreb, 1929], p. 164, fig. 69).

¹⁷⁵ Cf. the House of Aion (Levi, p. 355f.).

ceiling compositions. But application of the diagonal type to the floor is particularly significant because it indicates a desire to treat the floor area as a unit; and for this very reason we found the rarity and lack of connection between the early examples at Antioch revealing. In the Latin West, on the other hand, examples are common,¹⁷⁶ and the unusually rich series in North Africa shows a development integrally related to those we have been following.

The series probably begins with the well-known pavement from La Chebba, in southeast Tunisia very near El-Alia (fig. 53).¹⁷⁷ Here, full-length personifications of the seasons are placed diagonally, while along each side are small compositions of plants, animals, and figures engaged in activities associated with the different times of the year. The pavement thus has several elements, formal as well as iconographical, in common with the Seasons floor of the Constantinian Villa, for which it has been cited as precedence (cf. fig. 8).¹⁷⁸ But there are significant differences as well. In the Antioch floor a certain contrast was apparent between the unity of the diagonal system as such, and the strictly defined illusionistic pictures it contains; at La Chebba, the unity of design is carried through as a consistent principle. The figures along the sides are not contained in separate compartments, each with its own illusionistic space. Bits of shadow at the figures' feet are the only indication of spatial recession; otherwise the plain, white ground engulfs them along with all the other elements in the composition. Moreover, the figures of the Seasons themselves are not confined to severe, architecturally conceived frames; they are arched about by thin plant stalks, whose projecting leaves and flowers, tend to connect rather than to isolate adjoining areas. The linkage is in fact accomplished quite literally by the stalks' crossing each other and then curving round the central medallion to join those from the flanking corners.

Analogous devices are used in the famous Dionysiac pavement from Djemila (fig. 54).¹⁷⁹ In this case the land on which the figures stand is coherent and

¹⁷⁶ A mosaic from Poggio Mirteto in the Vatican, considered Hadrianic by Miss Blake (*MAAR* [1936], p. 175 ff., pl. 41, 4), is particularly interesting in connection with the late Antioch hunts, since trees are used to mark the diagonal axes. However, the motive seems to have no subsequent history in Italy, where also such large figure compositions in polychromy are rare at this period (see *infra*, p. 253).

¹⁷⁷ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 86, pp. 34-5, ill. Dated in the early second century by Levi, "The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art," *ArtB*, 23 (1941), p. 278.

A new and most important example, in the frigidarium of the "Baths of Trajan" at Acholla, has recently been published by G.-Ch. Picard (*AnnEstMém* [1959], 2, p. 80 ff.). It is rather unusual for North Africa in that, instead of the organic plant motives used in most members of the series, the pavement has a strictly defined geometrical system: narrow concentric friezes with figures, divided along the orthogonal and diagonal axes by tapering ornamental bands. According to Picard, it would be the earliest example of this type, followed by the mosaic from La Chebba which he dates to the time of Antoninus Pius. Picard in fact maintains that the type actually originated in North Africa, specifically in the "school of Byzacena," whence it spread to other parts of the Empire including Italy. In any case, the Acholla pavement is extremely interesting because, while having a geometric organization, it nevertheless reveals very much the same kind of differences from the diagonal composition in the Constantinian Villa at Antioch as do the examples with vegetable forms discussed in the preceding section. The geometric framework does not produce an effect of isolated, independent compartments, and the homogeneous white background establishes a completely uniform surface.

¹⁷⁸ Levi, p. 229.

¹⁷⁹ L. Leschi, "Mosaïques à scènes dionysiaques de Djemila-Cuicul," *MonPiot*, 35 (1935-36), p. 138 ff., suggesting a date in the time of Commodus (A.D. 180-193); he is followed by Levi, p. 536. G.-Ch. Picard now dates the pavement around A.D. 135 (*AnnEstMém* [1959], 2, p. 91).

does suggest recession; but the white ground behind them is uniform throughout, so that the design elements nevertheless seem to remain on the surface. Here again the diagonal figures are not set in frames. Moreover, the frame around the central figural composition is omitted, and intertwining ribbons that permit the background to show through loop from one corner to the next.

If the artist of the Constantinian Villa was inspired by compositions such as these, he interpreted them with a distinctly classic sense of organization. In North Africa, by contrast, the tendency, evident especially at La Chebba, to emphasize the unity of the diagonal plan by an organic interweaving of the compositional elements becomes even more explicit in another group belonging to this type. In the Dionysus and Icarius pavement of the Villa of the Laberii at Oudna, in central Proconsularis southwest of Carthage, the arching stalks that spring from the diagonals sprout innumerable branches that weave over the entire surface binding it tightly together (fig. 55).¹⁸⁰ Here, too, we may be dealing with an adaptation of ceiling decorations that create the effect of a vine arbor,¹⁸¹ though certainly any illusionistic intent is quite absent. Indeed, the effect is rather similar to the all-over *asarotos* floors, with the difference that here all the elements are connected and a dominant organization is imposed.

As was the case with the all-over designs, moreover, it seems likely that the early phase for this diagonal vine-scroll type in North Africa was the latter part of the second century.¹⁸² An example at Lambessa was found with a mosaic that could be dated roughly to the late second century.¹⁸³ But again the great popularity of the type dates from the third century, during which a process of enrichment took place analogous to that we have seen in other contexts. The first part of the century is probably represented by a pavement from Kourba near Carthage (fig. 56),¹⁸⁴ the middle of the century by the

¹⁸⁰ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 376, p. 127f., ill.; P. Gauckler, *MonPiot* (1896), p. 177ff., who dates the construction of the building to the end of the first or beginning of the second century (p. 182). J. Bérard ("Mosaïques inédites de Cherchel," *MélRome*, 52 [1935], p. 128, and "Un triomphe bachique sur une mosaïque de Cherchel," *ibid.*, 53 [1936], p. 157) placed the pavements at the end of the second or early in the third century. The mosaics, however, are not all of the same period (cf. L. Poinssot, "Plusieurs inscriptions de Thuburbo Majus," *RevTun.*, 42 [1940], p. 226, note 24; I am greatly indebted to C. Poinssot for a microfilm of this article; cf. also Levi, p. 522, note 25). Levi considers the Dionysus and Icarius pavement "not before the Hadrianic age." G.-Ch. Picard (*RA* [1960], 2, p. 34) states that it is datable to around 160. Parlasca (*Gnomon* [1954], p. 113) considers the villa's pavements hardly before the first half of the third century.

¹⁸¹ Levi, p. 207; cf. the examples cited by Stern in connection with the vault of S. Costanza, *DO Papers* (1958), p. 198f.

¹⁸² Somewhat related designs had appeared in the black-and-white pavements of the second century in Rome (e.g., Blake, *MAAR* [1936], pl. 39, 3, 4); Picard has suggested that these derive from North Africa (*supra*, note 177).

¹⁸³ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 191, p. 46f. Levi, p. 529, was able to date the coiffure in a Nereid mosaic found together with this one and very like it in style to the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius or early in that of Marcus Aurelius (*Inv. Alg.*, no. 190, p. 46, cf. H. de Villefosse, *BAC* [1906], pls. LXXXVII-LXXXIX).

¹⁸⁴ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 496, p. 165. Dated in the early third century by G.-Ch. Picard, *MélRome* (1941-46), p. 54, note 3; A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, "Deux mosaïques de Tunisie à sujets prophylactiques," *MonPiot*, 34 (1934), p. 153, make it Antonine following Gauckler, *Mus. op.*, p. 2122.

mosaic with Dionysiac motifs from El-Djem.¹⁸⁵ Intermediate stages also appear in mosaics at Hippo,¹⁸⁶ and Banasa in Mauritania Tingitana (fig. 57), for the latter of which we have a very probable *terminus ante quem* in the reign of Probus, A.D. 276–282.¹⁸⁷ An extreme pictorial exuberance at the end of the century again appears in the mosaics of the type at Thuburbo Majus (fig. 58),¹⁸⁸ and at Piazza Armerina (fig. 59).¹⁸⁹ During the fourth century, as may be seen in a mosaic from Dougga (fig. 60),¹⁹⁰ this lush display was reduced, simplified, and infused with an abstract organization that serves to make one even more conscious of the floor as a surface. We shall find in another context that this latter phase is an important preliminary to the kind of organization employed in the late hunting pavements of Antioch.¹⁹¹

FIGURE COMPOSITIONS

It has been observed that one of the outstanding characteristics of pavement decoration in North Africa, as opposed to other regions of the Empire, is the preference revealed there for large, polychrome figure compositions.¹⁹² In effect, the small inserted *emblema* of Hellenistic tradition was expanded ultimately to cover the entire floor.¹⁹³ But, while perhaps true in a sense, the

¹⁸⁵ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 67, p. 27, ill.; at first ascribed by G.-Ch. Picard to the late third ("Dionysos victorieux sur une mosaïque d'Acholla," *Mélanges Charles Picard*, II [*RA*, 6th Ser., 31–32 (1949)], p. 815f.) or early fourth century (*Karthago* [1951–52], p. 178, note 15). But another mosaic found in the same building with a design of medallions (containing busts of the Muses) surrounded by an interlacing rope pattern cannot be so far removed from the similar Hercules pavement at Acholla, from the time of Commodus (see *supra*, p. 210f.); the date around 250 recently suggested by Picard (*RA*, 1960, 2, p. 35, note 3) seems most likely for the El-Djem pavements (including the hunting floor to be discussed *infra*, p. 233f.).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. E. Marec, *Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone* (Paris, 1958), p. 125f., ill. p. 133.

¹⁸⁷ R. Thouvenot and A. Luquet, "Les thermes de Banasa," *PSAM*, 9 (1951), pl. III. There is every reason to believe that Banasa was abandoned to the natives after the period of Probus (cf. R. Thouvenot, *Une colonie romaine de Maurétanie Tingitane: Valentia Banasa* [Paris, 1941], p. 64ff.). Also related to this group, though not composed diagonally, is a pavement in the bath at Themetra (L. Foucher, "La mosaïque dionysiaque de Themetra," *MélRome*, 69 [1957], p. 151ff., *idem*, *Thermes romains*, p. 15ff.); see *supra*, note 146. A new example of the diagonal vine-scroll type, from El-Djem, has recently been published by Foucher, *Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1960* (Notes et Documents, N.S. IV) (Tunis, n.d.), p. 27f., pl. XI, top, ascribed to the third quarter of the third century.

¹⁸⁸ Poinssot and Quoniam, *Karthago* (1953), fig. 10.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. fig. 107, no. 42; Gentili, *La villa*, p. 50f., fig. 30.

¹⁹⁰ A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, "Factions du cirque et saisons sur les mosaïques de Tunisie," *Mél. Ch. Picard*, II (*RA*, 6th Ser., 31–32 [1949]), p. 732ff., fig. 1, p. 740, who ascribe it to the second half of the fourth century. The Dougga floor bears some intriguing similarities to the diagonal pavement of the Baths of Trajan at Acholla (*supra*, note 177); one wonders whether the tendency toward more abstract, geometric organization in the fourth century might on occasion have been accompanied by a return to much earlier forms.

¹⁹¹ We should also keep in mind that the diagonal arrangement was only one solution to the problem of organizing the floor as a whole unit and achieving several viewpoints. An analogous solution divides the floor along the horizontal and vertical rather than the diagonal axes, with figural elements facing outwards in the resulting compartments; see, for example, the pavement from Sousse with representations of victorious race horses separated by trees on the major axes (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 124, p. 49, ill.; ascribed to the end of the second century by Foucher, no. 57, 113, p. 54f.). We shall find, incidentally, that trees are a common dividing device in North African pavements; and they appear sporadically elsewhere in the West before the House of Menander pavement at Antioch and the flood of later examples there and in the eastern provinces generally (see the discussion in Levi, pp. 206, 337).

¹⁹² Cf. especially Hinks, p. xlix; Brett, *Great Palace*, p. 93f.

¹⁹³ Hinks, p. xlvi; Gauckler, *Mus. op.*, p. 2110.

statement can be accepted only with certain qualifications. These great figural pavements are not just vastly magnified *emblemata*. For in them one of the essential features of the *emblema* is missing, namely its character as a restricted, self-contained illusionistic "scene." Indeed, it might well be argued that, at least in floor decoration, where the spectator's distance is limited, such scale could be achieved only in the absence of an illusionistic conception of space. A kind of negative corollary for this is provided by the Antioch pavements themselves; with few exceptions figural compositions prior to the late hunts remained relatively small in scale and relatively illusionistic in spirit.

Furthermore, we should probably resist the temptation to regard the change-over from small *emblema* to floor-encompassing design as a regular evolution. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that in North Africa the large format was employed from the beginning; and that, insofar as they resemble "pictures" in the classical sense, these compositions, springing from an entirely different point of view, should be regarded as more or less rough approximations to, rather than expansions of, the *emblema*.

When we consider the genre and hunting pavements, we shall discuss in some detail the ways in which the North African artists achieved their large, framed scenes. At this point, however, it will be useful to isolate the two main compositional devices they employed to create with figures the effect of unity and spacelessness.

The "Bird's-eye" View

We pointed out earlier that within an essentially illusionistic frame of reference, the Hellenistic period had developed certain pictorial forms that did impart a measure of unity to the floor as a whole. This was the case primarily with inherently non-spatial subjects such as the *asarotos oikos* and marine scenes. But it is also true of one category in which spatial recession is involved, namely, the panoramic landscape.¹⁹⁴ And for this very reason, consideration of the panorama, or bird's-eye view, offers particularly clear insights into the North African "alternative" to classical picture space.

The most spectacular work of this kind that has come down to us is the famous Nilotic landscape from the sanctuary at Palestrina (fig. 61), which also contained the important fish mosaic discussed earlier. Recent study has established beyond reasonable doubt that the two pavements are contemporary, and must date from the period of Sulla (138-78 B.C.).¹⁹⁵ In the Nile mosaic

¹⁹⁴ In general, see Hinks, pp. xxv, xxxv f., xlix.

¹⁹⁵ F. Fasolo and G. Gullini, *Il Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia a Palestrina* (Rome, 1953), p. 310 ff.; Gullini, *op.cit.*, pls. I, XIII ff., where also the restorations (about half the surface), as determined in 1952, are blocked out in separate photographs. On the restorations, see S. Aurigemma, "Il restauro di consolidamento del mosaico barberiniano, condotto nel 1952," *RendPontAcc*, Ser. 3, 30-31 (1957-1959), p. 41 ff.; Kyle M. Phillips, Jr., "A Reconstruction of the Barberini Mosaic at Palestrina," a paper read at the meeting of the College Art Association, January 27, 1963. On the dating, cf. G.-Ch. Picard, *RA*, 1960, 2, p. 30, note 3.

the spectator seems to occupy a relatively high vantage point so that a wide and deep expanse of terrain is visible. The figures are relatively small in scale, the land tilts upward to the horizon near the top of the picture, and rich atmospheric effects fuse the elements into a consistent whole. The artist has thus employed a kind of "telescopic" pictorial system, with which in fact he probably has presented a summary of the topography of the Nile basin.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, contrary to normal Hellenistic practice, the scene is not confined to a limited frame, but is spread out over the entire surface of the floor.¹⁹⁷ In this respect also it corresponds to its companion piece, the fish mosaic. Both pavements represent the special kind of situation in which Hellenistic principles themselves gave rise to a unified treatment of the floor; both are in their own ways illusionistic *tours de force*.¹⁹⁸

In striking contrast to this is a Nilotic landscape that formed the pavement of an *oecus* found at El-Alia, on the southeast coast of Tunisia (fig. 62).¹⁹⁹ The pavement has been regarded as one of the earliest in North Africa and ascribed to the first century A.D., perhaps with some exaggeration.²⁰⁰ It underwent several restorations in antiquity, but these seem to have been confined to individual details and did not greatly affect the general composition. The fact that the North African artist adopted the panoramic method and employed it to cover a vast area, over thirty-six square meters in this case,²⁰¹ with an uninterrupted composition, is of course significant in itself. But in other respects the El-Alia pavement constitutes a complete departure from the tradition represented by the Palestrina floor. The terrain has been so verticalized that the notion of a horizon with land below and sky above is not even intimated. Indeed, the landscape is splayed out in such a way that it can no longer really be called a bird's-eye view, which implies a coherent vista from a single vantage point. For now only the topographical layout is seen from above (from almost straight above, in fact) while the individual elements, figures, etc., are seen head-on. Moreover, in place of an atmospheric fusion and synthesis, we now have a precise inventory of flora, fauna, etc., with each detail clearly isolated. It is as though the artist wished to convey a maximum amount of information per unit of surface, combining the descriptive qualities of a map with those of a picture catalogue.

Most important, perhaps, is the way the composition is organized. The eye

¹⁹⁶ O. Marucchi, "Nuove osservazioni sul mosaico di Palestrina," *BullComm*, 4th Ser., 23 (1895), p. 26 ff., esp. p. 31; *idem*, "Nuovi studi sul Tempio della Fortuna in Preneste e sopra i suoi mosaici," *ibid.*, 32 (1904), p. 233 ff., esp. pp. 251, 272.

¹⁹⁷ 6.15 x 5.06 m.

¹⁹⁸ Examples in which the Nilotic landscape is treated as a relatively small, framed "picture" do occur, as, for instance, in the well-known pavement found on the Aventine (cf. A. Liénard, "Mosaïque du Musée Kircher," *GazArch*, 6 [1880], p. 170 f., pl. 25; dated first-second centuries A.D. by Aurigemma, *Le terme*, no. 413, p. 148 f.).

¹⁹⁹ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 93, p. 40 f., ill.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*; cf. P. Gauckler, E. Gouvet, G. Hannezo, *Musées de Sousse* (Paris, 1902), no. 1, p. 25 ff. Levi, p. 522, note 21, places it contemporary with the Zliten pavements, assuming a first-century date. It is ascribed to the beginning of the second century by L. Foucher, *Navires et barques figurés sur des mosaïques découvertes à Sousse et aux environs* (Institut National d'Archéologie et Arts. Musée Alaoui. Notes et documents. XV) (Tunis, 1957), p. 23.

²⁰¹ 6.20 m² (*Inv. Tun.*, p. 40).

seems to focus somewhere near the center, about which the figural elements are arranged in a loosely radial fashion. The artist is willing, therefore, to forego "normal" spatial relationships in order to achieve his descriptive end. Whereas the unity of the Hellenistic examples arose from normal relationships seen under unusual circumstances, here it depends upon a much more deliberate distortion that tends to keep the elements on the surface and to provide something to see from many directions.

Thus, it seems possible that the peculiar decorative qualities of the El-Alia pavement may have had, at least in part, a rather "scientific" motivation. In fact, the scientific (i.e., topographic and cosmographic) aspect of pavement decoration had an important subsequent history.²⁰² But from the formal point of view the development suggests a kind of assimilation of the "peppered" all-over designs, discussed previously, to the panoramic landscape. The El-Alia pavement does have much the character of a compromise between the Hellenistic tradition as represented by the Palestrina mosaic, and a composition like that of the second-century Nilotic pavement in red, black, and white from Collemancio, which is wholly in the vein of the Italian silhouette mosaics (fig. 63).²⁰³ By contrast, in other North African Nilotic floors the use of a full range of colors is virtually the only sense in which a compromise can be said to have been made. In a T-shaped pavement from Sousse, attributed to the mid-third century, for example, the spatial ambiguity of the El-Alia floor is replaced by a completely flat arrangement in which, anticipating the late

²⁰² A separate study would be necessary to determine the place of this, and other mosaics in North Africa that apparently depict specific localities, in the history of ancient cartography. (The topographical aspects of the harbor scene from Hippo have recently been studied by Marec, "Trois mosaïques d'Hippone à sujets marins," *Libyca, Arch.-Ep.*, 6 [1958], p. 106ff., with newly discovered portions added in a drawing, fig. 2, p. 102; on the date, see *supra*, note 151).

With regard to Nilotic scenes, it may be noted that the Egyptian painter Demetrius (second century B.C.), who worked in Rome and is referred to as τοπογράφος, is generally thought to have done views combining features of both landscapes and maps (Lippold, *RE*, XII, s.v. "Landschaftsmalerei," col. 623), perhaps on the order of the Palestrina Nile mosaic (Hinks, p. xxv). In that case, a mosaic such as that from El-Alia may represent a transitional stage to the true pavement-map of a later period, like the one at Madaba. Kitzinger has cited the North African pavements as precedent in this context, *DOPapers* (1951), p. 81ff., see p. 106, note 106). It is also possible that the Nilotic mosaics were a factor in the development of the cosmographic element which Kitzinger has demonstrated in the sixth-century pavements at Nikopolis; the Nile played an important part in Alexandrian cosmological speculation (E. Honigmann, *RE*, XVII, s.v. "Nil," col. 565f.). This does not entail the assumption, however, that the type itself was of Egyptian origin; as Levi has pointed out (*ASAtene* [1941-46], p. 295), there is nothing "archetypal" about the one example of a Nilotic pavement actually found at Alexandria (*infra*, note 427).

There are also a number of pavements in which land and sea (and air) elements are juxtaposed perhaps not without some cosmological significance, e.g., a triclinium pavement from Sousse where a Nilotic scene is represented in the vertical arm of the T, hunting in the horizontal arm (fig. 65; C. Doublet, "La collection Balzan et Galea à Sousse," *RA*, 3rd Ser., 20 [1892], p. 217ff., pl. xxii, ascribed to the mid-third century by Foucher, no. 57.027, p. 9ff.); also the "Maison du Virgile" at Sousse, where animals and plants are represented in the apse, before which is a panel with fish and fishing; in the adjoining triclinium the vertical arm has a medallion with the Rape of Ganymede surrounded by medallions with land animals, while the horizontal arm has medallions of fish alternating with birds (see *supra*, notes 114, 138). In the Domus dei Dioscuri at Ostia, the Dioscuri are placed in a geometric framework with containers of fruit and a plant (i.e., products of the land), while the adjoining room has the Nereid pavement (fig. 119, discussed *infra*, p. 255f.).

²⁰³ Cf. Aurigemma, *Le terme*, no. 47, p. 27f., pls. x, xi; ascribed to the second century by Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 124, note 2.

Antioch hunts, the outer figures are oriented to face the perimeter (figs. 64, 65).²⁰⁴ But between the El-Alia and Sousse floors, despite the chronological separation, there is no fundamental difference of concept. One has the feeling that they are both really uniform all-over designs. And the chief determining factor seems to have been the extent to which the artist, in a given instance, chose to imbue this basic conception with the conventions of illusionism.

Yet even this formulation may be rather misleading, since it defines the North African compositions largely in terms of their relationship to the classical tradition. We shall probably be closer to the truth if we think of the North African artist as working with a wide spectrum of formal possibilities, intermediate between Hellenistic illusionism on the one hand and the abstraction of the silhouette mosaic on the other, all of which tend to maintain the unity of the floor's surface. This point of view will prove especially meaningful when we seek to understand the development of the hunting and genre pavements.

Friezes and Registers

In his discussion of composition in the Antioch pavements Levi pointed out that one of the significant characteristics of late antique style that makes its appearance in one of the pastoral scenes of the Constantinian Villa, is the tendency to arrange the elements in superimposed horizontal strips (cf. fig. 11).²⁰⁵ Subsequently the device largely disappears at Antioch until it suddenly re-emerges in fully developed form in the late hunting and animal pavements, where it performs a major role in the surface organization by which these mosaics are marked.

The device of superimposed registers is of course one of the oldest known to narrative art, and its advantage of infinite extendibility, both lateral and vertical, needs no comment. But what distinguishes the late hunts of Antioch from, say, the wall of an Egyptian tomb or the spiral reliefs of the Roman triumphal columns, is that in the mosaics the sense of a single space enclosed by a frame is also present. It is as though the superimposed friezes had been combined with the classical tradition of the unified picture. And this combination, only the ultimate fruit of which appears at Antioch, can be documented in a variety of intermediate forms in North Africa. We shall consider here a few representative examples, again reserving fuller discussion for the hunting and genre pavements.

A particularly clear instance is a mosaic representing the legend of Achilles found at Tipaza, near Algiers (fig. 66).²⁰⁶ Here the figures are distributed

²⁰⁴ Cited *supra*, note 202. In other cases the figural elements are distributed in every direction (e.g., pavements at Uadi Zgaia, Bartoccini, *AfrIt* [1927], p. 241 ff., fig. on p. 247, and Zliten, Aurigemma, *Zliten*, fig. 48, p. 82); still later, in the transept mosaics of the church at Tabgha in Palestine, the spacelessness is retained but the elements are again strictly organized and oriented (A. M. Schneider, *The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes* [London, etc., 1937]).

²⁰⁵ See *supra*, p. 192.

²⁰⁶ L. Leschi, "Une mosaïque achilléenne de Tipasa de Maurétaine," *MéiRome*, 54 (1937), p. 25 ff., pl. 1, where the mosaic is given a date, certainly too early, of late second or early third century.

across the surface in two registers, Achilles on Scyros below, Thetis retrieving Achilles from the tutelage of Chiron above. The importance the artist attached to the frieze arrangement may be gauged by the fact that, rather than a sequence of subjects, each register actually depicts only one event; he has taken care to spread out the action laterally (or, if he followed a model having this form, he has been at great pains to preserve its frieze-like character). On the other hand, the unified "picture" effect is emphasized by the square format of the composition, and especially by the heavy drapery above, which provides an almost stage-like setting. Between these two seemingly opposite "poles," the frieze and the picture, a number of devices are introduced to mediate. There is no background to suggest spatial recession, but the figures repeatedly overlap. No ground line is indicated, but some of the figures cast shadows; and the shadows in turn "read" either on the surface or in depth, in a completely ambivalent way.

These same characteristics, together with the rich, coloristic treatment of the figures, help to place the Tipaza floor in the period of extreme pictorial exuberance, at the end of the third and early in the fourth century, represented by the mosaics at Piazza Armerina and by a number of other examples which we have mentioned. To this phase also belongs an important mosaic from Portus Magnus in Algeria, for which there is substantial evidence for a date shortly before Diocletian (figs. 67, 69, 70).²⁰⁷ The huge, massive figures, broadly modelled in bright colors have an almost "Pergamene" quality to which we shall refer again.

In the present context the mosaic, which decorated the main triclinium of a large villa, offers interesting evidence of the subtle and complex solutions which the register system permitted. It may be compared with the classic organization of the triclinium of the Atrium House at Antioch, one of the early pavements found there, dating from the second century (fig. 68).²⁰⁸ In

²⁰⁷ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 454, p. 110f., ill.; drawing of the whole floor in M.-R. de la Blanchère, *Musée d'Oran* (Paris, 1893), pl. II. More recent bibliography on the mosaic: C. Picard, "Observations sur les sculptures bérytiennes de Délos," *Berytus*, II (1935), p. 19ff.; O. Brendel, "The Corbridge *Lanx*," *JRS*, 31 (1941), p. 120; J. Lassus, "Le site de Saint-Leu, 'Portus Magnus' (Oran)," *CRAI* (1956), p. 291f.

Lassus, *ibid.*, p. 292, points out that Portus Magnus was in the territory of western Mauretania Caesariensis probably abandoned to the barbarians by Diocletian at the beginning of his reign in order to reduce the frontier (on the abandonment of Banasa in Mauretania Tingitana, cf. *supra*, note 187). The arguments for this withdrawal are given in J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc antique* (Paris, 1943), p. 231ff. While accepting the withdrawal from Tingitana, B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 70f., disputes its extension to include Caesariensis, citing two inscriptions (A.D. 299, 344-8) found in the area that imply Roman affiliations. More recently, C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, p. 88ff., reviewing the entire evidence, has concluded in favor of Carcopino's hypothesis; also P. Romanelli, *Storia delle Province romane dell'Africa* (Rome, 1959), p. 507ff.

In any case, conditions in the area were certainly not conducive to the erection of large and lavishly decorated private villas. (See the interesting tables of building and dedicatory inscriptions compiled by Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 33, in which there are only four items from the whole of Caesariensis for the entire period from Diocletian to the Vandal conquest.) I conclude that the Portus Magnus villa must have been created shortly before the time of Diocletian. A similar date was arrived at by Levi, p. 555, note 163, on purely stylistic grounds.

²⁰⁸ Levi, p. 15ff.; restored view fig. 2, p. 15. Levi's dating (before the earthquake of A.D. 115) was questioned by Parlasca (*Gnomon* [1954], p. 112), who considers it Antonine.

the Antioch mosaic the T-shaped portion of the floor is divided by a strictly consistent, architectonic framework surrounding a number of separate, illusionistically self-contained panels. The long arm of the T in the Portus Magnus floor is also divided into a series of compartments, each of which retains the unity of a "picture" and contains a synthetic representation of one of the mythological themes involved in the cult of the Cabiri.²⁰⁹ But upon examination it becomes clear that the figures are actually disposed in rather loosely defined horizontal friezes, with overlappings but no real spatial recession; so that again the effect is one of strange and sure deliberate ambiguity. The profoundly mystical program is thus couched in a space that serves a symbolic rather than an illusionistic function.

The vertical organization is no less flexible, for the friezes may vary arbitrarily in height, and more than one frieze may be included in a single compartment. Whereas the organization of the Antioch floor was predetermined, as it were, by an abstract principle of harmony and balance, this artist is free to devise his arrangement as the situation, iconographic or otherwise, demands. In this case, the arrangement may have been determined by iconographical considerations, but it also embodies a far more organic kind of unity. For in contrast to the Antioch floor, only one of the compartments, the lowest, has a separate frame (and that so full of figural elements as to seem almost another register²¹⁰); the others are separated only by thin lines, so that one is tempted to read the entire vertical arm not as an agglomeration of isolated panels but as one tall rectangle containing a number of superimposed registers.

Probably the most significant use of registering occurs, however, in large pavements without internal subdivisions. In particular, it is often introduced as the basis for organization in the all-over types, paralleling the development we observed in connection with the panoramic view. In the great "Cortege of Venus" from a bath at Tebessa, to cite one of many examples among marine scenes, the elements are arranged in horizontal rows, of which the top one is simply extended so as to fill the arms of the T-shaped room (fig. 71).²¹¹ This mosaic too probably dates from the late third century, and finds immediate counterparts in the marine pavements at Piazza Armerina (figs. 40-43). In the latter, curving and circular arrangements further illustrate the flexibility of the device and strongly recall the way it is used in the Antioch hunts. In some cases the registered design is given a central focus, as in Orpheus pavements like those at Oudna (fig. 72)²¹² and Piazza Armerina (fig. 73),²¹³ where a similar arrangement also occurs in a mosaic with the closely related

²⁰⁹ See the classic analysis of the iconography of the Portus Magnus pavement by C. Robert, "Das Mosaik von Portus Magnus," *JdI*, 5 (1890), p. 215 ff.

²¹⁰ Compare the diagonal composition of the Constantinian villa (fig. 8) where also, as we noted (p. 191), the framing system takes on a pictorial significance virtually equivalent to that of the narrative panels.

²¹¹ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 2, pp. 1-2; cf. S. Gsell, *Musée de Tébéssa* (Paris, 1902), p. 64 ff., pl. VIII, 1, where it is attributed to the end of the second or early third century (p. 67), much too early.

²¹² *Inv. Tun.*, no. 381, p. 129 f.; on Orpheus pavements generally, cf. H. Stern, "La mosaïque d'Orphée de Blanzky-les-Fismes," *Gallia*, XIII (1955), p. 41 ff.

²¹³ Cf. fig. 107, no. 39; Gentili, *La villa*, p. 48 f., fig. 29; drawing of whole in *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, fig. 10.

theme of Arion (fig. 74).²¹⁴ The Oudna Orpheus pavement, moreover, shows a tendency to group the elements in vertical as well as horizontal rows, an extension of the registering principle that we shall find increasingly important from the fourth century on.

Such compositions show that the attitude underlying the more purely "decorative" unified types we considered earlier also extended to the realm of "picture" illustration. And they exemplify the kinds of solutions which, as developed in the North African hunting and genre scenes, provided the essential foundation for the late pavements of Antioch.

THE HUNTING AND GENRE PAVEMENTS

Up to this point we have taken a rather broad view of North African pavement decoration, and included a fairly wide selection of material. This has been necessary in order to place in their proper setting the mosaics that are most directly related to the problem with which we are primarily concerned: the great series of North African pavements depicting scenes of the hunt and other genre subjects.

The analysis so far has shown that the North African mosaicists with remarkable consistency approached the floor area as a coherent unit. This conception manifested itself in a variety of compositional types that served to retain the integrity of the floor's surface while covering more or less uniformly the entire area established by the architectural context. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that few, if any, of these schemes were invented in North Africa, though some of the variants may be without parallel elsewhere. What is peculiar to North Africa is the marked preference with which such types were adopted; in no other region can they be found in such variety and abundance. It is this fact that justifies our speaking of a "context" in North Africa for the large-scale polychrome figure designs that were to appear virtually unheralded at Antioch.

We suggested that the North African achievement in the figural realm was rooted in a non-illusionistic interpretation of represented space, contrasting sharply with the Hellenistic attitude. And we have considered certain of the compositional methods through which surface unity and extendibility were produced in figure scenes. Having thus prepared the ground, we may now focus directly upon the process whereby the North African penchant for unity was reconciled with the classical picture tradition—a process most amply documented precisely in the hunting and genre pavements.

Again the classical legacy seems to appear in purest form in the mosaics of Tripolitania. In the villa at Zliten we find two distinct modes of narrative illustration, both of which were handed down from the Hellenistic period. On

²¹⁴ Cf. Fig. 107, no. 32; *idem*, *La villa*, p. 41 f., fig. 24; drawing of whole in *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, fig. 9.

the one hand, there are the celebrated *emblemata* with rural scenes containing a soft atmospheric space, and relatively consistent recession into depth (fig. 18). On the other hand, there is also the frieze with amphitheater scenes surrounding the checkerboard arrangement in room D (figs. 20, 21).²¹⁵ In the latter case "space" is entirely absent and the frieze could be extended to surround a panel of any size or shape. But in this form, as we pointed out, it remains an essentially classical device, i.e., the frame for a central composition;²¹⁶ thus its function is inherently abstract. The Zliten mosaics are remarkable in that within a generally unified conception of the floor as a whole, the realms of illusion and abstraction remain separate.

Something quite different occurs when these functions are, so to speak, fused. This is strikingly the case in a pavement from the villa of the Laberii at Oudna. Among the floors ascribed to the early decoration of the villa, is one containing a rural scene as well as representations of the hunt (fig. 75).²¹⁷ The importance of the pavement lies first in its size; not so much in its absolute dimensions, though these are appreciable (ca. 3.70 × 2.70 m.), as in the fact that the entire area is devoted to a single picture. The center of the composition contains a realistic landscape recalling the *emblemata* at Zliten, though on a far larger scale. This in itself indicates that the artist approached the floor as a unified whole, refusing to subdivide it, and sought to "adjust" the classical picture tradition to this preconception. In doing so he has adopted the rather startling device of turning the landscape upward at the two short sides, along which scenes of the hunt and related subjects are arranged facing the subsidiary entrances to the room.²¹⁸ It is as though the central composition were surrounded by a frieze, except that the border separating the two has been removed. The artist's purpose clearly was to offer the spectator something "readable" from several points of view. To be sure, this is a consideration that motivated the classical artist as well, so that he might, as at Antioch, arrange his separate pictures to face in different directions; in the Oudna floor this purely "external" consideration is introduced into the picture itself. As a result, it was necessary to sacrifice some of the consistency of a rational picture space; or rather, one should say that the artist's conception of picture space was loose enough to make such a solution admissible. Space is not

²¹⁵ The frieze at Zliten is strikingly anticipated by the border with scenes from the palaestra, etc., of a pebble mosaic found at Sparta (G. P. Oikonomos, *Ψηφιδωτῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ*, *Deltion*, 4 [1918], pp. 171 ff.; reproduced in a rare series of illustrations, a fragmentary set of which is in the Dumbarton Oaks library, from a projected corpus of Greek mosaic pavements; cf. C. Picard, "Le 'Corpus mosaïcorum' de Grèce," *RA*, 6th Ser., 47 [1956], p. 100). For historiated frames with animals and hunts, see, e.g., a pavement in the House of the Comedian at Olynthus (D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Part V [Baltimore, etc., 1933], pl. 17B = *AJA*, 36 [1932], pl. 1v); room 1 of the House of the Mysteries of Isis at Antioch (*supra*, note 9); cf. also G.-Ch. Picard, *AnnEstMém* (1959), 2, p. 83.

²¹⁶ *Supra*, p. 186 f.

²¹⁷ Gauckler, *MonPiot* (1896), p. 200 f., pl. xxii; *Inv. Tun.*, no. 362, p. 122 f., ill.; see *supra*, note 180. The large hunt (as opposed to the small one in the entrance to the room with the Dionysus and Icarus pavement, which shows a more advanced style) is included among the early decorations of the villa by L. Poinsot, *RevTun* (1940), p. 226, note 24 (late second-early third century), and G.-Ch. Picard, "Autour des mosaïques d'Antioche sur l'Oronte," *RA*, 6th Ser., 34 (1949), p. 148. On the whole, a date in the first half of the third century seems most probable for this pavement.

²¹⁸ For the pavement's architectural setting, see the plan in Gauckler, *MonPiot* (1896), pl. xx.

objectively fixed and independent of what it contains; it is something malleable that can be "bent" to suit a higher decorative need.

Thus, the distinction between abstract and illusionistic functions is not here inviolate. As a matter of fact, in contrast to the amphitheater border at Zliten, the surrounding "frieze" here does have a definite suggestion of space. On the other hand, compared to the relatively even flow into depth that characterized the Zliten *emblemata*, the landscape at Oudna consists of a series of horizontal strips, and the figures are isolated against the white background intervening between them. Consequently there is little real sense of recession, and all the elements have nearly equal value on the surface.

It is essential to recall at this point that although, in order to facilitate our analysis, we have introduced the Oudna pavement after the Zliten mosaics, it is not necessarily later in date. It may even be earlier, and in any case it is certainly one of the early members of the North African series of hunting and genre floors. The development thus begins with a totally unclassical achievement.

No less remarkable is a hunting pavement from Le Kef, in western Tunisia, which has been dated, probably rather too early, in the latter part of the second century (fig. 76).²¹⁹ Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine the mosaic's architectural setting, though presumably it decorated an apse that projected outward at its base. Again the whole area is treated as an undivided unit, containing a single figural composition which seems to have been molded to fit the large, irregular shape. It depicts a group of ostriches and deer herded into a fenced enclosure by huntsmen with ferocious dogs. The mode of representation is essentially the same as in the El-Alia Nilotic pavement, though it is applied here to a different kind of subject; a general view is given of a single event taking place in a limited area, rather than many events taking place in a vast area. But again the artist has represented the scene from two distinct vantage points, the ground from above, the figures from their own level. A measure of the freedom implicit in this spatial inconsistency is provided by the figures of the huntsmen and their dogs, those at the side being shown obliquely, those at the center facing toward the right side. By all these devices the artist manages to create a panoramic impression, offer several different points of view, and yet never give an illusion of actual spatial recession in defiance of the floor surface. Indeed, the surface receives emphasis from the flowers and petals strewn throughout the background, in striking anticipation of the florets in the Ktisis and Dumbarton Oaks Hunts and the Martyrium of Seleucia at Antioch (fig. 5).²²⁰

Another particularly important mosaic is one found at El-Djem, with representations of amphitheater combats, that evidently decorated a T-shaped triclinium (fig. 77).²²¹ Here, while fragments of landscape, cast shadows, etc.,

²¹⁹ L. Poinssot and P. Quoniam, "Bêtes d'amphithéâtre sur trois mosaïques du Bardo," *Karthago*, 3 (1951-52), p. 157ff., who suggest (p. 163) a date at the "end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius."

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162; cf. *supra*, note 15.

²²¹ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 71f., 4, Suppl. p. 15, ill. See the description in *BAC* (1913), p. CCII f. Parts of the border show that the floor was two meters wide; about three meters were preserved lengthwise, but no portions of the border to indicate the original length. A mid-third-century date is assigned by L. Foucher, *Musée de Sousse* (Tunis, 1951), p. 28, no. 50.

are retained, there is no real sense of continuity and the episodes are treated as individual motives. The effect is almost that of an all-over design like the *asarotos oikos*, except that the episodes are in fact arranged to face the outer borders. Thus, we have the essential features of the late Antioch hunts, in a similar iconographical framework, at least two centuries earlier. There can be no question, needless to say, of a direct relationship with the Antioch pavements; but the freedom represented here was not lost and we shall find several floors, produced in the intervening period, having an analogous distribution of figures. In the present context the El-Djem pavement illustrates, along with the frieze-picture at Oudna and the panorama at Le Kef, another of the forms in which unity and fluidity were obtained in figural compositions.

Registering appears in a mosaic from Cherchel in Algeria which because of its very marked stylistic character, may, with a good deal of assurance, be assigned to the first half of the third century (fig. 78).²²² This is the splendid pavement with scenes of rural activities, in which the vivid coloration, strong contrasts of light and dark, energetic figures with "pathetic" facial expressions, reflect the Severan "Baroque."²²³ The mosaic was found in a very fragmentary condition, but has been reasonably reconstructed as a tall, narrow composition in which the scenes are arranged in a series of horizontal registers along the short axis.²²⁴ It is as if a continuous frieze had been broken up and the separate sections placed one above the other.²²⁵ Unity is established by virtue of the fact that the registers extend all the way across the panel, they are all more or less the same height (so far as can be determined from the preserved portions), and none tends to predominate.²²⁶

It seems unlikely that any of the mosaics we have considered so far, although none can be dated accurately, were produced after the middle of the third century. And they indicate that by that time the major types of unified figural compositions with which we shall deal were already in existence—an observation that will prove of considerable importance when we seek to define

²²² J. Bérard, *MélRome* (1935), p. 113 ff.

²²³ Bérard, *ibid.*, p. 129, assigns a date at the beginning or middle of the third century; the strikingly "Severan" qualities of the mosaic are emphasized by G.-Ch. Picard (review of Rumpf, *Handbuch der Archäologie*, IV, 1, in *Karthago*, 5 [1954], p. 208).

The similarities, often observed, of the vintage scenes in the Cherchel pavement to those in the vault mosaic of S. Costanza in Rome, was perhaps a factor in leading Rumpf astray in his dating of the North African hunting and genre pavements (*op. cit.*, pp. 195-6); apparently overlooking the (at least to this writer) clear stylistic priority of the Cherchel floor, Rumpf assumed that it was contemporary with S. Costanza, and hence assigned the whole North African series to the period between A.D. 350 and 450. The untenability of this point of view is discussed by G.-Ch. Picard (*loc. cit.*). Good details of the Cherchel pavement are reproduced in S. Gsell, *Cherchel, Antique Iol-Caesarea* (M. Leglay and E. S. Colosier, eds.) (Algiers, 1952), pp. 7, 92.

²²⁴ See the reconstruction in Bérard, *MélRome* (1935), fig. 1, p. 117; the original width of the pavement including the borders was 4.20 to 4.30 m. (*ibid.*, p. 121); the height could not be determined.

²²⁵ Cf. also a mosaic with animal combats from Henchir-Toungar, P. Quoniam, "Une mosaïque à scènes de chasse récemment découverte à Henchir-Toungar," *Karthago*, 2 (1951), p. 107 ff., fig. 1, p. 110, ascribed to the second quarter of the third century.

²²⁶ Below the scenes of rustic activities was a large Triumph of Amphitrite which was wider than the registers and must have projected out beyond them. The absence of archaeological evidence makes the relationship obscure (Bérard, *MélRome* [1935], p. 126).

the nature of the North African contribution. The subsequent development took place largely within a frame of reference that had been established virtually at the outset.

It will be observed that in the Cherchel pavement each of the registers has its own separate "ground" involving an element of spatial recession, and that, although related, the subjects in the different registers do not actually form a continuous narrative. Toward the middle of the century we find a tendency to interrelate the registers more organically, and in cases where a narrative sequence does appear. This is true of a pavement illustrating a boar hunt that filled a large apse (diam. ca. 3.50 m.) in a house found at Carthage (fig. 79).²²⁷ The story begins at the lower left with the hunters setting out; they find the boar at the lower right; it is driven into a net in the central register, and at the top it is carried home. While the zones are much in evidence, the landscape in each has been given a distinct upward tilt, with figures and trees distributed through the space in a manner that links one level with the next. The fluidity of spatial relationships makes it possible, for instance, to place a dog diagonally, forming a transition between the middle and the top registers. And the semi-circular shape into which the composition has been neatly fitted demonstrates the flexibility of the formal principles involved.

Approximately the same stage of development is seen in a pavement depicting a rabbit hunt found at El-Djem, which has been ascribed to the middle of the third century (fig. 80).²²⁸ In this case the sequence begins at the top where the hunters start out on their venture; in the middle the dogs have discovered the prey in its lair; and at the bottom the hunters and dogs are chasing the rabbit at full speed. Here again the elements are not placed in a landscape flowing continuously into the distance. The main figures establish the registers, but the rest—trees, stones, animals, etc., some with their own separately cast shadows—seem suspended in mid-air. They seem so, that is, if we read the space illusionistically. But the elements are isolated from one another, and there is so little perspective diminution that most of the elements can also be regarded as flush with the surface.²²⁹ It is this ambiguous quality that marks these third-century pavements as an important step in the evolution we are tracing. While they contain a real temporal development in the narrative represented, their design is such that all episodes can be grasped simultaneously. Space and time have been telescoped into a single pseudo-panoramic composition.

²²⁷ L. Poinssot and R. Lantier, *BAntFr* (1923) p. 154ff.; *BAC* (1924), p. CLVIf., pl. III, where the pavement is ascribed to the "late second or rather the early third century." A good photographic detail in *AA*, 46 (1931), fig. 16, cols. 505-6.

²²⁸ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 64, p. 26, ill. For the mid-third-century date, cf. P. Quoniam, *Karthago* (1951), p. 122, and *supra*, note 185.

²²⁹ A similar duality appears even when there is no narrative sequence. The hunting pavement that formed the threshold of the room with the Icarus mosaic in the Villa of the Laberii at Oudna (Gauckler, *MonPiot* [1896], pl. XXIII) is now generally considered to be part of a third-century (early fourth?) restoration (G.-Ch. Picard, *RA*, 6th Ser., 34 [1949], p. 148; P. Quoniam, *Karthago* [1951], p. 122); in it a ground-line is established for the lower figures, while the others are distributed in a blank, white background above. The artist seems almost to have abstracted one of the registers in the El-Djem or Carthage pavements.

The floors at El-Djem and Carthage may in fact be regarded as an experimental mixture of the unified, panoramic technique we analyzed in the mosaics at El-Alia and Le Kef, with the system of registering found in the rustic mosaic from Cherchel. The motivation for the mixture in these cases may have been the subject, which required a compromise between the linear continuity implicit in the narrative, and the desire to impart a visual unity to the floor as a whole. But we shall see that, particularly in the fourth century, the formal qualities of the mixture were exploited and systematized even when the subject did not involve a continuous narrative.

In the second half of the third century, the panoramic system reached a climax in one of the most spectacular of the North African hunting pavements. This is the mosaic found at Hippo at the western end of Algeria's coast line northeast of Le Kef, for the dating of which a measure of archaeological support can be adduced (fig. 81).²³⁰ The luxuriance of form and the richness of tonality in the Hippo floor epitomize the coloristic approach to representation in North Africa, and the pavement is a signal instance of the pictorial exuberance for which we have found evidence in other monuments dating from late in the third century. The main subject here is the trapping of wild beasts for amphitheater spectacles. No real sequence can be discerned, but the artist has depicted a general scene in which many things are happening at once. While the composition is carefully adjusted to fit the given area, we feel our eye could move in any direction beyond the frame to include more of the landscape and the activities taking place in it—which is to say that the artist could extend such a representation in any direction without sacrificing its pictorial unity. The reason for this is that again spatial relations in depth are not definite, indeed they hardly exist. The semicircular *cul-de-sac* formed by the shields and net implies a recession, but the figures and objects do not diminish in scale, the landscape is discontinuous, and there is no horizon. Consequently the illusionistic implications of "foreground" and "background"

²³⁰ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 45, p. 12f., ill. The pavement was found in an interconnected group of structures involving five Roman building periods. In the second of these was found the floral carpet whose inscription was attributed to the late second-early third century (*supra*, note 158.) In the third phase was found the well-known Zodiac mosaic (*Inv. Alg.*, no. 41, p. 11f., ill.) ascribed by the excavator to the beginning of the third century (a fourth-century date was tentatively adopted by G. Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* [Cambridge, Mass., 1951], I, p. 135f., II, no. 129, p. 147; it is considered third century by K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *ArtB*, 27 [1945], p. 9 and by Levi, p. 233, who implies, correctly I think, the second half of the century); the hunt was found in the next-to-the-last building and dated by the excavator to the late third century (cf. F. G. de Pachtère, *MélRome* [1911], p. 321ff., summary on p. 346f.; subsequent excavations in this complex are described by Marec, *Libyca, Arch.-Ep.* [1958], p. 99ff., cited *supra*, note 202).

Some support for this view is provided by the mosaic with a Triumph of Amphitrite that belonged to the last period of construction and is certainly later than the hunt (cf. Marec, *Hippone la Royale* [Algiers, 1950], fig. 20, p. 46). The acanthus scroll border of this pavement is rendered in a peculiar florid manner, with the forms often outlined by a row of light colored tesserae; to my knowledge this style has its closest parallel in the border of the Portus Magnus triclinium pavement (fig. 67, lowermost panel with myth of Cabiri, *Inv. Alg.*, no. 454, 1^o, ill.), from which it cannot be too far removed in date; as we have seen (cf. note 207), there is good evidence for dating the Portus Magnus mosaic before the end of the third century. The writer here finds himself in substantial disagreement with G.-Ch. Picard, who would place the Hippo Hunt as late as, or later than, the reign of Valentinian (A.D. 364-75; cf. *RA*, 1960, 2, p. 38).

are minimal, and we have the effect of a flat tapestry of indefinite size, cut to fit this particular surface.

In general, it seems that the third century witnessed the emergence of a variety of solutions to the problem of reconciling the spatial implications of traditional figure composition with a recognition of the floor as a flat, unified surface. In most instances, however, the solutions were compromises; for while in one fashion or another they permit the eye to travel across the floor without interruption, they nevertheless provide at least some hints of spatial recession. Thus, in terms of depth vs. surface the third-century solutions present a more or less "comfortable" balance. It would be difficult to trace an actual evolution in this respect. But it can be observed that in a relatively early example like the hunt at Oudna the compromise seems awkward, whereas at the end of the century, as at Hippo, the artist achieves an almost perfect fluidity and ambiguity.

In a sense it might be said that the fourth and early fifth centuries continued along the guide-lines established during the preceding period. Merely by doing so, however, the balance was upset, with extremely important results. The same motivation that had led in the third century to compromise now produced floors in which two dimensional unity was achieved in increasingly consistent and systematic ways. This is evident not so much in the creation of new compositional devices as in the kind of selections made amongst the old ones, and in the rigor and consistency with which they were applied.

A particularly significant type is what we may call the "animal-catalogue," in which animals used in the hippodrome spectacles are represented, often with their names inscribed, in a kind of portrait inventory. One of the first examples, dating perhaps from the second half of the third century, is a large rectangular pavement found at Carthage, in which a variety of animals are arranged in rows that follow vertical as well as horizontal axes (fig. 82).²³¹ There is no indication of ambient, and basically it belongs to the "spaceless" category that also, for example, includes Orpheus scenes. The animals float in a completely abstract medium, while the measured intervals at which they are placed produce the effect of a "staccato" rhythm across the surface. And of course the composition could be extended in any direction without difficulty. In all these respects the formula strikingly anticipates the procession of animals in the Martyrium of Seleucia at Antioch (figs. 4, 5).²³² At the same time, there can be no doubt that it represented a coherent and characteristic

²³¹ Cf. L. Poinssot and P. Quoniam, *Karthago* (1952), p. 130ff., figs. 1-6, where the floor is ascribed to the second quarter of the second century.

²³² That this kind of composition was also extended, in North Africa, to cover long, narrow areas is documented by the corridor in the *Maison du Paon* at Carthage, which was apparently filled throughout both its arms (meeting at a right angle) with amphitheater scenes; cf. A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, *MonPiot* (1934), p. 129ff., plan fig. 1, p. 130, who offer a date, probably too early, in the early fourth century (p. 152ff.). Details of the preserved fragments of these scenes are reproduced by Poinssot and Quoniam, *Karthago* (1952), figs. 7, 8, 9, pp. 144-6.

tradition in North Africa, where it continued in use well into the fourth century at least (fig. 83).²³³

Such "inventory" compositions are of further interest for the analogy they offer to the abstractness and regularity that also appear in the "narrative" pavements produced during the fourth century, particularly its latter part.²³⁴ An especially important example is a fragmentary pavement with scenes of the hunt found at Constantine in central Numidia (figs. 84, 85),²³⁵ which probably dates from this period.²³⁶ Here the parallel registers of the third-century pavements are retained and spread laterally to fill a long, narrow panel.²³⁷ The figures, however, have been further isolated to avoid overlapping, and they have been placed in frieze-like rows punctuated here and there by trees.²³⁸ At the same time there is a tendency to arrange elements or groups of elements in one register above those in the register below, and the arbitrary ground-line separating the registers is removed. Thus we have a similar rhythm and the same omnidirectional flexibility as in the animal-catalogue pavements, both achieved at a sacrifice of pictorial cohesion when compared with third-century mosaics. It should be observed that an analogous process of isolating individual elements has taken place iconographically. The relative cohesiveness of the third-century mosaics had extended even to the point of introducing a narrative sequence, as at Carthage and El-Djem. Here we have what might best be described as a representative collection of sundry motives, including animal combats, single animals, and episodes from the hunt, juxtaposed without any apparent continuity. In all these basic characteristics, both formal and iconographical, the Constantine pavement unmistakably foreshadows no less a monument than the mosaic pavement in the peristyle of the Great Palace at Constantinople (cf. fig. 136).

If the salient tendency during the fourth century was toward surface distribution and systematic organization, this did not conflict with the possibility

²³³ Pavement from Radès, near Tunis, in which an animal inventory is used to fill a T-shaped triclinium (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 511 a, Suppl. p. 52f., ill. Poinssot and Quoniam, *Karthago* [1952], p. 156, note 118, date the pavement around A.D. 250; considering the close parallels for some of the animals to be found in the curved peristyle at Piazza Armerina [cf. fig. 49], in this writer's view it should be placed around 300 or shortly thereafter). Cf. also two fragments of a mosaic from Kourba, ascribed by Poinssot and Quoniam to the beginning of the fourth century "at the earliest" (*ibid.*, p. 153ff., figs. 10, 11).

²³⁴ A more abstract and schematic style is already in evidence in hunts of the first half of the fourth century, to which period the writer would ascribe that of the threshold panel at Oudna (cf. *supra*, note 229), and that from Thuburbo Majus published by L. Poinssot (*RevTun* [1940], p. 218ff., pl. 1, where it is dated in the third century).

²³⁵ *BAC* (1928-29), p. 96ff., pl. 1; cf. M. Christoffe, *Rapport sur les travaux de fouilles et consolidations effectués en 1930-1931-1932 par le Service des Monuments historiques de l'Algérie* (Algiers, 1935), p. 172ff., ill. p. 173.

²³⁶ The temptation to assign a still later date is outweighed by the figure style, which lacks the hardness and precision of most fifth-century examples (compare the animal heads, for example, with those in figs. 97, 98, datable around 400, where shapes are defined by continuous dark outlines).

²³⁷ The pavement certainly extended in both lateral directions (portions at the left had been found earlier, and at the right the mosaic was interrupted by a modern building; cf. *BAC* [1928-29], pp. 96, 99).

²³⁸ An intermediate stage, which retains some linkage between the registers, is perhaps represented by a hunting mosaic from Oglet-Atha (fig. 86, P. Gauckler, "Mosaïque romaine récemment découverte à Oglet-Atha," *BAC* [1899], p. 166ff., pl. VII, *Inv. Tun.*, no. 17, p. 8f.); the pavement is known only from a rough sketch, but Gauckler's date of mid-second century is evidently much too early.

of imparting to the floor a greater measure of integration. It was done, however, in more purely abstract terms of "arrangement," and composition, and less in terms of space and narrative than in the third-century pavements. A group of mosaics that probably dates around or after the middle of the century illustrates the way in which this strictly "decorative" kind of unity was achieved. An approximate date for the group is provided by what is perhaps its latest and most important member, a mosaic that we shall find echoed, even more strikingly than the Constantine floor, among the later mosaics at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. This is a hunting pavement that decorated a huge apsidal building near the large *thermae* at Djemila (fig. 87).²³⁹ The figural panel is surrounded by a field in which guilloche frames enclose small squares containing diaper, zigzag, and other abstract designs in a wide range of colors.²⁴⁰ An analogous treatment occurs in the north aisle of the Kaoussie church at Antioch, where the guilloche frames are replaced by meanders and the whole pattern is placed diagonally (*supra*, note 40). The Kaoussie church is dated A.D. 387, and our Djemila pavement is probably not far removed from it chronologically.

In the Djemila floor, again, there is no hint of spatial recession and the elements are distributed vertically (in conformity to the long axis of the building in which it was found), some with bits of ground beneath them, some without. Important changes have taken place in other respects, however. While traces of registers remain, now they have been closely integrated by projecting elements of one into the next. The figures are also more closely spaced, and the unity of the composition as a whole depends not so much upon a rhythmic sequence as upon the direct interpenetration of each area with those adjoining.

A similar arrangement occurs in another hunting mosaic, found at Orléansville (fig. 88).²⁴¹ It is smaller than the Djemila pavement, and square in shape, so that only two registers are included. But again we could not draw a straight line between them without cutting off portions of the figural elements. The third member of the group was found at Cherchel in a large vaulted building, part of a villa, analogous to that from Djemila (fig. 89);²⁴² it formed part of the pavement of the center aisle of the three-aisled edifice, in which each aisle terminated in an apse. Here three registers are arranged

²³⁹ Y. Allais, *Djemila* (Paris, 1938), pp. 57, 74f., where it is said to be not earlier than the fourth century.

²⁴⁰ The surround is visible in the reproduction in L. Leschi, *Algérie antique* (Paris, 1952), ill. p. 149.
²⁴¹ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 450, p. 108, ill. The figure style here has so many "Constantinian" features (cf. fig. 9) that it cannot be placed much beyond the middle of the century.

²⁴² *Inv. Alg.*, no. 422, p. 101f., ill.; plan in V. Waille, "Nouveau rapport sur les fouilles de Cherchel," *RAfr.*, 48 (1904), p. 56ff., pl. VIII. A date very late in the fourth century seems ruled out for several reasons. In another room of what was presumably the same building two geometric mosaics were found superimposed, the one on the lower level showing traces of fire. The upper pavement had a design of squares filled with diaper and step patterns and with peltae facing inward on the four sides (*ibid.*, pl. III). This design is very close to that in room A² of a building at Carthage dated with considerable probability to the first part of the fourth century by G.-Ch. Picard, "Une 'Schola' de Collège à Carthage," *Karthago*, 3 (1951-52), p. 157ff., fig. 4, p. 174. Furthermore, the extremely pictorial style, with the forms modeled in broad bands of intense color, still recalls the characteristics of the period of Piazza Armerina (cf. fig. 109).

vertically in the tall, narrow panel, each containing a single main figure element. But even these few have been "dovetailed" so that the eye follows a zigzag compositional line through their bodies.

Finally, in a fragmentary hunting pavement found at Carthage (fig. 90), probably dating from the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century, the horsemen and animals are placed in long horizontal friezes marked by continuous strips of landscape with very simplified trees and clumps of foliage.²⁴³ There is virtually no overlapping, and yet the figural and landscape elements are again very carefully interlocked, like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. A similar effect is also achieved in the vertical sense by the interpenetrating arrangement of the objects, and by the ribbon of landscape that undulates between the two levels.

In the course of the fourth century still another way of integrating the surface design came to the fore, namely, centralization. Again, the device had been developed earlier, as appears from a little-known pavement found at Henchir M'Rira, south of Kairouan, which probably dates from the late third or early fourth century (fig. 91).²⁴⁴ In the central panel a figure of Diana occupies the middle, surrounded by various episodes of the hunt. Thus the design of this panel, in which a central feature dominates, is different from any we have seen before. This effect is enhanced by the arrangement of the secondary figures, which betrays the tendency discussed above to isolate and scatter the individual elements in the scene. At the same time, a number of other devices, also by now familiar, are used to organize and unify the composition. Though widely separated and seemingly quite independent, the subsidiary figures do form three roughly defined registers; and some are placed to project from one level to the next.

Later in the century we find similar principles in much more pronounced form. A mosaic found at El-Djem depicts the seminude figure of Bacchus who holds a staff in one hand and dangles a lizard by a string in the other, flanked on either side by animals engaged in combat or standing alone (fig. 92).²⁴⁵ That the pavement was produced not long after the middle of the fourth century is suggested primarily by its style; it may also be significant that a similar example of this peculiar Bacchus motive first appears in the September illustration of the Chronograph of 354, while a related image occurs in the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (d. A.D. 359).²⁴⁶ The animals in the Bacchus

²⁴³ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 672, p. 226f. The dating in this case is based primarily on the doubtless contemporary marine scene that decorated the adjoining room of the same building (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 671, p. 226, ill.); its composition and figure style are very close, for example, to that of the Dominus Julius mosaic (fig. 95), which we shall see is ascribable to this period on independent grounds.

²⁴⁴ M. Laout, "Souvenir de Voyage à Kairouan," *Recueil de la Société de Préhistoire et d'Archéologie de Tébessa* (1936-37), p. 281 ff. I am indebted to M. Lassus for a transcript of this article and a photograph of the pavement. To be compared with it is a pavement from a funerary monument found at Sousse, dated by Gauckler in the mid-third century "at the earliest" ("Rapport sur des inscriptions latines découvertes en Tunisie de 1900 à 1905," *NouvArch.*, 15 [1907], 4, pl. VIII, opp. p. 354, cf. p. 355; *Inv. Tun.*, no. 202, p. 74f., Foucher, no. 57.187, p. 82f.).

²⁴⁵ Merlin and Poinssot, *MonPiot* (1934), p. 154 ff., pl. IX, 1.

²⁴⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 175, where the mosaic is dated not earlier than the beginning of the fourth century. On the relationship to the Chronograph, see also D. Levi, *ArtB* (1941), p. 268, and H. Stern, *Le Cal-*

pavement are again arranged in a series of horizontal registers that interlock so that the surface is linked vertically as well as longitudinally. But the arrangement is here much more regular and schematic than in the previous example; and the composition is given a more pronounced centralizing accent by the large figure of Bacchus about which the animals are distributed.

In an impressive group of mosaics dating from the very end of the fourth or during the first quarter of the fifth century, the centralized scheme occurs almost always in combination with a more or less strict system of registers. The group, which consists of two pavements from Carthage and vicinity, and one from Tabarka, is defined not only by similarities of figure style and composition, but by the peculiar stylization of the rich acanthus rinceau border that appears in each case (figs. 94, 95, 96). The date is suggested by the striking analogy between these borders and one found in the Cresconius basilica at Djemila (fig. 93), which can be dated by the dedicatory inscription, 412-420.²⁴⁷

The great pavement from Khéreddine, near Carthage, has hunting scenes in six superimposed registers separated by undulating ground lines (fig. 94).²⁴⁸ In the center of the middle register is represented the schematized façade of a temple, between the columns of which stand Apollo and Diana; they are larger in scale than the other figures, so that in the over-all design a balance is established between the central and secondary accents. A similar solution is found in the second mosaic of the group, from Carthage (fig. 95). This depicts various scenes of activities on the estate of a wealthy landowner who appears seated at the lower right and is identified as Dominus Julius by the inscription on a scroll handed to him by a servant.²⁴⁹ The composition is again arranged in registers, this time three of them, and the center is occupied by an impressive representation of the owner's villa. Here too, as in the Bacchus mosaic from El-Djem, the central element is not separately framed, but forms an integral part of the composition.

This kind of integration is even more marked in the third member of the group, a series of three apsidal mosaics found in the trifolium of a villa at Tabarka in north central Proconsularis (fig. 96).²⁵⁰ A date in the early

endrier de 354 (Paris, 1935), p. 263; on the iconography, cf. also A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, "Amours vendageurs au gecko," *RAfr*, 100 (1956), p. 285 ff.

A *terminus ante quem* is suggested by comparison of the figure of Bacchus with that of Apollo in the mosaic from Khéreddine discussed immediately below (fig. 94), which we shall find probably dates from around 400 or shortly thereafter; the modelling of Apollo's body seems much flatter and more abstract.

²⁴⁷ Cf. P. Monceaux, "Cuicul chrétienne," *MemPontAcc*, 1 (1923), p. 94 ff., pl. VIII; photographs of the rinceaux borders: OFALAC 4/5 bis, 18/5 bis, 25/5 bis, 21/5 bis, in the Dumbarton Oaks files. The importance of the Cresconius rinceau was first pointed out to me by Prof. Kitzinger, in connection with the Tabarka apse mosaics.

²⁴⁸ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 607, p. 204 ff., ill.; dated at the end of the fourth century by P. Gauckler, "Fouilles de Carthage," *Association française pour l'avancement des sciences, Compte rendu*, 27th Session, Nantes, 1898 (Paris, 1899), p. 178. G.-Ch. Picard places it in the second quarter of the fourth century (*RA*, 1960, 2, p. 38, note 3).

²⁴⁹ A. Merlin "La mosaïque du Seigneur Julius à Carthage," *BAC* (1921), p. 96 ff., pl. XII, where it is ascribed to the fourth century (p. 113). A photograph of the pavement is reproduced by R. Lan-tier, *AA*, 46 (1931), fig. 14, cols. 497-8; see also Levi, *ArtB* (1941), p. 278.

²⁵⁰ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 940, p. 303 f., 3 ills.

fourth century has usually been assigned to these pavements,²⁵¹ but as we have seen, we shall probably be closer to the truth in considering them a full century later. Here again, in each half-circle the central focus is provided by a building. The other elements fill up the surrounding space in an apparently haphazard array. In fact, they are carefully arranged so that the trees and figures provide a number of subsidiary accents, with the intervening areas occupied by less conspicuous details; and upon analysis they resolve themselves into registers. Nevertheless, the composition distinctly recalls the apsidal mosaic of the third-century Maison du Virgile at Sousse, where a reclining gazelle occupies the center and is surrounded by a variety of still-life motives (fig. 34).²⁵² The crucial difference between the Sousse and Tabarka pavements lies in the fact that the former is a still-life, and hence fits into the general non-spatial category, whereas the latter depict landscapes. And, as we have seen on several occasions, the assimilation of an essentially decorative formula to a type "normally" involving spatial illusion is a major index of the manner in which the North African artists approached classical tradition. The square panel that occupied the center of the Tabarka triconch had a scene representing animal combats, of which only fragments were preserved (figs. 97, 98);²⁵³ these are sufficient, however, to indicate that the composition must have had a similar effect of isolation and dispersion.

This decorative, one is tempted to say diagrammatic, schematization may have been the last important development of pagan mosaic decoration in North Africa.²⁵⁴ It cannot be assumed, as it often is, that all production of non-Christian mosaics was discontinued after the Vandal conquest in 429-30.²⁵⁵ But it is significant that the examples that can reasonably be attributed to the subsequent period reveal little that is fundamentally new from the point of view of design. The system of registering occurs, for example in a hunting mosaic from Khanguet-el-Hadjaj (fig. 99),²⁵⁶ and in another from Bordj-Djedid, near Carthage, of which fragments are preserved in the British Museum

²⁵¹ See *ibid.*, and the bibliography quoted there.

²⁵² Cf. *supra*, note 138.

²⁵³ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 940 a, p. 303.

²⁵⁴ Unfortunately it is practically impossible to make use of another potentially important monument of this period, the so-called Baths of Pompeianus at Oued Athménia (*Inv. Alg.*, nos. 260ff., pp. 61ff.; J. and P. Alquier, "Les thermes romains du Val-d'Or près l'Oued Athménia," *RecConst* [1926], p. 81ff.; *ibidem* [1928-29], p. 289ff.). The pavements became known from a series of copies that were subsequently found to be extremely inaccurate and misleading. Better copies were apparently made before the mosaics were almost entirely lost, but these have been published only in part. The building seems to have been of the late fourth or the early fifth century, and the mosaics included elaborate scenes of the hunt, etc. (on the date, cf. Mommsen, in *CIL*, VIII, no. 10890, p. 968; Levi, p. 616, note 39; and compare, for example, the geometric design of room T, Alquier, *RecConst* [1926], pl. 3, with the choir mosaic of the Basilica Urbana at Salona, *Forschungen in Salona*, I [Vienna, 1917], pl. iv).

²⁵⁵ See also G.-Ch. Picard, *GBA* (1958), p. 207f. Buildings securely datable to the Vandal period are, nonetheless, extremely few (cf. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, pp. 228, note 3, 249, note 4, 314, note 5).

²⁵⁶ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 465 a, Suppl. p. 47f., ill.

(fig. 100).²⁵⁷ That the formal capabilities of the tradition continued to be exploited may be judged from the fact that the British Museum pieces formed part of an ensemble nine meters long.

Much more important than the preservation of the pagan repertory itself is the powerful and constant influence it exercised upon Christian pavement decoration.²⁵⁸ Unfortunately the chronology of the Christian pavements of North Africa is hardly less obscure than that of the pagan floors. But there can be no doubt that the process of transfer had begun early, particularly in the case of abstract designs.²⁵⁹ The genre tradition, too, soon made itself felt, as may be seen in the great pastoral and fish pavements in the basilica at Matifou, which probably dates from the late fourth century,²⁶⁰ and in the pavement from a Christian complex at Oued Ramel, with representations of various activities connected with building construction (fig. 101),²⁶¹ which springs directly from the North African background of genre. Indeed, in the tomb mosaic of the deacon Crescentinus from Tabarka, a landscape scene with horsemen and various fowl in a roughly circular composition, has been adopted as an image of paradise (fig. 102).²⁶²

The Byzantine reconquest brings to an end the period relevant to our problem, since it very nearly coincided with the Persian attack of A.D. 540 that stifled the development of pavement decoration in Antioch. During the Byzantine suzerainty North Africa witnessed a considerable artistic revival;²⁶³ but the revival was Christian rather than pagan, and its monuments are documents of early mediaeval rather than late classical art. For this very reason, however, it is important to realize that the pagan heritage continued even then to play an essential role. Attributed to the Byzantine period, for example, is a large hunting pavement from a Christian building at Carthage (figs. 103, 104);²⁶⁴ and this remarkable floor also follows the conventions of the earlier schematic, centralized designs, while eliminating the ground-lines between the registers and arranging the subsidiary elements to enhance the effect of symmetry and balance. The same was probably true of a second

²⁵⁷ Hinks, no. 57, p. 144 ff., where a date of late fifth or early sixth century is given (p. 148). Hinks suggests, erroneously I believe, that the Khéreddine Hunt (fig. 94) may be contemporary. Courtois, *op. cit.*, p. 228, note 4, would make the Bordj-Djedid mosaic Byzantine, though his reasons seem insufficient.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Gauckler, *Mus. op.*, p. 2124.

²⁵⁹ From the material previously discussed in this paper, cf. the Christian examples of the modified *asarotos* and vine-scroll carpet designs cited in notes 148 and 165. Needless to say, the continuous carpet designs (*supra*, p. 216 ff.) also found ready reception in Christian churches, where the use of images may be frowned upon (cf., among many examples, the fourth-century basilica at Tebessa, *Inv. Alg.*, no. 6, p. 3).

²⁶⁰ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 349, p. 84 f.; cf. H. Chardon, "Fouilles de Rusguniae," *BAC* (1900), p. 129 ff., pl. v; the inscriptions indicate a date before the Vandal conquest (*ibid.*, p. 143). Photograph in L. Leschi, "La basilique chrétienne en Algérie," *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale di Archeologia cristiana, Rome, 1938*, I (Rome, 1940), fig. 13, p. 163.

²⁶¹ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 463, p. 156 f., ill.

²⁶² *Inv. Tun.*, no. 1024, p. 327, ill. According to Gauckler, the tombs in this chapel date from before the reconquest ("Mosaiques tombales d'une Chapelle de Martyres à Thabraca," *MonPiot*, 13 [1906], p. 175 ff., esp. p. 185).

²⁶³ C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris, 1896), pp. 387 ff., 418 ff.

²⁶⁴ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 770, p. 258; Gauckler, *NowArch* (1907), p. 440 ff., plan on pl. xxvii, fig. 1; Gauckler attributed it to the sixth or seventh century (*CRAI* [1904], p. 697).

pavement in the building (fig. 105), whose composition, recalling the Dominus Julius and Tabarka apse mosaics (figs. 95, 96), is dominated by an elaborately rendered structure with portico and towers.²⁶⁵

Thus, although profound changes have obviously occurred in such pavements, it is clear that the traditions we have been following became part of the lifeblood of Christian art in North Africa. There, in contrast to many regions of the Empire, the transition from ancient to mediaeval took place without a major lapse in continuity.

SUMMARY

Our brief survey of North African pavement decoration has revealed several distinct characteristics. We have found a marked preference for compositional types and devices that serve to retain the unity of the floor surface, and whose capacity to do so was exploited with extraordinary consistency by North African designers. While the basic principles are manifest in their use of decorative designs, it was in applying them to polychrome figural compositions that the artists made perhaps their most significant contribution.

Underlying this manner of treating the floor is a totally unclassical conception of picture space that, as everything goes to show, was "endemic." The earliest pavements preserve the floor's unity to a degree unparalleled at Antioch until the tradition of the Hellenistic *emblema* was superseded several centuries later. Though we shall find it difficult to establish a real connection (see p. 251 ff.), it is useful to imagine the North African artists' point of departure as roughly analogous to the Italian silhouette mosaics, where figures are conceived as virtually independent decorative elements, and the floor as a completely flat surface (cf. figs. 116-118). From this point of view, compositions like the rural landscape at Oudna (fig. 75) or the apse at Carthage (fig. 79) seem intended merely to "evoke" scenes of the Hellenistic type in a general way. Nothing bears this out more clearly than comparison with the relatively illusionistic hunting mosaics that have been preserved, like the well-known *emblemata* from Palermo (fig. 106) and Chiusi.²⁶⁶ By comparison the African designs seem "compiled," as if a variety of individual elements had been put

²⁶⁵ *Inv. Tun.*, no. 771, p. 258f.

²⁶⁶ On the Palermo Hunt, cf. E. Gabrici, "Ruderi romani scoperti alla Piazza dell' Vittoria in Palermo," *MonAnt*, 26 (1921-22), col. 193ff., fig. 6, pls. III-IV; H. Fuhrmann, *Philoxenos von Eretria* (Göttingen, 1931), p. 228ff; it is generally taken as representing the lion hunt in which Alexander the Great was saved from death by his general Craterus the Elder (Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 63-64, Plutarch, *Alex.*, 40, with reference to the bronze group at Delphi by Lysippus and Leochares). It has been dated as early as the mid-second century B.C., but not later than the first century A.D.; for a summary of opinions, see Pernice, p. 12f.

On the Chiusi Hunt, cf. Levi, p. 239, fig. 91, who suggests that it reflects a Polygnotan composition illustrating the Calydonian Hunt.

Probably based directly upon models such as these, and for this reason extremely unusual in North Africa, are two hunting compositions that have been associated with the same mythological or quasi-mythological subjects, placed in a corridor of the Villa del Nilo (Aurigemma, *AfrIt* [1929], pp. 251ff., 258f.).

together so as to suggest, rather loosely, coherent pictures.²⁶⁷ And that they are indeed deliberate approximations, rather than inept imitations, is indicated by the very fact that in another relatively early example like the "circular" hunt from El-Djem (fig. 77), the classical norms may be disregarded entirely.

Yet, it is significant that a *rapprochement* to the classical picture concept did occur, for North Africa, like the rest of the Empire, drew heavily upon Hellenistic tradition, not only for much of its general artistic vocabulary but through specific currents, represented by pavements such as those at Tipasa and Portus Magnus (figs. 66, 69, 70), in which classical subject matter and elements of classical style are especially prominent.²⁶⁸ Even in cases of extreme conservatism, however, as in the mosaics of Tripolitania, the fundamentally unclassical attitude can be discerned.²⁶⁹ Indeed, the North African contribution may be said to consist largely in having adapted the Hellenistic pictorial legacy to an unclassical point of view. And this may be precisely the reason why at Antioch when, in the second half of the fifth century, the need was felt for figural compositions that would provide the same kind of unity as did the earlier carpet designs, North Africa supplied the ingredients for a solution.

An unclassical attitude having been operative *ab initio*, only certain aspects of the North African achievement can properly be said to have "evolved." Some of the compositional forms are characteristic of definite periods (though none fit within very narrow chronological limits), and we have seen that they changed in characteristic ways with the passage of time. Essentially, however, the Apollo and Diana Hunt from Khéreddine (fig. 94) is neither more nor less unclassical than the Oudna pavement (fig. 75); it is simply more abstract and schematic. There took place no profound shift, as was the case at Antioch. This too is a valuable observation, since it provides an insight into the nature of the North African development. It would seem that substantially from the beginning the North African artists had at their disposal, whether by invention or importation, a number of basic compositional formulae that could be extended in any direction for any distance. They experimented with these formulae, producing a variety of alternative solutions in accordance with individual tastes and circumstances, not succeeding one another in a clearly definable sequence. It is therefore understandable that, for example, the Oudna (fig. 75) and El-Djem (fig. 77) hunts take different viewpoints into account, while later pavements like the Constantine (figs. 84, 85) and Khéreddine (fig. 94) Hunts do not; yet, with reference to the late Antioch Hunts the former seem in this respect more "advanced." Analogously, the examples with registers that have no ground-line more closely anticipate the Antioch floors than those that do; yet, in North Africa both systems are used in two by-and-large contemporary floors like the Constantine and Khéreddine Hunts.

Admittedly it is impossible to be dogmatic about the detailed chronology of

²⁶⁷ For this kind of "synthetic" creation of a classical picture-type at a later period, cf. Kitzinger, *VO Papers* (1951), pp. 98, 122.

²⁶⁸ Such currents of relative conservatism were also observed by Gauckler, *Mus. op.*, p. 2124, and *MonPiot* (1906), p. 225.

²⁶⁹ See *supra*, p. 206 ff.

the North African pavements. But it seems very unlikely that this heterogeneity is a mere illusion. And the explanation may be that in speaking of "experimental solutions," we may actually be referring to the achievements of a great number of schools or workshops operating throughout North Africa, each approaching the floor as a unified whole, while having its own predilections, more or less progressive depending upon one's frame of reference. Moreover, the workshops, though perhaps operating from headquarters in the larger centers, were doubtless itinerant; so that in sorting them out, we should also have to reckon with a very complex pattern of interrelationships.²⁷⁰

The important fact for us, however, is that the underlying attitude toward picture space, as well as certain of the individual formulae, anticipates the analogous solutions that appeared quite suddenly at Antioch in the second half of the fifth century. The evidence therefore suggests, unavoidably, that an influence must somehow have taken place, an influence of considerable importance since it contained some of the basic elements of mediaeval style.

We have pointed out that in the present case the question of "how" the influence might have taken place is more than usually a critical one. Any answer to this question must be tempered with the reservations imposed by our limited knowledge of the stylistic peculiarities of the various provinces, to say nothing of individual schools or masters of pavement decoration. We cannot hope to draw finely articulated geneological trees, as with the painters of the Italian Renaissance. We can only attempt to sketch such broad channels of communication as the available evidence reveals.

PART II

EXPANSION AND TRANSMISSION

"OFFICIAL" INFLUENCE I (WEST)

Piazza Armerina

The problem is greatly illuminated by the recent excavation at Piazza Armerina, in a remote inland region of Sicily, of one of the richest architectural complexes with mosaic pavements from the late Empire (fig. 107).²⁷¹ In

²⁷⁰ On North African "workshops," see Gauckler, *Mus. op.*, p. 2109f; on the so-called "school of Byzacena," see *supra*, note 177. Otherwise, so far as I know, except for the observations in the dissertation of Mrs. Margaret Alexander on the Christian tomb mosaics, which it is hoped will soon be published, no extensive work has been done on the problem of schools and workshops in North Africa, though a careful study might yield important results in the matter of chronology.

²⁷¹ The bibliography on Piazza Armerina given in Gentili, *La villa*, p. 9, note 1, while not complete, contains the essential references up to 1954; subsequent bibliography will appear in the notes that follow. Our plan (fig. 107) is reproduced from *ibid.*, pp. 2-3; a good isometric plan can be found in Pace, *I mosaici*, pl. 1, opp. p. 32. Recently, Gentili has published a volume (*I mos. fig.*) of color details of the mosaics with a plan showing the surfaces that were covered with mosaic and a number of very useful drawings of larger compositions in their entirety.

many respects the building, with its more than 3,500 square meters of mosaic floors, raises more questions than it answers. The location is perhaps its most puzzling aspect, and only extraordinary circumstances could account for the appearance of such splendor in what, even in antiquity, must have been a very out-of-the-way place.²⁷² Furthermore, no absolutely reliable archaeological evidence was uncovered to provide a date,²⁷³ nor were there any direct indications as to the building's owner,²⁷⁴ nor yet its function.

On the other hand, certain reasonable inferences can be drawn. While there are several instances of superimposition or replacement,²⁷⁵ the complex as a whole is certainly a single unit, and was in all likelihood planned and built as such.²⁷⁶ And, although many details are extraordinary, certain major elements of the plan—especially the large main court surrounded by a variety of rooms and the adjoining bathing establishment—are those of a suburban villa of the imperial period.²⁷⁷ In fact, even if the building served some other purpose, we should still have to admit that its architecture is basically in the villa tradition. Moreover, its sheer size and magnificence quite naturally suggest the possibility that it might actually have had imperial connections.²⁷⁸

All these factors explain why one of the first proposals, by H. P. L'Orange, as to the nature of the building has best withstood the test of subsequent criticism and excavation; namely, that it constituted the *otium*, or retiring place, of the Emperor Maximianus Herculius after his abdication from the

²⁷² See the discussions of the ancient name of the site in Gentili, *La villa*, p. 10, Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 38ff.; a new identification of the site has been proposed by L. Villari, *L'antichissima città di Ibla Erea nei ritrovamenti della villa romana di Piazza Armerina* (Grottaferrata, 1960). It was located on a section of the Via Publica from Catania to Agrigento.

²⁷³ But see *infra*.

²⁷⁴ Gentili's interpretation (*NSc*, 4 [1950], fig. 16, p. 315, and p. 332) of one of the inscriptions found in the villa as referring to the *gens Anicia* was inconclusive (cf. Pace, *I mosaici*, pp. 37, 118), and he seems to have abandoned it subsequently. Equally unacceptable as evidence is the elaborate reconstruction of a very fragmentary inscription to establish the ownership of Maximianus Herculius (Gentili, *La villa*, pp. 12, 17, *idem*, "Le gare del circo nel mosaico di Piazza Armerina," *BdA*, 42 [1957], p. 26, note 1; cf. Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 37, G. Manganaro, "Aspetti pagani dei mosaici di Piazza Armerina," *ArchCl*, 11 [1959], p. 240, note 1).

²⁷⁵ The pavement with the famous "Bikini" girls was found above another of geometric design (Gentili, *La villa*, p. 47f., room 38); in the east side of the main peristyle (no. 15) was inserted an obviously later mosaic panel with a vase containing a plant motive and a curious inscription involving the name Bonifatius or Bonufatius (cf. Gentili, "I mosaici della villa romana del Casale di Piazza Armerina," *BdA*, 37 [1952], p. 34, fig. 5; Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 118f., offers an alternative explanation). Other mosaic replacements and an earlier bath are mentioned (Gentili, *FA*, 9 [1954], no. 4979, p. 360f., 10 [1955], no. 4398, p. 353f.), and evidently there were also later repairs (*idem*, *La villa*, p. 38).

²⁷⁶ Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 36f., had suggested, on the basis of certain pottery and coins and enigmatic fragments of inscriptions, that an earlier villa may have existed on the site. Pace also inferred, erroneously I believe, from the stylistic differences in the mosaics that the erection and decoration of the building covered a considerable period (*ibid.*, p. 105), but even he recognized it as an organic unit (p. 37).

²⁷⁷ Gentili, *NSc* (1950), p. 298. The present writer offers some remarks on the place of certain of the building's features in the development of late antique domestic architecture in the article mentioned *supra*, note 4; cf. also *ArtB* (1960), p. 71, now too K. M. Swoboda, "The Problem of the Iconography of Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Palaces," *JSAH*, 20 (1961), p. 78ff. On the kind of planning employed, cf. N. Neuerberg, "Some Considerations on the Architecture of the Imperial Villa at Piazza Armerina," *Marsyas*, 8 (1959), p. 22f.

²⁷⁸ The over-all dimensions of the Piazza Armerina complex are of the order of 130 x 100 m.

throne in A.D. 305.²⁷⁹ It would thus be the counterpart of the palace built at Spalato by Diocletian, with whom Maximianus shared the rule. The identification rests on four main considerations. First, we know that Maximianus built such an *otium*, though the sources are contradictory as to its precise location;²⁸⁰ second, there is an undeniable physiognomical resemblance between a figure in the largest of the hunting pavements (see *infra*), supposedly the villa's "proprietor," and the Tetrarchic portraits outside San Marco, Venice, and in the Vatican Library, and the headgear they wear is identical;²⁸¹ third, a striking number of elements in the building are, or at least have been, related to the myth of Hercules, from whom Maximianus claimed origin.²⁸² Of particular interest is the pavement of the central area of the great trilobed building, which most extraordinarily represents only the defeated antagonists of Hercules' labors—the Houses of Diomedes, the Nemean Lion, etc. (figs. 111, 112);²⁸³ it is extremely tempting to imagine the Emperor himself as the symbolic protagonist. A further point is that the generally "late antique" style indicates that the mosaics were made sometime between the beginning of the fourth and the early fifth century, though opinion has differed in assigning a closer date.²⁸⁴

But quite recently a certain amount of new evidence has appeared that points specifically to the early fourth century. Professor A. H. M. Jones has

²⁷⁹ Cf. H. P. L'Orange, "È un palazzo di Massimiano Erculeo che gli scavi di Piazza Armerina portano alla luce?", *SymbOslo*, 21 (1952), p. 114ff. L'Orange's proposal was criticized by S. Mazzarino, "Sull'*otium* di Massimiano Erculio dopo l'abdicazione," *RendLinc*, 8 (1953), p. 417ff., and by Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 111ff. The hypothesis was subsequently accepted by Gentili, the excavator, with the modification that it is not the Emperor's palace of retirement after the abdication, but simply his hunting lodge (*La villa*, p. 9; *idem*, *BdA* [1957], p. 26, note 1).

²⁸⁰ Lucania, Campania, and simply a *suburbanum otium* are mentioned in the sources (see the references in *RE*, XIV, col. 2511), which can, therefore, hardly be regarded as favoring the specific identification of Piazza Armerina as Maximianus' retiring place. However, in view of the sources' vagueness and lack of agreement, neither can they be taken as incontrovertible.

²⁸¹ Cf. L'Orange, *SymbOslo* (1952), fig. 1, and p. 117, note 2; the resemblance was questioned by Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 116f. The problem is not so much whether the heads are similar, which seems to me quite plain, but in what degree they can be taken as representing specific individuals (compare, for example, the woman represented in room 13, Gentili, *La villa*, p. 27f., fig. 10, who has been regarded as Maximianus' wife Eutropia, with the figure of a judge of a contest in a mosaic from Tebessa, *Inv. Alg.*, no. 3, p. 2, ill.), and whether we are justified in assuming that the Emperor's face might be depicted on the floor.

²⁸² The clearest references are the pavement in the center of the triconch, mentioned immediately below in the text, and that in the northern apse which has been called a Glorification of Hercules (fig. 113). Gentili, *La villa*, p. 16, also regards the ivy (*hedera*) that appears in a number of pavements as symbolic of Hercules; Pace, *I mosaici*, pp. 37, 117, legitimately questions this, as well as Gentili's epigraphical interpretations (*supra*, note 274).

On the other hand, H. P. L'Orange, "Il Palazzo di Massimiano Erculeo di Piazza Armerina," *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, III, *Studi di archeologia e storia dell'arte antica*, (Milan-Varese, 1956), p. 593, ill. opp. p. 596, has very convincingly identified a colossal marble head found in the building as Hercules (Gentili, *La Villa*, p. 25, fig. 37; Gentili had recognized it as Maxentius, son of Maximianus).

²⁸³ Cf. fig. 107, no. 46; Gentili, *La villa*, p. 52f., figs. 32, 33; drawing of whole in *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, fig. 12.

²⁸⁴ Pace (*supra*, note 276) considered that execution of the pavements extended from the latter part of the fourth into the fifth century. The question of date aside, the formal differences that led him to assume a chronological "spread" can be explained, more reasonably I believe, by the simultaneous existence of more than one stylistic tradition (see *infra*). Exception being made for replacements and repairs such as those mentioned in note 275, I am aware of no archaeological evidence for differences in date among the mosaics as a whole.

produced an ingenious interpretation of two of the pavements based on numismatic arguments, which, if correct, yields a date in the first quarter of the century.²⁸⁵ Still more important are the ceramic and numismatic materials reported to have been found above and below the surface of the mosaics.²⁸⁶ These too indicate the early years of the century as the most likely period. Thus, the connection with Maximianus is chronologically possible. Indeed, this theory helps to explain many of the monument's enigmas without, in my estimation, incurring any insurmountable obstacles.²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, without additional evidence (the complex has not yet been completely excavated) or at least the definitive publication of all the evidence presently available, the identification cannot be taken as proved; we shall have to content ourselves with the conclusion that if it was not in fact an imperial villa, it might very well have been one.²⁸⁸

In spite of the many disagreements concerning the owner and function of the building at Piazza Armerina, one fact has always been apparent—that its pavements are intimately related to the North African mosaic tradition.²⁸⁹ We cannot here undertake a detailed analysis of the nearly fifty rooms whose floors have mosaic decorations (some of which have never been illustrated). But discussion of at least a few of the more elaborate pavements will help to define in general terms the position they occupy in the development we have been following.

We have seen, for example, a continuous evolution in North Africa of organic all-over motives. The development culminated toward the end of the third century with a maximum of tropical luxuriance, as in the mosaics from the villa at Thuburbo Majus.²⁹⁰ And we have seen that in fact Piazza Armerina offers several close parallels for the pavements of that building. A version of the diagonal vine-scroll motive with winged putti playing among the convolutions, very similar to the one at Thuburbo, occurs in room 42 at Piazza Armerina, where also the thickly laden vines originating in the corners fairly obliterate the white background (figs. 58, 59). The acanthus scrolls populated

²⁸⁵ "The Origin and Early History of the *Follis*," *JRS*, 49 (1959), p. 34 ff.

²⁸⁶ B. Neutsch, *AA*, 69 (1954), col. 598, mentions that when several pavements were raised for restoration (rooms 3, 8, 42-45, 46c) sherds of *terra sigillata* were found, datable from the second century through the period immediately before Constantine. Finds of ceramics and coins were mentioned by Gentili (notices in *FA* cited *supra*, note 275). Now Gentili (*I mos. fig.*, p. 74) speaks of large quantities of ceramics and coins (among them apparently a sealed coin of Maximianus) all pointing to the early fourth century. These finds, if and when they are published in detail, may prove decisive.

²⁸⁷ L'Orange has explained the remarkable but fragmentary pavement in the vestibule (no. 3, Gentili, *La villa*, fig. 3) as the *adventus* ceremony for the Emperor ("The *Adventus* Ceremony and the Slaying of Pentheus as Represented in two Mosaics of about A.D. 300" in *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.* [Princeton, 1955], p. 7 ff.). B. Neutsch has proposed that, since the scenes in the pavements of rooms 31-36 are all otherworldly subjects found on sarcophagi, this portion of the complex may be a mausoleum or Heroon (ΜΑΚΑΡΩΝ ΝΗΣΟΙ, *RM*, 60-61 [1953-54], p. 70, note 24). Also, a connection has been made with references to the *basilica Herculis* built by Theodoric at Ravenna (Cassiodorus, *Var.*, I, 6; cf. Dyggve in *SymbOslo* [1952], p. 126, and "Excursus sulla 'basilica Herculis' ricordata da Cassiodoro," *Università degli studi di Bologna, Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, fasc. II [Ravenna, 1957], p. 75 ff.; cf. Gentili, *La villa*, p. 12).

²⁸⁸ Even Pace was perfectly amenable to the idea that it was an imperial villa (*I mosaici*, p. 118); he simply felt the evidence did not warrant assuming it was that of Maximianus Herculis.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Gentili, *La villa*, p. 13 f.; Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 106 f.

²⁹⁰ Cf. pp. 212, 218, 222 *supra*.

by birds and animals that filled the ambulatory around the central panel at Thuburbo, is used in an analogous fashion at Piazza Armerina to cover the narrow surface of the curved peristyle that precedes the trifolium (figs. 48, 49); and this penchant for treating such long corridors uniformly is further illustrated by the Piazza Armerina mosaicists' use of wreath medallions containing animal heads as the design for the porticos of the main rectangular court (figs. 27, 28, 29).

Admittedly, we cannot be sure that the mosaics at Thuburbo actually precede those at Piazza Armerina. But the similarities are so obvious that neither can we doubt some kinship between them; and this for us is the only really important point, since we have found that the essential background for the motives themselves as well as the way in which they are employed, lies in North Africa. The major difference is that at Piazza Armerina the scale is far grander than anything we have seen in North Africa.

Much the same may be said not only of the marine scenes at Piazza Armerina, already discussed (p. 215f.), but also of the villa's famous hunting pavements. The most remarkable of these fills the enormously long corridor (ca. 4.50 × 60.00 m.) that precedes the main triclinium (figs. 108, 109).²⁹¹ Here we find rich coloristic forms that are directly comparable to the style of the hunting pavement from Hippo (fig. 81), for which there was some independent evidence indicating a date toward the end of the third century.²⁹² At the same time, the arrangement in three loosely defined registers and the ambiguous space recall the mid-third-century pavements from El-Djem (fig. 80) and Carthage (fig. 79; as in the latter, an undulating horizon-line is still retained at the top). On the other hand, at Piazza Armerina there is no apparent narrative sequence, so that the registering, in purely formal terms, seems to anticipate the later pavement at Constantine (fig. 84).²⁹³ This is also true of the slight tendency to place groups (or "scenes") above one another, which recurs more schematically in the Constantine mosaic. Similarly, the hunt composition that here fills a single straight corridor is continued around a corner in the later Maison du Paon at Carthage.²⁹⁴

This impression that the Piazza Armerina mosaics not only reflect what had gone before in North Africa but look forward to what was to follow, is reinforced by the so-called "Small Hunt" that decorated room 23 (fig. 110).²⁹⁵ In

²⁹¹ Cf. fig. 107, no. 26; Gentili, *La villa*, p. 36ff., figs. 17-21; drawing of whole in *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, fig. 5.

²⁹² *Supra*, note 230.

²⁹³ Another instance in which Piazza Armerina carries further a device that had appeared in earlier North African examples is provided by a comparison between the pavement with infant hunters in room no. 36 (Gentili, *La villa*, p. 46f., fig. 27; see the color detail in *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, pl. XLII) and the early third-century mosaic with rural scenes from Cherchel (fig. 78). In the latter the floral elements in the landscape setting of each register tend to develop into complicated arabesques that serve to emphasize the space between the figures as a decorative surface. The same device is used in the Sicilian pavement, but in a much more abstract way, so that birds, branches, etc., have almost the effect of the modified *asarotos* compositions (see *supra*, p. 213f.); a close parallel for this treatment is found in the fragmentary pavement of a triclinium from Carthage (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 606, p. 204).

²⁹⁴ *Supra*, note 232.

²⁹⁵ Gentili, *La villa*, p. 33ff., fig. 14; drawing of whole in *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, fig. 4.

it the banquet scene that occupies the middle of the composition,²⁹⁶ and the motives that divide the upper two registers,²⁹⁷ foreshadow the centralizing tendencies of the late fourth- and early fifth-century pavements, such as that at Khéreddine (fig. 94).²⁹⁸

Investigators have emphasized that two main pictorial traditions are represented in the Piazza Armerina pavements.²⁹⁹ One, epitomized in the hunting mosaics, involves an extremely coloristic, painterly style, and specializes in realistic genre subjects. The other, while also relying on color to define form, concentrates upon plastic, vigorously modeled figures of massive proportions, and specializes in more exalted mythological subjects. Most of the mosaics in the villa have been ascribed to one or the other, or to a mixture of these categories. While the dichotomy has perhaps been somewhat exaggerated, oversimplifying what was probably a very complex situation,³⁰⁰ there is little room to doubt that two of the major constituents of late antique style are represented.

The classical or "academic" style appears most clearly in the pavements of the great trefoil triclinium (fig. 111) whose central square contains the representations, already mentioned, of the antagonists of the Labors of Hercules (fig. 112), while the apse mosaics depict the Glorification of Hercules (fig. 113), the defeated Giants (fig. 114), and Lycurgus and Ambrosia (fig. 115).³⁰¹ It would be logical to expect that this group of mosaics at Piazza Armerina might find its closest parallels in areas, such as Antioch itself, where classical values were conserved with the greatest tenacity. But the academic tradition has in fact been transformed in a way unknown at Antioch: the figures are much grander and more monumental; the forms are created of highly saturated masses of color; and the compositions involve an entirely un-Antiochene conception of space. Even a cursory analysis shows that this particular version of the classical tradition, no less than the "progressive" style of the hunting pavements, was a direct transplantation from North Africa. The figure style is virtually the same as that in the triclinium mosaic of the villa at Portus Magnus (figs. 69, 70). In the apsidal compositions, particularly the Glorification of Hercules (fig. 113) and the Licurgus and Ambrosia panels (fig. 115), the great figures crowd the available space, and a strange fusion of

²⁹⁶ Pace, *I mosaici*, pl. xviii, p. 99.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. xix, p. 113.

²⁹⁸ We have not generally been concerned with precedents for specific motives, but we may mention the particularly interesting case of the mock circus (children driving chariots pulled by various birds) in room no. 33 (Gentili, *La villa*, fig. 25). This has recently appeared in a mosaic at Volubilis (R. Thouvenot, "Maisons de Volubilis," *PSAM*, 12 [1958], fig. 1, pl. xvi); as we have pointed out, the town was probably evacuated in the last quarter of third century.

²⁹⁹ Gentili, *La villa*, p. 13 ff.; Pace, *I mosaici*, p. 93 ff.

³⁰⁰ For example, the animals in the corridor of the hunt are not radically different in style from those in the Victories of Hercules (compare figs. 11 and 22 in Pace, *ibid.*). But, at the same time, more than two "styles" may actually be discerned at Piazza Armerina. We must weigh the personal element in late classical pavement decoration against the possibility that an artist or workshop may have used different styles for different kinds of subject matter. Cf. generally O. Brendel, "Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art," *MAAR*, 21 (1953), p. 68 ff.

³⁰¹ Cf. fig. 107, no. 46 a, b, c, respectively; Gentili, *La villa*, p. 53 ff., figs. 34-36.

foreground with background is achieved by combining overlappings with a kind of vertical perspective—again as at Portus Magnus. So close is the relationship, in fact, that the late third-century *terminus ante quem* that seemed probable for the Portus Magnus villa,³⁰² provides another argument for dating the Piazza Armerina mosaics not long thereafter.³⁰³

The most striking indication of the degree of spatial abstraction in this "traditional" group is provided by the pavement of the east apse of the trefoil representing the defeated Giants (fig. 114) and by the floor of the main square of the trefoil with the Victories of Hercules (figs. 111, 112). In these instances the figures have no ground-lines at all; a few branches, rock formations, etc., are introduced in the intervening spaces to suggest the idea of a landscape setting, a device we have noted frequently in the third century. But here too we find characteristics that will recur later in North Africa. The figural elements in the Labors floor are arranged vertically in at least three tiers, which completely interpenetrate—as in the fourth-century hunting pavements from Djemila and Cherchel (figs. 87, 89). And the apse of the Giants has a centralized composition such as we associated particularly with mosaics of the late fourth century.³⁰⁴ At the same time, these comparisons with genre scenes recall the interaction which we noted between the "progressive" and "conservative" currents in North Africa.

The mosaics at Piazza Armerina thus seem to fit integrally into the evolution of late imperial pavement decoration in North Africa. Indeed, it would come as no surprise to learn that they were actually produced by North African artists. And the closeness of the relationship permits two important observations. Firstly, the Sicilian pavements widen the sphere of North African style from the African littoral northward to a region which in turn is closely connected with the hub of the Empire.³⁰⁵ Secondly, by its very size and magnificence Piazza Armerina raises the "social standing" of North African style to a level which is at least worthy of an emperor and from which a wide range of influences is entirely conceivable. The great scene of chariot racing in the circus that decorated the palaestra of the bath at Piazza Armerina,³⁰⁶ also anticipated in North Africa,³⁰⁷ is close enough to examples elsewhere to suggest that there may indeed have been connections with

³⁰² *Supra*, note 207.

³⁰³ The ground plan of the Portus Magnus villa likewise bears striking analogies to Piazza Armerina (cf. Lavin, *ArtB* [1962], p. 7). The similarity of the Portus Magnus pavement to these figures at Piazza Armerina is also noted by G.-Ch. Picard, in *Atti sett. Cong. int. archeol. cl.*, III, p. 246.

A related "plastic" style appears in a mosaic of the Loves of Jupiter from Ouled-Agla (fig. 131), discussed below, p. 264.

³⁰⁴ *Supra*, p. 238 ff.

³⁰⁵ Pace has repeatedly emphasized the dependence of Sicilian pavement decoration in general upon that of North Africa (*I mosaici*, p. 106, note 31, p. 109).

³⁰⁶ Cf. fig. 107, no. 8; see the detailed study of this pavement by Gentili, *BdA* (1957), p. 7 ff., drawing of whole, fig. 1, also in *idem*, *I mos. fig.*, fig. 3.

³⁰⁷ Compare the pavement at Carthage dated end second-early third century by G.-Ch. Picard, *La Civilisation de l'Afrique romaine* (Paris, 1959), p. 391, note 57, pl. 44 opp. p. 306; no later than the third century, according to L. A. Constans, "Mosaïque de Carthage représentant les jeux du cirque," *RA*, 5th Ser., 3 (1916), p. 259.

other parts of the Empire, even if the chronological relationships are quite uncertain.³⁰⁸

In general, however, it seems unlikely that Piazza Armerina could have exercised any appreciable direct influence. Whether or not it was an imperial residence, considering its location, it could have been seen only by a select few. It should be regarded primarily as an instance, though a quite spectacular one, of the migration and elevation of a provincial style during the fourth century.^{308a}

Evidence in Rome

The importance of Piazza Armerina, though very great, is limited by considerations other than the obscurity of its location. The very fact of its proximity to North Africa would justify the question whether it represents anything more than a "normal" extension of regional traditions to an adjacent geographical area. One might also assume that in this particularly remarkable case the transfer was no more than the whim of some individual, emperor or not, rather than indicative of a larger phenomenon.

If this period did indeed witness a large-scale migration of North African traditions, and especially if they underwent a process of "cosmopolitanization" that might help to explain their ultimate transmission to the eastern half of the Empire, then we should reasonably expect them to have left some trace among the mosaics of Rome itself. There is in fact a good deal of evidence to support this hypothesis. Before attempting to evaluate it, however, certain aspects of the Roman tradition itself should be considered.

It was pointed out earlier that a unified approach to the floor was, as such, by no means confined to North Africa. On the contrary, it seems to have

³⁰⁸ For pavements with chariot racing cf. Reinach, *RPGR*, p. 291 ff. Compare especially the Spanish examples from Barcelona (R. Ménéndez Pidal, *Historia de España* [Madrid, 1935], II, figs. 309, 310, pp. 512, 513) and Gironne (*Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona* [Publicaciones de la Dirección general de Bellas Artes] [Madrid, 1955], p. 128 ff., ill. sala xxv, B), and the pavement from Lyons in France (*Inv. Gaule*, no. 712, II, p. 6, ill.; P. Wuilleumier, *Lyon Métropole des Gaules* [Paris, 1953], pl. viii). The famous mosaic from Italica may also have belonged with this group (A. de Laborde, *Description d'un pavé en mosaïque découvert dans l'ancienne ville d'Italica* [Paris, 1802], pl. 1).

The Barcelona floor was ascribed by E. Hübner, "Mosaici di Barcelona," *AdI*, 35 (1863), p. 136, to the beginning or middle of the second century A.D., much too early. A. B. Freijeiro, "Mosaicos romanos con escenas de circo y anfiteatro en el Museo Arqueológico Nacional," *ArchEspArg*, 23 (1950), p. 136, considered it post-Constantinian. Wuilleumier, *op.cit.*, p. 84, assigns the Lyon floor to the second century, also too early. The mosaic from Gironne was placed in the period of Philippus Arabus (244-49) by J. de la Rada, "Mosaicos romanos representando carreras de carros en el circo," *Museo Español de Antigüedades*, 11 (1880), p. 281 ff.; A. Garcia y Bellido, "Nombres de artistas en la España romana," *ArchEspArg*, 28 (1955), p. 13, dates it in the fourth century.

^{308a} After this study was in proof, in the summer of 1963, Professor L'Orange most kindly allowed me to read the manuscript of a new article he has written on the mosaics of Piazza Armerina, to be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Acta* of the Norwegian Institute in Rome. Professor L'Orange devotes a good deal of attention to relationships with North Africa and, though his point of view is different, he considers many of the same monuments discussed here, which he also finds tend to confirm his original dating of Piazza Armerina to the period of Maximianus.

been characteristic of the western provinces generally, as is witnessed, for example, by the geometric and all-over designs of Italy and Gaul, many of which we have cited as precedents or parallels for compositional types found in North Africa. What seemed most distinctive of North Africa was the application of this principle of unity to large-scale figure compositions in polychromy.

But it is important to keep in mind that, at least in part, this latter achievement had also been anticipated in Italy, and particularly in Rome. There a form of pavement decoration had prevailed that by its very nature tended to recognize and preserve the integrity of the floor as a surface: namely the silhouette mosaics, in which figurative elements in black, often with internal details outlined in white, are placed against a white background.³⁰⁹ Beginning in the first century A.D. the black-and-white pavements reached a peak of development in the second century, under the Antonines; thereafter they steadily declined in popularity and by the fourth century became relatively rare.

The Italian silhouette mosaics in the heyday of their development offer virtually the only real parallel for the large unified figural compositions found in North Africa. On the whole, they form a much more coherent group than do the analogous North African pavements, displaying neither the variety of compositional types nor the hybrid experimental character of the latter. By the same token, however, they seem to achieve over-all unity in more thoroughgoing and consistent ways, anticipating even more directly than had the North African mosaicists some of the solutions found later at Antioch. This is particularly the case with "circular" compositions in which the figural elements are arranged (as in later polychrome marine pavements such as that in the bath at Piazza Armerina, fig. 42) in concentric rings with or without a centerpiece, facing the surrounding walls of the room (fig. 116).³¹⁰ Here are some of the essential ingredients of the late Antioch hunts, though symmetries and rhythmic repetitions have given the latter a more systematic organization. In a remarkable pavement from Castel Porziano marine and hunting scenes in silhouette filled the four sides of a large quadriporticus (figs. 117, 118),³¹¹ displaying the same kind of extendibility that we have found in North African pavements and that will appear in a number of important eastern examples; the arrangement in a peristyle and the widely spaced figures against a plain background are particularly reminiscent of the Great Palace mosaic at Constantinople.

A further interesting aspect of the black-and-white pavements is their iconographic repertory. Most of them have representations of marine subjects, and a few have mythological themes, notably Orpheus taming the beasts.³¹²

³⁰⁹ On the figured silhouette mosaics, see Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 138 ff., *ibid.* (1940), p. 93 ff.

³¹⁰ Our example, one of many, is the great marine pavement in the Antonine Baths at Ostia (Beccatti, *Ostia IV*, no. 70, p. 48 ff., pl. cxxiv ff.), which measured 18.10 x 10.40 m.

³¹¹ Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 156 f.; Aurigemma, *Le terme*, no. 166, p. 72, pl. XIX a, b, attributed to the second century.

³¹² Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 159 ff.

At the same time, they display a much richer variety of genre subjects, including athletic contests, hunting, and amphitheater scenes, than do the contemporary Italian polychrome mosaics.³¹³

From all these points of view the Italian pavements seem relevant to the development under consideration here, though the nature of their relevance is not easy to determine. They can hardly have been unknown to the North African mosaicists and must at least have provided them with points of departure for their experiments.³¹⁴ On the other hand their influence cannot have been very direct or pervasive. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why actual examples of silhouette mosaics in North Africa are practically nonexistent;³¹⁵ or why, in the face of the more consistent Italian solutions, the North Africans should nevertheless have continued to experiment, producing their, at times, rather strange cross-types.

At least part of the answer lies, I think, in the very nature of the technique. The silhouette is inherently a step removed from reality, flat and non-spatial. The North African artists, seeking an analogous over-all unity with full colors, were confronted with a very special problem, namely that of reconciling the requirements of unity with the illusionistic associations of polychromy in the classical tradition. Hence, the process we have defined of experimental assimilations to the classical picture of unified compositional formulae, some of which were probably based on black-and-white precedent.

In Italy itself, on the whole, no such process seems to have taken place. In the second century polychrome mosaics are relatively rare, and figural compositions tend to be confined to small compartments either isolated or forming part of an over-all geometric design.³¹⁶ Examples subsequently become more frequent, but the large, unified, figural compositions in black and white find few real parallels in polychromy, it seems, until the beginning of the fourth century, in precisely the group of mosaics that, as we shall see, are very closely related to North Africa.³¹⁷ Thus, while the predilection for such compositions was of long standing in Italy, it is possible that the impetus for adopting them in polychromy may have come from North Africa. Conversely, the

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 156f., on amphitheater scenes; p. 162ff., on athletic contests.

³¹⁴ Polychrome compositions close to those of the silhouette mosaics also occur elsewhere, though rarely; cf. the "concentric" marine pavements from Bad Vilbel (Parlasca, p. 93f., pl. 93, late second century) and Baccano, from a villa that may have belonged to the family of Septimius Severus, Aurigemma, *Le Terme*, no. 251, p. 91; cf. *idem*, "Mosaico di Baccano, con scena del mito di Marsia," *Studi in Onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni*, III, p. 519ff.); also the peristyle pavement from Miletus (cited *infra*, note 440).

³¹⁵ Isolated black-white pavements have come to light at Volubilis (cf. R. Thouvenot, "Volubilis. La maison aux travaux d'Ércule," *PSAM*, 8 [1948], p. 104f., pl. III; *idem*, "La Maison d'Orphée à Volubilis," *ibid.*, 6 [1941], p. 42ff., cf. L. Chatelain, "Mosaïques de Volubilis," *ibid.*, 1 [1935], pl. 1, opp. p. 2).

³¹⁶ See Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 172ff. A notable exception would be the Diana mosaic from Poggio Mirteto (*supra*, note 176), if Miss Blake's dating to the period of Hadrian is correct. On the amphitheater mosaics from the Aventine, which Miss Blake subsequently, and rightly, ascribed to the fourth century, see below.

³¹⁷ Large polychrome figure designs occur in the early third century, assuming the ascription to this period of the athletes pavement from the baths of Caracalla (Blake, *MAAR* [1940], p. 111ff.) and the octagonal mosaic from Otricoli in the Vatican (cf. Parlasca, p. 121, note 6, where the impossibility of an earlier dating is made clear).

adoption of the multicolored compositions may have been facilitated by the antecedent silhouette tradition.

The transfer may also have been facilitated by another important aspect of the art of the capital. In basic studies of certain Gallic and Roman sarcophagi and other reliefs depicting scenes of the hunt and chariot racing, G. Rodenwaldt has traced the emergence of a markedly realistic and unclassical style in Rome in the early fourth century.³¹⁸ Indeed, some of the reliefs bear appreciable similarities, stylistic and iconographical, to the pavement traditions with which we are concerned.³¹⁹ And, although we must recall the basic reservations stated earlier concerning correlations between different media,³²⁰ the question inevitably arises as to whether or not the phenomena are related. Rodenwaldt attributed this development to a resurgence in the period of Constantine of local Roman popular art, whose traditions had been preserved through the ages in the medium of triumphal painting;³²¹ he specifically rules out the possibility that provincial styles might have played a role.³²² Unfortunately, Rodenwaldt's theory is difficult to test directly, since none of the triumphal paintings has been preserved. But even granting its validity with respect to the Roman reliefs, it cannot reasonably be applied to the mosaic pavements. In the latter case, while the new style also appears in Rome suddenly in the early fourth century, it was preceded by a long and amply documented development in North Africa, as we have seen. And it would be difficult to believe that the Roman triumphal paintings exercised a continuous and pervasive influence on North African pavement decoration, whereas they are reflected only sporadically in pre-fourth-century Roman relief sculpture,³²³ and not at all, so far as preserved examples seem to indicate, in the earlier pavements of the capital itself. This does not necessarily mean that the two phenomena are unconnected, but it does suggest that their relationship is probably very complex, and that the similarities are not due simply to direct dependence upon a single common source.³²⁴

But whatever the exact nature of the relationship, the Roman tradition

³¹⁸ "Eine spätantike Kunstströmung in Rom," *RM*, 36-37 (1921-22), p. 58ff. (on the hunts); *idem*, *JdI* (1940), p. 12ff., cited *supra*, note 62 (on the scenes of chariot racing).

³¹⁹ Curiously, Rodenwaldt (*RM* [1921-22], p. 107, note 3) neglects the North African hunting pavements, while mentioning one of the very isolated examples in Gaul (the pavement from Lillebonne, on which, see *infra*, p. 263 f.). For the circus scenes with chariot racing, compare especially the relief at Foligno (Rodenwaldt, *JdI* [1940], p. 23ff., fig. 9, p. 27) with the group of pavements discussed here, note 308 (the Foligno relief is reproduced in connection with the Piazza Armerina pavement by Gentili, *BdA* [1957], fig. 10, p. 15).

³²⁰ See *supra*, p. 199f.

³²¹ *RM* (1921-22), p. 80ff.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 73ff.

³²³ Earlier, Rodenwaldt had emphasized the lack of precedent for the new style in Rome in the second or third century (*RM* [1921-22], p. 94); subsequently, he stressed that the late antique simply took the final step in a process of liberation from Greek tradition (*JdI* [1940], pp. 22ff., 42).

³²⁴ It should be evident that the writer is in fundamental agreement with Rodenwaldt's view that the unclassical style is native to the Latin West, that in some measure the provincial manifestations of it were originally derived from Rome, and that it was more readily preserved in the provinces than in the capital. What seems doubtful is the implication that the subsequent developments in the provinces are merely reflections of a continuing evolution in Rome within a form of art, namely triumphal painting, imagined as isolated and radically different from other forms.

that Rodenwaldt isolated is of considerable importance in the present context, on two accounts. It indicates that developments in the capital itself may have provided a congenial "atmosphere" for the reception of an analogous provincial style of pavement decoration. Furthermore, when one adds to the sarcophagi and other reliefs the later contorniates and consular diptychs that show similar stylistic and iconographic features,³²⁵ it provides significant parallel evidence for the elevation of such unclassical traditions to the level of public, and even official art.

At all events, both the earlier silhouette tradition and the artistic transformation that was currently taking place in Rome should be borne in mind in the discussion that follows.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the impact of the African style upon Roman pavement decoration is afforded by a group of private dwellings excavated in recent years at Ostia.³²⁶ Mostly reconstructions of earlier houses, they form a coherent group that represents the last major spurt of building activity before the decline of the city during the fifth century.³²⁷ Moreover, they document the appearance at Ostia of a highly developed "late antique" architecture that radically departs from the city's earlier traditions of domestic building. No less dramatic is the change apparent in the pavements that decorate the houses. At Ostia, from the Republic through the entire third century, the mosaic pavements are almost exclusively black-and-white.³²⁸ Now, however, the silhouette mosaics become rare and secondary, while a rich polychromy dominates in both ornamental and figural designs. Most impressive among the latter is the pavement decorating the largest room of the *Domus dei Dioscuri*, in which a representation of Venus Anadyomene is surrounded by a cortege of Nereids riding on sea monsters arranged to face the perimenter (fig. 119).³²⁹ The large and elaborately colored figure composition is completely unprecedented at Ostia, but is of precisely the type and very much in the style of the third- and fourth-century marine pavements that were so common in North Africa (cf. figs. 36, 38, 71).³³⁰

Becatti, who has devoted an exemplary study to this group of buildings, also emphasizes the close comparisons which the North African pavements offer

³²⁵ On the contorniates with amphitheater and circus scenes, cf. A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (Festschrift der ungarischen numismatischen Gesellschaft zur Feier ihres vierzigjährigen Bestehens) (Budapest, 1943), p. 122 ff.; but see also the review by J. M. C. Toynbee, *JRS*, 35 (1945), p. 115 ff., where it is suggested that the contorniates, rather than being a form of pagan propaganda, as is Alföldi's view, were simply mementos of the spectacles. On the consular diptychs, see the relevant examples in R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), *passim*.

³²⁶ G. Becatti, *BdI* (1948), pp. 102 ff., 197 ff. (also printed separately).

³²⁷ Becatti (*ibid.*, and *Ostia IV*, chronological table, p. 377) distributes the houses from the late third through the fourth century; in G. Calza, etc., *Scavi di Ostia. I. Topografia Generale* (Rome, 1953), chronological table, p. 238, they are placed in the fourth-fifth centuries. On the dating, see below, note 334.

³²⁸ Becatti, *BdA* (1948), p. 206.

³²⁹ Becatti, *Ostia IV*, no. 217, p. 119 ff., pl. CXXXIX ff.

³³⁰ To the comparisons cited by Becatti, *ibid.*, p. 122, should be added the pavement with Nereids found at Philippeville (A. Delamare, *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie* [Paris, 1850], pls. XIX-XX; *Inn. Alg.*, no. 275, p. 64 f.).

to those at Ostia.³³¹ What is equally important, Becatti is able to relate these developments quite specifically to the city's social and economic history during the late antique period. The houses, he points out, must have been built for the few surviving wealthy families, notably grain merchants, who unquestionably maintained close relations with North Africa, the principal source of grain for the capital.³³² In the case of the Domus dei Dioscuri, a direct connection with North Africa is strongly indicated by the inscription that formed part of the Nereid pavement; it contains a formula which, though unknown at Rome, occurs frequently among the dedicatory inscriptions of North Africa.³³³ Becatti even suggested that the Domus dei Dioscuri might have belonged to an African who had settled in Ostia for purposes of trading in grain.³³⁴ The late antique houses at Ostia thus provide an insight into at least one of the channels whereby provincial traditions could have been transferred to the capital.³³⁵

The evidence from Rome itself, on the other hand, implies that analogous changes may have taken place there somewhat earlier, though we have no closely related series of monuments like those at Ostia by which we might sharply delineate the shift. What we have instead are a few isolated mosaics in the city and its vicinity which, nevertheless, suffice to prove the existence of the new style in the early fourth century and indicate, because of the imperial associations of certain of them, that the Ostian grain merchants may not alone have been responsible.

³³¹ *BdA* (1948), p. 206f., where beside the marine scenes, the villa at Zliten is cited as precedent for the *opus sectile* used in the Ostian houses.

³³² *Ibid.*, p. 215ff., where he notes that the only restorations and dedications at Ostia during the fourth-fifth centuries were made by the *praefecti annonae*.

³³³ Becatti, *Ostia IV*, p. 119.

³³⁴ *BdA* (1948), p. 219f. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford, 1960), p. 212, proposes that the owner might be identified with an urban prefect of Ostia in 365-66, whose family had property in North Africa.

The writer, however, shares the view expressed verbally by Signora Raissa Calza, who judges from the female coiffures, that a later date is in order. We may add that many characteristic features of these houses—peristyles or colonnaded porticos, nymphaea with niches and columns, mosaic pavements with exclusively or predominantly geometric designs, including *opus sectile*—are strikingly paralleled in the palace at Stobi, for which Kitzinger has established a date around A.D. 400 (*DOPapers* [1946], p. 118ff.). Becatti himself (*BdA* [1948], p. 200) notes that capitals from S. Paolo fuori le mura, datable 390-400, have virtually identical counterparts at Ostia.

The pavements would thus seem to reflect the geometric style that was widely popular at this period (see *supra*, note 38). The mosaics of the Domus dei Dioscuri which reintroduce figural elements (including a large-scale composition), would be later still, perhaps toward the middle of the fifth century. The Nereid mosaic is very similar to, but seems rather more abstract than, the marine pavement in the House of the Asinus Nica at Djemila (*Inv. Alg.*, no. 293, p. 168f., ill.), which we have seen also probably dates about 400 or shortly thereafter (*supra*, p. 218, and note 166).

The architectural similarities between the Ostia houses and those at Stobi and Antioch (the latter noted by Becatti, *BdA* [1948], p. 212f., and by Stillwell, *DOPapers* [1961], p. 56) raise an interesting problem in relation to the Nereid mosaic, with its clear reference to North Africa. The evidence seems to suggest a fusion of elements from opposite ends of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, Becatti also cites close parallels for the architecture among the villas of North Africa, so that until the latter are better known it would probably be wise to suspend judgement on this question.

³³⁵ Although the relationship, chronological and otherwise, is far from clear, certain analogies to the Ostian houses may be found in Rome, as Becatti observes (*BdA* [1948], p. 210f.), in the house under SS. Giovanni e Paolo (cf. A. M. Colini, "Storia e Topografia del Celio nell' antichità," *Mem-PontAcc.*, 7 [1944], p. 172ff.).

Two of the best known pavements that mark the innovation in Rome proper are that with representations of gladiatorial combats in the Galleria Borghese (fig. 120), and the hunting and amphitheater scenes in the Vatican (fig. 121).³³⁶ The Borghese mosaic was found in 1834 in the Tenuta di Torre Nuova near Rome and evidently decorated a peristyle; about two thirds of the pavement was preserved, consisting of five rectangular panels in which the figures were arranged in friezes. The Vatican mosaics were found in the early eighteenth century and may have decorated a house found under the church of S. Sabina on the Aventine. Again, the design consisted of rectangular panels, five of which have been preserved, with the figures placed against a plain background;³³⁷ in this case, unfortunately, there is no indication of how the panels might have been arranged. Both the Vatican and Borghese mosaics have undergone extensive restoration, but an early fourth-century date seems beyond any serious doubt.

While stylistically they seem very different, the pavements have a number of features in common that are particularly significant in our present context. Miss Blake observes that, with the exception of the silhouette mosaic of the peristyle from Castel Porziano, large scale representations of the hunt were not produced in Rome before the end of the third or early fourth century.³³⁸ The same may be said of gladiatorial combats, which are perhaps anticipated by the elaborate representations of athletic contests in second-century black and white pavements,³³⁹ but only now make their appearance in color. Thus, the shift with respect to earlier traditions is analogous to that which occurred at Ostia, and again it seems most likely to have taken inspiration, whether directly or not, from the hunting and genre pavements of North Africa.³⁴⁰

On the other hand, as at Piazza Armerina, one feels, particularly in the Borghese pavement, a new grandeur and monumentality; and in both the Roman mosaics the elimination of details of setting and the starkness with which the figures are isolated against the white background, though traces of ground remain, give an effect of rigor and purity that may well reflect the silhouette tradition. In these respects in turn, the pavements again strongly anticipate an example such as the peristyle of the Great Palace at Constantinople, while the use of framed panels looks forward to the great animal portico at Apamea.³⁴¹

³³⁶ For the former, Blake, *MAAR* [1940], p. 113ff., pl. 30, 1-5, and recently, L. Rocchetti, "Il mosaico con scene d'arena al Museo Borghese," *RivIstArch*, N. S., 10 (1961), p. 79ff.; for the latter, Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 174f., (1940), p. 115ff., pls. 30, 6, 31, 1-4, where her previous dating to the second century is corrected.

³³⁷ A sixth panel is known from one of the Topham drawings at Eton (T. Ashby, "Drawings of Ancient Paintings in English Collections. Part I - The Eton Drawings," *BSR*, 7 [1914], p. 40, no. 37, pl. xvii, top; cf. Blake, *MAAR* [1940], p. 115, note 247).

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115, note 245.

³³⁹ E.g., a mosaic from Tusculum, Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 163f., pl. 38, 1, though the pavement has been ascribed to the late third century (H. Lucas, "Athletentypen," *JdI*, 19 [1904], p. 127ff.).

³⁴⁰ For the frieze with gladiatorial combats, compare especially the mosaic at Zliten (fig. 20, Aurigemma, *Zliten*, fig. 86 a, p. 150f.), which becomes particularly relevant if those who would date it in the late third century are correct.

³⁴¹ See *infra*, p. 270.

Close to these pavements, though apparently much more directly related to North African models, is a remarkable mosaic found on the Esquiline (figs. 122, 123).³⁴² This covered a narrow surface, presumably a portico, with representations of the hunting of various types of animals.³⁴³ It, too, is attributable to the early fourth century, on the basis of style and certain details of costume,³⁴⁴ and like the Borghese and Aventine mosaics, it seems quite unprecedented among the polychrome mosaics of Rome. In this case the particularly rich palette, the more extensive indications of landscape and more circumstantial description of actual hunting techniques are exactly in the vein of the third-century African hunts.³⁴⁵ And the design—long friezes composed of closely interrelated registers with trees used to separate the episodes—closely parallels the development in North Africa at this period.

The pavement is especially interesting for its composition, with the scenes arranged along the two long sides of the portico, facing outward. This kind of spectator orientation was anticipated in the circular silhouette mosaics but its use in polychrome compositions was, as we have seen, quite a different matter. In this respect again, the Esquiline pavement has its nearest antecedent in mosaics such as that with amphitheater scenes at El-Djem (fig. 77) and the hunt at Oudna (fig. 75).³⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the black-and-white tradition may have left its mark here too, for in the Esquiline floor the principle is carried through more consistently and the ambiguities and irregularities of the African examples are absent. The decorative homogeneity is virtually complete and the composition, it seems, could be extended indefinitely. Thus the design recalls the African mosaics no less than it anticipates the pavement of the Martyrium of Seleucia at Antioch (figs. 4, 5).

A final major point of interest attaches to the floor because of its provenance on the Esquiline. It was found in the midst of the ancient *Horti Tauriani*, the imperial parks and gardens that Constantine attached to his Palace of Sessorium.³⁴⁷ It is not impossible, therefore, that we are dealing here with the work of an imperial atelier.

That the new style was indeed adopted for official purposes in Rome at this period is clearly demonstrated by a monument whose imperial character at least is undisputed, the Mausoleum of Constantia. We have at several points had occasion to refer to the remarkably close precedents that have been observed among the North African pavements for the vault mosaics of this problematic building.³⁴⁸ The material has recently been reviewed by

³⁴² J. Aymard, "Quelques scènes de chasse sur une mosaïque de l'Antiquarium," *MélRome*, 54 (1937), p. 42 ff., reconstruction drawing of the pavement, fig. 1, p. 45; Blake, *MAAR* (1940), p. 116f.

³⁴³ The preserved portion is some 15 m. long.

³⁴⁴ Aymard, *MélRome* (1937), p. 65, Blake, *MAAR* (1940), p. 117: late third-early fourth century.

³⁴⁵ Parallels for specific motives are cited by Aymard, *MélRome* (1937), *passim*.

³⁴⁶ Rodenwaldt, *RM* (1921-22), p. 108, notes the similarities in details between the Esquiline mosaic and the group of realistic hunting sarcophagi, but recognizes the independence of the mosaic's composition; he makes the rather forced suggestion that the latter is modelled upon paintings of a different emperor or high official than are the sarcophagi.

³⁴⁷ Cf. Aymard, *MélRome* (1937), p. 66, citing P. Grimal, "Les Horti Tauriani," *ibid.*, 53 (1936), p. 250 ff., esp. p. 284.

³⁴⁸ *Supra*, p. 213, and notes 181, 223.

H. Stern, who also cites some of the relevant parallels both for the aquatic scenes with fishing putti in the cupola and for decorative motives in the ring vault.³⁴⁹ To be sure, these instances form only a small part of the decoration as a whole; indeed, the number of comparisons from Rome itself and elsewhere suggest that a variety of sources were brought together in a new synthesis—a characteristic procedure in a monument that in many respects stands at the threshold between paganism and Christianity. At the same time, the pronounced taste for realistic genre³⁵⁰ as well as the frequency and closeness of the North African parallels cannot be merely coincidental, and serve to associate S. Costanza, at least in part, with the style with which we are concerned.

A statement such as this admittedly lacks precision, and, indeed, any attempt to establish the origin of the S. Costanza decorations must remain in some degree hypothetical in view of the extreme scarcity of preserved examples of earlier vault decorations in mosaic.³⁵¹ We must also be wary of drawing conclusions from comparisons, however close, with floor mosaics, since the present state of our knowledge does not justify the assumption of a wholesale transfer of pavement tradition to vault decoration. Nevertheless, the conclusion that certain of the designs at S. Costanza were inspired by pavements seems unavoidable,³⁵² and instances are multiplying in which genre motives and a realistic style that we normally associate with pavements are employed in vault mosaics. We have already noted one example, a third-century bath at Leptis Magna where fragments of a Nilotic scene were found on a vault.³⁵³ And at Centcelles, in Spain, a monument closely related to S. Costanza has a mosaic decoration in the cupola with hunting scenes that are so like the North African pavements as to have suggested the term "Hispano-African" as a description (figs. 124, 125).³⁵⁴ Indeed, the arrangement of the hunting scenes in a frieze that continues without interruption around the entire lower zone of the vault seems almost a direct reflection of such long corridor compositions as that at Piazza Armerina. Thus, we cannot dismiss the possibility that a reversal of the normally assumed direction of influence, from the ceiling to the floor, took place at precisely the period (and involved precisely the style) with which we are concerned.³⁵⁵

In sum, there exists a substantial body of evidence indicating that a basic new departure took place in Rome in the early fourth century in the field of

³⁴⁹ *DOPapers* (1958), pp. 189, 195, 196, 202 f.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 189, 199.

³⁵¹ A list of examples in *idem*, "Origine et débuts de la mosaïque murale," *AnnEstMém*, no. 22 (1959), 2, p. 114 f.

³⁵² Stern, *DOPapers* (1958), p. 205.

³⁵³ See note 102.

³⁵⁴ Good illustrations are in L. Domenech y Montaner, *Centcelles* (Barcelona, 1931). Cf. F. Cambrubi, "I mosaici della cupola di Centcelles nella Spagna," *RACrist*, 19 (1942), p. 87 ff.; *idem*, *El monumento paleocristiano de Centcelles* (Barcelona, 1953), p. 100 f. The building has been identified as the tomb of Constans I (d. A. D. 350); cf. now H. Schlunk, "Untersuchungen im frühchristlichen Mausoleum von Centcelles," in *Neue deutsche Ausgrabungen im Mittelmeergebiet und im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin, 1959), p. 344 ff., T. Hauschild and H. Schlunk, "Vorbericht über die Untersuchungen in Centcelles," *MM*, 2 (1961), p. 119 ff.

³⁵⁵ Stern, *AnnEstMém* (1959), 2, p. 114, also notes a *rapprochement* of vault to floor mosaics in the second century.

pavement decoration. The mosaics in question form a coherent group of large, unified, figure compositions in polychromy, with an iconographical repertory that betrays a preference for marine scenes or realistic genre from the amphitheater and the hunt. In some respects they had been anticipated by the earlier Italian silhouette tradition. But insofar as they had not, the evidence points strongly to North Africa as the source of the innovations. At the same time, it would seem that upon reaching Rome the new style was itself, to a greater or lesser extent, revised in the light of local tradition, resulting in solutions that in turn point clearly toward certain of those that occur later in the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, there is good reason to suppose that the movement took place on two, possibly related levels: via the long established mercantile channels from the provinces to the capital, and as part of a specific elevation of the style to official rank, to which Piazza Armerina may also bear witness.

With the appearance of the style in Rome, it can no longer be regarded as a provincial phenomenon. From Rome, and particularly on the official level, it enters the mainstream of the late antique development.

Ravenna

A monument whose role in this connection may be quite exceptional is the so-called Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna. The identification of the building is as problematic as of that at Piazza Armerina.³⁵⁶ Theodoric is known to have had a palace at Ravenna in the vicinity of S. Apollinare Nuovo, which he built as the Arian cathedral.³⁵⁷ And in the early years of the present century a large complex was excavated just east of the church, which was claimed to be the palace (fig. 126).³⁵⁸ But the excavation yielded nothing to identify the building's owner. Moreover, several construction levels were found reaching back to the early Empire, and these did not correspond throughout the building,³⁵⁹ so that it is practically impossible to establish a clear chronological sequence.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁶ For a recent summary of the question, cf. N. Duval, "Que savons-nous du palais de Théodoric à Ravenne?," *Mélanges de Rome*, 72 (1960), p. 369ff.

³⁵⁷ Cf. A. Zirardini, *Degli antichi edifici profani di Ravenna* (Faenza, 1762), p. 100ff.

³⁵⁸ G. Ghirardini, "Gli scavi del Palazzo di Teodorico a Ravenna," *MonAnt*, 24 (1918), col. 737ff.

³⁵⁹ A summary is given in *ibid.*, col. 821ff.

³⁶⁰ See the discussion by Levi, p. 461, note 235. The confusion, however, is not quite so complete as Levi makes out (on the architecture, see the text immediately *infra*). The building had at least five construction phases of which the penultimate, which contained a variety of figure compositions, is the one that chiefly concerns us. And the writer is not as convinced as Levi that these mosaics must be substantially earlier than the period of Theodoric.

The fact that the building lies at a lower level than the other early mediaeval monuments of Ravenna is of no consequence in this regard. Even the highest stratum is well below the norm, and the geometric mosaics of this uppermost level, as Levi recognizes, find near duplicates in the Euphrasian basilica at Parenzo (not the pre-Euphrasian basilica, as Levi believed); they are therefore datable in the middle of the sixth century (B. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo* [Parenzo, 1943], p. 54, fig. 77ff.). What may be significant is that in portico A¹, for example, these geometric mosaics lie only 9 cm. above the figured pavement, with practically no fill between, while the levels below are considerably deeper and more widely separated (Ghirardini, *MonAnt* [1918], cols. 749f., 821); this suggests that the figured mosaics may not be very much earlier than the geometric ones above.

The trifolium (*ibid.*, pl. VIII) most likely also belongs to the penultimate phase. In a general way

Despite these difficulties, certain statements can safely be made that render the building important in our present context. To begin with, the major elements of the plan and their distribution—a large open court surrounded by porticos onto which subsidiary rooms open, a bathing establishment at one side, an extra large triclinium at the other—are clearly those of the villa tradition with which the developments in pavement decoration that we have been following are closely associated. There can be little doubt that the peristyle, the apsidal basilica toward the center of the portico, and the triconch at one side, were in existence in the building's penultimate phase and formed part of a unified plan.³⁶¹ And though the triconch has been shifted to the main peristyle, the analogy with the layout at Piazza Armerina is unmistakable. In addition, the scale of the building, which approaches that at Piazza Armerina, is outside the class of most ordinary villas and quite worthy of a monarch.³⁶²

It is significant that the only notable remains of figural mosaics recovered belong precisely to the construction phase just discussed, those above and below being predominantly geometric.³⁶³ This in itself suggests an intrusion of an extraneous formal tradition, and a summary of the excavator's account of the pavement in the long south portico (A') will indicate the probable source.³⁶⁴ At the eastern end of the south portico was a rectangular section with an inscribed ellipse; inside the ellipse were arranged scenes of gladiatorial combats, circus and wrestling scenes, and hunting scenes. To the west of this section were four square panels containing representations of the chariots of the four

it recalls the triconch at Blanzky-les-Fismes (fig. 132, see *infra*, p. 264) of the first half of the fourth century, where, as at Ravenna, the central square contains a figural composition, the apses geometric designs; but the style seems very different, and a design quite like that in the lateral apses at Ravenna (*ibid.*, fig. 23, col. 791 f.), for example, is found in a panel at the entrance to the mid-fifth-century pre-Euphrasian basilica at Parenzo (Molajoli, *op.cit.*, fig. 23, p. 22). Prof. Kitzinger has pointed out to me the similarity of the nine-panel composition with busts of the seasons, that occupies the central square of the Ravenna triconch, to a pavement in the diaconicon of Church "A" at Dair Solaib in Syria, ascribed to the end of the fifth century (R. Mousterde and A. Beaulieu, "Mosaïque 'prophylactique.' Le Décor," *MéUSJ*, 22 [1939], p. 21 ff., pl. xiv). A closely analogous arrangement also occurs in a pavement found at Andania in Greece; this had nine panels with female busts in the angles, while chariots drawn by panthers were placed at the sides and a *venatio* scene in the center (fig. 127, from the corpus of Greek mosaic pavements mentioned above, note 215; on the Andania pavement, cf. *Praktika* [1900], p. 17). That the Andania mosaic must belong at least to the late fifth or early sixth century is indicated by the similarities of composition and style in the center hunting panel to the hunt scenes in a mosaic of the south church at Caričin Grad in southern Serbia, of the period of Justinian (see *infra*, note 442; compare also the "gruff" physical types in the huntsmen panel of the basilica of S. Demetrius at Nikopolis, Kitzinger, *DOPapers* [1951], fig. 20).

The only figural element of which we have an adequate photograph (our fig. 127a, Ghirardini, *op.cit.*, fig. 13, col. 773 f.) is a fragment from the eastern portico (A''); this too suggests a late fifth-century date, by analogy with the central figure of the Worcester Hunt at Antioch, for example. (The figure, of which only the lower part was preserved, represented a man dangling a lizard from a string—an iconography that occurs in the mosaic from El-Djem, fig. 92, and in calendar illustrations beginning with the Chronograph of 354; see *supra*, note 246). The style of the hunting scene in portico A'', to be discussed shortly in the text, is difficult to judge from the water color (fig. 128), which is the best reproduction available; but with its more circumstantial narrative and looser composition, it might well represent a kind of western counterpart to the late hunts of Antioch.

³⁶¹ See the arguments in *ArtB* (1962), p. 8, note 64.

³⁶² The over-all length of the excavated portion is 90 m.

³⁶³ Ghirardini, *MonAnt* (1918), cols. 823, 836 note 1.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 749 ff.; Ghirardini (cols. 747, 821–22), surmised that this pavement repeated the design of the one below, of which the barest fragments were preserved.

factions.³⁶⁵ Farther to the west was a section that occupied the whole width of the portico with scenes of the amphitheater or circus, including some architecture and the spectators. Next came a large representation of boar hunting with a net, set in a continuous landscape setting (fig. 128).³⁶⁶ After a large lacuna came another rectangular section with an elliptical insert containing amphitheater or circus scenes.

The elaborate polychromy and the repertory of subjects seem closely linked with our tradition. Particularly suggestive is the large scene of the boar hunt in this corridor. Little was preserved, and we have only a water color as evidence, but this indicates that it was a large unified composition. The elements were distributed through the whole space, roughly in three registers, with some interpenetrations between them. We are reminded, for example, of the third-century apsidal pavement at Carthage (fig. 79); while the absence of ground-lines between the registers and the more schematic organization seem closer still to a later mosaic from Oglet-Atha, of which only a drawing is preserved (fig. 86).³⁶⁷

But while both the architecture and much of the pavement decoration of the palace at Ravenna reveal a connection with our provincial traditions, there is reason to suspect that the derivation may not have been direct. Compared with the plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina (fig. 107), where the first impression is of an ambling irregular relationship among the various elements, the Ravenna building, though no more symmetrical, seems more compact and more strictly organized. In a rather analogous way, the long hunting corridor, treated at Piazza Armerina as a single continuous unit, is divided here into several large but separate sections. For this latter difference at least some parallel is offered by the organization of the Borghese gladiatorial pavement, and possibly also the hunting-amphitheater scenes in the Vatican. Thus, one might suggest that the new style may have reached Ravenna via Rome, a theory that becomes more attractive if the Ravenna building was in fact an official residence.³⁶⁸

INTER-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS I (WEST)

Pavements of Gaul and Spain

The mosaics at Piazza Armerina, Rome, and Ravenna permit us to suggest, tentatively, one way in which western provincial achievements may have travelled eastward—by rising to and then passing through “official channels.” But it should not be assumed, in principle, that a provincial style had to be

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 10, cols. 761–62.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 7, cols. 755–66, pl. v.

³⁶⁷ Cited *supra*, note 238.

³⁶⁸ We may here cite other Italian pavements that, beginning in the early fourth century, seem to reflect our tradition: at Oderzo (P. L. Zovatto, “Mosaici opitergini con scene all'aria aperta,” *Critica d'Arte*, 4 [1957], p. 97 ff.), at Vicenza (*ibid.*, fig. 6 and p. 106, note 9, cf. G. Fasolo, *Guida del Museo Civico di Vicenza* [Vicenza, 1949], p. 17 f.), at Taranto (Q. Quagliati, *Il Museo Nazionale di Taranto* [Rome, 1932], fig. bottom p. 71).

ennobled before it could exercise influence in other parts of the Empire. A generalization of this sort would rest upon an oversimplified view of provincial styles as mere amalgamations of indigenous traditions with elements imported from the capital of the Empire. On the contrary, recent investigations have emphasized the relations between the provinces, with or without Rome as intermediary, in the evolution of late imperial art.³⁶⁹

We can support this view by considering two extraordinary pavements from Gaul, one found at Lillebonne in northwest France (fig. 129),³⁷⁰ the other at Villelaure in the southeast (fig. 130).³⁷¹ In both cases the floor is divided along the diagonal axis, with a figural composition in the center (Apollo and Daphne at Lillebonne, Diana and Callisto at Villelaure) and narrative scenes of the hunt in friezes along the sides. At Lillebonne geometric borders form the main divisions, while at Villelaure the diagonal elements are trees—a device we have discussed before, which strikingly anticipates the later hunting pavements at Antioch.³⁷²

The Lillebonne and Villelaure pavements, as far as I know, have no counterparts among the many preserved polychrome mosaics of Gaul, and it is reasonable to assume that they represent influences from elsewhere. In the Lillebonne example, at least, we have clear proof that this was the case. It is signed by an artist from Italy (Pozzuoli) and by his disciple, a member of a local Gallic tribe.³⁷³ The signatures suggest a relationship that must have played an important role in the development of provincial styles. But when we turn to Italy to find the ancestry of these compositions, we realize that the situation was not as simple as might at first appear. The Diana mosaic in the Vatican from Poggio Mirteto, to which we referred earlier, has trees at the diagonal axes, but merely two birds at each side rather than narrative friezes.³⁷⁴ Another example, from Santa Severa, has a central composition with three athletes, while lotus blossoms are placed diagonally and serve to separate friezes of Nilotic subjects.³⁷⁵ But the Santa Severa pavement is black and

³⁶⁹ The work of J. B. Ward Perkins especially has helped to reveal the complexity of the cross-currents in the late antique development (cf. note 109).

³⁷⁰ *Inv. Gaule*, no. 1051, II, p. 80f., ill.; E. Babelon, *GazArch* (1885), pls. 13-14.

³⁷¹ *Inv. Gaule*, no. 105, I, p. 24, ill.; L.-H. Labande and A. Héron de Villefosse, "Les mosaïques de Villelaure," *BAC* (1903), p. 23ff., pl. 1.

³⁷² See notes 176, 191. J. Lassus, *Antioch*, I, p. 117, also compares the Lillebonne and Villelaure floors to the Megalopsychia hunt.

³⁷³ The inscription, on two cartouches in the central panel, reads:

T. SEN. FELIC C PV
TEOLANUS FEC

ET AMOR C K
DISCIPVLVS

The second part of the inscription has been variously read, *Amorgi* or *ci*, *Amor C [aii] f [ilius]*, *Amor C [ivis] K [arthaginiensis]*; but most probably the reading of Hirschfeld, *C [ivis] K [aletuanus]* (*CIL*, XIII, 3225), adopted by Gauckler (*Mus. op.*, p. 2118, and note 1) is correct. Lillebonne, where the mosaic was found, was the chief city of the Caleti (cf. *RE*, X, col. 99).

³⁷⁴ See note 176.

³⁷⁵ Blake, *MAAR* (1936), p. 164f.; inscribed Neilodorus. Blake suggests (p. 165, note 3) that it might be later than the athlete mosaic from Tusculum; the latter, as we pointed out (note 339), has been dated as late as the end of the third century.

white. Thus, while the compositional type undoubtedly existed in Italy, the examples there are no less rare than in Gaul, and are very different in kind.

On the other hand, almost from the time of its discovery in the last century, a mosaic found at Ouled-Agla in Algeria, ascribed to the early third century, was compared with the pavement at Lillebonne (fig. 131).³⁷⁶ It represents the Loves of Zeus and other mythological subjects, with a central panel and friezes along the four sides. And the figures and arched stalks at the diagonals relate this design in turn to the series of analogously arranged North African pavements we discussed earlier. We need hardly mention, in addition, the similarity of the hunting scenes in the Gallic floors to the third-century examples in Africa, such as those at Carthage (fig. 79) and El-Djem (fig. 80). It is useless to speculate on the precise relationships between these monuments. But it suffices for our present purposes to observe that the provincial examples are closer to one another than to those in Italy.

A not dissimilar situation seems to obtain with respect to an extraordinary pavement from Blanzky-les-Fismes, even farther north in France than those just considered, and probably from a somewhat later period (fig. 132).³⁷⁷ The mosaic in question surrounded a circular pool inserted into the central rectangular court of a three-apsed building. At one side of the pool was a partially preserved representation of Orpheus charming the Beasts; at the other side in all probability was a scene of Arion amongst the Fishes, of which only a small fragment was found. In his recent careful study of this pavement and of Orpheus mosaics generally H. Stern, who assigns it to the first half of the fourth century, has shown that it occupies a place apart among the mosaics of Gaul.³⁷⁸ He points out that such vast figural compositions (the court is 70 meters square) are known only from the fourth century on in the Mediterranean basin, in Italy (he mentions specifically the Piazza Armerina Orpheus pavement) and North Africa.³⁷⁹ This, and the fact that the only other mosaic representations of Arion known are found in the North African "ambient," suggest to Stern that the Blanzky-les-Fismes mosaic might actually be the work of artisans from Italy or even North Africa.³⁸⁰ Perhaps the strongest support for this hypothesis is the composition, quite out of the ordinary for Gaul, wherein the oddly shaped area is treated as a single unit through which the figures are distributed without subdivisions.

The geographical area of most direct pertinence in the spread of this style, however, is certainly the Iberian peninsula, where the development of pave-

³⁷⁶ *Inv. Alg.*, no. 319, p. 75f.; S. Gsell, "Mosaïques des Ouled-Agla et de Bougie," *RecConst.* 27 (1892), p. 230ff., pl. opp. p. 230; good details in J. Lassus, *Réflexions sur le technique de la mosaïque* (Algiers, 1957), fig. 18ff.

³⁷⁷ H. Stern, "La mosaïque d'Orphée de Blanzky-les-Fismes," *Gallia*, XIII (1955), p. 41ff.; cf. also *idem*, *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, I, 1 (Paris, 1957) (*Gallia*, Suppl. X), p. 19, no. 77, p. 50ff., pls. XXIII-XXVI.

³⁷⁸ *Gallia* (1955), p. 49; on the date, p. 62f.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55, 62.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49, 53-55. The other Arion representations are in the bath at Henchir-Thina (our fig. 37), in a mosaic from La Chebba (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 88, p. 36, ill.), and at Piazza Armerina (our fig. 74).

ment decoration is recognized as being intimately related to North Africa.³⁸¹ A collection of the mosaics of Spain and Portugal is one of the field's primary *desiderata*, and they must remain almost entirely neglected here because of the fragmentary nature of the available publications. In general, the persistence of black-and-white pavements, both figural and geometric, indicates a strong dependence on Italy during the early Empire.³⁸² In the third century, however, a rich polychrome tradition develops which in many respects parallels that of North Africa, as may be judged even from the few comparisons we have made.³⁸³ On the whole, however, the figural elements remain confined to relatively small *emblemata* within a geometric framework,³⁸⁴ and in this sense Spain would seem to occupy a somewhat intermediary position between Africa on the one hand and Gaul on the other.³⁸⁵ In any case, there can be no doubt that from the fourth century the connection with the North African genre traditions became particularly close.

We have mentioned the vault mosaic at Centcelles (figs. 124, 125) as an instance of the expansion both geographically and architecturally (i.e., from the floor to the ceiling) of the hunting genre.³⁸⁶ The circus mosaics from Italica, Barcelona, and Girona also provided important links in a chain of provincial monuments.³⁸⁷ A pavement that can certainly be dated in the fourth century is one from a villa at Fraga (Hulsca) in which a *chi rho* monogram is placed in the midst of the name FORTUNATUS inscribed on the border.³⁸⁸ The central panel of the pavement contains a modified *asarotos* design, including birds, animals, twigs, etc., of the same type that we have seen, for example, in the so-called Maison de la Volière at Carthage (fig. 31). In a villa at Ramalete (Tudela) a hunting scene, with rider and victim in a schematic landscape, is adapted to a medallion set into the floor of an octagonal room (fig. 133).³⁸⁹ In this instance a *terminus post quem* is provided by a coin of Constantine found under a nearby and doubtless contemporary pavement.³⁹⁰

³⁸¹ See Cambrubi, cited in note 354; also J. Pijoán, *Summa Artis*, VII (Madrid, 1935), p. 199f. For the Christian monuments particularly, cf. R. Lantier, "Les arts chrétiennes de la Péninsule ibérique et de l'Afrique du Nord," *Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos*, III (1935), p. 257ff.

General surveys may be found in J. R. Mélida, *Arqueología Española* (Barcelona, 1929), p. 361ff.; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Hist. de España*, p. 703ff.; for Catalonia, cf. Puig i Cadafalch, *L'Arquitectura romana a Catalunya*, p. 335ff.; for Baetica, cf. R. Thouvenot, *Essai sur la Province romaine de Bétique* (Paris, 1940), p. 634ff.; for Portugal, cf. R. de Serpa Pinto, "Inventario dos mosaicos romanos de Portugal," *Anuario del Cuerpo facult. de arch. bibl. y arq.*, I (1934), p. 161ff.

³⁸² Cf. especially Puig i Cadafalch, *loc.cit.* The notion that the black-and-white pavements from Badalona are Byzantine (ca. 400) is completely misconceived (H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art byzantin* [Paris, 1932], I, pls. 68 a, 69).

³⁸³ Notes 118, 147.

³⁸⁴ Puig i Cadafalch, *op.cit.*, p. 356ff.

³⁸⁵ Spain may actually have functioned as an intermediary, for example, in a group of pavements from southwest France (cf. note 118).

³⁸⁶ Cf. p. 259.

³⁸⁷ Note 308.

³⁸⁸ J. d. C. Serra Ráfols, "La Villa Fortunatus de Fraga," *Ampurias*, 5 (1943), p. 5ff., pl. x; J. Gallia, "Los mosaicos de Fraga en el Museo de Zaragoza," *ArchEspArq*, 16 (1943), p. 227ff., fig. 5.

³⁸⁹ A. García y Bellido, "La villa romana del Sote del Ramalete," *ibid.*, 21 (1953), p. 214ff., figs. 12, 13; the laurel wreath of the pavement illustrated there, figure 14, should also be compared with the African examples mentioned above, p. 211f.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 216, where also the relationship to North Africa is emphasized.

Another remarkable mosaic attributable to this period was found at Conimbriga in Portugal, in which scenes of the hunt are arranged around the circumference of the circle of a circle-in-square composition (fig. 134).³⁹¹ With trees placed at intervals between the figures, the composition presents a solution to the problem of multiple view-points somewhat analogous to the late hunting pavements at Antioch, though in fact this type of composition had been known in Hellenistic times.³⁹² Even in many of these cases, be it observed, the figure composition does not actually cover the whole floor, but is subordinated to a geometrical configuration; so that, as in Gaul, and as we shall have occasion to note again, the new features are interpreted in the light of local tradition.³⁹³

"OFFICIAL" INFLUENCE II (EAST)

The Great Palace at Constantinople

It would seem that the period from around A.D. 300 was a crucial one for the development that concerns us. Pavements markedly similar, both as to style and iconography, occur in widely dispersed regions of the western part of the Empire, including Rome itself. In many instances they anticipate what was to appear subsequently at Antioch, and nearly all the examples have elements comparable to one or another of the "experimental" solutions arrived at in North Africa during the preceding centuries.

The migration seems to have taken place not only as a direct transaction between the provinces, but also as a consequence of the acceptance of the new mode in the very capital of the western Empire, and, so it would seem, into the fabric of imperial art. Once the imperial association had been established, it was virtually inevitable that the new mode of pavement decoration should have accompanied the general transplantation of imperial traditions to the eastern capital.

In two series of campaigns, one before and one after World War II, there was excavated on the site of the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at

³⁹¹ Cf. "Ruinas de Conimbriga," *Boletim da Direcção Geral dos Edifícios e Monumentos Nacionais*, 52-53 (1948), drawing of whole, fig. 49 (from which a tree seems to be omitted), detail, fig. 54.

³⁹² Cf. the pebble mosaic from Sikyon in *JHS*, 59 (1939), pl. XIII. Compare a pavement from Dougga with marine deities, *Inv. Tun.*, no. 559-560, 6c, Suppl. p. 62, ill. Though the figural elements are arranged differently, a parallel to the Conimbriga floor—a hunt scene in the circle of a circle-in-square composition—appears in the pavement of a bath at Henchir-Thina, ascribed to the fourth-fifth centuries; J. Thirion, "Un ensemble thermal avec mosaïques à Thina," *Mémoires de l'École Française de Rome*, 69 (1957), p. 207ff., pl. IV, figs. 1, 2, 3.

³⁹³ The composition of the Conimbriga mosaics is also closely paralleled, incidentally, in a group of Orpheus pavements also mostly of relatively late date in North Africa and Britain, in which the animals are arranged facing outward in a circle about the figure of Orpheus (cf. H. Stern, *Gallia* [1955], catalogue nos. 31, 36ff., pp. 74, 75ff., Type III). Particularly interesting among the Orpheus floors is one found at Cagliari in Sardinia, in which the circular frame has been eliminated and the animals face the sides of the room without interruptions (fragments in the Archaeological Museum of Turin; cf. *ibid.*, no. 13, p. 70; L. Manino, "Il mosaico sardo di Orfeo del Museo archeologico di Torino," *Bollettino della società piemontese di archeologia e di belle arti*, 4-5 (1950-51), p. 40ff., fig. 4, p. 43; Reinach, *RPGR*, p. 200, no. 4).

Constantinople, some 150 meters southeast of the Hippodrome, an enormous colonnaded peristyle, from one side of which opened a great apsed hall.³⁹⁴ The peristyle was decorated with a mosaic pavement which because of its high quality, and because it provides our first undisputed example of the art of the imperial palace, is a document of singular importance for the history of early mediaeval art (figs. 135, 136).

From the moment of its discovery, the monument has been the subject of much speculation as regards both its date, and the identification of the building to which it belonged. In the First Report a date in the early part of the reign of Theodosius II (A.D. 408–450) was proposed;³⁹⁵ subsequently, opinions varied from the third through the sixth century,³⁹⁶ and the *Second Report* while stressing the sixth-century character of the architectural elements retains a wide margin of error, A.D. 450–550.³⁹⁷ The most recent examination of the evidence, archaeological as well as stylistic, points overwhelmingly toward the latter part of the sixth century, and the tentative suggestion has been made that the peristyle may have formed part of the building program of Tiberius II (578–82).³⁹⁸

The pavement contains an astonishing variety of subjects.³⁹⁹ Only two motives are mythological, while a few, such as the griffin devouring a lizard, come from the realm of fantasy and symbolism. By far the greatest proportion are in the genre category, including pastoral and agricultural scenes, circus events, and episodes from the hunt. Curiously enough, although there is no apparent system underlying the choice or distribution of subjects,⁴⁰⁰ the pavement does convey a distinct mood, iconographically speaking, which has been aptly described as a kind of poetic romanticism.⁴⁰¹

The composition of the pavement, seemingly arbitrary by classical standards, is also found upon analysis to follow a definite pattern.⁴⁰² The figural elements are carefully arranged in three continuous registers. At irregular intervals along the registers trees are introduced to punctuate the procession of animal and human figures. Small, irregular "coulisses" (clumps of ground and vegetation) appear here and there, but there is no real suggestion of a coherent landscape, and the figural elements stand out directly against the white background. The figures do not overlap, and the spaces between them, while endlessly varied, are subtly calculated to retain the

³⁹⁴ Brett, *Great Palace*; Talbot Rice, *Second Report*.

³⁹⁵ Brett, *Great Palace*, p. 91.

³⁹⁶ Opinions are summarized in Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, p. 152f.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 160; the identification is discussed p. 161ff.

³⁹⁸ Cf. Mango and Lavin, *ArtB* (1960), p. 67ff.

³⁹⁹ The subjects are discussed by Brett, "The Mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople," *JWarb*, 5 (1942), p. 34ff. The section of the pavement uncovered subsequently contained genre scenes only (Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, p. 121ff.).

⁴⁰⁰ Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, p. 156; K. Weitzmann, "Das Klassische Erbe in der Kunst Konstantinopels," *Alte und Neue Kunst*, 3 (1954), p. 41ff., has suggested that the mosaic was based upon a didactic poem on animals such as the *Cynegetica* of the Pseudo-Oppian, which would account for the haphazard selection.

⁴⁰¹ Brett, *JWarb* (1942), p. 37.

⁴⁰² Cf. the comprehensive drawing of the portions uncovered in the earlier excavations, Brett, *Great Palace*, plan 64.

longitudinal unity of the design. An analogous unity is achieved vertically by a general, though not systematic, tendency to align the figural elements above one another.

Even from this brief account it will have become apparent that the Great Palace floor is closely linked to the developments we have been following. This is evident to begin with from the basic idea of using such genre scenes in a peristyle as the prelude to a large, doubtlessly ceremonial hall; for the appearance of analogous arrangements at Piazza Armerina, Ravenna, and now at Constantinople, can hardly be coincidental. It seems likely that we are dealing with a coherent tradition of palace architecture and decoration that spans the gap from West to East, and from late antiquity to the early middle ages.

From the formal point of view, we need but mention the basic approach to the entire surface as one continuously homogeneous space, treated without subdivisions. The frieze arrangement in superimposed registers we have seen developing also in such genre scenes in North Africa since the third century. In the hunting pavement at Constantine (fig. 84), at the end of the fourth century, a stage was reached that very distinctly anticipated the Great Palace mosaic. It shows the same lack of direct intercommunication between the registers, the same isolation of the figures without setting and without space. In the Great Palace floor as in the animal-catalogue in the Bardo (fig. 82), and in the Constantine mosaic, the spacing of the figural elements, the interspersed vegetation, the superimposition of groups—all help to create the rhythmic *staccato* effect upon which the decorative unity of the surface essentially depends. We are free to read the figures vertically or horizontally, and it is evident that the design might have been expanded indefinitely in either direction. Still another feature of the Great Palace floor is its extremely colorful palette. Similarities to the Piazza Armerina hunting pavement in this respect have been noted; and we have seen that this too is one of the outstanding characteristics of North African style.⁴⁰³

We conclude that essential iconographical and stylistic elements of western Mediterranean mosaic pavement decoration reached the capital of the eastern Empire, very likely through the channel of official art. But if one is to grasp the ultimate significance of this development, one must also consider the fundamental differences from Western tradition that the Great Palace mosaic presents. Perhaps the factor that has contributed most to the lack of agreement as to the pavement's date, is the formal inconsistency by which it is deeply pervaded. While on the one hand the abstract space and *staccato* arrangement are quite "advanced" from the point of view of later Byzantine art, the individual figures in their full plasticity and handsome proportions preserve (or revive) the classic manner to an astonishing degree. At the same

⁴⁰³ Even before the discovery of Piazza Armerina, Brett also recognized in the mosaics of North Africa, rather than in Oriental influence, the essential background for the style represented by the Great Palace floor and the later mosaics of Syria (which we shall consider presently), including Antioch and Apamea (*Great Palace*, p. 93 ff., esp. p. 95). Talbot Rice very justifiably emphasizes the uniqueness of the Great Palace floor, and explains it as being due to a kind of eclecticism (*Second Report*, p. 145 ff., esp. pp. 127 and 148).

time, the extreme sophistication with which all the elements are treated, and particularly the subtle modulation of the spacing between the figures is virtually without precedent in the Western tradition from which the composition is derived.⁴⁰⁴ The relatively loose, unsystematic Western approach has been subjected to a more abstract and formal sense of design, while the "realism" has been replaced by a more noble and ideal conception of natural forms. In a word, the Western tradition has been "Hellenized" by the artists of the Greek East. Viewed thus, the apparent incongruity between abstract space and classical figure style becomes understandable. And one might say that it is just this synthesis that lies at the root of Byzantine style.

INTER-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS II (EAST)

Syria, Asia Minor, etc.

In a sense the Great Palace mosaic may be regarded as the culmination of the process of imperialization that we suggested as a means by which a Western provincial style was transmitted to the Greek East; and it would be tempting to conclude that the changes appearing at Antioch in the latter part of the fifth century were simply a reflection of developments at the Byzantine court. This may indeed have been the case, but it should be pointed out that there are several arguments against such a hypothesis. The Great Palace floor, as we have seen, is probably a century later than the earliest pavement at Antioch in the new style. And while it does not seem likely that the Great Palace mosaic was the first of its kind in Constantinople, the meager available evidence from the capital does not suggest that it represents a local tradition of very long standing. A pavement found in the city with representations of Eros and the Seasons, attributed to the late second or early third century, is completely traditional in character.⁴⁰⁵ In a later example, probably of the early fourth century, although genre figures do occur, they are still enclosed in round, emblema-like medallions, set in a geometric framework,⁴⁰⁶ and a recently discovered mosaic ascribed to the fifth century, is almost completely non-figural.⁴⁰⁷

Thus, the Antioch pavements are not easily explained as the products of a second transmission via Constantinople. We must reckon with the possibility

⁴⁰⁴ It should be emphasized however, that the Great Palace floor does contain important inconsistencies. For example, there is an incoherent change of scale, the figures on the northwest side being much larger than elsewhere (cf. Brett, *Great Palace*, p. 80); similarly, there are variations in the quality of draughtsmanship and in the organization of the composition. Brett accounts for these discrepancies by attributing them to different workshops (*ibid.*, p. 87 ff.).

⁴⁰⁵ Hanfmann, *Seasons Sarcophagus*, II, no. 142a, p. 149; cf. A. M. Schneider, *Byzanz* (Istanbul Forschungen, 8) (Berlin, 1936), p. 92, pl. 9, site 8 ("Antonine").

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. R. Janin, "Constantinople Byzantine," *REByz*, 12 (1954), p. 212f., where his original dating in the fourth century is abandoned in favor of the late third. H. E. del Medico has attempted to identify one of the inscriptions as a proper name ("A propos d'une mosaïque découverte à Istanbul," *Byzantinoslavica*, 16 [1955], p. 255 ff.). Two photographs of parts of the mosaic are reproduced in *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı* (Ann. of the Arch. Mus. of Ist.), no. 7 (1956), figs. 1, 2.

⁴⁰⁷ R. Duyuran, "Mosaïques découvertes près de la Préfecture d'Istanbul," *ibid.*, no. 9 (1960), p. 70 ff.

that, as in Spain and Gaul, an influence might also have taken place on a more or less direct interprovincial level. There exist in Syria, elsewhere than at Antioch, a number of mosaics whose style and date suggest that just such a process may have been at work.

Several important pavements were discovered at Apamea, on the Orontes south of Antioch. Excavation of the site was never completed, nor has the work accomplished been fully published as yet.⁴⁰⁸ Hence, any conclusions, based inevitably upon the sparse preliminary accounts, must be regarded as tentative. One of the most outstanding mosaics was found in the east portico of the long colonnaded avenue that divided the city on the north-south axis. The excavated portion of this pavement was 7 m. wide and extended for some 110 m. (fig. 137).⁴⁰⁹ Within a varied system of outer borders an inner, rainbow border served as the frame for a series of long panels (fig. 138). These were filled with all sorts of animals, birds, a camel caravan, even a water wheel (as in the Great Palace mosaic), arranged in friezes along the long axis. The figural elements are set against a plain background (sometimes filled with a *semis* design) and there is no spatial recession, no continuous landscape. Occasionally a clump of foliage appears, and here and there a large tree is inserted in the frieze between the animals. The floor is thus, in many respects, similar to that of the Great Palace peristyle.

But perhaps the most revealing feature is that the two main friezes are oriented so that the figural elements face outward. The Apamea corridor belongs in the same tradition as the amphitheater pavement from El-Djem (mid-third century, fig. 77) and the Esquiline Hunt in Rome (early fourth century, fig. 122) on the one hand, and the Martyrium of Seleucia at Antioch (last quarter of the fifth century, figs. 4, 5) on the other. It may in fact directly anticipate the latter work; a mosaic inscription at one end of the Apamea pavement establishes a specific date, A.D. 469.⁴¹⁰

Here we have clear evidence that Antioch was not the only place in Syria to have adopted the new formal and iconographical approach. Nor yet, in view of the fixed date of the Apamea portico, can Antioch be regarded as necessarily the earliest Syrian center to have done so;⁴¹¹ furthermore, the relatively early date with respect to the Great Palace mosaic enhances the possibility that the developments in late fifth-century Syria were a provincial phenomenon, perhaps independent of the imperial capital.

A no less instructive pavement is that of an apsidal triclinium that formed part of what was probably a private dwelling at Apamea.⁴¹² The large rec-

⁴⁰⁸ See the reports by F. Mayence in *BMusArt*, 3rd Ser., 3 (1931), p. 23 ff.; 4 (1932), p. 42 ff.; 5 (1933), pp. 2 ff., 50 ff.; 7 (1935), p. 2 ff.; 8 (1936), p. 2 ff.; 10 (1938), p. 98 ff.; H. Lacoste, *ibid.*, 12 (1940), p. 2 ff.; also Mayence in *AntCl*, 1 (1932), p. 233 ff.; 4 (1935), p. 199 ff.; 5 (1936), p. 405 ff., 8 (1939), p. 201 ff.; Lacoste, *ibid.*, 10 (1941), p. 115.

⁴⁰⁹ Mayence, *BMusArt*, 5 (1933), p. 4 ff.; 7 (1935), p. 2 f.; Lacoste, *ibid.*, 12 (1940), p. 5, plan fig. 2, p. 2.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5 (468); located at point D in the plan; cf. L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *IGLSyr*, 4, no. 1318, p. 62f.

⁴¹¹ Seyrig, *Berytus* (1935), p. 46, regards the Apamea corridor as a possible antecedent of the Megalopsychia Hunt.

⁴¹² Mayence, *BMusArt*, 8 (1936), p. 10 ff.

tangular area in front of the apse (13 × 8.50 m.) was filled with an elaborate hunting mosaic of the by now familiar type (fig. 139). Its importance lies first in the fact that it is dated by a mosaic inscription at the entrance to the year A.D. 539.⁴¹³ But special interest attaches to the mosaic for several other reasons as well. The figures are arranged vertically in a series of five superimposed registers; the registers are closely interrelated through the placement of the figures, trees, plants, etc.⁴¹⁴ So close in general is the design to the late fourth-century pavement from Djemila discussed earlier (fig. 87) that we must assume that it stems from the same tradition.

Moreover, while there is no spatial recession and no rationally continuous landscape, the figures are again conceived in a quite elegant and classical manner. Thus, like the Antioch pavements themselves, it embodies much the same qualities compared to western pavements as will the Great Palace mosaic perhaps a generation later—indicating that the process of “Hellenization” was general in the eastern Mediterranean, and not confined to the capital. It is important, however, to emphasize that the Great Palace mosaic is more “advanced” than the Apamea floor.⁴¹⁵ Not only is its composition more rhythmic and schematic, but its figures are more ideal and classical. This observation poses an interesting question, which we shall discuss presently, as to the nature of the evolution that took place in the East once the new style had taken root.

It is certain that the development in Antioch from the second half of the fifth through the early sixth century was not peculiar to that city. A similar style existed during the same period at Apamea, and evidence from elsewhere in the province likewise shows that we are dealing with a general evolution rather than with a few isolated instances. The composition of the pavement in the Apamea triclinium is in turn anticipated by a mosaic found farther to the south, near Beirut (fig. 140).⁴¹⁶ The subject represented is not quite certain; a male figure wearing a tunic stands with one foot on a stone, carrying a staff.⁴¹⁷ He is surrounded on all sides by a great variety of animals, arranged loosely in horizontal and vertical registers. The background is plain, and numerous trees, plants, etc. are introduced between the animals or project between the registers.

The Beirut floor is ascribed to the late fifth century,⁴¹⁸ and hence confirms the evidence of Antioch and Apamea as to the period during which this style

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 12f.; cf. *IGLSyr*, 4, no. 1344, p. 76. The inscription speaks of a renewal (ἀνανέωσις), suggesting that the pavement might have existed before; but chemical analysis showed that the mortar of the inscription was the same as that of the rest of the mosaic (cf. F. H. Taylor, “In Defense of the Classics,” *Worcester Art Museum Annual*, 2 [1936–37], p. 24, where the inscription is erroneously located on the lintel of the doorway). Dr. Paul Coremans was kind enough to supply the writer with a copy of the report of the analysis made in his laboratory.

⁴¹⁴ Compare an ivory diptych in the Hermitage with *venatio* scenes on both panels, ascribed by Delbrueck to the eastern Empire, about 450 (*op. cit.*, no. 60, p. 230).

⁴¹⁵ Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, p. 142.

⁴¹⁶ M. Chéhab, *BMBeyrouth* (1958), p. 64 ff. (*Mosaïque c*); (1959), pl. xxxi ff.; the mosaic decorated a villa whose pavements belong to two periods.

⁴¹⁷ While apparently related to the traditional Orpheus iconography, as Chéhab points out (*ibid.*, p. 66f.), an identification with Orpheus or the Good Shepherd remains open to doubt.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

was transferred to the East. For, while the composition of the Beirut pavement looks forward to that of the Apamea Hunt, it is itself anticipated in the West. We have observed the tendency in Africa during the fourth century to centralize the composition about a focal point while yet retaining a uniform distribution of elements through the space available. And the Beirut floor closely parallels the Bacchus mosaic from El-Djem (fig. 92), ascribed to the fourth century, which arranges essentially the same elements in a horizontal rather than a vertical panel.⁴¹⁹ Once more, however, the stylistic differences are noteworthy; the individual animals in the Beirut floor are far more "correct" than at El-Djem, and the Syrian artist displays much greater subtlety in the use of posture and spacing to interrelate and balance the composition. At the same time, the figural elements are less refined and less sophisticated than in the Apamea hunting pavement of a half century later.

Besides its relationship to the Apamea Hunt and the El-Djem Bacchus, the Beirut pavement points significantly in still another direction. It bears a striking though puzzling similarity to the Worcester Hunt from Antioch (fig. 2).⁴²⁰ The central figures are comparable, and they are both surrounded by animals, hunted in the one case, entirely pacific in the other. The two works are perhaps somehow related in their iconography; certainly the allegorical content seems as rich and elusive in the Beirut floor as in that from Antioch. In this respect they both contrast with the comparatively straightforward mythology of the Western counterpart at El-Djem. It seems that an iconographical "adjustment" paralleled the formal one that took place as these compositional types were absorbed in the Greek East.⁴²¹

A final observation with respect to the distribution of the new style in Syria concerns one of the most distinctive features of the later animal and hunt pavements of Antioch, i.e., their circular organization around a center. We have discussed the background of this device, including the use of trees as "punctuation marks"; but we should remark here that the arrangement also is not restricted to Antioch at this period. A composition roughly analogous to the Megalopsychia Hunt was found in a bathing establishment at Serdjilla (fig. 142).⁴²² Here the same system is applied in a rectangular rather than a square floor space: a central medallion surrounded by animals that face outward toward the borders, and trees placed at the middle of each short side. The floor is dated by its inscription to the year A.D. 473.⁴²³

⁴¹⁹ Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, p. 143 ff., points out the similarity between the Beirut and El-Djem pavements, insisting, though without substantiation, that both represent the Good Shepherd.

⁴²⁰ Chéhab, *op. cit.*, p. 69 ff., discusses the pavement's relationship to the Great Palace mosaic and the Megalopsychia Hunt.

⁴²¹ See *infra*, note 441.

⁴²² Cf. H. C. Butler and W. Kelly Prentice, "A Mosaic Pavement and Inscription from the Bath at Serdjilla," *RA*, 3rd Ser., 39 (1901), p. 62 ff., pl. xii; F. I. Uspenski, "Architectural Monuments of Syria" (in Russian), *Bulletin of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople*, 7, 2-3 (1902), p. 155 ff., pls. 27 (where the portion of the floor not previously uncovered is illustrated), 28.

⁴²³ Closely related to the Serdjilla mosaic, and of the same period, are the animal motifs distributed around the cruciform baptistry of church "A" at Dair Solaib; cf. Mouterde and Beaulier, *MéUSJ* (1939), p. 27 f., pl. xix, 2, cf. p. 31.

There is thus a good deal of evidence to suggest that the changes at Antioch during the latter part of the fifth century were actually part of a wider development in the coastal regions of Syria. And, in view of the fact that the new style appears at various locales in the second half of the fifth century, i.e., barely a generation after the Vandal conquest of North Africa, one cannot but wonder whether the two phenomena were connected. At least, the possibility must be admitted that the phenomenon in Syria was mainly a provincial one, rather than a simple degeneration of the "official" current represented by the Great Palace floor. We might even hazard to question whether there could have been an influence in the opposite direction. In a house partially excavated at Malatya in southeast Asia Minor, a long narrow pavement was found that contained two friezes of animals with trees interspersed (fig. 141). It was ascribed to the fifth century by comparisons with the late Antioch floors. Interestingly enough, the friezes face in opposite directions, and, despite the pavement's being located nearer Constantinople, the design as a whole is closer in spirit to the Apamea corridor than to the Great Palace mosaic.⁴²⁴

At any rate, we may postulate, in addition to the northern official route, a southern unofficial channel for the transmission of Western, particularly North African, elements. In fact, there is important geographical support for this hypothesis in a mosaic excavated at Sheikh Zoued on the Sahel coast of Egypt near Gaza, practically at the Palestinian border.⁴²⁵ Here, the extraordinary agglomeration of mythological figures arranged in spaceless friezes, the rich coloristic treatment of the forms, and even certain peculiarities in draughtsmanship, show a close relationship to several aspects of the North African traditions which we have discussed.⁴²⁶ The appearance of these qualities in this particular location indicates that the style may have passed by the very gates of Alexandria, as it were, without acquiring the slightest trace of "Alexandrian illusionism."⁴²⁷

There remains to be discussed, if only briefly, a significant problem raised by the distinctly "classical" qualities that appear in many of the mosaics

⁴²⁴ Cf. R. Naumann, *AA*, 56 (1941), col. 293 ff., fig. 13 ff., col. 287 ff.

Another case in point is the Noah mosaic from Mopsuestia in Cilicia, in which the animals are arranged, facing outward, around the central ark (L. Budde, "Die rettende Arche Noes," *RACrist*, 32 [1956], p. 41 ff.; *idem*, "Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken von Misis-Mopsuestia in Kilikien," *Pantheon*, 18 [1960], p. 116 ff., fig. p. 121); Budde suggests (*ibid.*, p. 123) that the mosaicists were probably from Antioch. The dating to the period of Theodore of Mopsuestia (A.D. 392-428), however, seems half a century too early.

Cf. further the *paradeisos* mosaic from Ayaş, also in Cilicia, ascribed to the late fifth century (cited *infra*, note 441).

⁴²⁵ Cf. J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Cheikh Zouède," *ASAE*, 15 (1915), p. 15 ff., pls. II-V. As Levi has shown, the pavement must certainly date from the second half of the fourth century (*ASAtene* [1946-48], p. 295 f.).

⁴²⁶ Compare especially the mythological pavements from Tipaza and Portus Magnus, *supra*, p. 226 ff.

⁴²⁷ By the same token a Nilotic pavement found at Thmuis in the Delta, though probably somewhat earlier (third century), shows no fundamental stylistic differences from its counterparts elsewhere in North Africa (E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-romain 1925-1931* [Bergamo, 1932], pl. LII; *idem*, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* [Bergamo, 1922], p. 244 f.; B. R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* [Cambridge, Mass., 1957], pp. 69, 88; cf. Levi, *ASAtene* [1946-48], p. 295).

from the eastern end of the Mediterranean with which we have dealt. It can come as no surprise that such qualities were introduced in the course of a migration of a Western provincial style to the Hellenic centers of the East. We need hardly repeat that the Antioch mosaics amply demonstrate the tenacity of Hellenistic pictorial tradition there through the early fourth century; and, considering the almost "iconoclastic" predominance of abstract designs in the period that followed,⁴²⁸ the late fifth-century hunting and animal pavements with their elaborate figural compositions seem actually to have revived that tradition in a new guise.

But, contrary to what might have been expected of the eastern group generally, we found that the classical aspects of figure style and composition tended to increase as time went on. The chronological data are admittedly rather sparse, since we have in effect only three fixed points: the Antioch Hunts of the latter part of the fifth century (roughly paralleled by the Beirut mosaic, the Apamea corridor of A.D. 469 and the Serdjilla pavement of A.D. 473); the Apamea Hunt of A.D. 539; and the Great Palace mosaic in the second half of the sixth century. Nevertheless, the development seems too consistent to be a mere "illusion" created by the accidents of preservation.

The explanation of this phenomenon of increasing classicism depends largely on the way we conceive Western style to have been disseminated in the East. If it was transmitted from Constantinople, it follows that the Syrian mosaics reflect a more or less constant classicism to which the style was subjected in the capital, and of which the Great Palace floor is a late example. On the other hand, we have seen that it is at least possible that the province itself had an active part in the process; indeed we may be reminded that during the early fourth century Rome too, in the Esquiline pavement for example (figs. 122, 123), produced something relatively fine and classical out of provincial materials. The information at our disposal, particularly from Constantinople, is not sufficient to permit a choice between these alternatives. One might well suppose that the Greek heritage tended to make itself felt both in the capital and in the provinces. But in any case, if we are willing to accept the evidence as it stands, then we must admit the possibility that in certain respects a *progressive* Hellenization of the style took place at the same time that the mediaeval character of the pavements as a whole became increasingly marked. And this complementary evolution may provide some further insight into the genesis and immediate aftermath of the Justinianic "Renaissance."⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ See *supra*, p. 194.

⁴²⁹ Cf. Kitzinger, "Mosaic Pavements in the Greek East and the Question of a 'Renaissance' under Justinian," *Actes du VI^e Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines* (Paris, 1948), II (Paris, 1951), p. 209ff., where, in a different frame of reference, the roots in the period before Justinian are emphasized along with the contribution to later mediaeval development. For other reflections of our tradition in the period of Justinian and after, cf. *infra*, note 442.

EPILOGUE

The time has hardly passed when the notion that a provincial Roman style might have played a major creative role during late antiquity would have been in many quarters downright unthinkable. Provincial styles were local in origin and, on the whole, remained local in their effects. As we mentioned earlier, however, modern studies are producing a more sophisticated view that recognizes the complexity of the problem, and emphasizes the interrelationships among the provinces. Implicit in this and in other recent developments is a realization of the tremendous growth in the relative importance of the provinces during the late Empire. In a sense, after all, this was the process of which the partition of the Empire under Diocletian was an official sign of recognition. Hence, it may not be coincidental that our evidence points precisely to the period around 300 for the inauguration of the spread of North African style virtually throughout the Empire.

Yet the importance of the separate areas of the Empire also rests in part upon their relation to Rome, which remained the great center of culture during the crucial fourth century. In the long run the regional developments might have been largely fruitless had they merely been interchanged. But it is becoming increasingly difficult to deny that they did have an influence in Rome.

In fact, the rising significance of the provinces has a counterpart that may be no less pertinent from our point of view. For the social and cultural structure of the imperial capital itself had long since been undergoing a radical transformation. The growth of the foreign population of the city during the early Empire was considerable,⁴³⁰ and it must have proceeded even more rapidly during the later Empire when the armies, including the garrison in Rome, were increasingly of provincial origin.⁴³¹ There was at the same time a profound change in the composition of the senate and senatorial class, at the expense of the old Italian families.⁴³² And, on the highest level, the increasing proportion of emperors who stemmed from the provinces is one of the fundamental facts of Roman history. While it is difficult to regard such factors as the cause of developments in style, it may be that regional elements were acceptable in Rome because Rome itself had become largely "provincialized."

In the case of North Africa, there are more specific factors that shed light upon the phenomenon that concerns us. North Africa had always been important as a supplier of grain and oil, a circumstance that led to the growth of the vast rural estates often reflected in the mosaic floors;⁴³³ many of the

⁴³⁰ G. La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Two Centuries of the Empire," *Harvard Theological Review*, 20 (1927), p. 183 ff.

⁴³¹ M. Hammond, *The Antonine Monarchy* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, XIX) (Rome, 1959), p. 276, note 53; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1957), p. 104, p. 583, note 33.

⁴³² P. Lambrechts, *La composition du Sénat romain de Septime Sévère à Dioclétien* (Dissertationes pannonicae, I, 8) (Budapest, 1937), esp. p. 84 f.; Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 736, note 40; Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 249 ff.

⁴³³ For a general survey, cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 311 ff.; T. R. S. Broughton, *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis* (Baltimore, etc., 1929), p. 157 ff.

mosaics come from just such estates. In the third century North Africa was one of the richest portions of the Empire, and during that period its naturally strong economic position was greatly enhanced by the catastrophes that shook the rest of the Empire; for North Africa meanwhile enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity.⁴³⁴ What is equally important, it has been pointed out that culturally North Africa was the most active of all the provinces from the second half of the third century on.⁴³⁵ And historians of literature and philology have long recognized that fundamental and characteristic contributions were made in North Africa to the main stream of Latin culture from that period to the sixth century.⁴³⁶ Our study suggests that something analogous happened in the field of pavement decoration as well.

These observations may be of assistance with another problem to which our investigation gives rise. We have seen that the wealthy landowners of North Africa, in whose hands lay a considerable portion of the Empire's economic resources, developed a highly individual iconographical repertory for the mosaic floors of their residences. While traditional mythological themes were retained, the range of genre subjects employed is practically without parallel in the ancient world. And it was largely in the framework of genre that the formal attitude was transmitted. One wonders what might have been the basis for this predilection.

To be sure, genre subject matter seems only natural for domestic buildings. Yet the earlier villas at Antioch, for example, where mythological and allegorical themes are the rule, show that this association was by no means a necessary one. At the same time, there is no doubt that the genre representations, at least in part, may have had more or less specific religious and philosophical overtones. The hunt and circus and amphitheater games in particular had a long history of association with religious functions, with concepts of personal power and heroic virtue, etc;⁴³⁷ and in Byzantium they formed part of an elaborate "cycle" of imperial themes.⁴³⁸ But, though this may help to explain the marked preponderance of hunting scenes in the development we have followed, it would be difficult to conceive that such implications were the *raison d'être* of the whole repertory. For in general the North African genre pavements do not give the impression of having served primarily to glorify a hero or to illustrate a religious idea. They seem intended, rather, as an expression of the salient elements in the existence of the rich, provincial proprietors: the land upon which their wealth was based and the leisure activity

⁴³⁴ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 411; cf. Warmington, *North African Provinces*, pp. 29, 59, 64, who emphasizes (p. 107) that the wealth of North Africa was great as late as the fifth century.

⁴³⁵ W. Thieling, *Der Hellenismus in Kleinafrika* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1911), p. 160; Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 107, notes that at the beginning of the third century North Africans were the dominant western provincial group.

⁴³⁶ Thieling, *op. cit.*, p. 175 ff., emphasizing specifically North African influence in Spain and Gaul, and discussing such pagan and Christian African writers as Fronto, Apuleius, Arnobius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Augustine, Martianus Capella, Fulgentius, and Priscian. See the comments on "Africitas" in Latin literature by E. K. Rand, in *CAH*, XII (Cambridge, 1939), p. 579 ff.

⁴³⁷ Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines*, p. 469 ff.; on the games, A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Strasbourg-Paris, 1923), esp. part 2, p. 75 ff.

⁴³⁸ A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), p. 57 ff.

which their wealth permitted. The very insistence on circumstantial description and local color tends to suggest a quality almost of "social consciousness," and certainly the genre pavements must be regarded as an essentially social phenomenon.

This, indeed, may be the key to their larger significance; hunting, landscape, and related subjects are here the mark of a specific segment of Roman society, the provincial landed aristocracy, defined by its rural habitat and its wealth. Being representations of the life of a powerful leisure class they were also, automatically, representative of it. Thus associated with a privileged class, the repertory may have acquired intrinsic value as a kind of "sign of status." Viewed in this light, at least, it becomes easier to understand the development that we have traced, in which the representational values of a provincial Roman society became part of a consistent tradition of palace decoration that reached into the middle ages.⁴³⁹

Such considerations make it seem at least conceivable that a province like North Africa might actually have played a significant role in late antique development. Before this role can be evaluated properly, it should be weighed against contributions from other sources, provincial as well as cosmopolitan. Moreover, as we have seen, North Africa represents but one aspect of what was apparently a generally Western attitude. And even those characteristics that we have associated specifically with North Africa became fairly widespread during the fourth century. Hence, after a point the phrase "North African" tends to lose its meaning; and certainly by the late fifth century, when the hunting pavements at Antioch were produced, it is unwise to think of these formal characteristics in overly precise geographical terms.

Despite the many such reservations that must be borne in mind, our analysis does permit several methodological observations. In the first place, it is clear that the evolution that produced the late hunting and animal pavements at Antioch can be understood, on the whole, without the assumption of overwhelming exotic, i.e. extra-Mediterranean, influence. While such influences undoubtedly took place, the main outlines of the story are definable in terms of what remain, regardless of their separate complexities and the difficulty of drawing a clear line between them, the two main cultural forces in the Mediter-

⁴³⁹ This point of view may be relevant, it seems to me, to some aspects of the Byzantine imperial cycle of palace decoration studied by Grabar, in which genre elements appear that cannot be fully understood on the basis of heroic triumph symbolism. That the non-heroic tradition did in fact enter the imperial framework is now documented by the Great Palace mosaic. The genre repertory of the provincial villas also finds striking parallels in later mediaeval palace decoration in the West, where the element of "prestige" iconography, I should say, was even more important (see J. von Schlosser, "Ein veronesischer Bilderbuch und die höfische Kunst des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *JKS*, 16 [1895], p. 144 ff., esp. p. 156 ff.; R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane* [The Hague, 1931], I).

Most recently, Prof. Grabar has himself studied the development in pavement decoration of these "latifundia cycles," as he terms them ("Recherches sur les sources juives de l'art paléochrétien," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 12 [1962], p. 115 ff., and "Programmes iconographiques à l'usage des propriétaires des latifundia romains," *ibid.*, p. 394 f.). However, he does not seem to entertain the possibility of their having penetrated the domain of imperial iconography.

anean basin, Greek East and Latin West. Once the exotic influences are seen in proper perspective, it is no longer necessary to hypothecate an isolated and artificial bulwark against them, such as an "Alexandrian" style, in order to account for works of art of an advanced period in which these influences do not appear. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the Greek East generally was more conservative of Hellenistic tradition than that one particular center had a vested interest in its preservation.⁴⁴⁰

Certainly the pavements of Syria, and now Constantinople, tend to confirm this point of view. Despite the differences among them, they display a common attitude toward the innovations from the West. The vigorous, often awkward, western figures are given elegant, dignified proportions. The loose, rambling compositions are simplified, organized, and interest is concentrated upon the figures. The eastern artists go much further in eliminating depth and atmosphere, so that the unity of the entire composition depends upon the subtle spacing of the figures on an abstract ground.⁴⁴¹

The style of these pavements is thus, in the deepest sense, an amalgamation of East and West. And the amalgamation produced a new art entirely different from either of the component traditions. We can, of course, point to the direct continuation of these traditions in eastern monuments of the following period, and their subsequent absorption in the West.⁴⁴² But perhaps

⁴⁴⁰ Conversely, in her investigation of Alexandrian art of the Ptolemaic period, Mrs. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings*, p. 94f., finds no very radical differences from other main centers of Hellenistic art.

The examples cited here in note 47 may serve to indicate the broad homogeneity of classical tradition in mosaic pavements of the eastern Mediterranean. And it is interesting to note that when a different approach does appear, as in the peristyle of a palace found at Miletus, covered all round with marine figures on a white ground, it is clearly under Western influence (A. von Gerkan, *Kalabaktepe, Athentempel und Umgebung* [Milet, ed. by T. Weigand, I, 8] [Berlin, 1925], plan pl. VII, Beilage VI, opp. p. 96; cf. p. 99 where a date in the third century is proposed on the basis of North African examples).

⁴⁴¹ These formal changes have their counterpart in an iconographical shift to which we have already alluded. The realistic, narrative hunting scenes of the West are imbued with deep metaphorical significance in the eastern examples, as most directly attested in the *Megalopsychia* pavement at Antioch (cf. Levi, p. 339ff., and the bibliography quoted there, p. 326, for the various interpretations of this mosaic); even if the mythological names given to the hunters are mere pedantry (Seyrig, *Berytus* [1935], p. 44), it remains significant that they are introduced along with the dominant theme of *Megalopsychia*. The eastern artists often preferred to give the hunters mythological identities, as in the Constantinian Villa and the Atalanta and Meleager mosaics from Xanthus and Halicarnassus cited above, note 47. (It may be noted, incidentally, that Rumpf, in *Handbuch der Archäologie*, IV, 1 p. 199, has pointed out the similarity between the Halicarnassus mosaics and the Apollo and Diana Hunt from Khéreddine discussed above, p. 239). This is in striking contrast to the North African examples, where the patron divinity may be present but the hunters are rarely, if ever, given mythological names; among the hunters named in the *Megalopsychia* floor, for example, the index of the *Inventaire* for Tunisia lists no instances of Meleager, Adonis, Atalanta, or Hippolytus, and only two of Acteon (both in scenes of the myth itself).

Another illustration is that of the generally prosaic western catalogues of amphitheater animals—e.g., the pavement from Carthage (fig. 82) and that from Radès (fig. 83)—which become the "animal paradise" of pavements such as that at Ayaş in Cilicia (M. Gough, "A Temple and Church at Ayaş," *AnatSt*, 4 [1954], p. 49ff.) and the Martyrium of Seleucia. Even in a case where no organized symbolism or allegory is evident, as in the Great Palace floor, "the center of interest seems to have shifted from the matter-of-fact rendering of rural occupations towards a stressing of the romantic and poetic associations of pastoral life" (Brett, *JWarb* [1942], p. 37).

⁴⁴² Large scale hunting scenes occur in the period of Justinian, for example, in Jugoslavia, in an apsidal building found at Gamzigrad (D. Mano-Zisi, "Le Castrum de Gamzigrad et ses mosaïques," *Archaeologia Jugoslavica*, II [1956], p. 67ff., plan fig. 5, p. 71, fig. 18ff.; on the date, cf. G. Novak in *FA*, 11 [1956], no. 6920, p. 425; here too we may note the use of uniform geometric carpets, particu-

the chief significance of the late pavements at Antioch is the insight which they provide into the genesis of the formal principles that were fundamental in the subsequent development of mediaeval style. We may compare, for example, the animal processions of the Martyrium of Seleucia with the processions of saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna. In both cases a complete zone established by the architecture is taken as the field for decoration, and this long "difficult" surface is treated as one continuous unit. The design "adheres" to the architecture, following its course, and the rhythmic succession of figures suspended, without overlapping, in an airless space, lends to the whole a pulsing ceremonious movement that could, one feels, go on forever.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA:</i>	Archäologischer Anzeiger
<i>AbhMun:</i>	Abhandlungen der K. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich
<i>AdI:</i>	Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica
<i>AfrIt:</i>	Africa Italiana
<i>AI:</i>	Ars Islamica
<i>AJA:</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>AMIran:</i>	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
<i>AnatSt:</i>	Anatolian Studies
<i>AnnEstMém:</i>	Annales de l'Est. Publiées par le Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Nancy. Mémoires
<i>AntCl:</i>	L'Antiquité classique

larly that in the long corridor of a vestibule, which corresponds to several of the Tripolitanian corridors discussed above, p. 219), and in the south church at Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima?), cf. D. Mano-Zisi, "Excavations at Caričin Grad 1949-52" (in Serbian), *Starinar*, III-IV (1952-53), p. 127 ff., figs. 4a, opp. p. 132, 32 ff., p. 146 f. (French summary p. 167 f.). Kitzinger has shown that the hunting pavement in the transept of S. Demetrius at Nikopolis is in the tradition of the Antioch Hunts (*DOPapers* [1951], p. 108 ff.). Also the Theotokos chapel (late sixth-early seventh century) adjoining the Basilica on Mount Nebo (S. J. Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo* [Jerusalem, 1941], pp. 105, 239, pls. 109, 2, 110, 2).

In the West, see the pavement of a basilica found at Catania ascribed to the middle of the sixth century, G. Rizza, "Mosaico pavimentale di una basilica cimiteriale paleocristiana di Catania," *BdA*, 40 (1955), p. 1 ff. (In connection with hunting scenes in churches in the early fifth century, the passage in Letter 61 of Nilus of Sinai should be recalled, Migne, PG, 79, col. 577 ff.; its authenticity has been questioned, G. Millet, "Les iconoclastes et la croix . . .," *BCH*, 34 [1910], p. 98 ff., but see F. Degenhart, *Der Hl. Nilus Sinaita* [Münster i. W., 1915], p. 63 ff., K. Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen* [Texte und Untersuchungen . . . , 42, 2] [Leipzig, 1917], p. 77 ff.)

Hunting and animal motifs also became very popular in subsidiary forms, for example, animating decorative vine scrolls in many sixth- and early seventh-century pavements (cf. the examples quoted by Kitzinger, *DOPapers* [1951], p. 109, note 116). Compositions with diagonal trees and figural elements facing outward also continue (cf. Levi, p. 337, citing the pavement of St. Lot's at Mukhayyat, first half of the seventh century, and that in House no. 13 at Madaba). Moreover, there was generally an important development of the "animal paradise" and other animal genres (cf. Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, p. 143 ff.).

For the use of these subjects in the mediaeval West, see examples cited by Talbot Rice, *ibid.*, p. 147; and compare Kitzinger's observations on the later western assimilation of Justinianic cosmographic themes, in *Actes du VI^e Cong. Int. d'Et. Byz.*, II, p. 222 f.; also *idem*, *DOPapers* (1951), p. 119 f.

- Antioch I:* *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, I. The Excavations of 1932.* Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its Vicinity, Princeton, 1934
- Antioch III:* *Idem, III. The Excavations of 1937-1939,* Princeton, 1941
- ArchCl:* *Archeologia Classica*
- ArchEspArq:* *Archivo Español de Arqueología*
- ArtB:* *Art Bulletin*
- ASAE:* *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
- ASAtene:* *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*
- Aurigemma, Le terme:* S. Aurigemma, *Le terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano* (Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia, 78), 4th ed., Rome, 1958
- BAC:* *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Archéologiques*
- BAntFr:* *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*
- BCH:* *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
- BdA:* *Bollettino d'Arte*
- Becatti, Ostia IV:* G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia. IV. I mosaici e i pavimenti marmorei,* Rome, 1961
- BM:* *Burlington Magazine*
- BM Beyrouth:* *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*
- BMusArt:* *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels*
- Brett, Great Palace:* G. Brett, chapter on the mosaic in *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors,* London, 1947
- BSA:* *Annual of the British School at Athens*
- BSR:* *Papers of the British School at Rome*
- BullComm:* *Bollettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*
- BZ:* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CAH:* *Cambridge Ancient History*
- CIL:* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- CRAI:* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
- Deltion:* *Archaiologikon Deltion*
- DOPapers:* *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- FA:* *Fasti Archaeologici*
- Foucher:* L. Foucher, *Inventaire des mosaïques. Feuille no. 57 de l'atlas archéologique.* Sousse, Tunis, 1960 (Institut National d'Archéologie et Arts, Tunis)
- Gauckler, Mus. op:* P. Gauckler, art. "Musivum opus," in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines,* Paris, 1877-1919, vol. III, p. 2088 ff.
- GazArch:* *Gazette archéologique*
- GBA:* *Gazette des beaux-arts*
- Gentili, I mos. fig:* G. V. Gentili, *La villa erculia di Piazza Armerina. I mosaici figurati,* Milan, 1959
- Gentili, La villa:* G. V. Gentili, *La villa imperiale di Piazza Armerina* (Itinerari dei Musei e monumenti d'Italia, 87), 2nd ed., Rome, 1954
- Hinks:* R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum,* London, 1933
- HSCP:* *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- IGLSyr:* *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*
- ILN:* *Illustrated London News*
- Inv. Alg:* *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique.* Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. III. *Afrique Proconsulaire, Numidie, Maurétanie (Algérie),* F. G. de Pachtère, Paris, 1911. Atlas, 1912-25
- Inv. Gaule:* *Idem. I. Gaule,* G. Lafaye et A. Blanchet, Paris, 1909
- Inv. Tun:* *Idem. II. Afrique Proconsulaire (Tunisie),* P. Gauckler, Paris, 1910; *Supplément,* A. Merlin, Paris, 1915
- JdI:* *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
- JHS:* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

- JKS:** Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen, Vienna
JOAI: Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts
JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPKS: Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen
JRS: Journal of Roman Studies
JSAH: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
JWarb: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
Levi: D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, etc., 1947
MAAR: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome
MélRome: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome
MélUSJ: Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut
MemPontAcc: Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Memorie
Migne PG: Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*
MM: Madrider Mitteilungen
MMS: Metropolitan Museum Studies
MonAnt: Monumenti Antichi
MonPiot: Monuments et mémoires publ. par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Piot
Nogara: B. Nogara, *I mosaici antichi conservati nei palazzi pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, Milan, 1910
NouvArch: Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques
NSc: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
OC: Oriens Christianus
OZ: Ostasiatische Zeitschrift
Pace, I mosaici: B. Pace, *I mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, Rome, 1955
Parlasca: K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Römisch-Germanische Forschungen, 23), Berlin, 1959
Pernice: E. Pernice, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji, VI. Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, Berlin, 1938
Praktika: *Praktika tes en Athenais Archaïologikes Hetaireias*
ProcBritAc: Proceedings of the British Academy
PSAM: Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc
QDAP: Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
RA: Revue archéologique
RACrist: Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana
RAfr: Revue Africaine
RE: Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REByz: Revue des études byzantines
RecConst: Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département de Constantine
Reinach, RPGR: S. Reinach, *Répertoire des peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1922
RendLinc: Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei
RendPontAcc: Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti
RevTun: Revue Tunisienne
RivIstArch: Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte
RM: Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
SymbOslo: Symbolae Osloenses
Talbot Rice, Second Report: D. Talbot Rice (ed.), *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report*, Edinburgh, 1958
YCS: Yale Classical Studies

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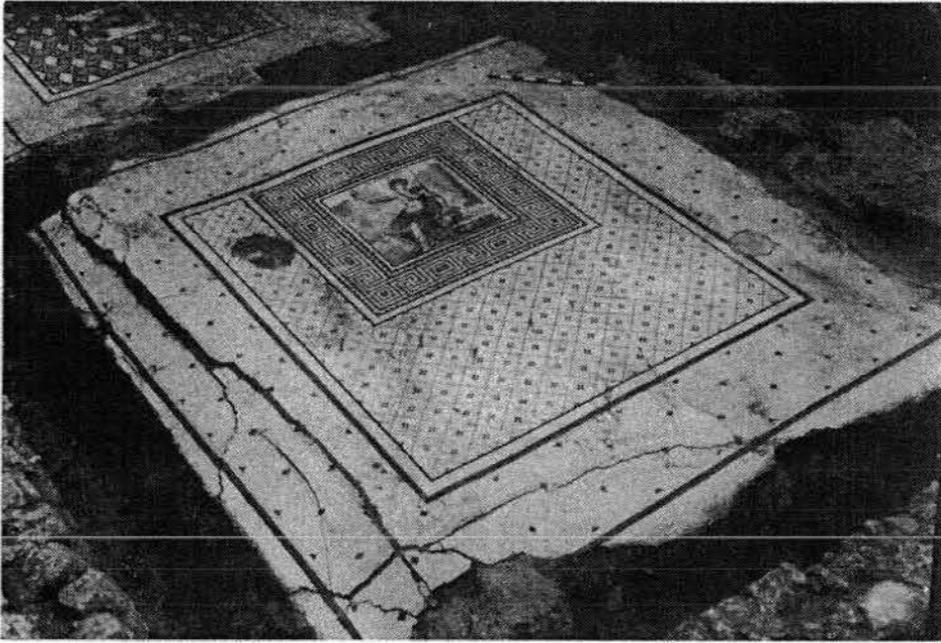
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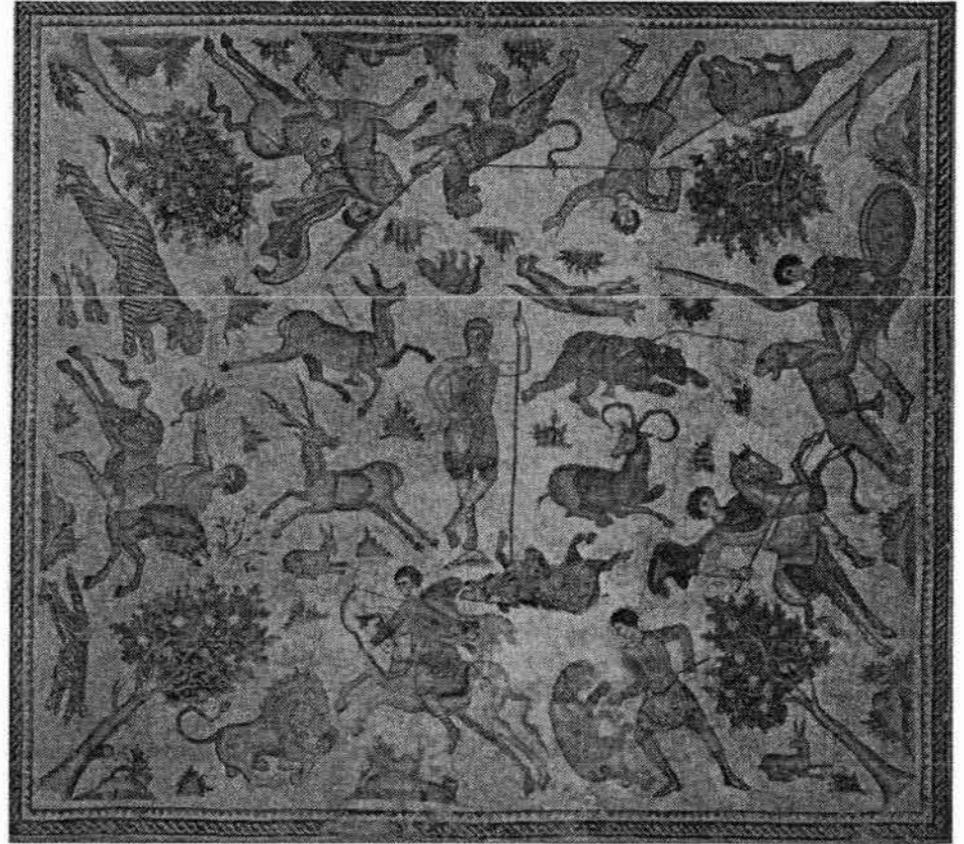
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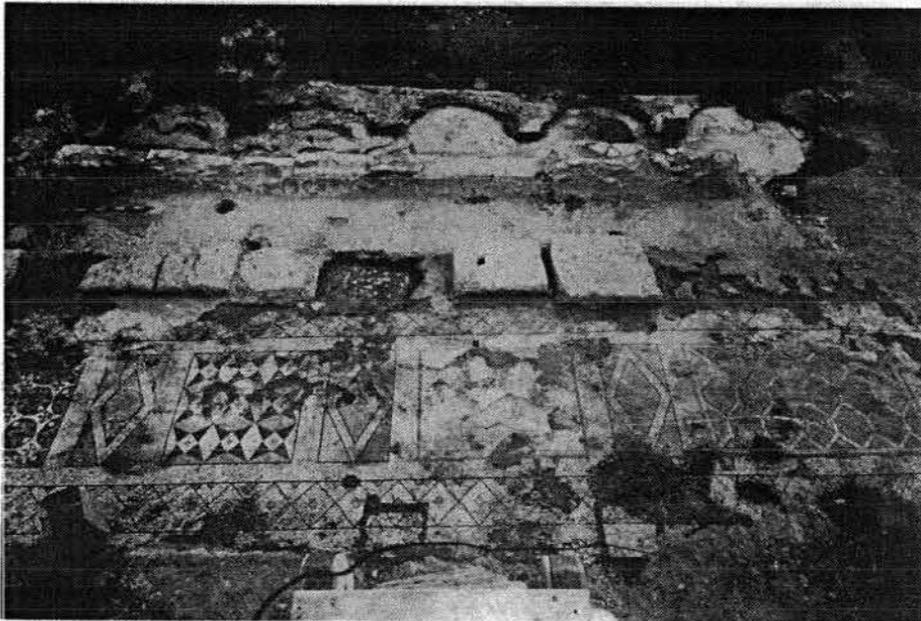
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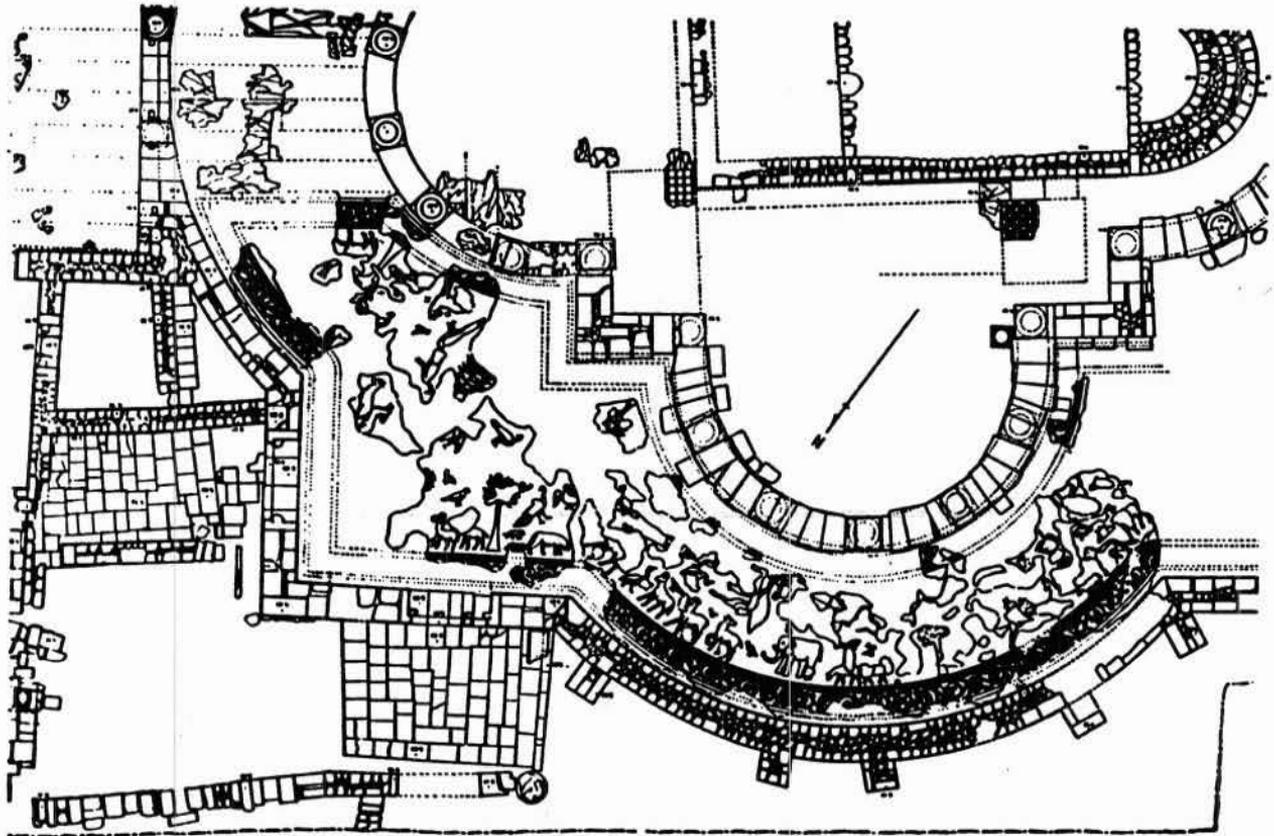
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3. Antioch, House of the Boat of Psyche, Colonnade of the Hermaphrodite



4. Antioch, Martyrium of Seleucia, North Ambulatory



5. Antioch, Martyrium of Seleucia, North Ambulatory, detail



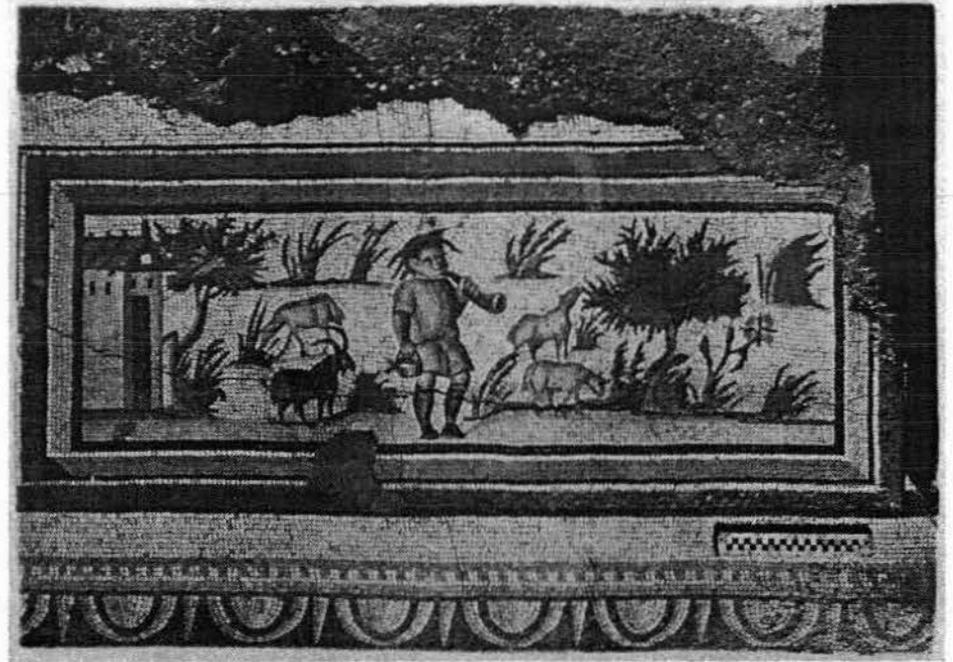
6. Antioch, Megalopsychia Hunt



7. Antioch, Megalopsychia Hunt, detail



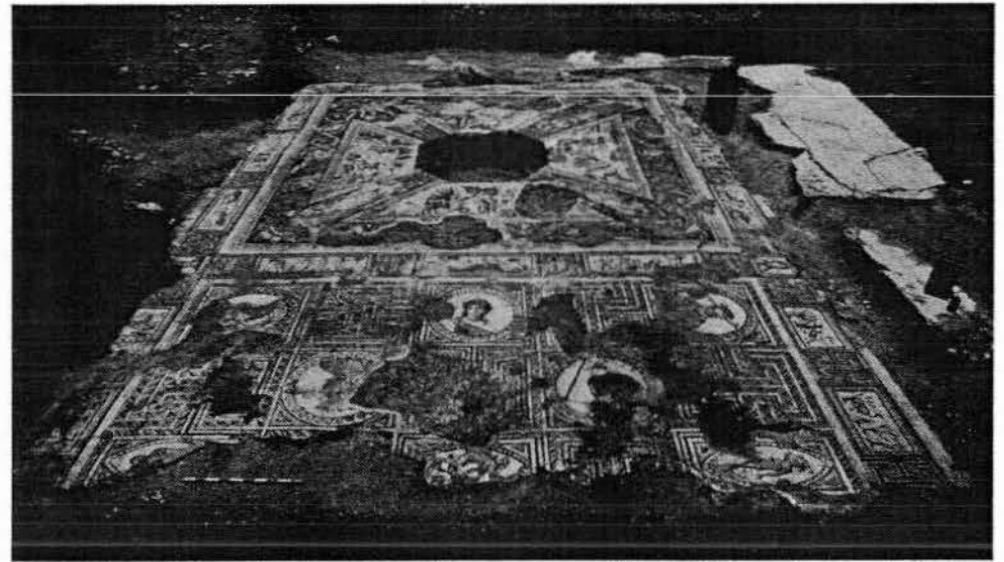
8. Antioch, Constantinian Villa, Triclinium Pavement



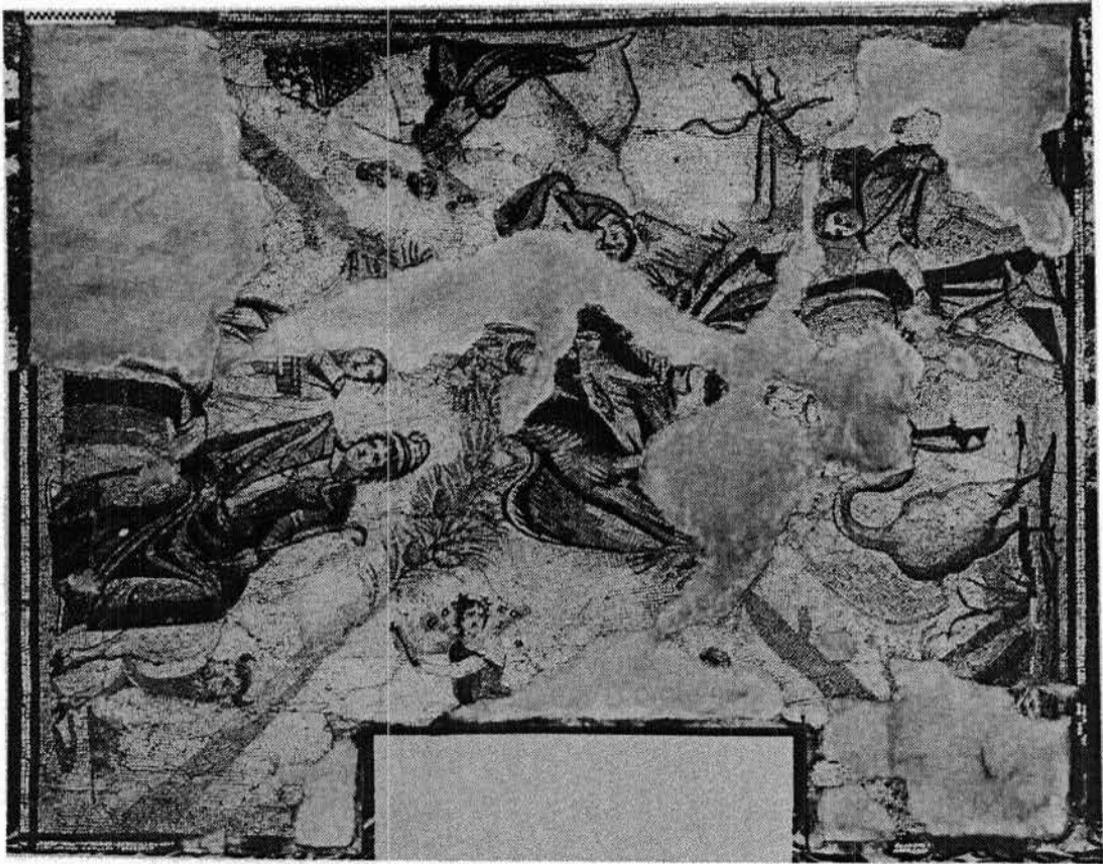
11. Antioch, Constantinian Villa, Triclinium Pavement, Pastoral Scene



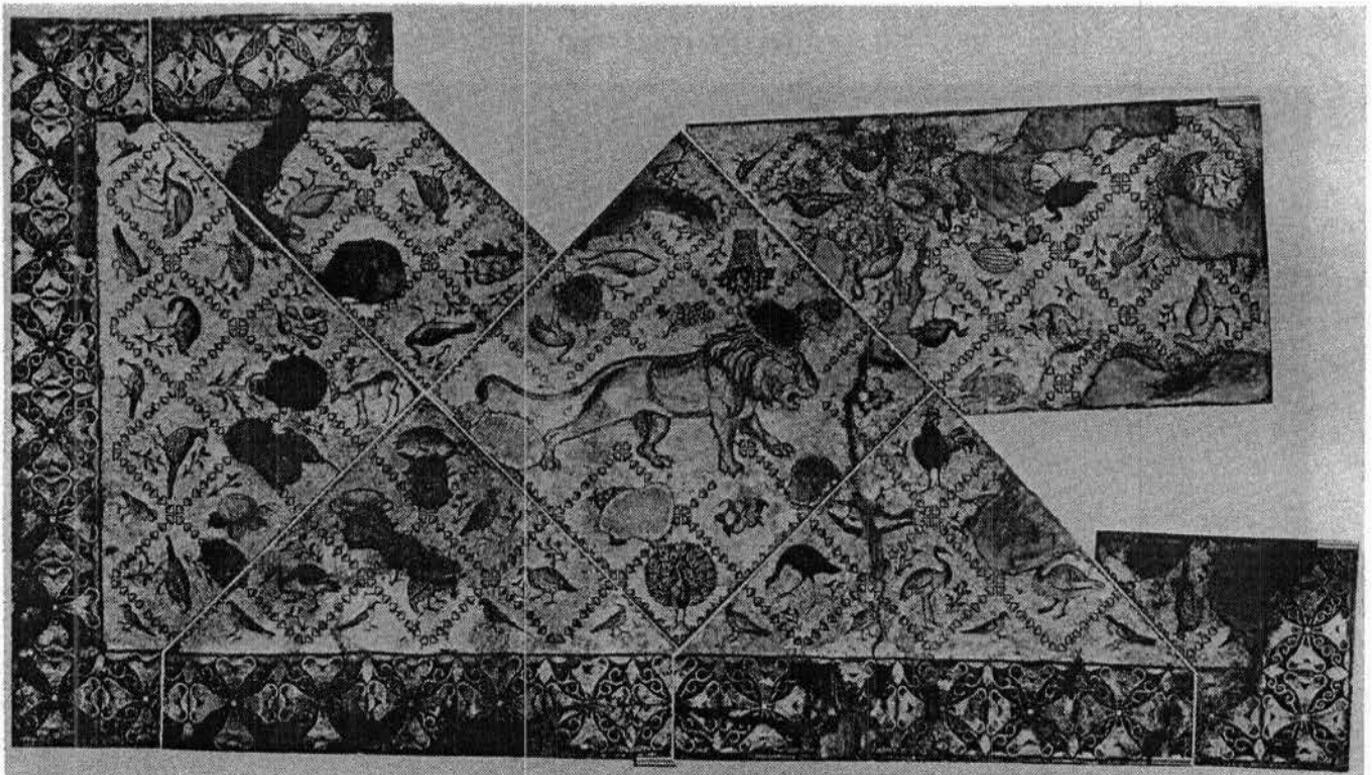
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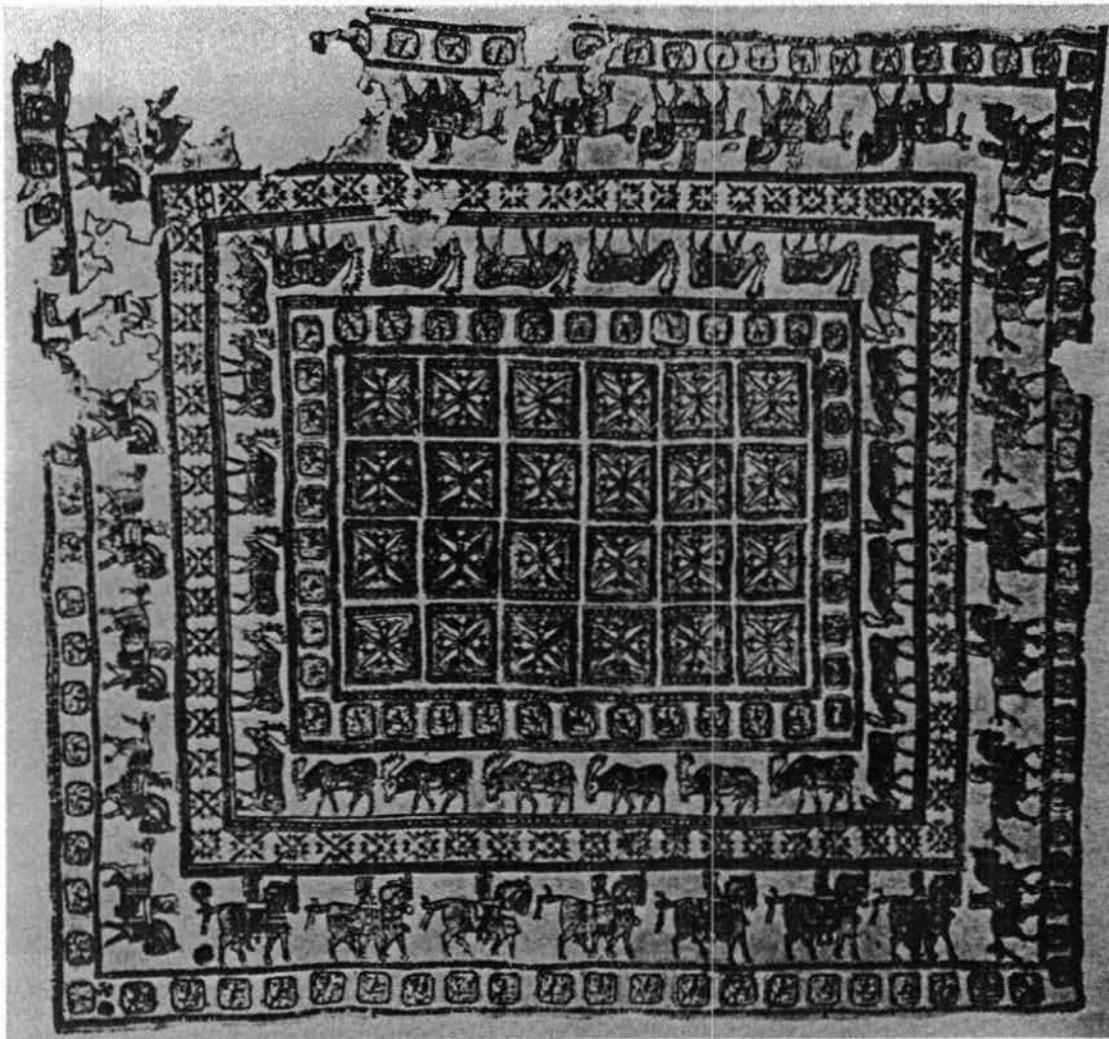
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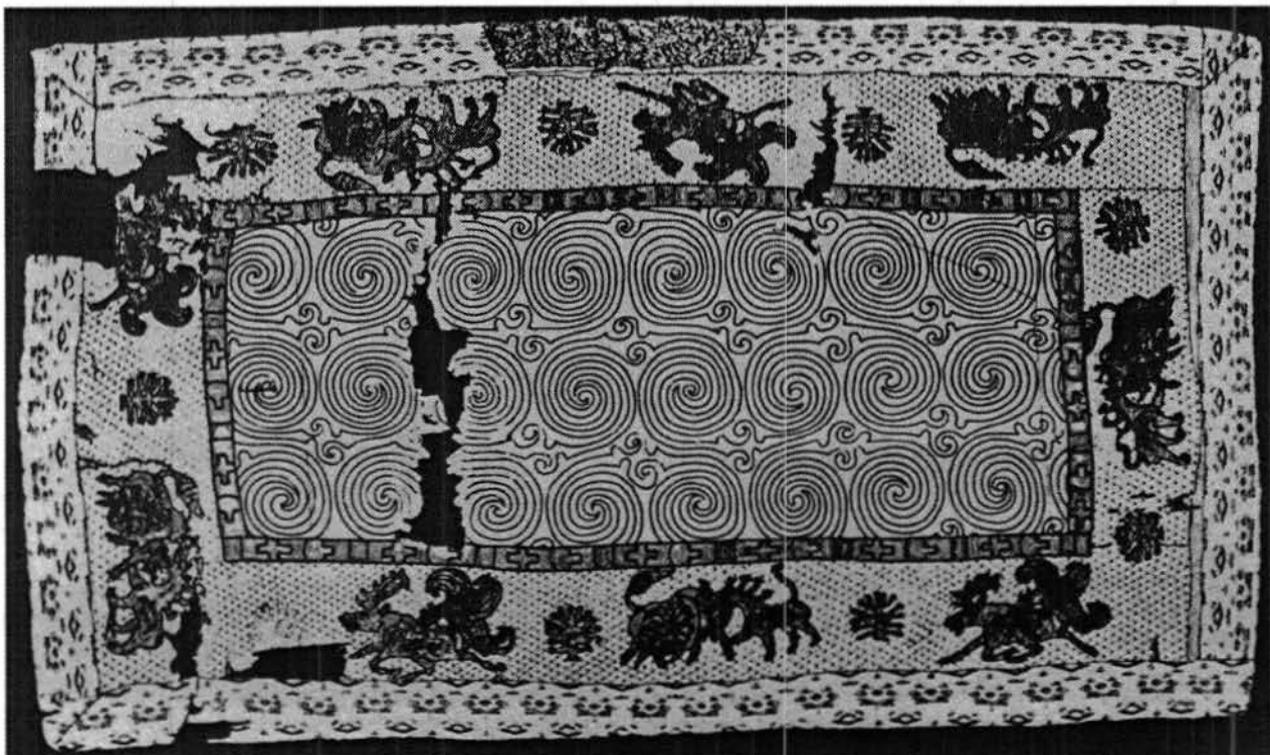
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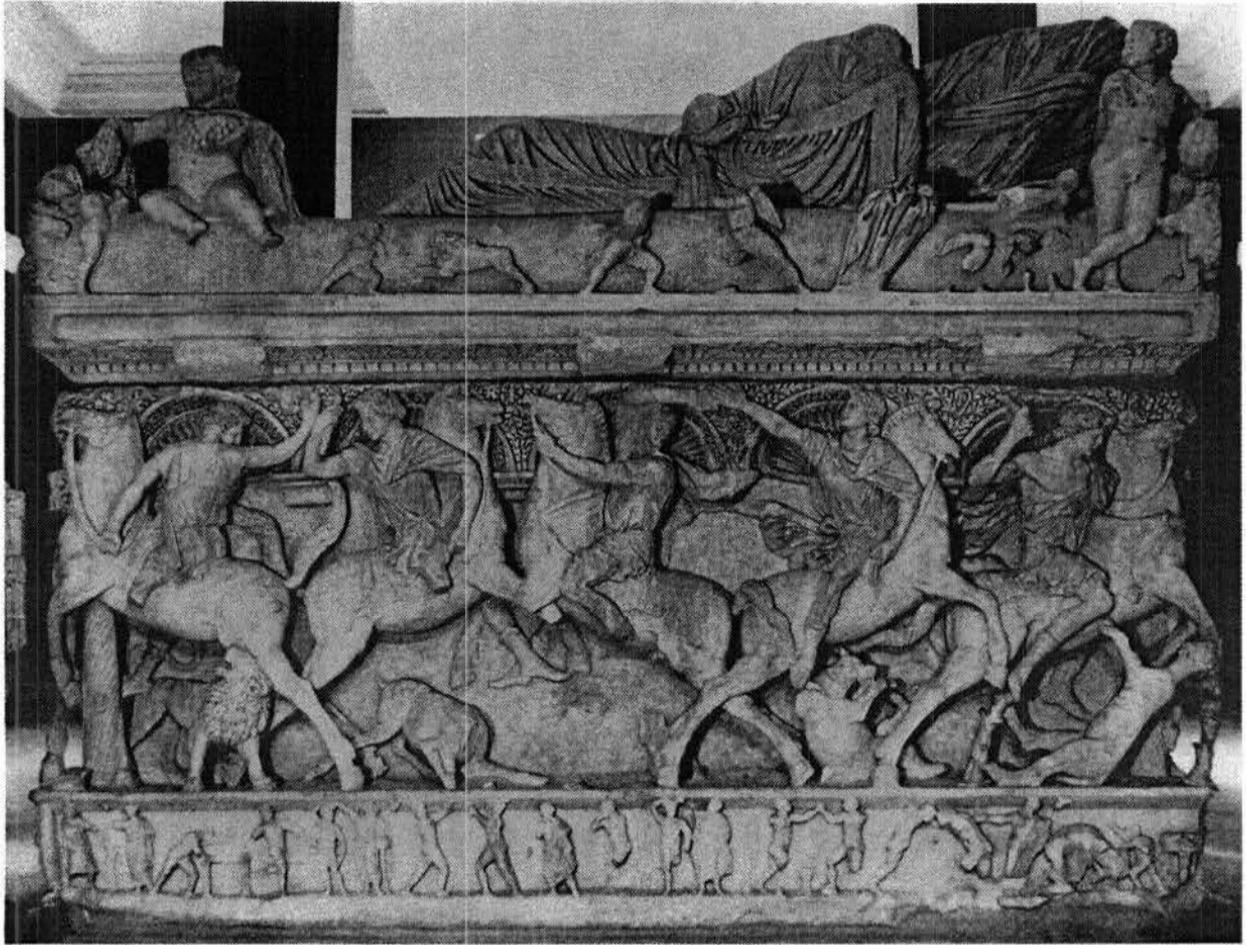
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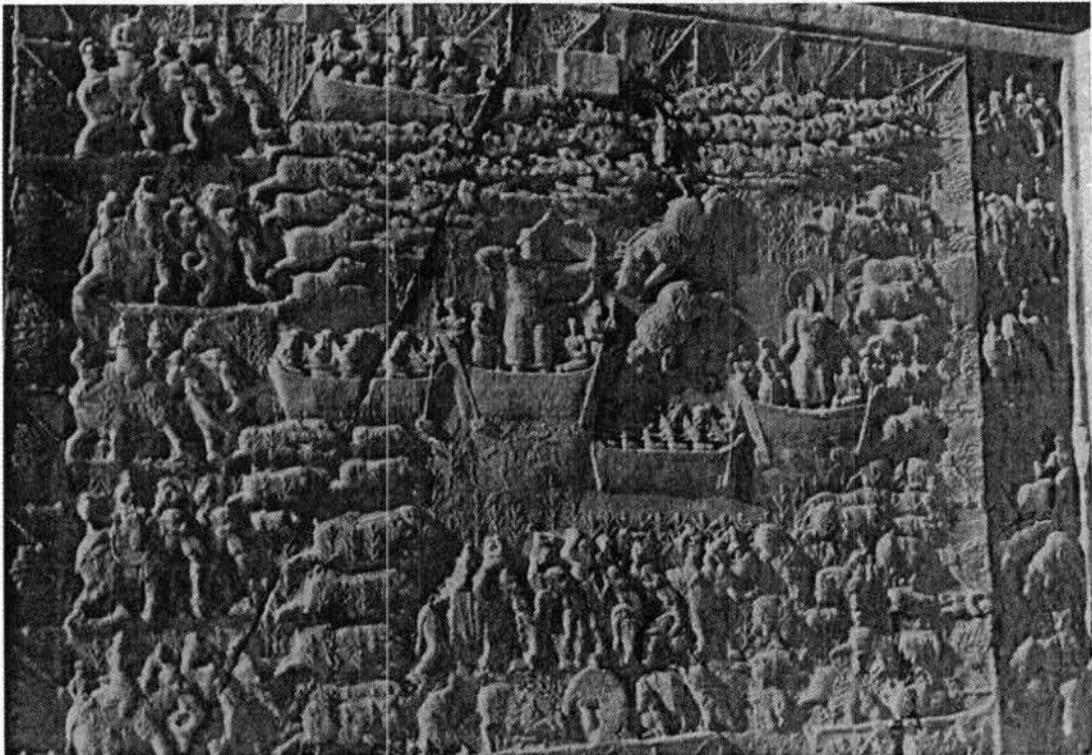
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15. Noin-Ula, Carpet



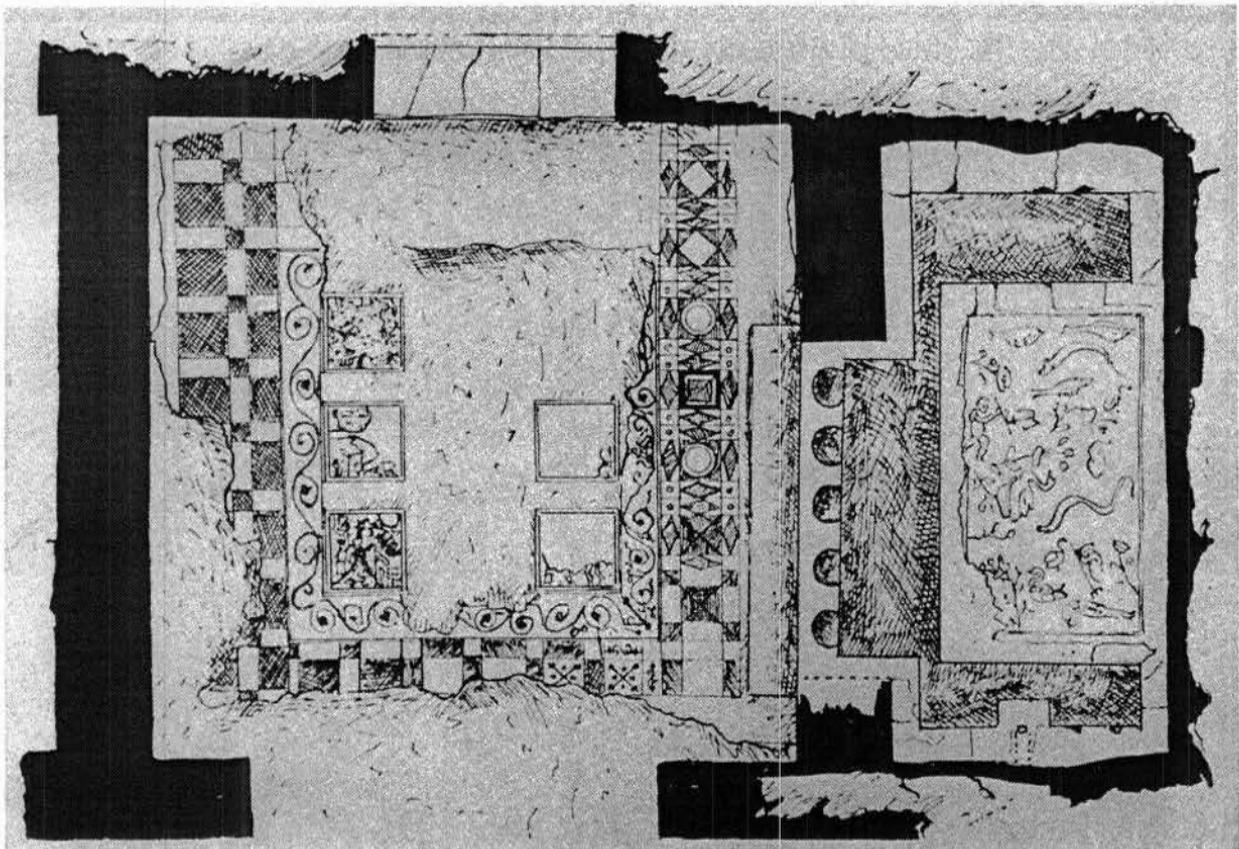
16. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, Sarcophagus from Sidamara



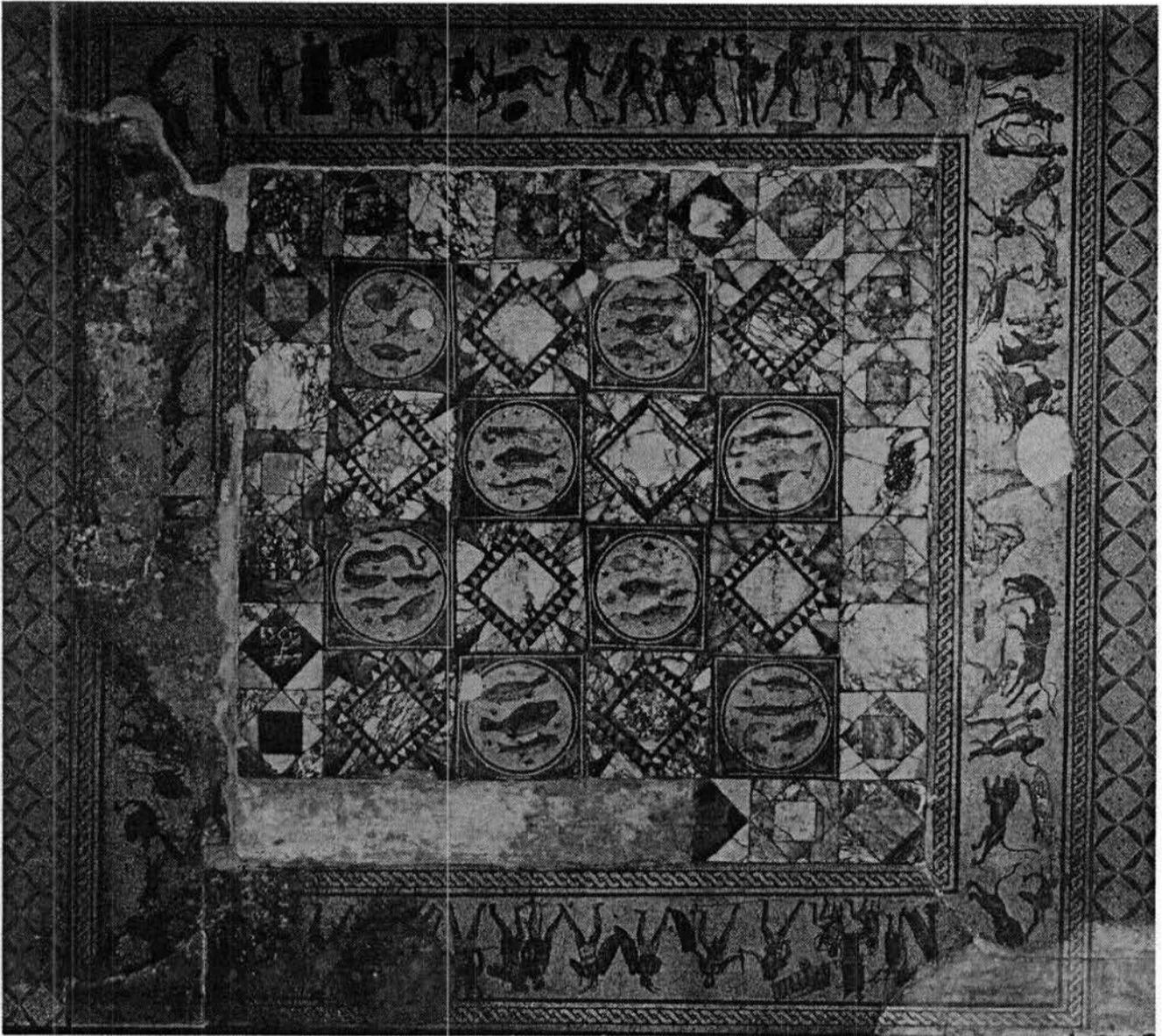
17. Taq-i-Bustan, Boar Hunt



18. Zliten, Roman Villa, Room U, Plan



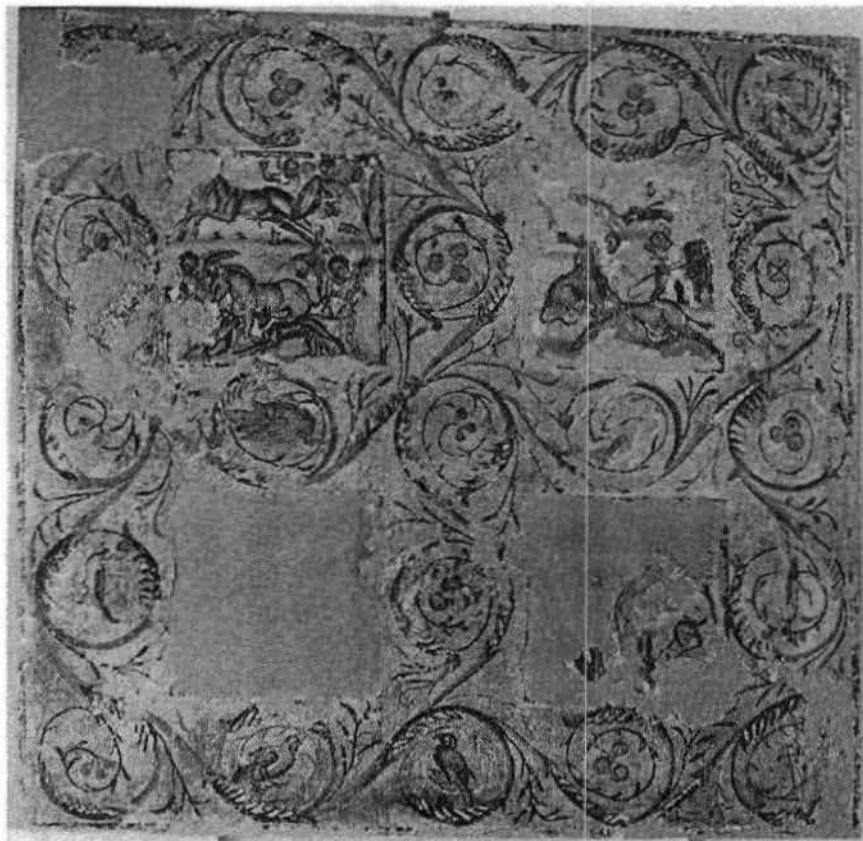
19. Zliten, Roman Villa, Room U, Rural Scene



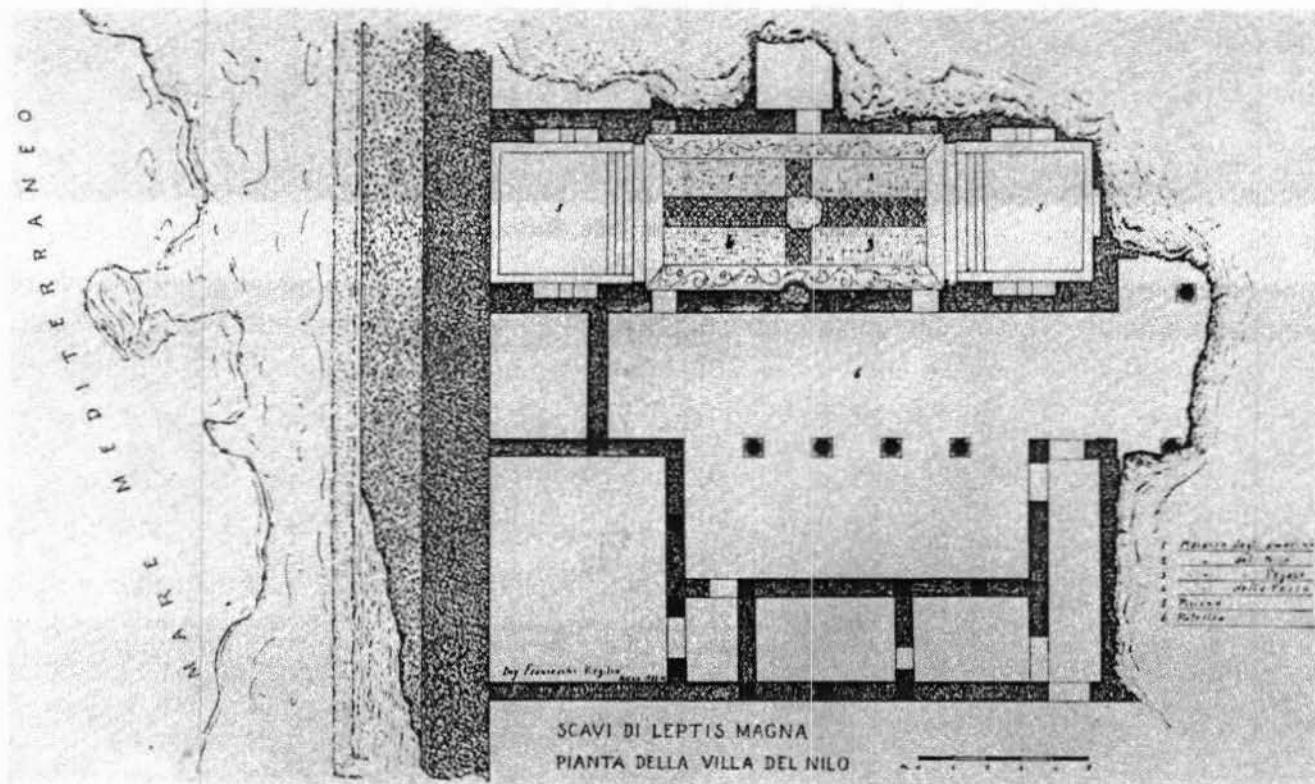
20. Zliten, Roman Villa, Room D



21. Zliten, Roman Villa, Room D, detail of Frieze



22. Homs, Pavement with *Emblemata*



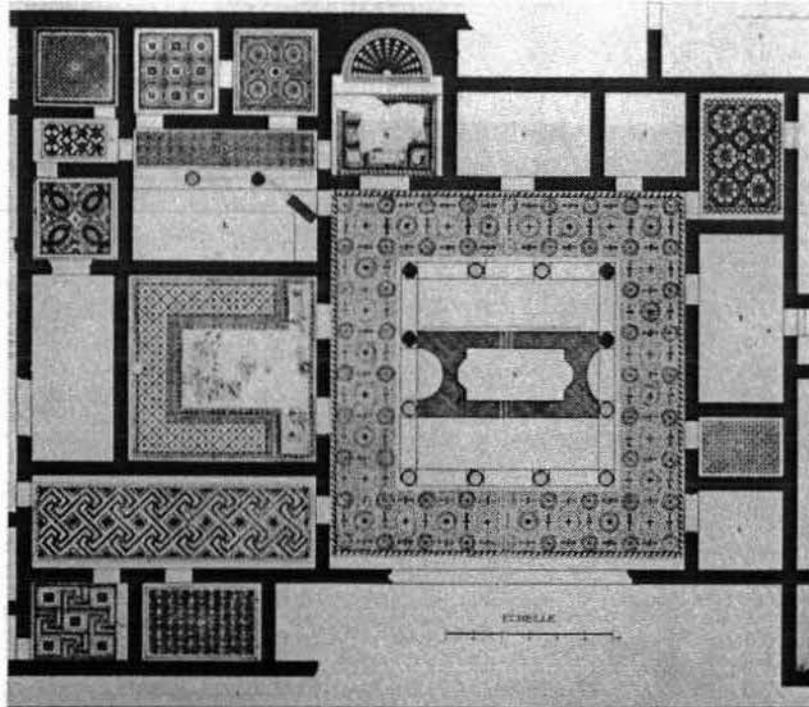
23. Leptis Magna, Villa del Nilo, Plan



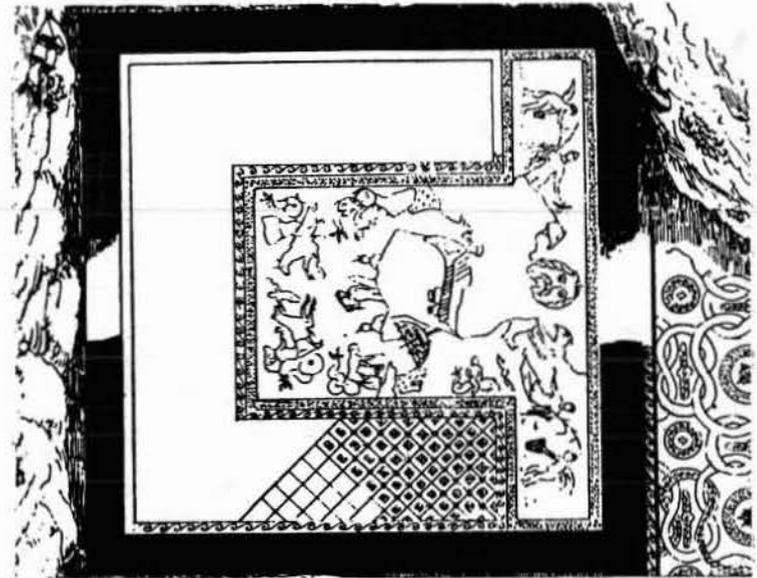
24. Leptis Magna, Villa del Nilo, Marine Landscape



25. Acholla, House of Asinius Rufinus, Triclinium Pavement



26. Althiburus, House of the Muses, Plan



26a. Althiburus, House of the Muses, Triclinium Pavement



27. Thuburbo Majus, Villa, Pavement of Tepidarium



28. Piazza Armerina, Pavement of Peristyle



29. Piazza Armerina, Pavement of Peristyle, detail



30. Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, *Asarotos* Pavement



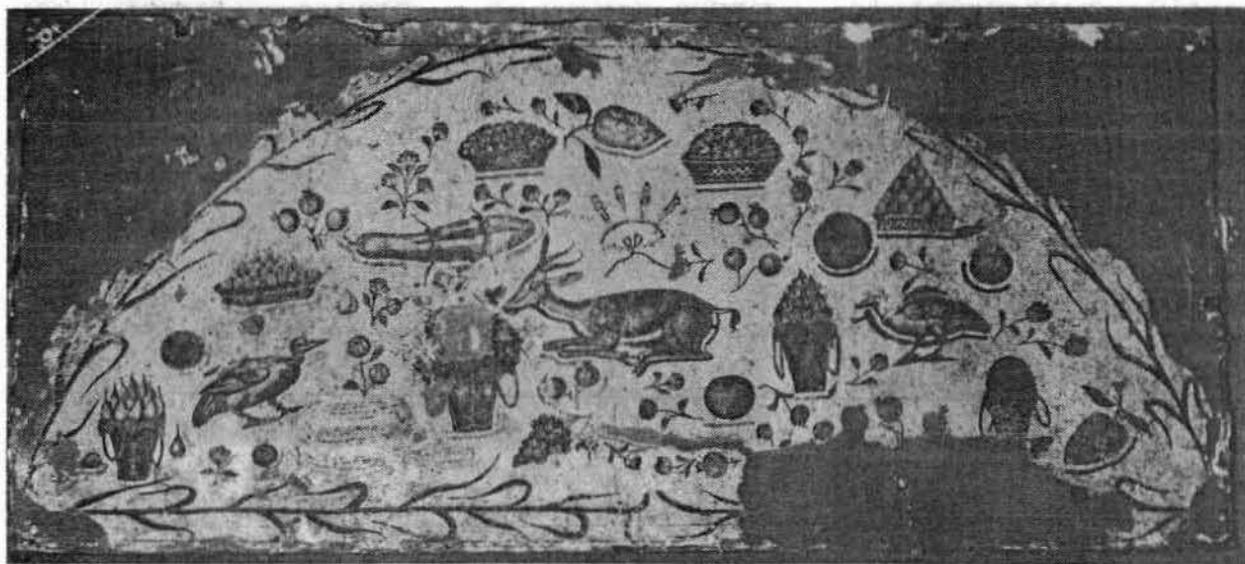
31. Carthage, "Maison de la Volière," Pavement of Courtyard, detail



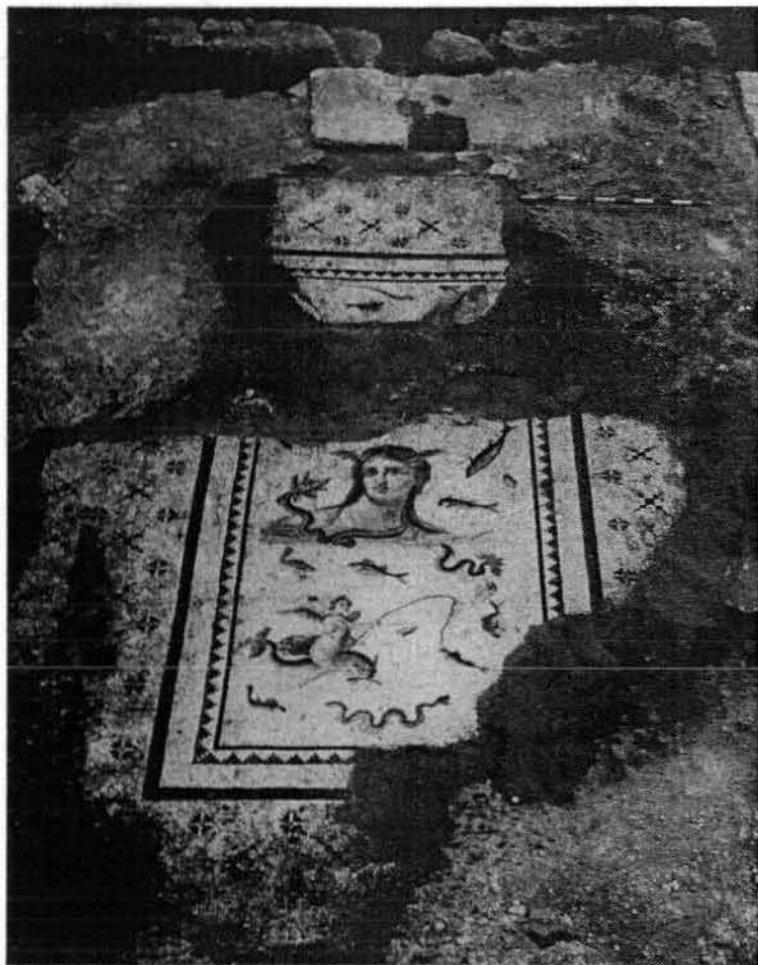
82. Carthage, "Maison de la Volière," View of Courtyard



83. Carthage, "Maison de la Volière," View of Pavement *in situ*, detail



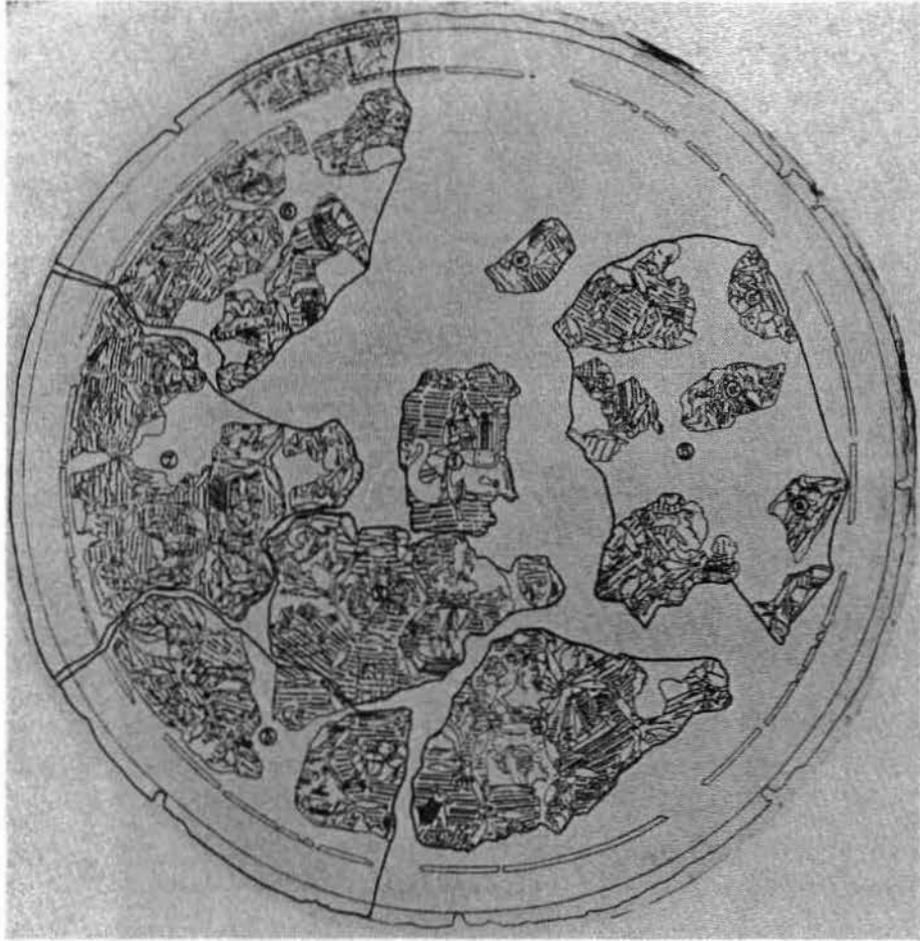
84. Sousse, "Maison du Virgile," Apse of Triclinium



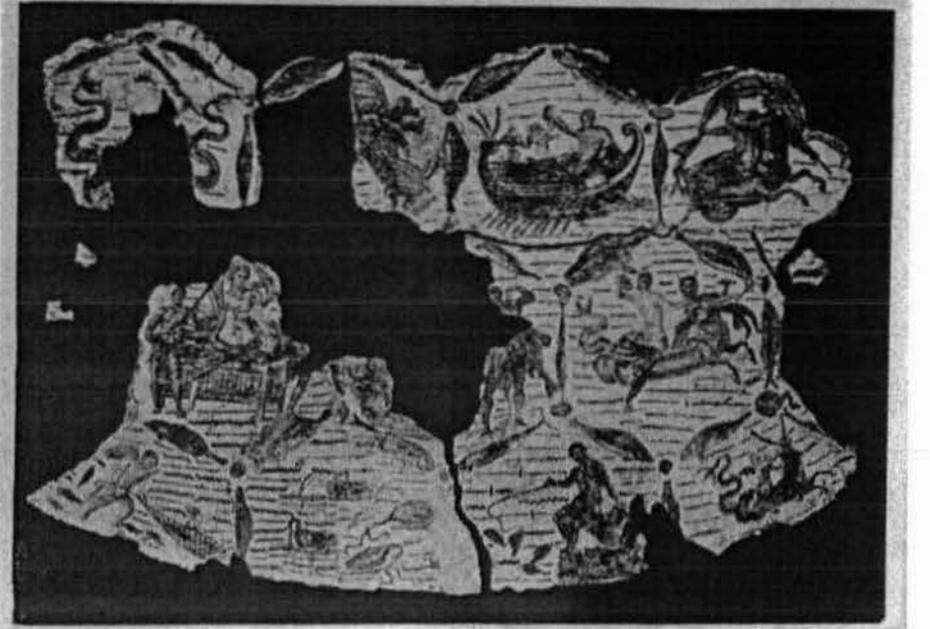
85. Antioch, House of the Boat of Psyche, Room 6



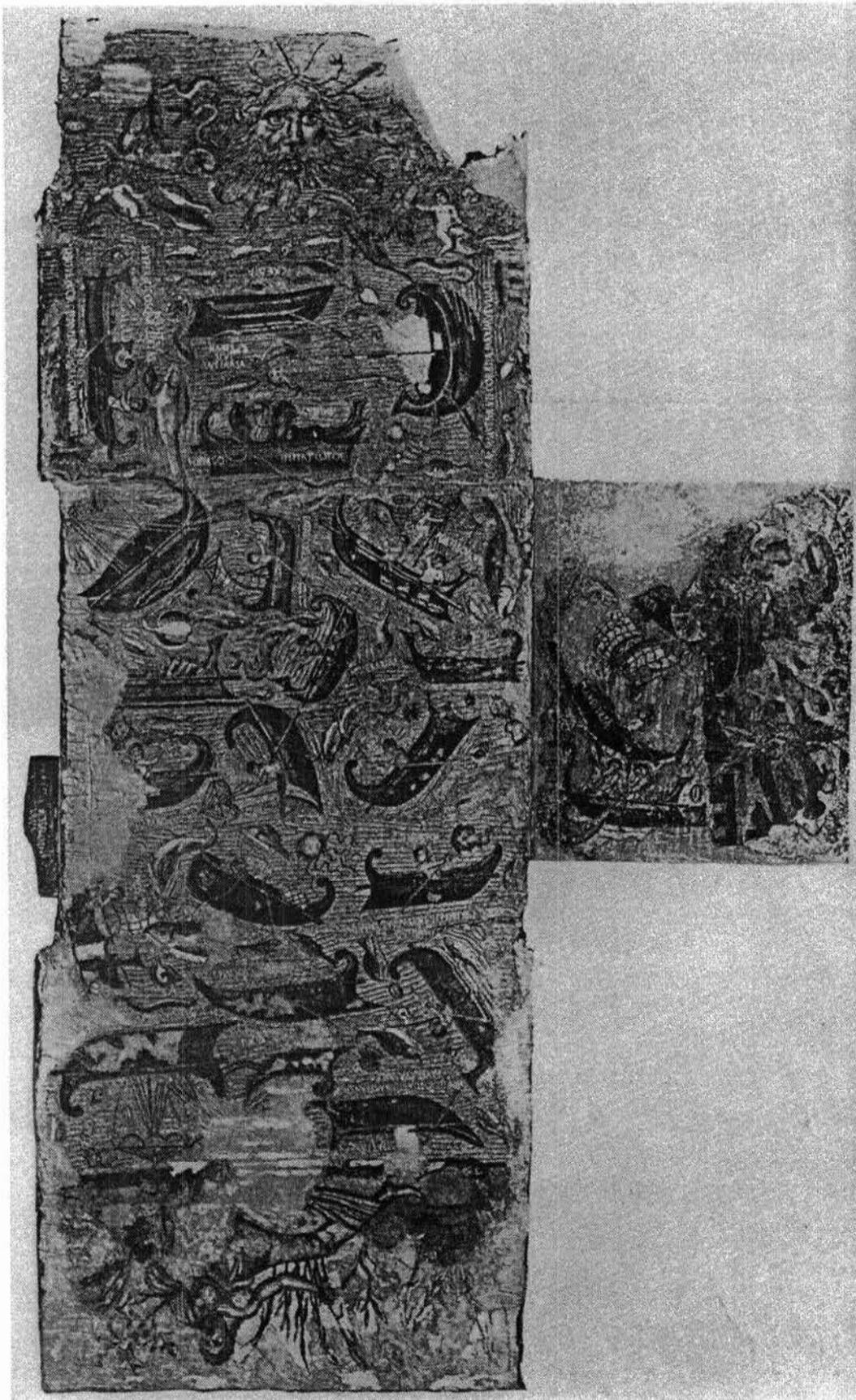
86. Tunis, Bardo Museum, Marine Pavement, detail



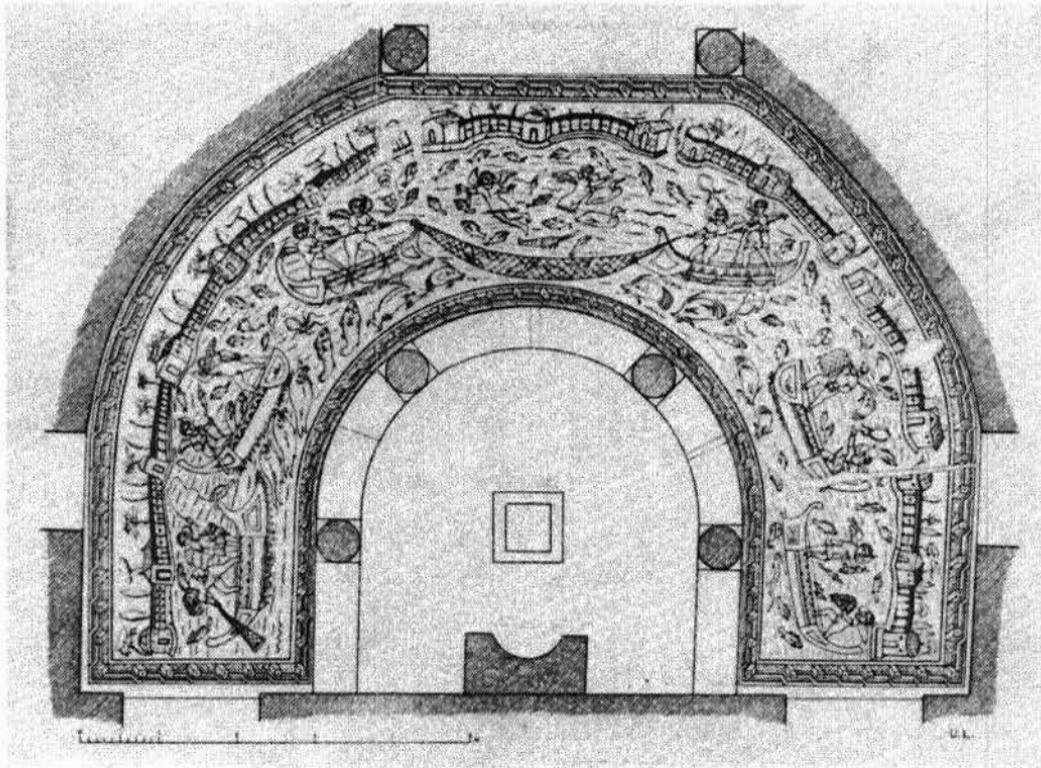
87. Henchir-Thina, Pavement of Frigidarium



88. Henchir-Thina, Pavement of Frigidarium, details



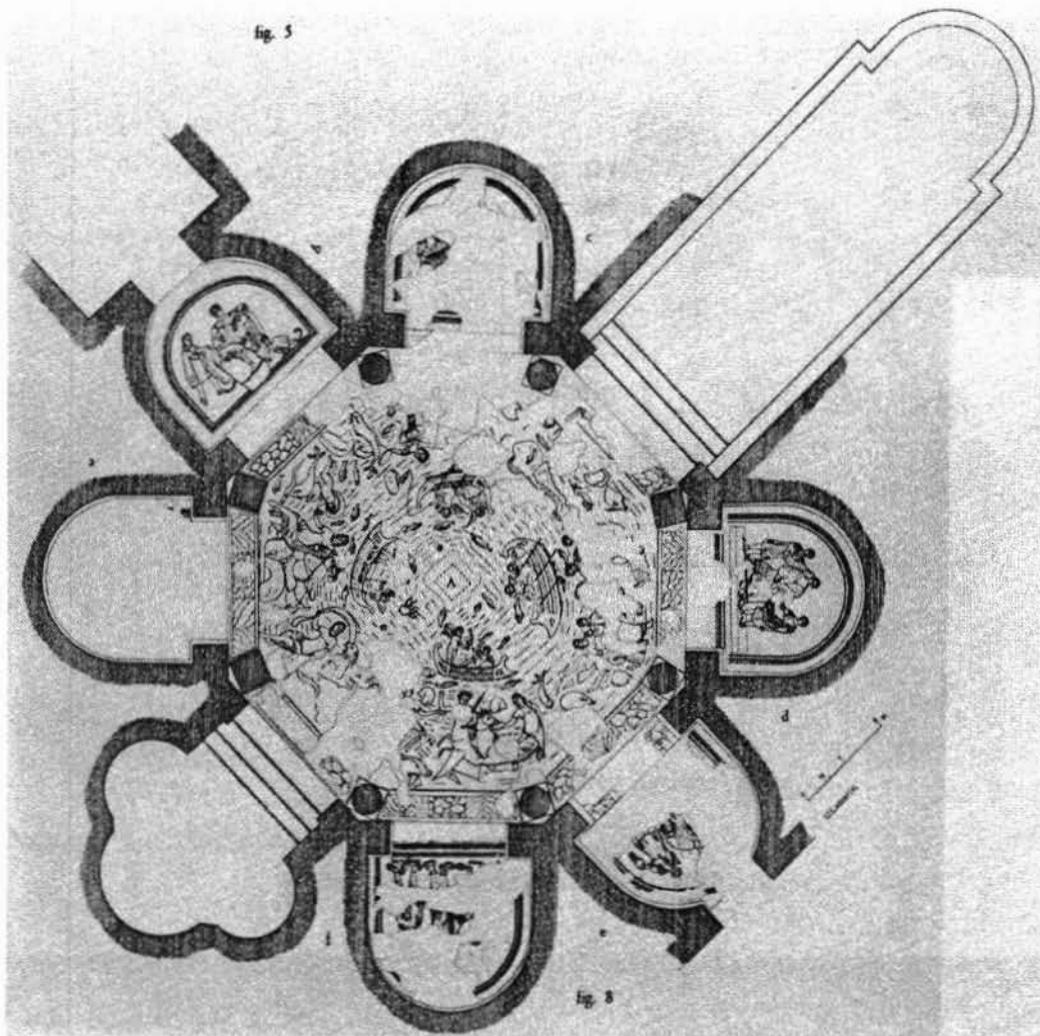
39. Althiburus, House of the Muses, Pavement of Frigidarium



40. Piazza Armerina, Pavement of Portico



41. Piazza Armerina, Pavement of Portico, detail



42. Piazza Armerina, Pavement of Frigidarium



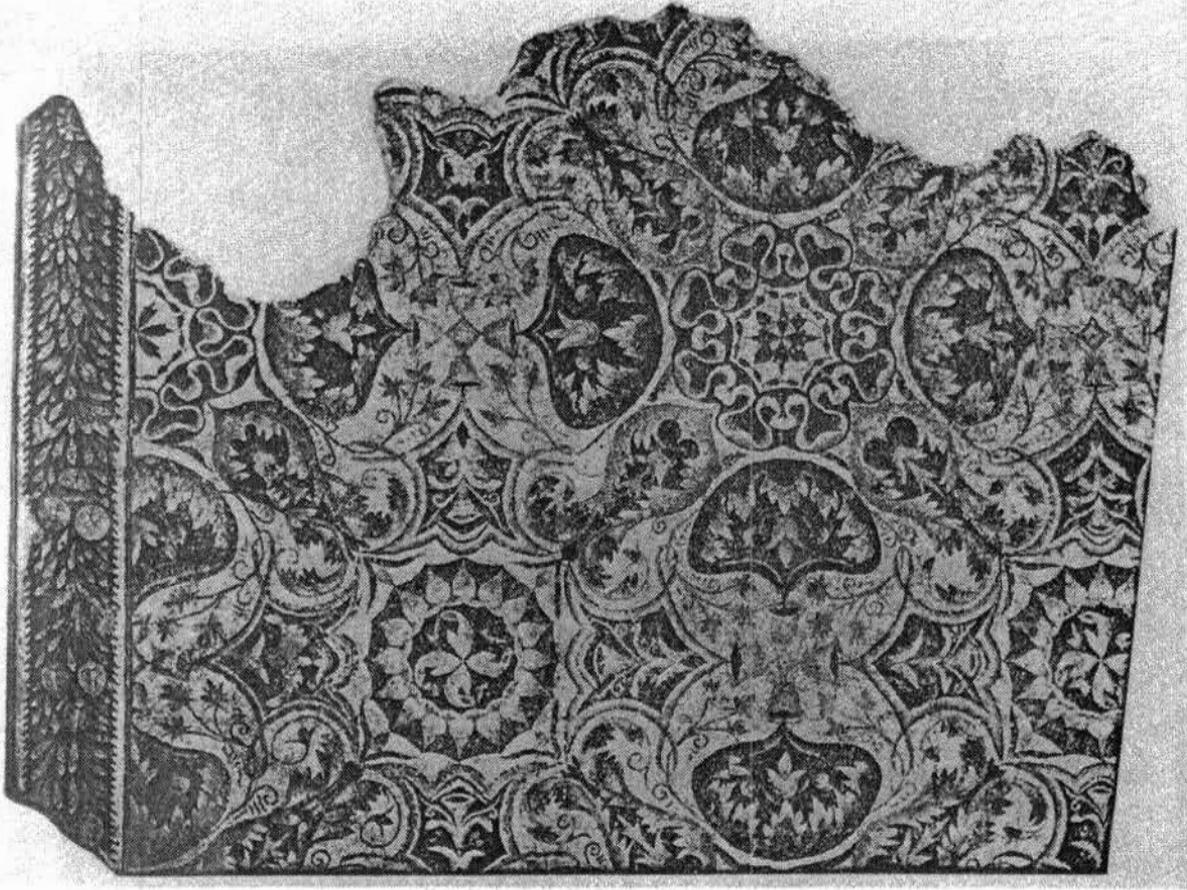
43. Piazza Armerina, Pavement of Frigidarium, detail



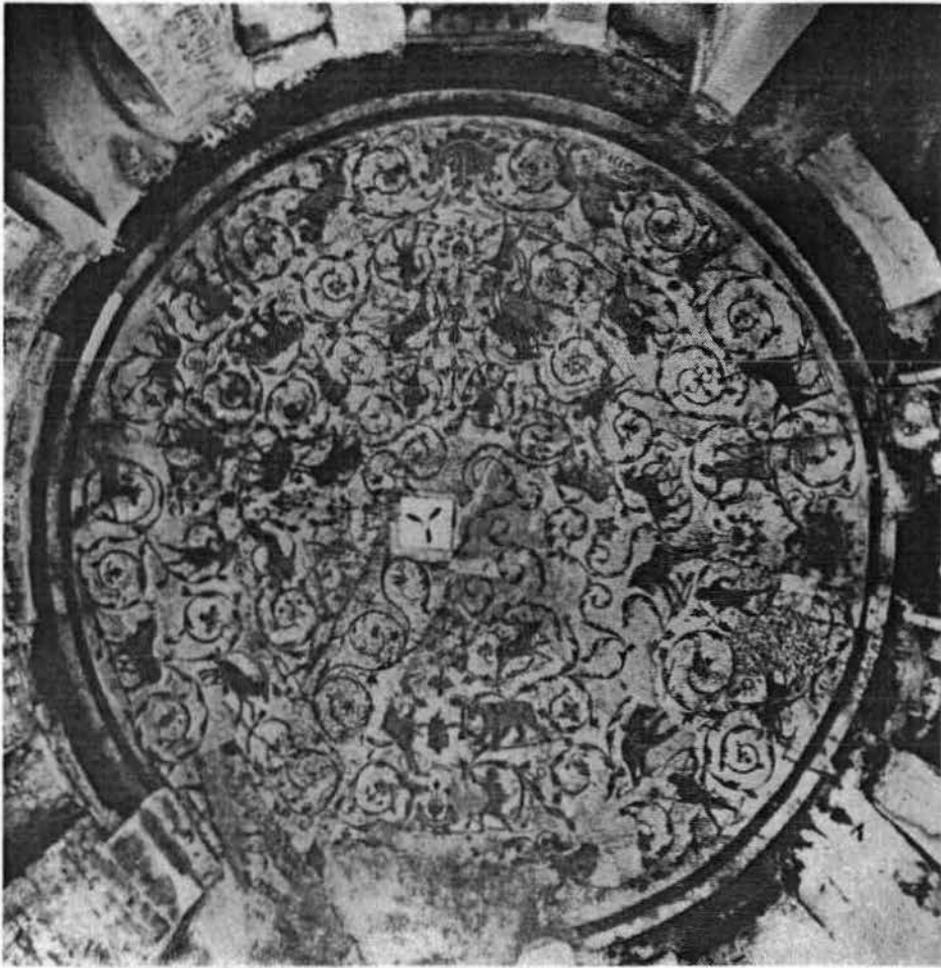
44. Sidi-Abdallah, Marine Landscape



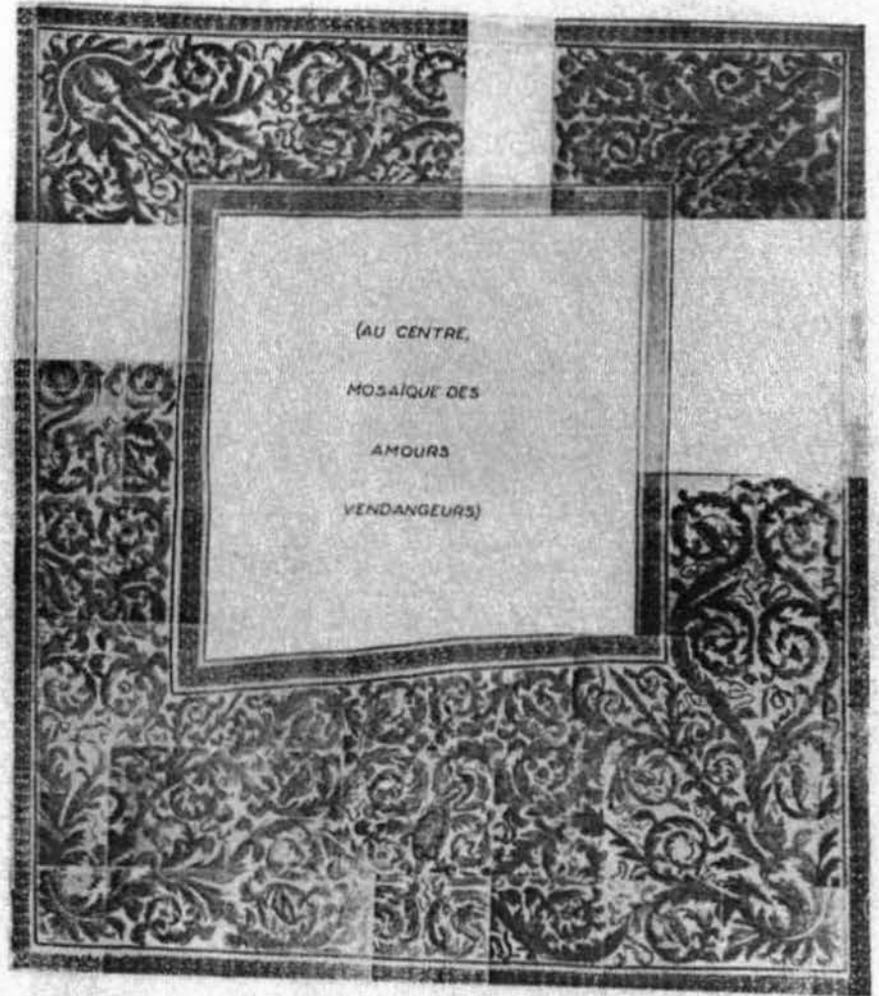
45. Ostia, Schola del Traiano



46. Timgad, Floral Carpet



47. Ostia, Baths of the Seven Wise Men



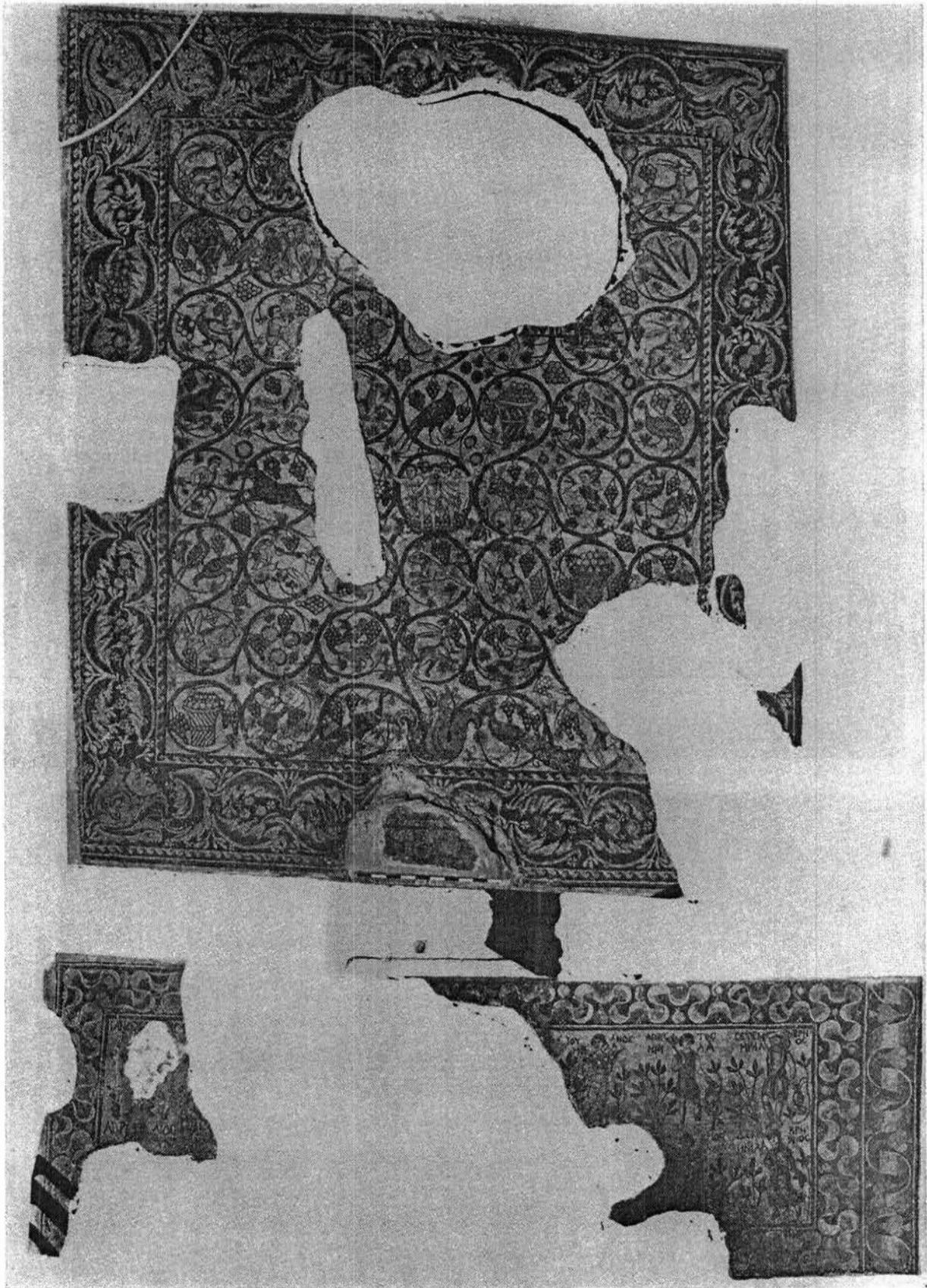
48. Thurburbo Majus, Ambulatory of Frigidarium



49. Piazza Armerina, Pavement of Curved Peristyle, detail



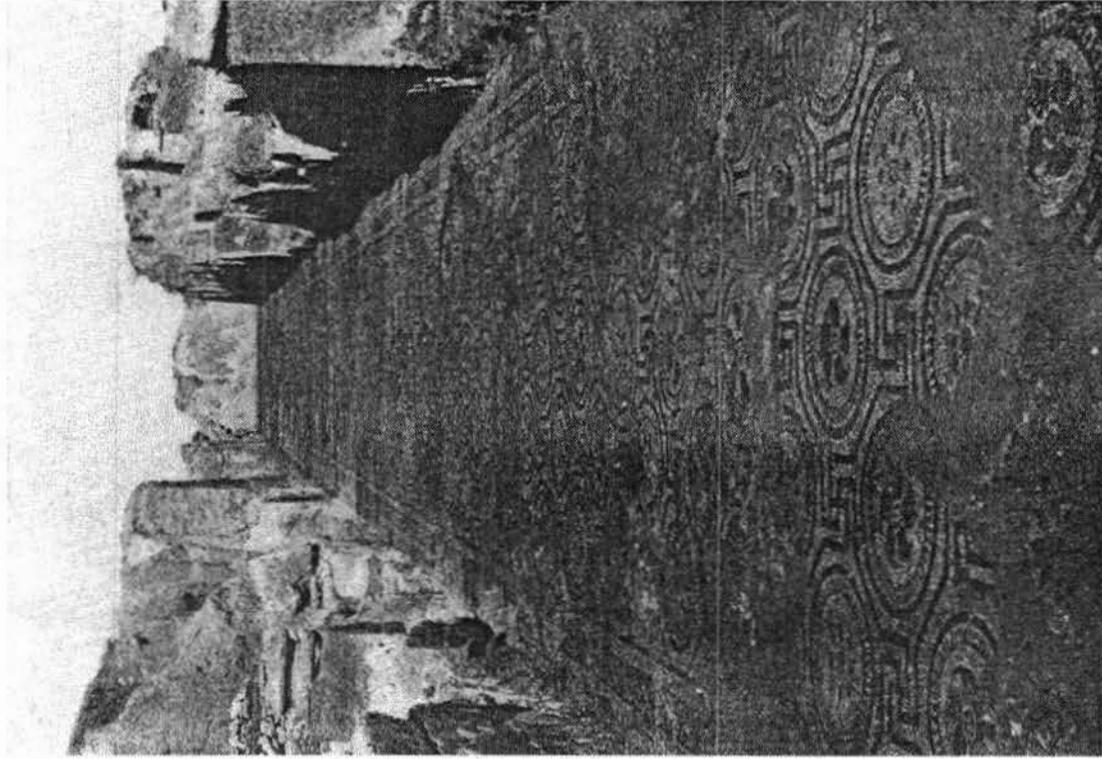
50. Djemila, House of the *Asinus Nica*, detail



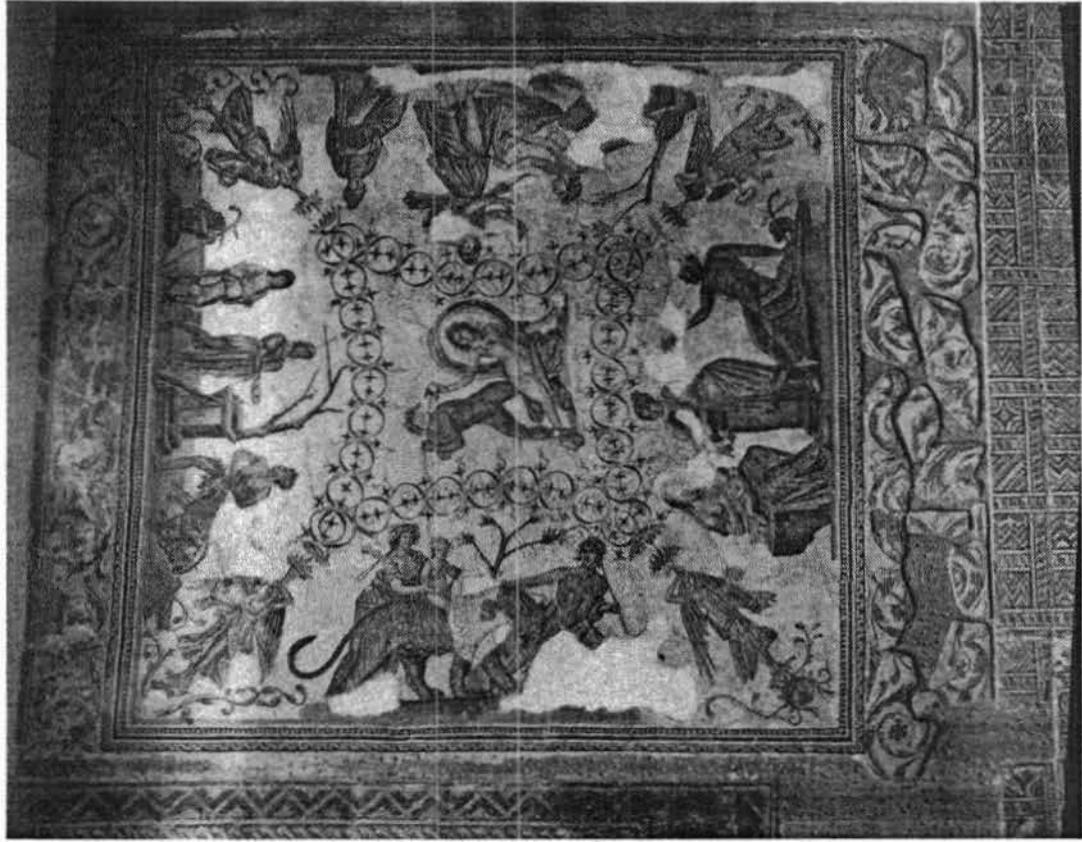
51. Beisan, El-Hammam, Necropolis



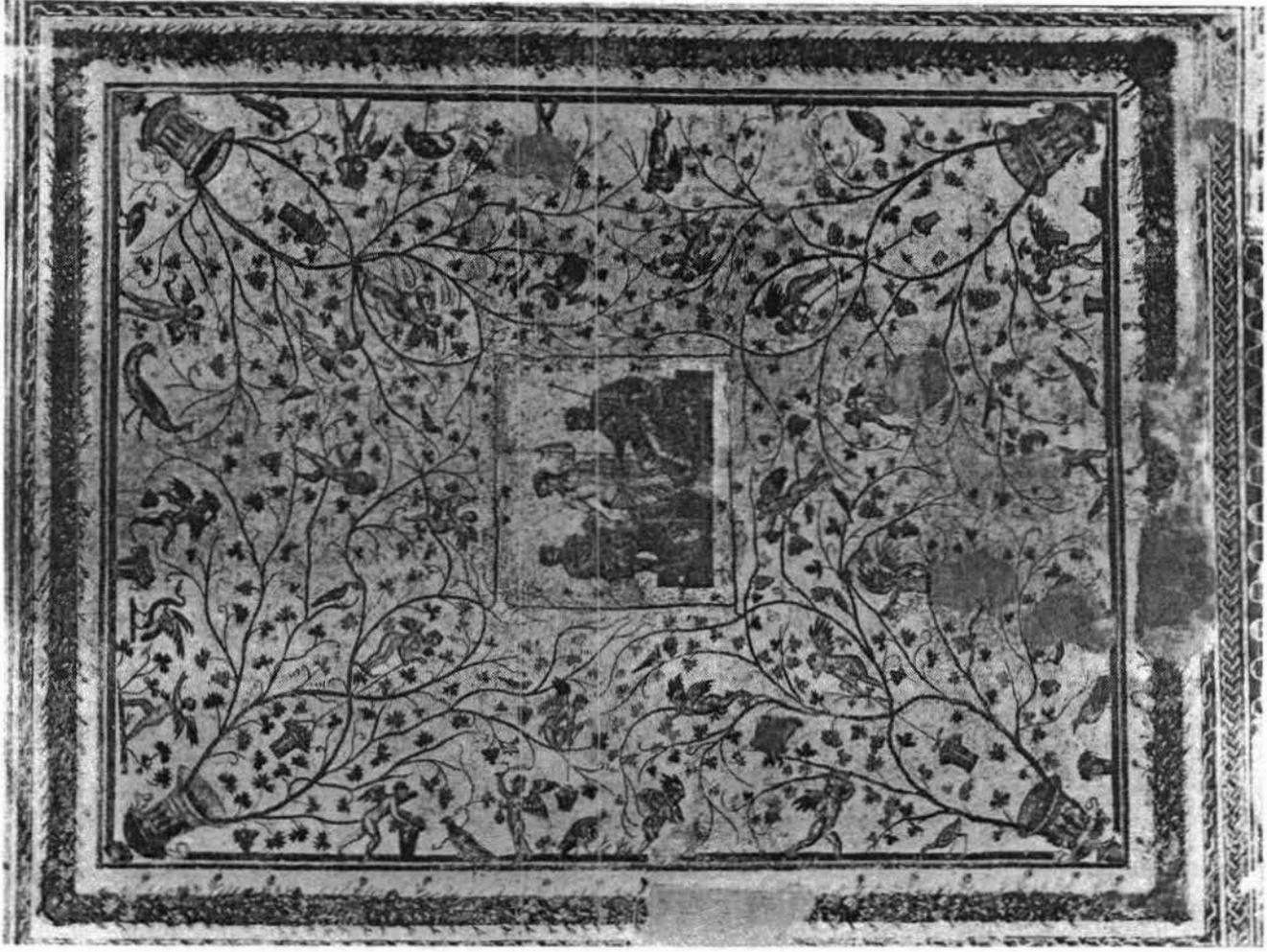
53. La Chebba, Seasons Mosaic



52. Zliten, Roman Villa, Corridor



54. Djemila, Dionysiac Mosaic



55. Oudna, Villa of the Laberii, Dionysus and Icarus Mosaic



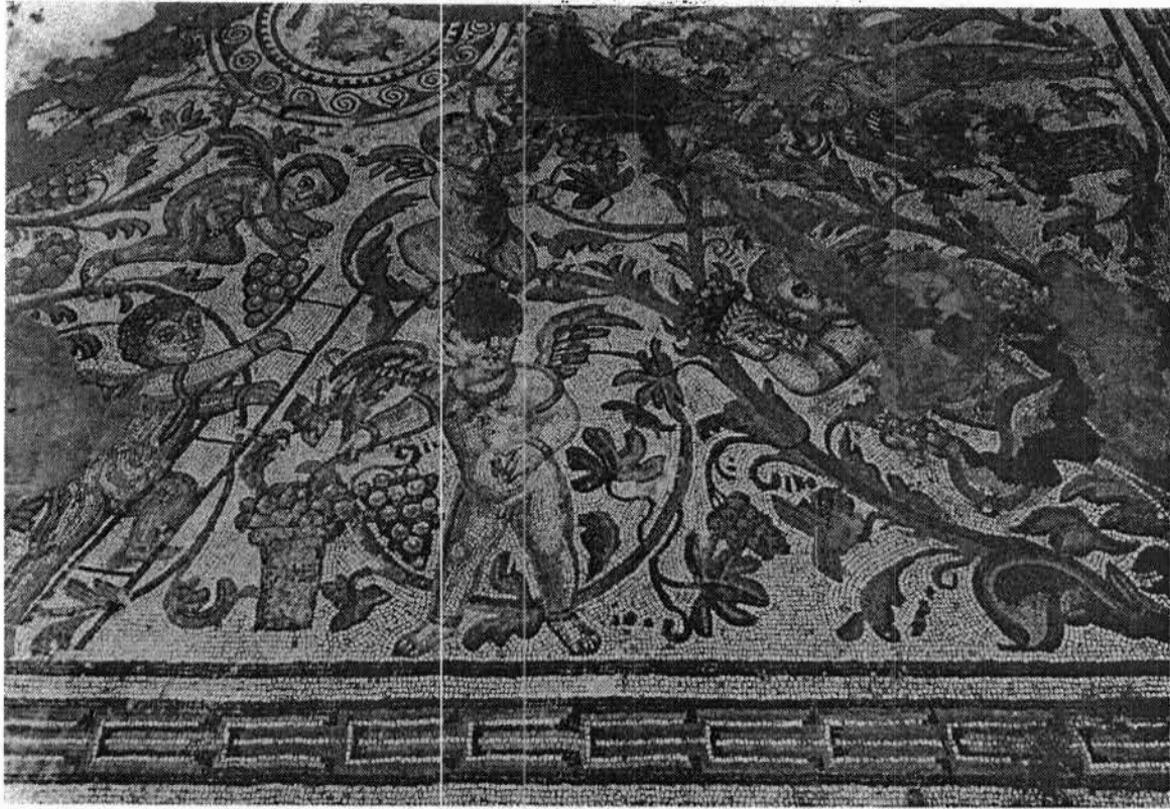
56. Kourba, Mosaic with Diagonal Vine Scroll, detail



57. Banasa, Mosaic in Small West Baths



58. Thuburbo Majus, Mosaic at Center of Frigidarium



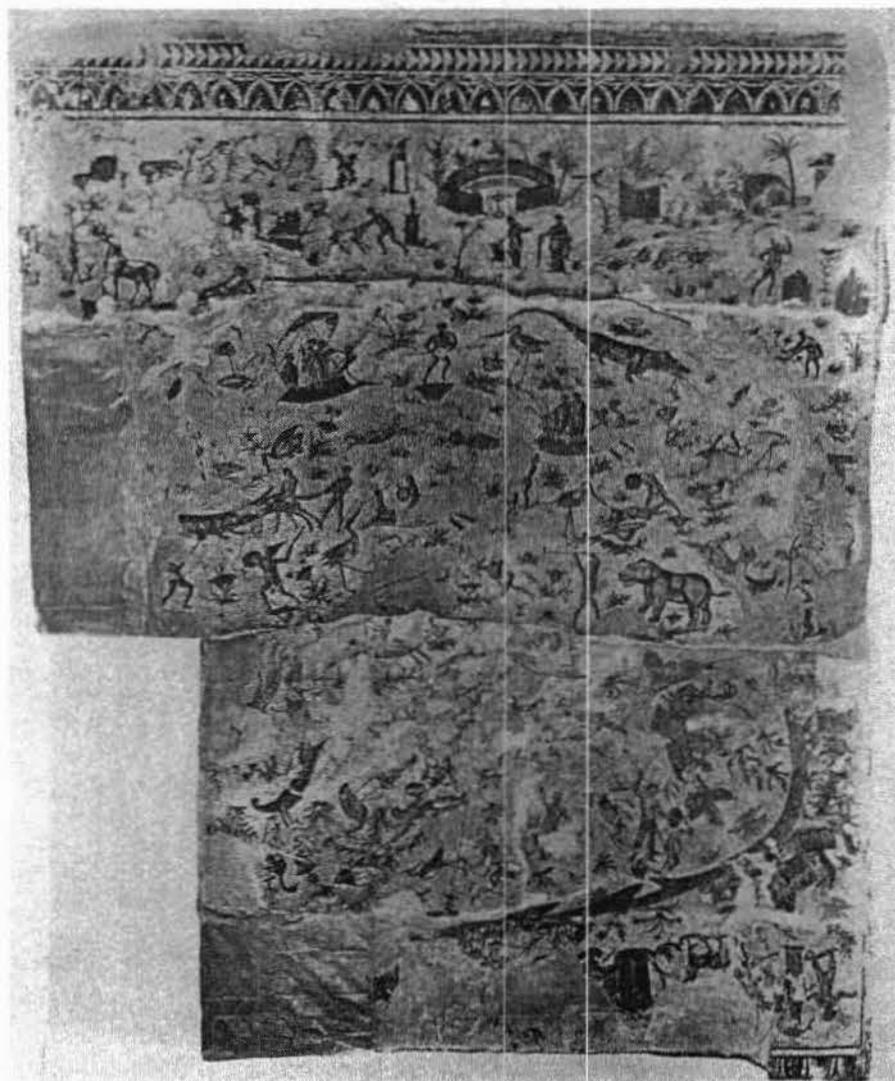
59. Piazza Armerina, Diagonal Vine Scroll, detail



60. Dougga, Factions of the Circus



61. Palestrina, Nile Mosaic



62. El-Alia, Nilotic Pavement, detail



64. Sousse, Triclinium Pavement



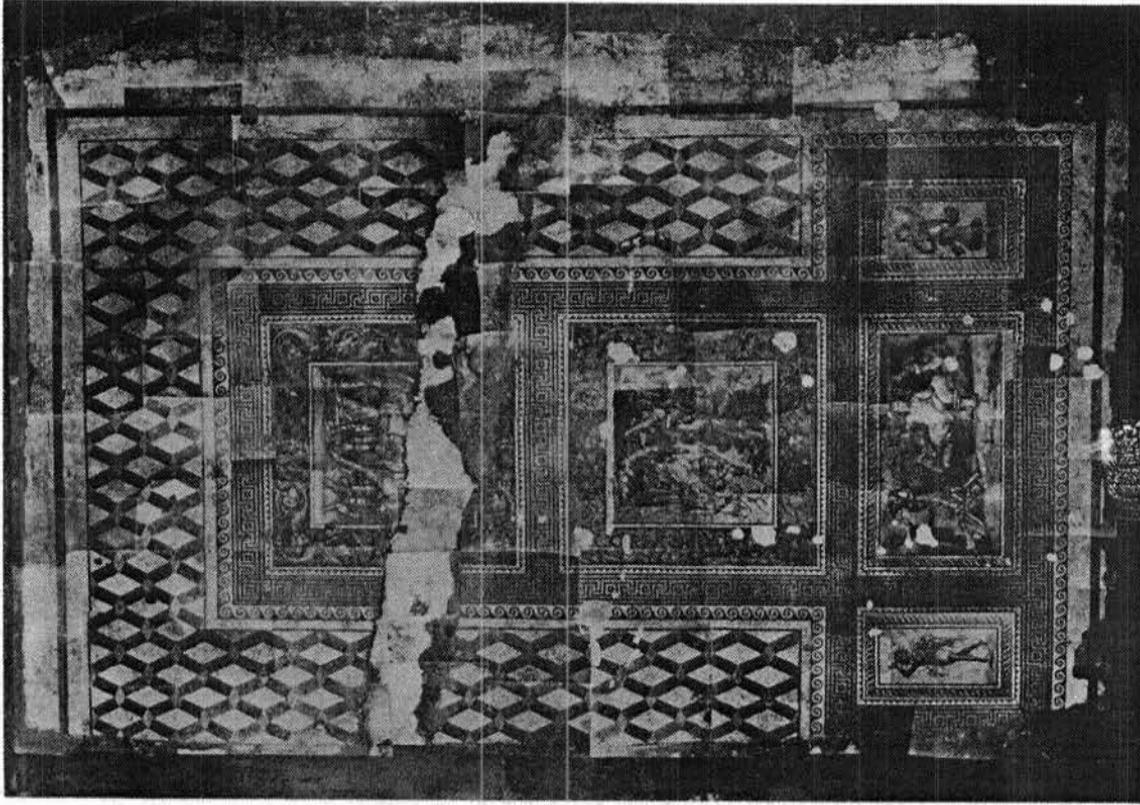
68. Collemancio, Nilotic Pavement



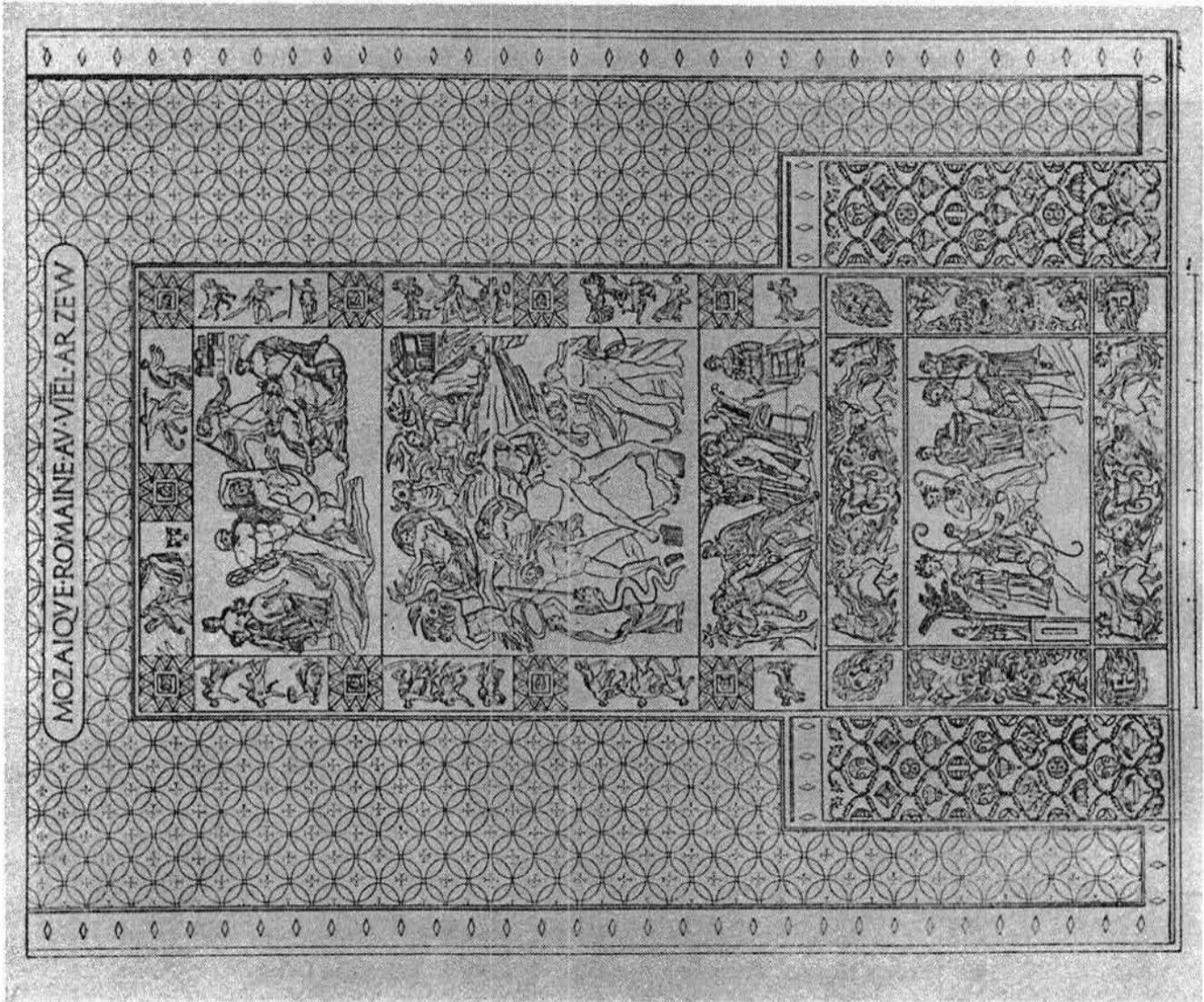
65. Sousse, Triclinium Pavement, detail



66. Tipaza, Achilles Mosaic



68. Antioch, Atrium House, Triclinium Pavement



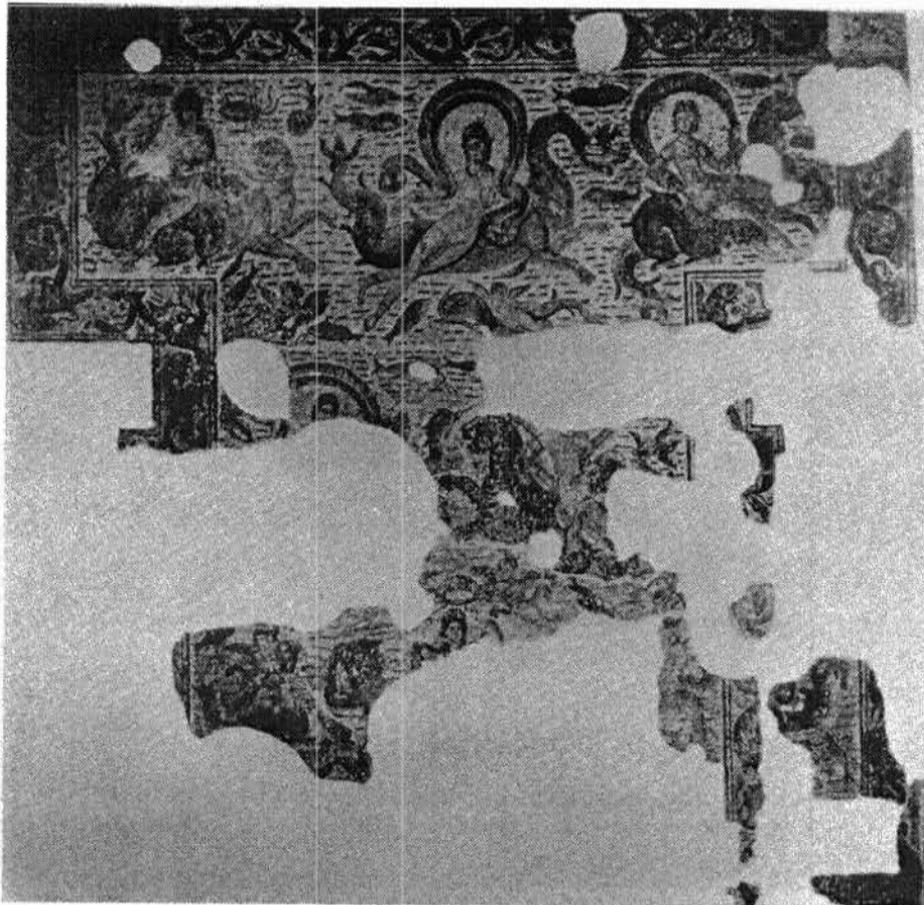
67. Portus Magnus, Triclinium Pavement



69. Portus Magnus, Triclinium Pavement, Panel with Hercules and Chiron



70. Portus Magnus, Triclinium Pavement, Panel with Latona in Delos



71. Tebessa, "Cortege of Venus"



72. Oudna, Villa of the Laberii, Orpheus Pavement



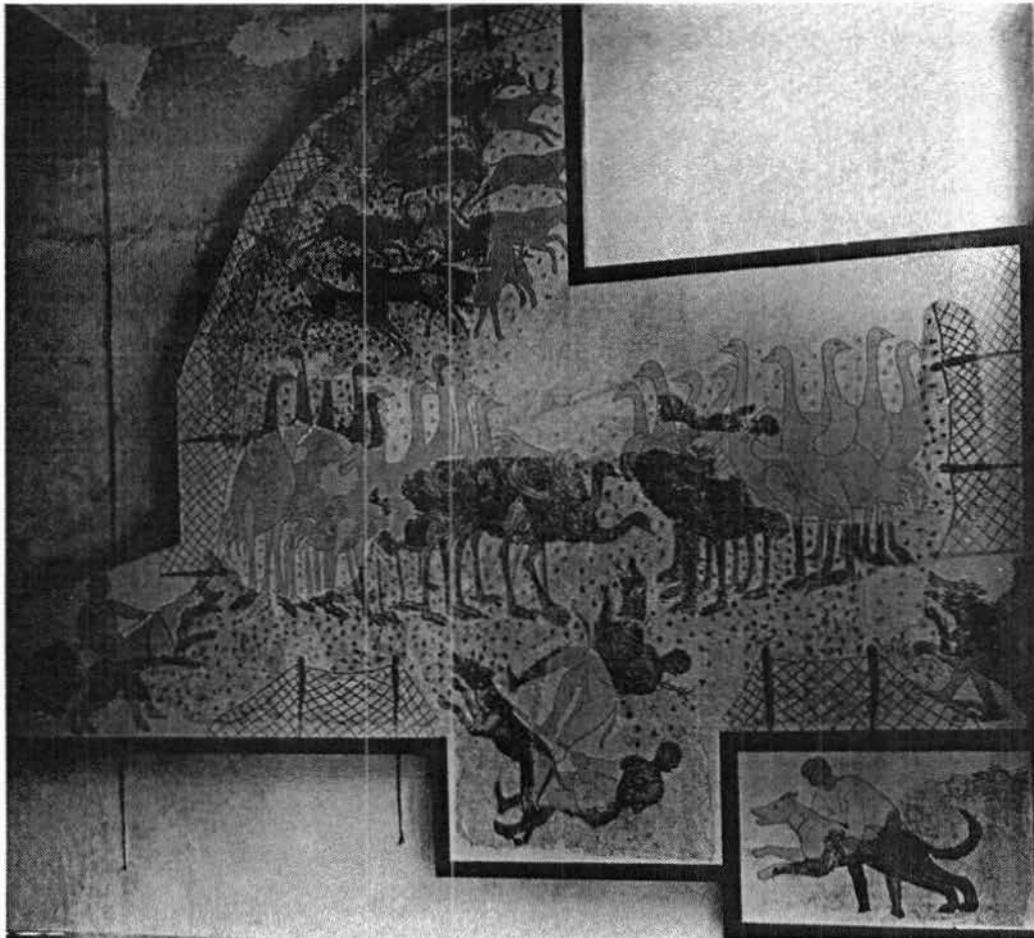
73. Piazza Armerina, Orpheus Pavement



74. Piazza Armerina, Arion Pavement



75. Oudna, Villa of the Laberii, Rural Landscape and Hunting Scenes



76. Le Kef, Hunting Pavement



77. El-Djem, Amphitheater Scenes



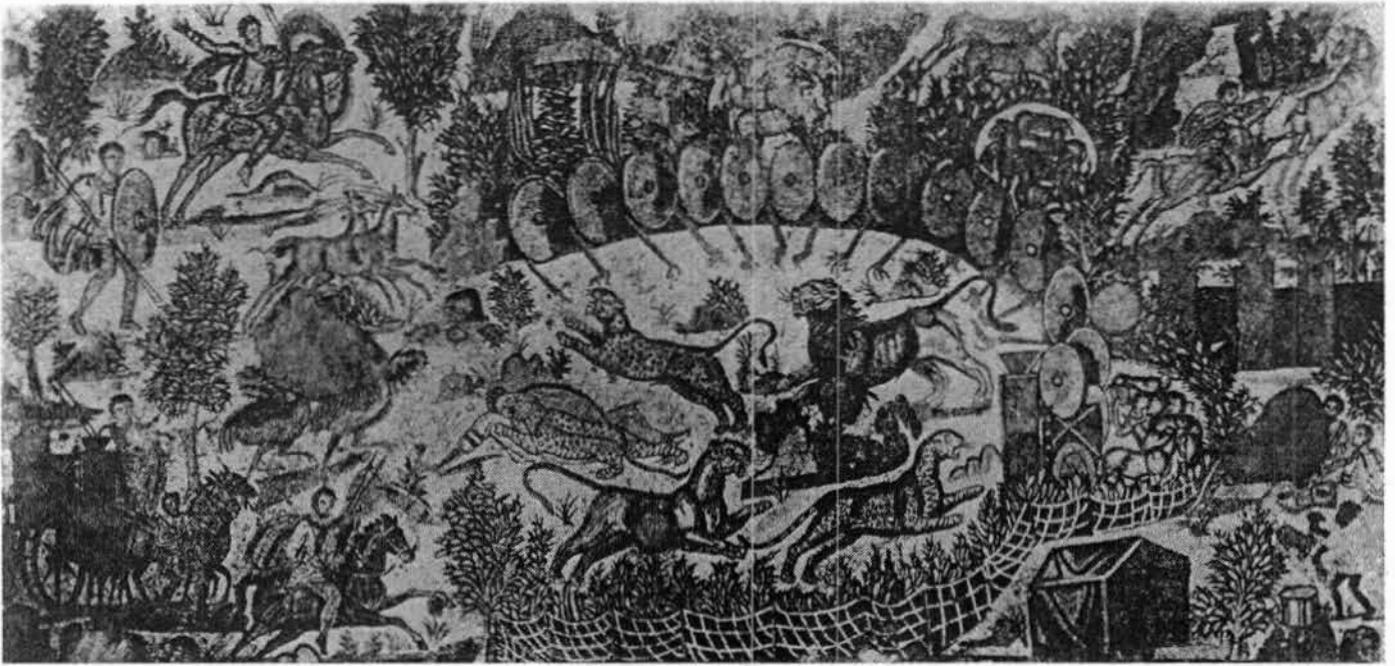
78. Cherchel, Scenes of Husbandry



79. Carthage, Hunting Pavement



80. El-Djem, Hunting Pavement



81. Hippo Regius, Hunting Pavement



82. Carthage, Animal Catalogue



83. Radès, Animal Catalogue



84. Constantine, Hunting Pavement



85. Constantine, Hunting Pavement, detail



86. Oglet-Atha, Hunting Pavement



87. Djemila, Hunting Pavement



88. Orléansville, Hunting Pavement



89. Cherchel, Hunting Pavement



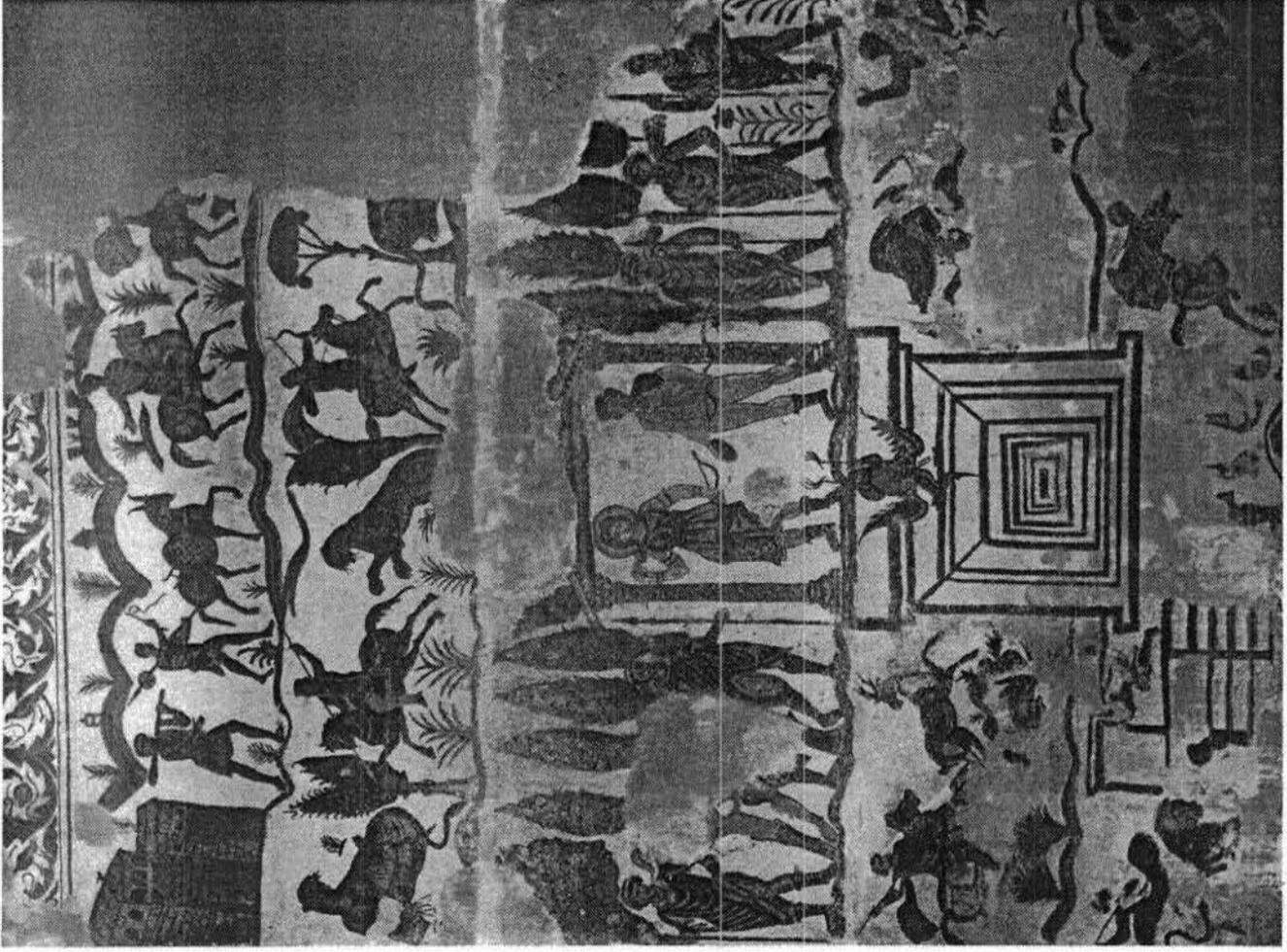
90. Carthage, Hunting Pavement



91. Henchir M'Rira, Pavement with Diana and the Hunt



92. El-Djem, Bacchic Mosaic



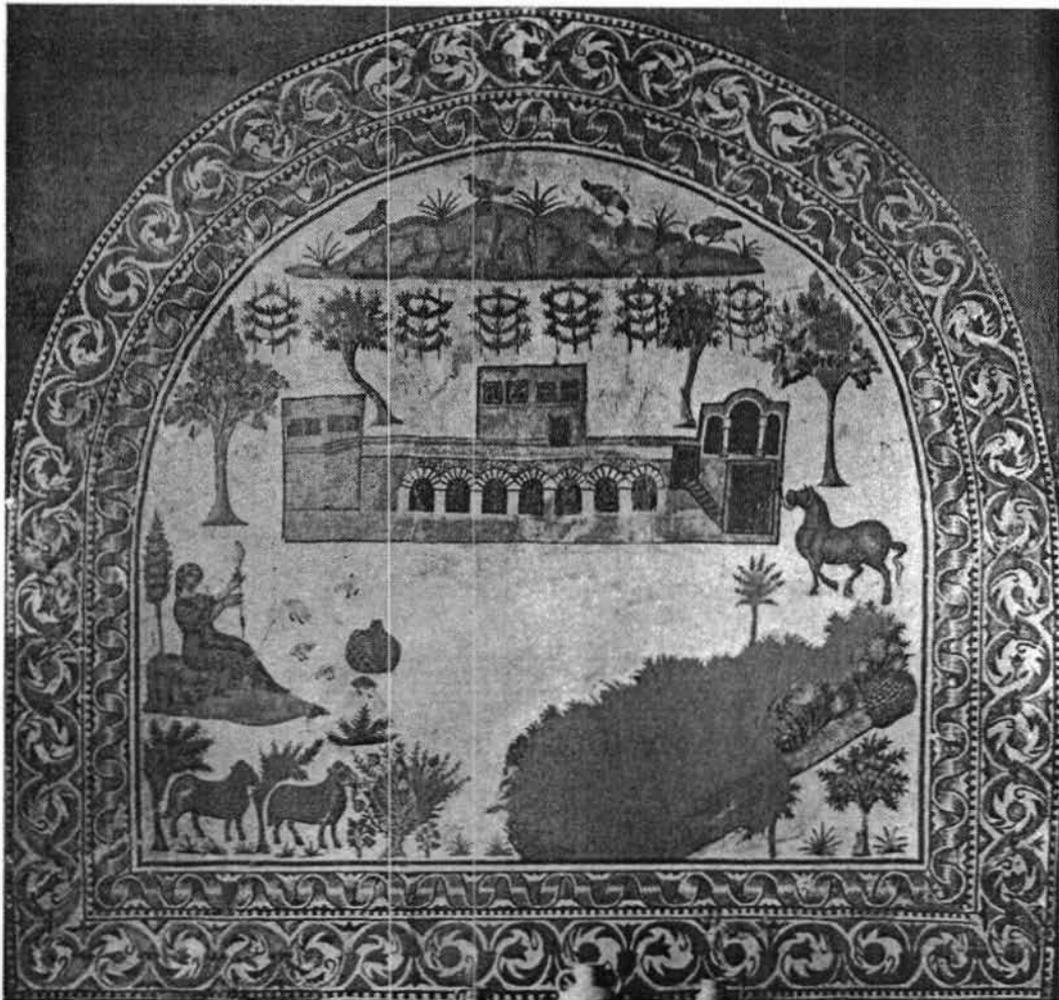
94. Khéreddine, Hunting Pavement



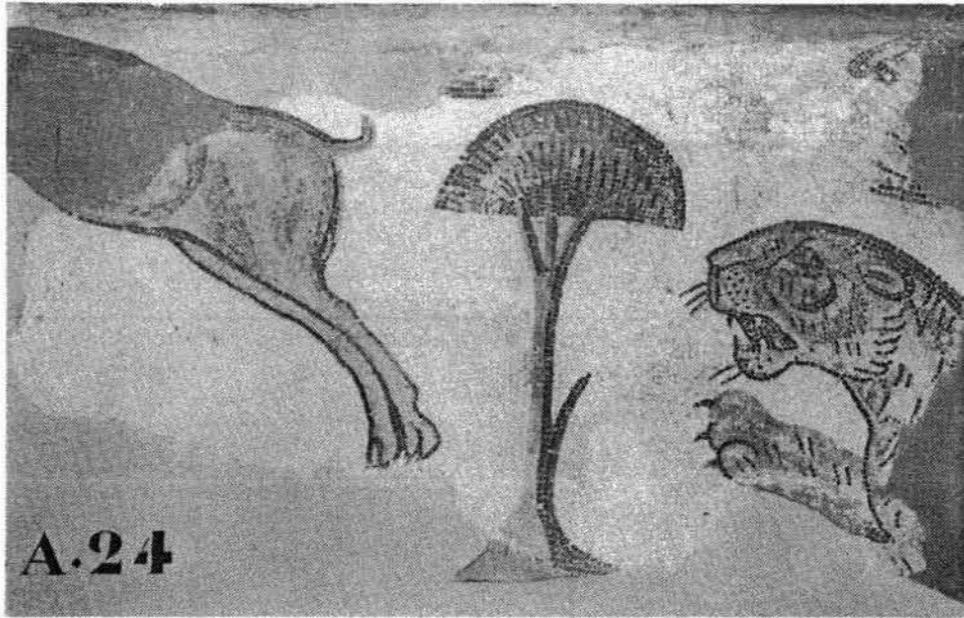
98. Djemila, Cresconius Basilica, Acanthus Rinceaux Border



95. Carthage, Dominus Julius Mosaic



96. Tabarka, Apse of Trifolium



97. Tabarka, Trifolium, Fragment from Central Square



98. Tabarka, Trifolium, Fragment from Central Square



99. Khanguet-el-Hadjal, Hunting Pavement



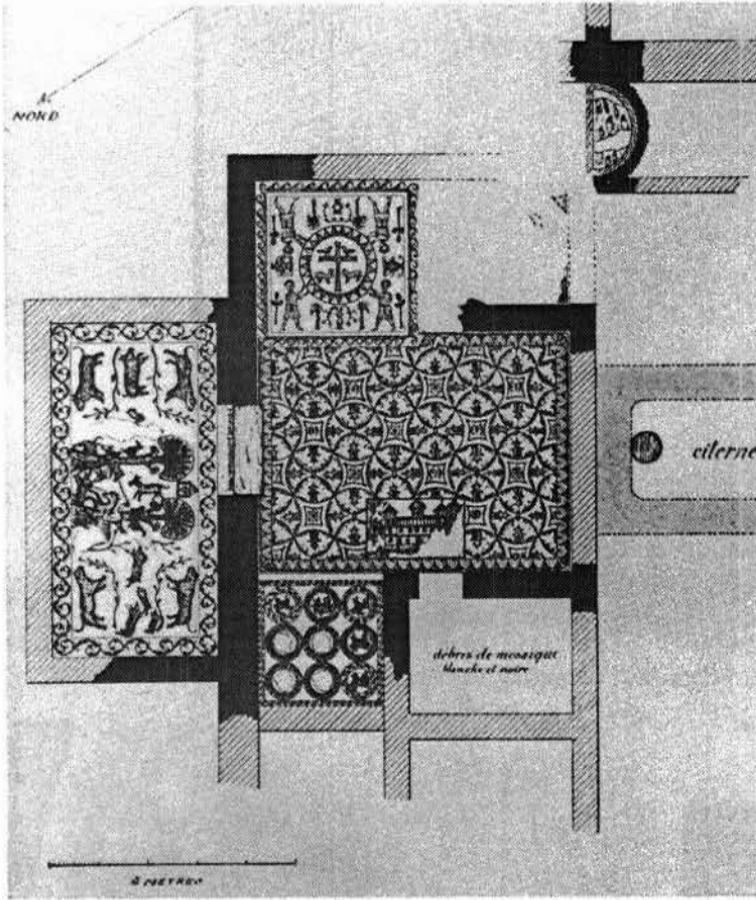
100. Bordj-Djedid, Fragment of Hunting Pavement



101. Oued Ramel, Pavement from Christian Building, detail



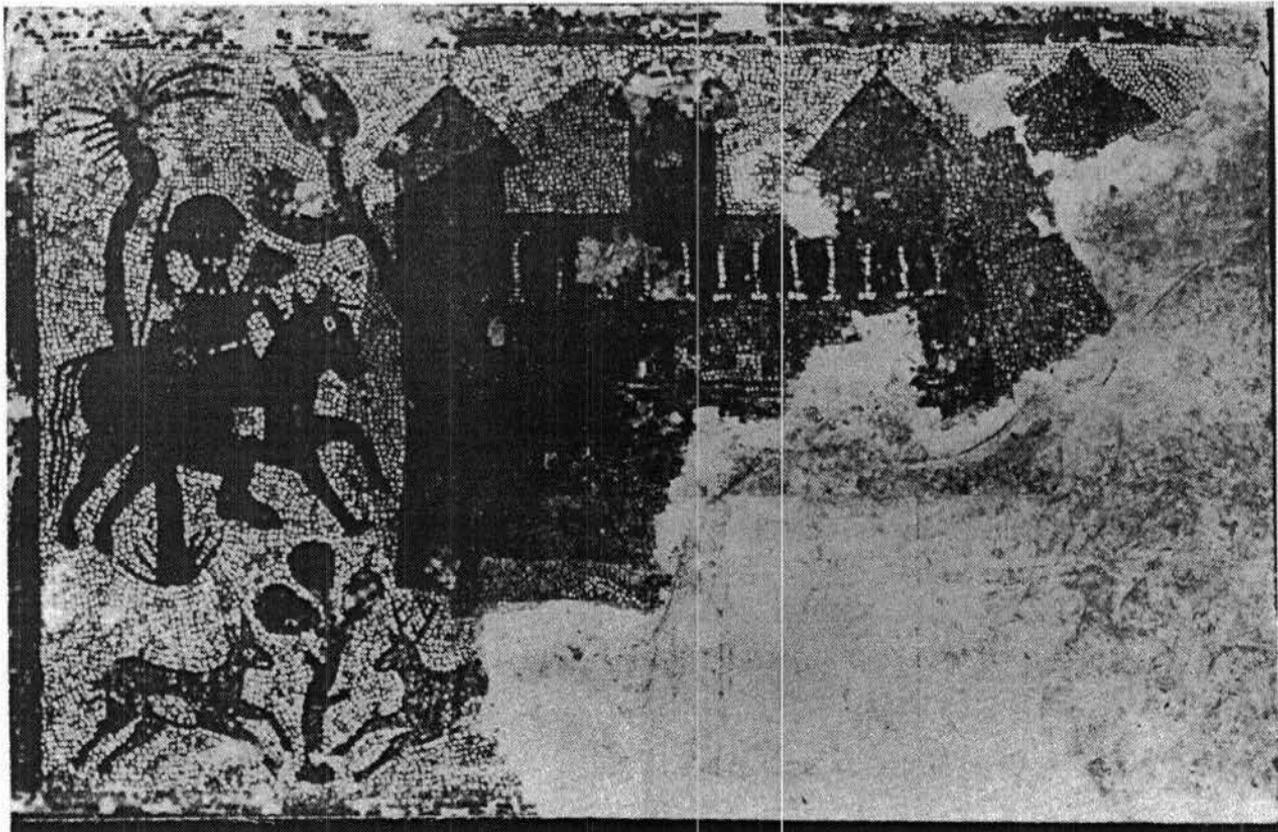
102. Tabarka, Tomb of Deacon Crescentinus



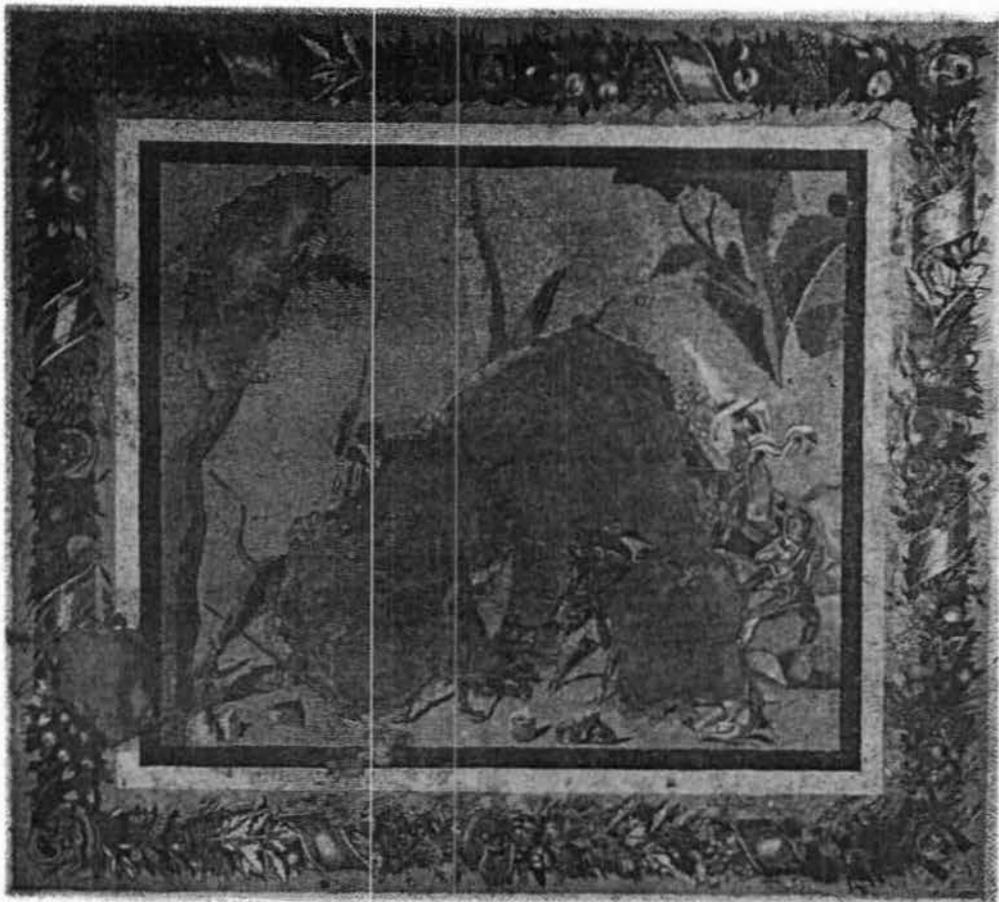
103. Carthage, Christian Building, Plan



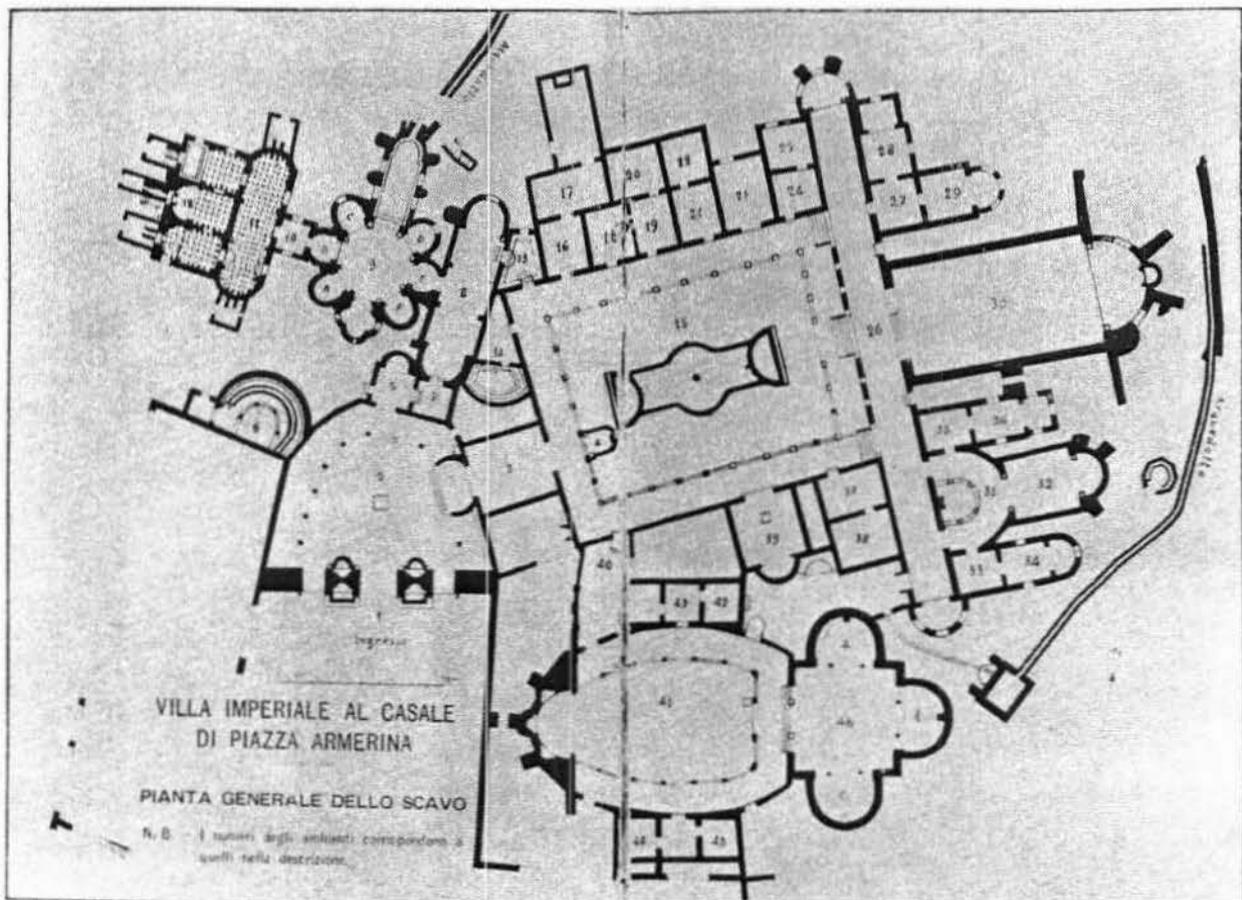
104. Carthage, Christian Building, Hunting Pavement, detail



105. Carthage, Christian Building, Landscape with Huntsman



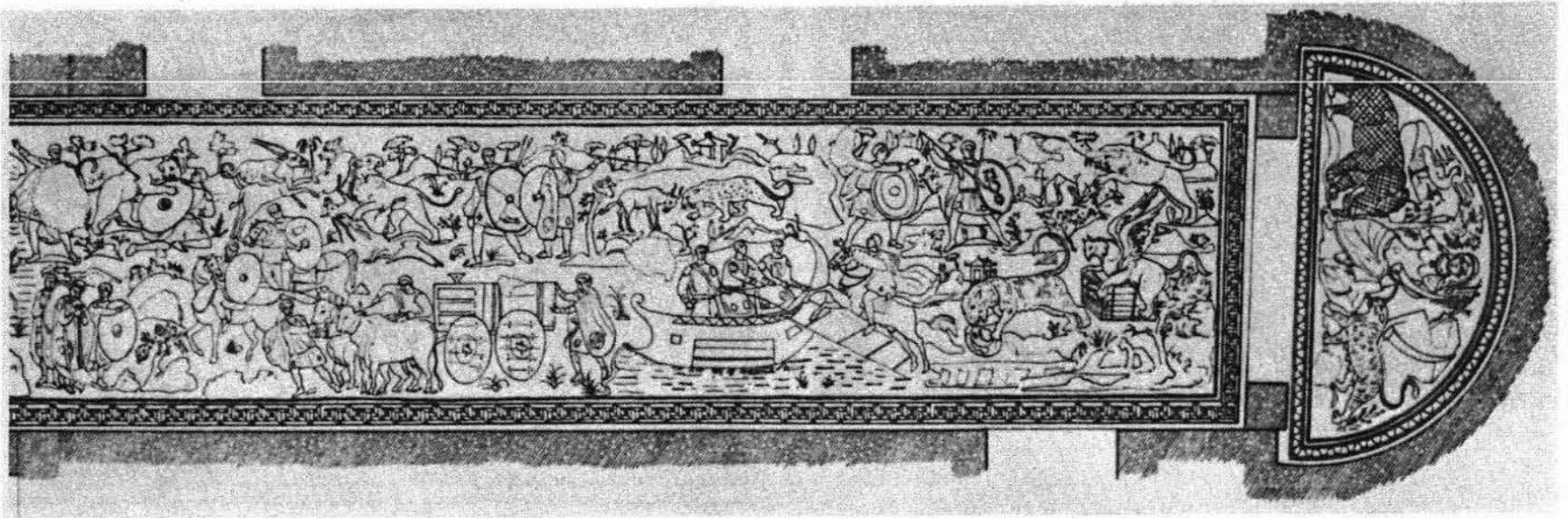
106. Palermo, *Emblema* with Scene of the Hunt



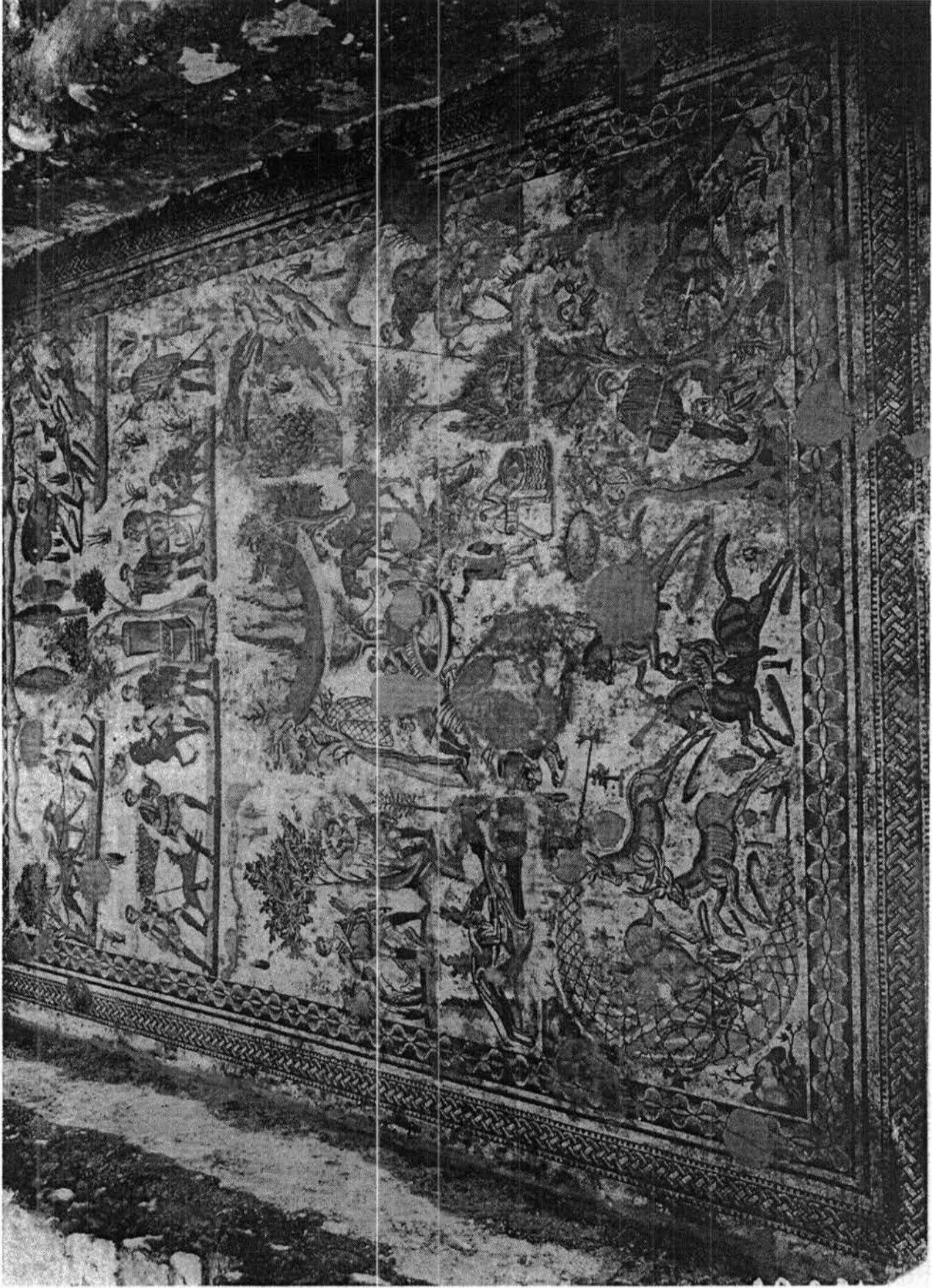
107. Piazza Armerina, Roman Villa, Plan



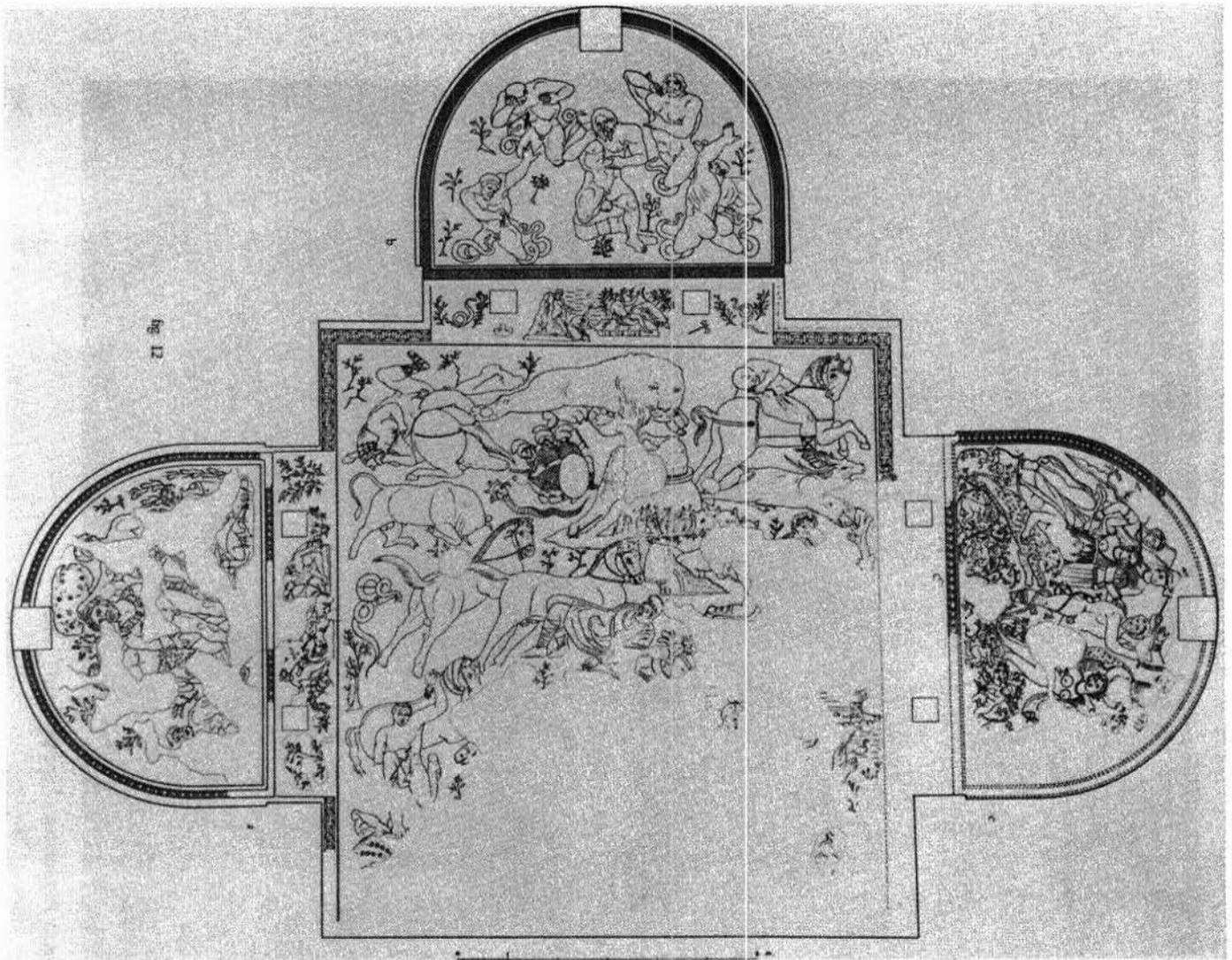
109. Piazza Armerina, Corridor of the Hunt, detail



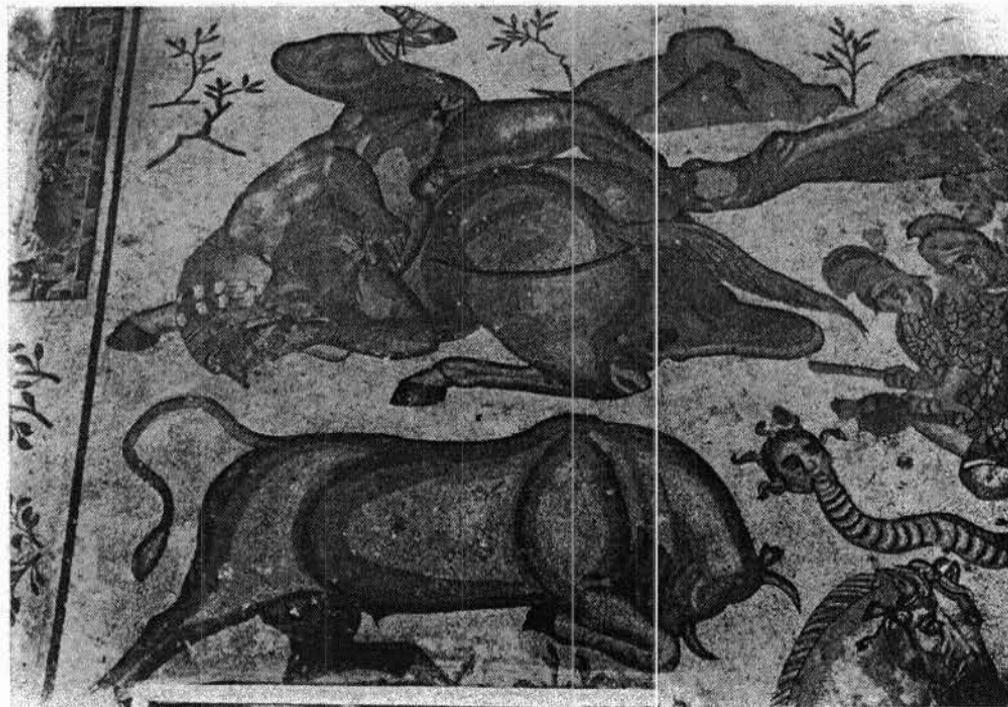
108. Piazza Armerina, Corridor of the Hunt



110. Piazza Armerina, "Small Hunt"



111. Piazza Armerina, Trifolium



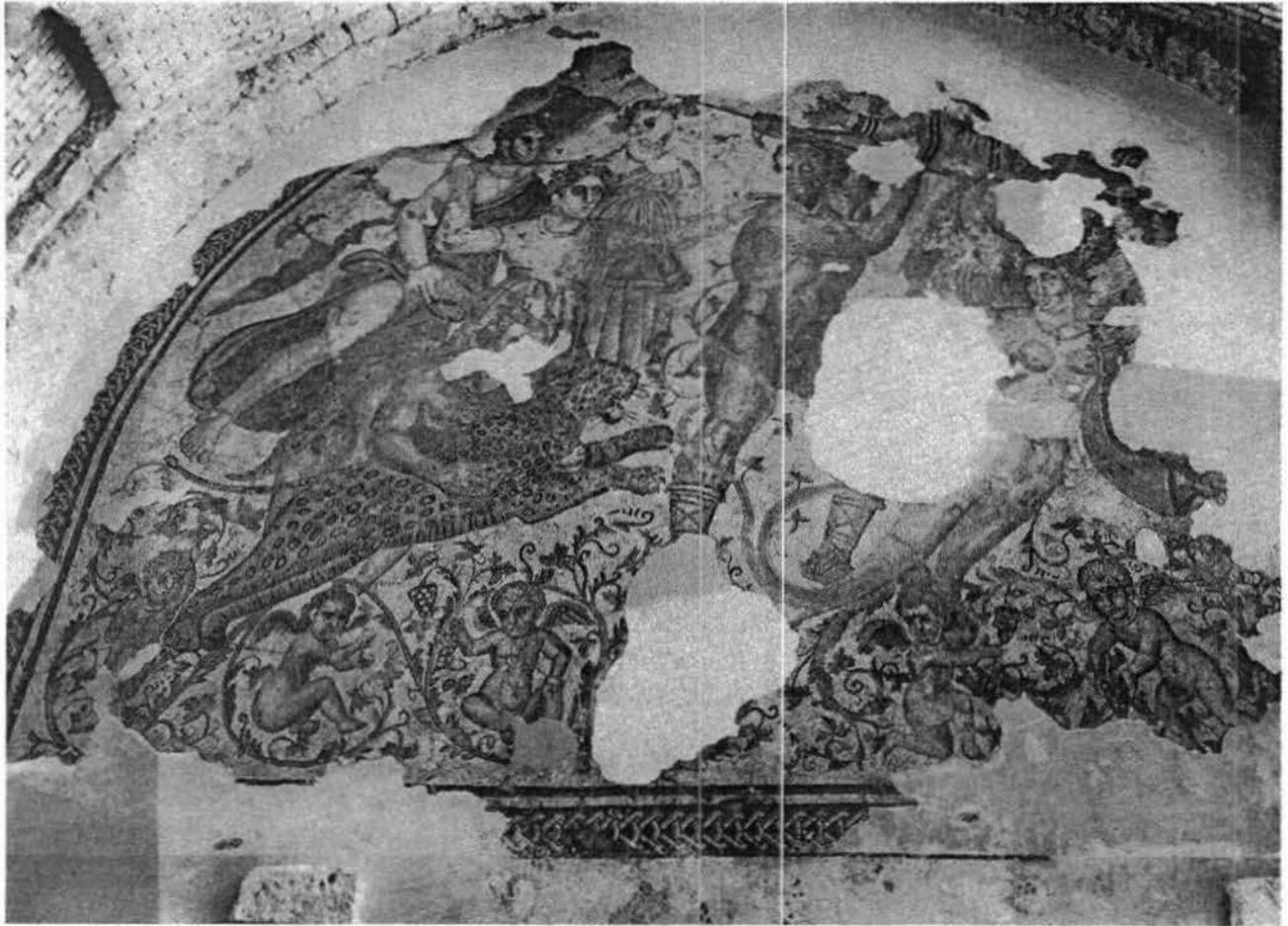
112. Piazza Armerina, Trifolium, Central Square, Antagonists of Hercules, detail



113. Piazza Armerina, Trifolium, Apse, Glorification of Hercules



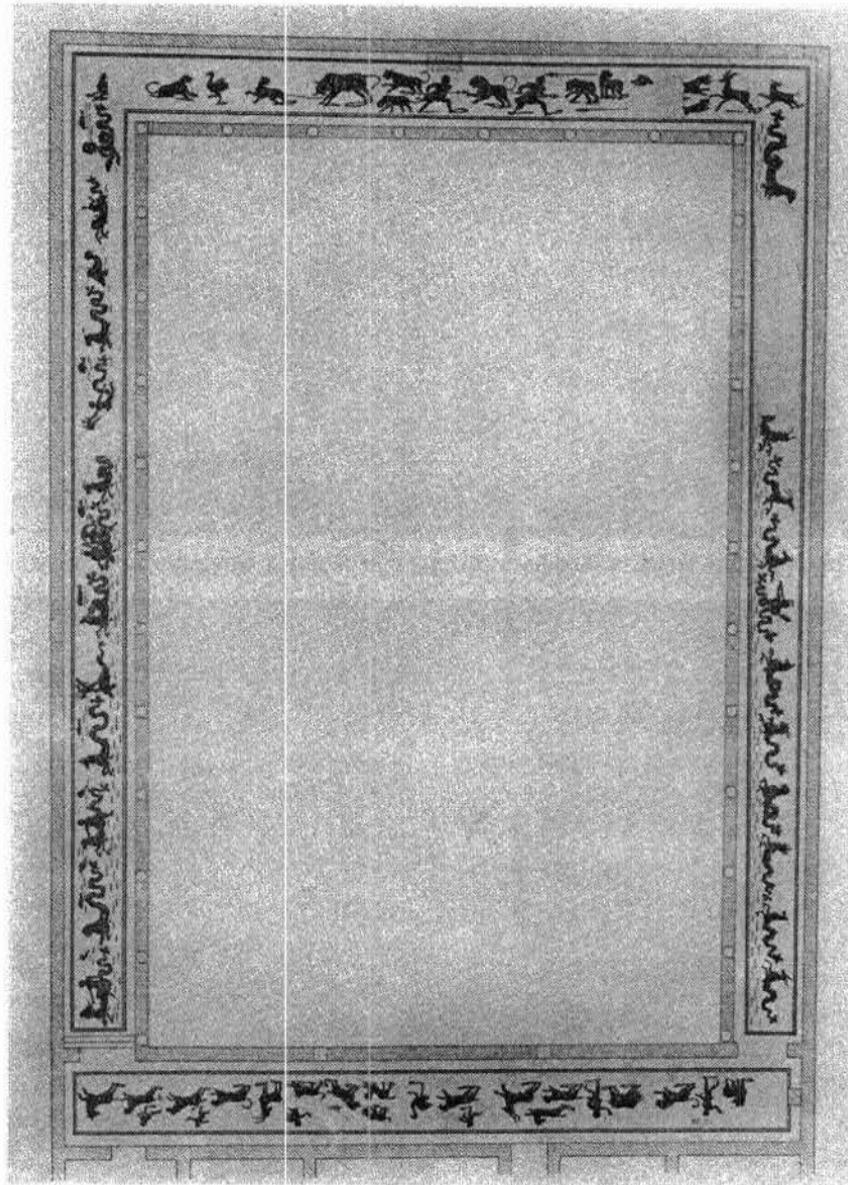
114. Piazza Armerina, Trifolium, Apse, Defeated Giants



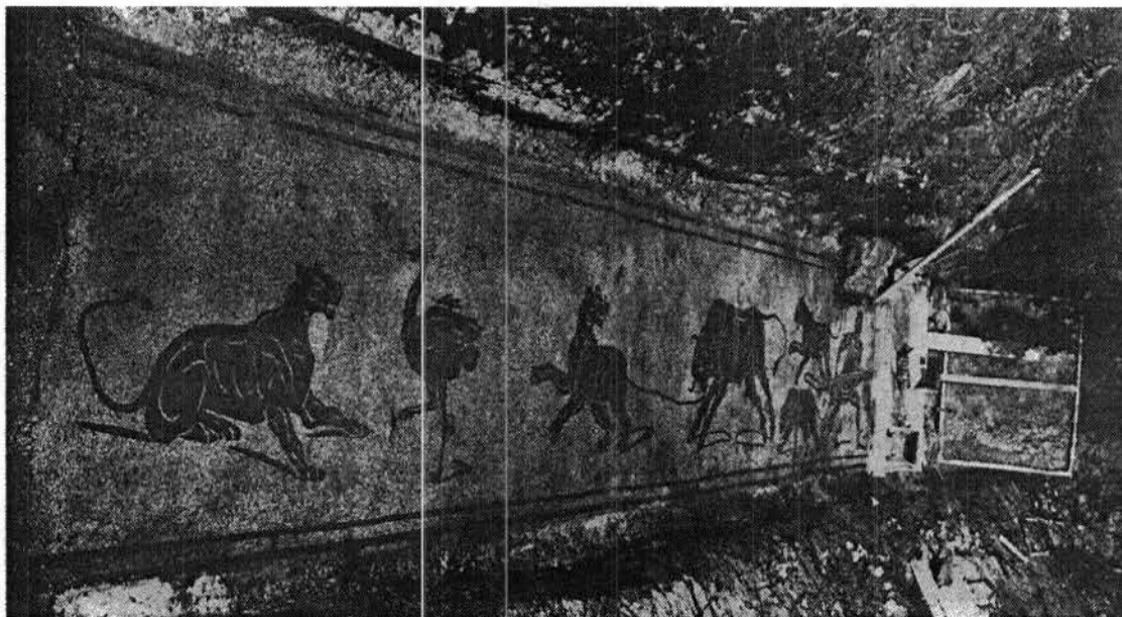
115. Piazza Armerina, Trifolium, Apse, Lycurgus and Ambrosia



116. Ostia, Baths of Neptune



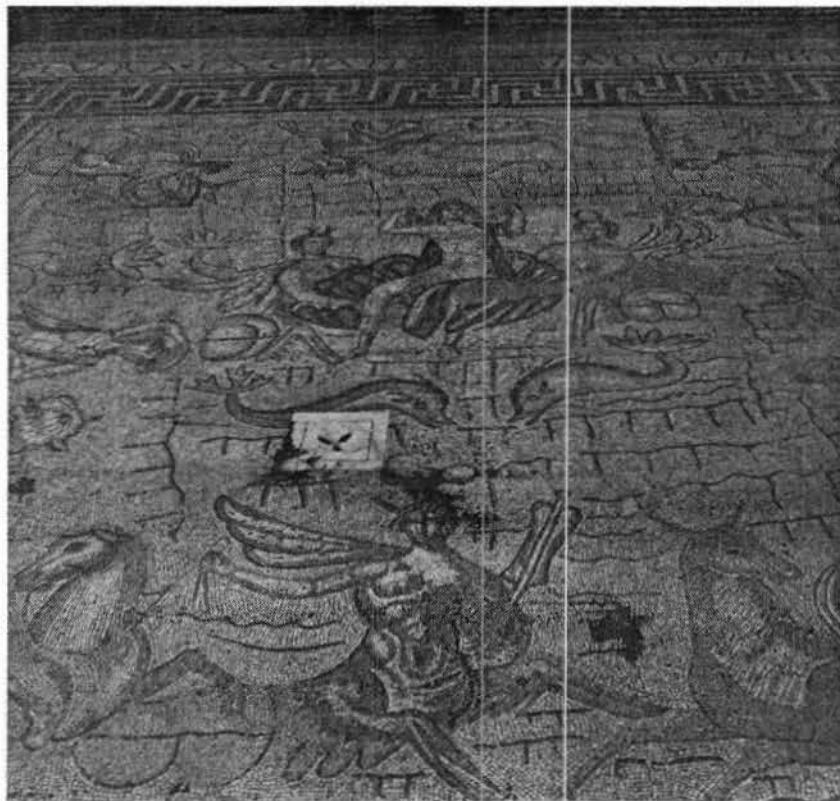
117. Castel Forziano, Peristyle Mosaic



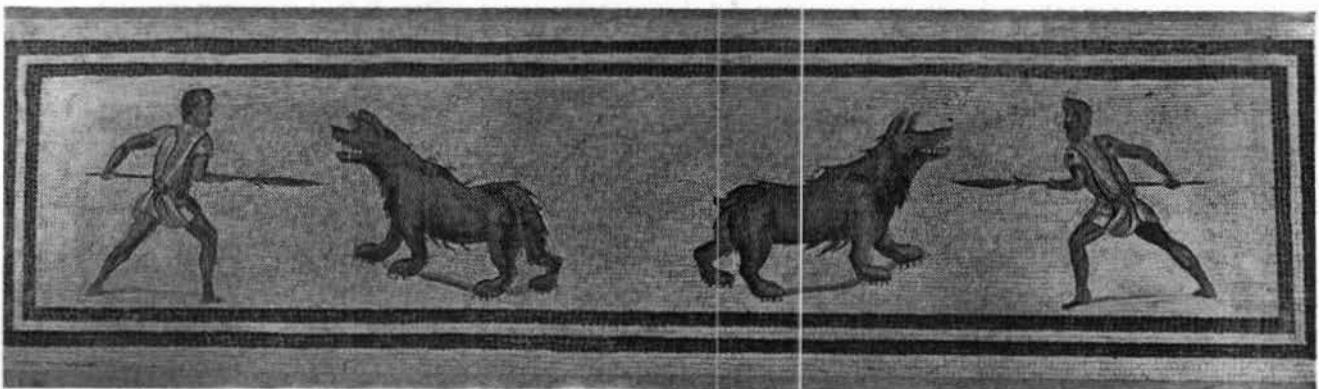
118. Castel Forziano, Peristyle Mosaic, View of Corridor



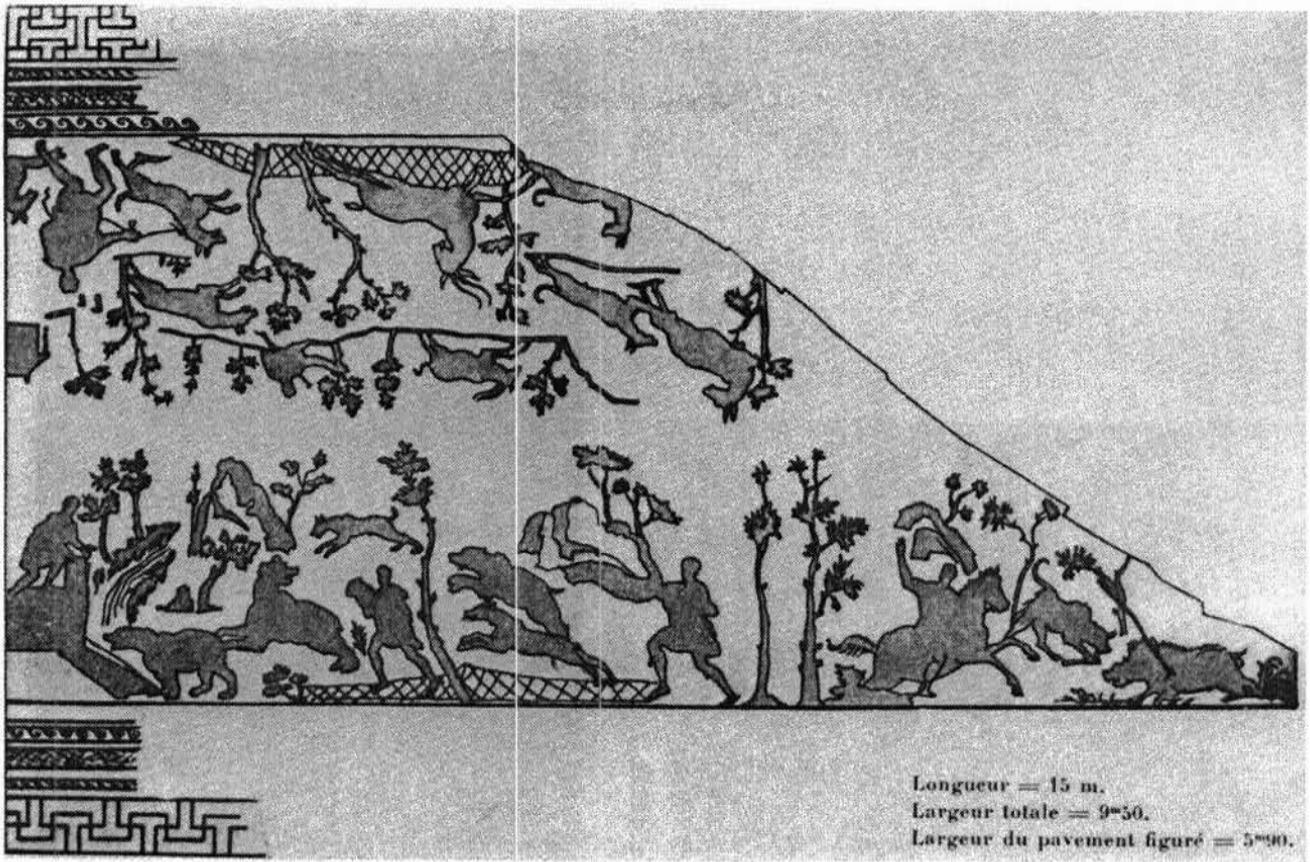
120. Rome, Galleria Borghese (from Torre Nuova), Gladiatorial Combats



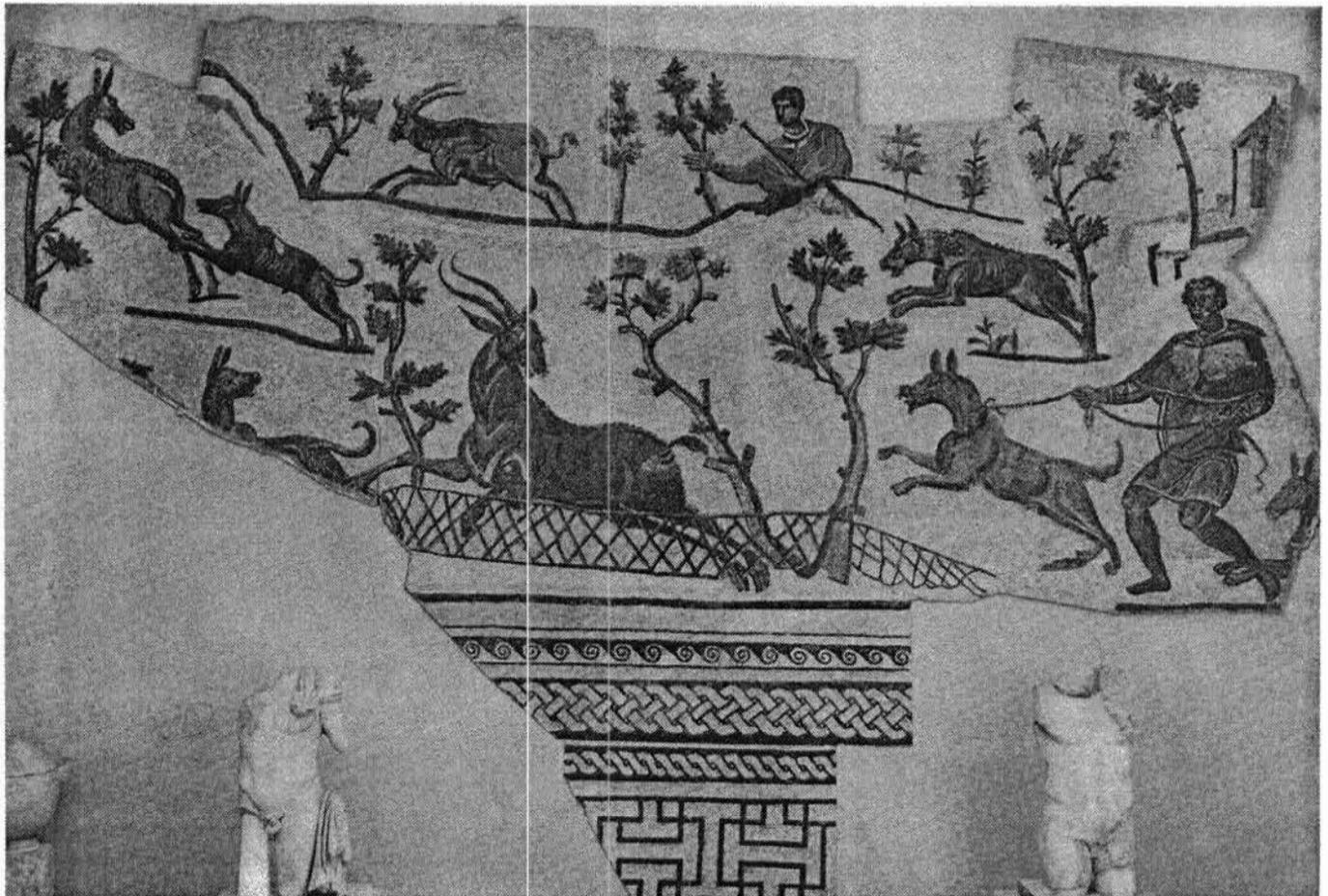
119. Ostia, Domus dei Dioscuri, Nereid Mosaic



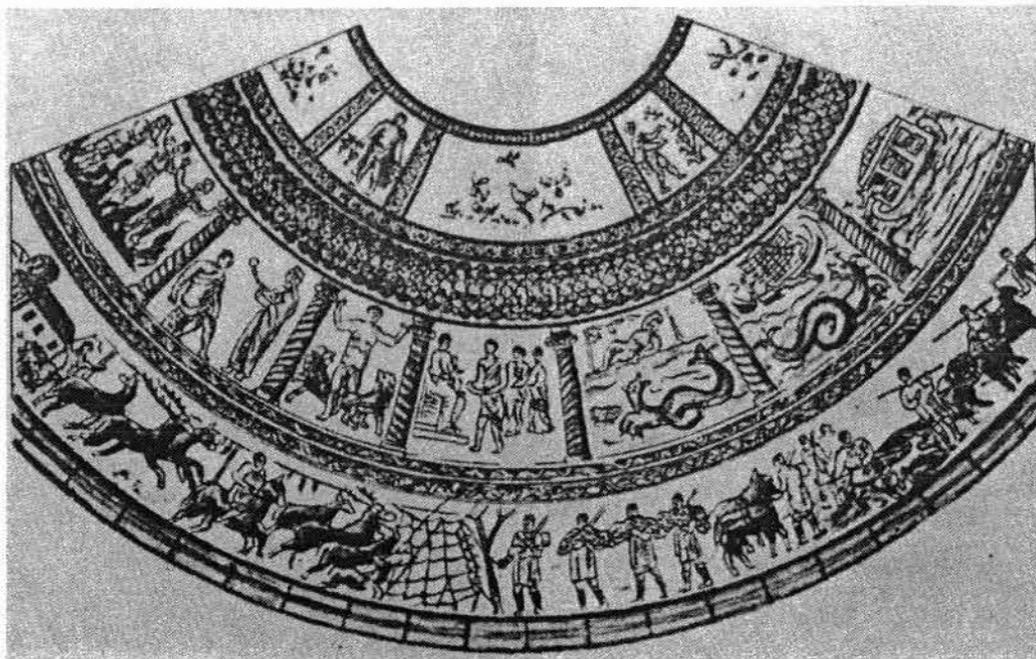
121. Rome, Vatican Museum (found on the Aventine), Amphitheater Combats



122. Rome, Hunting Pavement found on the Esquiline



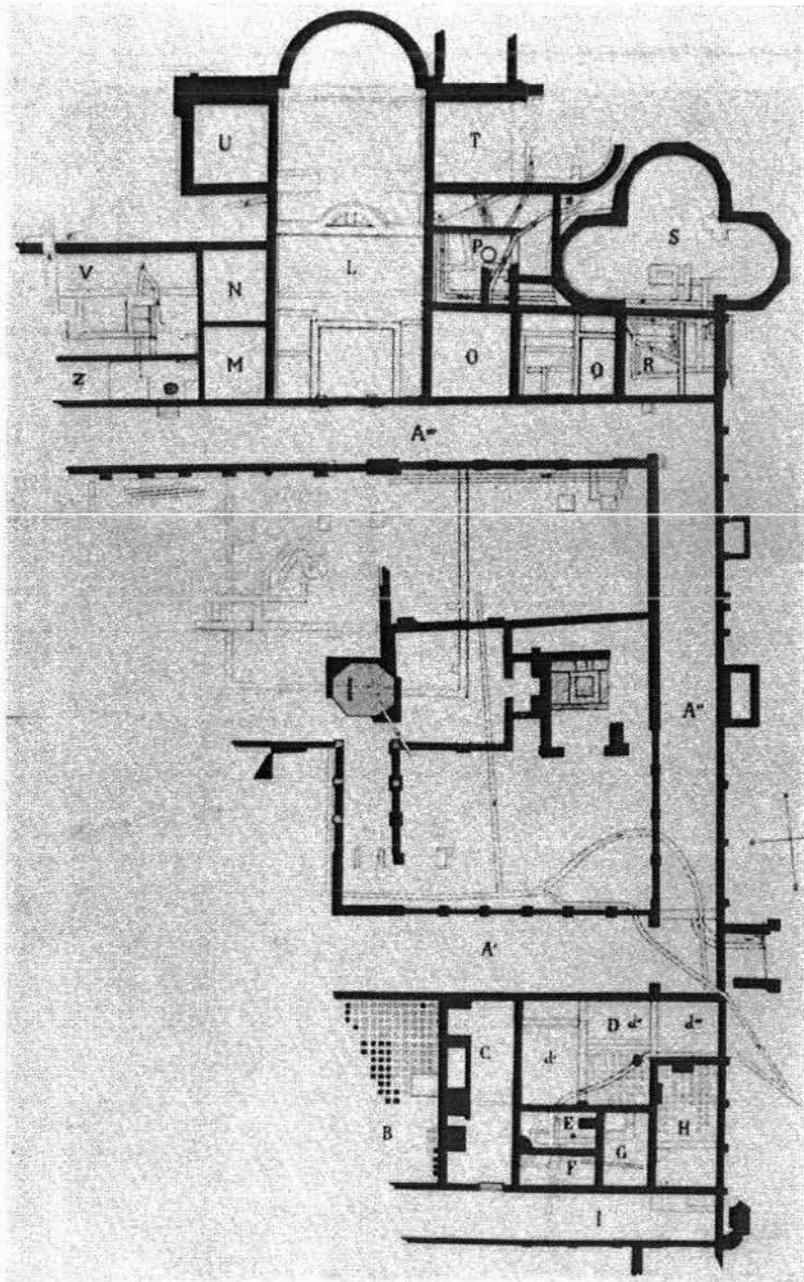
123. Rome, Hunting Pavement found on the Esquiline



124. Centelles, Cupola Mosaic



125. Centelles, Cupola Mosaic, detail of Zone with Hunting Scenes



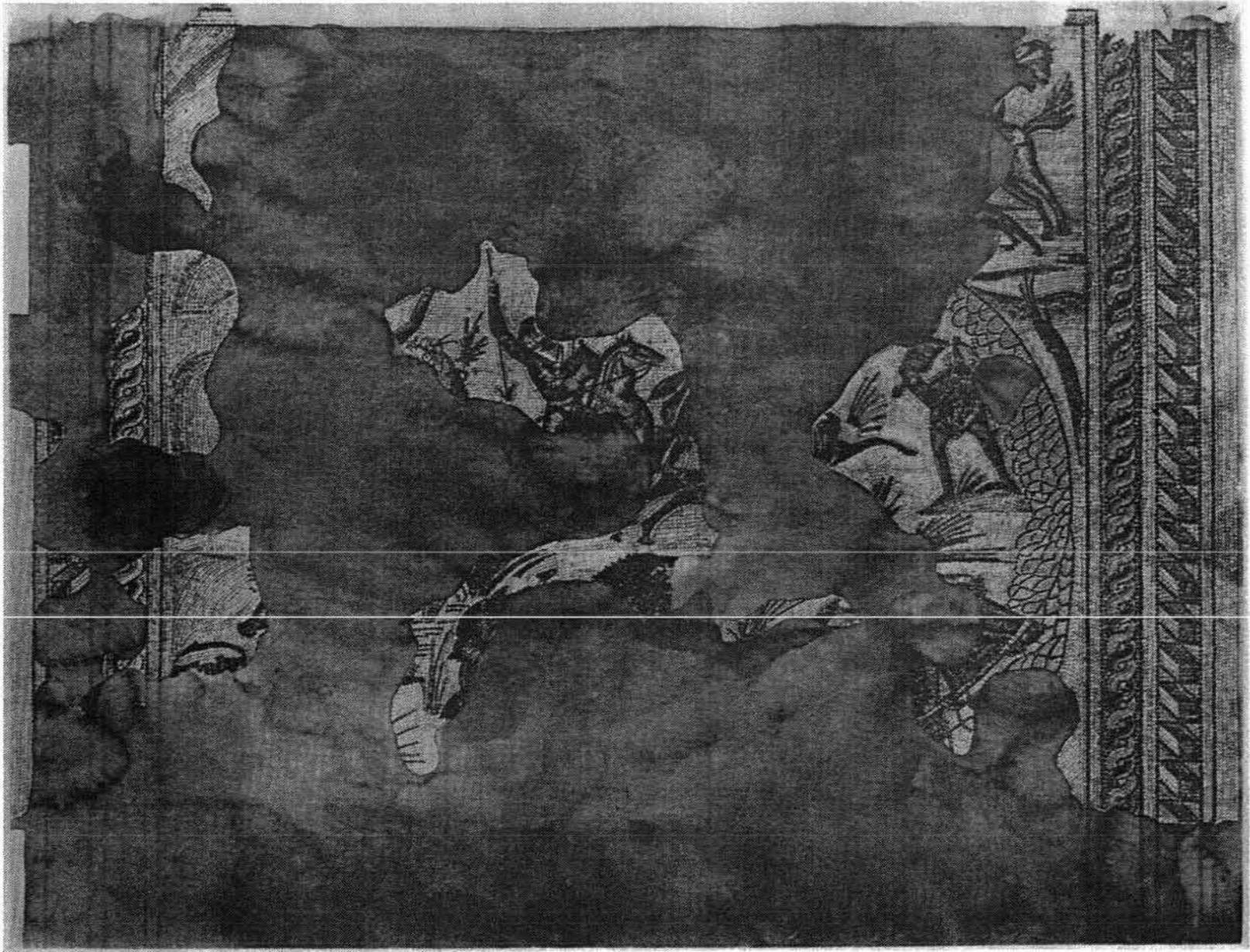
126. Ravenna, So-called Palace of Theodoric, Plan



127. Andania, *Venatio* (cf. note 860), detail



127a. Ravenna, So-called Palace of Theodoric, Figure of Bacchus



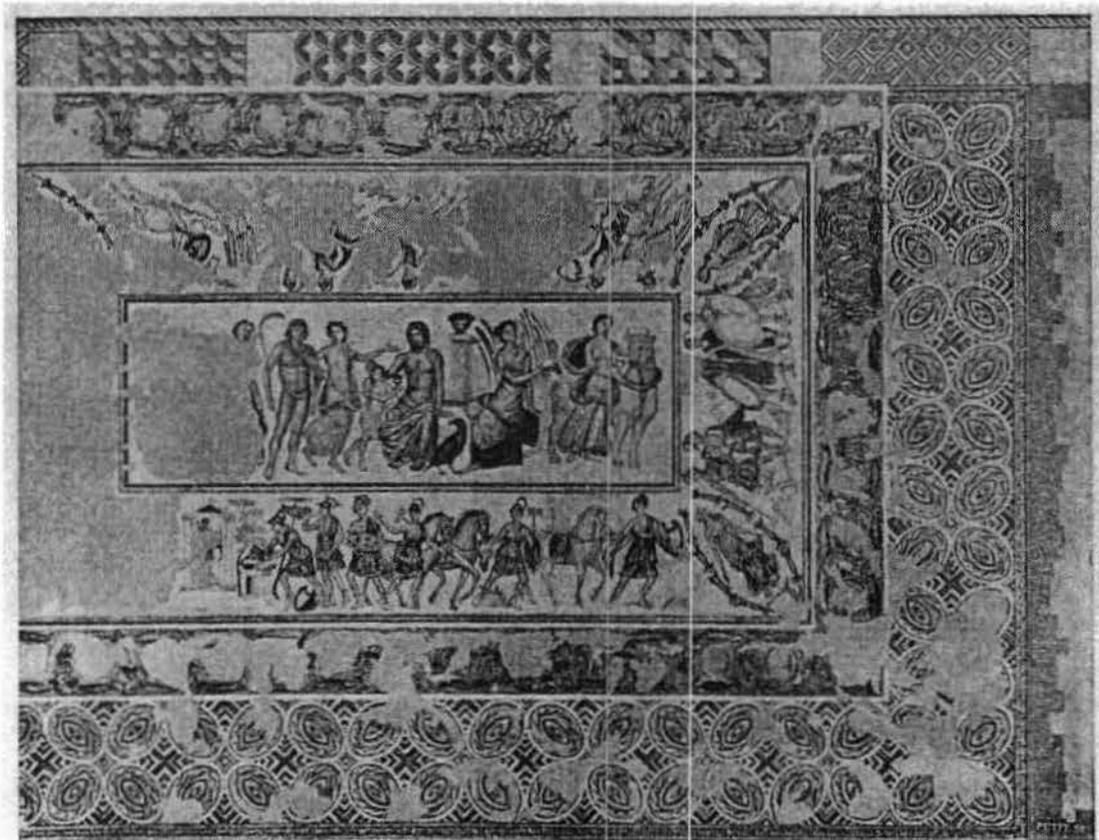
128. Ravenna, So-called Palace of Theodoric, Hunting Scene



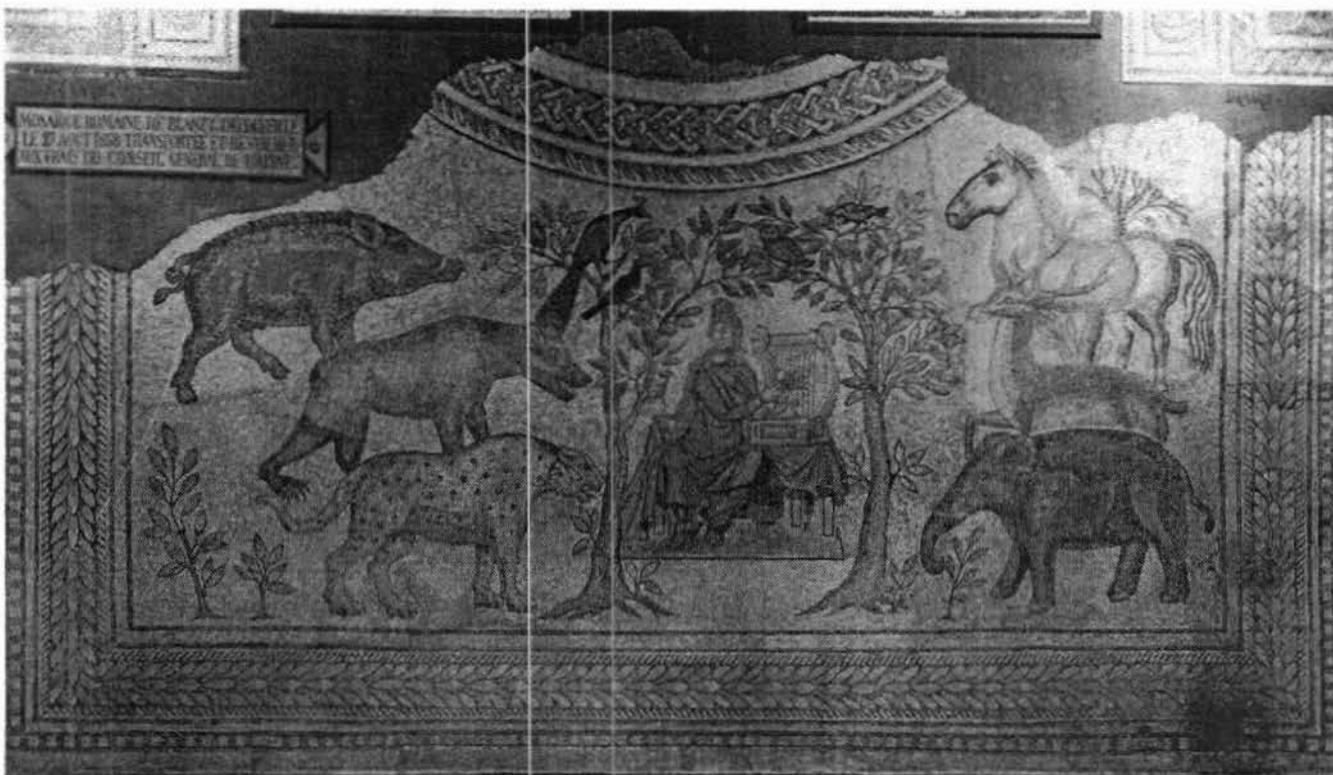
129. Lillebonne, Hunting Pavement



190. Villedaure, Hunting Pavement



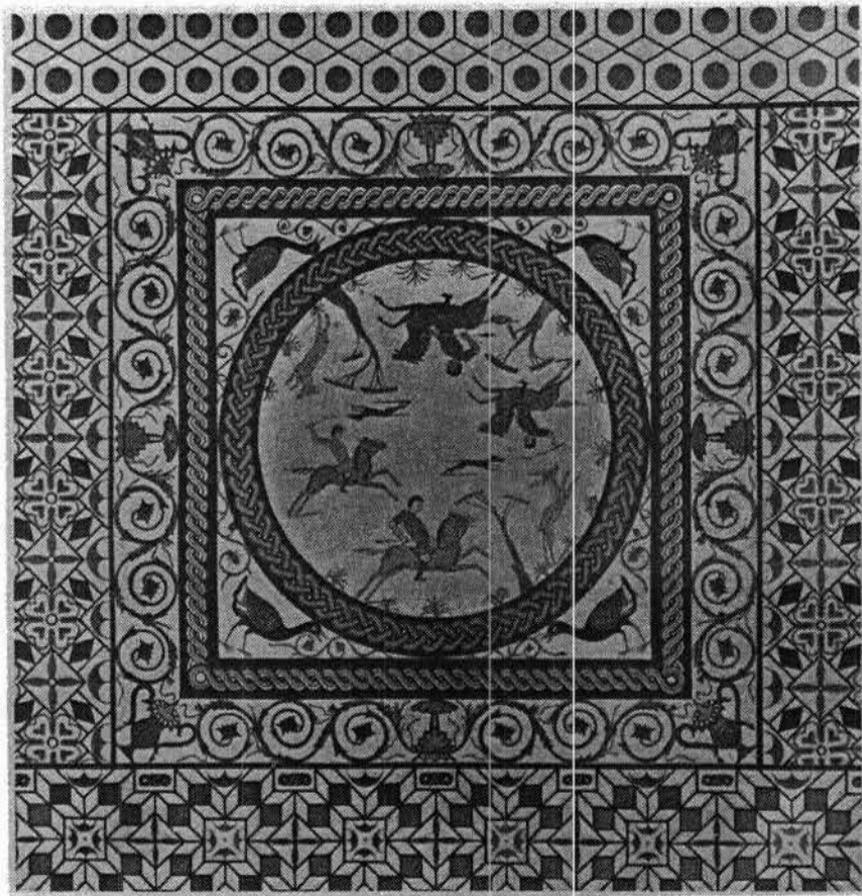
191. Ouled-Agla, Pavement with Mythological Subjects



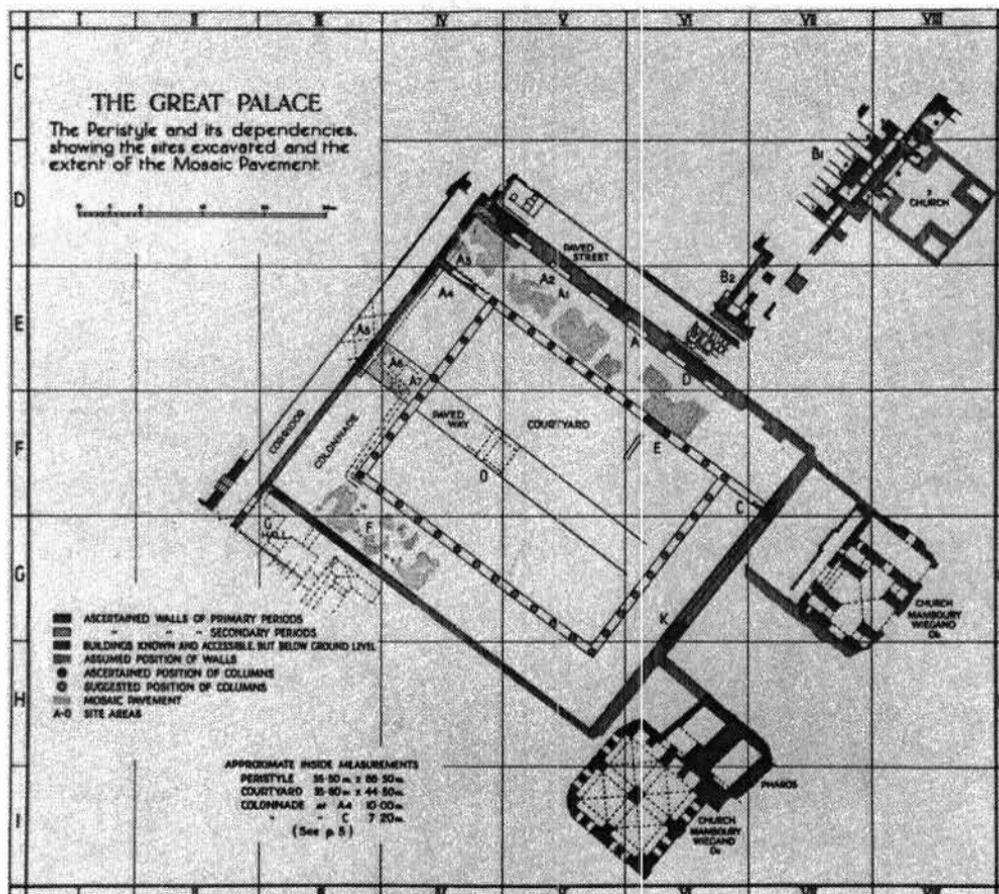
182. Blanzky-les-Fismes, Trifolium, Orpheus Pavement



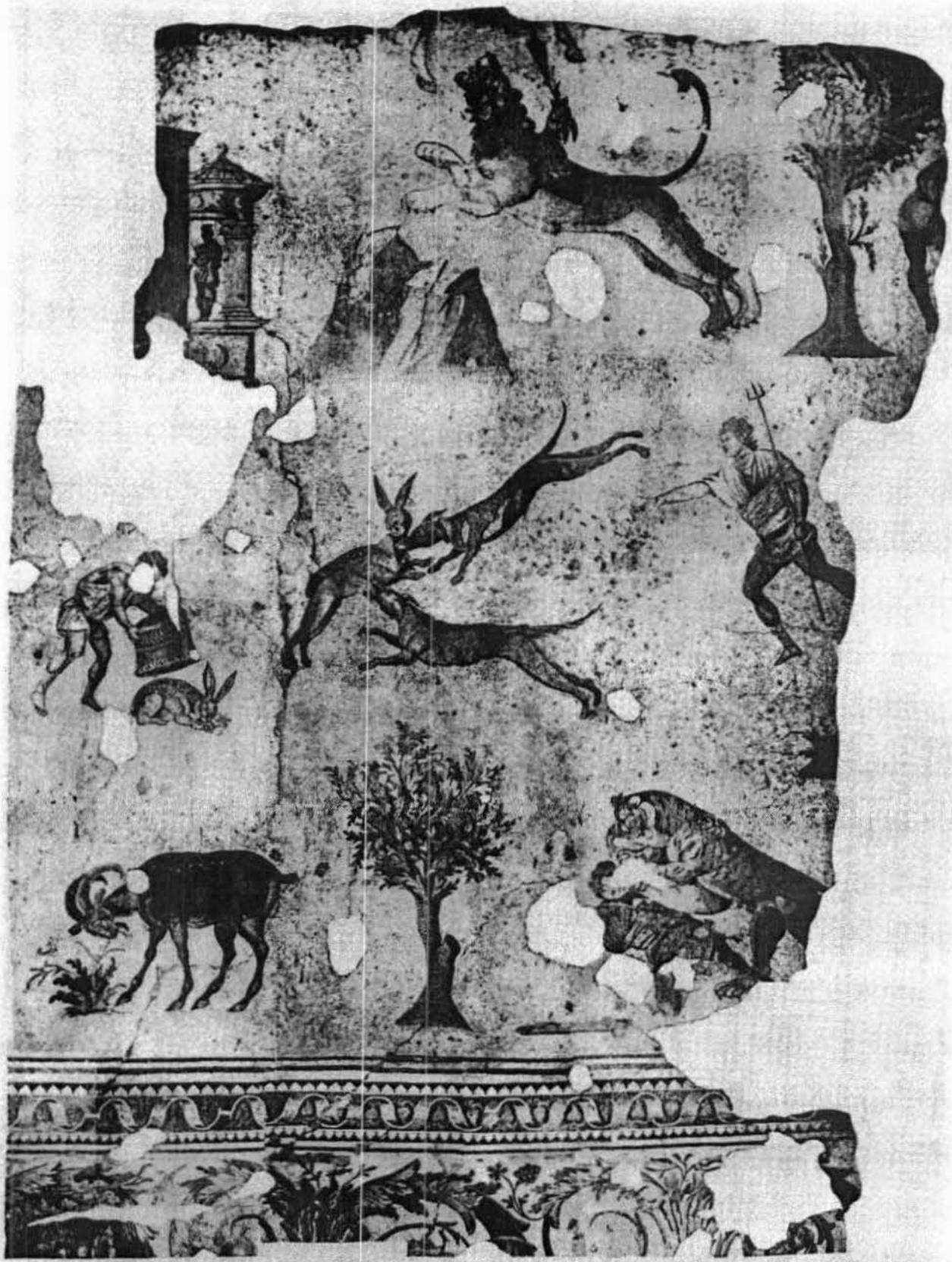
183. Ramalete, Hunting Pavement



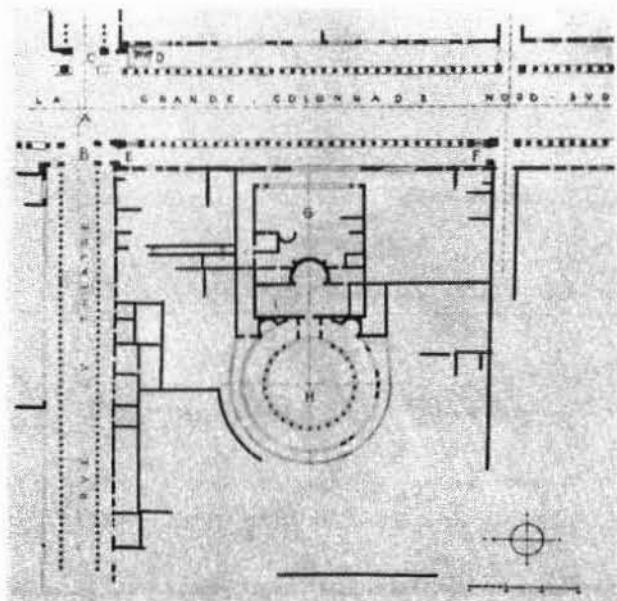
184. Conimbriga, Hunting Pavement



185. Istanbul, Great Palace, Peristyle (Shaded areas show portions of mosaic uncovered in first campaign.)



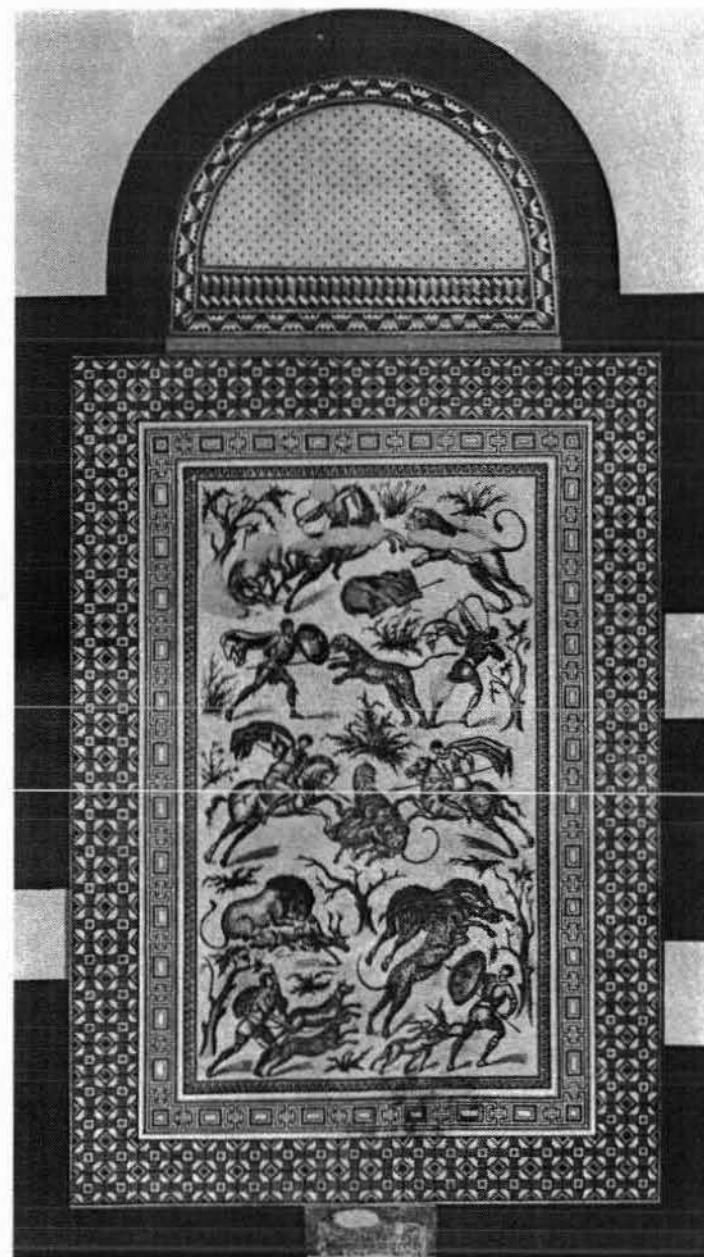
136. Istanbul, Great Palace Mosaic, Hunting Scenes



187. Apamea, Great Colonnade, Plan



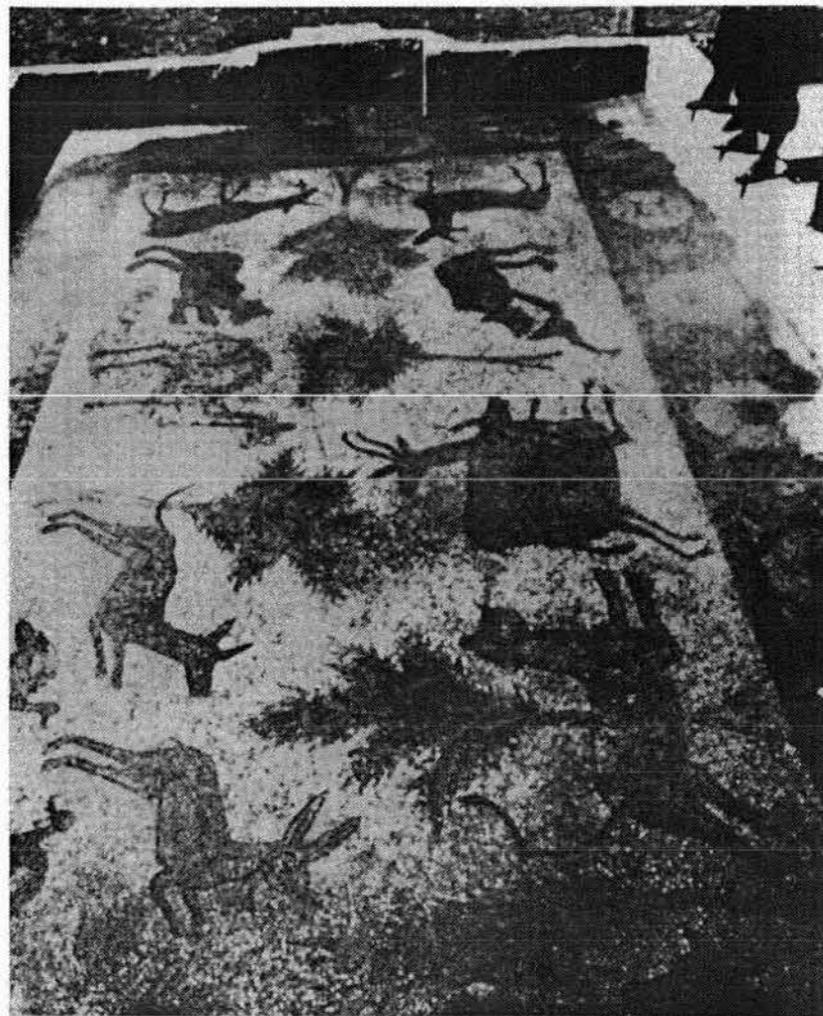
188. Apamea, Great Colonnade Pavement, detail



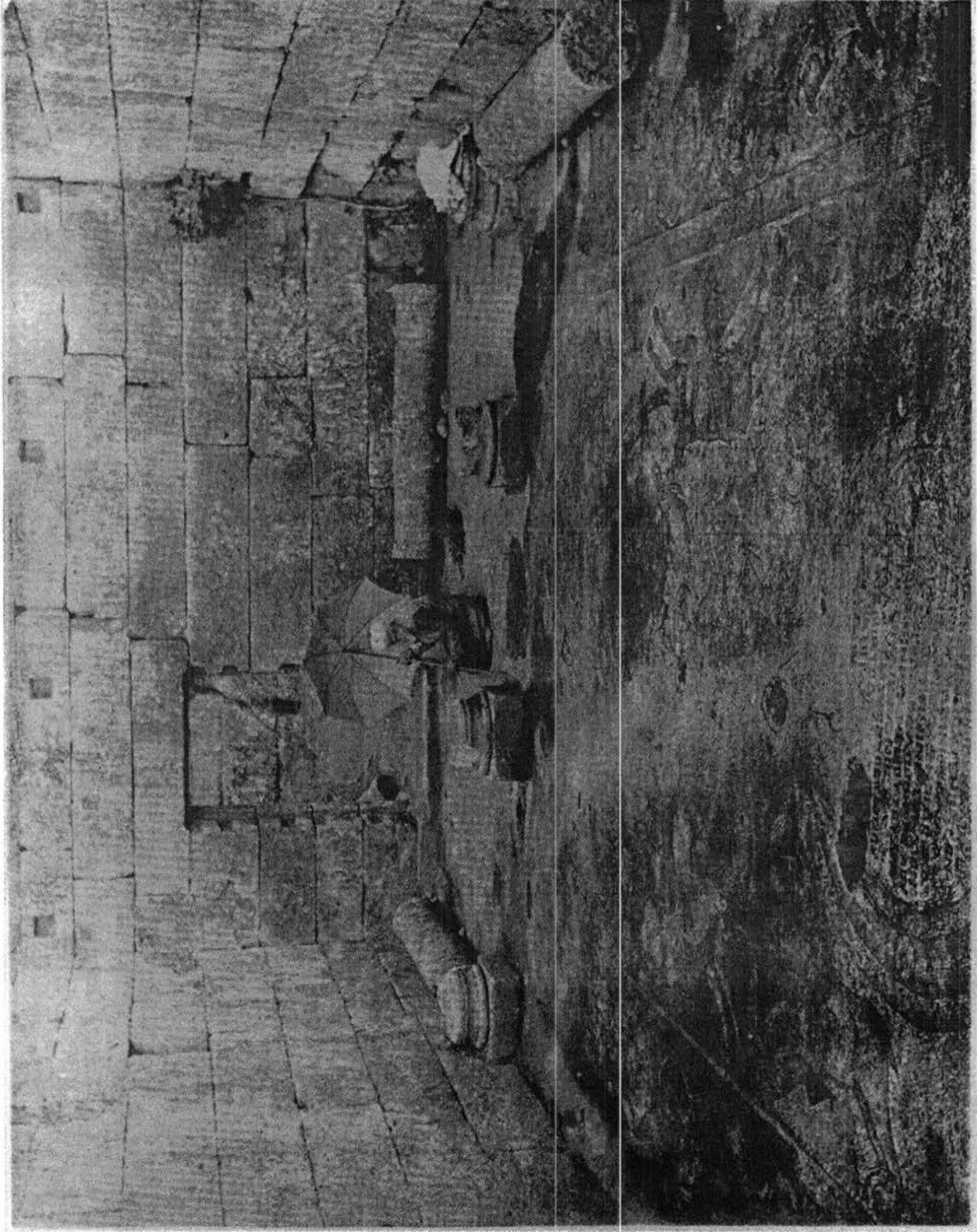
189. Apamea, Hunting Pavement



140. Beirut, "Orpheus" Mosaic



141. Malatya, Animal Pavement



142. Serdjilla, Animal Pavement