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BETWEEN GLOBAL AND LOCAL: GEOMETRIC PATTERNS OF GALLIC
ROMAN MOSAICS

By

Rebecca A. Salem

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of

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BETWEEN GLOBAL AND LOCAL: GEOMETRIC PATTERNS OF GALLIC

ROMAN MOSAICS

Rebecca A. Salem, M.A.

University of Nebraska, 2018

Advisor: Philip Sapirstein

It is often assumed that mosaicists working in different parts of the Roman Empire utilized specific repertoires of geometric patterns, specific to that locality, which formed distinct regional styles. Accordingly, scholarship has sought to assign particular layouts and ornamentation to different areas around the Empire: illusionistic patterns mimicking architectural elements such as coffering in the Eastern Roman Empire, black and white scenes of imagery with no geometric designs in central Italy, and large figural scenes bordered with geometric patterns in North Africa. But this existing model of regional difference does not explain the similarities that can also be seen. For example, the gridded geometric layout has been described as distinctive to Gallic mosaics, but further examination shows that it was also used frequently in Roman mosaics found in modern day Tunisia and Syria. Arguably, such commonalities are indicative of a greater level of connectivity and exchange across the empire regarding mosaic design than has previously been recognized.

Focusing on the provinces of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica*, this thesis analyses geometric layouts and patterns of mosaics in domestic contexts across these territories, primarily during the first to third centuries CE. Despite their different temporal introductions to mosaics and geographic locations, the mosaics of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica* possess similar design repertoires. Observable similarities in designs

can be used to map the movement of ideas, materials, and practitioners, facilitated by roads and waterways. This presents new insight into cultural transference amongst regional provinces. Placing the results within the wider context of mosaic design elsewhere in the Roman Empire, this study also challenges traditional interpretations of widespread mosaic differences between regions, instead arguing for a greater degree of homogeneity in the layout of geometric mosaics. This thesis aims to demonstrate that geometric mosaic designs are influenced by not only local considerations, but by Empire-wide trends.

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Table of Contents

Table of Illustrations	viii
Chapter 1:	1
Review of Previous Scholarship	2
Are Geometric Roman Mosaics Best Studied Regionally?	8
Chapter 2: Mosaics	11
A Brief History of Mosaics	11
The Function of Mosaics	16
Mosaics within a Roman Household	17
The Making of a Mosaic	20
Composition	20
Materials	23
Mosaic Makers	26
The Mosaicist	26
Workshops	28
The Cost of a Mosaic	30
Chapter 3: Framing the Landscape	32
Defining the Landscape	32
The Temporal Landscape	34
The Southern Landscape: <i>Gallia Narbonensis</i>	35
Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (<i>Glanum</i>)	41
Arles (<i>Arlate</i>)	43
Nîmes (<i>Nemausus</i>)	45
Vaison-la-Romaine (<i>Vasio</i>)	46
Vienne/Saint-Romain-en-Gaul (<i>Vienna</i>)	47
The Northern Landscape: <i>Gallia Belgica</i>	48
Trier (<i>Trevorum</i> or <i>Augusta Treverorum</i>)	52
Nennig	55
Chapter 4: Movement Throughout the Gallic Provinces	57
Roads and Waterways	57
Artists	58
Pattern Books	60
Materials	61
Chapter 5: Geometric Patterns	62
Geometric Arrangements	62
Carpet Layouts: Octagonal Design	69
Carpet Layouts: Grids	74
Summary	78
Conclusions	80
Illustrations	83
Bibliography	101
Appendix A: Glossary of Terms	113
Appendix B: The Mosaic Catalog	114

Table of Illustrations

Figure 1	The locations of the five sites from <i>Gallia Narbonensis</i> : Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Arles, Nîmes, Vaison-la-Romaine, and Vienne/Saint-Romain-en-Gaul.	83
Figure 2	The locations of the two sites from <i>Gallia Belgica</i> : Trier and Nennig.	83
Figure 3	Terracotta cone mosaics from Uruk. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Fourth millennium BCE.	84
Figure 4	Pebble mosaics from Gordion, Turkey. Gordion Museum, Turkey. Eighth to seventh centuries BCE.	84
Figure 5	Early wall mosaics. House of the Small Fountain, Pompeii. Early first century CE.	85
Figure 6	<i>Cave Canem</i> “Beware of Dog” mosaic. <i>Fauces</i> of the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii. Late first century BCE.	85
Figure 7	Foundation and preparatory layers for a mosaic floor.	86
Figure 8	Foundational layers of a mosaic.	86
Figure 9	Funerary relief with tesserae cutters, from the Isola Sacra necropolis. Museo Ostiense, Ostia Antica. Second century CE.	87
Figure 10	House of the Dionysiac Procession. Thysdrus, Tunisia. Mid-second century CE.	87
Figure 11	Centaur mosaic from Hadrian’s Villa. Altes Museum, Berlin. 120-130 CE.	88
Figure 12	The importation routes of expensive marbles in Gaul. Braemer 83.	88
Figure 13	So-called “Sosus Mosaic” from Hadrian’s Villa. Capitoline Museums, Rome. 120s-130s CE.	89
Figure 14	Signature of the mosaicist Hephæstion, Hephæstion Mosaic. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin. Early to mid-second century BCE.	89
Figure 15	Footprint of an individual from the rudus layer of the Lod Mosaic. Shelby White and Leon Levy Lod Mosaic Archaeological Center, Israel. Late third century CE.	90
Figure 16	“Les Antiques,” mausoleum and triumphal arch at Glanum. Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Late first century BCE to early first century CE.	90
Figure 17	Gate of Augustus. Nîmes, France. First century BCE.	91
Figure 18	Temple of Augustus and Livia. Vienne, France. Ca. 10 BCE.	91
Figure 19	Porta Nigra. Trier, Germany. Late second to early first century CE.	92
Figure 20	The Completed Roman Road Network of Gaul. Drinkwater 239.	92

Figure 21	Gallic Waterways. Drinkwater 240.	93
Figure 22	Crustae flooring from the Sanctuary of Fortuna. Palestrina, Italy. Late second century BCE.	93
Figure 23	A spaced swastika meander with single return and staggered spaces forming squares. Nabeul, Tunisia. Late second century CE.	94
Figure 24	Four-petalled Flower Mosaic from a Roman house in Colchester. Colchester Castle Museum, England. Mid-second century CE.	94
Figure 25	Referenced centralized circle pattern dispersal throughout the Roman Empire.	95
Figure 26	Mosaic with a centralized concave octagon with ellipses. Uxama, El Burdo de Osma, Spain. Late-second to early-third century CE.	95
Figure 27	Referenced honeycomb pattern dispersal throughout the Roman Empire.	96
Figure 28	Section of the Punishment of Dirce mosaic. Pula, Croatia. Third century CE.	96
Figure 29	Tangent hexagon mosaic with geometric borders. Aquileia, Italy. Second century CE.	97
Figure 30	Mosaic of Soteria from the Baths of Apolausis, Antioch. Hatay Archaeological Museum, Turkey. Fourth century CE.	97
Figure 31	Orpheus Playing the Lyre Mosaic from Thysdrus. El Djem Museum, Tunisia. Mid-third century CE.	98
Figure 32	Dionysus Mosaic. <i>In situ</i> , Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne. Ca. 220/230 CE.	98
Figure 33	Swastika mosaic. Musée Gallo-Roman de Lyon-Fourvière, France. Early third century CE.	99
Figure 34	Referenced grid pattern, both geometric and figural, dispersal throughout the Roman Empire.	99
Figure 35	Map showing locations of all referenced geometric mosaics. Location of sites with mosaics included in catalog demarcated in green. Location of mosaics of comparable design demarcated in red.	100

Chapter 1: Introduction

Truly, of all the endless things one can make with color, none withstand the shock of wind and water as does mosaic.”¹

The effort needed to compose a mosaic through the placement of small, cubed stones is considerable, especially given that other mediums, such as painting, provides patterns or figures with greater ease, but the durability of mosaics makes them highly desirable. Indeed, mosaics have survived well within the archaeological record due to their construction from stone *tesserae* and a secure preparatory layer. As a form of decorative pavement, mosaics could not exist without an architectural framework, and their continued discoveries find them situated within both public and private buildings. Additionally, a mosaic cannot exist without all its parts; each *tessera* is distinct, but when they are placed next to others they form a whole. Compositionally, when small *tesserae* are put together they form images nearing the exactness and quality of paintings. On this Pliny wrote in the first century CE that with mosaics “we are even beginning to paint with stone!” (Pliny *HN* 35.5). With far earlier origins, mosaics would be used widely throughout the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the first millennium CE.

Found within every established province of the Roman Empire, mosaics represent one of the largest assemblages of Roman art within the archaeological record. The color palette runs from black and white to complex polychrome, and the composition ranges from plain surfaces to meticulously formed images. Within this compendium of mosaics, the use of geometric patterns as a method of both compositional organization and decoration comes forward as a type of mosaic floor. Given the vast amount of geometric

¹ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* vol. 3, trans. Gaston Du C.de Vere (London: Macmillan and Co, 1912), 211.

mosaics found throughout the former Roman Empire, this thesis focuses on mosaics found within the Roman provinces of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica*, primarily during the first through third centuries CE. Attributed to Gaul are mosaics with distinct geometric layouts of varying degrees of complexity and arrangement. Through careful examination of the geometric layouts from a collected sample of mosaics from both *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica*, this thesis aims to identify if a regional geometric style exists in Gaul, or if this type can be found elsewhere in the Roman Empire.

Review of Previous Scholarship

With the large numbers of discovered mosaics and their dispersal over such a large territory, the current scholarship has tended to classify mosaics by regional typologies. Doro Levi summarizes this, saying, "... the individual aspect of each province of mosaic art can be grasped much sooner and more distinctly through the geometric than through the figure decoration."² His text, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements, Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its Vicinity* from 1947, features one site and has little comparison with other mosaics, even those that are found outside of Antioch's close vicinity. Similarly, Sheila Campbell's *The Mosaics of Antioch, published in 1988*, presents only the mosaics excavated at Antioch. While lavishing a great deal of detailed description to describe the mosaics at Antioch is valuable on its own right, Campbell does not contribute to the broader discussion on mosaics in antiquity.³ Later, in her 1998 publication, *The Mosaics of Anemurium*, Campbell again

² Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements, Publications of the Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its Vicinity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947). 9.

³ Sheila Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988).

examines the mosaics from one site, but here she does look more broadly, concluding that the city played a role in “the development of the Cilician school and the dissemination of stylistic trends from North Africa and Greece.”⁴ While it may seem that she is acknowledging non-regional characteristics, she introduces this study describing her choice to look only at nearby mosaic centers such as Turkey and Syria and does not consider any evidence to support that the mosaics have attributes coming from North Africa or Greece.

Other scholars have continued this mode of focusing on a single site’s mosaics. John Clarke’s 1979 *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics* looks specifically at the archaeological site of Ostia Antica, Rome’s port city on the Tyrrhenian sea.⁵ Accurate chronological sequencing of Ostia’s mosaics is Clarke’s primary focus, for which he considers the mosaics’ styles and shapes as evidence for their progression. *The Lod Mosaic: A Spectacular Roman Mosaic Floor* from 2015 looks at the mosaics of different time periods found in one residence. Overall the publication provides the multiple historical contexts, a description of the household, and detailed analysis of the iconography of the mosaics. Similarly, both *I Mosaici La Casa Del Fauno* from 2001 and 1990’s *La Villa Du Paon, Le Quartier Des Boutiques: Vaison-La-Romaine* examine only the mosaics from specific buildings, alongside associated finds and architectural contexts. There is great value in thoroughly investigating a site or building’s mosaics, but it does not place them within a broader context.

⁴ Sheila Campbell, *The Mosaics of Aemurium* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988), 65.

⁵ John R. Clarke, *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics* (New York: College Art Association of America, 1979).

An alternative to looking at the mosaics of one site is that of the regional or provincial study. One of the better published regions is Roman North Africa, where mosaics are found in large numbers in former Roman cities. Katherine Dunbabin's 1978 publication, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, centers around the iconography and patronage of mosaics found in North Africa with specific themes, such as the genre of rural scenes, Roman spectacle, and religion, including specific gods and goddesses.⁶ Near the end of the survey, Dunbabin does present a chapter on the "Diffusion and Influence of the African Style" focusing on Piazza Armerina, Italy, the Western Provinces, and the Eastern Mediterranean.⁷ Briefly covering patronage, proximity, similarity in figural representation, and possibilities of African workshops working in Sicily, Dunbabin's chapter covers mosaics spanning six centuries and comes to the conclusion that regionally specific designs occur within North Africa. Later, the 1996 edited volume *Mosaics of Roman Africa* does not concern itself with geometric patterns, nor connections with other regions of the Roman Empire, but examines the iconography, patronage, and placement of mosaics within the Roman home.⁸

A key area of mosaic study has been Roman Britain, and the bibliography is extensive. Early publications, such as Anne Rainey's *Mosaics in Roman Britain* from 1973, consist of short introductions and large catalogs of the over 1,000 known mosaics in the United Kingdom.⁹ Susan Tebby's 1994 publication, "Geometric Mosaics of Roman

⁶ Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1978).

⁷ Dunbabin 1978, 196-233.

⁸ Michèle Blanchard-Lemée, Mongi Ennaïfer, Hédi Slim, and Latifa Slim, *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia* trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (New York: George Braziller, 1995).

⁹ Anne Rainey, *Mosaics in Roman Britain* (Newton Abbot, UK: David & Charles, 1973).

Britain,” uses this data to assess geometric designs within Roman Britain with the goal to understand a geometric layout’s effect on the larger composition.¹⁰ Further, she considers the choice of the mosaicist when implementing a pattern regarding its fit within its designated space. Stephen Cosh uses an even larger sample of geometric mosaics to identify mosaic workshops, and even goes so far as to name some of the schools he believes produced the mosaics in small localities.¹¹ Cosh’s methodology for workshop identification includes the location of a mosaic and similarities in both geometric design and iconography.

Another example of regional study, though not in Britain, is Rebecca Sweetman’s *The Mosaics of Roman Crete* from 2013.¹² Here, Sweetman hones in on one area, considering the mosaics in the context of their stylistic development and the broader historical and social changes of Crete. Iconography, dating, distribution, and context are all considered for the mosaics, and workshops that produced them are identified. Like Cosh, Sweetman uses various approaches to identify workshops, but a lack of textual signatures, identification of artistic tendencies, or other concrete evidence, the identification of mosaic workshops remains speculative. Unlike Cosh, Sweetman uses her evidence towards the discussion of globalization of the Mediterranean and the eventual Christianization of Crete. As a more recent study, it does invite the discussion of mosaics

¹⁰ Susan Tebby, “Geometric Mosaics of Roman Britain,” in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics*, eds. Peter Johnson, Roger Ling and David J. Smith, (Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Malloy, 1994), 276-278, 279, 282-284, 287, 289, 292-293.

¹¹ Stephen R. Cosh, “A New Look at the Corinian Saltire School,” *Mosaic* 19 (1992): 7; Stephen R. Cosh, “Mosaic Schools, Officinae, and Groups in Fourth Century Roman Britain: An Appreciation of the Contribution Made by Dr. David Smith and his Legacy,” *Mosaic* 25 (1998): 10.

¹² Rebecca J. Sweetman, *The Mosaics of Roman Crete: Art, Archaeology, and Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

throughout the Empire more cohesively, but the book's focus is mosaic evolution on Crete.

Looking at the general history of mosaics throughout the Mediterranean requires substantial research and synthesis of the material from many regions. Edgar Waterman Anthony's *A History of Mosaics* (1968) narrates the history of mosaics from their earliest examples through their continued use in the present. Waterman chooses to divide the material into large time periods and briefly surveys the mosaics from each. His coverage of Hellenistic and Roman Mosaics describes mosaics by region, especially styles that he associates with them, such as the floral and panel mosaics of North Africa.¹³ Roger Ling's 1998 book *Ancient Mosaics* has since become one of the essential texts for the study of mosaics from antiquity. Rather than structuring the study exclusively by chronology, Ling divides the majority of his book into chapters describing regional systems, where he presents a convincing argument that there are specific designs and themes of mosaics from these regions affected by the different availability of materials, economic trends, and stylistic preferences.¹⁴ Ling explores the Roman Northwest, where he identifies a distinct style of elaborate geometric ornament and figures spread out over the mosaic in multiple panels. Following Ling's example, Dunbabin's text *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, published in 1999, also presents a survey of the historical development and the technique and production of mosaics.¹⁵ Within her sections on the regional and historical development of mosaics, she generally follows on the regions

¹³ Edgar Waterman Anthony, *A History of Mosaics* 2nd ed. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1968), 51.

¹⁴ Roger Ling, *Ancient Mosaics*. Princeton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

¹⁵ Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

designated by Ling, specifically in her characterizations of the Roman Northwest. Most recently, Umberto Pappalardo and Rosaria Ciardiello's *Greek and Roman Mosaics* from 2012 address the history and production of mosaics and then closely examines individual sites around the Mediterranean, maintaining the traditional classification by regional styles. For example, when describing designs, they state "mosaics with geometric motifs were favored in Gaul, while large-scale figurative themes were popular in North Africa."¹⁶

Within the last decade scholarship has begun to look beyond regional approaches to examine the evidence for interchanges among Roman material culture. Though yet to be methodically applied to mosaics, this more global framework is exemplified by publications such as *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity, and Empire* by Richard Hingley and throughout the edited volume *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity, and Material Culture* by Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys.¹⁷ While mosaic scholarship continues to prefer regional classification, the approach has been questioned recently. In Will Wootton's 2016 chapter, "A Portrait of the Artist as a Mosaicist under the Roman Empire," he provides evidence for mosaicists moving throughout the empire over both short and longer distances.¹⁸ Wootton does not question the regionality of designs, but his conclusion that artisans moved throughout the

¹⁶ Umberto Pappalardo and Rosaria Ciardiello, *Greek and Roman Mosaics*, trans. Ceil Friedman (New York: Abbeville Press, 2012), 58.

¹⁷ Richard Hingley, *Globalizing Roman Culture: Unity, Diversity, and Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Martin Pitts and Miguel John Versluys, eds. *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity, and Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹⁸ Will Wootton, "A Portrait of the Artist as a Mosaicist under the Roman Empire," In *Beyond Boundaries: Connecting Visual Cultures in the Provinces of Ancient Rome*, eds. Susan E. Alcock, Mariana Egri, and James F.D. Frakes (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2016), 78.

empire does suggest they could have taken their knowledge of designs with them and influenced mosaics in the new areas.

Are Geometric Roman Mosaics Best Studied Regionally?

Scholarship on Roman mosaics has embraced regional design theory. Alternatives to regionality propose local connections, such as those between North Africa and the southern Iberian Peninsula or between southern Turkey and Cyprus. Being in close proximity would fit with regional definitions as the designs would not have to travel far. Local influences from indigenous cultures has also been proposed, mainly through patterns coming from textiles, but enough evidence to effectively prove this has lacked, mainly due to the poor preservation of textiles within the archaeological record. As another possibility mosaic style has been put forth as an evolutionary process, whereby specific designs appear as part of an organic process. Again, there has been little evidence to effectively prove this conclusively. When these alternatives do appear, they are interpreted as possible exceptions, rather than as indicia against regionally defined patterns.

This thesis examines regional designs for geometric layouts of mosaic floors within domesticated spaces. As the number of mosaics throughout the Roman Empire is overwhelming, the study has been limited to mosaics from Gaul, more specifically from five sites within *Gallia Narbonensis* (fig. 1) and two sites in *Gallia Belgica* (fig. 2). In the former, mosaics appeared early due to colonization by the Greeks, while in the latter, mosaics appeared only after the Roman conquests. Thirty-seven mosaics have been catalogued as the primary evidence for geometric layouts found within *Gallia*

Narbonensis and *Gallia Belgica*. These mosaics all share their geometric layouts and design principles with other mosaics throughout the Roman Empire, demonstrating that the regional style model is not well supported in the archaeological record. Geometric patterns have been considered, as every mosaic must have a layout and are less likely to be a special request from the commissioner in comparison to figural images. Additionally, regional distinctions have been identified primarily on geometric configurations and therefore are the logical choice to confirm or deny these classifications. Throughout this thesis, further evidence will be presented to account for the appearance of similar geometric patterns appearing in mosaics throughout the Roman Empire.

Chapter two provides the broader background to mosaics. This includes a history of their evolution and appearance around the Mediterranean, as well as a description of their purpose as a functional yet decorative floor within a Roman household. Both text and an abundance of archaeological evidence has provided rich evidence from which to reconstruct the methodology for installing a mosaic floor, and the materials that were used to form the mosaic. Lastly, while the archaeological record has provided a substantiate number of elaborate mosaics, they were luxury items requiring funds for the employment of a mosaicist and the acquisition of necessary materials.

Chapter three outlines the history of the main regions of study: *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica*. Within these two provinces of Gaul, mosaics appear at different times and in different contexts. The historical events that precipitated the appearance of mosaics accounts for the simple layouts that appear earliest there, in contrast to the far more complex designs of the later first to third century. Brief histories

of the cities and sites from which the catalogued mosaics originate from contribute to the understanding of why mosaics appeared in those particular locations. Additionally, the geography of the regions affected trade and dispersal of materials and artistic traditions. Chapter four introduces ways of movement throughout the Gallic Provinces and more broadly passage throughout the Empire. In *Gallia Narbonensis* this can be seen with the influence of the Rhône River and in *Gallia Belgica* with the Moselle River. River and road travel and trade are significant contributors to the movement of people, things, and ideas and are significant to understanding how geometric patterns could appear in different regions of the Roman Empire. Further contributing to the causes of the dissemination of mosaic design is the movement of mosaicists, pattern books, and the physical materials needed to make a mosaic.

Building on the technical and historical analysis in the first three chapters, chapter five presents the geometric floorplans of the catalogued mosaics and develops comparisons around the Roman Empire to similar mosaic designs. Through this analysis, it is demonstrated that these patterns, even those specifically labeled as Gallic types, are not just regional conceptions, but rather the reflection of a process of homogenization in geometric designs throughout the empire. The conclusions consider the variety of potential causes of and motivations for the reappearance of similar geometric floor layouts around the Mediterranean, and future directions to build upon the work in this thesis.

Chapter 2: Mosaics

A Brief History of Mosaics

The use of thousands of small stones or shaped *tesserae* to form a larger image or pattern for a surface does not seem to be the most efficient way to create a floor or wall covering, and yet this method began in the late fourth millennium BCE and its use continues to present day.¹⁹ At the Sumerian city of Uruk the earliest mosaics were composed of terracotta cones attached to columns to form a decorative pattern (fig. 3).²⁰ By the third millennium BCE, the Egyptians laid tiles of glazed earthenware on the floor as a decorated pavement. Decorating the floor surface, mainly with placing small stones in mortar, was continued by both the Minoans and Myceneans during the second millennium BCE. An example can be seen in a domestic space at Tiryns, where stones were laid to form a simple pattern.²¹ The tradition survives the collapse of Bronze Age civilizations around 1200 BCE, when, in the eighth to seventh centuries, they appear at Gordion, the ancient capital of Phrygia in modern day Turkey (fig. 4). Here, small pebbles taken from beaches or river banks are embedded into a thick plaster layer to ensure a firm floor where and thin bands of white stones form randomly placed geometric figures on a monochrome black background.²²

In the first century CE, Pliny the Elder recalls that “paved floors originated among the Greeks and were skillfully embellished with a kind of paintwork until superseded by

¹⁹ Waterman Anthony 1968, 12.

²⁰ Dunbabin 1999, 27-28.

²¹ Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 11; Dunbabin 1999, 5.

²² Rodney S. Young, "Early Mosaics at Gordion" *Expedition* 7, no. 3 (1964/5): 4-13; P.J. Nordhagen, "The Development of Mosaic Technique," in *Mosaics*, eds. H.P. L'Orange and P.J. Nordhagen (London: Methuen & Co., 1966), 33.

mosaics.”²³ While the material evidence has disproven that the technology was invented by the Greeks, mosaics of greater detail and with more frequent use do appear in Greece in the late fifth century BCE, particularly in Macedonia.²⁴ Like the flooring at Gordion, these early Macedonian mosaics were composed of small pebbles embedded into a thick plaster, but here the pebbles were placed more methodically in geometric patterns or distinct figures. At the site of Olynthus, dating from 432-348 BCE, some twenty mosaics composed of red, white, blue, green, and purple pebbles form ornamental patterns and mythological scenes, featuring Bellerophon on Pegasus hurling a spear at the Chimaera, two griffins attacking a stag, and a warrior attacking a centaur.²⁵ Similarly, Corinth’s Centaur Bath, constructed in the last quarter of the fifth century BCE has pebble mosaics throughout the complex.²⁶ At Pella in the late fourth century BCE, pebble mosaics become more distinguished with the use of lead and terracotta to define the outlines of the figures and shading through the application of slightly darker shades of the pebbles. This can be seen in mosaics of Alexander the Great, a stag hunt, and in Theseus’ abduction of Helen, a mosaic that fills a 118 square meter hall.²⁷ Early, pebble mosaics can also be found at Motya, Sicily; Eretria, Greece; and Sikyon, Greece.²⁸

²³ Plin. *NH* 36.184; Gaius Plinius Secundus (23-79CE), known as Pliny the Elder wrote his natural history in the last few years of his life before he died during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE.

²⁴ Jean-Pierre Adam, *Roman Building: Materials and Techniques*, trans. Anthony Mathews (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 233.

²⁵ Waterman Anthony, 47. Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 56. See Dunbabin 1999, 7, for a plan of the household.

²⁶ Dunbabin 1999, 6.

²⁷ David S. Neal, "Floor Mosaics," in *Roman Crafts*, eds. Donald Strong and David Brown (London: Duckworth, 1976), 241; Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 100.

²⁸ See Dunbabin 1999, 9-10; Pierre Ducrey, *Eretria: A Guide to the House with the Mosaics* (Athens: Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece, 1991).

Another early form of mosaics that appears in Greece is *opus signinum*, consisting of a pinkish ground composed of lime and crushed terracotta into which white cut stones are set into either at random or in geometric patterns.²⁹ A simple form of mosaic, the method is transmitted throughout the Mediterranean due to its easy construction and use of widely available materials.³⁰ In Italy, these appear during the third century BCE at Gregellae in the Lazio region and throughout the Vesuvian region.

Debate continues over the origin of *opus tessellatum*, mosaics composed of regularly squared cut stone or glass called *tesserae*. This method of mosaic construction spreads widely throughout the Mediterranean in antiquity and becomes the dominant method for mosaic production, even today. The method did not begin in isolation, as evidence exists for its beginning in the deliberately cut *tesserae* being placed in earlier pebble mosaics. An example of this occurred in the pronaos mosaic in the temple of Zeus at Olympia, laid during the middle of the third century BCE.³¹ Depicting a male and female Triton on two panels, the majority of the mosaic is comprised of pebbles, but small cut stones in red and yellow form the hair and beard of the male Triton.³² Additionally, his eye consists of small white cut stones encircling a single black stone chip as the pupil. At the Sicilian site of Morgantina, dating from 275-215 BCE, are similar transitional mosaics consisting of natural pebbles with inclusions of small *tesserae*.³³

²⁹ Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 11.

³⁰ See appx.B.I.a for an example in the south of France.

³¹ Nicolaos Yalouris, "The Mosaic Pavement of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia." *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 1 (1968): 72-82.

³² Dunbabin 1999, 18. Most the mosaic has been not fared well as only some of the border and body of the male Triton panel surviving.

³³ Neal 1976, 241.

Three locations for the origin of true *opus tessellatum* mosaics have been postulated: Greece, Sicily, and Carthage in North Africa. Greece's tradition of pebble mosaics and proximity to early locations of mosaics could support early production of these mosaics. At Gela, a site at Capo Soprano in southern Sicily, a fragment of a tessellated meander pattern has led some to believe that this could indeed be the first occurrence of this type.³⁴ In North Africa some of the earliest tessellated mosaics found in the Mediterranean are attested in Carthage. At the site of Kerkouane, cement flooring has ceramic and stone insets and true tessellated mosaics by the middle of the fourth century BCE.³⁵ Regardless of their provenance, tessellated mosaics gain popularity throughout the Hellenistic era and can be found throughout the Mediterranean.

From the Republican Period the Romans began to include mosaics within their public and private spaces. According to Pliny:

“At Rome the first floor with a diamond pattern was constructed in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after the beginning of the Third Punic War; but tessellated pavements had already become common and extremely popular before the Cimbrian War, as is shown from the famous verse from Lucilius: ‘With pavior’s skill and wavy inset stones’”³⁶

As the Romans conquered the Italian peninsula they absorbed regions that had previously been Greek territories and thus appropriated what was already present and, in the case of mosaics, continued the artistic tradition. This can be seen at Pompeii, where mosaics had

³⁴ Katherine M.D Dunbabin, "Early Pavement Types in the West and the Invention of Tessellation," in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics Held at Bath, England, on September 5-12, 1987*, eds. Peter Johnson, Roger Ling, and David J. Smith (Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Malloy, 1994), 27.

³⁵ M'hamed Hassine Fantar, *Kerkouane, Cité Punique Du Cap Bon (Tunisie) I* (Tunis: Institut National d'Archeologie et d'Art, 1984), 493-95. It is possible that the mosaic dates to an even earlier time.

³⁶ Plin. *NH* 36.185; All Latin and Greek translations are from the Loeb edition of the text unless otherwise specified. The Third Punic War dates to 149 BCE; Cimbrian war dates to 113-101 BCE. Lucilius c. 180-102 BCE.

been laid as early as the third century BCE, but later designs show talent and skills that are required for executing intricate mosaics. The best example of this can be seen in the Alexander Mosaic in the House of the Faun, dating from around 100 BCE.³⁷ Believed to depict the Battle of Issus the work possesses great naturalism, seen especially in the rendering of the horses and in the reflection of a soldier in a shield.³⁸ Probably a mosaic depiction of an earlier Greek painting from the Late Classical or early Hellenistic periods, the Alexander Mosaic has become the prime example for demonstrating how mosaics could replicate highly regarded paintings.³⁹

During the Roman period mosaics would be laid throughout the empire from Syria in the east to Spain in the west, and from Britain in the north to Northern Africa in the south. As new regions were conquered and the incorporation of Roman practices and traditions began, mosaics became a marker for Roman cities or villas. The sheer number of mosaics found throughout the empire acts as a testament to their popularity and applicability in any region.⁴⁰ Specific cities would adopt certain trends, such as the black and white mosaics at the Roman port city of Ostia Antica, but this is not true for the geometric patterns and layouts that can be employed in mosaics as they are found

³⁷ See: Paolo Moreno, *Apelles: The Alexander Mosaic*, Trans. David Stanton (Milan: Skira, 2001).

³⁸ Ada Cohen, *The Alexander Mosaic: Stories of Victory and Defeat* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 51-82

³⁹ For discussion on the influence that paintings had on images in mosaics see: Roger Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 6-9; Ling 1998, 30-31; Alix Barbet, "Quelques Rapports Entre Mosiques Et Peintures Murales a L'époque Romaine" in *Mosaïque Recueil D'hommages À Henri Stern*, ed. René Ginouvès (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1983), 43-53.

⁴⁰ In the voluminous amount of literature read for this thesis, no author attempts to number the amount of mosaics from the Greek and Roman periods. Any number produced would need to be adjusted each year as mosaics are often found on archaeological excavations, especially those that center around Roman architecture.

throughout the empire.⁴¹ As newly incorporated territories became integrated within Roman trade networks and began to exhibit a desire to appear more Roman, or Roman citizens or army veterans moved to these areas, the practice of laying mosaics subsequently manifested. Thus is the case for *Gallia Belgica*, where villa owners commissioned large numbers of both simple and complex mosaic designs. Images depicted within mosaics laid during the Roman period consist of an extremely broad compendium of both Greek and Roman mythology, athletic figures and scenes, and flora and fauna found throughout the Mediterranean.

The Function of Mosaics

Flooring

At its most practical, a mosaic exists as a durable, waterproof, sanitary, and smooth form of pavement. Earthen or matted floors do not endure over time and often provide abnormal or disagreeable surfaces. Brick and mosaic floors offer a more permanent ground surface and are more consistently level. Mosaic application as a surface decoration became an element of architectural design and an important consideration regarding the decoration of an interior space. It is during the Roman period that mosaics also began to be placed on walls and in vaults as additional methods of decoration. An early example of this can be seen at Pompeii at the House of the Small Fountain (fig. 5). Wall and vault mosaics would become increasingly popular at the end

⁴¹ See: John R. Clarke, *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics* (New York: College Art Association of America, 1979).

of the Roman period and were especially employed in great frequency during the Byzantine and Early Christian periods on the walls and apses of churches.⁴²

Mosaics within a Roman Household

A Roman house functioned not only as the residence for the family, but it acted as a showcase of a family's status and wealth.⁴³ Based on the layout, décor, and furnishings, the villa communicated the cultural values, a key component of which in the provinces was the assimilation of Roman customs and designs.⁴⁴ The residence was closely tied with the public image of its owners and "entered into the service of political activity and advancement as the seat of individual prestige."⁴⁵ In several figural mosaics, scenes of pleasurable activities, such as games or of music, offered another way for the owner to communicate their wealth by demonstrating their participation in such pastimes.⁴⁶ Of the mosaics found in Pompeii, they tend to be found in larger homes, where such a luxury would act as a status marker.⁴⁷ In Christine Kondoleon's analysis of the House of

⁴² This is a well-researched topic, especially for researchers of Christian and Byzantine art, however due to this thesis' focus on mosaics in Gaul in the first to third centuries CE this method is not further discussed.

⁴³ Eleanor Windsor Leach, *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 2004), 18. For the purposes of this thesis the Roman house includes definition of *villa* in either rural (*villa rustica*) or urban (*villa urbana*) environments and domus. The words are used interchangeably as the primary focus is on the concept of a living space, not a debate between the definitions of the words. Additionally, all house design types are considered, whether they be Atrium or Peristyle in layout.

⁴⁴ Edith Mary Wightman, *Gallia Belgica* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1985), 106; Dunbabin 1999, 101. For a brief history of the evolution of Roman houses around the empire see: Nicola Terrenato, "The Essential Countryside: The Roman World," in *Classical Archaeology* eds. Susan E. Alcock and Robin Osborne (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 144-56.

⁴⁵ Windsor Leach, 19

⁴⁶ Christine Kondoleon, "Signs of Privilege and Pleasure: Roman Domestic Mosaics," in *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula* ed. Elaine K. Gazda, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 105-112

⁴⁷ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), 154. See also Ling 1998, 116-18.

Dionysos in Paphos, a luxurious urban residence with over 15 mosaics floors, she describes the house as “tangible evidence of the assimilation of Roman culture by the upper levels of provincial society.”⁴⁸ In an eastern capital without great significance in the Roman period, the tastes of the owner are greatly aligned with those of the rest of the Empire. In such locations, the presence of mosaics could convey an even greater luxury if the artist or materials had to travel from great distances.⁴⁹

Within the Roman domicile varying levels of privacy established a hierarchy of access to specific spaces.⁵⁰ Vitruvius defines rooms with more free access as *communia*, and those with more restricted admittance as *propria patribus familiarum*.⁵¹ Mosaics in *opus tessellatum* with complex design or figures are found primarily within the public rooms of the household. Beginning with the *fauces*, the entryway into the home, mosaics of a basic geometric pattern can be found, along with those saying *HAVE*, “welcome,” such as at the House of the Bear in Pompeii. Additionally, *fauces* can be found with mosaic images of warning of dogs, such as at the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii (fig. 6) and at the House of P. Paqui Proculi in Ostia.⁵² Moving into the home, *tablina* and *triclinia* are the most commonly found rooms with decorative mosaics. A *tablinum* served as a “sanctuary of a master” where the *paterfamilias* would receive his daily salutations from his clients.⁵³ Archaeological evidence has shown that *tablina* often

⁴⁸ Kondoleon 1991, 157-169.

⁴⁹ S. Rebecca Martin, "Craft Identity: Mosaics in the Hellenistic East," in *Artists and Artistic Production in Ancient Greece*, eds. Kristen Seaman and Peter Schultz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 72.

⁵⁰ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 56 (1988): 43-97.

⁵¹ Vit. 6.5

⁵² Dunbabin 1999, 307 fig. 307; Clarke 1979, 10.

⁵³ Dwyer 27-28; For information on the client and patron system see: Richard P. Seller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* Rev. ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

served as an archive, holding important documents that recorded the achievements of the family.⁵⁴ Mosaics placed in this room assured visitors of the owner's success and prominent place within society, and the documents provided further attestation. *Triclinia*, named for the three rectangular couches used for dining, were the dining rooms of the Roman house.⁵⁵ These rooms vary in size, shape, and location within the home, but their purpose was to act as a room not only for serving meals, but receiving and entertaining guests.⁵⁶ Placing mosaics, especially finer examples such as the aforementioned Alexander Mosaic, would have cost the patron much more than a tile floor, but they would convey an impression of grandeur and opulence to visitors.⁵⁷

Throughout the rest of the residence, floors could be formed in much simpler ways. *Opus signinum* commonly serves as the flooring decoration for hallways and less frequently used rooms. *Cubicula*, "bedrooms," in addition for being private sleeping quarters could be used for relaxation during the day or for receiving friends. For this reason, they might be either simply or highly decorated.⁵⁸ Rooms not meant to be visited by the family members living in a wealthy home, such as the kitchen or slave quarters, were either outfitted with *opus signinum* in a wealthy household, or with brick, often

⁵⁴ Plin. *HN* 35.2.7

⁵⁵ Simon P. Ellis, "Power, Architecture, and Decor: How the Late Roman Aristocrat Appeared to His Guests." In *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula* ed. Elaine K. Gazda (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 119.

⁵⁶ Ellis, 122.

⁵⁷ An area of great interest to scholars has been the coordination of the artistic decorations within Roman houses, especially of those found in Pompeii and Herculaneum. No definitive explanations have come forward, but it does seem that within some houses there were schemes for the decoration. See: John R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C. - A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); For mosaics: Dunbabin 1999, 314-16.

⁵⁸ Dunbabin 1999, 305.

placed in a herringbone pattern, or else left as earthen surfaces in which a mat could be laid.

The Making of a Mosaic

Composition

Both archaeological and textual evidence contribute to our knowledge about the composition and methodology for laying a mosaic floor. Textually, Vitruvius's *On Architecture* and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* both provide instructions for forming a mosaic, resulting in a stable and level floor (figs. 7 & 8). To begin, the surface had to be excavated approximately two feet down and the remaining soil needed to be compacted. Following this, a double layer of wooden planks would be placed. Pliny provides the history and instructions:

“Open-air flooring was an invention of the Greeks, who roof their houses in this way, an easy method to use in regions with a warm climate, but unreliable wherever there is heavy rainfall and frost. It is essential that two sets of joists should be laid across each other, and that their ends should be nailed down to avoid warping.”⁵⁹

Often, a layer of straw separated the wood from the following stone layers mainly to protect the wood from the lime.⁶⁰ The *statumen*, consisting of large rocks as big as a fist, formed the first stone layer.⁶¹ Next came the *rudus*, a rubble sub pavement formed of smaller pebbles. Pliny describes the additives to the layer: “To fresh rubble should be added a third of its weight in pounded potsherds; and then the rubble, mixed with two-

⁵⁹ Plin. *NH* 36.186-87

⁶⁰ Ingrid D. Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe, *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 268-69.

⁶¹ Vitr. 7.1-7

fifths of its weight in lime, should be rammed down to a thickness of one foot.”⁶² For the bedding, known as the *nucleus*, the mortar consisted of three parts crushed terracotta mixed with one part lime, which according to Vitruvius “should be no less than six digits thick.”⁶³ The *nucleus* provided a smooth surface into which the individual *tesserae* could be set into either by hand or with the assistance of tweezers. The final step required rubbing down the entire mosaic with a pumice stone or other grinding material to even its surface and remove any projecting edges.⁶⁴

Tesserae could be shaped into sizes and shapes of various sizes to suit their final place in a mosaic. Using a chisel embedded into wood or another stable material, a fragment of the material being used to form the *tesserae* would be placed and hit with a hammer to break off the desired shape. A third century CE grave stele relief found at Ostia Antica depicts this process (fig. 9).⁶⁵ Placing *tesserae* for the formation of designs required preparatory guidelines that could be incised into the mortar with an awl, such as those at Rudston in Yorkshire, or drawn on the surface with charcoal or paint, as at Cirencester.⁶⁶ At the Villa Arianna at Stabiae, underneath one of the geometric mosaics, string marks and nail holes are visible for the laying of the pattern and traces of paint provided a color guide.⁶⁷ This placement would have occurred in smaller areas in order to ensure that the mortar did not harden prematurely, much like the painting of a fresco.

⁶² Plin. *HN* 36.186-87

⁶³ Vitr. 7.3; Six digits equals approximately 1/3 of an Imperial foot.

⁶⁴ Vitr. 7.4

⁶⁵ Ostia, Antiquarium (inv. 132) 18 x 20 in. dated to 270-80 CE. Dunbabin 1999, 281; Birte Poulsen, "Identifying Mosaic Workshops in Late Antiquity," in *Ateliers and Artisans in Roman Art and Archaeology* eds. T.M. Kristensen and Birte Poulsen (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2012), 130. Wootton 2016, 65.

⁶⁶ Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 19; Neal 1976, 244.

⁶⁷ Mark Wilson-Jones, *Origins of Classical Architecture: Temples, Orders, and Gifts to the Gods in Ancient Greece* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 98; Taylor, 231.

The placement of individual *tesserae* into the bedding surface is known as the direct method. While the direct method is the primary technique for forming the decorative surfaces, two other approaches are known: the indirect and the reverse.⁶⁸ For the indirect method, *tesserae* are placed in sand to form a pattern, allowing for errors to be corrected. When the desired design was formed, a strong paper or cloth was attached by glue or wax to the visible face. Then the entire section was lifted and set into the mortar, and, once the mortar had set, hot water was poured over the surface to remove the wax or glue. The reverse method requires that each *tessera* be glued face down on to a piece of paper or cloth and then flipped over and laid in the manner as the indirect method.⁶⁹

The majority of mosaics were set *in situ* and tailored to each particular space. At the House of Dionysus Procession, a mid-second century CE house at Thysdrus, modern day Tunisia, several of the mosaics have been laid in irregular spaces and slanted to fill the hallway (fig. 10).⁷⁰ This can also be seen at the Insula of the Muses at Ostia where the mosaics are fitted within rather unconventionally shaped rooms, and at the Great Mosaic in Woodchester where the mosaic has been laid to suit the space with column bases set into the spandrels or the placement of a hexagonal mosaic placed into a hexagonal room.⁷¹ Not all of a mosaic's components were laid directly *in situ*. Often smaller panels,

⁶⁸ Neal 1976, 244; Neal 1981, 20.

⁶⁹ Scholars have debated for the possibility of a third method, Ling 1994 and Pappalardo and Ciardiello 2012 have argued against the existence of this method in antiquity.

⁷⁰ Dunbabin 1999, 105-06.

⁷¹ Rabun Taylor, *Roman Builders: A Study in Architectural Process* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 228-29; See also: Giovanni L. Becatti, *Scavi Di Ostia 4* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1961). David S. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain: An Introduction to Their Schemes and a Catalogue of Paintings* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1981), 21.

known as *emblemata*, were executed on a terracotta or stone slab outside of their final location and then inserted into their location in the larger mosaic.⁷² *Emblemata* are known for their highly detailed figural scenes that are formed using extremely small *tesserae* to form an image that more closely resembles the detail of a painting than a typical mosaic. Two of the finest examples of *emblemata* were found in the *triclinium* at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, one depicts a scene similar to the Sosus' mosaic description (see artists below) and the other represents centaurs fighting a tiger, lion, and leopard (fig. 11).⁷³ These meticulously made images are called *opus vermiculatum* for their 'wormlike' appearance of the *tesserae* winding around each other.⁷⁴ Panel G of the Drunken Hercules mosaic most certainly is an *emblema* made elsewhere and then imported into the mosaic, notable in this instance because the *emblema* was too big for its designated place and *tesserae* from the surrounding squares had to be moved to accommodate the panel.⁷⁵ The Judgement of Paris mosaic, found in the triclinium of the "Atrium House" at Antioch, has visible seams on its back, and its *tesserae* were laid in a different layer of mortar than the rest of the mosaic surrounding it.⁷⁶ This is strong physical evidence that this segment of the mosaic was made in a different location and then placed within the larger framework.

Materials

⁷² Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 13. From the Greek ἐμβλημα, "insertion."

⁷³ Sylvia Brehme, "Centaur Mosaic from the Villa Hadriana," in *The Antikensammlung*, eds. Agnes Schwarzmaier, Andreas Scholl, and Martin Maischberger (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2016), 232-33; Dunbabin 1999, 66 fig. 70.

⁷⁴ Neal 1976, 241.

⁷⁵ See appx. B V.b, panel G.

⁷⁶ Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon, "The Atrium House Triclinium," in *The Arts of Antioch: Art Historical and Scientific Approaches to Roman Mosaics and a Catalogue of the Worcester Art Museum Antioch Collection*, eds. Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005), 34.

Early mosaics, such as those found in Pella, consist of small pebbles found around the mosaic locations. Fully tessellated mosaics use materials besides river pebbles, including stone, terracotta, and glass. Analysis of these materials has frequently demonstrated the use of primarily local stones, especially for the main colors of black and white. This can be seen through the analysis of the *tesserae* found in the *triclinum* mosaic at Antioch where the limestone, dolomites, and calcareous stones came from the same local quarries that were in use from the early second century CE until the middle of the sixth century CE.⁷⁷ In contrast, the obsidian found in the same mosaic must have been imported, as there are no local sources.⁷⁸ Will Wootton performed binocular microscopy on mortar samples of a mosaic at Tel Dor, determining that the mortar used consisted of terracotta, quartz, shells, and local sandstone – all of which, importantly, were local materials.⁷⁹

In order to provide a greater range of colors, such as the black in the Antioch mosaic, many stones were imported from around the empire.⁸⁰ A possibility exists that mosaicists were able to acquire stone chippings and fragments from mason's yards where larger blocks of stones had been shaped for columns or paneling.⁸¹ Larger quantities of colored marble would need to have been imported, some of which include: granite, porphyry, and alabaster from Egypt; white and *rosso antico* marble from Carrara; and

⁷⁷ Richard Newman, "Material Study: The Stone," in *The Arts of Antioch: Art Historical and Scientific Approaches to Roman Mosaics and a Catalogue of the Worcester Art Museum Antioch Collection*, eds. Lawrence Becker and Christine Knodoleon (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005), 70.

⁷⁸ Newman, 70.

⁷⁹ Will Wootton, "Making and Meaning: The Hellenistic Mosaic from Tel Dor," *American Journal of Archaeology* 116, no. 2 (2012): 209-34.

⁸⁰ Dunbabin 1999, 280.

⁸¹ Neal 1976, 241.

white green, red, and black marble from Greece.⁸² This range of marbles can be seen in the *opus scutulatum* mosaics where chunks of marble imported from around the empire are embedded within a single mosaic.⁸³ François Braemer has identified movement of imported materials for the production of mosaics throughout Gaul (fig. 12).⁸⁴ In his model, a majority of imported materials arrived via ships to coastal cities and then routed to other areas of the Gallic provinces (see chapter 3).

In lieu of stone, other materials were enlisted including terracotta and glass. As terracotta could be made in any region it was an easy substitute, though the durability was not as great as that of stone. Commonly found in Roman Britain are terracotta fragments, either painted or made from a different fabric, used as a substitute for colored stones not native to Britain, especially shades of red.⁸⁵ Attested primarily in use during and after the first century CE, glass *tesserae* expanded the color palette of mosaics even more. Not much is known regarding the origins of the glass used in the mosaics, but possibilities include acquisition from local glass makers or that a glass maker could have permanent employment as a manufacturer of glass *tesserae*.⁸⁶ Glass *tesserae* were most used after mosaics began to be placed on the walls, due to their reflective nature and lighter

⁸² Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 17. For a catalogue and description of marbles and other stones used in the Roman Empire see: Amanda Claridge, *Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 40-44.

⁸³ See catalog IIIe and V; Catherine Balmelle et al, *Le Décor Géométrique De La Mosaïque Romaine, I: Répertoire Graphique et Descriptif Des Compositions Linéaires et Isotropes*. Paris: Picard, 2002), 168 fig. 111.

⁸⁴ François Braemer, "La Décoration En Matériaux Nobles (Marbres, Porphyres...)," in *Mosaïque Recueil D'hommages À Henri Stern*, ed. René Ginouvès (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1983).

⁸⁵ Neal 1976, 242.

⁸⁶ Lawrence Becker and Mark T. Wypyski, "Material Study: The Glass," in *The Arts of Antioch: Art Historical and Scientific Approaches to Roman Mosaics and a Catalogue of the Worcester Art Museum Antioch Collection*, eds. Lawrence Becker and Christine Knodoleon (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005), 49.

weight.⁸⁷ First appearing in the Emperor Nero's *Domus Aurea* golden *tesserae* could be formed by placing gold leaf between two layers of clear glass.⁸⁸ Due to the gold's shimmering appearance, these *tesserae* would become increasingly popular during the Christian and Byzantine periods, especially in Ravenna, Venice, and Istanbul.

Mosaic Makers

The Mosaicist

Considering the substantial number of mosaics of both simple and sophisticated designs, the names of known individual mosaicists is rather limited. In total, 98 names are known, 89 of which are attested through signatures placed within mosaics, and seven inscribed in stone.⁸⁹ Reporting the names of 202 artists, Pliny the Elder records only one mosaicist by name, of whom he writes:

“The most famous exponent was Sosus, who at Pergamum laid the floor of what is known in Greek as ‘the Unswept Room’ because, by means of small cubes tinted in various shades, he represented on the floor refuse from the dinner table and other sweepings, making them appear as if they had been left there. A remarkable detail in the picture is a dove, which is drinking and casts the shadow of its head on the water, while others are sunning and preening themselves on the brim of a large drinking vessel.”⁹⁰

While the original mosaic has not been discovered, an *emblema* of similar imagery was found at Hadrian's Villa, though without a signature; this suggests that the mosaic itself may have been popular due to the fame of the artist (fig. 13). The majority of the names

⁸⁷ Ling 1998, 101-05.

⁸⁸ Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 17.

⁸⁹ Rainer Vollkommer, "Greek and Roman Artists," in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Art and Architecture*, ed. Clemente Marconi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 126-27. In total the names of 2,499 artists of various mediums and architects are known.

⁹⁰ Plin. *HN* 36.184. Pliny's mention of only one mosaicist is low given that of the 202 artists he recognizes he acknowledges 90 painters and 83 sculptors.

of mosaicists are known from signatures in the mosaics formed out of pebbles or *tesserae*.⁹¹ The earliest of the known signatures comes from one of the pebble mosaics at Pella, in which Gnosis distinguished his name from the rest of the mosaic by using different colored stones.⁹² Most famous amongst the known signatures is that of Hephaistion (ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ) in the second century mosaic from the banquet hall of Palace V in Pergamon (fig. 14).⁹³ Cleverly designed, the signature appears as a *trompe l'oeil* piece of paper lying on the ground with three corners held down by red wax and the fourth lifting up, as if the artist had dropped a piece of paper with his name onto the plane of the decorated surface. Another notable example is that of a signature in the Barracks of the Vigiles at Ostia where the artist inscribed his name in both Greek and Latin: ΠΡΟΚΑΟΣ ΕΠΟΗΣΕΝ : [Pro]CLVS FECIT. The bilingual signature is unique but is interpreted as the mosaicist having originated in the east, but that due to the location in Ostia included the town's working language.⁹⁴

Still unresolved in the study of mosaics is the identification of the role that each individual had in the creation of a mosaic. Multiple titles identify different positions: the *pavimentarius*, who prepared the ground on which the mosaic would be set; the *pictor*, who drew the design on the final layer of plaster; the *tessellarius*, who laid the greater part of the mosaic; and the *musivarius*, who composed the figurative sections.⁹⁵ There

⁹¹ For a longer and more descriptive lists of these names see: Toynbee 1950, 296-98; Poulsen, 129-42.

⁹² Vollkommer, 115. This mosaic is thought to date to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE.

⁹³ Translation: "Hephaistion made [it]." The mosaic is now located in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin (Antikensammlung, Berlin, Mos. 70).

⁹⁴ C.I.L. XIV, suppl. 4755; J.M.C. Toynbee, "Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World," *Latomus* 9, no. 3 (Juillet - Septembre) (1950): 296.

⁹⁵ These titles were known during the Roman period, but there is no evidence to confirm that every mosaic made employed a person in all roles, nor to whom would be in charge. This causes

could exist a divergence of artistic standards in that one individual may have been in charge of design and the other in charge of laying the mosaic, or the entire process could be completed by one person.⁹⁶ In analysis of *rudus* layers of several mosaics, the mosaicist has been more identifiable through the discovery of footprints. In the fourth century CE bath complex of the Dewlish Roman Villa in Dorset, England a shoe imprint was discovered, evidence that an individual with larger feet, most likely a male, was working on the formation of the mosaic.⁹⁷ Alternatively, in the preparatory layers of the Lod Mosaic in Turkey, multiple footprints have been found, both with shoes and barefoot, but of a much smaller size, suggesting that perhaps women or even children were involved in the making process (fig. 15).⁹⁸

Workshops

An explanation for the appearance of larger and smaller sized feet could be evidence for a training system of a master training his apprentices in the craft.⁹⁹ While most mosaic signatures, such as the Discovery of Ariadne at Mérida with its text “*ex officina Anniponi*,” mark the aegis of a single maker, a signature has been found at Lillebonne, France attributing the mosaic to T. Sennius Felix from Pozzuoli and his apprentice Amor.¹⁰⁰ While there is certainly a need for more conclusive evidence to

a question of signatures in mosaics and which role the named artist held. Poulsen, 129; Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 17; Dunbabin 1999, 269-78.

⁹⁶ J.M.C. Toynbee, *Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World*. Vol. VI. Collection Latomus (Brussels: Société d'Études Latines, 1951), 49.

⁹⁷ Bill Putnam, *Roman Dorset*. Stroud (UK: Tempus, 2007), 101 fig. 56. The Dorset shoe size was a US size 10 (UK size 9).

⁹⁸ Rina Talgam, "The Late Roman Mosaics at Lod" in *The Lod Mosaic: A Spectacular Roman Mosaic Floor*, ed. Amir Gorzalczy (New York: Scala Arts Publishers, 2015) 70, fig 52; Wootton 2016, 71. The Lod mosaic footprints range in size from a US size 4 to 10 (UK sizes 3 – 9.5).

⁹⁹ Toynbee 1951, 49.

¹⁰⁰ Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 38. Dunbabin 1999, 272 fig. 163; Becker and Kondoleon, 39.

recognize an apprenticeship system, a possible incorporation of this practice or an alternative could be a mosaic workshop or school.¹⁰¹

On the grave stele from Ostia (fig. 9) five individuals are depicted making and transporting *tesserae*. This number of individuals at work could depict a workshop where different roles were assumed to make the needed materials needed and then lay them to form a floor. Workshops might have ranged from a small atelier to a large hierarchical workshop, probably dependent upon the need for mosaics in the area in which they were working, the complexity of the floors, and how many commissions were received at one time.¹⁰² Dunbabin proposes that during the Roman period a workshop may have been ordered as a *collegia*.¹⁰³ Possible evidence for this is an inscription in Rome dated to 19 CE that is dedicated to the Genius of the collegium of the *pavimentarii*; these “makers of pavements” could have included mosaicists within their group.¹⁰⁴ Wootton proposes that a way of looking at this culture could be through the social and cognitive anthropological conception of a community of practice.¹⁰⁵ This approach looks to more broadly understand the single or multiple mentor scenarios, the craft making lifestyle, and the broad range of skills necessary to make a mosaic, which might lead to the necessity of communal learning in a workshop.

Identifying these workshops in practice has been abstruse and slow developing without firm evidence. For example, Wightman proposes that between the mid-second and mid-third centuries the Trier-based workshop was particularly prominent, laying

¹⁰¹ Dunbabin 1999, 276.

¹⁰² Becker and Kondoleon, 40.

¹⁰³ Dunbabin 1999, 275 n. 37.

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* VI 243; *genio college pavimentariorum M. Alfius Onesimus dedic(avit)*.

¹⁰⁵ Wootton 2016, 63.

floors great distances away from Trier.¹⁰⁶ The assertion is plausible in light of the large numbers of mosaics in the area, but Wightman provides no evidence or citation for the existence of this “workshop.” Scholars adopted different approaches, such as D.J. Smith’s study of “Mosaic Schools” in Roman Britain, where based on similarities in theme, he identifies four regional schools from the fourth century CE.¹⁰⁷ Examining the mosaic of Hinton St. Mary, in northeast Dorset, Toynbee proposed that a mosaic ‘firm’ worked in the area encircling Hinton St. Mary based on date, style, and theme of the mosaics.¹⁰⁸ In a study contained within the city of Pompeii, John Clarke studied thirty *emblemata* observing from the placement and organization of *tesserae* that there was enough similarity to recognize an active workshop.¹⁰⁹ Slowly more concrete evidence is coming forward regarding mosaic workshops, but perhaps the way forward to recognize ‘signatures’ of mosaic workshops will be to perform further studies identifying tendencies of *tesserae* placement and design.

The Cost of a Mosaic

In Suetonius’ life of the deified Julius Caesar he recounts Caesar’s fondness for bringing mosaics with him on military campaigns to outfit his tent.¹¹⁰ In an effort to demonstrate the extravagant tastes of Caesar, Suetonius describes the lavish nature of

¹⁰⁶ Wightman 1985, 139.

¹⁰⁷ D.J. Smith, “The Mosaic Pavements,” in *The Roman Villa in Britain*, ed. A.L.F. Rivet (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), 95-113.

¹⁰⁸ J.M.C. Toynbee, “A New Roman Mosaic Pavement Found in Dorset,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 54, nos. 1& 2 (1964): 7-14.

¹⁰⁹ John R. Clarke, “Mosaic Workshops at Pompeii and Ostia Antica,” in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics Held at Bath, England, on September 5-12, 1987*, eds. Peter Johnson, Roger Ling, and David J. Smith (Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Mallow, 1994), 89-102. A further study can be seen in Sweetman ch. 6.

¹¹⁰ Suet. *Iul.* 46 *tessellate et sectilia pavimenta*

mosaic decoration.¹¹¹ Similarly, in a comment on the luxurious decoration, Cato the Elder describes villas “embellished to the most impressive degree, with citrus wood, ivory, and Punic pavements.”¹¹² These “Punic pavements” could represent opulence and refer to the kind of mosaics found throughout Northern Africa dating to around Cato’s declaration.¹¹³ Other examples of mosaics as an indicator of affluence come from descriptions of the Emperor Caligula’s pleasure ships on Lake Nemi having polychrome mosaics on the floor, and in the ceremonial bequeathing of the *Syrakousia*, a grand ceremonial ship, to King Ptolemy III of Egypt by Hieron II of Syracuse, in which the cabins are said to have been decorated with mosaic panels depicting scenes from the *Iliad*.¹¹⁴

In more formal recognition to the cost and value of mosaics, in the 301 CE Edict of Emperor Diocletian prices were set to regulate inflation throughout the empire. Within the edict two different prices are set for the workmanship of *tessellarii* and *musivarii*, in which the former should be paid 50 *denarii* per day and the later should be paid 60 *denarii* per day.¹¹⁵ In these legal definitions, the manufacturer of simple mosaics should be paid less than the designer of more elaborate ones.¹¹⁶ In 337 CE Constantine also issued an edict that exempted mosaicists, both *tessellarii* and *musivarii*, along with other professionals of medicine, architecture, sculpture, and carpentry from obligatory public

¹¹¹ Suetonius further describes how Caesar, upon becoming pontifex maximus, became fond of elegance and luxury and that he was a most enthusiastic collector of valuable materials such as gems, carvings, paintings, statues, and fine slaves Suet. *Iul.* 46-47.

¹¹² *ORF*⁴ 8.185 *pavimentis Poenicis*

¹¹³ Dated to around 152 BCE. See also: Dunbabin 1999, 102, n. 8; Ellen O’Gorman, “Cato the Elder and the Destruction of Carthage,” *Helios* 31, no. 1-2 (2004): 99-125.

¹¹⁴ Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt*. (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1985) 23-25; Martin, 61; Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 7; Hieron presented the ship to Ptolemy III Euergetes as famine relief after the failure of the Nile to flood sometime between 246 – 239/8.

¹¹⁵ Diocletian’s Edict 7.6.

¹¹⁶ Dunbabin 1999, 275.

service so that they could spend time to perfect their crafts.¹¹⁷ While not placing a monetary value on mosaics, Constantine's Edict demonstrates the creative and artistic value of mosaics being laid in the empire by affording the practitioners to have more time to create them.

In her thorough description of the construction of the Baths of Caracalla in Rome in the early third century CE, Janet DeLaine outlines the labor and materials that would have gone into the construction of a mosaic. Floor mosaics cover two-thirds of the ground surface of the bath complex, some 16,000 square meters that required around 96 million *tesserae*.¹¹⁸ To construct these decorative floors, labor would be needed to bring the materials, prepare them for their placement, and then place the mosaic *in situ*. DeLaine estimates that the mosaics would take 1,210 days of unskilled labor, 690 days of skilled labor, and 170 days of supervision equaling 130 days of labor per square meter.¹¹⁹ In regards to monetary costs, with the materials costing around 16,000,000 *denarii* and installation at 7,000,000 *denarii*, a total of 23,000,000 *denarii* would be necessary as the total cost of the mosaic floors.¹²⁰ While the cost for each mosaic would most likely differ based on its location in the Empire, the availability of the artist, and the source of the materials, DeLaine's work gives a starting point for establishing the monetary cost for laying a mosaic.

¹¹⁷ *Cod.Theod.* XIII.4.2; Pappalardo and Ciardiello, 38.

¹¹⁸ Janet DeLaine, *The Baths of Caracalla: A Study in the Design, Construction, and Economics of Large-Scale Building Projects in Imperial Rome* (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. Series no. 25, 1997), 24, 180.

¹¹⁹ DeLaine, 182.

¹²⁰ The materials cost is discounted as some of the materials could have certainly been repurposed from waste of other stone elements. DeLaine, 218. DeLaine estimates that this is around 1% of the total cost of the bath complex.

Chapter 3: Framing the Landscape

Defining the Landscape

Place, as a unit of lived experience, is the provenance for approaching a study of materials over a landscape.¹²¹ Not limited to a strictly physical place, multiple dimensions may include: temporal, geological, historical, material, spatial, and any other facet relevant to the topic at hand. These places eventually form a singular entity, a landscape, consisting of a series of layers that when complied together form the canvas on which a topic is presented and evaluated. While each topical layer may constitute a landscape in their own right, it is when they are combined that they make a larger impact. Not stagnant, “landscapes are inherently dynamic and historically sensitive, altering to accommodate change in the political and social order.”¹²² Indeed this is as the case for considering any kind of landscape and its contribution to a larger narrative. In this regard, Anschuetz et. al. write, “A landscape approach provides a framework for assessing sources of behavioral variability in the archaeological record and allow observations in a context beyond the limits of the physical locations and boundaries of sites”¹²³ Due to the infinite amount of landscapes that could be included in a study it is necessary to establish constraints, or define the specific layers that are to be considered as the landscape.

Mosaics with geometric patterns occur throughout the Roman Empire and the enormity of the number of mosaics that would have to be considered would be far too

¹²¹ Edward S. Casey, “Place in Landscape Archaeology: A Western Philosophical Prelude,” in *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, ed. Bruno David and Julian Thomas (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), 44-50.

¹²² Susan Alcock, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993), 7.

¹²³ Kurt F. Anschuetz, Richard H. Wilshusen, and Cherie L. Scheick. "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 2 (2001): 191.

extensive for a thesis. Accommodating this, the goal is to not be concerned by the absolute scale, but rather look at two provinces and their relation to each other.¹²⁴ These two provinces of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica* are situated within the larger region known as Gaul in the western half of the Roman Empire. As these are not naturally outlined units, they are considered here in their historical context as formed by the Romans.¹²⁵ Each of the two provinces has a river as a prominent geographical feature: the Rhône in *Gallia Narbonensis* and the Moselle in *Gallia Belgica*. Along these rivers, permanent cities formed at various points in time provide the locations in which the mosaics considered in this thesis are located. To understand and constrain the landscape of study, this chapter outlines the temporal landscape, the geographical, historical, and political landscapes of both considered provinces and their cities, and the communication among designers and patrons of mosaics across these landscapes.¹²⁶

The Temporal Landscape

As the use of mosaics as a decorative floor and wall treatment began in the fourth millennium BCE and continues as a form of decoration to contemporary times, it is necessary to define the temporal landscape in which to study a particular phenomenon of mosaics. This formation of a time span frames the history of relevant developments and

¹²⁴ Lesley McFadyen, "Building and Architecture as Landscape Practice," in *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, ed. Bruno David and Julian Thomas (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), 307-314.

¹²⁵ Veronica Strang, "Uncommon Ground: Landscape as Social Geography," in *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, ed. Bruno David and Julian Thomas (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), 51-59.

¹²⁶ The mosaics themselves also form a material landscape. They have been described in chapter one, will be analyzed regionally in chapter four and can be seen in the mosaic catalog.

events that occurred within the defined regions considered in this thesis.¹²⁷ Briefly, the consideration of the mosaics found in *Gallia Narbonensis* prior to the first century CE present evidence of early incorporation of Roman and Greek styles of mosaics into the south. Primarily the time span is the first to third centuries CE after the conquest of the entirety of Gaul by Caesar and the pacification that occurred under Augustus (see below). This period represents the height of the Imperial period and falls before the later so-called crisis of the third century CE crisis throughout the empire. It is during this period that mosaics are laid prolifically though out the Mediterranean that was under Roman control and influence.

The Southern Landscape: *Gallia Narbonensis*

In the first century CE, Pliny the Elder wrote: “The part of the Gauls which is washed by the Mediterranean is labeled the Narbonese province....In agriculture, in worthiness of men and manners, in greatness of wealth, it should be placed second to none of the provinces; in short [it is] Italy more than a province (Pliny *NH* 3.5.4).¹²⁸

Nestled beneath the mountain ranges of the Pyrenees to the southwest, the Cévennes and the Massif Central in the north, and the Alps to the east, *Gallia Narbonensis* possesses a geologically natural barrier from the rest of mainland Europe. Further, its position on the north end of the Mediterranean Sea offers the possibility of trade and cultural interactions. Climatically the area is more Mediterranean than continental which permits

¹²⁷ Michael P. Heilen, Michael B. Schiffer, and Jefferson Reid, “Landscape Formation Process,” in *Handbook of Landscape Archaeology*, ed. Bruno David and Julian Thomas (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), 603.

¹²⁸ See also Strabo 4.1.2-11 for a description of the province.

the growing of olives, grapes, and various herbs.¹²⁹ Salt, gold, and tin were extracted and exported from the region, in addition to a large amount of fish products. Facilitating this verdant and bountiful environment is the Rhône River, which Pliny described as “by far the most fertile of the rivers in the Gallic provinces” (Pliny *NH* 3.33).¹³⁰ Dominating the province both geographically and economically, the river originates in the Swiss Alps and travels a distance of 505 miles to drain into the Mediterranean.¹³¹ Providing a rich agricultural river basin the Rhône facilitated plentiful crops as well as an excellent trading route (see chapter II).

Gallia Narbonensis’ foundation as a Roman province follows the political trajectory of much of the Mediterranean: beginning with a local population, an establishment of a Greek colony, gradual Roman influence, and its eventual establishment as province. The foundation date for the Phocaean¹³² Greek ‘colony’ of Massalia (modern day Marseille) is traditionally dated to 600 BCE, though Carthaginians and Etruscan interactions occurred previously.¹³³ Political relations between the colonial

¹²⁹ Trevor A. Hodge, *Ancient Greek France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 151-8.

¹³⁰ “*multo Galliarum fertilissimus*”

¹³¹ Brian Campbell, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 263.

¹³² Phocaea is located on the western coast of Anatolia. The Ionian city also founded the colonies of Emporion in Spain and Elea in southern Italy after the foundation of Marseille. See Plin. *NH* 3.5.

¹³³ Garcia and Sourisseau 2017 point out the anachronism of the use of the term colonialism as the word origin comes from the Latin *colonia* which has a very different Roman application. Further villages appear in the immediate region following the establishment of Marseille and have their own histories. For the purposes of this thesis the area will be referred to as the Massalian area intended to include the Hellenized establishments around. If speaking solely about Marseille it will be referred to as such a political entity. For further information on the Gallic peoples that inhabited the region prior to foreign settlement see: Andrew C. Johnson, *The Sons of Remus: Identity in Roman Gaul and Spain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), especially chapter three.

shores of southern Gaul and Rome occurred following the sack of Rome in 390 BCE.¹³⁴ Massalia assisted Rome in the defense against Hannibal during the second Punic War (218 – 201 BCE) and Rome assisted Massalia from sea-faring pirates throughout the first half of the second century BCE.¹³⁵ It is at this time that mosaics are known to appear throughout southern France, with possible earlier dates.

An alliance existed between Marseille and Rome from 154 until 125 BCE when Rome was asked for military aid against the Salyii. Romans again claimed victory and established a Roman military *colonia* at Aquae Sextiae, in 124 BCE, firmly establishing a firm Roman presence in the region.¹³⁶ In 118 BCE the town of Narbo was founded and became the capital of the Roman province named *Gallia Narbonensis*.¹³⁷ At this same point in time the construction of the Via Domitia connected Gaul to Rome, the western regions of Gaul, and Hispania. Roman government was implemented into the region and Pompey the Great recruited troops as he passed through *Gallia Narbonensis* on his way to Spain.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ Rachel Feig Vishnia, “The Territories in-between: Marseille, Rome and the Gauls,” in *Greek Marseille and Mediterranean Celtic Region*, ed. Sophie Bouffier and Dominique Garcia (New York: Peter Lang, 2017), 197.

¹³⁵ Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 159.

¹³⁶ Hodge 1999, 101; A.L.F. Rivet, *Gallia Narbonensis: Southern France in Roman Times* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1988), 39-40. In 125 BCE the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus was sent to deal with this incursion but was unable to have a decisive victory and so C.Sextus Calvinus was sent to extinguish the hostiles. Despite his losses, Flaccus was given a triumph in 123 BCE.

¹³⁷ James C. Anderson, *Roman Architecture in Provence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 3; There is a long-standing debate over the date of an officially established province. Rivet (1988 47-48) follows the traditional view of an established province around 120 BCE, but he does recognize Baidan’s points for the formal recognition of the Narbonese province only after the Roman Revolutions. This vexation can also be attributed to the uncertainty over the use of the word *colonia* as mentioned above.

¹³⁸ According to Plutarch, Pompey was not only given power in Spain, but also in *Gallia Narbonensis* Plut. *Vit. Pomp.* 16, 17-18; Sallust recounts a letter presented to the Senate in which Pompey claims to have recovered Gaul, along with the Pyrenees, Lacetania, and the Indigetes (*Hist.* II.98). Unfortunately, neither Sallust nor Pompey state which part of Gaul had been

During the Roman Civil Wars, the alliances of different cities within *Gallia Narbonensis* determined the fates of many. In 58 BCE Julius Caesar, as Pompey had, recruited heavily in the south for his initial campaigns in Gaul.¹³⁹ For seven further years Caesar remained in Gaul conquering some 200,000 square miles.¹⁴⁰ A key event occurred with the siege of Marseille, which had decided to side with Pompey. After his departure in 51 BCE Caesar never returned to Gaul except to pass through on his way to Spain in the war between him and Pompey when Caesar laid siege to Massalia for their support of Pompey.¹⁴¹ Eventually the city fell and Arles gained a more prominent status (see below).

Caesar advanced the province's status by assigning, in 46 BCE, Tiberius Claudius Nero to found *coloniae* throughout the region and Suetonius (Suet. *Tib.* 4.1) describes the addition of Roman military veterans receiving land in these newly enfranchised cities. All of Gaul, especially the south was becoming increasingly influenced and occupied by Romans. Cicero writes, "Gaul is stuffed with businessmen, full of Roman citizens. No Gaul conducts business without a Roman citizen. Not one small coin is used in commerce without the account books of the Roman citizens" (Cic. *Font.* V.11). Following the Treaty of Brundisium in the fall of 40 BCE Octavian gained the entirety of the west as Antony took the east. Wishing to maintain peace in Gaul, M. Vipsanius Agrippa was sent as Proconsul to Gaul from 39-38 BCE, returning to Rome as consul in 37 BCE.¹⁴²

reclaimed, it does suggest that there were continued disturbances in the area. Despite any possible unsettledness, the province was able to support Pompey and his armies while they wintered near the Mediterranean.

¹³⁹ Caes. *B Gall.*, 1.7;

¹⁴⁰ Anthony King, *Roman Gaul and Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 42-54.

¹⁴¹ Rivet, 66-68; Christopher S. Mackay, *The Breakdown of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 255.

¹⁴² Rivett, 78.

Victorious at the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, the young Octavian became Augustus in 27 BCE and all of Gaul, including *Narbonensis* was placed under imperial control. Augustus returned to Gaul in 26 BCE and with this visit the first census was taken.¹⁴³ Peace was maintained in Gaul, so much so, that in 22 BCE Augustus placed *Gallia Narbonensis* under the control of the senate. Over the next decade, Agrippa returned in 20-19 BCE and order the construction of northerly roads, and Augustus returned for an extended stay from 16-13 BCE, patronizing the building of gates and walls in Nîmes and Vienne, in addition to the bettering of the roads leading to Italy.¹⁴⁴

In the post-revolutionary period, the common market factor stimulated trade in and out of Gaul, especially the southern province with easy movement traveling the Rhône.¹⁴⁵ From *Gallia Narbonensis* came agricultural goods such as wheat, fish, various types of wool, oil, and especially the regions wine.¹⁴⁶ In addition, raw materials such as iron, copper, lead, and silver were extracted and exported along with pottery.¹⁴⁷ The resulting prosperity led the first century CE geographer Pomponius Mela to include Vaison-la-Romain, Vienne, Nîmes, and Arles on his list of the *urbes opulentissimae* or most opulent/richest cities in the empire (II 5, 75). This affluence could also be seen in the public building projects of theaters, temples, amphitheaters, baths, and aqueducts throughout the entire province.¹⁴⁸ This copiousness was not lost to Rome as numerous consuls in the first century CE came from cities within *Gallia Narbonensis* indicative of

¹⁴³ Cass. Dio LIV 4.4

¹⁴⁴ Aug. *RG* xii, 2; See descriptions of individual cities later in this chapter.

¹⁴⁵ Hodge, 109; see chapter III for further discussion on movement of goods throughout the province.

¹⁴⁶ Plin. *HN* III, 31.

¹⁴⁷ Rivet, 84.

¹⁴⁸ See the individual cities' projects in their individual descriptions.

the influence the region had in Rome.¹⁴⁹ This can further be substantiated with the senators of *Narbonensis* being granted the right to visit their estates without having imperial permission by Claudius in 49 CE; a right that had only been bestowed upon the Sicilians.¹⁵⁰

Usually peaceful and with far less threat from the north, there is little recorded history of *Gallia Narbonensis* in the first two centuries CE.¹⁵¹ Both the administration and finances were well run for the province and with its continued prosperity of agricultural and material production the province flourished. The archaeological record attests to these favorable conditions with large volumes of trade, opulent houses, and developed cities found throughout the province. As with much of the Roman Empire, following the death of Nero in 68 CE there was turmoil throughout the province with fractious parties. Fortunately, *Gallia Narbonensis* sided with Vespasian and order returned as the political disruptions lessened. In 212 CE, all free people of Gaul were granted Roman citizenship under the *Constitution Antoniniana*, contributing to greater Roman identity throughout the territory.¹⁵² Throughout the Third Century Crisis (235 – 284 CE) *Gallia Narbonensis* was undoubtedly affected by the instability of the trade networks in the empire, but it seems that the province itself did not suffer tremendously, land continued to be bountiful and quotidian life seems to have changed little. Later in the

¹⁴⁹ This list includes: D. Valerius Asiaticus (cos. 35 CE), M. Vestinus Atticus (cos. 65 CE) and L. Pompeius Vopiscus (cos. 69 CE) from Vienne; Cn. Domitius Afer (cos. 39 CE) from Nîmes; L. Duvius Avitus (cos. 56 CE) from Vaison-la-Romaine; and Pompeius Pullinus (cos. c. 53 CE) from Arles. For a full list of consuls from the province see Rivet 1988 pages 87-89.

¹⁵⁰ Rivet, 85; Tac. *Ann.* XII 23, I.

¹⁵¹ Rivet, 89. This is unfortunate for the purposes of this thesis due to the concentration of study during the 1st – 3rd centuries CE. This does allow for the understanding that the people in *Gallia Narbonensis* during this period were generally doing well in terms of their economic and social position within the empire.

¹⁵² Cass. Dio LXXVIII 9,5.

third century, from 259 to 260 CE and again from 270 to 280 CE, barbarian invasions from the east impacted the region as seen in the archaeological record through evidence of fires in cities and foreign occupation of hill-forts.¹⁵³ By the late third century CE, a withdrawal to the countryside and a decline in urban centers began, especially amongst the elite.¹⁵⁴ In 314 CE Emperor Diocletian's administrative reorganization of the Empire merged *Gallia Narbonensis* and her westerly neighbor *Gallia Aquitania* into a single administrative unit named *Dioecesis Viennensis* with the capital more inland at Vienne.

Mosaics appeared early along the Rhône River and their numbers only increased as the region increasingly became under Roman control. By the mid-first century CE domestic architecture within the region followed conventional layouts of residences found in Italy. An element of this formulaic style was the décor throughout the home, especially that of mosaic. Shifting centers for the province, such as Arles and Vienne, demonstrate that mosaics appeared more frequently in cities that had gained more stature. As *Gallia Narbonensis* flourished throughout the first to third centuries CE through production and trade, social elites commissioned more mosaics and of more intricate designs. The following sections provide detailed descriptions and histories of the five cities considered in this study found within the proximity of the Rhône River.

*Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (Glanum)*¹⁵⁵

Set just outside the north end of a gorge through the Alpilles, this location was originally a Celto-Ligurian trading area with no evidence for a permanent settlement and

¹⁵³ Rivet, 93.

¹⁵⁴ Ralph W. Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul* (Austin: University of Austin Press, 1993), 9. This publication describes the period following that of this study, but provides an introduction for the end of the 3rd century CE.

¹⁵⁵ For an overview of the site see Cleere 2001 158-9; Bromwich 1996 202-04; Delestre and Salvat 2011.

uncertain dates for the onset of its use as an occupied site.¹⁵⁶ Interaction with Greek colonists from Marseille to the south eventually led to what had been simply a trading outpost to become a permanent Greek settlement by the early second century BCE. The Greeks named the city Glanom after the sanctuary of Glan, an important religious site, and certainly a factor in the decision to form the permanent settlement there. A temple was constructed in the early second century BCE at Glanum; it was destroyed but then rebuilt in the last quarter of the same century. Hellenistic houses, similar in plan to those on the island of Delos, were decorated with Corinthian pilasters, mosaic floors, and colonnaded peristyles, testifying not only to the wealth of the owners and the city, but also the magnitude of Hellenistic influence.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, the town possessed a Greek bouleuterion and an agora constructed around the same time as the rebuilding of the temple to Glan.¹⁵⁸

A Roman presence can be detected by the third century BCE which increased during the period of the Massaliote/Roman alliances (154 – 125 BCE). It is thought that these initial and continuing encounters were peaceful, as were those with the neighboring cities, because the city did not construct defensive walls despite its vulnerable position next to the Alpilles.¹⁵⁹ In 90 BCE the city was attacked again and rebuilding commenced again, but this time the city incorporated more Italic type elements as well as adopting the name of Glanum. A Roman style forum, a basilica, a curia, and two temples on high

¹⁵⁶ Anderson, 2013, 28.

¹⁵⁷ Hodge, 157.

¹⁵⁸ Heyn, 178-79.

¹⁵⁹ Hodge, 153.

podia replaced predecessors of Greek types.¹⁶⁰ It was during this transitional building period that the so-called House of Sulla has its mosaic installed (appx. B: I.b). Further Roman adoptions came at the end of the first century BCE with the installation of public baths and several private homes had private bathing chambers added as well.¹⁶¹ The most famous monuments of the site, the *Antiques* as they are known in modern times, the mausoleum/cenotaph of the Iulii and the freestanding arch (possibly a commemorative dedication) were erected at either the very end of the first century BCE or in the first century CE (fig. 16). Archaeological evidence for the following period indicates a stable and prosperous town. In 259-60 and in 270-80 CE, evidence of fires and the construction of military hill-forts in *Gallia Narbonensis* exhibit multiple causes of destruction. While other cities were able to recover and rebuild, Glanum was completely abandoned for reasons that are now obscure.

Arles (Arlate)

Archaeological evidence indicates a Greek presence in Arles going back to the sixth century BCE, when the city was named Theline, though it was not a formally established colony.¹⁶² Prior to this there had been some local occupation, but nothing consistent with a permanent settlement. The first textual mention of *Arlate* appears in Caesar's *Gallic Wars* when he describes his use of the city to build ships for his siege on Marseille in 49 BCE (Caes. *BC* 1.36 II.5). In gratitude for this assistance, Caesar founded *Colonia Julia Paterna Arelate Sexternum* possibly adjacent to the earlier Greek city, as

¹⁶⁰ Maura K. Heyn, "Monumental Development in Glanum: Evidence for the Early Impact of Rome in Gallia Narbonensis," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 19, no. 2 (2006); Anderson 2013 31

¹⁶¹ Anderson, 2013, 25.

¹⁶² Érik Teyssier, *Arles La Romaine* (Nîmes: Alcide, 2016), 11-19; Hodge, 160. – Possibly to the same time as the founding of Marseille.

the Roman city has a *cardo* and *decumanus* indicative of Roman planning. Arles continued to benefit under Caesar when they sided with him rather than with Pompey. Neighboring Marseille chose to align themselves with Pompey, and after the war, Caesar proclaimed that all trade went to Arles, supplanting Marseille as the trading center for *Gallia Narbonensis*.¹⁶³

Optimally located, Arles was positioned for crossing the Rhône connecting Aix to the east and Nîmes to the west, or continuing north towards Vienne and Lyon. Veterans of Caesar's sixth legion were granted land around the area, which is attested to by the large number of inscriptions accounting the importance of the city to legionnaires.¹⁶⁴ Arles remained in imperial favor well into the second century. A forum, theater, amphitheater, multiple temples, aqueducts, and city walls were all constructed throughout the period.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, a forecourt to a temple area, possibly a *forum adiectum*, is thought by scholars to have imperial patronage due to its similar location and resemblance to several imperial fora in Rome.¹⁶⁶ With its control over the entrance to the Rhône from the Mediterranean and its location along the Roman roads Arles thrived. A testament of this can be seen in the need to form a suburb across the river in

¹⁶³ Hodge, 108-09; Teyssier 2016, 64-67.

¹⁶⁴ CIL XII 654-977, ILGN 103-42 and others

¹⁶⁵ Leveau 1996; The amphitheater must date after 80 CE due to technical incorporations not known until the construction of the Colosseum in Rome. The amphitheater is one of the largest in the region with two stories, sixty arcades, and measuring 136.2 x 106.75 m.

¹⁶⁶ Concerning the placement of this additional space it resembles Caesar's Forum placed immediately next to the forum. The space itself has exedrae and apsed hemicycles much like the Forum of Augustus and later fora including Trajan's and the Temple of Peace. See Anderson 2013, 43; For imperial fora see Ulrich 1993; Anderson 1984; Claridge 2010; Zanker 1990. The dating of the structure has been debated heavily but it was certainly constructed during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, see Rivet 1988 193. An aqueduct was constructed during the time of Trajan. Little of the city walls is extant today and the dating is uncertain.

Trinquetaille.¹⁶⁷ Throughout Arles and Trinquetaille wealthy homes were ornamented with large amounts of frescos, statuary, and mosaics. The five mosaics considered from this study come from three houses, of which two are found in Arles and one is found in Trinquetaille, though the city is known to have many more houses with mosaics.

Nîmes (Nemausus)

Nîmes' origins date back to the Bronze Age, primarily due to a spring sacred to Nemausus located at the base of Mont Cavalier (Pliny *NH* 3.37). Archaeological evidence has identified a Celtic oppidum but little is known about the people that occupied the town.¹⁶⁸ Roman control was established around 120 BCE due to the construction of the Via Domitia linking Spain and western France to Italy. The chronology of the city's imperial status remains uncertain. It is possible that Caesar granted Nîmes the status of *ius Latii* in recognition of their loyalty during Vercingetorix's revolt in 52 BCE, although inscriptions in the city read *Colonia Augusta Nemausus Voltinia tribu* implying that the city's elevated status had to occur after Octavian's assumption to the title of Augustus in 27 BCE.¹⁶⁹ To complicate things further, coins minted prior to Octavian's entrance into the political sphere read COL NEM, indicating colonial status before 27 BCE.¹⁷⁰

The remains of the city exhibit a Roman plan with a forum appearing at the intersection of the *cardo* and *decumanus*, around which multiple buildings of imperial patronage were located, including a circus, an odeon, a theater, and the Maison Carée.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ A mosaic found in Ostia depicts the bridge that connected Trinquetaille to Arles, see Chevallier, pl. XXVI.

¹⁶⁸ Éric Teyssier, *Nîmes La Romaine* (Nîmes: Alcide, 2014), 18-19.

¹⁶⁹ Anderson, 2013, 50.

¹⁷⁰ Kraay, 75-87; Rivet, 162.

¹⁷¹ For the dating of the Maison Carée see Anderson 2001, Anderson 2013, and Fabre, Fiches, and Paillet 1991; dedicatory inscription CIL 12.3156.

Additionally, extensive circuit walls large enough to enclose the city's amphitheater were erected around the city,¹⁷² attributed to Augustus by an inscription on the so-named Augustan Gate (fig. 17).¹⁷³ The Nemausus spring was ornamented with marble lining for its pools, sculpted marble basins, and porticos leading to nearby *thermae* following with water from the sacred spring. Water was essential to Nîmes, and the city's aqueducts brought water to the castellum divisorium where eight pipes diverted the water throughout the city. The city prospered well into the second century CE as Pompeia Plotina, the wife of the Emperor Trajan, had familial ties to Nîmes and after her death, Hadrian dedicated a basilica to her in Nîmes.¹⁷⁴ Nîmes amassed over eighty mosaics, an immense statuary collection, and has over 2,000 inscriptions, but, despite this, by the middle of the fourth century CE the city appears to have been mostly deserted.¹⁷⁵

Vaison-la-Romaine (Vasio)

Vaison-la-Romaine appears first on Mela's list of *urbes opulentissimae*.¹⁷⁶ Formerly a city of the Vocontii, Vaison never becomes a *colonia* itself, but rather received the name *Vasio Iulia Vocontiorum*. While there have been multiple excavations in different areas around the city, the dating of Vaison remains uncertain. The Roman levels first appear with the construction of the Maison au Dauphin around 40-30 BCE;

¹⁷² The amphitheater was built post-Augustan times and could hold 20,000 spectators. The dating is uncertain but likely occurred at time of Domitian or Nerva (75-97). An inscription of the architect reading *T. Crispius Reburus fecit*, does not help with the dating as the name has not been discovered elsewhere. See Rivet 1988 165 n. 24 on the complications of dating.

¹⁷³ CE CIL 12.3151 IMP. CAESAR DIVI F. AUGUSTUS COC. XI TRIB. POTES. VII PORTAS MUROS COL. DAT. Caesar Augustus, imperator, son of the divine Julius Caesar, consul for the eleventh time, tribune for the eighth time, gives these gates and these walls to the colony.

¹⁷⁴ Cass. Dio LXIX 10, 3

¹⁷⁵ Rivet, 163.

¹⁷⁶ Pomponius Mela 2.5.75

upon these lower foundations are floors dating from the 70s–90s CE. Shops appear to be constructed in the second half of the first century CE, when a city plan was initiated, but the irregularities of the streets were never straightened out. During the second century CE Vaison developed into a wealthy hill down dominated by opulent mansions.¹⁷⁷ Much of this building occurred in the area west of the central town where the archaeological record testifies to the flourishing of Vaison in the second and first half of the third centuries CE with multiple residences having elaborate decoration made from rich materials.¹⁷⁸ While there are multiple sites with mosaics, the mosaics from Vaison included in this study come from the so-called “House of the Peacock” due to the range of patterns found in the multiple mosaics from the residence. At the onset of the Third Century Crisis, evidence of fires appears, especially around 259-60 and 270-80 CE. Vaison diminished considerably, though it had a revival during the Medieval period when the area south of the river was inhabited.

Vienne (Vienna)

Northernmost along the Rhône in *Gallia Narbonensis*, the city now known as Vienne first functioned as an important stronghold for the Allobroges. Falling to Rome in 121 BCE, the city incurred two further destructions, one in 105 BCE and the other around 62-61 BCE. Caesar passed through Vienne on his way into Gaul in 58 BCE and on his way out in 52 BCE, noting that the people of Vienne had sided with him rather than their Gallic neighbors to the north.¹⁷⁹ While the dating of Vienne’s establishment as a full *colonia* is debatable, a reasonable suggestion could be that Caesar granted them this

¹⁷⁷ Rivet, 288-89.

¹⁷⁸ Yves de Kisch, *La Villa du Paon Le Quartier des Boutiques Vaison-la-Romain* Mairie 1990, 6.

¹⁷⁹ Caes. *B Gall.* 6.11, 28; and 7.64-5.

status as he left Gaul, but it was not until 40 CE that Caligula gave Vienna full Latin status and the name *Colonia Iulia Augusta Florentia Vienna*.¹⁸⁰ Like Arles, Vienne also become a legionary settlement for both Caesar and Augustus's troops.¹⁸¹

Imperial patronage in Vienne was strong, beginning with Augustus patronizing the circuit walls around the city in 16-15 BCE.¹⁸² This was followed by a theater in the first century CE, a circus, a large number of baths, a Temple to Augustus and Livia, and an odeon (fig. 18).¹⁸³ In the late first century or early second century CE the city did expand outside its walls and a suburb developed on the left bank of the Rhône, now called Saint-Romain-en-Gal.¹⁸⁴ Twelve luxurious villas, most adorned with mosaics, have been found in this residential area, a testament to the wealth of the city. Like many cities within *Gallia Narbonensis*, Vienne too succumbed to the threats and economic instability of the third century CE, and by the end of the century the city was abandoned.

The Northern Landscape: *Gallia Belgica*

Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres (Caes. *B Gall* 1.1)

These famous opening words of Caesar's Gallic Wars describe a Gaul divided in three parts. In this statement, Caesar wrote not of *Gallia Narbonensis*, but of her northern

¹⁸⁰ A. Pelletier, *Vienne Antique: De La Conquête Romaine Aux Invasions Alamanniques* (Lyon: Imprimerie Bosc Frères, 1982).

¹⁸¹ Rivet, 75.

¹⁸² These walls, at 7,250 meters and with eight gates, were the largest of all the defensive walls in Gaul. For the dedicatory inscription see *ILGN* 263.

¹⁸³ The theater, the second largest in Gaul after Autun, has some slight challenges with a more precise date, see Sear 2006 252-53. The dating of the Temple to Augustus and Livia most likely was donated by Hadrian, but it is possible that it was donated by Antoninus Pius. In addition, Hadrian would patron the odeon in Vienne, though it may have been to replace an earlier Claudian version. See Anderson 2013 49 following Rivet 1988 309 and Pelletier 1982 217-21.

¹⁸⁴ P. Goodman, *The Roman City and Its Periphery from Rome to Gaul* (London: Routledge, 2007), 101-103, 115-117, 125-128, 147-149, 162-164.

neighbors: *Gallia Aquitania*, *Gallia Lugdunensis*, and *Gallia Belgica*. Caesar conquered the region during the 50s BCE and declared that of all the Gauls “the Belgae are the most courageous, because they are farthest removed from the culture and the civilization of the Province” (Caes. *B Gall.* 1.1). Situated within the triangular space between the Seine River to the west and the Rhine River to the east, Belgic Gaul is bordered by the sea with the English Channel and the North Sea framing the region to the north.¹⁸⁵ Throughout the southern region of the province, multiple river valleys crisscross across the landscape providing rich farmland, especially for viniculture. The many rivers, including the Moselle, Marne, Meuse, Sambre, and Aisne, facilitate easy movement around the province and communication between the different valleys. Additionally, they provide another food source with schools of fish swimming in their waters. Within the hills and mountains formed over time by the rivers, there are ample supplies of minerals and other useful ores. Closer to the sea to the north, rich flat land allows for bountiful plantings in the land’s loess, but more sandy soil restricts harvest sizes. Due to the formation of defined areas on the flat lands or between the rivers distinct cultural areas formed leading to a diverse group of tribes, including the Treveri, Mediomatrici, Leuci, Sequani, and the Helvettii.¹⁸⁶ Situated along the various rivers, these tribes formed independent groups living in hill-forts and many even had their own coinage systems.¹⁸⁷ These different tribes claimed Germanic origins dating back to the first millennium BCE, collectively called the

¹⁸⁵ Makes up what is now Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, part of western Germany.

¹⁸⁶ The distinct characteristics of the tribes may not have been entirely observed by Caesar, but that Caesar recognized the importance of different leaders lending support to him. See: Colin Haselgrove, “Culture Process on the Periphery: Belgic Gaul and Rome During the Late Republic and Early Empire” in *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, eds. Michael Rowlands, Mogens Larsen, and Kristian Kristiansen (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987), 111.

¹⁸⁷ Edith M. Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1970), 28-29.

Germani Cisrhenani, but had developed into distinct groups over time. While the groups were in contact with each other and trade occurred, by 250 BCE distinct designs of fortification and funerary monuments attest to the distinct cultures that each tribe had developed.¹⁸⁸ Contact with their Mediterranean bordering neighbors to the south existed prior to Caesar's conquests, but it occurred on the tribe's own terms. Imported to the north were items not native to the region, such as olive oils, pottery, or ores. These tribes had a tremendous impact on Caesar's success in the region, and eventually they transitioned to an ostensibly Roman way of life.¹⁸⁹

After Caesar's conquest in the 50s BCE, what became *Gallia Belgica* remained primarily under Roman control, and much of the freedoms that the region had before were limited, primarily due to the continued presence of Roman legionnaires. A key difference was the shift of control to the Romans over what was imported and exported from the region. Almost immediately trade increased to bring more goods from the south to the north.¹⁹⁰ In 27 BCE Augustus ordered a census be taken, and in 22 BCE Agrippa divided Gaul into the three northern Gallic provinces.¹⁹¹ Defined in 22 BCE, *Gallia Belgica*'s borders altered slightly over the later centuries. It was also at this point that provincial administration following the Roman formula was implemented in the region.¹⁹² After the establishment of a system of governance throughout the region, the

¹⁸⁸ Lothar Schwinden, Hans Nortmann, and Peter Seewaldt, *Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier*, trans. François Reinert (Trier: Ensich, 1994), 5.

¹⁸⁹ For more on the transformation process of "Romanization": see Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁹⁰ Wightman 1985, 48. A key reason for this increase has been attributed to the roads leading out from Lyon (see chapter 3).

¹⁹¹ Wightman 1985, 45.

¹⁹² John Rogan, *Roman Provincial Administration* (Chalford, UK: Amberley, 2011).

first century CE saw the implementation of Roman urban layouts, an onset in the construction of public buildings, and an increased number of private Roman-style villas, especially in and around the larger settlements.¹⁹³

In the early years of the empire *Gallia Belgica* remained relatively at peace, despite the minor disagreement in tribute or administration. Having been born in Lyon himself, the emperor Claudius paid attention to the Gallic provinces, but he was limited in his efforts due to his military exploits into Britain.¹⁹⁴ The year of four emperors, 69 CE, brought great amounts of attention to Gaul as much of the contest between the contenders, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, occurred in the northern Gallic provinces. Following the tumultuous year, the northern Gallic provinces and western Germania were put under a greater amount of supervision to try to ensure no future reoccurrences of legionary support for pretenders to the throne. With the established administration, *Gallia Belgica* existed in relative peace until the end of the second century CE. It is at this point, in 173 CE, that the need to repel the Chauci, a German tribe attempting to make their way west. The attempted invasion was quelled by Emperor Septimius Severus in 197 CE near Lyon and the province returned to its tranquil state for only a short period of time. During the Third Century Crisis (235 – 284 CE) Roman control of Gaul abated and in 260 CE M. Cassianus Latinius Postumus became emperor of the newly formed Gallic Empire centralized in Cologne.¹⁹⁵ Capable of stopping incursions by the Franks, the new empire

¹⁹³ Whiteman 1985, 75-114

¹⁹⁴ Whiteman 1985, 66.

¹⁹⁵ For background information of the Third Century Crisis see: Adam Ziolkowski, "The Background to the Third-Century Crisis of the Roman Empire," in *The Roman Empire in Context: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, eds. Johann P. Arnason and Kurt A. Raaflaub (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). For a summary of the Third Century Crisis and archaeological evidence in the western empire see: Simon Esmonde Cleary, *The Roman West, AD*

was reconquered by the Romans under Emperor Aurelian following the Battle of Châlons-en-Champagne in 274 CE as part of his reunification of the empire. Following this reunification, Germanic tribes from the west began a series of attacks and invasions into the province that continued well into the fourth century CE.¹⁹⁶ Around 300 CE, the Emperor Diocletian restructured the provinces, dividing Belgica into two different provinces: Belgica Prima and Belgica Secunda.

Early on the region that became *Gallia Belgica* had contact with its southern neighbors, but it was not until after the Roman conquest of Gaul that mosaics would appear. As Roman influence and infrastructure made its way into the region, mosaics, already in developed forms would be introduced. Along the Moselle, residences in both Nennig and Trier had multiple mosaics, some of which are extremely complex in design. As a major trade and administrative center, Trier flourished and its wealthy residents constructed opulent houses in and around the city that formed the highest concentration of mosaics in *Gallia Belgica*.

Trier (Trevorum or Augusta Treverorum)

Trier was originally established as a settlement in the fourth century BCE by the Celts. As with the rest of the region it was conquered by the Romans during Caesar's campaigns of the 50s BCE. The Treveri proved to be a great asset to Caesar as they aligned with the Romans, and their connections to the tribes across the Rhine benefited Caesar in his further conquests.¹⁹⁷ During the first half of the reign of Augustus a fort

200-500: *An Archaeological Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), especially chapter one.

¹⁹⁶ Wightman 1985, 199.

¹⁹⁷ For a descriptive social history of the Treveri see Wightman 1970, especially chapter one, and Wightman 1985.

was established at Trier because the location controlled a crucial crossing of the Moselle on the road leading from Lyon to the Rhine.¹⁹⁸ While the fort and the stationing of military personnel in Trier ended early in the first century CE, the civil settlement that built up around the fort endured through time. As with many fort towns throughout the Roman Empire, the streets were laid out in a gridded system with the *cardo* running from the North to the South and a *decumanus* running from east to the west.¹⁹⁹ It appears that during Augustus' time in Gaul from 16-13 BCE, he recognized the importance of Trier and bequeathed its name of *Augusta Treverorum*; during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, Trier was elevated to the rank of colony.²⁰⁰ Due to its location in southwestern *Gallia Belgica* and situation on the sea and road networks Trier became a central distribution center for the army as well as the regional population.

A period of construction of monumental architecture ushered in the second century CE for Trier. One of the first of these works was the amphitheater situated on the eastern border of the city. Originally an earthen structure, the area was later encased in stone and formed a portion of the city walls that were built to encircle the city.²⁰¹ In 196 CE the peaceful development of Trier paused due to invasions from the west and it is possible that the city walls were constructed because of this intrusion. An example of one of the four gates can be seen in the imposing *Porta Nigra* (Black Gate) that still stands today (fig. 19).²⁰² In the middle of the second century CE a stone bridge was constructed

¹⁹⁸ J.F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC – AD 260* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983), 130.

¹⁹⁹ Schwinden, Nortmann, and Seewaldt, 8.

²⁰⁰ Joachim von Elbe, *Roman Germany* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1975), 390.

²⁰¹ Von Elbe, 400-01. The amphitheater is the tenth largest known in the Roman Empire with an oval shape measuring 102 by 211 meters.

²⁰² There is some debate as to the date of the gate itself. Investigations of the foundation point to the construction of the gate dating to the same time as the city walls and the gate itself was put up

to span the Moselle River, near to which were large two-story warehouses constructed out of limestone with tile courses.²⁰³ These permanent structures aided in the sustainability of Trier as a major facilitator of trade in *Gallia Belgica*. Multiple bathhouses were constructed throughout the city, indicative of not only the wealth of the city, but of its transformation towards becoming more Roman in appearance. Of note are the Barbara Baths, built in the second half of the second century CE. At the time of their erection the only other baths comparable in scale were the Baths of Trajan in Rome, and following their enlargement in the fourth century the Barbara Baths became the fourth largest bath complex in the entire Roman Empire.²⁰⁴ With Trier's development and increase in power, townhouses within the city proper and villas in the surrounding area increased in number throughout the first and to the beginning of the third century. These townhouses and villas preserve a great majority of the mosaic pavements so far discovered in Germany.²⁰⁵

During the third century CE the province suffered tremendously in comparison to its prosperity in the second century CE. In 212/213 CE attacks from the east by the Alamanni caused the Emperor Caracalla to lead a strike against these possible invaders.²⁰⁶ Invasions diminished, but with the onset of the Third Century Crisis it

in a hurry as seen through the contractor's marks on the stone leading to postulations that the construction may have been halted due to turmoil of some nature. Another theory is that the gate is a fourth century construction on the location of an earlier gate. See von Elbe, 406.

²⁰³ von Elbe, 396. Remarkably of the nine original pillars five are still functioning, two were replaced in the early 18th century after attempts to destroy them under Louis XIV, and the last two are now embedded in the riverbank.

²⁰⁴ Drinkwater, 147. The baths derive their name from the later Church of St. Barbara that was constructed at the site.

²⁰⁵ von Elbe, 392; Wightman 1985, 89. Trier has over 100 mosaics, Reims has just under 50, Metz and Bavay have 20 apiece, Amiens has ten, and the remaining cities have only a few or none at all.

²⁰⁶ Wightman 1970, 52.

became clear that the political landscape had changed as growing power and political organization in the east became more and more of a political threat. With Postumus' proclamation of himself as emperor in Cologne, Trier fell within his newly formed Gallic Empire. Postumus' successors, Victorinus and the later Tetricus I and Tetricus II, moved the capital from Cologne to Trier, thus elevating the prestige of the city. Following the defeat of the Gallic Empire by the Emperor Aurelian in 275 CE the city was soon sacked and destroyed by the Alamanni. After this destruction, the Emperor Probus strengthened the frontier and put resources into rebuilding. Ultimately successful, by the end of his reign in 282 CE the economy of Trier was again prospering.²⁰⁷ Under Diocletian Trier became the capital of the Western Roman Empire, ushering another period of monumental building and improvements to the city. Trier ultimately became the largest Roman city north of the Alps, spreading over 285 hectares.²⁰⁸

Nennig

Constructed at the end of the second century or early in the third century CE, the villa at Nennig is sited upon on a gentle slope near the Moselle River.²⁰⁹ No personal information is known about the owner of the property, but the size of the structure suggests a wealthy land-owner with a high rank in society. Overall the complex is comprised of multiple structures. Within the center of the main building is a great hall in which the Amphitheater mosaic is located.²¹⁰ Approachable from both a front and back portico, the great hall facilitates entry into the house and has rooms surrounding peristyle

²⁰⁷ von Elbe, 394.

²⁰⁸ Schwinden, Nortmann, and Seewaldt, 8.

²⁰⁹ Wightman 1970, 147.

²¹⁰ See catalog VII.a.

courtyards on either side.²¹¹ A stairwell indicates the existence of a second story to the structure, though none has survived. A long-covered walkway leads south-west of the main house to a bath-house with a heated swimming pool.²¹² Little else is known about the history of the villa. It did not go through any major remodeling before its abandonment in the fourth century CE.

²¹¹ Parlasca 1970 34-39

²¹² von Elbe 1975 282-83

Chapter 4: Movement Throughout the Gallic Provinces

Provinces of the Roman Empire did not exist in isolation. Definitive evidence for this can be seen in the local and imperial administration and governance structures established in every province. Additionally, local, provincial, and imperial systems of taxation appear across the empire. Natural waterways and roads provided navigable routes for getting to different areas. Travelling along these courses were people of various skillsets and professions, possibly mosaicists or those transporting materials for crafts and construction.

Roads & Waterways

Constructed throughout the Roman Empire, roads significantly contributed to the functionality of imperial administration and to the movement of people, goods, and ideas.²¹³ Following previously existing routes or forging new paths, Roman roads formed a network of connectivity throughout the empire. In Gaul, the existence of military supply routes created a corridor following the Rhône and the Moselle.²¹⁴ During Agrippa's tenure in Gaul from 20-19 BCE he planned a system of roads that lead north from Arles through the Rhône River Valley to Lyon (fig. 20).²¹⁵ Lyon became the center for the rest of the road system throughout Gaul, with branches leading west, north, and east.²¹⁶ Strabo recalls Agrippa's plan for using Lyon as "the center of the country" elevating the status of what had been a smaller settlement.²¹⁷ Lyon's strategic position at

²¹³ Drinkwater 1983, 124-26.

²¹⁴ King 1990, 115.

²¹⁵ Strabo 4.1.9; milestone near Vienne *CIL* XII.5510; Anderson 2013 12; Rivet 1988 79; only military use? – Panegyrici Latini V(VIII), 7.2.

²¹⁶ Simon Esmonde Cleary, *Rome in the Pyrenees: Lugundum and the Convenae from the First Century B.C. To the Seventh Century A.D.* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 25.

²¹⁷ Strabo 4.6.11.

the confluence of the Rhône and Soâne rivers and as the center for the developing road system established the city as the keystone to trade in Gaul.

Lyon was used as a distribution hub whereby goods were shipped and traded to go further into Gaul or to be sent south towards the Mediterranean (fig. 21).²¹⁸ For the later reason Arles flourished as it became the hub for material coming south from Gaul and out to the Mediterranean and for the material coming in from the Mediterranean with the intent of heading north for distribution.²¹⁹ Within *Gallia Belgica*, the Moselle was used as a primary form of trade and transportation. With its deep channels, wide span throughout the territory, and connection to the Rhine to the west, the Moselle facilitated trade throughout the province and into the territories farther afield.²²⁰ According to the fourth century poet Ausonius, a tow-path ran along the banks of the river insuring movement of ships.²²¹ Both the roads and waterways of Gaul expedited movement of people and materials throughout their regions, essential for the spread of goods and Roman culture.

Artists

No hard evidence exists to assert with certainty that mosaicists moved around the empire to practice their craft, but some evidence does support this premise.²²² Wootton suggests that this movement of individual artists might account for the occurrence of similar designs in different areas around the empire.²²³ The primary evidence survives in the form of signatures in mosaics and, in one instance, a funerary stele. At Segesta in

²¹⁸ King 1990, 115; Campbell 270.

²¹⁹ Teyssier 2016, 116-17.

²²⁰ Campbell 2012 125.

²²¹ Wightman 1970 205; Auson. *Mos.* 36-42. There is also some evidence of a canal or proposed canal that had or would have allowed for even more trade on the river. See: Wightman 1970 43; Drinkwater 1983 127-28.

²²² Dunbabin 1999, 273.

²²³ Wootton 2016, 78.

Sicily, a mosaic dating to the second or first century BCE bears a signature of Dionysios, son of Herakleides from Alexandria, who must have travelled at some point of his life from Egypt to Sicily.²²⁴ A later second century CE grave stele found at Perinthos in Thrace had inscribed in Greek: “In many cities I have triumphed over all other mosaicists with my artistic skill, which was supported by the gifts of Pallas Athene...I died at the age of 85.”²²⁵ In this instance the mosaicist’s birthplace is unknown, but his epitaph emphasizes the fact that he had worked in many cities.

In a fourth century CE mosaic in Roman Britain, at the site of Lillebonne, an inscription records that Titus Sen(nius) or Sex(tus) Felix from Puteoli and his pupil or slave, Amor, traveled over 1,300 miles over a month’s time from his home.²²⁶ Later in the sixth century CE, two other artists, Marianos and Aninas, traveled the short distance between Bet Shean and Bet Alpha in Israel as attested by the two separate inscriptions found in synagogues in each location.²²⁷ Both cases demonstrate mosaicists practicing their craft at multiple locations. Additionally, these circumstances refer to two artists working towards the creation of the mosaics. This could be indicative of a master and apprentice system in which a master could train an apprentice who might one day move on and transmit the master’s patterns to other locations.²²⁸

²²⁴ Dionysios, son of Herakleides, the Alexandrian, made [me]. Jeffrey M. Hurwit, *Artists and Signatures in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 67; Wootton 2016, 70; Dunbabin 1999 273 n. 23; Antonella Pinna and Patrizia Sfligiotti, “Lo Scavo Dell’area 2000 (Sas 2),” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 21, no. 3-4 (1991): 906-08.

²²⁵ CIG 2025; Poulson 131-32; Dunbabin 1999, 274; Unfortunately the gravestone was lost.

²²⁶ Wootton 2016, 74.

²²⁷ Wootton 2016, 72 n. 64 citing: Donderer 1989 A28; Donderer 2008, A28.

²²⁸ Dunbabin 1999, 302.

Mosaic workshops might be accountable for both itinerant mosaicists and the master and apprentice mode of instruction. If a workshop existed in a city, the mosaicists affiliated with that workshop could travel short distances for specific commissions. In the Bet Shean and Bet Alpha case, the mosaicists could have been based in either city and traveled to the other to lay the mosaic. In long distance examples, such as that of the signature of Dionysios at Segesta, the mosaicist could have moved based on the need for his particular skillset that may have come from an affiliation with a certain workshop. A workshop would easily facilitate a master and apprentice scheme as the apprentice could learn a variety of skills not only from his primary instructor, but also from other mosaicists in residence. While conclusive evidence has yet to be found for such an establishment, the workshop approach accommodates peripatetic craftsmen and apprenticeships.

Pattern Books

Another possibility for the appearance of similar mosaic patterns around the empire is the existence of pattern books that held drawings of designs within them and could be moved around the empire.²²⁹ No actual pattern book has been found to prove this possibility, but there exists a small amount of evidence that suggest their existence. Pliny wrote of the painter Parrhasius, who left albums of sketches that later artists referred to for their own work.²³⁰ Perhaps such sketch books used for mosaics would have facilitated the exchange of patterns. The closest record that exists for patterns for mosaics comes from the third century CE Zenon papyrus that has written on it a request

²²⁹ Ling 1998, 133.

²³⁰ Pliny *HN* 35.68

for a simple circular pavement with a central rosette enclosed by ornamental borders.²³¹

While not a drawing showing the mosaic, the brief description of the mosaic certainly would have been enough for another mosaic artist to replicate in any location.

Materials

The bulk of the material that is used in mosaics, especially the black and white colors, are from local sources and not a product of foreign exchange. This can be seen in the quarries at Liège, where bitumen was extracted for the black *tesserae* in mosaics at nearby Trier.²³² Other materials, such as glass and terracotta, could be placed within a mosaic to supplement a rare or expensive stone color. For some mosaics, luxury stones, especially marbles, were imported for ornamental use.²³³ Not much is known about the exchange network for these materials, but Braemer outlines the different materials for mosaics throughout Gaul and demonstrates that the materials traded tend to follow the rivers and roads throughout the region (fig. 12).²³⁴ This provides evidence that the materials were brought from exterior sources for mosaics in the interior regions of Gaul.

²³¹ Zenon papyrus 59665. Martin, 56. See also: Dunbabin 1999, 278. The papyrus dates to 256 BCE.

²³² Wightman 1985 136.

²³³ Wightman 1985 136.

²³⁴ François Braemer, "La Décoration En Matériaux Nobles (Marbres, Porphyres...)," in *Mosaïque Recueil D'hommages À Henri Stern*, ed. René Ginouvès (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1983), 83.

Chapter 5: Geometric Patterns

Of the geometric patterns found in both *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica*, all the floor plan patterns or styles of “carpet mosaics” are found not only in the provinces of Gaul, but also in other areas of the Roman Empire. This chapter identifies the geometric plans of the mosaics found in the catalog (appx. B). The catalog of mosaics contains far more detailed descriptions of the mosaics themselves, but here a brief description of the layout of the mosaic will be compared with those of other mosaics found throughout the Roman Empire within a similar time frame.

Geometric Arrangements

Two mosaics within the catalog (appx. B.III.e & B.V.k) are classified as *scutulatum* mosaics —mosaics where pieces or fragments of larger pieces of stone, often marble, are placed within a mosaic floor. Overall, the mosaics of the *scutulatum* style have the appearance of a simple mosaic pavement lacking figural decoration with larger non-*tesserae* stones scattered throughout the surface. The larger pieces of stone can also be placed in some arrangement, as can be seen in the Geometric *Scutulatum* Mosaic (appx. B.V.k) found at Vienne. Here the pieces of stone, mostly marble, are laid in a grid-like pattern throughout the floor mosaic. This style of mosaic extends back to at least the third century BCE and continued in use throughout the entirety of the Roman Empire. At Palestrina, Italy, the *scutulatum* mosaic floor throughout much of the Sanctuary of Fortuna from the late second century BCE contains a coarse white pavement known as *crustae* in which larger stones of hues of blue, red, orange, and black are set (fig. 22). Throughout Pompeii, numerous examples of the more refined *scutulatum* can be found

where the background pavement is laid in a more organized fashion than the *crustae* background, and the larger pieces of stone are organized according to that format.²³⁵ Ranging in dates from circa 100 BCE at the House of the Faun, this style remained popular through the mid first century CE, such as in the Villa of the Mysteries.²³⁶ A later example of *scutulatum* can be seen in a bathhouse in the Sicilian city of Tyndaris dating from the late second to early third century CE.²³⁷

Formally known as a “pseudo-shield of lozenges” this circular mosaic display is colloquially known as a “net mosaic,” found in both the Capricorn Mosaic (appx. B.I.a) and the Mosaic with Dolphins (appx. B.I.c) at Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Two examples of the net mosaic are found at Pompeii, Italy. Set into an *impluvium*, the first mosaic fills most of the pool with corner decorations of palmettes in the corners and a spaced meander pattern around.²³⁸ In the triclinium of a *domus* in the seventh region of Pompeii, the net mosaic is at the center of the room, within a dotted fillet square frame and a larger frame composed of a wide segmental swastika-meander of spaced single-return swastikas.²³⁹ Additionally, the net pattern can also be seen in Cartagena, Spain where the mosaic sits in the center of a *triclinium*.²⁴⁰

Of the more intricate designs, two mosaics, both from Vienne (Appx. B.V.c & B.V.f), have a pattern of a spaced swastika meander with single returns and staggered

²³⁵ *PPM* II: 586 no. 6; *PPM* II: 591 no. 12b; *PPM* II: 1033 no. 8; *PPM* IV: 178-79 nos. 20-22; *PPM* VII: 850 nos. 9-11

²³⁶ Dunbabin 1999, 54 fig. 52 (room 47) & 51 respectively.

²³⁷ Dunbabin 1999, 130 fig. 132.

²³⁸ *PPM* V: 385-86 nos. 1-2. This mosaic also bears the signature of a LVCRVM GAVDIVM on the ledge just above the *impluvium*.

²³⁹ *PPM* VI: 578 no. 80.

²⁴⁰ Sebastian F. Ramallo-Asensio, *Mosaicos Romanos De Carthago Nova* (Murcia Hispania Citerior, 1985), pl. 1.

spaces forming squares. These two mosaics look very similar, but with a key difference being that one is a square, while the other is laid as a larger rectangle with a four-stranded guilloche as a frame. Just twenty miles north of Vienne, the city of Lyon has a mosaic with exactly the same interior layout of the Vienne mosaics.²⁴¹ At Lyon, the swastikas are formed with a guilloche and the rows of superposed right-angled isosceles triangles. Further south from both Vienne and Lyon, a mosaic from Rome has a similar layout but with two differences.²⁴² First, the triangles are white on a black background rather than black on a white background, and, second, rather than the guilloche pattern, there is a continuous pattern of squares with rotated squares²⁴³ inside, followed by a rectangle containing a lozenge. Also in Italy, a mosaic at Negrar di Valpolicella possesses the simple guilloche outline, but with a wave pattern rather than the triangle rows.²⁴⁴ The wave pattern also forms the frame for each of the squares in the spaces of the swastika meander. Finally, at Nabeul in Tunisia, the swastika meander with single returns and staggered square spaces can be seen in a mosaic that contains only the outline, without further geometric or figural decoration on the interior (fig. 23).²⁴⁵

At Nîmes, a large-scale mosaic (appx. B.III.d) containing a figural panel of Achilles being unmasked by Ulysses is centrally placed in a mosaic floor and further

²⁴¹ Henri Stern, *Recueil Général des Mosaïques de la Gaule, II, Lyonnaise, I* (Lyon: C.N.R.S. supplément à Gaule, 1967), no. 76 pl. LVI.

²⁴² M.L. Morricone Matini, *Mosaici Antichi in Italia, Regione Prima, Roma: Reg. X, Palatium* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1967), no. 53 pl. XII.

²⁴³ For the purposes of this thesis squares that are positioned so they are rotated 45 degrees from having a side flat on a line are referred to as either “rotated squares” or as “indexed squares.” Ballmelle et al refer to this as poised, a term that does not adequately fit the position.

²⁴⁴ Ballmelle et.al 303d. Citing: Reale Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei, *Notizie Degli Scavi Di Antichità* Vol. XIX. (Rome: Tipografia della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1922), 353 fig. 5.

²⁴⁵ Jean-Pierre Darmon, *Nymfarum Domus, Les Pavements De La Maison Des Nymphes À Néapolis (Nabeul, Tunisie) Et Leur Lecture*. Leiden: Brill, 1980), n. 12 pl. XXII.

framed by set-back chevrons.²⁴⁶ Although not particularly common throughout the Roman Empire, another example of chevrons used as corners framing a central panel can be seen in another example Colchester at the Four-Petalled Flower mosaic (fig. 24).²⁴⁷ As the name describes, a flower with four petals fills the space in the square center of the mosaic, as lozenges filled with swastikas, and rotated squares are attached to the sides. At the end of the lozenges, the set-back chevrons create a bold frame for the center panel. Like the Achilles Mosaic from Nîmes, the squared chevrons are filled with decoration, in this case a single guilloche strip.

Whereas the set-back chevrons in the Achilles Mosaic frame a figural panel, geometric shapes can also be used as the central decoration. Adjacent to and tangentially placed, the same or a different shape can form a ‘centralized’ pattern framed by a larger square. At Nîmes, an example of this design can be seen in the Pentheus Mosaic (appx. B.III.b), where a cushion is situated at the center of the square among four other cushions at the corners the square. The use of cushions as a centralized pattern can be seen in the Cremona Mosaic found in Hungary, dating from the middle of the second century CE, where another central cushion has four other cushions on tangents at the corners of the panel.²⁴⁸ Each of these five cushions contains additional geometric designs, creating a visually dynamic whole. In a mosaic found at Vjosë, Albania, at the ancient city of Apollonia, cushions are laid on a relatively plain surface, and circles are placed as a

²⁴⁶ Surrounding the chevrons and central panel is a continuous swastika pattern (see below for similar).

²⁴⁷ Neal 1981 70-72 pl. 38.

²⁴⁸ Ákos Kiss, *Roman Mosaics in Hungary* trans. J. Boris (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 59 pl. XVI 3.

buffer between two cushions.²⁴⁹ Across the Adriatic in Loano, Italy, a centralized cushion pattern has a meander pattern outlining the larger geometric elements and ovals separating the cushions.²⁵⁰

Like the cushions mosaics, centralized circles can be seen in two of the mosaics from the catalog: the Mosaic of Hylas and the Nymphs from Vienne (appx. B.V.d) and the Dionysus Mosaic from Trier (appx. B.VI.f). The centralized pattern for circles consists of a large circle at the center of a square with semicircles touching it on four sides and quarter circle quadrants in the corners. An easily replicated pattern, this layout appears frequently around the Roman Empire (fig. 25). On Crete, the Seasons Mosaic in the Villa Dionysus from the mid-second century CE has this scheme.²⁵¹ At Pompeii, a centralized circle arrangement executed in black and white is situated in the center of a large *triclinium*.²⁵² Around this elaborate central decoration, a plain white mosaic is laid with a black fillet border in the area where couches would have been placed. In Northern Africa, at El Djem, a late second century to early third century CE mosaic, Achilles on Skyros, the Seasons, and Sea-creatures has this same organization.²⁵³ One of the more famous mosaics found in the United Kingdom at Hinton St. Mary, dated to the mid to late fourth century CE, has the same centralized circle organization with borders of wave, guilloche, and extended “z” patterns.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁹ Skënder Anamali and Stilian Adhami, *Mosaïques De L'albanie* (Tirana: 8 Nëntori Press, 1974), p.28.

Balmelle et. al. 2002 402-03 fig. g

²⁵⁰ Balmelle et. al. 2002 402-03 fig. f; AntAf 3 1968 fig 22, p. 129

²⁵¹ Sweetman 162-64 Pl. 3 co. pl 2.

²⁵² *PPM* IV: 565 nos. 75-76

²⁵³ David Parrish, *Seasons Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Archaeologica Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1984), 144-46 pl. 33

²⁵⁴ Dunbabin 1999 fig. 94

At Trier, the Dionysus and Seasons Mosaic (appx. B.VI.c) also has a centralized pattern, but here with a central concave octagon and four ovals extending off from the corners. At Chebba, Tunisia, a carpet mosaic dating to the late second to early third century CE has a centralized pattern with a circle at the center and ovals placed in the corners.²⁵⁵ Even more similar to the mosaic at Trier, a square mosaic from Uxama, Spain has a centralized concave octagon with four ellipses coming off the corners; spindles executed as scallops are adjacent to the sides of the octagon not filled with the ellipses (fig. 26).²⁵⁶ Here also a guilloche pattern weaves throughout the mosaic, distinguishing the different geometric shapes.

“Honeycomb” mosaics consist of hexagonal cells placed next to each other with little or no decoration in between to form this alignment. Distinct in its appearance, the “honeycomb” style appears throughout both *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Beligica* (appx. B.IV.b, B.V.e, B.VI.g), as well as around the Empire (fig. 27). On Crete, the mid-second century CE Followers Mosaic at the Villa Dionysus has a central hexagon with six other cells around it.²⁵⁷ Similarly at Pula, Croatia, seven hexagons form a honeycomb outlined in guilloche and a flower at the center of each hexagon (fig. 28).²⁵⁸ At Italica in the southern Iberian Peninsula, the mid-second century CE House of the Planetarium has a mosaic with central hexagon and six others surrounding it in the centralized way. Here the hexagons are filled with busts of the planetary deities encircled by olive leaves in

²⁵⁵ Blanchard-Lemée et al. fig.201. Currently in the Bardo Museum.

²⁵⁶ Dimas Fernández-Galiano, *Mosaicos Hispánicos De Esquema a Compás* (Guadalajara: Museo Provincial, 1980), no. 4 fig. 3; Balmelle et al 2002b 170c.

²⁵⁷ Sweetman 161.

²⁵⁸ Gilbert Charles-Picard and Henri Stern, eds. *La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine: Actes Du Colloque International sur La Mosaïque Antique Organisé à Paris, Du 29 Août au 3 Septembre 1963*. (Paris: CNRS, 1965), p. 295 fig. 15; Balmelle et. al 2002a 321 b.

each cell.²⁵⁹ In her chapter on mosaics of the Iberian Peninsula, Dunbabin describes the development of polychrome designs in compartmentalized floorscapes as a movement of Spanish workshops, a conclusion which is undermined by the presence of the same patterns in mosaics in Gaul, Crete, and in North Africa.²⁶⁰ The third century CE mosaic of the Zodiac and Planets at Bir-Chana, Tunisia, contains hexagons filled with a figure of Saturn at the center of this honeycomb.²⁶¹ Also in Tunisia, the mosaic of Allegories of Rome and the Provinces at El Djem has Rome at the center of the mosaic with figural depictions of Egypt, Asia, Africa, and others in the rest of the hexagons all outlined with a simple guilloche.²⁶²

Like the honeycomb design, tangent hexagon compositions feature hexagons arranged next to each other, but with more geometric or floral embellishment between the hexagons. This can be seen in the Grange mosaic at Vienne (appx. B.V.g) where the hexagons with floral interior decorations are surrounded by more hexagons and lozenges forming stars. Near to Vienne at the site of Condat-sur-Vienne in *Gallia Aquitania*, a mosaic within a Roman villa has hexagons laid out contiguously to each other with smaller hexagons and lozenges forming stars surround the hexagons, very similar to the Grange mosaic.²⁶³ In Aquileia, hexagons are arranged with their sides towards other hexagons and like the Grange Mosaic, elongated hexagons are between each hexagon are smaller hexagons and lozenges that form stars (fig. 29).²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Dunbabin 1999, 150 fig. 156.

²⁶⁰ Dunbabin 1999, 150.

²⁶¹ Dunbabin 1978, 161 Pl. 162.

²⁶² Blanchard-Lemée et al. 24-27, fig. 6-10.

²⁶³ Henri Stern, "Mosaïques De Pont-Chevron Près D'ouzouër-Sur-Trézée (Loiret)," *Gallia* 25, no. 1 (1967): 54 fig. 16.

²⁶⁴ Centro di antichità altoadriatiche, *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 8 (Udine: Artigrafiche friulane, 1975), 65 fig. 10. Ballmelle et al 2002a 326 b.

As many rooms in Roman houses are square or the arrangement of *triclinium* couches form a square, squares became a popular shape for centralized patterns. Another arrangement that was placed into a square was polygonal. At Arles, the Aion Mosaic has a square placed in the center of a large triclinium, with a central square at the center, four small squares fitted into the corners, and rectangles along the sides (appx. B.II.a). At Verulamium in England, this pattern can be seen in the Dolphin and Fountain Mosaic from the mid-second century CE, where a large square is situated within an even large floor. Within that square, a central panel depicts a fountain flanked by two dolphins.²⁶⁵ Like the Arles mosaic, this square has four more squares in the corners and four rectangles along the sides - here filled with geometric designs rather than figural images as in Aion Mosaic. The second century CE Orpheus Mosaic from Miletus also features this square and rectangle formation, with simple guilloche dividers as at Arles.²⁶⁶ The same general arrangement of polygons can also be seen at Antioch at the third century CE mosaic of the House of the Boat of Psyche, where an indexed square band separates the polygons rather than a guilloche pattern.²⁶⁷

Carpet Layouts: Octagonal Designs

Framing the central figural element of the charioteer on the Mosaic with the Racing Driver Polydus (appx. B.VI.b) is a striking eight-pointed star. Formed by a square intersecting another rotated square, the shape forms an internal octagon and allows the

²⁶⁵ Neal 1981 100-01 Co. pl. 73.

²⁶⁶ Sylvia Brehme, "Orpheus Mosaic," in *The Antikensammlung*, eds. Agnes Schwarzmaier, Andreas Scholl, and Martin Maischberger (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2016), 368-69.

²⁶⁷ Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 167-70 pl. XXXV; Dunbabin 1999 314-15 fig. 314.

eye to be drawn to the central figural element while incorporating geometric designs, especially the guilloche. Similarly, the mosaic from Furngate Street in Dorchester, England includes two squares, made of a guilloche band, to form an eight-pointed star.²⁶⁸ Further afield, the central frame of the Dionysus and Ariadne mosaic from the Villa Dionysus in Chania, Crete, dating to the second half of the third century CE, also has a central octagon formed by two intersecting squares.²⁶⁹ Two examples can be added from Turkey. First, the mosaic floor of Soteria (fig. 30) from the *frigidarium* at the Baths of Apolausis at Antioch has the same eight pointed star composed of two overlaid squares on an axis squares.²⁷⁰ Within the center of the octagon sits a figure of Soteria, just as Polybus sits at the center of the Trier mosaic. In the Apodyterium of the large baths at Anamur is another eight-pointed star comprised of two intersecting boxes outlined with the guilloche pattern.²⁷¹

Like the previously discussed honeycomb mosaics, octagons are also used to form cells; more commonly with other geometric shapes amongst the octagons. An example of this is the Orpheus Charming the Animals mosaic from Vienne (appx. B.V.i) where between half of the connecting sides of the octagons a square is located, rather than abutting another octagon. A more centralized form of this appears at Trier in the Literary and Rhetoric Mosaic (appx. B.VI.d), where the central octagon has its four corners

²⁶⁸ Stephen R. Cosh, "Alas Poor Terentius, I Knew Him Well! The Bignor Inscription Reconsidered." *Mosaic* 28 (2001): 4 fig. 4.

²⁶⁹ Sweetman 241-44 pl. 39 co. pl. 9.

²⁷⁰ Alexis Belis, Christine Kondoleon, and J. Paul Getty Museum, *Roman Mosaics in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, eds. Alexis Belis, Christine Kondoleon; with Contributions by Nicole Budrovich, Kenneth Lapatin, and Sean Leatherbury (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2016), 43-45 figs. 17-19.

²⁷¹ Sheila Campbell, *The Mosaics of Aemurium* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 28-29 fig. 27 pl. 129; Modern day Anamur sits on the ancient city of Anemurium. This layout also incorporates the polygonal boxes layout mentioned above.

attached to squares and the four other sides attached to octagons. At Thysdrus, a similar mosaic has a central octagon, featuring a central octagonal tondo of Orpheus, from which four squares contain figures of birds, and in the octagons that stem from those squares are reclining animals in their own tondi (fig. 31).²⁷² Across the empire in Britain, the mosaic on the floor of room 26 at Bignor has a central octagon that is again surrounded by alternating squares and octagons to form a centralized plan.²⁷³ Then in North Africa, the Mosaic of the Four Seasons, Dionysiac Objects, and Masks at Tizirt, from the Severan era, also has a central octagon with squares appearing poised at the corners and octagons on the other sides; additionally, this mosaic has a meander pattern defining each element.²⁷⁴

Two centralized examples of octagons with squares can be seen in the mosaic of Aion and the Four Seasons at Arles (appx. B.II.c) and in the Mosaic of Theater Masks at Vienne (appx. B.V.h). Like the cushion and circle centralized mosaics mentioned above, an octagon sits at the center with alternating squares and octagons stemming off from the center, but contained within a defined square. At both room three of the Atrium House at Antioch in Turkey and at the Bignor Roman Villa in England this centralized pattern with a central octagon is present.²⁷⁵ Also in England at Rudston, the Charioteer Mosaic from the fourth century CE is even more closely related to the Mosaic of Theater Masks (appx. B.V.h), in that within the four corner octagons are circles containing tondos.²⁷⁶ In

²⁷² Louis Foucher, *Découvertes Archéologiques À Thysdrus En 1960* (Tunisia: Imprimerie La Rapid, 1960), 8-11, pl. 1-2; Belis, Kondoleon, and J. Paul Getty Museum, 21.

²⁷³ Cosh 2001, 4 fig. 3.

²⁷⁴ Parrish 1978 259-60 pl. 102b.

²⁷⁵ Campbell 1988, 18-19 pl. 66; Samuel Edward Winbolt, *The Roman Villa at Bignor, Sussex, Its Mosaic Pavements* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 11-12; Ballmelle et al 2002b 253b.

²⁷⁶ Neal 1981 95-97; Ballmelle et al 2002b 177a.

addition to this similarity, a simple guilloche pattern surrounds the main geometric shapes, as well as the circles in the corner octagons.

Of a more intricate design, the Mosaic of the Athletes found at Vienne (appx. B.V.i) and the Monnus Mosaic found at Trier (appx. B.VI.a) have an almost identical in the layout of their octagonal frames, except that the Mosaic of the Athletes is framed by a circle, while the Monnus Mosaic fits into a square. In this pattern, at the center of the space is an octagon in which squares are arranged adjacent to each of the eight sides. The pattern expands as the opposite side of the square touches a new octagon, and, though the pattern could continue with more octagons, it is limited by the space. Between the squares and octagons, lozenges further embellish the design. A fourth century CE mosaic at Rayan, Syria, also contains the same pattern of the central octagon with squares on all sides are attached to additional octagons, with the extra spaces filled in with lozenges. While the Mosaic of the Athletes contains images of athletes and the Monnus Mosaic contains figural representations of the seasons and the Muses, the later Syrian mosaic contains not only figural and geometric designs, but also even text within several of the octagons.²⁷⁷

One octagonal mosaic from Vaison-la-Romaine (appx. B.IV.a), the pavement of room B, includes an extremely complex pattern that when broken down consists of adjacent octagons that form a poised square at the juncture of four of the octagons. In Room B, each octagon contains a central square with four poised squares coming off from the middle of each side. Between these squares are four more poised squares spread on an arch to form a fan. Though visually less striking, the mosaic from Bancroft,

²⁷⁷ Pauline Donceel-Voûte, *Les Pavements Des Églises Byzantines De Syrie Et Du Liban*. Vol. II. (Pouvain-la-Neuve: Publications D'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 1988), pl. 12.

England has the same grid-like nature of the Vaison-La-Romaine mosaic, but in Bancroft the octagons are filled with a circle containing geometric and floral motifs.²⁷⁸ From Ellès, Tunisia, the Crowning of Venus by Two Female Centaurs mosaic from the mid-fourth century CE again has an octagon arrangement, but here each octagon has a single band of guilloche running around it with a wreath nestled inside.²⁷⁹ Lastly, in Pergamum's building Z, the Mosaic of Masks dating from the beginning of the second century CE has its octagons filled with figures rather than geometric or floral enrichments.²⁸⁰

By far the most complex mosaic catalogued in this study is the Amphitheater Mosaic from the villa in Nennig (appx. B.VII.a). At the very center of the mosaic sits an octagon with a figural scene. From its top and bottom come two large squares, one framing a fountain and the other with a square *emblema*. Extending from the remaining sides of the large squares are additional octagons. Between the octagons are crosses with a poised square at the center and lozenges filling the rest of the space. All of these smaller elements are filled with very detailed geometric and floral elements contributing to the overall grandeur of the mosaic. Close to Nennig is the Mosaic of the Muses found in Trier at Johannisstraße.²⁸¹ Dating from the latter half of the fourth century CE, a central square sits at the center of a more centralized plan, but the square has octagons abutting its four sides. In the corners, rectangular crosses with radiating lozenges have a central circle. Of similar complexity is the Dionysus Mosaic dating from around 220 CE found

²⁷⁸ Neal 1981 43-44 pl. 8.

²⁷⁹ Blanchard-Lemée et al. 154 fig. 114.

²⁸⁰ Dunbabin 1999, 224-25 fig. 237.

²⁸¹ Hoffman 34-37 fig. 40. Sadly only a few fragments of this mosaic remain which is the reason for its exclusion in the catalog. From the fragments that have been recovered the outline and elements that would have been mirrored have been able to provide a concept of what the entire carpet would have looked like.

in Cologne on the Rhine River (fig. 32).²⁸² There octagons are formed from eight-pointed stars, four of whose points touching the corners of squares and the others forming a star with lozenges. Just as at Nennig, the smaller elements of the mosaic, such as the lozenges, are filled with small and detailed geometric decoration. At Sousse, Tunisia, a large mosaic contains a centrally planned square with an octagon at the center with four squares bordering the four sides of the octagon facing the corners of the square.²⁸³ Four smaller poised squares have one of their corners resting upon the other four sides of the central octagon. Within these elements are lozenges that, like the Nennig, Trier, and Cologne mosaics, are arranged to form stars.

Carpet Layouts: Grids

One of the major categories of mosaics that can be found within Gaul are the large-scale carpet mosaics divided into a grid of squares or rectangles, each with elaborate decoration. The first category examines the square grid mosaics containing only geometric decoration within (appx. B.II.e, B.III.a, B.III.c, B.IV.c, B.V.b). Second are square grids with both geometric and figural design (appx. B.V.a, B.VI.e). Third, a mosaic in the catalog from Trier (appx. B.VI.d) has a grid of rectangles sharing features in common with both the figural square grid and patterns in other regions.

Originally spanning 54.6 square meters (8.4 x 6.5 m), the geometric mosaic from the Château du Pont-Chevron at Ouzouër-sur-Trézée, France, dating to second half of the second century CE, has a five-by-seven grid of squares framing multiple geometric

²⁸² Ling 1998, 70; Dunbabin 1999 80 fig. 83.

²⁸³ Louis Foucher, *Inventaire des Mosaïques, Feuille No. 57 De L'atlas Archéologique: Sousse* (Tunis: Institut National d'Archéologie et Arts, 1960), pl. XL.

patterns, with bands of rotated black squares on a white background separating the squares.²⁸⁴ In Lyon, the Swastica Mosaic dating to the beginning of the third century CE is of an even larger size (11.8 x 7.3 m) with a square grid with a border of rectangles and squares separating the gridded squares (fig. 33).²⁸⁵ Outside of Gaul, the grid of squares with geometric patterns is also attested. At Antioch, the Qaousiye church dating from 387 CE has an enormous (11 x 24.25) carpet mosaic filled with a grid of squares surrounded by an elaborate pattern of a swastika-meander pattern.²⁸⁶ Each square contains a geometric pattern that is comprised of small shapes that, together with the complex borders, form a labyrinthine image. In the great hall of the baths at Isthmia is a black and white geometric mosaic of a grid of squares within a border of banded rectangles and squares.²⁸⁷ Like the Drunkenness of Hercules Mosaic (appx. B.V.b), a geometric mosaic at Italica contains a bust of Dionysus as an *emblema* in the center of a square grid with lozenges forming stars as a frame.²⁸⁸ Other similar square grid mosaics can be seen in: the Mosaic of Dionysus and Ariadne from the House of the Sundial at Antioch dating to the mid to late third century CE containing squares of geometric composition that are outlined by a simple guilloche; the mosaic of the peristyle courtyard at Hammamet, where the center squares have been removed for a larger panel; and in the Fortress

²⁸⁴ Dunbabin 1999, 75 fig. 75.

²⁸⁵ Currently in the Musée Gallo-Romain in Lyon, France.

²⁸⁶ Levi 283-85, 423-25 pls. CXIII-CXV; Dunbabin 1999, 177 fig. 188.

²⁸⁷ Pamela M. Packard, "A Monochrome Mosaic at Isthmia," *Hesperia* 49 (1980): 326-46 pls. 97-101.

Dunbabin 210-22 fig. 223.

²⁸⁸ Dunbabin 1999, pl. 24.

Mosaic from room N7 in Fishbourne, England, dating to the Flavian Period, where there is a six by six grid of squares, each containing a different geometric pattern.²⁸⁹

In both the Rustic Calendar Mosaic from Vienne (appx. B.V.a) and the Nine Muses Mosaic from Trier (appx. B.VI.e) a grid pattern of squares is employed, but with figures displayed in the center of each square rather than only geometric designs. The Rustic Calendar Mosaic features agricultural scenes featuring tasks associated with the different times of the year, while the Nine Muses Mosaic has busts of each of the muses within the squares. The concept of a mosaic containing images of the months is not uncommon, as can be seen in the Monus Mosaic at Trier (appx. B.VI.1), as is the concept of arranging the subjects in a square grid. At Marsala, Italy, busts of the seasons are framed in a grid of squares and surrounded by a floral motif in a mosaic dating from the second half of the second century CE.²⁹⁰ Gridded mosaics decorated with representations of the seasons were popular in El-Djem. The multiple examples include the Venus and the Seasons Mosaic from the late third century CE, where a larger square with smaller cubes on the sides contain female busts representing the four seasons; the “Mosaic of Baskets of Seasonal Fruit” from room nine of the *Maison du Paon* from the early third century; and the “Dionysus and the Four Seasons” mosaic from the mid-third century CE.²⁹¹ Notable among these calendar mosaics is that from room six (defined as a

²⁸⁹ Kondoleon 182-86 fig. 6-9; A. Ben Abed Ben Khader, "Les Mosaiques De La Maison Du 'Péristyle Figuré' Et De Ses Thermes À Puppul (Hammamet) Et Un Voeu De Navigation Heureuse," in *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics: Held at Bath, England, on September 5-12, 1987*, eds. Peter Johnson, Roger Ling, and David J. Smith (Ann Arbor, MI: Cushing-Malloy, 1994), 175, 179-80 figs. 9-11; Tebby 277 fig. 3.

²⁹⁰ Ancient Lilybaeum. The mosaic is currently in the Museo Archeologico Regionale di Palermo. Dunbabin 1999 131-33 fig. 133.

²⁹¹ Blanchard-Lemée et al 44-48 fig. 19a-l, 20-21; Dunbabin 1999, 110 fig. 113; Dunbabin 1978 157 Pls. 99, 153; Parish 1984 160-62, 180-82 pls. 45a, 56.

cubiculum) in the House of the Months, dating to 222-235 CE, with 24 squares, 16 of which contain figural subjects, embellished with a floral pattern around the borders of the squares.²⁹²

Gridded square patterns do contain images that do not relate to the seasons, such as the Nine Muses Mosaic in Trier (appx. B.VI.e). A more floral variation can be seen at Piazza Armerina where in the portico of the peristyle courtyard a large grid with a four-strand guilloche between the squares creates a frame, and inside the squares are laurel leaf circles each containing a flower.²⁹³ In the large (12.12 x 9.08 m) Mosaic of Horses from the House of the Horses in Carthage, 61 squares are preserved.²⁹⁴ Horses are depicted with a variety of attendants and tools in 50 of the squares. The late third century CE Mosaic Floor with Animals from the Baths of Apolausis at Antioch has squares that are in a row and filled with both geometric patterns and then a small tondo in the center of each with an animal.²⁹⁵ From Pompeii, the atrium of the House of Paquius Proculus, known for its guard dog mosaic in the *fauces*, is a decorated mosaic consisting of a grid of nine by seven squares with four combined to form two rectangles and another nine missing to make way for the *impluvium*.²⁹⁶ Each square has a small geometric border and at the center of each is a square with a figure of either a bird or a human figure. Lastly, at El Djem a mosaic named the Mosaic of Dice-players from the mid to late third century CE has panels depicting different pleasurable activities, including playing dice.²⁹⁷

²⁹² Parrish 1984 156-160 pls. 42-44. Currently in the Sousse Musée Archéologique.

²⁹³ Dunbabin 1999, 138 fig. 141.

²⁹⁴ Dunbabin 1999, 116 fig. 119 and 120.

²⁹⁵ Belis, Kondoleon, and J. Paul Getty Museum, 47-49 fig. 17 pl. 6.

²⁹⁶ Pappalardo and Viardiello 185 fig. 142.

²⁹⁷ Dunbabin 1978 125, 170 pl. 118.

Similar to the aforementioned square grids, a grid pattern of rectangles can be found in the two exterior panels of the Literary and Rhetoric Mosaic found at Trier (appx. B.VI.d). The rectangular grid consists of panels placed in a three-by-two layout and outlined by a double guilloche. The Mosaic of Athletes found at the Baths of Caracalla in Rome dating from the early third century CE also employs rectangles.²⁹⁸ Here the rectangles are set offset from one another with squares included at irregular intervals. In both the rectangles and squares, athletes are placed, just as the Trier mosaic has literati or philosophers (fig. 34).

Summary

Geometric layouts for mosaics have a wide breadth of possibilities as seen in the comparisons above and in the catalog of compiled mosaics for this study. *Scutulatum*, centralized, honeycomb, tangential, polygonal, pseudo-shields, spaced-swastika, and numerous grid layouts are all patterns that can be found not only in Gaul, but throughout the entire Mediterranean. In fact, there is not a region in the Roman Empire that does not have at least one form of geometric mosaic pattern found in Gaul. The mosaics included in this study represent one site with early mosaics, Glanum, to demonstrate the early presence of mosaics in the south, but the rest come from the first to third centuries CE. Often dating mosaics is based on stylistic bases, but with the demonstrated disbursement of patterns this relative dating system has its complications. The mosaics used in comparison have their dates within one century of the time span for this study. A reason for this decision with the spread of Roman influence throughout the Mediterranean and

²⁹⁸ Dating to 212-216 CE. Currently the fragments of the mosaic are held at Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican Museums.

its slower influence in certain regions. These Roman mosaics are found within residences of wealth, in which the commissioner was willing to devote significant funds towards the laying of a floor mosaic.

Conclusions

While the root cause remains uncertain, the mosaics and their comparanda examined in this thesis demonstrate a high degree of standardization within Gaul and strong affinities to geometric patterns found throughout the Roman empire (fig. 35). Both *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Gallia Belgica* possess mosaics with geometric patterns found in other regions around the Mediterranean, whether they be the early mosaics found at Glanum or the third century mosaics found in Trier. Patterns found in both the south of France and in western Germany, such as the nearly identical layout found in the Mosaic of the Athletes at Vienne (appx. B.V.j) and the Monnus Mosaic at Trier (appx. B.VI.a), previously would have been classified as a Gallic type, but in lieu of evidence of this pattern found in other provinces, such a categorization by region is not sustainable. Geometric mosaics need to be reconsidered as limited within regional stylistic systems and should be considered more broadly as reflective of a connected empire.

The Zenon papyrus describes a decorated mosaic floor with enough clarity that it could have been replicated, but direct evidence in the form of written text or images describing the layout of a geometric floor being produced in another region of the empire has yet to be found. The idea of pattern books being used by mosaicists is at least plausible, even if no such books have yet to be discovered. What is known is that the geometric layouts were being created frequently and in similar fashion whether in the east, west, north or south. More recent interpretations have postulated that mosaicists moved around the empire, and with them they could have brought their repertoires and created mosaics with standardized formulas. Additionally, materials were moving around

the empire, especially luxury stones, and their appearance in a new area could have prompted a mosaic designer to incorporate these rich decorations.

Further research might examine the collected mosaics from the catalog to assess whether the iconography found in the figural panels of the Gallic mosaics represent regionalisms that would differ from subjects preferred in other areas in the Roman Empire. A cursory examination of the iconography found in the cataloged mosaics would indicate that this is not the case. Rather the images do not derive not from local tradition, but reflect imported Greek and Roman mythological scenes, similar to those found in other regions of the empire. If, after closer examination this was found to be conclusive, this would indicate that themes seem to parallel the apparently global application of geometric layouts. Conducting such a study would lead to a more comprehensive understanding of mosaic design, both of geometric and figural, throughout the Roman Empire. Another future direction for research would involve a closer examination of the catalogued mosaics and their comparanda elsewhere for evidence by which to differentiate workshops active in certain regions. Such analyses might lead to a broader understanding of not only mosaics, but also of craft and connectivity within the Roman Empire during the first quarter of the first millennium CE.

Thousands of mosaics have been excavated from throughout the former Roman Empire. These “paintings for eternity” are more than just a decorative pavement. Rather they represent the skill of the artisans who created them, the requests of the patrons, the sourcing of materials, and the variation of mosaic design.²⁹⁹ Gallic geometric mosaic

²⁹⁹ Vasari quotes the fifteenth century CE painter, Domenico Ghirlandaio, describing mosaics in this way. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of Seventy of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects vol. 2* eds. E.H. Blashfield, E.W. Blashfield, and A.A. Hopkins (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), 188.

layouts represent a style that appears in the region, but is reflective of Roman tastes beyond Gaul. As geometric designs appear in most mosaics, from a simple border to the most intricate designs, they can be used as further evidence for greater connectivity throughout the Roman Empire.

Illustrations



Figure 1: The locations of the five sites from Gallia Narbonensis: Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, Arles, Nîmes, Vaison-la-Romaine, and Vienne/Saint-Romain-en-Gaul.



Figure 2: The locations of the two sites from Gallia Belgica: Trier and Nennig.



Figure 3: Terracotta cone mosaics from Uruk. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Fourth millennium BCE.



Figure 4: Pebble mosaics from Gordion, Turkey. Gordion Museum, Turkey. Eighth to seventh centuries BCE.



Figure 5: Early wall mosaics. House of the Small Fountain, Pompeii. Early first century CE.



Figure 6: *Cave Canem* "Beware of Dog" mosaic. *Fauces* of the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii. Late first century BCE.

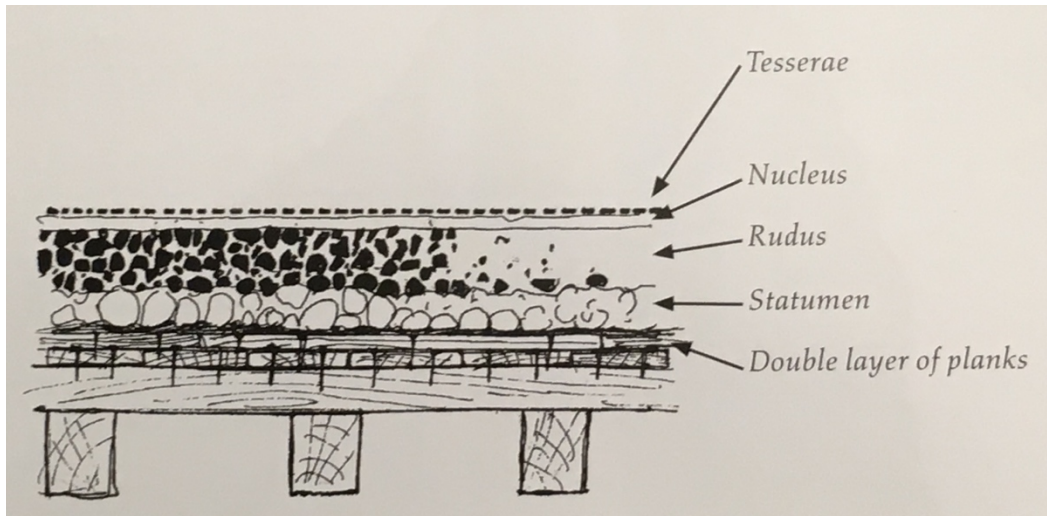


Figure 7: Drawing with labels of the foundation and preparatory layers for a mosaic floor.



Figure 8: Foundational layers of a mosaic. Musée Gallo-Romain, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, Vienne.



Figure 9: Funerary relief with *tesserae* cutters, from the Isola Sacra necropolis. Museo Ostiense, Ostia Antica. Second century CE.

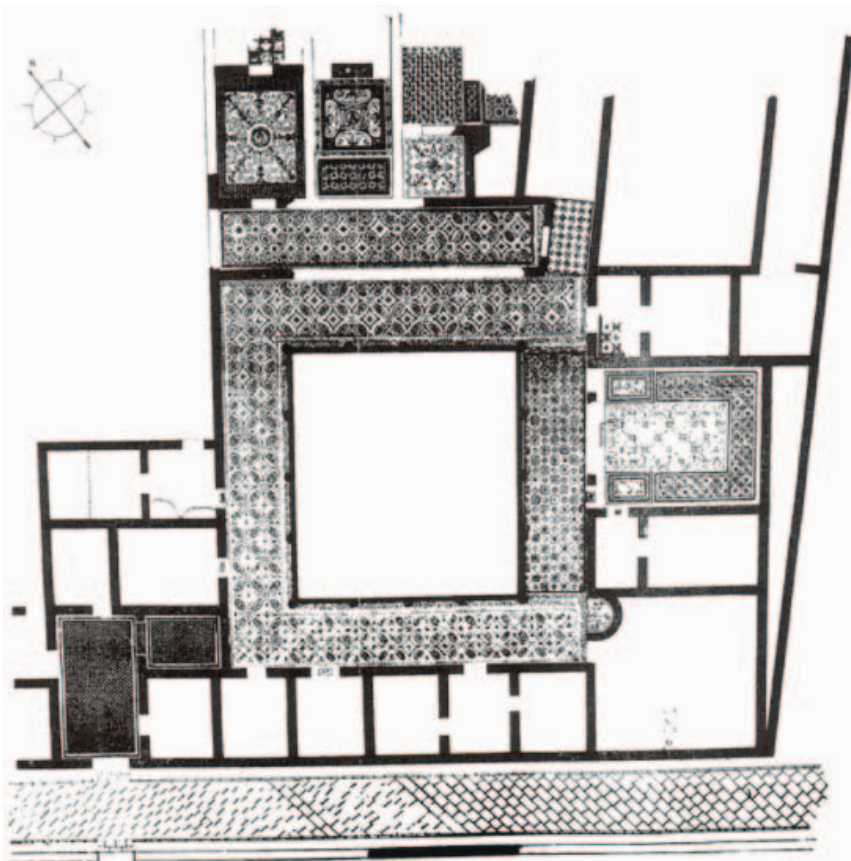


Figure 10: House of the Dionysiac Procession. Thysdrus, Tunisia. Mid-second century CE.



Figure 11: Centaur mosaic from Hadrian's Villa. Altes Museum, Berlin. 120s-130s CE.

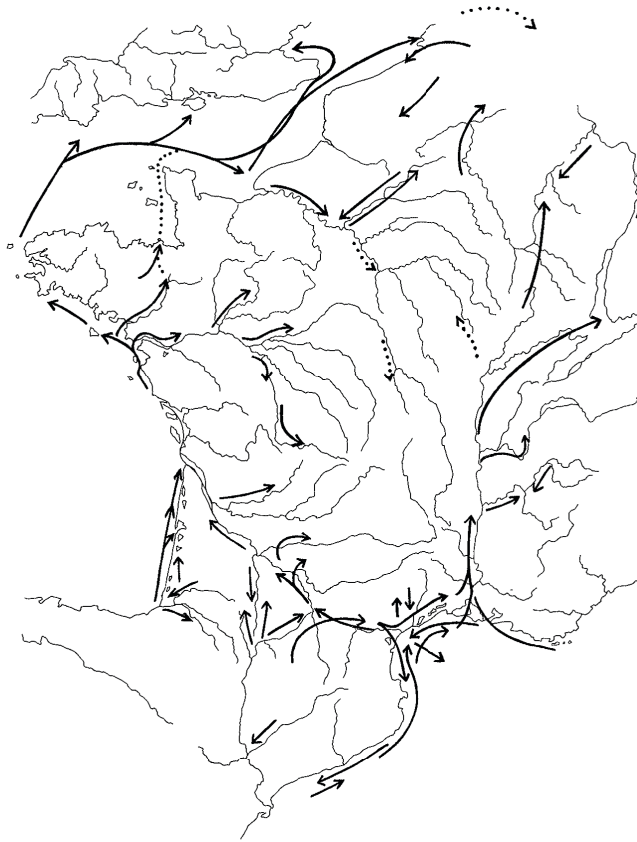


Figure 12: The importation routes of expensive marbles in Gaul. Braemer 83.



Figure 13: So-called “Sosus Mosaic” from Hadrian’s Villa. Capitoline Museums, Rome. 120s-130s CE.



Figure 14: Signature of the mosaicist Hephaistion, Hephaistion Mosaic. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin. Early to mid-second century BCE.



Figure 15: Footprint of an individual from the *rudus* layer of the Lod Mosaic. Shelby White and Leon Levy Lod Mosaic Archaeological Center, Israel. Late third century CE.



Figure 16: “Les Antiques,” mausoleum and triumphal arch at Glanum. Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Late first century BCE to early first century CE.



Figure 17: Gate of Augustus. Nîmes, France. First century BCE.



Figure 18: Temple of Augustus and Livia. Vienne, France. Ca. 10 BCE.



Figure 19: Porta Nigra. Trier, Germany. Late second to early first century CE.

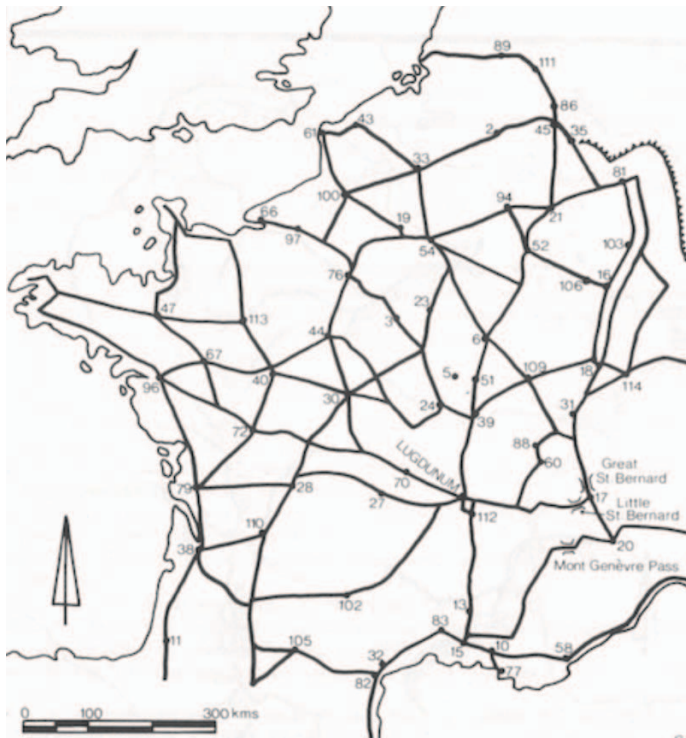


Figure 20: The Completed Roman Road Network of Gaul. Drinkwater 239.



Figure 21: Gallic Waterways. Drinkwater 240.



Figure 22: *Crustae* flooring from the Sanctuary of Fortuna. Palestrina, Italy. Late second century BCE.

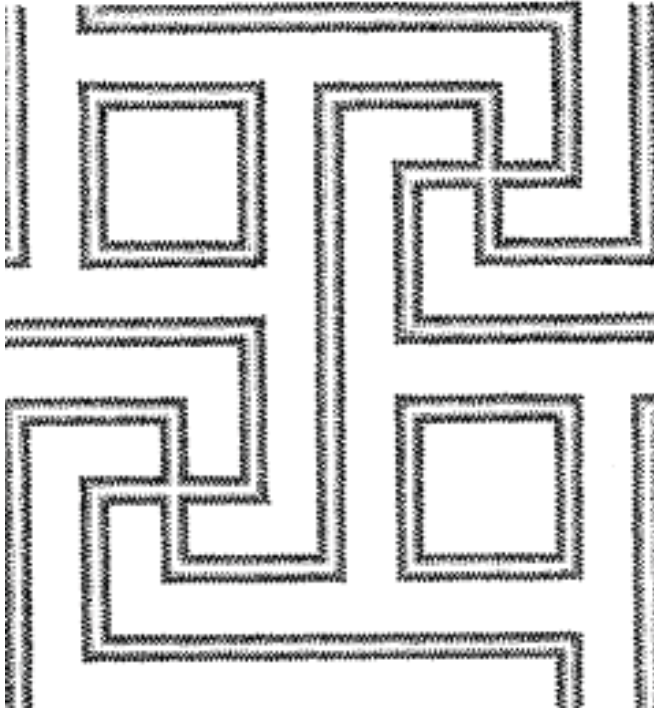


Figure 23: A spaced swastika meander with single return and staggered spaces forming squares. Nabeul, Tunisia. Late second century CE.

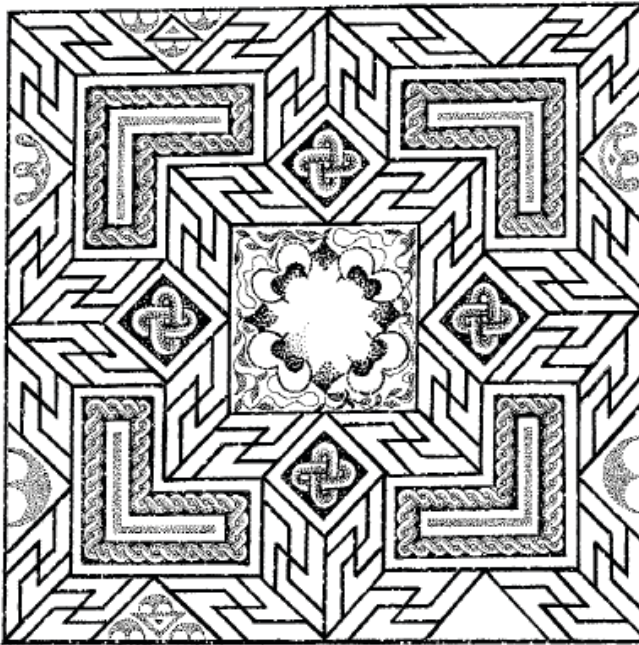


Figure 24: Four-petalled Flower Mosaic from a Roman house in Colchester. Colchester Castle Museum, England. Mid-second century CE.



Figure 25: Referenced centralized circle pattern dispersal throughout the Roman Empire.

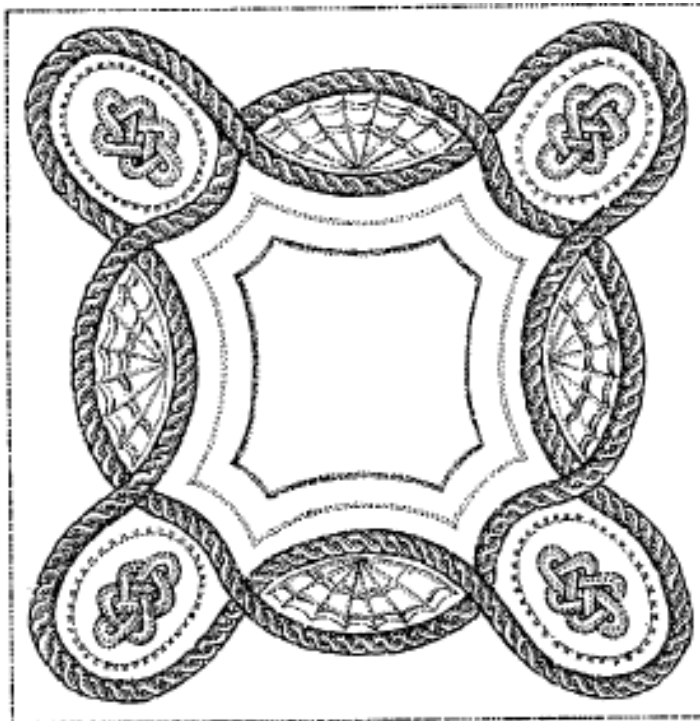


Figure 26: Mosaic with a centralized concave octagon with ellipses. Uxama, El Burdo de Osma, Spain. Late-second to early-third century CE.



Figure 27: Referenced honeycomb pattern dispersal throughout the Roman Empire.



Figure 28: Section of the Punishment of Dirce mosaic. Pula, Croatia. Third century CE.

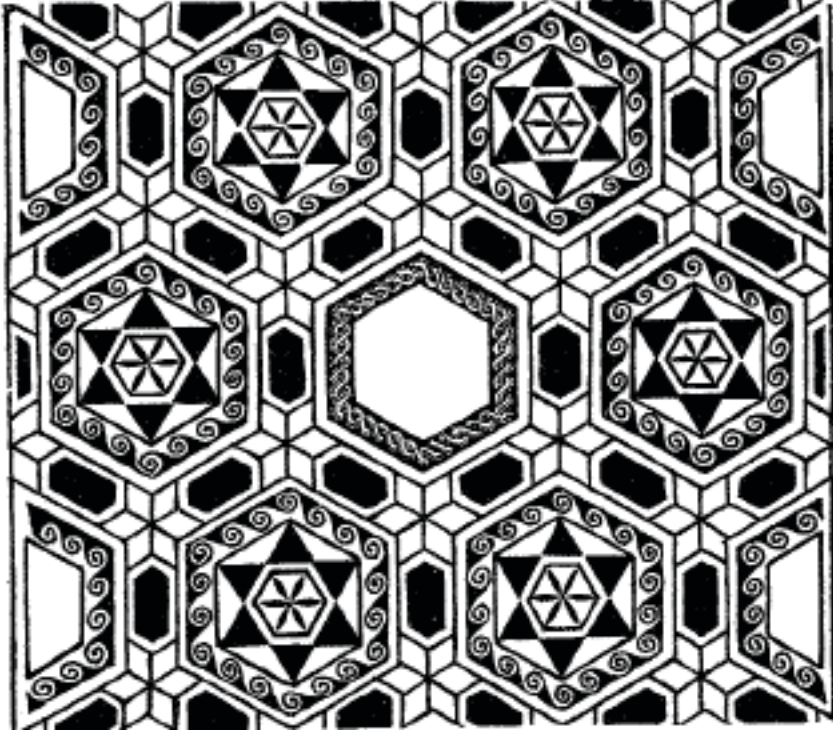


Figure 29: Tangent hexagon mosaic with geometric borders. Aquileia, Italy. Second century CE.



Figure 30: Mosaic of Soteria from the Baths of Apolausis, Antioch. Hatay Archaeological Museum, Turkey. Fourth century CE.



Figure 31: Orpheus Playing the Lyre Mosaic from Thysdrus. El Djem Museum, Tunisia. Mid-third century CE.



Figure 32: Dionysus Mosaic. *In situ*, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne. Ca. 220/230 CE.



Figure 33: Swastika mosaic. Musée Gallo-Roman de Lyon-Fourvière, France. Early third century CE.



Figure 34: Referenced grid pattern, both geometric and figural, dispersal throughout the Roman Empire.



Figure 35: Map showing locations of all referenced geometric mosaics. Location of sites with mosaics included in catalog demarcated in green. Location of mosaics of comparable design demarcated in red.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Terms

Atrium – The central room of a Roman house of the Pompeiian style. Usually containing an opening in the roof, the *compluvium*, that allows water to fall into a small pool on the floor, the *impluvium*.

Carpet mosaic – Covering a substantial amount of a floor surface, this type has an all-over design composed of figural, floral, or geometric elements.

Centralized pattern – A type of geometric layout where a shape sits in the center and halves or quarters of that same shape appear adjacent to or diagonally from the central element.

Cubiculum – A chamber in a Roman house typically used for sleeping or relaxing.

Emblema – (plural *emblemata*) From the Greek *emballo*, “I put in.” A mosaic decorative panel, usually a square or circle, that was formed elsewhere and later set into a designated location in a mosaic.

Fauces - An entrance of a Roman house consisting of a narrow passage leading into the atrium. Type that is specifically found at Pompeii.

Opus musivum – The application of *opus vermiculatum* to a larger space, usually on a wall or vault. Develops later in the history of mosaics towards the late antique and early Christian periods.

Opus sectile – A type of surface treatment, for floors or walls, where pieces of marble or other stone, are cut into shapes and then fit together to form a design and a smooth surface.

Opus tessellatum – From the Latin “*tessellar, tessera*,” it probably derives from the Greek “*tessares*,” meaning “cube” or “die.” The most commonly found mosaic type, especially during the Roman period. *Tesserae* of a consistent size are arranged, often in a grid arrangement to form a range of decorative elements ranging from simple layouts to complex figural or geometric patterns.

Opus vermiculatum – Latin for “worm-like work,” the term describes detailed and intricate images composed of small pieces of stone that are chipped to fit together to form complex images.

Scutulatum - The incorporation of fragments or chunks of stone, often marble, set within the mosaic floor.

Tessera (plural *tesserae*) – An individual tile, primarily in the shape of a cube, most commonly made of stone, but also could be composed of glass, terracotta, or plaster. *Tesserae* are the primary pieces used to form mosaics.

Appendix B: Catalog of Mosaics

- I. I. Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (*Glanum*)
 - a. Capricorn Mosaic
 - b. Sulla Mosaic
 - c. Mosaic with Dolphins
 - d. Mosaic room in Maison D'Atys
- II. II. Arles (*Arlate*)
 - a. Aion Mosaic
 - b. Medusa Mosaic
 - c. Aion and the Four Seasons
 - d. Rape of Europa Mosaic & Kantharos Mosaic
 - e. Orpheus Mosaic
- III. III. Nîmes (*Nemausus*)
 - a. The Marriage of Admetus
 - b. Pentheus Mosaic
 - c. Bellerophon Mosaic
 - d. Achilles Mosaic
 - e. Scatter Mosaic
- IV. IV. Vaison-la-Romaine (*Vasio*)
 - a. Pavement of Room B, La Villa du Paon
 - b. Pavement of Room D, "Peacock Mosaic"
 - c. Pavement of Room E, La Villa du Paon
 - d. Mosaic with decoration of lozenges and curving waves
- V. V. Vienne/Saint-Romain-en-Gaul (*Vienna*)
 - a. Rustic Calendar
 - b. Drunkenness of Hercules
 - c. Mosaic with Silanus and Followers of Dionysus
 - d. Mosaic of Hylas and the Nymphs
 - e. Mosaic Floor with Orpheus and Animals
 - f. Mosaic of Wrestling and Hunting Cupids
 - g. Grange Mosaic
 - h. Mosaic of Theater Masks
 - i. Orpheus Charming the Animals
 - j. Mosaic of the Athletes
 - k. Geometric *Scutulatum* Mosaic
- VI. VI. Trier (*Trevorum or Augusta Treverorum*)
 - a. Monnus Mosaic
 - b. Polydus Mosaic
 - c. Dionysus & Seasons Mosaic
 - d. Literary & Rhetoric Mosaic

- e. Nine Muses Mosaic
 - f. Dionysus Mosaic
 - g. Medusa Mosaic
- VII. VII. Nennig
 - a. Amphitheater Mosaic

I. Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (*Glanum*)

I.a.

Title: Capricorn Mosaic

Date: 1st cent. BCE

Context: From the House of the Capricorn. In a different room in the same house as the Mosaic with Dolphins, described below [I.c.].

Location: Hotel de Sade, St.-Rémy-de-Provence

Description: A *signinum* pavement with a mosaic *emblema* of a Capricorn sea-goat at the center. The sea-goat is situated in a yellow square orientated on the diagonal with a red border nested within another square so that its corners touch the midpoints of the larger square. The larger square has a trichrome fillet border of four bands: from the exterior in, yellow, white, black, and red. In the four triangles around the diagonal square with Capricorn are four aquatic animals, either fish or dolphins. The border that is around the larger square has a wave pattern. This could suggest that the aquatic animals and the sea-goat are meant to be in a watery environment.

Patterns: Centrally placed, the *emblema* is set within a triple fillet band that has a normal wave pattern around it. Within the center square is a rotated square. Composing the frame around the *emblema* is a pseudo-shield of lozenges, with eight equal sections defined by four diameters, the adjacent sections as lozenges with un-emphasized diameters.

Colors: Black, white, yellow, and red.

Similar: Cathaège, Spain (Balmelle 2002b p.153c); Uzés, France (Brown 2017 43).

Bibliography: Dunbabin 1999 73-74, fig. 74; Salvat 1990 94; Rolland 1949 pl. XX fig. 2; Balmelle 2002a pg. 156 fig. b, pg. 26-27 fig. s; Balmelle 2002b p.153.

Image:





I.b.

Title: Sulla Mosaic

Date: Middle of 1st cent. BCE

Context: House XII, House of Sulla. Built during the city's second residential building period. The house itself covers 255 meters square and had a second story. Not exactly in a Roman or Greek style, the house has a forecourt that led to the *tablinum* behind where the mosaic was laid. The measurements of the house do not fit Roman set measurements, but rather maintain a local sizing. Fresco fragments from this room are similar to the Pompeiian second style, contributing to the dating the house to the middle of the first century BCE.

Location: Unknown

Description: A mosaic combining terrazzo with a tessellated pavement, the central panel and borders made in *tesserae*. An inscription done in *tesserae* in the middle band of terrazzo bears the inscription CO(RNELII) SULLAE.

Patterns: The central *emblema* consists of a square with tangent windmills with alternating colors (black and white) that create the effect of a row of tangent diagonally quartered squares forming hourglasses. The border has two parts. For the interior border, a meander is formed by spaced reverse-turned swastikas separated by rectangles; the exterior border consists of a band of outlined squares with the interiors alternating from empty to an inscribed rotated, outlined square.

Colors: Black, white, brown(s), and yellow(s).

Similar: Pompeii, Italy (Balmelle 2002a p. 313a & Pernice pl. 17.2; Pompeii, Italy; Mamshit, Israel; & Cologne, Germany (Balmelle 2002a pg. 48d; 84b; Pg. 48d; & 48i.

Bibliography: Salviat 1990, 45; Anderson 2013 31-32, 206-08; Delestre & Salvat 2011 p. 28; Balmelle 2002a pg. 84b, 48d, & 48i.

Image:



I.c.

Title: Mosaic with Dolphins

Date: 1st cent. BCE

Measurement: 1m x 1m

Context: Originally set in what is called the House of the Capricorn. The house was demolished and built over during the expansion of the adjacent thermal baths in the second century CE.

Location: Hotel de Sade, St.-Rémy-de-Provence

Description: Square section of a pavement with a circular center with a lozenge pattern. In the four corners there are four fish. Rolland (1960, 88) describes this as a net in which the fish were or are about to be caught.

Patterns: Pseudo-shield of lozenges, in a circle, with eight equal sections defined by four diameters, the adjacent sections as lozenges without articulated diameters.

Colors: Black, yellow, and white.

Similar: Cathaège, Spain (Balmelle 2002b p.153c).

Bibliography: Rolland 1960 88-89; de Brun 1942 30-31; Rolland 1949 Pl. XX fig. 1; Balmelle 2002b p.153c.

Image:



I.d.

Title: Mosaic room in Maison D'Atys

Date: Mid/Late 3rd cent. BCE - mid 2nd cent. BCE

Context: Within the Maison D'Atys, a Delian-type house, the room with the mosaic faces a colonnaded courtyard. This particular room was added onto the original structure during the Hellenistic period.

Location: *in situ*

Description: An *opus tessellatum* floor spans the entirety of the space up to the stone threshold connecting the room to the rest of the *domus*. Mainly decorated in white, the central space of the floor has a rectangular design combining black and white *tesserae*.

Patterns: A wave pattern set on a black background borders a small central rectangle.

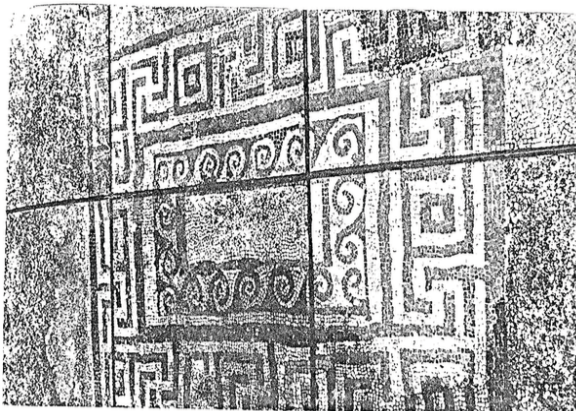
Surrounding this rectangle is a swastika meander of spaced single-turned swastikas separated by squares.

Colors: Black and white.

Similar: Sardes, Turkey, synagogue, *in situ*.

Bibliography: Fay 1981 pg. 1, pls. 2,7; Rolland 1960 pgs. 79-80; Balmelle 2002a 80-81c.

Image:



II. Arles (*Arlate*)

II.a.

Title: Aion Mosaic

Date: End of the 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 7.6 x 7.7m

Context: Found in what is known as *Domus* 4, in space 10, the *triclinium* of a Roman villa.

Location: Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques

Description: The central panel of the mosaic depicts a heroically nude Aion, the symbolization of passing time. His arm is propped upon a band that is filled with the signs of the zodiac. The scene is surrounded by panels with tritons, sea creatures, and cupids. In each of the four corners are representations of the seasons present. The black traces come from a fire that destroyed the house around 260 CE.

Patterns: The spaces with figures are framed by a single black fillet, itself framed by an inward facing dentillated fillet. Between the frames runs a shaded single guilloche of red and blue over a black background. Geometric patterns fill the space surrounding the decorated rectangle on three sides. The side not decorated with patterns contains a single panel filled with a figural scene. Adjacent to the side without the larger geometric border on both sides are two rectangular sections filled with a bichrome orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, forming saltires of spindles and concave squares with an inscribed concave square. Filling the rest of this larger border space are rows of tangent smaller rotated squares in alternating colors forming larger stepped squares that contain rotated concave squares within.

Colors: Blue, red, white, shades of yellow, and black.

Similar: Pompeii, Italy (Balmelle 2002a 54-55a); Lamèse, Algeria (Balmelle 2002a 202-03d)

Bibliography: Teyssier 2016 pgs. 160-161; Lancha 1994 pg. 256; Lancha 1997 pg. 103 pl. XXXVIII; Droste 2003 pgs. 96-99; Rothé and Hijmans 2008 pgs. 657-59 figs. 980, 983-84; Collectif 1996 pgs. 107-109.

Image:





II.b.

Title: Medusa Mosaic

Date: End of the 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 7.40 x 3.45m

Context: Found within what is deemed *domus* 4, in space 8.

Location: Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques

Description: Composed of two polychrome carpets that are separated by a black and white rectangle. A final black and white mosaic pattern is situated at the end of one of the polychrome mosaics. The first polychrome mosaic has a guilloche bordered square that is filled with geometric patterning, five circles, and yellow swastikas placed in the otherwise blank spaces. The face of Medusa is framed in the central tondo. A geometric pattern separates the first section of the mosaic from a second large area with polychrome decoration. The border features an optical illusion three-dimensional continuing swastika border. In the interior square space, two final borders frame a square scene whose composition is lost. The final section of the mosaic is filled with rectangular blocks.

Patterns: The first square has a shaded simple guilloche, on a black background encircling a square formed by a fillet. The center square decoration is filled with quasi-tangent circles and indexed quadrilobes of peltae tangent to a central inscribed saltire of spindles (or quatrefoil). The formed squares with concave sides have a yellow swastika in the center. Five circles are within this large square: one in the center and the other four near each corner. Each circle is surrounded by a shaded simple guilloche on a black background. Separating the two polychrome sections is a geometric pattern of an outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular octagons adjacent and intersecting on the shorter sides (forming squares and oblong hexagons). The second large polychrome section is also a square, this time surrounded by a thick border of a three-dimensional spaced swastika-meander of recessed and reverse-turned swastikas, with concentric squares in each space, in lateral perspective on a black background. Towards the center of the square is another border of a serrated saw-tooth pattern. The innermost border to the central scene is a shaded simple guilloche on a black background. The final geometric pattern is repeated in two rows of four elements, each of the eight total repetitions comprised of four rectangles that rotate around a central square (four-oblong squares pattern). The rectangles and central squares all have an inner outlining of a single fillet.

Colors: Red, white, black, yellow, peach, and orange.

Similar: Ottricoli, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 86-87c; Pompeii, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 260-61a.

Bibliography: Rothé and Hijmans 2008 pgs. 658-60 figs. 981-82, 986.

Image:



II.c.

Title: Aion and the Four Seasons

Date: 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 3.30 x 3.30m

Context: Discovered in a Roman villa, in the city's region called Trinquetaille, or more commonly referred to as the Glassmaker quarter.

Location: Excavated in 1914 the mosaic is now in Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques.

Description: Aion, the genus of time, is presented in an octagon surrounded by bust representations of the four seasons, each in their own frame. Notably, the figure of Spring wears a crown of flowers.

Patterns: Orthogonal pattern of adjacent octagons with separating squares. Running between the octagons and squares is a shaded simple guilloche of red, yellow, and blue over a black background. In each of the five octagons the figure is further framed by a saw-tooth pattern of equilateral triangles. The four busts have yet another frame of a dentillated fillet, with a final black fillet at the center. The halved *scutums* near the borders contain an inner facing dentillated fillet that circles around and forms a smaller *scutum*. In the four squares are one of two shapes: a Solomon knot of red and blue bands and a rosette of eight adjacent lobed petals.

Colors: Yellow, black, red, white, and blue.

Similar: Bignor, UK (Balmelle 2002b pg. 253b); Décor 164.

Bibliography: Teyssier 2016 pgs. 164-5; Lancha 1994 pg. 255; Lancha 1997 pgs. 104-05 pl. XXXVIII b; Balmelle 2002b pg 253; Droste 2003 pgs. 95, 97; Blanc-Bijon 2008 pgs. 171-72; Rothé and Hijmans 2008 pgs. 638-39, fig. 941.

Image:



II.d.

Title: Rape of Europa Mosaic & Kantharos Mosaic

Date: End of the 2nd cent. - start of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: Europa 2.05 x 1.87m; Kantharos 2 x 2m

Context: Both mosaics were found in a Roman villa that sits on the route of Saints-Maries-de-la-Mer at Trinquetaille.

Location: Currently in Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques, the mosaics were excavated in the early twentieth century.

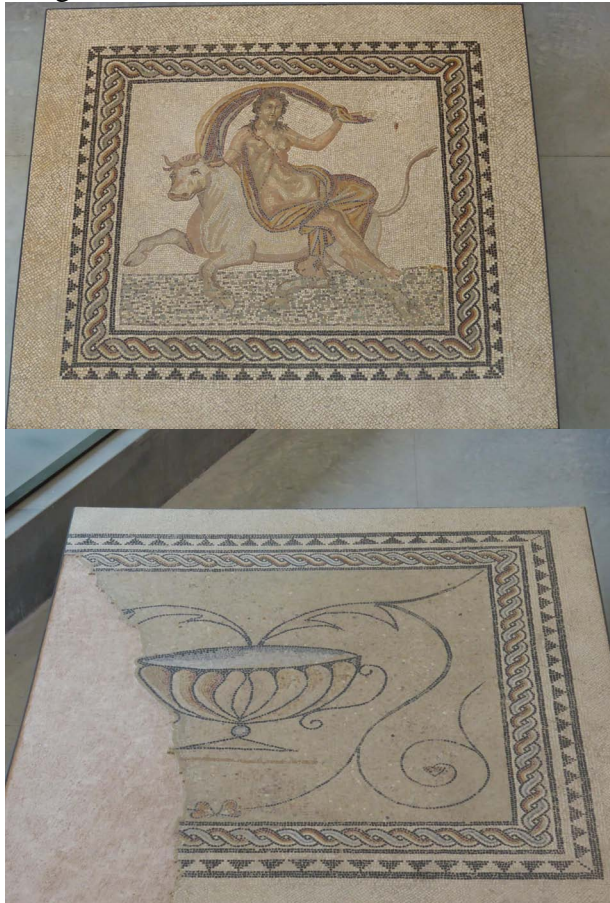
Description: Polychrome mosaic. Rape of Europa, daughter of the King of Tyre, riding on the back of Zeus in the form of a bull. A kantharos with a gilded paunch and S-shaped handles from which springs a double stylized vegetal scroll terminated by heart-shaped leaves

Patterns: A single black fillet begins the frame around the central scene. Following that is a shaded simple guilloche of red, yellow, and blue set on a white background. Further outside of that is a saw-toothed pattern of equilateral triangles.

Colors: Black, white, yellow, blue, and red. Exterior border of the kantharos is the inversion of that around the Rape of Europa. For the kantharos, the triangles point outward with a final black fillet enclosing the triangles, and progression of colors of the guilloche are reversed in both mosaics.

Bibliography: Teyssier 2016 pgs. 164-5; Droste 2003 pgs. 96, 97; Blanc-Bijon 2008 pg. 170; Rothé and Hijmans 2008 pgs. 682-83 figs. 1039-40; Collectif 2002 pgs. 101-02.

Image:



II.e.

Title: Orpheus Mosaic

Date: 2nd half of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 4.05 x 6m

Context: From a *cubiculum* in a house in Trinquetaille

Location: Musée de l'Arles et de la Provence antiques, discovered in 1934

Description: A square mosaic fitted to the room. An octagonal central design frames Orpheus seated in front of a tree, playing the kithara for the animals gathered around him. Four triangles square off the octagonal center permitting a border of 16 quadrilaterals (squares and rectangles) placed adjacent to one another and filled with various geometric patterns.

Patterns: The four triangles in the spaces outside the central octagon frame a triangle formed from four smaller triangles outlined in black, within each of which is a small black triangle. Sixteen squares with various patterns surround the main panel. The four border squares at the outer corners have the same pattern – a circle of a shaded simple guilloche. In the center of the circle is a red square that acts as a base for dart shaped petals with leaves. There are six additional patterns in the twelve squares between the corners (three on each side), matched diagonally across the mosaic. First, a guilloche mat; second, a polychrome grid of bands of indexed checker-pattern of single *tesserae*, the compartments enclosing a parallel square of checker-pattern of single *tesserae*, alternating in color in the manner of a chessboard; third, an orthogonal pattern of tangent peltae in alternately upright and recumbent confronted pairs (running-pelta pattern) whose colors are counterchanged, forming cordiform interspaces; fourth, a frame of a shaded simple guilloche on a white background that surrounds a square outlined in a single black fillet. The interior of the square has four triangles with the hypotenuse along the fillet. An 'x' is formed in white between the four triangles in the square; fifth, another geometric design framed by an shaded simple guilloche on a black background, this one with another square with small four squares in the corners with a single dot in the center, rectangles between them with three opposing triangles within, and another central square of a rotated square with four black triangles filling the corners and in the center two triangles' points meet to form a bowtie shape; lastly, a twisted continual band takes up a the majority with a triangle in the open center of the band.

Colors: White, black, yellow, red, and green.

Similar: III.a.c; IV.c; V.b; Ouzouër –sur-Trézée, France (Balmelle 2002b 254a).

Bibliography: Droste 2003 pgs 197-98; Rothé and Hijmans 2008 pgs. 674-75 fig. 1021; Balmelle 2002a pg. 204b; *Gallia* 13 1955 pg. 52 fig. 11; Collectif 2002 pgs. 104-05.

Image:





III. Nîmes (*Nemausus*)

III.a.

Title: The Marriage of Admetus

Date: Second half of the 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 5.94m x 8.89m

Context: Roman *domus*, near the Forum, situated in a large room (50m²) off the portico

Location: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nîmes

Description: A large carpet mosaic found in a Roman *domus*. At the top is a large rectangular section with the rest of the mosaic divided into a grid pattern of four columns by five rows. In the second and third columns, in the second and third rows the grid is gone and a larger panel depicts a figural scene. This scene depicts the marriage of Admetus, the son of Pheres, king of Pherae in Thessaly. Admetus, wishing to marry Alcestis, the most beautiful daughter of Pelias, King of Iolcos of Thessaly, was told he needed to harness a lion and a boar to a chariot. Apollo assisted in this cause, having been condemned for killing the Cyclopes and in need of penance. The scene is set on a beige background with a portico on the back left and a drape in the top right corner. A nude Admetus stands on the right with the yoked lion and boar. Behind Admetus stands a warrior with his helmet, shield, and spear. Situated between the warrior and the portico post is another figure, holding a spear with no helmet (possibly Apollo). On the right, a seated Pelias and a nude Alcestis are arranged on a wooden platform of distorted perspective. The successful Admetus reaches out his hand towards Alcestis to receive her as his bride.

Patterns: The entirety of this mosaic is framed by an outward facing saw-tooth pattern of equilateral triangles. Inside, the rest of the decorative motifs are enclosed by a single black fillet. At the top of the mosaic, a long rectangular space is bordered by a simple guilloche, separated from the rest of the space by a single fillet. Within the larger rectangle is an elaborate floral motif comprised of spiraling tendrils with leaves and buds stemming from them. Situated on top of the spirals are birds and on the bottom are large cats, including a lion and a jaguar. Composing the rest of the mosaic is a large grid of four columns by five rows. This is broken up near the top with a large panel taking up the space of four of the grid spaces in the center of the second and third rows, thus, sixteen form the rest of the grid. The large panel is framed by a shaded, tightly braided straight-tongued double guilloche set on the white background. Surrounding the large scene and each of the sixteen squares is a single fillet. The rest of this space is filled with a meander of alternately reversed double-turned swastikas that create the effect of a half-upright triple-latchkey meander.

No two of the formed squares have the same geometric patterns. The following descriptions are based on the letters assigned to each square, shown in the outline below: (a) The top left square was modified during its excavation and restoration and now holds a modern inscription. (b) Four outlined chevrons filled with rows of superposed shortened thorns are situated amongst a winding pattern of a shaded simple guilloche on a white background. In the center is a square filled with a circle. (c) A small central circle holds a small cupid figure. Branching off from this circle are four outward facing chevrons filled with a row of superposed serrated isosceles and right angle triangles framing a central red chevron. Between the chevrons are indexed squares each containing

a Solomon knot. In each of the four corners are squares also filled with Solomon knots. Spaced in between these larger elements are lozenges and triangles, each filled with a miniature colored version of the larger shape. (d) A central circle is filled with a polychrome shield of oblong bipartite scales. In the center of the shield is a small cupid figure adorned with a cape playing a musical instrument. In the corners surrounding the center are flared bifid lotus flowers with apexes. (e) Pattern of adjacent bands of tangent hourglasses, the colors changed forming two different sets of colored squares. (f) A polychrome orthogonal pattern of tangent circles and saltires of ogives with a superimposed central circle, forming regular concave hexagons. (g) Bichrome pseudo-shield of scales, in a square in eight sections framed by the medians and the diagonals. The sections have bipartite scales with the diagonals as rows of spindles. (h) A central circle is filled with a star made of eight parallelograms in the center. Eight squares are situated in the backs of the lozenges which are surrounded by a further eight lozenges on their sides encircling the central pattern. In fish is in each of the four corners (i) A central circle is filled with tangent hexagons formed by hourglasses that form trapezes that create an effect of six-pointed stars. In the center of the hexagons are swastikas. The four corners each have a rhyton inside them. (j) A grid of rows of tangent recumbent spindles. A flower composed of four heart shaped petals are in each one. (k) A central circle filled with an outlined triaxial pattern of adjacent equilateral triangles. A small triangle is in the center of each. The four corners are filled with *hedera* with leaves. (l) A square is in the center with a rotated concave square within. Four crosses are spaced evenly around the square. In each corner, there is a small square. Spaced at the center of each side of the larger square is a rectangle. Amongst these set shapes are lozenges that create an illusion of depth. (m) In the center of the square is a rotated square filled with a circle formed around a hexafoil of six contiguous spindles. Radiating out from the central square are small equilateral triangles and rectangles willed with either triangles or peltae. (n) A central circle filled with a lattice pattern of intersecting fillets. The corners around the circle are each filled with a curving leaf. (o) Orthogonal pattern of adjacent lozenges and squares, the colors counter changed. (p) A circle fills most of the space with an inner fillet of ocher. The circle is filled with a honeycomb pattern of tangent upright rectangles, forming hexagons and triangles, the colors are countered changed, creating an effect of irregular intersecting dodecagons. The rectangles are filled with indexed lozenges. In the corners are spindle shaped petals.

Colors: Black, white, red, blue, green, yellow, and ocher.

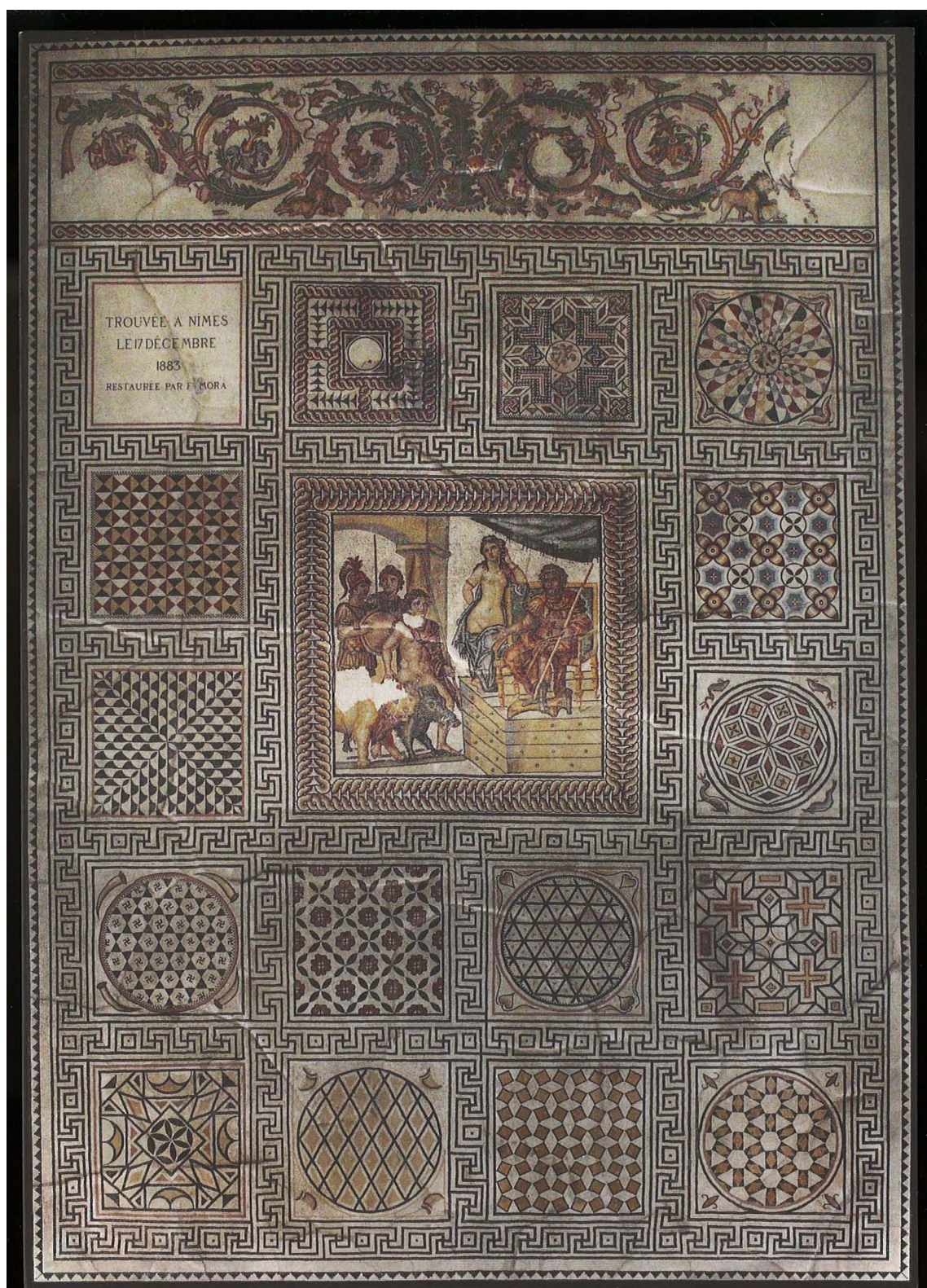
Similar: III.c; IV.c; V.b; Itálica, Spain (Balmelle 2002b pg. 229a) Interior patterns at: Yvonand, Switzerland; Cherchel, Algeria.

Bibliography: Lancha 1997 98-101, pl. XXXVI et A; Stern 1967 p.54 fig. 5; Teyssier 2014 176-77.

Image:

A	B	C	D
E			F
G			H
I	J	K	L

M	N	O	P
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III.b.

Title: Pentheus Mosaic

Date: 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 35m²

Context: Southern part of a 950m² *domus*, one of the largest found in Nîmes. The *domus* had a courtyard of 160m². Wall decoration depicting Apollo standing, half-naked, wearing a purple drape wrapped on the hips and passive over the shoulder was also found within this home. During the third century CE, most likely the later portion, the house was abandoned.

Location: *in situ*, Musée de la Romanité

Description: The black and white pattern around the mosaics was for the situation of the lounge chairs for eating. Five large curvilinear squares or “cushions” are the main focus. Around those are two pairs of four bird species (ducks, partridges, parakeets, and hoopoes) are placed within ellipses. The four seasons are also represented in the mosaic, each of the figures wearing a crown. Spring’s crown is vegetal, Summer’s is made of wheat ears, Fall’s has vines, and Winter is hooded with a crown of reeds. Maenads are in the corner cushions wearing crowns of ivy and adorned in a diaphanous material giving a nude appearance. Shown dancing, they also hold musical instruments. The central scene shows Pentheus being murdered by his mother Agavé, a story from Greek mythology written in the *Bacchantes* by Euripides. Near the border are four theater masks, two dramatic and two comedic, filling the bell spaces. Overall the mosaic has a strong Dionysiac theme with the Maenads, the death of Pentheus, and the theater masks. Trowel marks have been found for the laying of the preparatory layers, along with a footprint of a studded shoe. The preparatory drawings are still visible along with traces of pigments. This suggests that the surface pattern was outlined and assigned colors by mosaicist before the *tesserae* were laid. There is some evidence of restoration to the mosaic, but it is considered to be clumsily done, as seen in the crown of Fall.

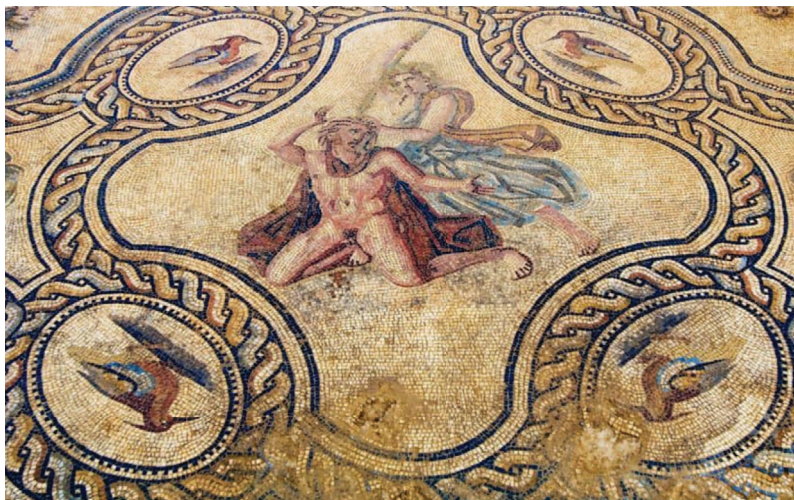
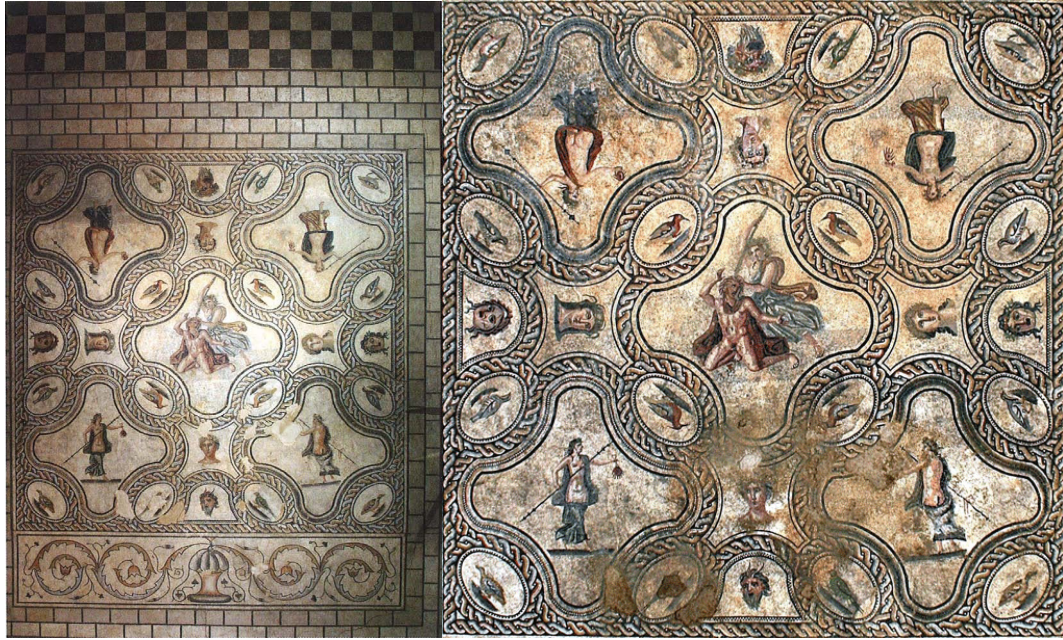
Patterns: Five rows with twenty-four columns of a black and white chessboard pattern stretches across the top of the mosaic. The central decorative square is framed by three to five bands of an ashlar masonry pattern. The central square is dominated by five cushions, one in each of the corners and a central one. Amongst the cushions are four formed octagons with four concave sides. Closest to the borders are four bells to fill the spaces between an octagons and two ellipses. All the larger geometric shapes have a white background and then a single fillet to outline the shape. Weaving around all the shapes is a simple shaded guilloche.

Colors: Black, white, gray, ocher, green, blue, and orange.

Similar: La Chebba, Tunisia (Balmelle 2002b pgs. 246-47c).

Bibliography: Daniel 2007 pg. 22; Parzys 2012.

Image:



III.c.

Title: Bellerophon Mosaic

Date: Early 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 2.62 x 3.30m

Context: Roman *domus*, found near three other mosaics that were slightly closer to Bouquerie square.

Location: Discovered in 1950, now in Musée de la Romanité, Nîmes

Description: The introduction to the mosaic is a white panel with two rows of spaced black squares. Next to this is a more decorative surface of three columns and only two rows remaining extant. The three squares closest to the white panel are filled with geometric patterns, while the three above hold figures. The central panel depicts Bellerophon on his horse Pegasus killing the chimera. The two flanking squares have aqueous birds.

Patterns: The rectangular panel at the bottom is a blank pavement with small squares spaced to form two rows. This panel and the rest of the mosaic are outlined with a single fillet that also separates the two sections. The geometric design is further framed with another single fillet. Creating a border between the six different squares is a swastika meander of spaced single-returned swastikas separated by squares. (a) A shaded simple guilloche on a white background frames a central square that holds depictions of three birds. (b) A circle fills the square with the image of Bellerophon in the center. In the corner spaces of the frame are four human figural busts that represent the four seasons. (c) Framed again by a shaded simple guilloche on a white background, a single fillet square separates the inner scene from the border. Within this frame are two ducks parallel to each other amongst three small sprouts of grass and two flowers on long stems. (d) A frame of a bichrome row of parallelograms form superposed chevrons with staggered arms. Within the circle six spindles form a central hexagon with concave sides. At the angles, further spindles radiate off to form adjacent hexagons with concave sides. The joints for the spindles have three short scales of three different colors arranged around them. The hexagons all have a rotated crosslet within. In the four corners are figs and apples. (e) Here, a shaded simple guilloche on a white background frames a geometric pattern comprised of triangles in the corners. A series of lozenges that end at four indexed squares surround a central square with a bolded frame. Each of the rotated squares has a crosslet at its center. Within this small inner square is a crater. (f) Another frame comprised of a bichrome row of parallelograms forming superposed chevrons with staggered arms again frames a circle. This circle is filled with a bichrome chessboard pattern of lozenges on an axis. In the four corners are images of birds and fish.

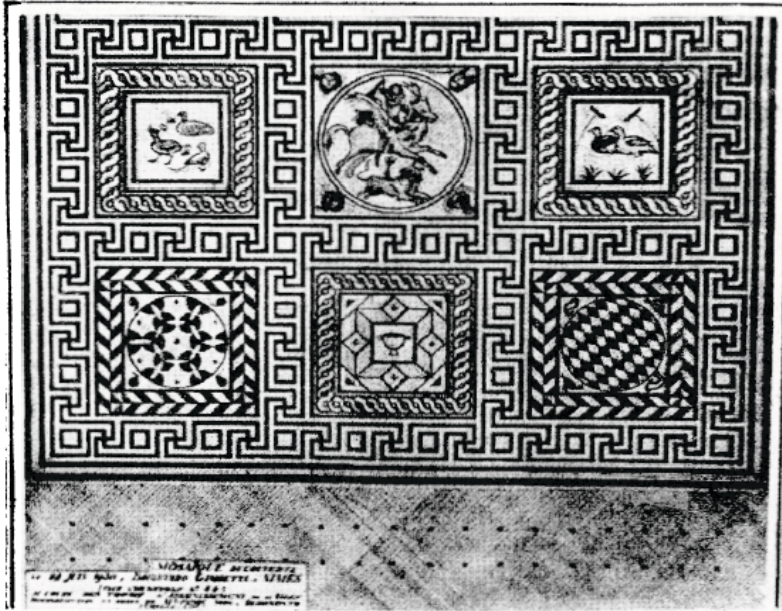
Colors: Black, white, red, ochre, and blue.

Similar: III.a; IV.c; V.b; Itálica, Spain (Balmelle 2002b pg. 229a).

Bibliography: Lantier 1951; Aymard 1953; Teyssier 2014 pg. 297; Darmon 1990 pgs. 146-47.

Image:

A	B	C
D	E	F



III.d.

Title: Achilles Mosaic

Date: 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 50m²

Context: Roman *domus*, thought to be of a very wealthy patron, near to the Pentheus mosaic

Location: *in situ*, Musée de la Romanité

Description: A large full floor mosaic that filled the extent of the space in which it was found. Primarily the mosaic is dominated by the pattern amongst the shapes. The focus of the mosaic is the central panel depicting an episode of the Trojan War where Achilles, disguised as a woman, is hidden among the gynaeceum of King Lycomedes on the island of Skyros. This scene shows Achilles being unmasked by Ulysses.

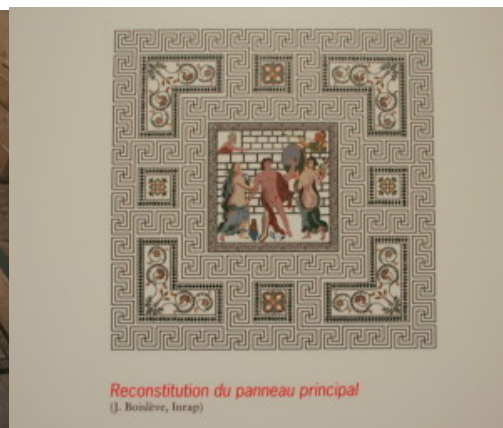
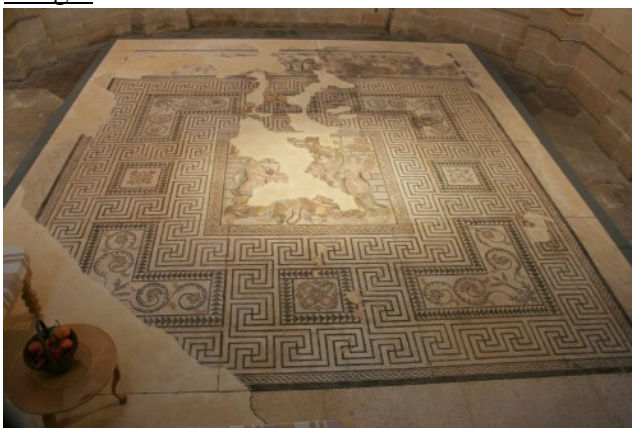
Patterns: Framing the entire mosaic is a thick black single fillet. The top of the panel has a badly damaged floral composition of spiraling vines, buds, and small animals. Separated by another fillet is the larger portion of the mosaic. Circumscribing this whole section is an outlined simple guilloche with an interior fillet frame. Running between all the larger geometric elements of the mosaic is a swastika-meander with a double return. The mosaic features a large central panel with a figural scene. This frame is outlined with a triple-strand guilloche on a white background. Set back from this central panel are four chevrons that frame the corners of the panel. Between the chevrons are small squares. The squares and chevrons are framed with a continual row of superposed triangles with counterchanged colors. Within the lozenges are floral elements consisting of four spirals, two on each side, that merge together to form a curved stem. Leaves branch off from the vines and four central spirals have flowers at the end. At the center of the chevron, a vase element holds three spindle petals. Within the squares are rosettes of four contiguous elements, including a bifid calyx with apex.

Colors: White, black, blue, yellow, red, and green.

Similar: Mosaics with Achilles have equivalents to Orbe in Switzerland, Villa Romana La Olmeda (Spain) and in Italy. Set back chevrons can be seen in Colchester & Woodchester, England (Balmelle 2002b pgs. 212b, 306c).

Bibliography: Daniel 2007 pg. 24.

Image:





III.e.

Title: Scatter Mosaic

Date: 2nd cent. CE

Context: Roman *domus*

Location: Museum of Natural History, Nîmes

Description: Fragment of a floor mosaic with only geometric decoration.

Patterns: The mosaic was framed with a thick fillet that divided the two sections. The top portion, has a rectangle that features a shaded simple guilloche that wraps around a small rectangle in the center. Below, there a *scutulatum* pattern is formed through a trichrome checker-pattern of single *tessera*. The central space is bordered by a black and white triple fillet.

Colors: Black, white, orange, ochre, and red.

Similar: V.k; Apt, France (Balmelle 2002a pg. 168c); Tivoli, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63a); Aquilée, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63b); Palestrina, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63c); Herculaneum, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63d).

Bibliography: Ministère 1931 pl. XXVI.

Image:



IV. Vaison-la-Romaine (*Vasio*)

The mosaics from Vaison-la-Romaine (*Vasio*) primarily come from the so-called “House of the Peacock,” named after a mosaic featuring the noble bird in its center. Excavated in 1966 by Henri Rolland, the Five of the villa’s rooms had mosaics in them. Located in the center of the city, the house is orientated on an orthogonal plan. For this catalogue the three most complete mosaics were examined (IV.a, V.b, and IV.c).

IV.a.

Title: Pavement of Room B

Date: Late 1st cent. - early/middle 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 9.35 x 6.18m

Context: One of the mosaics in the House of the Peacock.

Location: unknown

Description: A large carpet mosaic that fills the entire ground surface of the room. Framed by a guilloche band, there is a geometric pattern that emphasizes squares that have figures in them. Floral and animal representations are most common, though one has a crater. In what should be the central octagonal pattern is a blank space from where a statue base or fountain would have been placed.

Patterns: On the exterior of the mosaic is a thick triple fillet with black on the exterior and interior bands. Nestled next to this is a four-strand guilloche. Then another triple fillet with black interior and exterior lines. The interior is an intricate composition based on juxtaposed octagons, five in length and three in width. The octagons are separated by squares and triangles. A rotated square is in the center of each octagon, with its corners touching the midpoint of each side of the squares. Diagonals form connected points that run from the middle side of the square across to the middle of the octagons’ sides. On both sides, the diagonals are extended to connect the sides of both large and the small squares totaling sixteen equal diamonds. In the small diagonal of each lozenge is a black square. Each of the squares connect on their sides to carry a half star emphasized by squares.

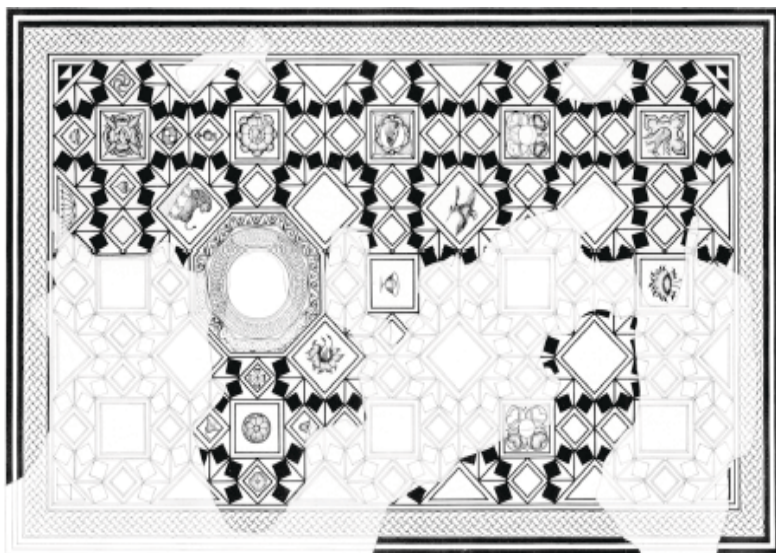
Within the straight and rotated large squares are floral and animal motifs. Of the most distinct are a bird and lion. Additionally, and perhaps the most distinct, is the rosette of two adjacent corollas, the first with eight adjacent elements as lobed petals and the second with eight noncontiguous scale elements with the center as a large overlapping circle with a horse protome.

Colors: Red, blue, black, white, yellow, pink, ochre, beige, and light blue/grey.

Similar: Tunisia, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 266-75 esp. 267b, 271e).

Bibliography: de Kisch 1990 pgs. 15-17; Lassus 1971 pgs. 49-54; Balmelle 2002b pg. 84e; Salviat 1967 pg. 381.

Image:



IV.b.

Title: Pavement of Room D, “Peacock Mosaic”

Date: Late 1st cent. to the middle of the 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 5.35 x 6.18m, 33m²

Context: House of the Peacock, the room opened on both the north and south sides over courtyards with fountains.

Location: Le Musée Archéologique Théo Desplans, Vaison-la-Romaine

Description: Floor mosaic, fitting its contextual space, composed of two side long rectangles and a central square filled with a circle. The circle is filled with a total of seven octagons of which birds are present within, including the peacock in the central space. Geometric patterns fill the spaces around the figures.

Patterns: The central circle is an excerpt of a triaxial pattern as a honeycomb: in a circle and around a hexagon, six adjacent and six truncated hexagons (as coffers with concave bases) are on the periphery. Outlining the circle and the hexagons is a simple guilloche pattern of red and blue. All the hexagons have birds within them. The central hexagon has no additional patterning while the other six do. Diagonally opposed to each other two hexagons have a double wave mirrored wave pattern. Two others have a polychrome row of parallelograms forming superposed chevrons with staggered arms. The final two have a monochrome (the colors counterchanged) row of juxtaposed points with two points merging at the points of the hexagon they surround. A single white figure is set against a black background in each of the truncated hexagons. There are only three different figures as the same image appears in the diagonal truncated hexagon. These decorations are: a *hedera* with a single leaf, a vine leaf with three leaflets, and a trifid calyx. The circle itself is set in a square bordering a thick fillet. In the four convex quadrants around the circle, three of the spaces are filled with a flared bifid lotus with an apex with spiraling vines and one is filled with a sea dragon. The border around the central composition consists of squares, each filled with a different geometric design: indexed squares, compressed concave squares, Solomon knots, mirrored peltae, and one *hedera* with a single leaf. In one corner for five squares and on one side for six squares there is a connective element that links the squares together. On the two parallel sides of the mosaic are the final decorative feature. Here a long band of spiraling acanthus leaves, with various blossoms, spans the distance, with a krater in the middle of one side and on the other side the two spirals meet at the center.

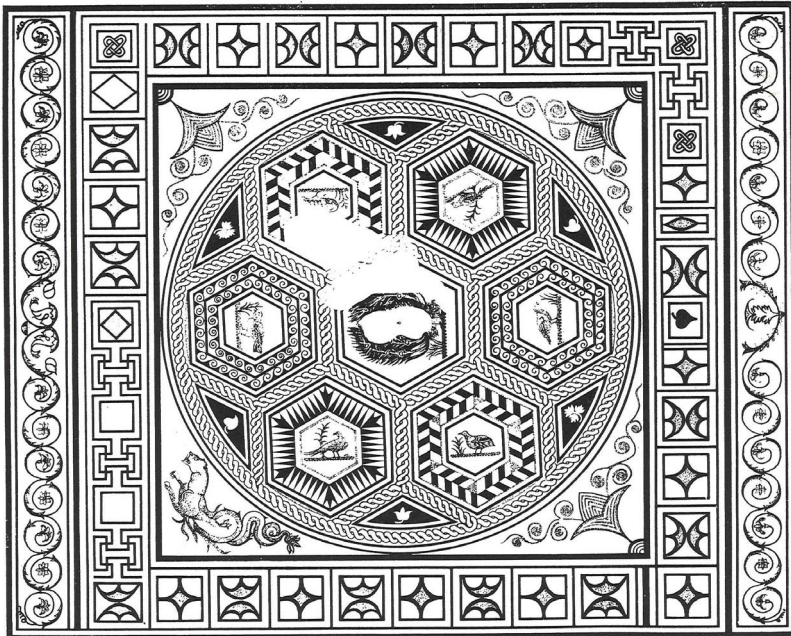
Colors: Black, white, red, blue(s), green, yellow, ochre garnet, and pink.

Similar: V.e; V.i.

Bibliography: de Kisch 1990; Balmelle 2002b pg. 239c.

Image:





IV.c.

Title: Pavement of Room E, La Villa du Paon

Date: Late 1st cent. - early/middle 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 6.21 x 4.05m

Context: House of the Peacock, the carpet mosaic for room E

Location: unknown

Description: A large carpet mosaic that filled the entire space in which it was found. Primarily the mosaic consists of a large geometric pattern of a grid with an elaborate border. In the squares formed by the grid - mostly damaged - are floral motifs and a theater mask (possibly multiple).

Patterns: Framing the large mosaic is a single fillet border. Within this is an elaborate geometric pattern that consists of a grid of eighteen squares and a surrounding border. The grid consists of outlined bands with squares at the intersections bearing an inscribed indexed square and the rectangles bearing a crosslet. Within the hexagons are hexafoils. Amongst this border are three columns with six rows of squares. The opposing pairs of grid squares have matching frames separated by the middle square (A&C, D&F, G&I, J&L, M&O, and P&R). (a) The points of a concave square that is placed in a square are situated in the corners of the larger square. Surrounding the concave square is a radial pattern of radii around a central outlined octagon behind the concave square. Each radius has a semicircle at the top with the diameter of the circle against the outer square. A theater mask is in the center of the concave square. (b) Bichrome row of tangent circles formed by four spindles forming indexed concave squares. A single black *tessera* is in the center of each formed square. (c) A square with extremely concave sides is situated within another square. The corners of both square are in the same place, but decorative space is formed due to the intensity of the concavity. Surrounding the interior square is a radial pattern of radii around a central outlined octagon behind the concave square. Each radius has a semicircle at the top with the diameter of the circle against the outer square. Most likely a mask would have been in the center. (d) Strung around a central square are tangent rotated squares that form hourglasses in counterchanged colors. The center is very damaged. (e) A shaded guilloche border around the square, though mostly damaged. (f) Strung around a central square are tangent indexed squares that form hourglasses in counterchanged colors. The center is very damaged. (g) Facing in towards a triple fillet outlined central square is a sequence of outlined ogives. (h) Surrounding a damaged central square are octagons placed in a row where two of the sides of the octagons are filled in, leaving the central strip blank. The sides of the octagons that are filled alternate. (i) Facing in towards a triple fillet outlined, central square are a sequence of outlined ogives. (j) A row of superposed shortened thorns encircles a square frame in which the central image has been damaged. (k) Very damaged, a wave pattern encircling a square center. (l) A row of superposed shortened thorns encircles a square frame in which the central image has a floral motif at its center. (m) A square center - likely filled with a floral design - with a row of superposed right-angled triangles in counter changed colors parading around. (n) A wave pattern encircling a square center. Also very damaged, but there are traces of leaves. (o) In the center of a framed square is a single leaf attached to a stem. A row of superposed right-angled triangles in counter changed colors are situated around the square. (p) A row of juxtaposed points of isosceles triangles with the sides longer than the base, radiating off of an outline of a square in the center. The corners

have an outlined triangle stemming from the joint of two meeting triangles. Within the center is a quadrilobe flower of four petals. (q) A shaded guilloche frame encircles a square frame. Within the interior frame is a flower composed of a quatrefoil with oblong scales in between. (r) A frame of juxtaposed points of isosceles triangles with the sides longer than the base radiating off of a square. The corners have additional triangles radiating off a central stem to form a plant frond. In the central square there is a single flower.

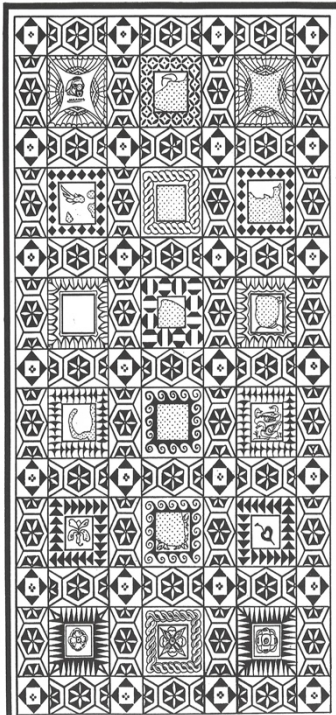
Colors: Black, white, gray, red, blue, yellow, brown, and green.

Similar: Arbin, France (Lancha 1974 pg. 66); II.e; III.a; V.b.

Bibliography: Lassus 1971 pgs. 60-63; de Kisch 1990 pgs. 26-29.

Image:

A	B	C
D	E	F
G	H	I
J	K	L
M	N	O
P	Q	R



IV.d.

Title: Mosaic with decoration of lozenges and curving waves

Date: Early 2nd cent. CE

Context: Maison à l'Apollon laurée, a wealthy Roman *domus*.

Location: *in situ*

Description: A mosaic fitted to its space. Laid as a carpet in the middle of the room, the central decorative motif includes a border and a decoration for the central space. The entrance to the space is defined by another rectangular geometric pattern.

Patterns: The central portion is a rectangle surrounded by a black fillet laid parallel to a red fillet forming a bold frame. A band of opposed wave patterns of opposite directions fills the inner rectangle. This is followed by another red and black fillet. The central panel is filled with a bichrome lattice pattern of intersecting single fillets. The outermost border of the space has a band of a bichrome pattern of intersecting circles that form saltires of spindles and concave squares.

Colors: Black, white, and red.

Similar: Rome, Italy (MosAntl, Roma, Palatium, no12, pl. III; Balmelle et al 2002a 316-17 fig. a).

Bibliography: Balmelle 2002a pgs. 372-73, pgs. 316-17a.

Image:



V. Vienne/Saint-Romain-en-Gaul (*Vienna*)

V.a.

Title: Rustic Calendar

Date: First quarter of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 4.34 x 5.66m (surviving portion)

Context: From a large room of a Roman villa, most likely a triclinium or a tabularium.

Location: Discovered at La Chantrerie the mosaic was moved to the Musée des Antiquités nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye where it has been on display since 1935.

Description: Originally composed of forty grid squares, only twenty-seven survive. All the squares are framed by guilloche. Surrounding the entire composition is a floral scroll pattern. A majority of the colors that are found in the individual scenes are made of glass with the rest in polychrome marbles. All forty of the original grid squares depicted scenes that occur on a farm to represent the actions of a yearly cycle and thus a calendar. Some of these activities include: sowing seeds, the moving of trees, the collection of dead branches, the crushing of grapes, the picking and pressing of olives, and putti represented as the bringers of the four seasons as they ride different animals.

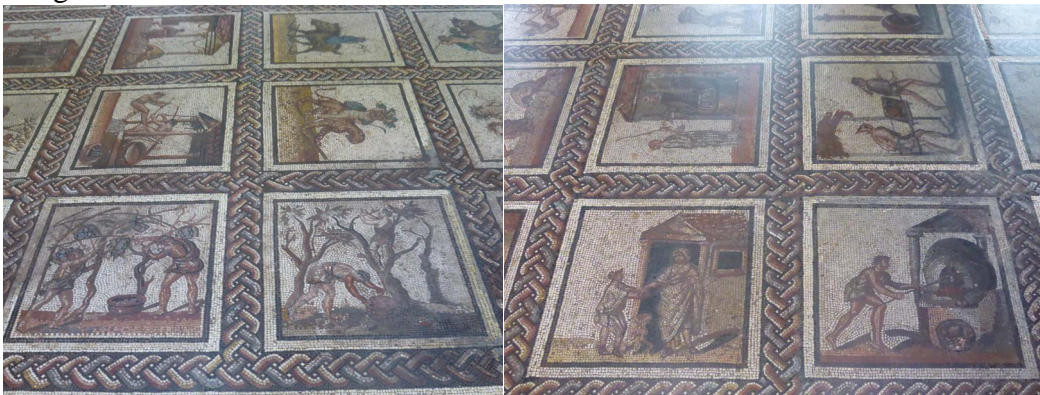
Patterns: Amongst the twenty-seven grid squares is a three-strand guilloche on a black background. Framing this first is a fillet of tangent horizontal spindles and pairs of vertical lines of *tesserae* (bead and reel) that is between two black fillets. The larger and final exterior frame has an acanthus scroll with flowers in each circlet. In the center of each of the short side's scrolls are plumes of acanthus leaves.

Colors: White, black, red, blue, green, dark brown, orange, beige, brown, yellow, and ochre.

Similar: Parrish 1984.

Bibliography: Dunbabin 1999 pgs. 76 -78, 80-81, figs 79 & 80; Henderson 2004 pg. 102 pl. 7; Lancha 1990 pgs. 98-109; Lancha 1981 *n.* 368, pgs. 208-25 pl. CVIII-CXXIII.

Image:





V.b.

Title: Drunkenness of Hercules

Date: Late 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: originally c. 10.33 x 6m; now 9.56 x 4.25m

Context: Grande Maison, House of the Atrium, room of 11m in length and 7m wide.

Location: Found in 1841 in Vienne and placed in the Musée de la Civilization Gallo-Romaine, Lyon in 1857.

Description: Multiple decor mosaic with a figural *emblema* near the center showing the Drunkenness of Hercules. Hercules is being watched by the god of wine, Bacchus. The mosaic is divided into forty-five squares with numerous geometrical patterns. The richness of the colors and the variety of the themes stand for being typical of the Rhone Valley mosaic style. The main scene presents Hercules, drunk, unsteady, and holding his club. He is held up by two characters belonging to the procession of the god Bacchus: a young satyr on the right and a bacchante on the left. Above them, Bacchus, the god of wine, with other characters from his procession, are watching the scene. All of them hold a *thyrsus*: the stick with a pine cone, adorned with ribbons, and known emblem of Bacchus. On the top left, the horn used to drink, a *rhyton*, is decorated with a stag head and a crater holds wine.

Patterns: The mosaic, originally much larger, is now comprised of three columns, each of nine squares. Due to the restoration of the mosaic the exact border cannot be determined. The space between the squares is filled with a chessboard pattern. (a) Nine smaller squares are arranged in a three by three grid that is framed by a pattern of triangles facing indexed squares. The central square has a four-budded flower. In the four corner squares, the pattern features a rotated black square with a black square set into a white background in the center. In the remaining squares, there are circles that are filled with a black hexafoil on a white background. (b) A circle, with a smaller centrally placed circle, is set into the square. Inside the smaller circle is an Eagle attacking another bird with its talons. Surrounding the smaller circle is a wreath composed of leaves tied together with a red ribbon. In the spandrels are two lyres and different forms of pottery, including a vase, an amphora, and a crater filled with foliage. (c) Within this square is a five by five grid of squares. Within each square is another indexed square that again has an indexed square within. (d) A circle, with a smaller central circle, is set into the square. The central circle is filled with solid orange. In the larger circle, a polychrome tightly braided round-tongued double guilloche circles around to frame the smaller circle. In the spandrels are two pan pipes and two calices with buds set in the center. (e) A smaller square with a triple fillet border is set centrally in the middle of the larger square. The smaller square has five fish displayed in it. Framing this are twenty flowers set in a scroll that meanders around the square with two vases that are set opposing each other on two sides of the small square. (f) A circle, with a smaller circle set in the center, is set into the square. Set in the larger circle wrapping around the smaller circle is a shaded three-strand guilloche. Within the center is a floral motif, of which there is an eight petaled circular flower in the center. In the spandrels there are two amphoras and two jars.

(g) A grid of five by five squares sits in the square with a chessboard color pattern. The decorations alternate. One of the designs is a black circle with a white concave square in the center with a black square inside. The other design consists of a central white square with a black triangle with a white dot as the center. Around the square on each side there

are two black right angled triangles with their hypotenuse sides facing each other. (h) A smaller circle filled with orange is set in the center of a larger circle that is filled with leafy green foliage. In the spandrels are four different theater masks. (i) A smaller square with a triple fillet border is set centrally in the middle of the larger square. In the smaller square is a lattice-pattern of trichrome cuboids where the top of the cuboid is outlined in black and has a red dot in the center. Surrounding this is the larger square frame that is filled with ivy vines and leaves on a black background. (j) Continuously encircling around a center circle is a row of adjacent scallops that sit on bases of lotuses connected by tendrils. Within the center of the circle and separated by a thick black fillet, is a triangle shield with alternating triangles. The triangles have a central circle that holds a circle with four petals. The spandrels hold two highly decorated amphoras and two elaborate craters. (k) An outlined triaxial pattern of tangent white background six-lozenge stars that form hexagons. Within the lozenges are mini black lozenges and within the hexagons are flowers of varying types. (l) Four birds fill the spandrels in this square, with the outer ring of the circle filled by a laurel wreath. Set in the center circle is a centralized pattern; set around the square are two registers of zigzagging bands of adjacent lozenges that form squares in the intervals and in the lateral triangles. (m) A smaller square with a triple fillet border is set centrally in the middle of the larger square. Surrounding the central square is a recumbent meander of guilloche that forms a pair of opposed and staggered embattled bands. In the corners of this outer square, small squares are formed by the surrounding guilloche. The central square contains a grid of twenty-five squares in five rows. Within the grid, the central square is unique from the others as it is solid orange. The other twenty-four squares have one of two designs. One design has a black background with a white rotated square with a black square in the center. The other design is the opposite, with a white background for the entire square, a black rotated square, and a white square set in the center. (n) Situated in the four spandrels formed by the circle that is in the center of the square are four different types of birds. The large central circle has an orange core with an elaborate pattern consisting of four bucrania, four satyr heads with a harpie flanking each head on either side, two pan pipes, and two lyres. A thin garland branches off in two directions from the bottom of the satyr heads to the tops of the bucrania. (o) A smaller square with a triple fillet border is set centrally in the middle of the larger square. In the center square is a chessboard pattern with the squares formed by four trapezes with squares in the center. The colors are counterchanged to give the impression of coffers. The larger square frame has a garland of laurel leaves wrapped around with ribbons tied in each corner. (p) Encircling a central circle is a larger circle band that is filled with a polychrome row of stylized composite lotuses and inverted crowned and voluted calices. Within the center circle there is a flower with a circle center and four spindle flowers with further petals in between. Scallops with bands on the bottom fill each of the four spandrels. (q) An enlarged square that spreads beyond the borders of the grid square. Within this space sits the figural *emblem* of an intoxicated Hercules and does not have any geometric patterns. (r) Wrapping around a center circle filled with a lattice-pattern of trichrome cuboids is a polychrome row of inverted trifid voluted calices and floral motifs. In the spandrels are more voluted calices. (s) Outlined orthogonal pattern of four tangent octagons that have a square in the center with a rotated square with another square inside. Around the square are sixteen lozenges that are set in quads forming indexed squares. At the center of the

larger grid square is an indexed square that again has a square set within and another rotated square set within that. At the corners and at the midpoint of each side are white triangles with a small black triangle within. These are comprised of sixteen-lozenges that circle around with indexed squares between each star forming squares and smaller indexed squares. (t) In the circle set in the center of the square there is a triaxial pattern of adjacent equilateral triangles with the colors counterchanged creating the chessboard pattern of triangles. Situated in the center of the circle there is a hexagon outlined in orange, with a compound rosette of twelve adjacent elements, six as spindle-shaped petals and six as darts. A circle in the center overlaps the meeting points of the other elements. In the spandrels there are elaborate calices with petals in the center. (u) Orthogonal pattern of pairs of adjacent opposed beveled T's, alternatively upright and recumbent, creating the effect of an orthogonal pattern of adjacent irregular octagons worked in a latchkey pattern of running swastikas. The borders of the octagons form rotated squares that have squares within them. (v) A centralized pattern, in a circle and around an eight-pointed star, of eight four-pointed stars and eight arrow points. These motifs are contiguous to each other and to the points of the central star they form lozenges and triangles in contrasting colors. Two of the spandrels are filled with amphoras with spiral vines stemming off of them ending in a leaf at each end. The other two spandrels have two other vessels also with spiral vines with leaf endings. (w) Stars made of eight outlined white lozenges contiguous to each other form black squares on the diagonals. The squares contain a white rotated square with a smaller black indexed square. Additionally, the squares have indexed black filled squares are on their lateral sides.

(x) Set into the square, a circle has a hexagon in the center with a six-sided star set in its center. Radiating off from this are black points that form two sides of a lozenge with the other two sides formed by rotated black squares. The rotated squares have a white circle in the center and a further black square set within that. In each lozenge are smaller black filled lozenges. In the spaces between the squares, triangles are formed with a smaller black triangle set within, facing towards the center of the circle. In the spandrels there are two versions of calices containing a petal.

Colors: Green, black, blue, white, red(s), yellow(s), beige(s), orange, and ochre.

Similar: Lyon; II.e; III.a; IV.d; V.b; Ouzouër-sur-Trézée, France (Balmelle 2002 334 a).

The smaller patterns appear in various places throughout the Mediterranean.

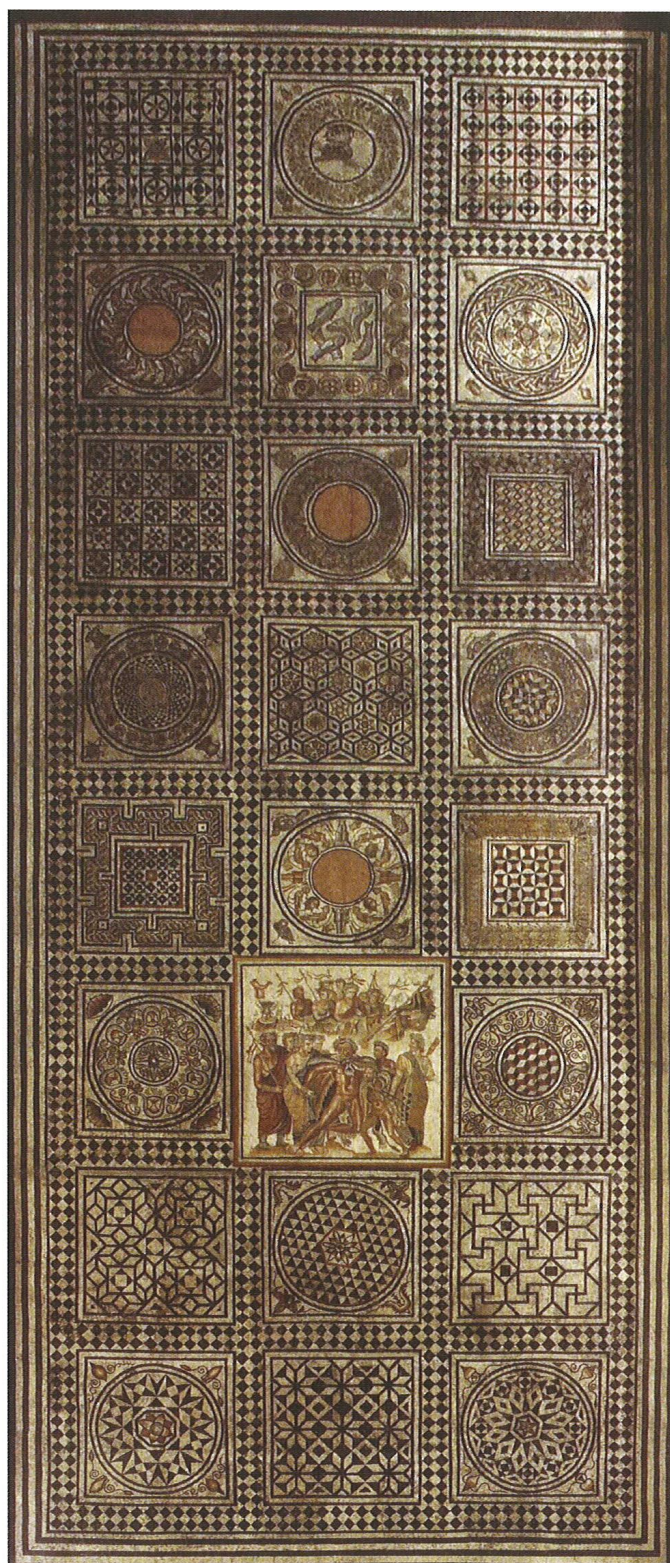
Bibliography: Dunbabin pg. 76, fig. 77; Savay-Guerraz 2013 pgs. 104-05; Lancha 1990 pgs. 89-91; Lancha 1981 *n.* 306 pgs. 106-16 pls. XL-XLIV; Balmelle 2002 pgs. 77f, 104f, 208b & d, 334-35a.

Image:

A	B	C
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P	Q	R
S	T	U
V	W	X





V.c.

Title: Mosaic with Silanus and Followers of Dionysus

Date: 150-200 CE

Measurement: 2.70 x 2.70m

Context: From the Grange property (also V.e & V.g), the Roman Villa of an aristocrat.

Location: Found in 1899, it now hangs in the British Museum (BM 1913,1013.1).

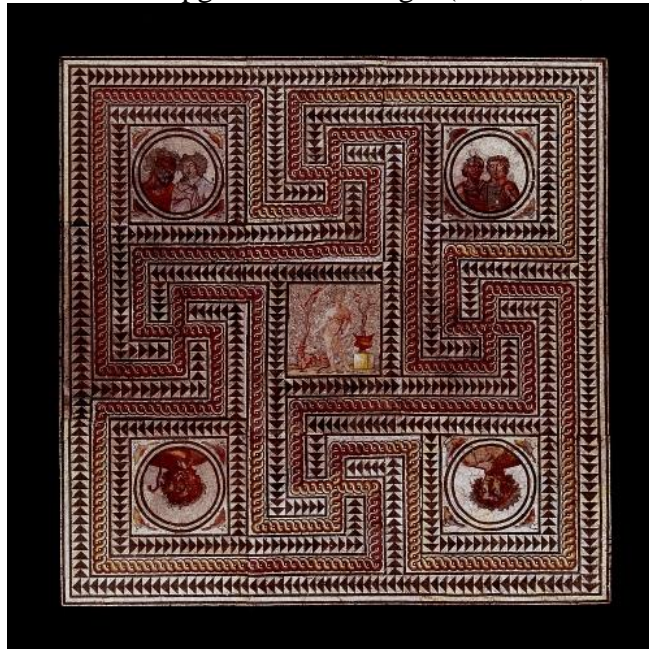
Description: Composed of stone and glass, this square mosaic has a scheme based on a meander pattern made up of a guilloche with chains of black triangles. The mosaic has a Dionysiac theme. In the corner squares are a Maenad, Silenus (?), a satyr, and Pan. In the center square is a standing nude Bacchus. There is a tree with a bird on the branch and another tree in a crater and positioned on a box.

Patterns: Orthogonal pattern of spaced swastika-meander with single returns, the spaces are staggered and contain a square. In bands of polychrome, simple guilloche rest amongst rows of superposed right-angled isosceles triangles. Amongst the meander pattern, five squares are formed, one in the center of the mosaic and the other four set forward from the corners. Within the squares are circles filled with either a single bust or pair of busts that represent Dionysiac figures.

Colors: Black, white, red, orange, and green.

Similar: Lyon, France (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 302-03c & Rec Gaul II, 1 n. 76 pl. LVI); Negrar di Valpolicella, Italy, has a similar layout with a wave pattern instead of the triangle pattern, but still with the guilloche (Balmelle et al 2002a 278-79 d; NSc, 1922, fig 5, p 353).

Bibliography: Ling 1998 pg. 64, fig. 44; Belis 2016 pgs. 20-21; Stern 1971 pgs. 123-27; Lancha 1990 pgs. 110-11. Image: (BM 1913, 1013.1).



V.d.

Title: Mosaic of Hylas and the Nymphs

Date: 175-200 CE

Measurement: 4.85 x 4.80m

Context: From the Villa of Grenoble, a private Roman aristocrat's home. Originally purchased by General Beylié who later donated them to the museum.

Location: Discovered in 1902, now in the Musée Gallo-Romain de Saint-Romain-en-Gal.

Description: Hylas was brought upon the Argo as Hercules' companion and during their voyage he was kidnapped at the Spring of Pegae by the nymph Dryope and her companions. The central scene shows the abduction of Hylas by the nymphs. The circle with the figures is surrounded by other geometric shapes holding patterns within and around them.

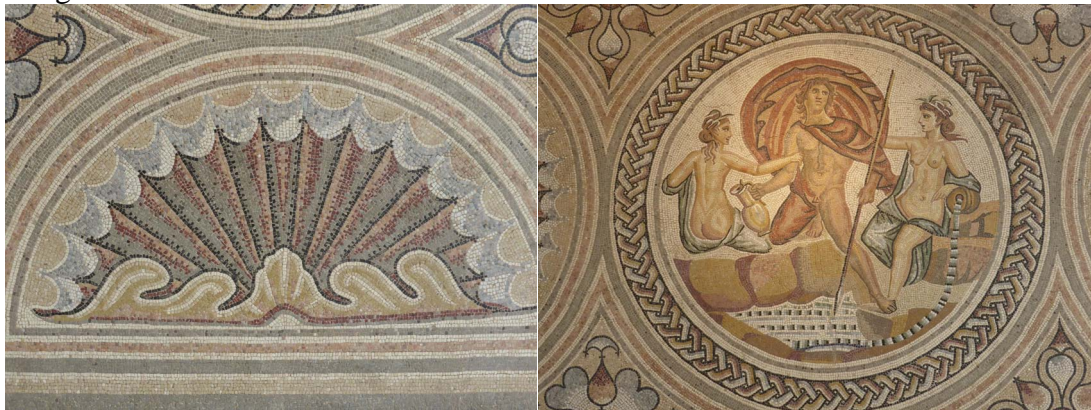
Patterns: The overall composition is a centralized excerpt of an orthogonal pattern of tangent circles in a square and around a circle. Four lateral semicircles and four quadrants in the corners, these tangent motifs form four concave indexed squares. The central circle is framed by a bi-colored three-strand guilloche. In the four concave squares have decorative four pointed flowers within them. Grooved scallops with a filled wave pattern at the bottom fill the four semicircles. The corner quadrants have a crater in each one; a crater with an elaborate s-shaped spiral handle on either side.

Colors: White, black, beige, red, blue, aqua, grey-blue, and pink.

Similar: Layout of the mosaic similar to Aquilée, Italy but of a simpler design, Balmelle 2002b, 224b; Layout is similar to the mosaic of Ganymède that is also from Vienne (held at the Musée archéologique - Eglise Saint-Pierre, Vienne).

Bibliography: Belis 2016 pgs. 20-21; Balmelle 2002a pg. 22a; Lancha 1990 pgs. 94-96.

Image:





V.e.

Title: Mosaic Floor with Orpheus and Animals

Date: 150-200 CE

Measurement: 3.859 x 4.57m

Context: From the Grange property (with V.c & V.g), a Roman Villa of a wealthy aristocrat.

Location: Discovered in 1899. Purchased by P. Getty in 1949 and since 1962 it has been in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, CA.

Description: In the central hexagon is a bust of Orpheus, wearing his Phrygian cap and a red cape; he is charming the six animals in the octagons surrounding the central one. The animals are a lion, a lioness, two leopards, an antelope, and a boar. Representations of the four seasons are present in the corner quadrants. This square composition is set within a much larger rectangular floor mosaic.

Patterns: Originally the mosaic was a large rectangle that filled the entirety of the room that it originally occupied. The rectangle has an orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles forming concave squares. Interrupting this pattern is a large central square and four small square panels on the diagonals. Surrounding this entire composition is first a simple guilloche and then a bichrome meander that forms opposed and staggered long-dentillated fillets. The central square has a large circle placed within it. The circle is bordered by a single black fillet and then with a tri-colored simple guilloche encircling the center pattern. The interior circle consists of a triaxial pattern as a honeycomb: in a hexagon and around a hexagon, six adjacent hexagons and six truncated hexagons (lozenges) on the periphery. Within the lozenges are rotated rectangles with alternatively indexed colored squares.

Colors: White, black, red, blue, green, and beige.

Similar: IV.b.

Bibliography: Belis 2016 pgs. 18-22; Stern 1971 pgs. 130-135; Lancha 1990 pgs. 111-12; Balmelle 2002b pgs. 239e, 248a.; Lancha 1981 *n.* 373 pgs. 229-32 pl. CXXVI-CXXVII.

Image:





Excavation photo from 1912. Cliché Musée de Vienne, no. 1454.

V.f.

Title: Mosaic of Wrestling and Hunting Cupids

Date: b/w 150-200 CE

Measurement: 3.88 x 3.31m

Context: From a Roman villa, with a plan similar to a standard Italian Roman villa.

Location: Discovered in 1822, now in the Musée de la Civilization Gallo-romaine, Lyon

Description: Composed of limestone and colored marbles. Scattered on the mosaic, little scenes are represented on six square panels: two wrestling children, two fighting Cupids, a hare fleeing in front of a hunting child with his dog, and a kneeling Cupid. These scenes are common in Roman art, but are exceptional here because of the quality of the mosaic.

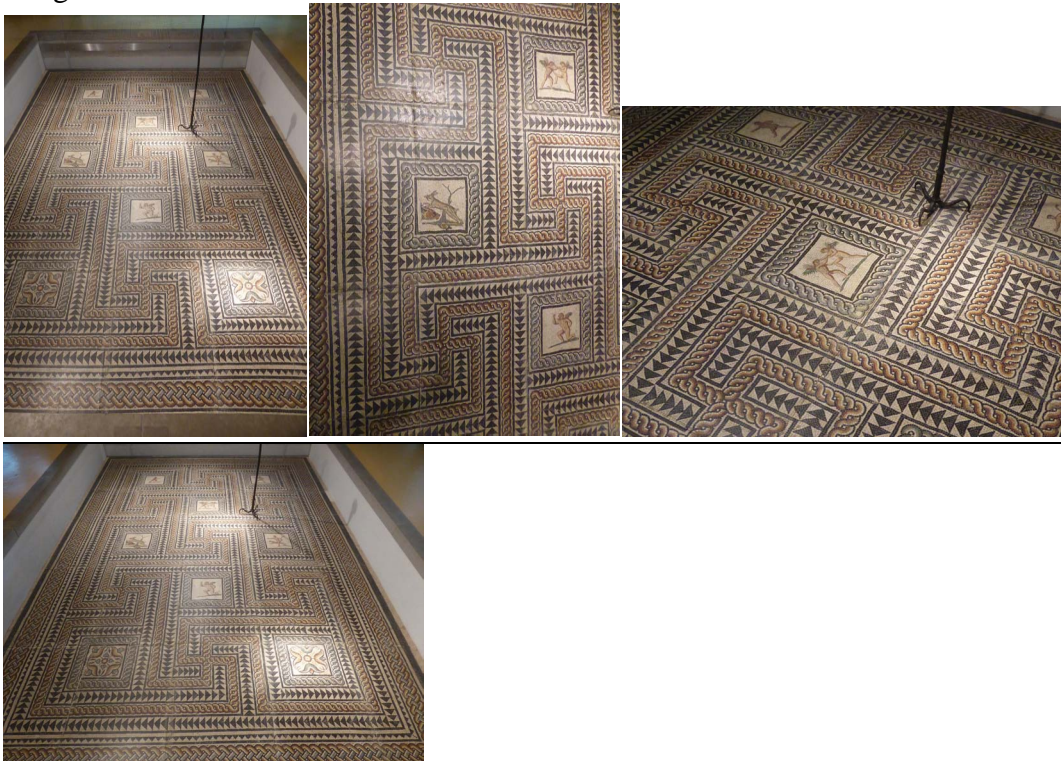
The two fighting Cupids are thought to be Eros, god of passionate love, and his brother Antéros, who embodied sharing, reasoned love, or to an alternate extreme, indifference.

Patterns: This large rectangular mosaic is composed of a pattern of spaced swastika-meander with single returns, the spaces are staggered and form squares. Bands of polychrome simple guilloche on a white background follow along the rows of superposed right-angled isosceles triangles, in counterchanged colors. To frame the entire rectangle is a long band of isosceles triangles. This is then further framed by a row of triangles in a serrated saw-tooth pattern. Encircling the entire carpet is a shaded four-stranded guilloche with black fillets on either side.

Colors: White, black, green, red, beige(s), and pink.

Similar: Vienne C; Tudela, El Ramalete, Spain (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 294-95b); Lyon, France (Balmelle 2002a 302-03c).

Bibliography: Lancha 1990 pgs. 91-93; Lancha 1981 *n.* 318 pgs. 136-39 pls. LVIII – LX.
Image:



V.g.

Title: Grange Mosaic

Date: 175-200 CE

Measurement: Now 4.90 x 3.20 m; at time of discovery 8.5 x 4.80m with the surrounding pavement.

Context: Also found on the Grange property (with V.c & V.e), which is where this mosaic gains its title. The mosaic was acquired by the Museum of Vienne around 1913.

Location: Currently located in the Musée archéologique - Eglise Saint-Pierre, Vienne.

Description: The layout is composed of hexagons and lozenges that are outlined in black *tesserae* and situated on a white background. The large hexagons are filled with two craters and polychrome floral motifs of four different types.

Patterns: Compositionally, the mosaic is an outlined honeycomb pattern of adjacent hexagons, bordered by six lozenge stars that form small hexagons in the border. Twelve large hexagons are the primary features and are laid out in vertical rows consisting of either three or four. In the middle row trapezoids are formed through the halving of the hexagons at the edges of the mosaic. On the sides of the large hexagons is a border composed of small hexagons and lozenges. These lozenges are grouped by six in stars, except towards the edges of the long sides of the field where they are halved and interrupted by obtuse triangles. In the lozenges, there are smaller lozenges and in the hexagons, there are black and white quatrefoils.

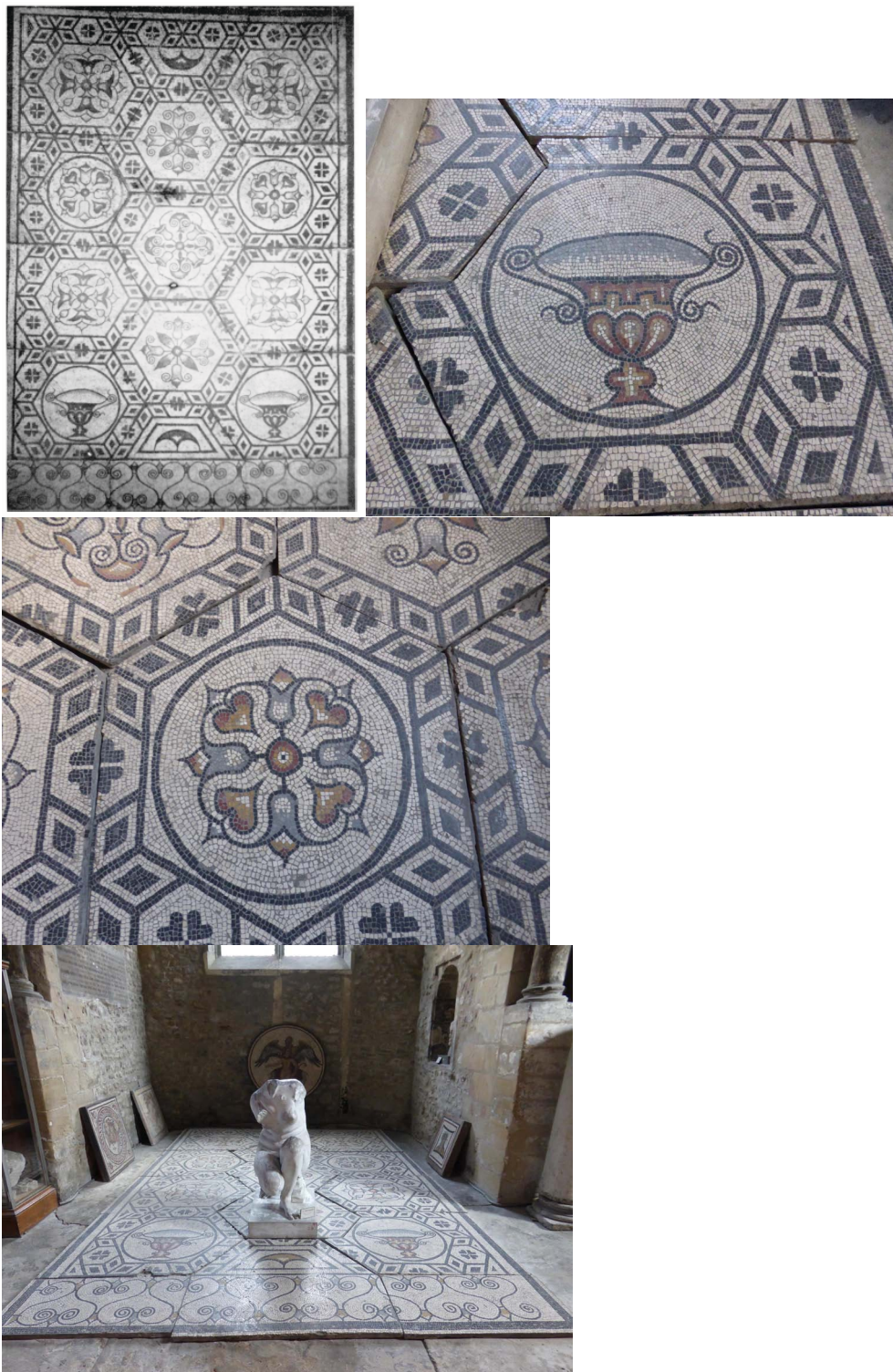
Colors: Black, brick red, white, yellow, ochre, orange, and blue(s).

Similar: Aquilée, Italy (AntAlt, 8, 1975 pg. 65 fig. 10; Balmelle 2002a pg. 326b).

Bibliography: Stern 1971 pgs. 134-36; Balmelle 2002a pg. 326a; Rec Gaule III, 2, n.375, pl. CXXXI.; Lancha 1990 pgs. 33-35.

Image:





V.h.

Title: Mosaic of Theater Masks

Date: Beginning of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: The mosaic is 3.40 x 4.95m, from a room of 4.70 x 4.95m.

Context: From a small room (17m²) of a notable house possessing marble revetments on several walls. In an eccentric area of the city, in the Gère Valley at the foot of a rocky escarpment (Street of the Columns, Saint Martin quarter). The mosaic was found, laid over an older mosaic that had suffered damage. The formation of this mosaic was part of a major renovation and redevelopment of the house, probably in the second half of the second century CE. The previous mosaic was not large enough for the new space and it was therefore necessary to have a larger mosaic put in.

Location: Discovered in 1977 and is now located in the Musée archéologique - Eglise Saint-Pierre.

Description: Most of the mosaic is present minus a few minor gaps. Access to the mosaic's room was signaled by a black lozenge on a white background. Ten theater masks are placed in the octagonal composition. The *tesserae* are of limestone and marble. Within the central octagon are two masks, while the remaining four octagons and four squares have singular masks.

Patterns: An octagonal centralized pattern in a square. Within the four corner octagons are four circles. The four octagons and the four squares are perpendicular to the medians, of which their motifs are tangential to each other. Below the squares and between the circles are trapezoids with three hearts laid next to each other. Weaving around each individual circle and then wrapping around all the squares and octagons is a shaded, tricolored simple guilloche. On one end of the mosaic is a band filled with an acanthus scroll where there is a female bust at the center wearing a vegetal nimbus. The entire composition is framed by a wide black single fillet.

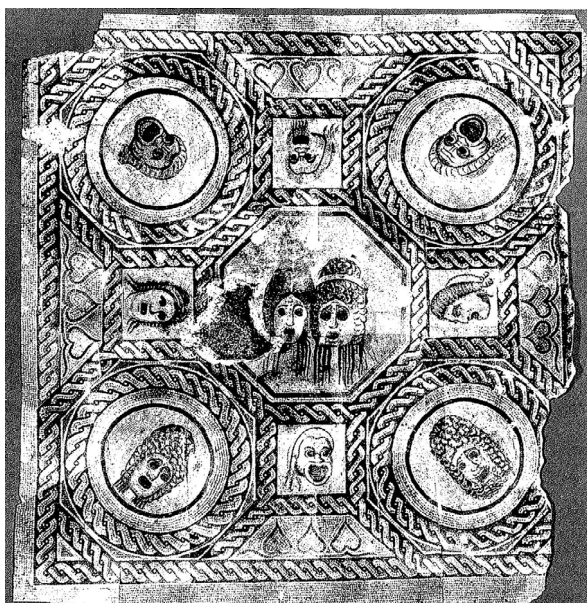
Colors: Black, white, red, blue, dark brown, and beige.

Similar: Rudston, Great Britain (Balmelle 2002b 177a).

Bibliography: Lancha 1997 pgs. 117-19 pls. XLVI-XLVIII; Lancha 1990 pgs. 51-56.

Image:





V.i.

Title: Orpheus Charming the Animals

Date: 150-200 CE

Measurement: Originally 6 x 4m; due to damage the extant part is 3.90 x 4.11m

Context: Found parallelogram shaped room in a Roman *domus*. Right side 8.4m; left side 8.80m, top 8.40m, & bottom 8.80m. The room has a total surface area of 53.44m². The house from which the mosaic comes from is known as the House of Orpheus, which had been embellished in the first century CE. Clearly a home of a wealthy family, the Orpheus mosaic decorated the floor of a triclinium.

Location: Excavated in 1859 and now in the Musée Gallo-Romain de Saint-Romain-en-Gal.

Description: A rectangular mosaic with eight large octagons arranged to fill the space. Amongst the octagons are squares and trapezoids. Within the squares and octagons are variously orientated figures. Orpheus, in the central octagon, is depicted playing his lyre serenading the animals that appear in the peripheral octagons. All the animals have straight lines below them as if to represent a floor surface and attempt to display depth. Birds are depicted in the squares, also with ground lines underneath.

Patterns: The octagons are arranged to fit the rectangular space with each side touching either another side of an octagon, a side of one of the squares formed between the octagons, or the edge of the mosaic. Trapezoids fill the gaps along the edges of the mosaic. Framing the central Orpheus figure is an undulating band of grey-blue on the exterior side and red on the interior. Forming a perimeter around each of the other animal's rectangles is an inward facing band of a saw-tooth pattern of isosceles triangles. Further framing the other octagons is a triple fillet. Interweaving amongst the octagons, squares, and trapezoids, and then encircling the entire rectangle is a bi-colored, shaded simple guilloche.

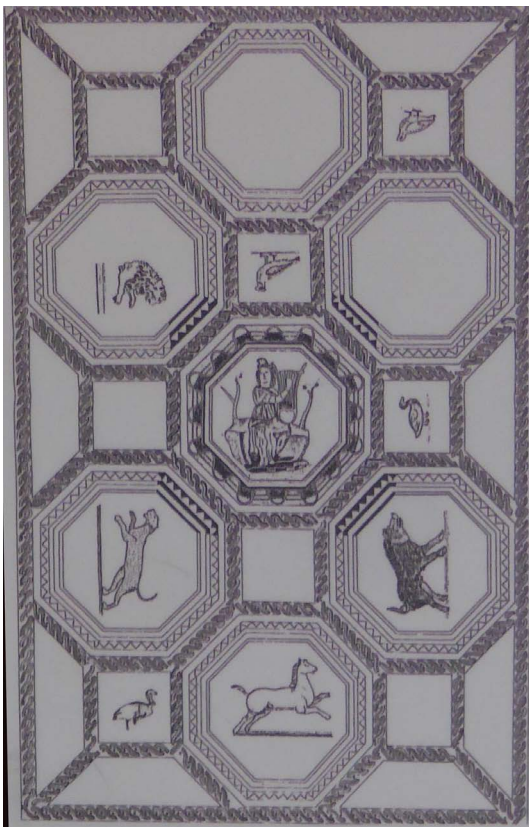
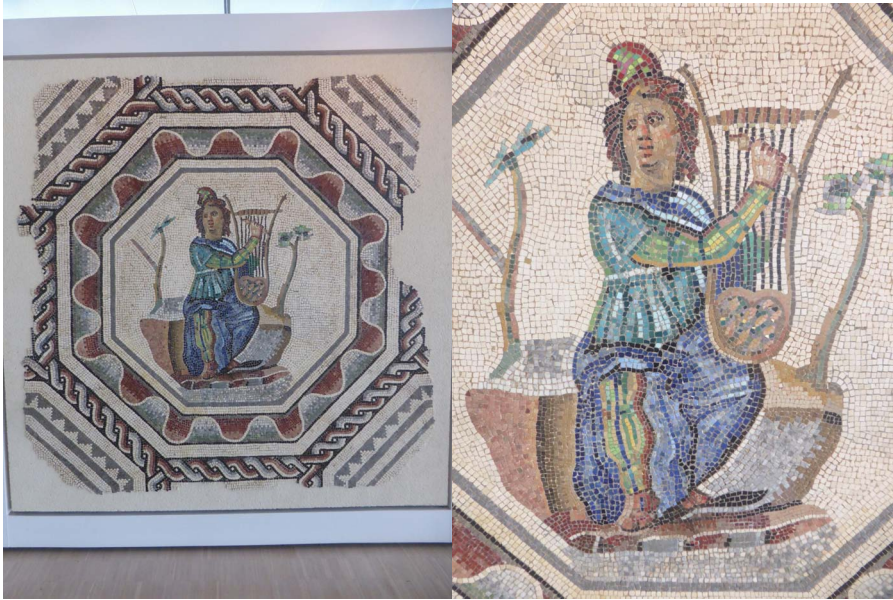
Colors: Garnet, pink, white, gray, black, shades of blue, red, cyclamen pink, light green, beige, brown, and orange.

Similar: Three other examples of the theme of Orpheus (a symbol of culture) appear in Vienne.

Bibliography: Lancha 1981 pgs. 89-96 pls. XXXIV-XXXVII; Lancha 1990 pgs. 23-25.

Image:





V.j.

Title: Mosaic of the Athletes

Date: 175-225 CE

Measurement: Found in a room 9.07 x 6.70m; the central and decorated mosaic that is now on display is 7.04 x 5.70m. The central circle has a diameter of 5.35m.

Context: The mosaic ornamented a triclinium of the Roman *domus* known as the House of the Athletes. The house was further decorated with six other mosaics of vegetal and geometric design.

Location: Discovered in 1966 as part of a rescue archaeological project, the mosaic is now on display in the Musée Gallo-Romain de Saint-Romain-en-Gal.

Description: A rectangular mosaic with a large square spanning the entire width, with two bands on the top and the bottom to give the mosaic its rectangular form. Within the main square, a circle is placed, filling up as much of the space as possible with its sides touching the border. The circle is composed of octagons, squares, and lozenges. Set in the center of the square, the main octagon depicts Hercules fighting the Nemean Lion. Branching off from this central octagon are eight squares that have within each of them a different theater mask. Each square has a lozenge on either side gives way to another octagon, of which there are eight, that contain the victorious athletes. Finally, there is a ring of indexed squares and trapezoids before the circle meets its own guilloche frame. Within these small squares are multiple images, including six masks of the oceans. Boxing off the circle so that it fits within its square are spandrels, each holding a depiction of one of the four seasons.

Patterns: The central circle is composed of a wreath like pattern in a circle and around an octagon in three registers: the first of eight squares contiguous to each other and one side upon the central octagon; the second register contains eight octagons, also contiguous to each other; the final register is composed of sixteen rotated squares, with one corner against the edge of the wall of the circle. The peripheral intervals created by the registers contain lozenges, trapezoids, and triangles. Encircling all these elements is a simple guilloche, that weaves amongst all the larger geometric shapes. A square formed by a bicolored triple guilloche frames the circle and allows for the formation of spandrels in the corners that are filled with the figures of the four seasons. Two opposing sides of the square have bands of decoration, one thicker than the other. The wider band is filled with an outlined orthogonal pattern of adjacent lozenges and rotated squares. A crosslet of four-*tesserae* squares are in each square where a smaller, filled lozenge sits in the center of each other the larger lozenges. The thinner band adjacent to the central square is filled with an acanthus scroll with flowers on the interior of the scroll and hearts coming off of the extending vines.

Colors: Blue grey, pale green, green, brick red, pink, yellow, ochre, garnet, orange, various browns, black, and white.

Similar: Rayan, Syria (Balmelle 2002 122 c); Vichten, Luxembourg (Balmelle 2002 206 b); Trier A (square rather than circular). Athlete mosaics are common throughout the empire, especially seen at the Baths of Trajan in Rome.

Bibliography: Lancha 1981 58-70 pl. XI-XX; Lancha 1990 13-22; Balmelle 2002 122d. Image:





V.k.

Title: Geometric *Scutulatum* Mosaic

Date: Late 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 5.15 x 2.12m

Context: From a Roman house situated on the south-east side of the city.

Location: Currently in the Musée Gallo-Romain de Saint-Romain-en-Gal.

Description: A very long rectangular mosaic, it can be divided into three sections. A majority of the surface is designated to geometric shapes filled with a black or white background for a *scutulatum* decoration. The marble pieces that make up the *scutulatum* are from various sources around the Mediterranean. These include: Verona pink, rosso antico (Italy), Iasos silver marble (Turkey), Portasanta (Chíos), African pavonazzetto, and others.

Patterns: The mosaic is composed of three large sections (see graphic below). Sections A and C are of similar design consisting of a central square with an indexed square in the center of it; the square is surrounded by twenty-four smaller squares. These squares alternate from a white background to a black background and are filled with *scutulatum* in rows throughout. The center rotated square has a black background, again with *scutulatum*. In the triangles in the corners, framing the indexed square, there are two different designs, of which each design mirrors the other corner. One of the corners has two hearts that are stacked on top of each other with stems branching off from the top with leafs at the ends. The other design has a base with a cluster of three leaves at the top. From this, a vine stems off on each side that has two different circles, one filled with a light spiral and the other filled with a leaf. Section B has two rectangles parallel to each other with a band of six squares in between, their backgrounds alternate from black to white. Within each of the larger rectangles is a rotated lozenge with a white background filled with the *scutulatum*. At the bottom of section C there is a rectangle the width of the mosaic that has a white background with *scutulatum* in four rows.

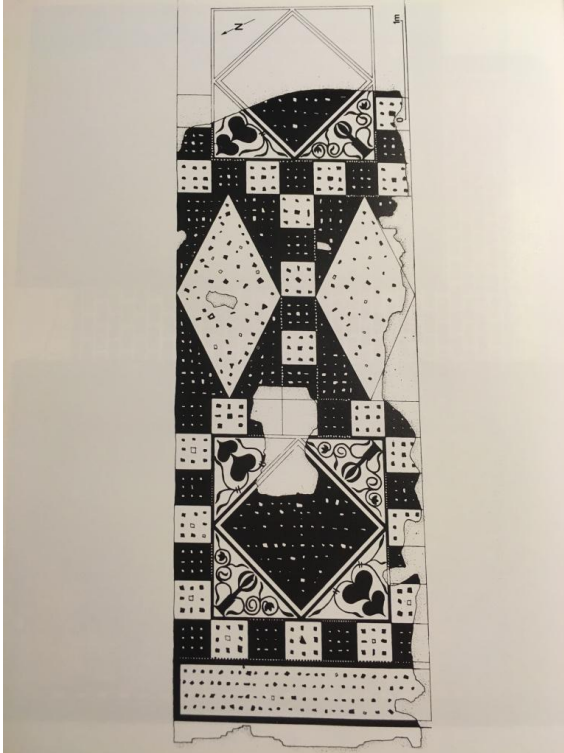
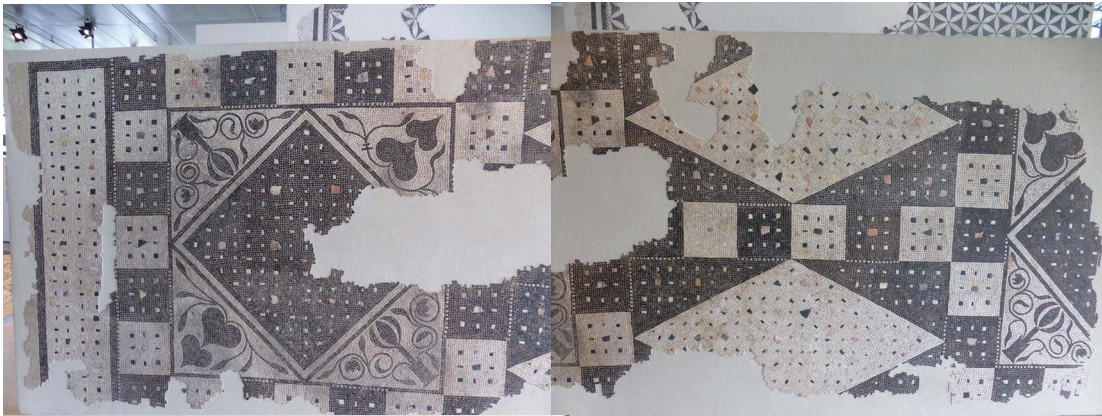
Colors: Black, white, pink, green, and blue.

Similar: V.e; Apt, France (Balmelle 2002a pg. 168c); Tivoli, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63a); Aquilée, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63b); Palestrina, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63c); Herculaneum, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 162-63d).

Bibliography: Lancha 1981 *n.*. 403 pgs. 286-88 pla. CLXV – CLXVI.

Image:

A
B
C



VI. Trier (*Trevorum* or *Augusta Treverorum*)

VI.a.

Title: Monnus Mosaic

Date: Late 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: Central square 5.69 x 5.69m, apse width of 5.69m with a max depth of 2.90m

Context: Laid as the floor decoration over a hypocaust system in a wealthy Roman *domus* located next to an administrative building. The house was constructed in the first century CE, but underwent a major restoration near the end of the third century CE and it is in that context that this mosaic was from. While the function of the room has not been determined due to the destruction of much of the structural foundations it was recorded that the room in which the mosaic was found was richly decorated with marble wall coverings.

Location: When excavations began in 1884 for the construction of the Rheinisches Landesmuseum the remains of a Roman house were discovered. It was in the first season of excavations in 1884 that the Monnus Mosaic was found in its damaged state. Today the mosaic is on display in a room in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, not far from its original location. The portions that were sinking into the hypocaust were restored.

Description: The Monnus Mosaic gets its name from the signature of the artist that can be seen at the top of the central octagon reading MONNVS FECIT (Monnus made this). Based on the figures within the mosaic it is considered to have a theme focused literature and sciences. All of the larger geometric elements have a figural component except for the lozenges which fill the spaces between the larger fields. Within the octagons are/would be images of the nine muses, each shown with an attribute and identifying textual label. Seven of the images/texts partially survive allowing for interpretation. Some of the more notable scenes are: Calliope, the muse of epic poetry, in the central frame with Homer, noted Greek epic poet, and Ingenium, the personification of genius; Polyhymnia, muse of sacred poetry, with a seated scholar; the muse of astronomy, Urania, standing next to a seated Aratos, a fourth century BCE astronomer and writer; Clio, the muse of history, with Cadmus who, according to some, is the oldest Greek historian; Euterpe, muse of music standing next to a pillar is shown with Hyagnis, a mythical Greek musician; lastly, the muse of comedy, Thalia, can be identified due to a mask seen in one of the fields. From each side of the central octagon comes a square with a bust of a Greek or Latin writer including: Hesiod, Virgil, Cicero, Menander, Ennius, Livy (?), and Diodorus (?). Closer towards the edges of the mosaic twenty small squares are situated around the central pattern. Eight of these are filled with theater masks and the others hold representations of the twelve months of the year. In the polygons in each corner are figural embodiments of the four seasons. Given the nature of the images on the exterior portion of the mosaic it can be argued that this mosaic can be classified as a calendar mosaic. Within the lozenges are singular floral decorations. Lastly, The apse mosaic consists mainly of a geometrically designed frame with a floral interior.

Patterns: This large mosaic consists of two parts: a square and a semicircle. Forming the exterior border of the square is a convoluted wave pattern. Within the square the overall composition is a wreath-like pattern. Centrally there is an octagon with eight squares branching off from each side of the octagon, with the opposite side of the square

attaching to another large octagon. These eight octagons encircle the central octagon and there are lozenges placed to fill the gaps. Nearing the edge of the square, further squares, a total of twenty, are placed so that one side touches an octagon, but corners touch the corner of other squares. Filling the remaining border spaces are trapezoids and squares that are situated in the corners. Frames for these geometric shapes are relatively simple: a single dentillated inward facing fillet for the octagons, a black fillet for the squares, trapezoids and lozenges have a long-dentillated fillet and embattled file that is staggered and opposed. Amongst all the fields is a meander. Another name for the compositional arrangement is a wreath of octagons around a starred octagon.

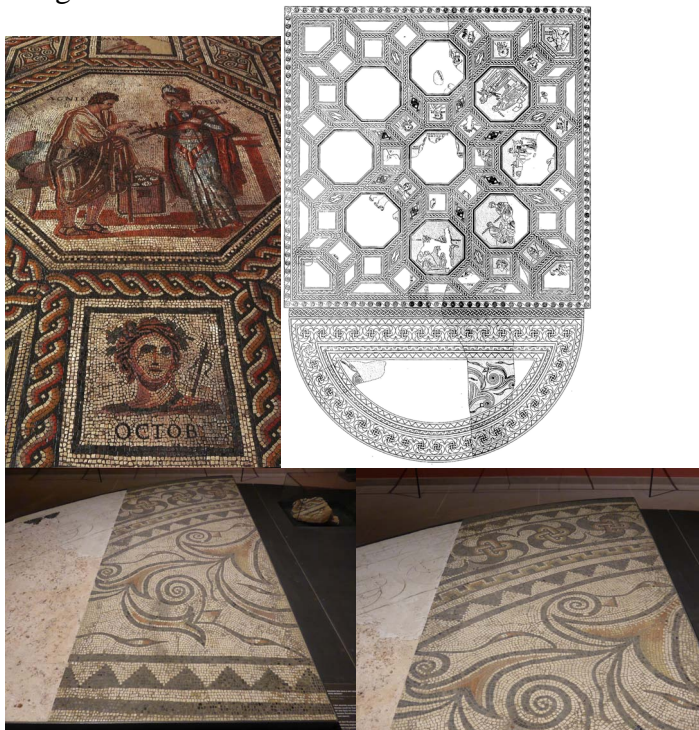
As a base for the semicircle is a band of a four-strand guilloche. Upon that, and wrapping around the entire semicircle is a saw-tooth pattern of equilateral triangles. Moving inward, the next element is a band filled with a polychrome row of tangent and linked swastika-peltae with a serrated triangle at the tip of the peltae's points; for each unit, a Solomon's knot is placed at the center. This band is separated from the next by a triple black fillet line. Next is an opposed and staggered long-dentillated fillet and embattled file, that are formed from an irregular meander. Lastly, another row of the saw-tooth pattern of equilateral triangles frames a smaller semicircle field in the center of the apse. Much of this does not survive, but what does survive shows a floral motif with bifid lotuses spiral volutes and other leaves.

Colors: Black, white, red, ochre, beige, green, and blue.

Similar: V.j. (circular instead of square; Balmelle 122-23 d).

Bibliography: Ling 1998 pg. 71, fig. 50; Hoffmann 1999 pgs. 39-46, figs. 48-50, 54; Daniel 1996 pgs. 30-36; Lancha 1997 pgs. 131-36 pls. LIII-LVI; Parlasca 1970 pgs. 41-44 pls. 42-47; CIL XIII 3710; Balmelle 2002a pgs. 107g, 156c.

Image:





VI.b.

Title: Mosaic with the Racing Driver Polydus

Date: ca. 250 CE

Measurement: 5.86 x 4.38m

Context: Found within a peristyle Roman residence with four different construction periods. The structure stood from the Claudian times but then was demolished for the construction of the Imperial Baths in the fourth century CE. The mosaic was laid to fill the entire space of the room, but the mosaic was laid in a later period from the original construction of the room.

Location: Discovered in 1962 the mosaic was uncovered during the second excavation campaign of the Imperial Baths. Some reconstruction occurred when the mosaic was obtained by the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, mainly done on the upper right and some of the horses in the central octagon. Additionally, burn spots were left visible on the mosaic from a fire in antiquity.

Description: Without doubt the main element of this mosaic is the central octagon featuring a victorious charioteer behind a quadriga. Rotated in a frontal view, the driver has his right hand raised holding a whip and laurel wreath and his left hand hangs down and is holding a palm branch. Both the victor and the horses are composed in fine detail, as the victor wears a well-defined garment with a cap and the horses have bridles and jeweled adornments. At the top of the scene POLYDVVS is written in *tesserae* and COMPRESSORE written at the bottom. Polydus refers to the name of the victor while the later can be translated to a slang “competitor squeezer” as a description of the skill of the Polydus. The octagon is situated in a larger and highly detailed indexed square within a square. On one side of the mosaic an additional rectangle adds to the square forming an overall rectangular composition.

Patterns: Overall the composition is rectangular largely defined by black and then transitioning to a brown border around the decorative elements in the center. At the bottom of the mosaic is a single band of indexed white squares that form black hourglasses. Above this sits a larger picture consisting of a large square and a rectangle. These two large geometric shapes are outlined and separated by a polychrome segmented meander. In the rectangular section there is a two by ten grid of counterchanged bands with a square at the intersections. Within the grid squares there are rotated, shaded Solomon knots of various colors. The large square is framed by a shaded three strand guilloche that is separated from the rest of the square’s interior by a dentillated fillet. Most striking about this mosaic is the central motif of the square. Here two squares, each made of a separate simple guilloche, are interlaced to form an eight-pointed star. The chevrons that would have been formed in the corners are broken down into two lozenges and a triangle to square off the pattern. A third simple guilloche outlines this inner square and frames the corner triangles. Further framing the corner triangles is an inward facing dentil fillet and then a black fillet. This creates a defined space for the floral element placed within. Eight lozenges circle the central star and are have an inner saw-tooth patterned frame of polychrome triangles that form an inner lozenge with a filled black lozenge set in the center. Set amongst the interlaced sides of the squares are eight black triangles that have a rotated white triangle in their center. Central to the design is the octagon that features the chariot rider who is framed by a single black fillet with an

inward facing serrated saw-tooth pattern. A convoluted wave pattern concludes the framing of the octagon.

Colors: Black, white, red, green, grey, blue, beiges(s), and brown(s).

Similar: Rome, Italy (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 214-15a); Volubilis, Morocco (Balmelle 2002b pg. 97g); Tockington Park, UK (Balmelle 2002b pg. 214b); Vichten, Luxembourg (Balmelle 2002b pgs. 206-07b).

Bibliography: Hoffman 1999 53-57.

Image:



VI.c.

Title: Dionysus & Seasons Mosaic

Date: 1st half of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 3.21 x 3.21m

Context: From a Roman *domus*, most likely in a *tabularium*.

Location: Excavated at Kanalverlegung in 1901, the mosaic was lifted in smaller pieces and brought to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier. In 1907 the pieces were reassembled by Villeroy & Boch who restored a portion of one of the corners and filled in one entire oval and a portion of another.

Description: This square mosaic has an exterior frame that has paired fish with their tails interlocking. Overall the theme centers around the four seasons and Dionysus with his followers. Within the central concave square stands a figure, nude except for a cloth draped around his back, thought to be Dionysus. He is holding two of his attributes: a kantharos and thyrsus. Pulling Dionysus' cart are two strutting tigers that are led by Cupid, shown with a blowing black cape and holding a shepherd's staff. In the four compressed straight based bell shapes there are similar scenes to the Dionysus image. Pairs of panthers, boars, stags, and lions all pull carts of various forms on which sit associated attributes of the four seasons.

In the ovals there are human representations of the seasons, of which Summer is completely missing and only half of Spring survives. Winter is shown as a female with thick clothing and cap holding a stick on which two birds are strung up. Fall is depicted as a female draped with fabric on the bottom that leaves her torso exposed but billows out behind her and falls onto her right arm.

Patterns: Within the square is a centralized pattern consisting of four ellipses set on diagonals in the corners. Between these ovals are four lateral bells. All these adjacent geometric shapes form, in the center, an irregular concave octagon. Delineating these different elements is a shaded simple guilloche. The elements are individually defined with either a black fillet or a shaded fillet. Outlining the bells is a bichrome serrated triple fillet. Enclosing this central shape is a border of truncated egg and dart motif. A final border is enclosed by two white fillets and has within it multiple pairs of fish/dolphins with their tails touching.

Colors: White, black, blue, yellow, red, orange, beige(s), dark brown, and grey.

Similar: Rome, Italy (Balmelle 2002b 175b).

Bibliography: Hoffman 1999 pgs. 27-29; Parlasca 1970 pgs. 40-41 pls. 40-41; Balmelle 2002a 101c; Balmelle 2002b 175c.

Image:





VI.d.

Title: Literary & Rhetoric Mosaic

Date: Middle of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: Originally the mosaic was 4.50 x 6.60m, but the conserved portion only consists of 3.16 x 3.74m

Context: Originally constructed in the first century CE this Roman *domus* had a slightly later addition of four large rooms. In the third century CE much of the house was remodeled and it is from this period that the mosaic was been installed. This Roman house is referred to as the “Procurators Palace,” the procurator of which would have been the highest administrator present in the region for Gallia Belgica and the two Germanies. The house was destroyed by the end of the third century CE.

Location: Discovered in 1903 and completely uncovered by 1904, the mosaic was lifted in 14 parts. By 1911 the mosaic was restored to its current state and put on display at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier.

Description: The mosaic consists of a central square, two rectangles on parallel sides of the square, and a large border around the entire geometric layout. There is a possibility that there is only one rectangle off the square, however, most scholars believe that there are rectangles on both sides. The theme of the mosaic centers on literary figures and rhetoric. What remains of the square’s central octagon scene are two heads, those of Mercury, identified by the top of his caduceus, and Minerva, recognizable due to her helmet. In the adjacent squares are two students holding blackboards, a stylus, and a scroll. In the corners are winged heads representing wind gods. In the halved octagon on the edge of the square there are two seated figures; shown with feathered headdresses, they are thought to represent the muses Clio (muse of history holding a scroll and pen) and Euterpe (muse of music playing a flute). Within the rectangular fields on two sides of the square are three rows of two rectangles. From the surviving pieces it can be determined that they hold standing, robed, male figures as literati or philosophers. One of the surviving figures holds his hand in the gesture of delivering a speech, one is holding a scroll, and the other looks down in deep thought.

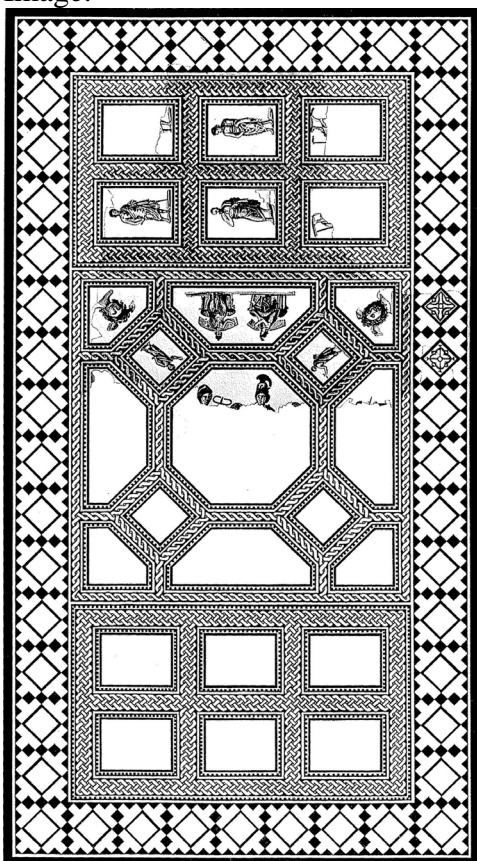
Patterns: Framing the mosaic is a border comprised of adjacent squares with a rotated square in the center in counterchanging colors. Bordering each square are rotated smaller squares; three indexed squares form the divisions. Within each of the larger indexed squares there would have been decoration, but the majority are lost. Two parallel rectangles with a square in between them fill the interior space of the larger, framed rectangle. Each of these two smaller rectangles have a two by three grid of even smaller rectangles. An intricate four strand guilloche weaves between the elements appearing almost as a fabric. Both the rectangles and their six smaller rectangles have an inward facing dentil fillet as a border. The central square has an orthogonal pattern of adjacent octagons that form squares. A central octagon dominates while the lateral octagons have been halved and the diagonal octagons quartered. All of these elements are framed by an inward facing dentil fillet with a single black fillet further framing the interior space. Between these elements is a weaving simple shaded guilloche.

Colors: White, black, grey, brown(s), yellow, red, and beige(s).

Similar: Kreutzwingarten, Germany (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 54-55b).

Bibliography: Hoffman 1999 pgs. 24-26; Lancha 1997 pgs. 136-38 pls. LVII-LIX; pls. 4, 26, 2&4 27 (1-3).

Image:





VI.e.

Title: Nine Muses Mosaic

Date: Middle of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 3.40 x 3.90m

Context: Originally the mosaic sat on top of a hypocaust designed to heat the room above it. Due to the nature of the mosaic's discovery there was little time to be put towards a proper excavation and so much of the original context has been lost. Documentation does show that the mosaic was found in a private residence, but there exists the possibility that the mosaic was placed in a private bathing area or was in a room within the traditionally living quarters that was given this more elaborate heating system.

Location: In the preparation for the construction of an air raid shelter in 1942 the Nine Muses mosaic was discovered in a poor state of presentation. During WWII the mosaic suffered further damage. Eventually, the mosaic made its way to the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Trier where it was heavily restored. It is thought that the overall layout of the mosaic and its patterns are correct, but it is possible that some of the busts have been placed in positions that are not their original locations.

Description: The composition of the mosaic consists of a grid pattern of nine squares laid within a more elaborate framing system. Within these nine gridded squares are the Muses. Based on their known attributes they are identified as the following:

- A. Thalia, muse of comedy and pastoral poetry, shown with a mask and shepherd's staff
- B. Terpsichore, muse of dance, depicted holding a lyre
- C. Clio, muse of history, grasping her scroll
- D. Lost
- E. Uncertain given the lack of attribute, but two possibilities exist due to that fact and the muse could be either Calliope, muse of epic poetry, or Polyhymnia, the muse of sacred poetry
- F. Erato, muse of love poetry, also with a lyre
- G. Urania, muse of astronomy, a globe placed in front of her
- H. & I. sadly cannot be identified as their attributes have been lost.

A	B	C
D	E	F
G	H	I

Patterns: The entire composition has a wide black band with a row of four *tesserae* square crosslets with chevrons on the corners. Moving inward, there is a three *tesserae* thick white band that blocks off the outer frame from a tri-chrome swastika-meander with single returns. Another three *tesserae* thick frame encloses three adjacent geometric shapes: a square in the center and a rectangle on opposite sides. Within each rectangle is a row of quasi-tangent alternatively reversed S's which are linked at the lower and upper curves. This forms alternately inverted voluted hearts that have bilateral darts between the volutes. Laid out simply, the central square consists of a three by three grid of squares framed by a shaded simple guilloche. For the frames of the nine squares there are two different designs that alternate. For the central and corner squares the inner framing is a bichrome irregular meander which forms a dentillated-fillet and an embattled fillet that

are opposed and staggered. Encircling this inner frame is an inward facing dentil fillet. Alternatively, for the second design there is a pair of opposed and staggered fillets with dentils of serrated right-angled triangles forming a stretched irregular polychrome meander. This creates the effect of a semi-serrated right-angled Z shaped pattern. An inward facing saw-tooth pattern distinguishes the pattern from the guilloche.

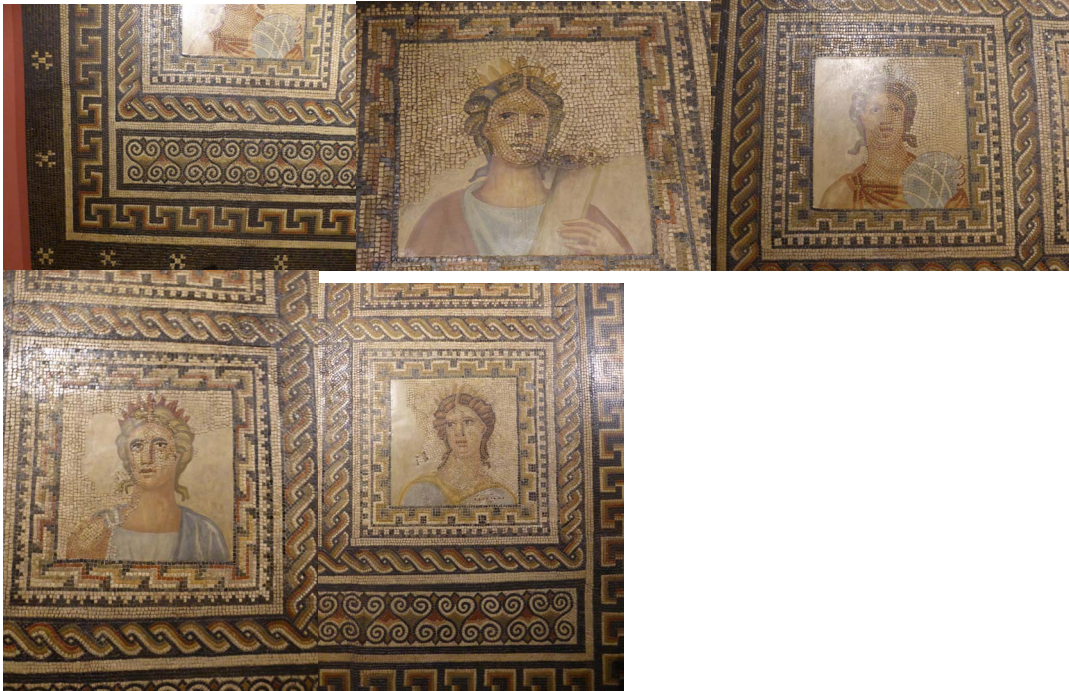
Colors: White, black, red, blue(s), grey, brown(s), beige(s), and yellow.

Similar: Frame as in Massada, Israel (Balmelle 2002a pg. 77e); Frame as in Sousse, Tunisia (Balmelle 2002a pg. 73b); V.a.

Bibliography: Hoffman 1999 pgs. 37-39; Lancha 1997 pgs. 139-41 pls. LXI, LXII; Parlasca 1970 pgs. 32-33 pls. 31-33; Balmelle 2002a pg. 74j, 143b.

Image:





VI.f.

Title: Dionysus Mosaic

Date: Middle of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 5.06 x 4.09m

Context: Many of the walls that were found around the mosaic were broken making it difficult to identify the exact function of the room the mosaic was placed in. It was determined that the structure was a peristyle Roman *domus*. Dating the mosaic proved to be easy as there were ceramic sherds under the leveling for the floor, dating from the early to mid-third century CE and debris from the fourth century CE was found on top of the mosaic.

Location: Found in 1959 during the preliminary survey work for the construction of a new gymnasium. Overall the mosaic was in good condition, but there were a few areas that were incomplete, including the central circle. At the Rheinischen Landesmuseum these were repaired and the mosaic was put on display.

Description: Made of a rectangular section placed next to a square and bordered with a surrounding geometric pattern the mosaic has multiple geometric patterns. Figurally, the mosaic has a Dionysiac theme as within the central circle Dionysus is shown reclining in a chaise. Based on the type, Ariadne is thought to be the figure on the right of the scene. Within the half circles are a variety of images including: a cupid fighting a satyr, a cupid feeding a tiger cub, a tiger cub attacking a cupid, and a cupid riding on a leopard with another person leading them. The concave squares hold singular winged cupids holding various attributes of which a thyrsus and a tympanum are identifiable. Lastly, in the quarter circles in the corners there are different styles of vessels, most likely holding wine.

Patterns: This entire mosaic fills a rectangular space and along the edges there are many rows of black *tesserae* to ensure that the mosaic fit the exact space. Framing the decorated portion of the mosaic is a continuous counterchanged bichrome band of tangent serrated indexed squares that form hourglasses. Two larger areas can be identified within this frame, first a rectangular section at one end that is filled with an orthogonal pattern of tangent peltae in alternately recumbent and upright confronted pairs. This is more commonly referred to as a running-peltae pattern. Here the pattern is done in counterchanged black and white that forms cordiform interspaces.

Adjacent to this patterned rectangle is a square that is outlined with a band of opposed and staggered fillets with dentils of serrated right-angled triangles forming a stretched irregular polychrome meander, creating the effect of a semi-serrated right-angled Z shaped pattern. Within this first border is an excerpt of a centralized orthogonal pattern of tangent circles around a circle, where there are four lateral semicircles and four quadrants in the corners. These tangential motifs form four concave indexed squares. Woven amongst these larger elements is a simple shaded guilloche. Further, each element has its own frame of which the quadrants and semicircles have a continual bichrome irregular meander which forms a dentillated-fillet and an embattled fillet that are opposed and staggered. The concave squares have a border of a dentil fillet that is blocked from the central space by a single black fillet. The large circle in the center has a cable around it.

Colors: Black, white, red, blue, yellow, beige(s), and grey.

Similar: V.d; outer frame at Antioch, Turkey (Balmelle 2002a pg. 44c); rectangle Acholla, Tunisia (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 346-47d); composition, Vienne, France (Balmelle 2002b pg. 224a); Hinton St. Mary, UK (Balmelle 2002b pgs. 166-67d).

Bibliography: Hoffman 1999 pgs. 50-53.

Image:



VI.g.

Title: Medusa Mosaic

Date: 1st half of the 2nd cent. CE

Measurement: 3.90 x 3.18m

Context: From the Procurator's Palace (also VI.b)

Location: Discovered in 1913 and backfilled, it was not until 1983 when the mosaic was revealed again and moved to its current location in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum.

Unfortunately, due to the poor excavation that was conducted in 1913 much of the context is lost apart from the original building the mosaic was from. Additionally, one side of the mosaic had been damaged and was later restored by conservators to match the other sides of the mosaic.

Description: A square mosaic, the central focus is the hexagonal honeycomb pattern set in the center of a circle laid inside the square. Inside the central hexagon is the head of Medusa, the mythical Greek monster with serpents for hair, and a face that turns all those who look at her to stone. In Greek myth it was Perseus who slays Medusa eventually giving her head to the goddess Athena who placed the head on her shield.

Patterns: A broad black border begins the mosaic then with a large normal wave pattern, enclosed on both sides by a double black fillet. This outer element acts as a square frame for the interior mosaic that sits inside. Within the circle is a band and then a central circle with a honeycomb pattern. Within the circular band are two opposed garlands that have a floral center made of a dart set into a calyx with stems that have leaves springing from each one and tendrils connecting them around the circle. Within the most inner circle there is a triaxial honeycomb pattern that has a central hexagon with six more hexagons, one touching each side of the central one. Defining the hexagons as individual elements is a shaded simple guilloche that fits around them. Each hexagon has one of three styles of flower and the central hexagon holds the head of Medusa. Triangles with slightly rounded edges are placed to fill the space gaps for the circle's edges, and are filled with either a pelte with volutes or a bulb with leaves. Featured in each spandrel is a crater with two adjacent acanthus scrolls directly above it and then on top of that are further acanthus scrolls that have tendrils spreading to the corners.

Colors: Black, white, reddish-brown, yellow(s), beige(s), gray, and red.

Similar: IV.b; V.b .

Bibliography: Hoffman 1999 pgs. 47-50; Parlasca 1970 pgs. 8-9 pl. 16, 1-3.

Image:



VII. Nennig

VII.a.

Title: Amphitheater Mosaic

Date: Second quarter of the 3rd cent. CE

Measurement: 10.30 x 15.65m

Context: *Oecus* or *triclinium* of a richly ornamented Roman villa that was centrally located in the small town. The room itself has evidence of red wall frescos in which aquatic plants and animals were depicted. This is one of the largest mosaics found in Germany.

Location: *In situ*, Nennig Roman Villa. The mosaic was restored to some extent; this is most visible in one of the octagons having a *tesserae* inscription in which the text explains the restoration.

Description: Scenes from an amphitheater, including pairs of fighting gladiators, animals fighting each other, humans fighting animals, and a water-organ being played, fill the open spaces of this large and intricate mosaic displayed prominently in a Roman villa. There is a marble fountain in one of the central spaces of the floor. Rectangular in shape, the mosaic consists of a central pattern with a larger frame around it to fit it into the space of the room. The detail of the figures and animals are of very high quality, depicting intricate and specific garment details as well as the patterns of the animals. Further, the figures cast shadows onto the ground below them. The dating comes from a coin of AD 192 that was found in the bedding of the mosaic whose, according to excavators, wear pattern suggested the coin had been in use for thirty to sixty years.

Patterns: Outlined grid pattern of six adjacent crosses, with a rotated square inscribed in the center, ensconced between four pairs of parallelograms composed of adjacent lozenges and octagon. Squares are formed by a frame consisting of four sides of octagons and the corners formed by the meeting of two lozenges. One of the large central squares has a pictorial scene and the other has a marble basin in its center. To fill in the gaps near the edge of the central rectangle are a series of rectangles and trapezoids. Weaving amongst all the elements is a shaded simple guilloche that also frames the indexed squares in the crosses. Each geometric shape is further framed by an inward facing dentillated fillet.

Being intersected by the rotated squares, the crosses consist of four sections composed of two outlined right triangles with their hypotenuses facing. Within them is a black triangle placed in the center to give the appearance that there are four triangles, three white and one black, composing the right triangle. A more intricate frame can be seen on the indexed squares where inside their guilloche and dentil frame is a row of paired opposed and staggered fillets with dentils of serrated right-angled triangles, creating the effect of a band of semi-serrated right-angled Zs. This is then enclosed by an outward facing dentil fillet and a triple white and black fillet. The lozenges that encircle the crosses frame many of the other larger geometric shapes have a smaller outlined lozenge placed in their center with an even smaller black lozenge inside that. Filling the gap between the outer lozenge and the central outlined lozenge are triangles that are alternately inverted to create a smooth band. As with the central outlined lozenge there is a smaller triangle in each of the triangles.

In contrast to the elaborate layering of elements on the rotated squares and lozenges, the frames for the large square and octagons are simpler. For the squares, there is a straight tongued double guilloche opened to form eyelets in blue and red and then an inward facing dentil row completed by white and black fillets. Framing the octagons are shaded four strand guilloche on a black background that is defined from the central octagons by an outward facing dentil fillet.

To fill in the gaps along the border of the mosaic rectangles and trapezoids are formed with floral decoration. Framing the rectangles is a meander with elongated returns. The two rectangles on the width sides have a concave square in the center with rows of superposed shortened thorns stemming off in opposite directions. A further two rectangles, this time on the length sides of the mosaic, have a row of outlined intersecting and tangent circles with half a hexafoil on one side. The last two rectangles, also on the length sides, have an acanthus scroll that branches off from a central leafy stem. Ten trapezoids are also present with a variety of decorations. Three of them have a polychrome row of three adjacent trifid calices with a dart center, the central one alternately inverted. Two trapezoids have a spiral vine departing from a central heart. The rest have different variations of a central element, be it floral or a vessel, and then vines curling out to fill the rest of the space. Lastly, the four smaller squares in each corner replicate the rectangles' meander with elongated returns, but they then have an outward facing dentiled fillet and then just a single flower in the center of the square. Framing the entire decorated interior rectangle, again with its own inward facing dentiled fillet, is a chessboard pattern where the squares are formed by four trapezes adjacent to a central square that is diagonally quartered. The colors are counterchanged to create the effect of coffer.

Colors: White, black, red, blue, brown(s), beige(s), grey-blue, yellow, ochre, and pink.

Similar: VI.d; Athens, Greece (Balmelle 2002a pgs. 194-95b); Antioch, Turkey (Balmelle 2002b pg. 123h); Timgad, Algeria (Balmelle 2002a pg. 277f).

Bibliography: Dunbabin 1999 pgs. 81-82, fig. 84; Ling 1998 pg. 70, fig. 49; Balmelle 2002a 278-79c; Parlasca 1970 pgs. 35-34 pl. 36.

Image:



