

**THE IMAGE OF ORPHEUS
IN ROMAN MOSAIC**

An exploration of the figure of Orpheus in Graeco-Roman culture with special reference to its expression in the medium of mosaic in late antiquity.

Two Volumes

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Appendix One

THE CATALOGUING OF MOSAICS

The antique figure of Orpheus enjoyed a huge popularity, which was not confined to the classical world, but continued to exert an attraction. In the modern attention to Orpheus in Graeco-Roman art we see the same fascination at work. Since the last century scholars have attempted to record and catalogue every single artefact carrying a depiction of the singer, of which the mosaics form the largest group. The results of this devotion to the subject are presented in the form of monographs and catalogues. These provide the main access to the corpus of mosaics, extant examples of which are scattered across what was the Roman Empire, some in museums, some *in situ*, the remainder represented only in documentary form. What has prompted this collection of images and what is the effect on our assessment of Orpheus in mosaic of this method of storing information?

Orpheus's importance in antiquity guarantees large entries in dictionaries of classical subjects where such inventories are appropriately placed. These have formed the precedent for subsequent presentations. The prestige of the pagan figure in early Christian philosophy and art was one point of interest for the late nineteenth century scholars who began the recording process [1]. The number of items recovered which depict Orpheus has encouraged their collation into a group: large enough to make Orpheus prominent in relation to other classical figures, yet not so large as to make a catalogue unwieldy nor the material impenetrable.

Many of the mosaics were discovered intact, but, sadly, were destroyed as being of no contemporary interest; our present delight in the fragmentary, and our enhanced capability for

preservation has promoted interest, during the later twentieth century, in the more incomplete and mundane remnants of the past. So the mosaics are now valued as historical documents, rather than disregarded for the intrinsic worth of their material. Every slightest fragment assumes an importance. Pictorially, though mirroring conventional models, they respond enough to changing fashions and regional preferences to make them varied and interesting. Continual discoveries are adding new material which clouds certainties about unity of style and significance.

The catalogues remain the most convenient source for the corpus of material and reference for papers devoted to individual studies. The fact that they provide the principal route of access for the mosaics raises a difficulty, imposing a homogeneity upon them which is not tempered by attempts to contain them within design categories. A tradition of cataloguing the Orpheus of antique art has come into being and taken on a momentum of its own. These activities have become ends in themselves: the seductive draw of the list, the desire to add one more mosaic than can be found anywhere else, to fit new images into the existing framework.

The natural justification for bringing the Orpheus mosaics under a single heading is that they all depict the same subject presented in a superficially similar manner. Such visual parallels encourage the collection of items into a set. The tendency for similarities to be stressed within a nominal set leads to the glossing over or dropping of characteristics which obtrude into the new vision of a coherent entity. The mosaics are now accessed in their catalogues as a homogeneous group, but the very form of presentation might be obscuring the importance of distinctions, giving the Orpheus mosaics a new, modern, context which lends the same sense to them all. It is a short step to believing that each image had the same significance for each Roman observer. Valuable information on the use and diffusion of imagery in the Graeco-Roman world is harboured in the differences between Orpheus mosaics. Whilst a useful tool for collating information, the catalogues are by no means the best source for a discourse on the significance of the

image in the antique world. The perception of the antique image has become influenced by the recording process. The structuring of the catalogues has come to determine contemporary conceptions of the image of Orpheus in mosaic. It seems fitting that the development and structure of catalogues be examined, as well as an assessment made of what they set out to achieve. For this work, they form a principal source and, indeed, model. Besides, the form is an excellent one with which to chronicle discoveries.

Essays on comparative iconography and interpretation offered with the catalogues on the whole suffer the same tendency to see the grouping of Orpheus mosaics as an established fact, and a firm domain from which to extrapolate information.

In presenting the work of previous scholars, only the most important inventories will be discussed. The prototypical work is that most often cited as a source by subsequent writers, the list of Orpheus mosaics in the exhaustive article 'Orpheus' by O.Gruppe in Roscher's Lexicon, which notes every classical literary reference, the mosaic list forming part of a catalogue of all the representations of Orpheus in ancient art (he draws on earlier work) [3]. The 27 mosaics are grouped by country of origin, beginning with Italy. Gruppe gives references in which some inaccuracies appear. In some cases he names the animals in Orpheus' audience. P.Gaukler, DA, vol.III (1904), 'Musivum Opus', lists 31 mosaics; depictions in other media are discussed by Monceaux in the article 'Orpheus' [3].

A common form of presentation in the literature has been the appending of the catalogue to a description of a single Orpheus pavement, the subsequent discussion of which includes consideration of further groups of Orpheus mosaics, in the form of a catalogue *raisonné*. G.Guidi on Lepcis Magna and H.Stern on Blanzky-les-Fismes set this pattern, followed by V.von Gonzenbach on Swiss mosaics, U.Leipmann on Hanover and D.Michaelides on Paphos. Guidi, in 1935, made the first attempt to analyse the Orpheus mosaics organising them according to design and composition. He distinguished

four main groupings, rather cumbersome in use, being severally subdivided [4]. He listed 29 Orpheus mosaics dispersed through the text as examples of each of his categories. Guidi, like Gruppe, omitted to mention notable British mosaics known for some time previous to publication [5], so with the exception of Horkstow, their concentric circle design remained uncategorised by him.

In 1955 Stern appended a catalogue of all the Orpheus mosaics then known to him, 47, to an article on the mosaic of Blanzky-les-Fismes, France. His discussion of the iconography of Orpheus among the animals is the standard, forerunner work. With it he presented a refined design classification. His list of mosaics is arranged by country of origin, beginning with France, Blanzky at the top. Each mosaic is categorised according to his new typological system, in which he distinguished three main 'types' of design, certain of which are subdivided [6]. The format of Stern's well referenced catalogue is clear, easy and useful to consult. Certain mosaics are omitted from his main list where he considered their attribution uncertain, but every mosaic he thought depicted Orpheus is acknowledged, if only in footnotes, or is discussed in the main article. Stern's catalogue is now thirty years out of date and the many discoveries made since then should be taken into account when considering his theories. On the subject of the iconography of Orpheus in Greek and Roman art, Stern's later articles (1974, 1980) are invaluable and many new ideas are added to the discussion of the earlier catalogue, some of which supersede its propositions. Guidi and Stern set a pattern for the classification of Orpheus mosaics, thus establishing as a fact that the mosaics fall into classifiable groupings. But do they?

Two new, descriptive catalogues of Orpheus in Greek and Roman art encompassing depictions in all media appeared around the same time, by F.Schoeller in Germany, 1969 and E.Panyagua in Spain, 1970-72, but are of different quality [7]. As far as his list of Orpheus mosaics is concerned Schoeller is inaccurate, his discussion unreliable. Panyagua's excellent listing is thorough. Late antique work in the minor arts, such as ivories and textiles,

which have a relevance to the iconography of the latest Orpheus mosaics, are omitted from both catalogues. Panyagua promised a sequential catalogue of the Christian Orpheus, which ought to have included the Jerusalem Orpheus mosaic, catacomb paintings and sarcophagi, but this has so far failed to materialise. The objects are discussed in his earlier publication tracing the history of the figure of Orpheus in Graeco-Roman art [8], which notes throughout affinities of style or figuration occurring between all the depictions. Cabrol-Leclercq in DACL provides examples of what was considered the Christian Orpheus. Late antique pagan images remain uncollated as such.

Panyagua was not convinced by the typological division of the mosaics made by either Guidi or Stern, (1973, 434) preferring to disregard such attempts to draw the wide variety of designs into a rigid framework. He organised his 67 mosaics regionally, beginning with Italy, noting present locations and working his way around the provinces of the Roman Empire in a geographical sequence which does not immediately reveal its logic. Each well referenced mosaic is briefly discussed, with important archaeological information and critique. He gives a descriptive heading [9], but offers no interpretation of figuration, having generally discussed the mosaics in his work on the history of Orpheus in art. The list of mosaics forms part of the general catalogue of Orpheus in Graeco-Roman art. This makes it easy to compare them with depictions in other media, either showing the animal charming scene or other episodes from the legend. The catalogue, divided by medium, is arranged approximately in chronological order, mosaics coming near the end. All items are similarly categorised and described, making this the best available reference work to date. Its greatest value lies in its comparative function, since the mosaics are not iconographically isolated.

Again appended to the discussion of a new Orpheus mosaic [10], U.Leipmann's catalogue of 1974, listing 70 mosaics, gives only name, location and limited references. The mosaics are organised under five headings relating to their state of

preservation: A. extant; B. extant with lost image of Orpheus; C. destroyed; D. extant, but not Orpheus; E. destroyed, not Orpheus. She disallows 6 mosaics under D. and E., including Littlecote, Whatley and Trier. Aix is under A, Oudna II under B, Dyer St. under C. Which leaves in all 64 certain examples. Within her categories mosaics are placed in alphabetical order according to present location, a confusing system when they are customarily known by the name of their original site, so the two from Lepcis are separated (nos.15, 36). On British mosaics she is unclear and inaccurate. Some of her information is now simply out of date, on Littlecote, for example [11]. Other inaccuracies are transposed from earlier lists, but where appropriate she points out Schoeller's mistakes. She lists six mosaics not included by Panyagua, of which three were discovered after his publication, he includes four which she had omitted [12]. Otherwise it provides a useful source. No commentary is provided for the mosaics, though within the article she joins the discussion on comparative iconography, being principally concerned with the North Syrian mosaic in the Kestner Museum, Hanover.

The article by A.Ovadia, 1980, extends the period to include the later Orpheus mosaics, which occur more frequently in the area of concern, the Eastern Mediterranean [13]. He attempts a new design classification, simply making two groupings with subdivisions. Only 21 mosaics are used as examples of the classes. This is not a full catalogue. It might have been instructive if all the known mosaics were subjected to placement within the system to see how many more subdivisions were actually necessary to encompass all variants. The variety of design would have become evident as well as the unwieldiness of the design classification in practice. The iconography of the chosen mosaics is discussed, some useful interpretations are proposed, but in such a short paper it cannot be other than a superficial review of the subject; there are some inaccurate attributions.

The British Orpheus mosaics separately grouped were treated by J.M.C. Toynbee in 1963, which informative study was enlarged upon by D.J.Smith in 1969. In 1983 he described,

illustrated and fully referenced 11 British Orpheus mosaics, refining Stern's type III, which was the designation for the concentric-circle composition virtually specific to these mosaics [14]. His account omits analysis and interpretation of the iconography, as he himself allows.

The most recent cataloguing of mosaics comes in the article by D. Michaelides on the Orpheus mosaic of Nea Paphos, Cyprus. There, in footnotes, all the entries in Liepmann's list are organised by country of origin (retaining her numbering system). His total of 83 (not 84 as he first states) includes several mosaics she missed, adding examples disallowed by her and recently discovered examples not collected elsewhere. Subtracting incorrect entries leaves 75 certain examples [15]. He offers a comparative iconographic study, finding stylistic affinities for the Paphos Orpheus.

Details of all the proposed categorisations are discussed in the chapters on design (Ch.6, 7), in relation to particular mosaics. Generally speaking, up to the present attempts to impose a definitive system of classification according to composition and design, have not been totally successful. All systems are valid as far as they go, only preferable from the standpoint of ease of understanding and convenience of use. In this respect Stern's categories remain viable, since they encompass most design types and allow mosaics to be referenced by his numbering system. His observation that certain designs were regionally specific remains a guide, though subsequent discoveries have introduced enough exceptions to cloud the picture.

The fact is, as I have demonstrated, that the mosaics are more diverse in design, composition, style and figuration than the existing catalogue systems allow. While in broad terms they all come within Stern's types, as Panyagua has pointed out (1973, 434), neither he nor Guidi distinguished the various types of Orpheus figure as a means of classifying the mosaics, in an iconographic study. There are broad, overlapping categories into which a number of mosaics fit, but no exclusive boundaries enable the modern observer to come to grips with the subject. Any number of sets can be made by

grouping and re-grouping mosaics exhibiting variants of design, composition and iconography, but this endeavour on its own adds little to our knowledge of stylistic provenance, significance or function, so long as such sets are self-referencing. When all factors are taken into account, it can be seen that each mosaic demands a class of its own, or more detailed headings with which to describe it.

The mosaics were separated by time and place, their models not so much each other, as a study of the catalogue collections would lead one to believe, nor specific paintings, but a concept, the archetypal image of Orpheus to which each depiction aspired. More immediate influences came from the appearance of Orpheus in other media, particularly small portable items and ephemeral media, far more accessible to the antique eye. The modern observer perceives similarities between the Orpheus mosaics because of the bracketing effect of the catalogues, several of them pictured together. This juxtaposition should have shown up their patent differences, since even a cursory glance reveals the diversities. The treatment of a popular theme within the conventions of a traditional visual aesthetic, ensured the antique observer's immediate recognition of and response to the intended subject. A certain uniformity will appear in the depiction. Such is the modern observer's view of antique mosaics as the subject of a catalogue presentation.

Conversely Roman patrons and artisans may not have perceived dissimilarities since they could have no idea of the state of the entire corpus. Patrons could only see the examples nearest to hand or when visiting, artisans only those occurring within their working orbit, which they might show as sketches. Their intention was to provide, in each case, an image which fitted the genre, sometimes striving at the same time to be artistically 'better' or 'new', sometimes to repeat a favoured form. The conceptual image of Orpheus amid the animals, coupled with its appearance on the myriad of items in other media which abounded in the Roman Empire, would have influenced the picture realised in mosaic.

Only in a few circumstances do mosaics survive showing the effects of fashion and copying: mosaics laid on nearby sites within a short time of each other, so that both artists and patrons could easily have had sight of an existing example. Mosaics from the Greek East displaying 'mannerist' style are repertorially linked, but while the two from Cos both belong, they differ in design, composition and figure models. The intention here may have been to produce something different in the later mosaic (Cos I). Orpheus mosaics from Britain also display local fashion, with a vogue for their particular pattern and evidence for a single workshop producing more than one example (Orpheus: Barton, Woodchester and other subjects). Elsewhere two mosaics from near Sfax, Tunisia (Sakiet, Thina) are like in composition, dissimilar in style. Of the two mosaics with the same design from Sousse, Tunisia (Sousse I, II), one was evidently influenced by the other. Two from Merida, Spain (Merida II, III) are of similar design, one much cruder and less elaborate than the other. Two mosaics, from Sparta and from Chahba, Syria, are of different regions, made about ten to twenty years apart, but share a common model: here it is unlikely that the patron or craftsman of one saw the other. The two mosaics from Palermo are quite different, though both show eastern influence. The African provinces of Byzacena and Proconsularis were the source of a vast mosaic production, reflected in the number of Orpheus mosaics. With so many 'ateliers' at work at one time, it is not surprising that their mosaics offer widely differing styles. This is a problem which the catalogues do not address, and which, indeed, they disguise. It is a guiding theme for the detailed exploration of pictorial structure in the mosaics, undertaken in the main body of the work. The categories proposed so far by modern scholars are so general as to preclude the observation of distinctions, compounding the picture of stale repetition and copying which is the reputation of Roman art. Comparisons have been made according with the desire to uphold the tradition of Orpheus mosaics as an integral group and do not bear close analysis. Only the subject is the same. As a method for description and collation, catalogues have their uses, but they do

not help to reveal the artistic structure of mosaic imagery, nor its place in Graeco-Roman culture.

If, as I have suggested, catalogues are obstructive, why will yet another be added here? One reason in this circumstance is to allow assessment of this contribution by comparison with its precedents. The catalogue uses a similar presentation, with the addition of repertorial and iconographic features, explored in the chapters on artistry, presented as data, from which internal affinities between mosaics can be adduced. The listing is geographic, so that regional styles are clarified. Some comment is made with each entry. No catalogue could claim to be complete, to list all Orpheus mosaics. New examples are always being discovered, others, summarily notified, remain unpublished and forgotten, so there must always be unavoidable omissions. Errors of transcription are found, inaccuracies copied from list to list, the citing of non-existent mosaics, multiple entries for a single mosaic, all of which will be commented upon in the catalogue included here. No attempt is made to 'sort' the mosaics into an order limited by the imposition of theory.

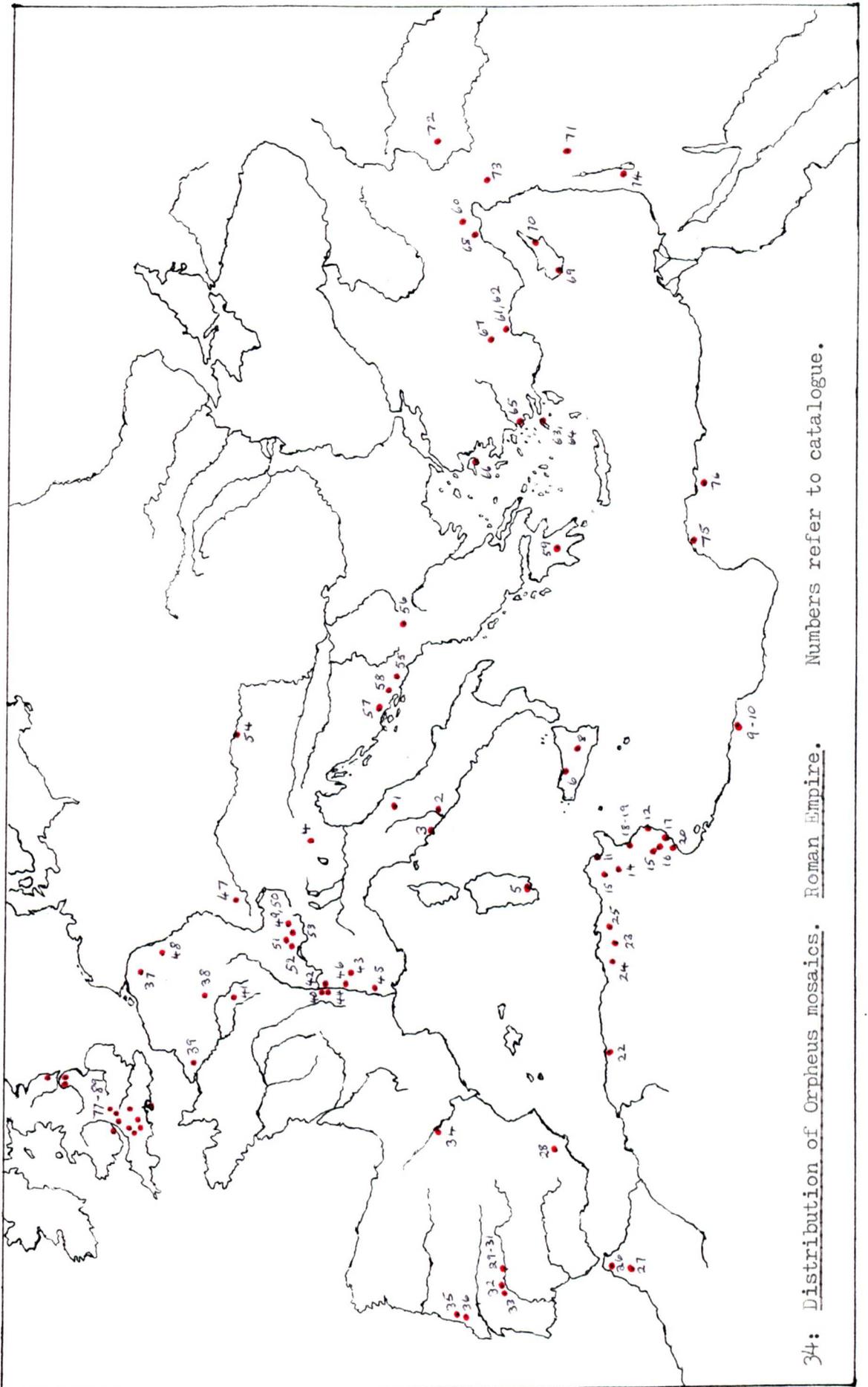
A collection of similar items has a fascination. Catalogues attest to the popularity of Orpheus for archaeologists and classicists and to a preoccupation with including all material in an enveloping scientific framework. An attempt has been made to break from the viewpoint imposed by the structure of the catalogues and to seek the wider picture.

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NOTES

1. O.Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, (1922).
2. There are numerous publications old and new on Orpheus in Graeco-Roman literature.
3. O.Gruppe, Roscher's Lexicon III, (1898), 'Orpheus' - XIV, 102, 'Orpheus in der Kunst', col.1172 ff. Amongst others he acknowledges: Stephani, Comptes Rendus (1881), 102-107. Knapp, Über Orpheusdarstellung, (1880). Some of the inaccuracies have been noted by Stern, though erroneously repeated elsewhere.
4. K.Zeigler, RE XVIII, 1, (1939) cols. 1200-1316.
5. G.Guidi, 'Orfeo, Liber Pater e Oceano in mosaici della Tripolitania', Africa Italiana VI, (1935), 110-155.
6. Gruppe in 1898 omits both Woodchester and Barton Farm, Cirencester, as well as La Alberca, Spain, found 1892, as Panyagua, (1967) notes. Guidi, in 1935, also omits Withington, Winterton, Littlecote, Brading, all known before, citing only Horkstow.
7. H.Stern, 'La Mosaïque D'Orphée de Blanzly-les-Fismes', Gallia XIII, (1955), 41-77.
8. E.R.Panyagua. 'Catalogo de representaciones de Orfeo en el arte antiguo'. I - Helmantica XXIII, 70, (1972), 87-135..
 II - Helmantica XXIII, 72, (1972), 393-416.
 III - Helmantica XXIV, 75, (1973). 433-498.
- F.Schoeller. 'Darstellungen des Orpheus in der Antike' (1969).
9. E.R.Panyagua, 'La figura de Orfeo en el arte griego y romano', Helmantica XVIII, 56, (1967), 220-228.
10. For example 'Orfeo musico rodeado de aves y animales' describing Barton Farm, no.226; 'Orfeo musico con animales' for Littlecote, no.229. A brief explanatory description follows.
11. U.Liepmann, 'Ein Orpheusmosaik im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover', Neiderdeutsche Beitragen zur Kunstgeschichte, 13, (1974), 9-36. The mosaic was brought to the Kestner Museum 1970.
12. Pitney shows a seated figure in Phrygian dress, holding a pedom, which may be read as Attis, paired with Sagaritis, or, following R.Stupperich, Britannia, XI, (1980), 296-7, Paris as a herdsman, paired with the nymph Oenone. BAR 41, (i), (1977), pl.6.XXVII. Keynsham, *ibid* pl.6.XIX c.) has been thought to show the oracular head of Orpheus (Toynbee, 1964, 241), but Stupperich's interpretation (294-6) of the group as Minerva seeing her reflection piping is more satisfactory.

13. Liepmann lists Hanover, Adana and Panik (new discoveries) and Jerusalem. She also includes Caerwent I and a second Orpheus at Oudna. Panyagua lists Arnal, Bavai, Djemila, notes Combe End.
14. A.Ovadia and S.Mucznik, 'Orpheus Mosaics in Roman and Early Byzantine Periods', Assaph I, (1980), 43-56.
15. J.M.C.Toynbee, Art in Britain Under the Romans, (1964), 228-289; D.J.Smith, 'The Mosaic Pavements' in A.L.F.Rivet, ed. The Roman Villa in Britain, (1969), 71-125; Smith, 'Three Fourth Century Schools of Mosaic in Roman Britain' in La Mosaïque Greco-Romaine I, (1965), 95-115, not strictly a catalogue, but does include a discussion of the Orpheus mosaics. *Idem*, 'Orpheus Mosaics in Britain' in Mosaïque. Recueil d'hommages a Henri Stern, (1982), 315-328, plus plates.
16. D.Michaelides, 'A New Orpheus Mosaic in Cyprus' in V.Karageorghis, ed. Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident", (1985), 473-489.



34: Distribution of Orpheus mosaics. Roman Empire. Numbers refer to catalogue.



35: Distribution of Orpheus mosaics. Roman Britain.

Numbers refer to catalogue.

Appendix Two

CATALOGUE OF ORPHEUS MOSAICS

The arrangement of the catalogue is such as will best display stylistic associations and geographic proximity. Headings do not necessarily conform to either modern or Roman regional boundaries. The mosaics of Italy head the list, conveniently, since the earliest are amongst those from the hub of the Roman Empire. The movement spirals out via Sicily, along the North African provinces to the Iberian peninsula, into Gaul, across the alps, down the Danube and through Dalmatia, touching Greece and on to Asia Minor, passing along the Aegean coast, then Pamphilia and Cilicia, Cyprus, thence to the East and down to Egypt and Cyrenaica, with the later mosaics. The Orpheus mosaics of Roman Britain have final place in the catalogue, appropriately, as the special focus of the study and distinguished stylistically from the rest by the design which prompted it. Within geographic groupings mosaics are listed alphabetically. Those marked with a single asterisk* are included as probably depicting Orpheus and figure in the count, although in many cases it cannot be ascertained if he actually does appear. Those marked with two**, placed at the end of each entry, may be a totally erroneous citation, or a mosaic which does not depict Orpheus, though claimed to do so, or one which probably did not where the imagery is unsure. They are numbered a) b) c) after the last entry. Thus 89 Orpheus mosaics are listed, although 103 are named. The latest catalogue, by Michaelides, 1986, numbers 83 mosaics, 8 of which have been discounted here, so the current total effectively adds 14 new sites.

After bibliography, size and design type, following Stern's typological system insofar as it can be applied,

notable iconographic features are listed as additional data. This allows comparisons to be made, for stylistic groupings to become evident, immediately apparent on adjacent sites or cross-referenced in parentheses. In most cases the Graeco-Roman concert *kithara* is distinguished from the rustic lyre, but where the mosaicist has produced a garbled version of an ancient, but unknown instrument, this has been categorised as 'lyre'. Only such animals notable as species or for the manner of their depiction are mentioned. Pendent and associated imagery elucidates the significance of each Orpheus depiction, what it symbolises. Dates assigned by other commentators which differ from each other or from my proposals, follow their entry.

MOSAICS CATALOGUED

Adana	<i>Gloucester**</i>
<i>Aix**</i>	Guelma
La Alberca	Hanover
Antalya I	Horkstow
Antalya II	<i>Italica**</i>
Arnal	Jerusalem
Avenches I*	<i>Keynsham**</i>
Avenches II	Lepcis Magna I
Barton Farm	Lepcis Magna II
Bavai*	Littlecote
<i>Beirut**</i>	Lyon
Blanzly-les-Fismes	Mactar*
Brading	Martim Gil
Caerwent I*	Merida I
<i>Caerwent II**</i>	Merida II
Cagliari	Merida III*
Carnuntum	Miletus
Carthage	Mytilene
Chahba	Newton St.Loe
La Chebba	Orbe
Cherchel	Oudna I
<i>Combe End**</i>	<i>Oudna II**</i>
Constantine	Palermo I
Cos I	Palermo II
Cos II	Panik
El Djem	Paphos
Djemila	<i>Paternoster Row**</i>
<i>Dyer Street**</i>	Perugia

Edessa	El Pesquero
Forêt de Brotonne	Piazza Armerina
<i>Gaza**</i>	Pit Meads
Poljanice	Trinquetaille
Pont d'Ancy*	Tunisia*
Ptolemais	Vienne
Rome	Volubilis
Rottweil	Wellow
<i>Rothenburg**</i>	Whatley
Rougga	Winterton
Rudston*	Withington
Saint Colombe	Woodchester
Saint-Paul-lès-romans	Yverdon
Saint-Romain-en-gal	Yvonand.
Sakiet-es-Zit	
Santa Marinella I	
<i>Santa Marinella II**</i>	
Santa Marta de los Barros	
Salamis	
Salona	
Saragossa	
Seleucia	
Sousse I	
Sousse II	
Sparta	
Stolac*	
Tangier	
Tarsus	
Thina	
Tobruk	
Trento	
Trier	

Abbreviations:

- Inv. = Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique romaine, III vols., Paris, (1909-1915) and plates (1911-1925).
- Alvarez-Martinez, Actas Balil = J.M.Alvarez-Martinez, 'La Iconografía de Orfeo en los Mosaicos Hispanorromanos', in: Mosaicos Romanos, Estudios sobre Iconografía, Actas del Homenaje in Memoriam de Alberto Balil Illana, Guadalajara (1990), 29-58, figs.1-2, pls.II-VIII.
- Alvarez-Martinez Mosaicos Merida = J.M.Alvarez-Martinez, Mosaicos Romanos de Merida Nuevos Hallazgos, (1990).
- Budde Kilikien II = L.Budde, Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien, bande II, (1972).
- Charitonidis = S.Charitonidis, L.Kahil, R.Ginouves, Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Menandre a Mytilene, (1970).
- Dunbabin = K.M.D.Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa, (1978).
- Gonzenbach 1949/50 = V.von Gonzenbach, 'Drei Orpheusmosaiken aus der Waadt', Jarbuch der Schweizerischen gesellschaft fur urgeschichte, XL, (1949/50), 271-287.
- Gonzenbach 1961 = V.von Gonzenbach, Die Romischen der Schweiz, (1961).
- Guidi = G.Guidi, 'Orfeo, Liber Pater e oceano in mosaici della Tripolitania', Mosaici della Tripolitania Africa Italiana, VI, (1935).
- Harrison = R.M.Harrison, 'An Orpheus Mosaic from Ptolemais in Cyrenaica', Journal of Roman Studies, 52, (1962), 13-18.
- Hinks = R.P.Hinks, Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum, (1933).
- Liepmann = U.Liepmann, 'Ein Orpheusmosaik im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover', Neiderdeutsche Beitr. zur Kunstgeschichte, XIII, (1974), 9-36.
- Manino = L.Manino, 'Il mosaico Sardo di Orfeo del Museo Archeologico di Torino', Bolletino Societa Piemontese N.S. di Archeologia e Belli Arti, 4/5, (1950/51), 40-53.
- Michaelides = D.Michaelides, 'A New Orpheus Mosaic in Cyprus', Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident", Nicosia 8-14 September, 1985, (1986), 473-489, pls.LIII-LVI.
- Neal = D.Neal, Roman Mosaics in Britain. An Introduction to Their Schemes and a Catalogue of Paintings, (1981).
- Ovadiah = A.Ovadiah and S.Mucznik 'Orpheus Mosaics in Roman and Early Byzantine Periods', Assaph I, (1980), 43-50, figs.1-15.
- Panyagua Orfeo = E.R.Panyagua, 'La Figura de Orfeo en el arte griego y romano', Helmantica XVII, (1967), 173-239.

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- Panyagua (1973) = E.R.Panyagua 'Catalogo de representaciones de Orfeo en el arte antiguo' part III, Mosaicos romanos, Helmantica XXIII (1973), 463-498.
- Parlasca = K.Parlasca, Romischen Mosaiken in Deutschland, (1961).
- Rainey = A.Rainey, Mosaics in Roman Britain, A Gazeteer, (1973).
- RPGR = S.Reinach, Repertoire des peintures greques et romaines, (1922).
- Schöeller = F.Schöeller, Darstellungen des Orpheus in der Antike, Phil. Diss., Freiburg, (1969).
- Smith 1963 = D.J.Smith, 'Three Fourth Century Schools of Mosaic in Roman Britain', Colloques Internationaux du CNRS, La Mosaïque Greco-Romaine, (CMGR) Paris 1963, (1965), 95-115.
- Smith 1977 = D.J.Smith, 'Mythological Figures and Scenes in Romano-British Mosaics', in: Roman Life and Art in Britain, eds.J.Munby and M.Henig, BAR 41 (i), (1977), 105-193, pls.6.I - 6.XXXIII.
- Smith 1983 = D.J.Smith, 'Orpheus Mosaics in Britain', in Mosaïque, Recueil d'Homages a Henri Stern, (1983), 315-328, pls.CCIII-CCXI.
- Stern = H.Stern, 'Mosaïque d'Orphée à Blanzly-les-Fismes', Gallia XIII, (1955), 41-77, catalogue 68-77.
- Stanton = G.R.Stanton, 'The Newton St.Loe Pavement', Journal of Roman Studies, (1936), 43-46, pls.VII-IX.
- Toynbee 1962 = J.M.C.Toynbee, Art in Roman Britain, (1962).
- Toynbee 1964 = J.M.C.Toynbee, Art in Britain Under the Romans, (1964).
- Thirion = J.Thirion, 'Orphée magicien dans la mosaïque romain', Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist. de l'École Française de Rome, XXVII, (1955), 149-79.
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THE CATALOGUEITALY.

1. PERUGIA.

Baths, Perugia, Italy. 1876. *In situ*. RPGR, 202, 4. Guidi, 123-4, fig.14, group II. M.Guardabassi, Notizie degli Scavi (1876), 181f., (1887), 6 and 309, pl.XI. U.Tarchi L'arte nell'Umbria e nella Sabina I (1936), pl.253-5. M.E.Blake, MAAR XI (1936), pl.38, 4, watercolour of 1877. D.Levi Antioch Mosaic Pavements (1947), I, 362. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 278. Bolletino della Commissione comunale LXXIII 1949/50 (1953), 79ff figs.7 and 8, showing new fragments. Stern 70, no.14. Thirion, 161. Panyagua Orfeo, 229. Schöeller 38, no.30, pl X, 2. Panyagua (1973), 463, no.194. Liepmann no.22. Ovadiah, 45, 52, fig. 5, group Ib. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 18 x 8m. TYPE IIa. Black and white. Rock seat, tree. A muscular nude, in profile right, gazes left, wind-blown hair. Bare feet. *Kithara*. 40 animals remain. Zebra, rhinoceros, camel? crocodile, owl, tortoise, monkey. 150AD.

2. ROME.

From a dwelling perhaps belonging to Pactumeia Lucilia and her family, found under the cloister of sant'Anselmo on the Aventine. 1892. Antiquarium, Rome, Italy. G.Gatti, NS (1892), 134. Blake, MAAR XI (1936), 3 and 160, pl. XXXVIII, 'probably ... Antonine'. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277, 278. Thirion 161. Stern 71, no.16, fig. 15. Schöeller 38, no.34, pl.IX, 3. Panyagua (1973) 463, no.195. P.A.Gianfrotta, 'Il mosaico di Orfeo a sant'Anselmo sull'aventino e le sue riproduzioni', Archeologia classica XXVIII (1976), 198-205. pls.LXIX-LXXII (perhaps Severan). Liepmann no.25. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Floor 5.75 x 3.25m, Orpheus 5.21 x 2.16m. TYPE IIa. Black and white. Heavily restored. Rock seat, large tree. Frontal, semi-draped, wreathed, bare feet. Lyre (restored). 32 animals. Hippopotamus, tortoise, lizard, snail, monkey, camel, horse, ram, ewe. Pendent: a centaur attacked by fierce animals, striking a tiger. Debased figure style (allowing for modern work), animal repertory, pendent scene indicate fourth century.

3. SANTA MARINELLA.

From ant. *Punicum*, near Civitavecchia, Italy. c.1840. Destroyed? Guidi, 130. Stern 70, no.15. Guidi, 130, group IV, Blake, MAAR 13 (1936), 159-69. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 285. Toynbee (1964), 256, n.1. Schöeller 37, no.25. Panyagua (1973), 464, no.196. Liepmann no.59. P.Gianfrotta, Formae Italiae Regio VII, vol. III, *Castrum Novum*, Rome (1972), 56-7, fig 97. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Gianfrotta, Arch. class., (1976). 9 x 8m. TYPE Ia. Black and white. Nine circles enlaced in rows of three cf. Rougga [16]. No setting. Facing left.

Nude, wreathed. Several animals in each circle. Butterfly, lizard, frog, giraffe. 2nd century.

4. TRENTO.

Public gardens of Corso Rosmini, Trento. Italy. *In situ*. Fogolari, *FA*. 13 (1958), 243, no.3685. Pl.XX, Fig.57 (erroneously 58 in the text). Harrison (1962), 13, n.5. Charitonides, 25, no.6. Panyagua (1973), 466, no.202. Liepmann no.35. G.Tosi, 'Mosaico romano di Trento con figura di Orfeo', *RINASA*, III series, I (1978), 65-87, inc. pls. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Floor, 9.15 x 6.10m, decorative surround and figured panel, 7.24 x 4.71m. Bichrome with some polychrome. TYPE Ia/b. Within circle, 6 hexagons around central hexagon with Orpheus. Cf. St Colombe [42]. Rock, tree. In profile right. Semi-draped, bare feet. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Animals in compartments running clockwise across trees cf. Salona [57], Stolac [58], Winterton [86]. Confronted birds and plants. Snake around tree growing from frame cf. Ptolemais [75], Tobruk [76]. Pendent: dolphins with anchors, tridents. Fish, waves, molluscs. A view of the dolphin and anchor motif as Christian (Fogolari), omitting from the argument the combination of fish and tridents (Neptune), is refuted by Panyagua (here supported), evidencing their use in pagan contexts. 250AD.

4a. SANTA MARINELLA II.**

In the garden of a modern villa, Santa Marinella. Gianfrotta, *Arch.classica* XXVIII (1976), 198-205. pl.LXIX. 2.47 x 1.09m. A copy of the mosaic from the monastery of Sant'Anselmo, Rome. The work of a late 19th. century firm specialising in restoration. Another copy, pl.LXXI, exists in an unknown private collection. Not Roman.

SARDINIA.

5. CAGLIARI.

From a rich villa, Stampaca district, Cagliari, Sardinia. 1762. Museo Archaeologico, Turin, Italy. G.Spano 'Orfeo, mosaico sardo esistente nel museo egiziano do Torino', *Bull. Arch. Sardo* (1858), 161ff., 1 pl. *RPGR* 200, 4. Guidi 130, fig.20, group III. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 278. L.Manino, 'Il Mosaico sardo di Orfeo del Museo archeologico di Torino' in *Bolletino della Societa piemontese di archeologia e di belle arti* IV-V (1950/51), 40-53, figs 1-4. 2nd.C. Stern 70, no.13. Schöeller 39, no.46. Panyagua (1973), 464, no.197, fig.30. S.Angio-lillo, 'Il mosaico di Orfeo al Museo di Torino', *Studi Sardi* 23 (1973-4), 181ff., pl.1, IV; *idem* *Sardegna (Mosaici Antichi in Italia)* (1981), no.101, 99ff. pl.XLIII. Liepmann no.39. Michaelides, 478, n.44. c.6.85 x 4.60m. TYPE Iic. Really Ib without delineated compartments. Rocky setting, trees. Semi-draped, bare feet. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Orpheus accompanied by fox which looks back at him

cf. Salona [57], and crow cf. Miletus [65], Rottweil [47]. Pendent in same field: genre hunting motifs. Associated: Hercules. 250-75AD.

SICILY.

6. PALERMO I.

From a roman villa (edificio A), Piazza della Vittoria. 1869. Museo Nazionale, Palermo, Sicily. RPGR 201, 2. Guidi, 129, fig.18, group II. B.Pace, Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica (1939), 178-88. D.Levi, Berytus 7 (1942), 37-51, fig 1. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277. Manino, 47. Stern 71, no.18. fig 10. Thirion, 163. Parlasca 111 and n.8. EAA V (1963), 746, col. plate, A.Bisi: Orfeo, 744ff. I.Tamburello, FA. 21 (1966), no. 4485. 4th.C. Panyagua Orfeo, 228. W.Dorigo, Late Roman Painting (1970) 157, n.44. Schöeller 37, no.27, pl.IX 2. Budde, Kilikien II, 173-4, pls. 185-6. Panyagua (1973), 465, no.199. Liepmann no.20. R.Camerato-Scovazzo, 'Nuove Proposte sul grande mosaico di Piazza della Vittoria a Palermo', Kokalos 21 (1975), 231-73, pls.50-63. Dunbabin, 197. Ovadiah (1980) 44, 51 figs. 1,2, group Ia. D.von Boeselager, Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien (1983), 186-192, no. 128, pl.LXIV. 4th.C. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 6.14 x 5.55m. TYPE IIa. Rock seat, tree. Semi-frontal. 'Phrygian' dress. Short, loose Roman tunic, waist belt, leggings, cuffed Thracian boots. Lyre. Outstretched arm. Seated fox looking up, lizard, tortoise, monkey, ostrich. Associated: divinities, 'Loves of Jupiter', Hercules, winds, marine figures, fish. Late 3rd.C.

7. PALERMO II.

From Via Maqueda, Palermo, Sicily. Museo Nazionale. Guidi, 130, fig 19, Group II. Stern 71, no.19. Schöeller 37, no.28. Panyagua (1973), 465, no. 200. Liepmann no.50. Boeselager, 186-192, pl. LXIV, no. 129. Michaelides, 478, n.44. TYPE IIa. Lost Orpheus. Running beasts. Running fox, monkey. Late 3rd.C.

8. PIAZZA ARMERINA.

From a large *diaeta* of the Villa Herculia, Piazza Armerina near Casale, Sicily. 1946. *In situ*. G.V.Gentili, La Villa imperiale di Piazza Armerina, 1954, 13ff, 79, pl. 29. *idem*, 1971, 43, pl.29. B.Neutsch AA 69, 1954, 568-9. Thirion 161 and 168-9. Stern 71, no.17. Gentili, La Villa Erculeia di Piazza Armerina, I mosaici figurati (1959), 26-7, 67, fig 10, line drawing of whole mosaic, pls. 44-5, details, colour. Harrison, 17, n.25. Dorigo, [Ch.Six], 157. Panyagua Orfeo, 232, fig.19, detail. Schöeller 38, no.32. Panyagua (1973), 464, no.198. Liepmann no.24. C.Settis Frugoni, 'Il grifone e la tigre nella 'grande caccia' di Piazza Armerina', C.Arch., xxiv (1975), 21-32. Dunbabin, 196-212, n.3, bibl., 243-5. A.Carandini, A.Ricci, M.de Vos, Filosofiana (1982), part II, pl.XV:36 = b/w. of Orpheus 138-44, figs 64-8. Ovadiah (1980) group Id, 47. R.J.A. Wilson, 'Roman Mosaics

in Sicily: the African connection', AJA. lxxxvi, 413-28; idem 'Piazza Armerina' (1983), with bibliog. Boeselager, 186-192. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 10.10 x 6.10m. TYPE IIa. Apsed room. Cf. Sakiet [17], La Alberca [28], Arnal [35], Martim Gil [36], Orbe [51], Whatley [85]. Landscape setting, rocks, leafy trees. Semi-frontal. Long Thracian robes, cloak, red shoes. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Pangolin, snail, camel, hedgehog, wolf, mouse, monkey, seated fox looking up, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, mongoose, tortoise, bison, cockerel. Griffin, phoenix. 60 creatures, 56 can be counted. Square pool in room cf. Blanzly [38], Woodchester [88]. Statue of Apollo *musagetes* adorned the apse. Associated: Hunting; collecting for the amphitheatre, Arion and marine display, vintaging and fishing erotes, Ulysses, *palaestra*, circus, Eros and Pan, glorification of Hercules, c.325AD.

LIBYA.

9. LEPCIS MAGNA I.

From a Roman house incorporating an olive press, 'Villa di Orfeo', within the city, near the west wall, Lepcis Magna, Libya. 1933. Tripoli Museum. G.Guidi, 'Orfeo, Liber Pater e Oceano in Mosaico dell Tripolitania', Africa Italiana 6 (1935), 110-155, figs. 1-11. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277. Manino 46, fig.5. Stern, 72, no.25. Fig. 17. Panyagua Orfeo, 224, 228. Schöeller 36, no.15, pl.VIII, 3. Panyagua (1973), 491, no.246, fig.42. R.Bianchi Bandinelli, Rome, The Late Empire, fig.239 (colour). Liepmann no.36. Dunbabin, 109, n.5, 264. Probably late 2nd C. Ovadiah, 45, group Ib. S.Aurigemma, L'Italia in Africa Tripolitania I (1960) 52-4, pls.106-14. Michaelides, 479, n.45. TYPE IIb. One large and six small panels in a grid. 5 x 5m. Orpheus and 23 animals in long rectangle, 2 x 0.67m. Rock seat. three-quarter view facing right. Thracian embroidered robes, mantle round knees. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Hartebeest, addax, red deer, fallow deer, owl, cockerel, bustard, guinea fowl. Pendent: two scenes of rural activities, one of fishing, three panels with *xenia* motifs, fruit and fish cf. Chebba [12]. Third century.

10. LEPCIS MAGNA II.

From the zone north of the *palaestra* and west of the *nymphaeum*, in good condition. 1953. *In situ*, reburied. E.Vergara Caffarelli. FA. VIII, (1953), 290, no.3887. H.Sichtermann, AA. (1962), 495. Harrison, 13, n.8. Panyagua (1973), 492, no.247. Liepmann no.15. Michaelides, 479, n.45. Not described.

TUNISIA.

11. CARTHAGE.

Oecus, 'Maison des chevaux'. Antiquarium, Carthage, Tunisia. J.W. Salomonson, La Mosaïque aux chevaux de l'Antiquarium de Carthage (1965), 68, 118 (tableau 44), fig.48, pl.XLIX:3. Michaelides, 477. Dunbabin, 44, 95-6; pls. J, 84-6, p.253, (d) ii. Chequerboard, panels of *opus sectile* alternating with mosaics with single figures, some reduced versions of mythological scenes, each with a racehorse, to allude to the name of the horse. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Pendent: circus, charioteers of the factions. After 300AD.

12. LA CHEBBA.

Roman villa, Sahelian coast, prov. Byzacena, Tunisia. 1902. Musée du Bardo, Tunis. Inv. II, Tunisia, I, no.88. Guidi, 137-8, fig. 27. Gonzenbach, (1949/50), 276. Stern, 73, no.28, fig.8. 175 AD. Thirion 163, n.1. pl.VIII. L.Foucher, Latomus 58 (1962), II, 648-9. Schöeller 35, no.5. Panyagua (1973), 488, no.242. Dunbabin, 135, 254. Early 3rd.C. Liepmann no.38. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 3 x 4m. TYPE Ia. 'Cushion pattern' compartments. O. in curvilinear square to right of central panel. Trident-bearing *genius* on dolphin on other side (so-called Arion) = Palaemon? Cf.Djemila [24]. Rocky setting, leafy tree. In profile left, twists right. Thracian robe, cloak. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Pendent in centre: line fisherman, sea-going fishing boat; other panels: fruit, vegetables, fish cf. Lepcis [9], porphyryion pecking plant, peacock. Gaukler (Inv.) thought central scene later, Guidi, Panyagua thought original, no reason to think otherwise. Mid-late 3rd.C.

13. EL DJEM.

From a Roman villa in El Djem, ant. *Thysdrus*, quartier Bir Zid, NW of the amphitheatre, 1960. El Djem museum, Tunisia, one panel (deer) presented to HM. The Queen Mother. L.Foucher, Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1960, 8-10, Pls.I, II; *ibid*, 'La Mosaïque d'Orphée de Thysdrus', Latomus 58, II, (1962), 646-51, pls. 137-8. Harrison, 13, n.7. Panyagua Orfeo, 224. Charitonidis, 25, n.4. Panyagua (1973), 488, no.243, fig.41. 190's AD. Liepmann no.10. Dunbabin, 258. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 4.55 x 3.50m. TYPE Ia. 4 rows of 3 octagons, circular medallions, 8 occupied by animals, bust of Orpheus in octagon centre of second row. Phrygian bonnet, half lyre, striped sleeves. All animals recumbent cf.St. Colombe [42]. Birds in 4 lozenge-wise squares. Pendent: next room, masks, satyr. Late 2nd.C.

14. MACTAR*.

From room I of the portico of the *Schola Juvenum*, *juventus mactarina*, Mactar, Tunisia. Retained even after conversion of the *schola* to Christian use in the mid-4th.C. Destroyed in 5th.C. barbarian raids.

Fragments *in situ*. G-C. Picard, Karthago VIII (1957), pp.107-8, fig.9c, pl.XXXVII, e, f. J.Huskinson, PBSR XLII (1974), 68-97, 89, no.23. Deer, duck, bee-eater, one other. Possibly Orpheus.

15. OUDNA.

From *frigidarium* of private baths of 'Maison des Laberii', Oudna (*Uthina*), Tunisia. 1894-6. Musée du Bardo, Tunis. Inv. II, Tunisia, no.381. P. Gaukler, Mon.Piot iii (1896), 177-229, pl.XX-XXII + figs. RPGR, 201, 8. R.Eisler, Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der Christlich Antike 1925, (1966), 111, 123, 188, 191, 218 and fig. Guidi, 124-5, fig. 16, group II. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277. Manino, 47, fig.6. Stern, 73, no.27. Thirion, 162 and n.1, 169 and n.1, Pl.VI. 250-75AD. Panyagua Orfeo, fig.17. Schöeller nos.4, 47 and in part 6: identical. Charitonidis, 25, pl.11, 1. M.Yacoub, Le Musée du Bardo (1970), 69, fig.72. Panyagua (1973), 485, no.239. Liepmann no.37. Dunbabin, 25 n.47, 135, n.23, 152, n.81, 266, n, pl.134. Ovadiah, 45, 51, fig.3, group Ia. Michaelides, 479, n.45. Entire pavement 11.50 x 12.60m. Orpheus 4.50 x 6m. TYPE IIa. Rock seat, tree. Semi-frontal. Semi-draped, bare feet. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Snake in bush, hartebeest, monkey. Inscription: 'MASURI. IN PRAEDIS LABERIORUM LABERIANI ET PAULINI. MASURI.' Adjoining the hall with Orpheus was a cold dip, three steps into basin, fountain in the form of an Amor riding a dolphin. Eisler believed it to be a *piscina* for Orphic ritual baths. Head deliberately mutilated, cf.Sakiet [17]. 230-50AD.

16. ROUGGA.

From a sumptuous residence still in the course of excavation, Rougga, ant. *Bararus*, Tunisia. 1980. Archaeological Museum, El Djem. R.Guery, 'L'occupation de Rougga (Bararus) d'après la stratigraphie de Forum', Bulletin des Comtes des travaux historiques et scientifiques, nouvelle série 17, fasc.B. (1981), 91-100. H.Slim, 'Orpheus Charming the Animals', in Carthage: A Mosaic of Ancient Tunisia, exhibition catalogue, N.Y. 1987, 210-11, no.78, + colour pls. Late 2nd-3rdC. 4.13 x 3.59m. TYPE Ia. Nine tangent circles and six tangent semi-circles, formed of foliate wreaths round circular and semi-circular panels. Cf.Santa Marinella [3]. Rocky setting, tree. In four outer interstices, trees, birds in central four. Semi-frontal. Semi-draped, wreathed, sandals. Kithara. Hedgehog, lizard, tortoise, bustard, stork, running boar, bull. Associated (unpublished): amphitheatre and circus scenes, Diana (+ hunt?), Helios, Phaeton. Mid-third century.

17. SAKIET-ES-ZIT.

From baths? or *oecus*? of villa, at Sakiet-es-Zit, north of Sfax, ant. *Taparura*, Tunisia. 1953. Fragments (considerably reduced since excavation) in Musée Municipal, Sfax. J.Thirion, 'Orphée magicien dans la mosaïque romaine', MEFRA, LXVII (1955), 149-179, Pls.I-VIII. Stern 77, no.47. J.Aymard, 'La querelle du cobra et de la mangouste dans l'antiquité', MEFRA 71 (1959), 254-8 and 261-2. Panyagua Orfeo,

224, *idem*: (1973), 487, no.241. Charitonidis, 25, n.3. Liepmann no.33. Dunbabin, 135, 268. Michaelides, 479, n.45. c.4.50 x 4.50m. + apse. Apsidal chamber, cf. Piazza Armerina [8], La Alberca [28], Arnal [35], Martim Gil [36], Orbe [51], Whatley [85]. TYPE IIa. Landscape setting, leafy tree, rocks. A small temple, altar or sacred pillar beside O. cf. Thina [20]. Frontal. Thracian robes, cloak. Phrygian bonnet, trousers, heavy shoes. Lyre. Mongoose and cobra, tortoise, lizard, scorpion, monkey, ape. Griffin. Face mutilated, cf. Oudna [15]. First half of 4th.C.

18. SOUSSE I.

From villa, Sousse, ant. *Hadrumetum*. 1929. Musée de Sousse, Tunisia. Omitted by Stern. Foucher, *Inv. des Mosaïques, Sousse* (1960), 57.025, 8-9, pl. III. Foucher, *Latomus* 58 (1962), 649, pl. CXXXIX, figs 5-6. Panyagua (1973) 489, no.244. Panyagua *Orfeo*, 223. Liepmann no.31. Dunbabin, 269, 2.(i) and ii. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 3.70 x 3.30, central panel of a larger pavement. TYPE Ia. Circular frame, interlaced bands of laurel, cf. Piazza Armerina [8], Sousse II [19], El Pesquero [32], Blanzly [38], Barton Farm [77], Woodchester [88], form panels occupied by birds and beasts, around Orpheus in damaged central compartment. Rocks, tree. Thracian robes. Lyre. Guinea-fowl. Pendent: fishing erotes. Mid 3rd century.

19. SOUSSE II.*

Ant. *Hadrumetum*, 1882. Upper part only, no centre, Louvre, Paris. Cat. *sommaire des marbres antiques du Louvre* (1896), no.1798. *Inv. II*, no.145. Guidi, 138, group IV, B, f. R.Eisler, *Orpheus the Fisher* (1921), pl.30; *idem*, *Mysteriengedanken* 14, fig.6, mosaic with its threshold panel. Guidi, 138, no.4. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 285. Foucher, *Inv. Sousse*, no.57.125; *idem*, *Latomus* 58 (1962), 649, pl. CXL fig 7. Schöeller 38, 39 nos. 29 and 41, identical. Panyagua (1973), 489, no.245. Panyagua *Orfeo*, 223, fig.16. Liepmann no.51. Dunbabin, 270, no.15, and no.14, threshold panel, 105-6, pl.94, *Inv. Sousse* 57.124. Probably early fourth c. Michaelides, 479, n.45. Presumed Orpheus mosaic. Same design of interlaced bands of laurel as previous. TYPE Ia. Stern (1955), 72, n.1, disallowed it, not considering that Orpheus appeared in the form of the mandolin-playing monkey nor did he see any reason why Orpheus should ever have graced the centre. Panyagua (1973) disagrees, p.490-1 discusses monkey parody and a notable parallel, a terra sigillata plate from Cologne (no.140) showing Orpheus with a musician monkey and tibia-playing centaur. The Sousse monkey imitates or even joins in, rather than parodies, a different emphasis. The monkey assumes importance, sitting on the lyre, in later depictions of O. Pendent: winged erotes drive teams of different fishes, imitating circus factions. c.300.

20. THINA.

From Henchir Thina, ant. *Thaenae*, near Sfax, prov. of Byzacena, Tunisia. Formerly in Municipal Museum, Sfax. Destroyed in second World War. Inv. II, supplement (1915), no.32a, p.6. RPGR 202,2. Guidi, 125, 128, fig.17, group II. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277. Stern 72, no.26. Thirion, 162-3, 169, n.1, pl.VII. 250-350AD. Panyagua Orfeo, 227. Aymard MEFR 71 (1959), 254-8 and 261-2. Schöeller 39, no.40. Budde, Kilikien II, 24, 220, n.12. Panyagua (1973), 486, no.240. Liepmann no.60. Dunbabin, 135, n.23, p.273. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 5.60 x 5.20m. TYPE IIa. Landscape setting, leafy tree, rocks, sacred column, cf.Sakiet [17]. three-quarter view facing left. Thracian robes, cloak. Phrygian bonnet. Kithara. Mongoose and cobra, flamingo, monkey, ape, hyrax, ram, fallow stag, tortoise. Pendent: Seasons.

21. TUNISIA.

Supposedly formerly in possession of the Comte d'Hérison. Heron de Villefosse, Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, (1883), 321. L.Chatelain, Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc, I (1935), 5. Stern 72-3, n.1, disallowed, no evidence of actual existence. Schöeller 39, no.45. Panyagua (1973), 491. Liepmann no.63. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 'assis sous un arbre et tenant sa lyre'.

21a. OUDNA II.**

From 'Villa des Laberii', *Uthina*, Tunisia. Fragment in Musée du Bardo, Tunis. Museum Inv.A.140. Inv.II, Tunisia, no.374. Gaukler, Mon.Piot, III, 207ff, no.32. Stern, 72, n.1, disallows it. Panyagua (1973), 491. Schöeller 35, no.6, mistakenly adds Guidi, 125, fig.16 and Manino, 47, fig.6, actually illustrating Oudna I. Yacoub, Musée du Bardo (1970), 71. Liepmann no.52. Dunbabin, 266, (1). Michaelides, 479, n.45. Shown on plan of villa (Gaukler 1896), to be panel in *peristyle*, ante-room to *oecus* with scene of Ikarios (room 32), hunt with hounds Ederatus and Mustela between. Design of animals and acanthus rinceau with volutes ending in animal *protomae*. Row of animals standing at one end. Not Orpheus.

ALGERIA.

22. CHERCHEL.

From the flat roof above a funerary cavern. Cherchel, ant. *Iol Caesaria*, Algeria. Destroyed? Taken to France according to Guidi, whereabouts unknown. Inv. III, Algeria, no.440. Heron de Villefosse, Bull.Soc. des ant. de France (1883), 320-1, with sketch. RPGR 201, no.9. Guidi, 122, description, group I. Stern 73, no.30. Panyagua Orfeo 221. Schöeller 35, no.7. Panyagua (1973), 484, no. 237. Liepmann no.54. Dunbabin, 138, 255, no.18. Michaelides, 479, n.45.

6.50 x 3m. TYPE IIa. No seat, scattered plants cf. Jerusalem [74]. three-quarter view right. Blue tunic, trousers, purple mantle, red shoes. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Hartebeest, ostrich. 4th C?

23. CONSTANTINE.

From over a funerary cavern, Constantine, ant. *Cirta*, Condiat-Ati, Algeria. 1865. Destroyed. Inv. III, Algeria, no.221. Guidi, 138, group IV, B, f. Stern, 73, no.29. expresses doubt about an Orpheus image. Panyagua Orfeo 221. Panyagua (1973), 484, no.236. Schöeller 35, no.10. Liepmann no.56. Dunbabin, 138, 255, no.2. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 1 x 1m. TYPE Ia, b? Central, oval medallion held by *putti* cf. Edessa [72]. Two square panels on either side cf. sarcophagus design. On one side camel, elephant, stag drinking, other: Orpheus among palm trees, felines, snake, tortoise, hedgehog. 4th century?

24. DJEMILA.

From room XI, 'Maison de l'Ane', adjacent to temple of Venus *Genetrix*, next to the forum, Djemila, ant. *Cuicul*, prov. of Constantina, Algeria. Djemila Museum. Inv. III, Alg. no.293. Y.Allais, Djemila (1938) pl. X, fig. 20; idem, 'Mosaïque du Musée de Djemila (Cuicul). La Toilette de Venus', Actes du 79e congrès national des sociétés savantes, Algér 1954 (Paris 1957), 76-83. H.Stern, Le calendrier de 354, (1953), 278; idem, (1955) 49, n.8. Panyagua (1973), 484, no.238. Dunbabin 43, 134, 256, pls.128-9. Blanchard-Lemée, Quartier central de Djemila, 23-106, esp. 61-84, pls.I-XXVIII. Michaelides, 477. D.Fernandez-Galiano, Mosaicos Romanos, Actas del Homaneje in Memoriam A. Balil (1990), 181-208, pls.I-III. Triumph of Venus, Orpheus in upper left angle of figured border. Setting of land with bulls and trees intruded into marine-scape. three-quarter view facing left. Arm outstretched. Loose tunic with striped long sleeves and *clavi* cf. Tarsus [68], trousers with ornamented front bands cf. Vienne [46], thick seamed shoes. Cloak. Heavy, banded Phrygian bonnet cf. Chahba [71]. Kithara. Pendant: nereid on dolphin, Amphitrite? Boy charioteer driving dolphins, Palaemon? Border of marine religious festival, fishing, commercial marine activities cf. La Chebba [12]; in other angles: Hero and Leander, Perseus and Andromeda, Ulysses. Principal scene: marine triumph of Venus, statue of Neptune. Stern believed Arion would have a better place in the programme than O. Panyagua refutes his arguments. End fourth to fifth C.

25. GUELMA.*

P.Herval, 'Précis analytiques des travaux de l'Acad. des Sciences, Belles Lettres et Arts de Rouen, (1969), 116. D.Parrish, Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa (1984), 261, A1. No detailed information on provenance, condition, technical details, features, present location. No date. No photo. Orpheus in centre, corner

personifications of Seasons. According to Herval, the same as Forêt de Brotonne [39].

MOROCCO.

26. TANGIER.

From Tangier, Morocco in the construction of the Spanish church. 1880. Destroyed. Only one panel 40cm sq., remains, the lion and a tree, in the private museum of the Spanish Franciscans. *Inv.* III, no.458. *Bull.Soc. Antiq. de France*, (1881), 97; *ibid* (1883), 319. Guidi, 138, group IV, B, f. Thouvenot, *MEFR* 53 (1936), 27. *Stern* 74, no.32. M.Ponsich, 'Une Mosaïque d'Orphée', *Bull. d'archéol. marocaine* VI (1966), 479-81, pl.1. Schöeller 39, no.43. Liepmann no.61. Chatelaine (1935), 4. Dunbabin, 272. Michaelides, 479, n.46. TYPE Ia. Grid of square panels. Late 2nd. century.

27. VOLUBILIS.

'Maison d'Orphée', Volubilis, *Mauretania Tingitane*, Morocco. 1926-9. *In situ*. L.Chatelaine 'Mosaïques de Volubilis', *Publications des antiquités du Maroc*, I, (1935), 1-10. R.Thouvenot, 'La Maison d'Orphée a Volubilis', *PSAM* 6 (1941), 43-7, fig.1; *idem* 'L'art provincial en Mauretanie Tingitane, les Mosaïques', *MEFRA* LIII (1936), 27 and pl.III, 3, detail; *idem* 'Volubilis', *Coll. Le Monde Romain* (1949) 48-9. Thirion 160. *Stern* 74, no.31, fig.14. A.Dupont-Sommer, 'Le mythe d'Orphée', *Academie Nazionale dei Lincei* (1975), colour picture. Liepmann no.42. Smith (1963), 106, n.56. Panyagua (1973), 482, no.234. Dunbabin, 135, 277. Ovadia (1980), 47, group II. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 5.75 x 5.75m. TYPE III (circular IIa). Circle radially divided by trees growing from outer border, cf. Newton St.Loe [82], Withington [87], bird-filled branches frame Orpheus at centre, beasts in compartments around. Rocky setting. Frontal. Semi-draped, wreathed, bare feet. Lyre. Hippopotamus, barbary sheep, hyraxes, mongoose, monkey, hawks, bustard, owl. Two griffins. Some 60 species. Pendent: birds + kantharoi or fruit baskets in spandrels. Associated: marine subjects, chariots, sea-gods, *atrium* and *piscina*. *Mauretania Tingitane* abandoned by Roman administration late 3rd century (Thouvenot, *Volubilis* (1949), 18-19; Dunbabin, 31, n.85). Mid-third century. Unlikely to be after 280AD.

SPAIN.

28. LA ALBERCA.

from a rich Roman villa, by La Alberca, near Murcia. Province of Murcia. Spain. 1892. Destroyed. A.Engel, *Rev.Arch.* ser.3, 29 (1896) 2, 218. M. Chamoso Lamas, *Archivo Espanol de Arqueol.* 17 (1944), 293. *Stern* 72, no.22. Panyagua (1973), 474, no.220. C.de Mergelina, 'Tres

sepulturas levantinas', Bol. del Semin. de Ests. de Arte e Arqueol, IX (1942-3), esp. 42-3. 4th.C. Liepmann no.57. J.M.Blasquez-Martinez, Corpus de mosaicos de Espana. Fasc. IV, Sevilla, Granada, Cadiz y Murcia (1982), 81, no.92. Michaelides, 478, n.44. AEsp. de Arq. 58-60 (1985-7), 113. Alvarez-Martinez, 'Nuevos documentos', Bath, 1987, forthcoming; *idem* Actas, Balil, 35-6, no.5. Inscription -*IRIUS* read by Blasquez as (*V*)*IRTUS*. 2nd C. c.3 x 4m. Apsidal room, cf. Piazza Armerina [8], Sakiet [17], Arnal [35], Martim Gil [36], Orbe [51], Whatley [85]. TYPE I Ib. Thracian robes, wreath. Griffin. Fourth C.

29. MERIDA I.

From calle Travesia de Pedro Maria Plano. Formerly in Museo de Alcazaba, Merida. 1983. Michaelides, 477. J.M.Alvarez-Martinez 'Nuevos Documentos para la iconografia de Orfeo en la musivaria hispanorromana' Acts of Vth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, Bath 1987, forthcoming; *idem*: Actas, Balil, 40-1, no.10, fig.2; *idem*: Mosaicos Romanos de Merida Nuevos Hallasgos (1990), no.3, 37-49, fig.3, pls.8-20. Overall 10.60 x 4.20m, with several scenes, central panel with Orpheus 1.96m.sq. TYPE IIIa. Two concentric circles. Black and white + polychrome in the Orpheus panel. Rock seat, fruit tree. In profile facing right. High-waisted Phrygian dress, striped long sleeves. Long cloak. Trousers, sandals. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Wren? Squirrel, rabbit, bustard, scorpion, fox. Pendent: in spandrels winged *genii* issuing from acanthus; vintaging *erotes*, Silenus and satyr, palaestra subjects, Nilotic pigmy and crane fights, deer hunt. Fourth C.

30. MERIDA II.

Under the ancient 'ermita de la Piedad', in the street of that name. 1980 Alvarez-Martinez, Mosaicos Merida, 27-30, no.1, fig 1, pls.1-5; *idem*: Actas, Balil, 32-3, no.2, fig 1, pl.III. Fragment 5.83 x 4.72m. TYPE Ia. Birds in a grid of guilloche-edged circles and ovals, animals in lozenge-wise squares bordered by peltae. Orpheus in central, concave-sided octagon. Rocky setting. Thracian robes. Kithara. Wolf. Griffin. 3rd.C.

31. MERIDA III*.

From a Roman house with baths, found in the garden of the Parador Nacional de Turismo, calle Almendralejo. 1986. Alvarez-Martinez, Mosaicos Merida, 49-51, no.4, pls. 21-2; *idem*, Actas, Balil, 33-4. no. 3, pl.IV. Fragment 1.50 x 1.52m. TYPE Ia. A similar, but less elaborated scheme than the previous, cruder workmanship. No Orpheus seen, but assumed, on a parallel with the above, to have existed. End 3rd. century.

32. EL PESQUERO.

From a large central room next to the *peristyle* courtyard of the villa of El Pesquero, 20km from Badajoz. 1984. Alvarez-Martinez, *Nuevos documentos*, *Acts, Vth Int. Coll.* Bath, 1987, forthcoming; *idem*, *Actas, Balil*, 37-8, no. 7, pl.VI. Central panel 3.80 x 3.20m. TYPE IIB. Within a square, octagonal panel cf. *Trinquetaille* [45] edged by laurel cf. *Piazza Armerina* [8], *Sousse I* [18], II [19], *Blanzly* [38], *Barton Farm* [77], *Woodchester* [88], laurel berries at angles. Landscape setting, rocks, trees, no seat, Orpheus outlined in white; marble? footrest cf. *Panik* [55]. Frontal. Long-sleeved long robe ornamented with *orbiculi* cf. *Saragossa* [34], *Cos I* [63]. Cloak. Phrygian bonnet. Cuffed Thracian boots? *Kithara*. Tortoise, ostrich, owl, elephant, red deer, fallow deer. Sphinx, cf. *Panyagua* (1973) no.142, mould for tazza, Trier, 4th.C; *ibid* nos. 180, 181, marble groups, Athens, *Sabratha*, 3rdC, Orpheus with beasts and sphinx. Pendent: in angles, *kraters* sprouting acanthus; acanthus scroll with baskets, fruit, birds, beasts, cf. *Jerusalem* [74]. After 350AD.

33. SANTA MARTA DE LOS BARROS.

From a large central room next to the *peristyle* courtyard of a considerable Roman villa in La Atalaya, near Santa Marta, province of Badajoz, Spain. 1925. Unprotected after excavation, badly damaged, fragments in Museo Arqueologico Provincial de Badajoz. J.Ramon Melida, *Catalogo Monumental de Espagna. Provincia de Badajoz* (1907-9), I (text 1925), 385-7, no.1583; II, (plates) pl.CXXXI-CXXXII (figs.188-9) bad photos. M. Chamoso Lamas, *AEArq.* 17 (1944), 293. B.Taracena, *Arte Romano = Ars Hispaniae II* (1947), 157. *Panyagua* (1973), 475, no.221. *Stern* 72, no.21. *Liepmann* no.29. *Michaelides*, 478, n.44. Alvarez-Martinez, *Nuevos documentos*, Bath 1987; *idem* *Actas, Balil*, 36-7, no.6. 4.60 x 4.60m. TYPE IIA. No setting. Frontal. Thracian robes, Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Acanthus scroll border. 'un pez plateado': a fish tail can be seen, perhaps a marine beast. After 360AD.

34. SARAGOSSA.

From an important public building, perhaps a temple, next to the city walls. 1944. Museo di Zaragoza, Spain. M Chamoso Lamas, 'Hallazgos romanos en Zaragoza' *Archivo Espanol de arqueologia XVII* (1944), 286-295, figs.4,6, 7. 2nd.C. *Ars Hispaniae II* (1947), 155, fig 148. *AJA*, 52, 1948, pl. XXVII A. Blanco Freijero, 'Mosaicos antiguos de asunto baquico', *Bol. de la R. Acad. de la Hist* 131 (1952), 273-316 (Orpheus: 307-1, figs. 20-1). *Stern*, 71, no.20. fig 18. 200-250AD. B.Neutsch, 'Das epigrammenzimmer in der 'Casa degli Epigrammi' zu Pompeji und sein Wandbild 'Eros im Ringkampf mit Pan'', *JdAI* (1955), 155-184. *Panyagua Orfeo*, 227-8. *Schöeller* 38, no.39. *Panyagua* (1973), 473, no.219, fig 36. *Liepmann* no.45. *Michaelides*, 478, n.44. D.Fernandez Galiano, *Mosaicos romanos del convento cesaraugusto*, Zaragoza, 1987, pp. 49-52, pls XXI and XXII (not seen). Alvarez-Martinez, *Nuevos documentos*, 1987; *idem* *Actas, Balil*, 34-5, no.4.

pl.V. Pavement 9 x 6m, Orpheus panel within this geometric setting, 3.80 x 1.84m. TYPE IIB. Long vertical rectangle in three registers, above, Orpheus in rocky landscape, trees, birds and snake; below, two tiers of fierce quadrupeds. Semi-frontal. Long striped robe ornamented with *orbiculi* cf. Pesquero [32], Cos I [63]. Cloak. Phrygian bonnet, sandals. Crane, bustard. Lyre. Associated: fight between Eros and Pan. 4th. C.

34a. ITALICA**

From a house in the Nova Urbs of the Roman city of Italica, near Seville, Spain. Known as 'Mosaico de los Pajaros'. Alvarez-Martinez, Actas, Balil, 31-2, pls. I, II. 5.60m.sq. Birds in panels 75cm.sq. Central panel with figure 2m.sq. TYPE I_b acc. Alvarez, but does not conform, only birds, no animals nor independent scenes outside centre. In profile facing left. At extreme left of scene, tripod? Bare head, fillet. Apollo? cf. RSGR I, 251. Not Orpheus. 150AD on.

PORTUGAL.

35. ARNAL.

From the *diaeta* of a Roman villa by the monastery of Batalha in the village of Arnal near Leiria, ant. *Collippo*, Portugal. 1855. Taken to the United States. J. Leite de Vasconcelos Religioses da Lusitania III (Lisbon 1913), 493, fig. 627 (not seen). RPGR, 201, 6. R. de Serpa Pinto, 'Mosaicos romanos de Portugal' Anuario del Cuerpo facultativo de archiveros, bibliotecarios y arqueologos I (1934), 169. Chamoso Lamas, AEArq. 17 (1944), 292-3. Panyagua (1973), 475, no. 222. Both Stern, no.23 and Schöeller no.2, cite Guidi, fig. 21, description p.130, and Manino, 48, fig. 7, called Arnal, in fact Martim Gil. Liepmann no.16. A. Balil, 'Notas sobre los mosaicos de Arneiro' (Arnal, Leira)' Studia Archaeologica, 59, (1980), 20 (not seen). Michaelides, 478, n.44. Alvarez-Martinez, Nuevos documentos, 1987; *idem*, Actas, Balil, 37-8, no.8, pl.VII. TYPE IIA. Apsed chamber, cf. Piazza Armerina [8], Sakiet [17], La Alberca [28], Martim Gil [36], Orbe [51], Whatley [85]. No setting, no seat. Frontal. Thracian robes, Phrygian bonnet. Lyre? Acanthus scroll? Vertical fox. Two deer confront pendent images in lower inside angles of Orpheus field: Seasons. Thought to come from paleo-Christian area and to have a Christian character (Serpa Pinto). Alvarez not convinced, follows Balil in considering the apse, horseshoe-arched in plan, a *stibadium*. Late fourth century.

36. MARTIM GIL.

From the *daieta* of a Roman villa, site called Martim Gil, 1km. from Leiria, ant. *Collippo*, Portugal. 1897. Ethnological Museum, Lisbon, Portugal. J. Leite de Vasconcellos, Historia do Museu Etnologico Portugues (1915), 191ff. R. de Serpa Pinto (1934), 174-5. Guidi, 131,

fig. 21, group III, Manino, 47, fig 7, Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277, call it Arnal. I.Nobrega Moita, O Arqueologo Portugues n.s. 1 (1951) 132-3, including pls. Stern 72, no.24. Type IIc. Panyagua (1973) 476, no.223, fig.37. Liepmann no.17. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Alvarez-Martinez, Nuevos documentos, 1987; idem Actas, Balil, 39-40, no.9, pl.VIII. Apsed chamber, cf Piazza Armerina [8], Sakiet [17], La Alberca [28], Arnal [35], Orbe [51], Whatley [83]. Emblema (Orpheus) c.2.20 x 1.90m. within extensive geometric floral setting, 10.55 x 5.45m.? TYPE IIa. No setting, stylised rock seat. Facing left, twists right. Thracian robes, Phrygian bonnet. Running fox. Not a Christian basilica. 4th century at least.

FRANCE.

37. BAVAI.*

Large room of a sumptuous dwelling, Bavai, Avesnes, France. 1843-6. Destroyed. H.Bievelet, Latomus 15 (1956), 575-6. Resumé in FA 11, (1956), no. 5720 (F. de Ruyt). Panyagua (1973), 473, no. 218. Bievelet notes '*Nous pensons avec M.Henri Stern qu'il s'agit peut-etre d'un Orphée*', however, not included in Stern's catalogue. '*..une sorte d'Apollon jouant du tetrachorde..*' Griffin. Pendent: Peopled scroll, flowers, birds and fruit cf.El Pesquero [32], Jerusalem [74]. Sea-beasts? molluscs? sphinx or nereid? centaur? Associated: erotic scene = bacchic motifs, *palaestra*?; fish and doves in a *semis*. Probably Orpheus. Fourth century.

38. BLANZY-LES-FISMES.

In the principal street of Blanzly-les-Fismes, Aisne, Soissons, France. 1858. Bibliothèque Municipal, Laon, France. Much restored. Inv. I, no. 1122. RPGR, 203, 3. Guidi, 121, fig.12, group I. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277, 284. H.Stern, 'La Mosaïque d'Orphée de Blanzly-les-Fismes (Aisne)', Gallia XIII (1955), 41-77, figs.1-6, 7, pl.I. Cat.1; idem Recueil gen. des mos. de la Gaule I, 1 = X Supplément a Gallia, (1957), 50-1, no.77 A, frag. 1 (p.50), pls. XXIII-XXV; ibid 1,2 (1960); 1,13 (1963). Panyagua Orfeo, 224. Schöeller 36, no.14. Panyagua (1973), 470, no.211. Liepmann no.14. Ovadia (1980) 45, 52, fig.6, group Ib. Michaelides, 478, n.44. A pool of diameter 3m. within and placed towards the north side of a rectangular pavement 10 x 7m. The eastern portion with Orpheus c.6.30 x 3.30m. Three semi-circular *exedra*, E, N and W, cf.Littlecote [79]. TYPE I Ib. Heavily restored. Originally: leafy trees, rocky setting. Faces left, twists right. Green eastern tunic, cloak, red baggy trousers, heavy seamed shoes. Phrygian bonnet ornamented with gold tesserae cf.Vienne [46]. *Kithara*. Laurel border cf. Piazza Armerina [8], Sousse I [18], II [19], El Pesquero [32], Barton Farm [77], Woodchester [88]. Elephant. Peacock in tree. Pendent: fish, molluscs, dolphins, perhaps celebrating Arion or a marine *genius* cf.La Chebba [12], Djemila [24], perhaps a simple marine scene. First half of 4thC.

39. FORET DE BROTONNE.

From 'La petite Houssaye', near Yvetot, Foret de Brotonne, Seine maritime, France. 1838. Musée des Antiquités, Rouen. Inv. I, no.1032. RPGR 200, 5. Guidi, 135, group IV, B, c. Stern, 69, no.7. Schöeller 38, no.37. Panyagua (1973), 472, no.217. Liepmann no.27. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 3.20 x 3.20m. TYPE Ib. Grid of 5 square and 4 rectangular compartments. O. in circular medallion in central square. No setting, stylised seat. three-quarter view, facing right. Thracian robes, cloak, Phrygian bonnet. Kithara. Pendent: 4 Seasons. Much restored, only the lion and Summer are actually conserved. 3rd.C.

40. LYON.

C.Poirieux, 'Lyon, Les mosaïques de L'île des Canabés orneront la future station metro', Archaeologia (Paris) 95, (1976), 69 and figs. Michaelides, 477. Type Ia. Largely black and white geometric, animals in compartments, only partial bull remains. Centre: nude Dionysus holding *thyrsus* stands behind seated Orpheus, semi-draped, playing the lyre.

41. PONT D'ANCY.*

Ancy, France. 1887. Inv.I, no.1128. Receuil gen. des mos. de gaule, 1,1, 816, p.54, pl.XXX. TYPE Ia? Grid of 4 squares, bear, elephant, stag, boar. Polychrome. Perhaps Orpheus.

42. SAINT COLOMBE.

From Saint-Colombe (St.Romain-en-Gal) on the property of Grange, near Lyon, France. 1899. J.Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California. Inv.I, no.219. Guidi 134-5, group IV, B, b. Fabia 98-9. Stern 69, no.5. J.P.Getty, The Joys of Collecting (1965), colour picture (not seen). Schöeller 38, no.38. Stern, 'Mosaïques de la région de Vienne, Isère', Gallia XXIX (1971), 123-4, 130-5, pls.10, 11. J.Lancha, Les Mosaïques de Vienne (1990), 33, 111-12, no 52, fig 52. 175AD. Panyagua (1973), 472, no. 215. Liepmann no.28. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 3 x 3m. TYPE Ia. Hexagon in circular frame, honeycomb design, bust of Orpheus in central hexagon, head turned to right. Phrygian bonnet. No lyre. All animals recumbent. 4 birds in square panels out in geometric surround cf. El Djem [13]. Pendent: Seasons in angles. Perhaps associated: Hylas and Nymphs, Lancha 94-5, no.47, Bacchus and *bacchantes*, Lancha 110, no.51, and Four Seasons. End 2nd-3rdC.

43. SAINT-PAUL-LES-ROMANS.

From a room opening onto the courtyard with a large pool of the villa at a site called Mingauds, Saint-Paul-lès-Romans, 60km. east of Vienne, France. 1967. Musée de Valence. M.Le Glay 'Informations archéologiques', Gallia XXVI (1968), 594-6. Stern, Gallia XXIX (1971), 145, n.68; *ibid*, M.Le Glay, 435, 437, fig.39. FA XXVIII-

XXIX, (1973-4), no.12687. M.Vignard La Villa gallo-romaine de Saint-Paul-lès-Romans et quelques aspects de la vie quotidienne dans notre région a l'époque gallo-romaine, Exposition du Centre des Recherches archéologiques des Romains, catalogue, (1974). Michaelides, 477. Lancha, 93. 6.30 x 4.70m, grid of 12 square panels, centre 1.25m.sq. TYPE Ia. Figures polychrome + black and white geometric setting. Orpheus between two bird-filled trees, seated fox at his feet. Thracian robes, Phrygian bonnet. Kithara. Half the animals recumbent. Associated: Four Seasons, Labours of Hercules. Third century.

44. SAINT-ROMAIN-EN-GAL.

From Saint Romain en Gal, Lyon, France. 1822. Only three fragments conserved after fire destruction, 1968. Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon. Inv.I, no.201 = Inv I, no.242. RPGR 199, 4, before 'mutilation', 44 panels, and 202, I, after restoration, 32 panels. Ph.Fabia, Mosaïques romaines des Musees de Lyon (1923), 83-100. Pl.X, watercolour of original state, and XI. Guidi, 132-4, fig.23, group IV, B a. Manino 47, Gonzenbach, (1949/50), 279, call it Montant. Stern 68, no.4. Panyagua (1973), 471, no.214. Schöeller 37, nos. 23 and 24 (identical), pl.X, 4. Stern, Gallia XXIX (1971), 138-149 (called Montant). Liepmann no.18. Ovadia (1980), 47-8, 56, fig. 13, group II: original, large version called Saint-Romain, calls Fabia's reduction Montant, erroneously identifying two mosaics. Lancha, 93, no.46, fig.46. Michaelides, 478, n.44. TYPE Ia. Originally: 6.60 x 5m, grid of 44 octagons containing 20 animals and 22 birds, around Orpheus in larger square. Restored and reduced to 2.58 x 2.58m. Rock seat, O. between two trees. In right profile. Semi-draped in cloak, bare feet. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Camel, wolf. c.200AD.

45. TRINQUETAILLE.

From the villa 'du Clos Saint-Jean', Trinquetaille, near Arles, S. France. 1934. Musée Lapidaire d'Arles. Guidi, 121-2, fig. 13. Stern, 68, 2, fig. 11. F.Benoit, Mosaïque d'Orphée, CRAI, (1934), 343-47. Guidi, 121, fig.13, group I; *idem*, Forma Orbis Romani (=FOR), Gaule, V, Bouches-du-Rhone, no. 37, 182. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277; *idem* Mosaiken der Schwiez (1961), 20, n.9, 116. Schöeller, 39, no.44, Pl.VIII, 2. Panyagua (1973), 471, no.212. M.del Chiaro, AJA 76 (1972), 199, n.10. Liepmann no.4. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Room 4.70 x 2.95m. TYPE IIb. Orpheus within an octagon, sides 0.60m, in a square frame cf.Pesquero [32]. No seat. Leafy tree. Faces left, twists right. High-waisted short-sleeved Greek *stola*, long-sleeved undertunic, mantle over knees cf.Vienne [46], Adana [60], Mytilene [66], trousers, bare feet. Phrygian bonnet. Kithara. Camel, vertical fox. Associated: Jason, Medea and the Golden Fleece. c.240.

46. VIENNE.

From *frigidarium* of the private baths, 'Maison d'Orphée', Vienne, Isere, France. 1859. Musée Lapidaire, Église Saint-Pierre, Vienne. Inv. I, no.181 = Inv. I, no.233. Fabia, 98-9. RPGR 201, 4, centre only. Guidi, 132, group IV, B a and 135, group IV, B, b (called Saint-Colombe), identical. Stern 69, no.6, fig 9. CMGR II, 322, pl.CXLVI. Schöeller, 39, nos.48 and 49, identical. Budde, Kilikien II, pl.256 (Orpheus). Panyagua (1973), 472, no.216. Liepmann no.41. Michaelides, 478, n.44. J.Lancha, Les Mosaïques de Vienne, (1990), 23-5, no.32, pls. O. in colour. End 2nd.C. 8.30 x 5.30m. TYPE Ia. 5 rows of 3 compartments, alternately squares, holding birds, with larger octagons, Orpheus in central octagon, animals in others. Rocky setting, two tiny trees. Semi-frontal. Blue-green high-waisted, short-sleeved Greek *stola*, yellow undertunic, striped long sleeves, mantle over knees cf. Trinquetaille [45], Adana [60], Mytilene [66], banded trousers, red shoes. Phrygian bonnet, golden tesserae employed cf. Blanzly [38]. Lyre. Eastern style animal forms. Mid third century.

46a. AIX**.

A Gallo-Roman villa, Aix-en-Provence, France. 1843. Musée Granet, Aix. M.Rouard, Les fouilles d'antiquités faites à Aix en 1843 et 1844, 8-15, pl.I and III. Inv. I, no.55. RPGR 203, 6. Guidi, 138, group IV, B, g. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 284. Stern, 68, no.3. Schöeller, 35 no.1. Panyagua (1973), 471, no.213. Liepmann no.2. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 1.95 x 1.95m. TYPE II. Rocks on right. Standing/dancing figure. Light, flowing, sleeveless *exomis*; white bordered red and blue *peplum* and *chiton*. White pharos bordered black and red, floats from shoulder. Wreath of flowers, bare feet. *Kithara*. Seated fox looking up, birds on right. Dancing female musician. Muse Erato? (Rouard 14). Not Orpheus.

GERMANY.

47. ROTTWEIL.

Rottweil, Wurtemberg, Germany. 1834. Stadt Museum Rottweil. Inv. I, no. 1611. RPGR 201, 5. Guidi, 136, group IV, B, d. Stern 70, no.11. K.Parlasca, Die Romischen Mosaiken in Deutschland, (1959), 99-100, n.4 bibliography, pls.12, 1; 94, 2; 95, 3; 96, 1-3; 101. End 2nd century. Schöeller 38, no. 36. Charitonidis, 24, n.8, pl.II, 2. Antike Welt 4, 1971, fig.6, colour. Budde, Kilikien II, fig.257, head only. Panyagua (1973), 469, no.209, fig.33. Liepmann no.26. Ovadiah 1980 group Ic, 46, 53, fig.7. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Pavement 8m.sq. TYPE Ib. Cruciform design. Central panel 1.75m.sq. Rectangular panels tangent to each side with figures. 4 outer six-sided panels with figures. Rocky setting, tree. three-quarter view facing right. Long Roman tunic, waist belt, wide central *clavus*, shoulder ornament cf. Salona [57], cloak, trousers. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Seated fox looking up, crow. Pendent: first range of 4 exterior panels: chariots

including victorious charioteer, ie. circus, cf. Horkstow [78]; outer: *venationes* cf. Miletus [65], Withington [87]. Mid-third C.

48. TRIER.*

From Weberbachstrasse, Trier. 1925. Parlasca, 30, pl.2, 3 and pl.26, 1. c.220 AD. Wavers between Apollo and Orpheus. Harrison, 13, n.6. Liepmann no.67. Panyagua (1973), 470, no.210, fig.34, Orpheus. Michaelides, 479, n.44. Cf. Inv. I, 1223, Trier, Weberbachstrasse, 1875, back of a bear. Circular field, bust remains, heavily cloaked, wreathed head turns to left, apparently singing. Top of lyre. On parallel of Salona [57], Yvonand [53], probably Orpheus. c.220 AD.

48a. ROTHENBURG.**

Gruppe col. 1192. Schöeller 36, 35. Erroneously named in AA 7 (1849) for nearby Rottweil. Stern 70, no.11, points this out. Non existent.

SWITZERLAND.

49. AVENCHES I.

From 'Vers le Cigognier', the main temple complex on the main axis of the theatre, Avenches, ant. *Aventicum*. 1793. One fragment remains, elephant, Stadt-u. Universitätsbibliothek, Bern, Switzerland. Inv. I, 2, 158, no.1402. V.von Gonzenbach 'Drei Orpheusmosaikien aus der Waadt' JbSGUF XL (1949/50), 271-287; *idem*, Die Römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz (1961), 54-5, no.5.6, pl.37. 200-250AD. Panyagua (1973), 468, no.205. Liepmann no.46. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 3.6 x 3.6m. TYPE IIa. Corner bushes, cf. Hanover [73], Paphos [69]. Lost Orpheus. Elephant, peacock in tree cf. Blanzky [38], appears as indeterminate quadruped in engraving, camel, griffin? Eastern figure style. Late 3rd C.

50. AVENCHES II.

From 'Vers le Cigognier', Avenches, Canton de Vaud, Switzerland. 1793 by the same person and in the same place as the previous. Destroyed. Inv. I, no.1403. Stern, 69, no.10. Type IIc. Gonzenbach, (1949/50), 271-87, pl. XXXVII; *idem*, (1961), 55-6, no.5.7, pl.40. Parlasca 123 + n.6. Schoeller, no 3. Pl. IX, 1. Panyagua (1973), 468, no.206. Liepmann no.53. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 5 x 4.80m. Tableau placed off-centre within a geometrically decorated field. TYPE IIa: one bird misplaced in engraving others, including seated bear cf. Adana [60], conform to crowded and inept eastern Type IIa composition cf. Hanover [73], [49]. Rock seat. three-quarter view facing right. Arm outstretched. Thracian robes, Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Third century.

51. ORBE.

Perhaps the *frigidarium* of a baths, Orbe, Switzerland. 1845. Maliciously mutilated the following year. Fragments: Schutzhaus 4, Orbe, Switzerland. Inv.I, 2, 151 no.1378. Gonzenbach (1961), 177-82, 95 B, Mos. III, fig.78, pls.54-57, fig 32. Panyagua (1973), 468-9, no.207. Liepmann no.47. Preserved, lost Orpheus. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Grid of octagonal compartments. Apse cf. Piazza Armerina [8], Sakiet [17], La Alberca [28], Arnal [35], Martim Gil [36], Whatley [85]. 9.35 x 5.25m. TYPE Ia? Orpheus with lyre under a tree in adjacent medallion to a maenad cf. Antalya I [61]. Pendent: in other compartments of same field: Theseus and Ariadne, *kanthari*, birds, hare and grapes, animals in combat, deer and hound chase, lion and stag head, snake and cockerel, leopard, mongoose, bird and fox?; seasons, Medusa. In apse: Oceanus, triton, sea-griffin, dolphin, hippocamp. Acanthus scroll surround. 200-225AD.

52. YVERDON.

From baths of a villa, Hameau de Mordagne, Yverdon, ant. *Eborodunum*, canton de Vaud, Switzerland. Exc. 17th.C., 19th.C. Destroyed. '*détruit par des ouvriers qui cherchaient un trésor*'. Inv. I, no.1386. Guidi, 138, group I, B, f. Gonzenbach, (1949/50), 276. Stern 69, no.9. Gonzenbach (1961), 234, 237, no.143.2. Panyagua (1973), 467, no. 204. Schoeller 40, no.52 (Inv. 1396 in error). Liepmann no.64. Michaelides, 478, n.44. Perhaps in concentric panels quadrupeds, birds and fish. '*Le pavé était divisé en trois compartiments, dans l'un on voyait les quadrupèdes, dans l'autre les oiseaux et dans la troisième les poissons.*'

53. YVONAND.

From *frigidarium* of baths of a villa, Cheyres, Yvonand, canton de Vaud, Switzerland. Exc. 1778 and 1911. Freiburg Universität; Musée Historique Vaudoise, Lausanne; Schulsammlung, Cheyres; Musée de la Ville, Yverdon. Inv. I, no.1387 (Yvonand), 1388 (Cheyres). RPGR, 201, 7 and 202, 3, versions by different engravers. Guidi, 135-6, group IV, c. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 273ff., pl.38, and fig.1 (plan). 175-225AD. Stern, 69, no.8. Parlasca 117 + n.6, 175-200AD. Gonzenbach (1961), 234-6, no.143.1, II, p, pl.39 (eastern influence, 236). Schoeller 35, 40, nos. 8 and 53, identical, pl.X, 1. Charitonidis, 24, n.7. Liepmann no.48. Michaelides, 478, n.44. 5.45 x 5.45m. TYPE Ib. Central, circular panel with Orpheus, tangent semi-circles cf. Salona [57], Cos I [63], animals in square corner panels. Birds in interstices. Known from engravings, information distorted. Rock seat, tree. three-quarter view facing right. Cloaked, wreathed cf. Trier [48], mantle over knee cf. Vienne [46], Adana [60], bare feet? Lyre. Seated fox looking up. Border scroll issues from 4 *kanthari*. Severan.

AUSTRIA.

54. CARNUNTUM.

From Petronell, ant. *Carnuntum*, Hainburg, Austria. 1873. Museum Carnuntinum, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Austria. Stern 70, no.12. A.Obermayr, *Romerstadt Carnuntum*, (1967), 187. Panyagua (1973), 469, no. 208. Severan. Schoeller 38, no.31. Liepmann no.23. Michaelides, 479, n.44. Floor 1.80 x 1.80m, Orpheus panel 0.90 x 0.90m. TYPE IIb. Rudimentary rocky setting. Faces left twists right. Short Phrygian dress, short cloak, high boots cf.R-B mosaics. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. 4 animals, snake-in-tree, dove, eagle. Crude style. Mid-late 3rdC.

YUGOSLAVIA.

55. PANIK.

From the *oecus*, room 16, of a Roman fundus near Panik, 30 miles NE of Dubrovnik. 1967. Zemaljski Museum, Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. Fragment. M.del Chiaro, 'A New Orpheus Mosaic in Yugoslavia', *AJA* 76 (1972), 197-200, pls. 47, 48. 3rd C. Liepmann no.21. Michaelides, 479, n.44. Room 6.15 x 4.60m. Orpheus panel considerably smaller. Orpheus himself c.1.20m. high. Octagonal field defined by an intersecting squares, cf.Pesquero [32], Trinquetaille [45], Vienne [46]. Birds and running animals in outer border. TYPE Ib. Rocky setting, one tree. Orpheus in right profile, feet on foot rest cf. [32]. Long robe, cloak, heavy, seamed eastern shoes. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Pendent: panel below Orpheus, female bust, wearing mural crown, basket by shoulder, figure of plenty, good fortune, eg. Abundantia. Not Eurydice as del Chiaro suggests. Cf.Ptolemais [75], Jerusalem [74], Newton St.Loe [82], Whatley [85], Winterton [86]. Third century.

56. POLJANICE.

From 7-roomed building, a luxurious villa, in late Roman settlement, Poljanice-Glavnik, near Ulpiana, Yugoslavia. 1984. S.Fidanovski, *Arheoloski Pregled* (1985), Arch. Reports, 150, colour illustration on front cover. In situ? Michaelides, 478, called Ulpiana. Room 7 x 9m. inc. geometric surround; Orpheus panel entirely of glass paste. TYPE IIb. Inscription: *ORPHEUS* in Greek letters, incorporating *hederae*. Rocky setting and tree. three-quarter view facing left. Outstretched arm. High-waisted Greek robe, trousers, boots, cloak. Phrygian bonnet decked with laurel wreath. *Kithara*. Snake and rock. Crude style. 300-350AD.

57. SALONA.

From Solin, ant. *Salonae*, environs of Split, ant. *Spalato*, Casa Consula, Yugoslavia. 1942. Archaeological Museum, Split. Stern, 76, no. 45. *idem*, *Journal des Savants*, (1962), 175. D.Mano-Zissi,

'Mosaïques greco-romaines de Yougoslavie' in CMGR I, Paris 1963 (1965), 287-2, fig.4. Severan. Panyagua (1973), 465-6, no.201, fig.31. End 2nd-3rdC. del Chiaro, (1972), 199-200, pl.48, fig.8. Liepmann no.32. Michaelides, 479, n.44. TYPE Ib. Central circular panel with Orpheus, one concentric circle, radially divided. Tangent semi-circles, corner quadrants cf. Cos II [64], squares in interstices. Smith, CMGR I, 294, likened the design to R-B mosaics, Panyagua saw it more akin to Swiss mosaics eg. Yvonand [53]. Rock setting, tree. three-quarter view facing right. Thracian robes, shoulder ornament cf. Rottweil [47], wreathed cf. Trier [48]. *Kithara*. Fox looking up at Orpheus in centre cf. [53], birds in circular frieze and corners, beasts running clockwise across trees, cf. Stolac [58], Winterton [86], in tangent squares. Pendent: fish, marine beasts in semi-circles. 3rd century.

58. STOLAC.*

Baths of Stolac, Herzegovina, Yugoslavia. Mano-Zissi, CMGR I, (1965), 290, fig.6. TYPE Ia. Central octagon cf. Panik [53], figure destroyed, within square set lozenge-wise, points cut by frame. Compartments: round centre elongated hexagons, in which 4 beasts run clockwise across trees cf. Salona [57], Winterton [86]; in corner triangles 4 run anti-clockwise. Birds in squares. Probable Orpheus.

GREECE.

59. SPARTA.

In situ, House of Mourabas, Sparta, Peloponnese, Greece. AJA 2, (1898), 'Archaeological News 1897-8', 110. Stern 74, no.33, fig. 19. Ch. Christou, Ancient Sparta (1960), 67-8, fig.9. G. Touidiou, Archeologicon Deltion 19 (1964), 136-7. Panyagua Orfeo, 220. Schoeller 39, no.42. Charitonidis, 19 n.5, 24-5 n.9, 88 n.12, 91 n.1, 95 n.8, pl.11, 3. Hellenika 26, (1973), 247, no.61b. Panyagua (1973), 494, no.250. Liepmann no.30. E. Waywell, 'Roman Mosaics of Greece', AJA 83 (1979), 302, 46, fig. 42. Ovadiah, Group I a, p.45, 51 fig.4. Michaelides, 479, n.46. O. Wattel and I. Jesnick, 'Mosaics from the House of Mourabas, Sparta', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 1991. Floor 3.38 x 3.11m., central tableau 1.40 x 1.13m. TYPE IIa. No setting. Rock seat. Orpheus in right profile, gazes left cf. Chahba [69]. Dress 'Phrygian', short multi-coloured striped Roman tunic, striped long sleeves, waist belt, long cloak. Leggings, high, cuffed Thracian boots. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Snake around rock, lizard, tortoise, hare, green leopard looking back cf. Paphos [69]. Running animals cf. Palermo II [7]. Associated in next room: Europa and the Bull. c.300 AD.

ASIA MINOR. [n.2]

60 ADANA.

from Adana, Cilicia, Turkey. Two fragments from a larger field in Archaeological Museum of Adana. L.Budde, Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien I, (1969), pl.191; idem bande II (1972), 20-30, fig.5, pls.6-28. c.250 AD. Liepmann no.1. Ovadah, 47, 54 fig 10, group Ic. Michaelides, 479, n.46. Orpheus frag. 1.56 x 1.85m. Fragment with animals 1.87 x 1.79m. TYPE IIa. No setting. Rock seat. Facing left, twists right. Green short-sleeved Greek *stola* with central *clavum*, red undertunic with striped long sleeves, yellow mantle over knees cf. Trinquetaille [45], Vienne [46], Mytilene [66]. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Owl, monkey, ibis, wild cat? Perhaps held as many as 40 animals and birds. Mid-third century.

61. ANTALYA I.

In the Archaeological Museum of Antalya, ant. *Attaleia*, Pamphylia, Turkey. J.M.Blasquez y G.Lopez Monteagudo, 'Mosaicos de Asia Menor', AEsp. de Arq., 59, 163/4, (1986), 233-252, fig. 5. Artistically well achieved. Unclear photo. J.M.Blasquez y M.P. Garcia-Gelabert, 'Mosaicos en la costa de Asia Menor II', Revista de Arqueologia 8 (1987), 34. TYPE I Ib. Landscape setting. Orpheus left of scene, maenad on the right, cf.Orbe [51]. Frontal, long robes, cloak. *Kithara*. Eagle on rock, monkey on branch, snake-in-tree. Bear chasing deer. Rampant lion. Griffin? Late 5th C.

62. ANTALYA II.

In the Archaeological Museum of Antalya, ant. *Attaleia*, Pamphylia, Turkey. Blasquez y Lopez Monteagudo, AEArq., (1986), 233-252, fig. 4. Unclear photo. Virtually all lost. Acc. Blasquez, the same hand as the previous. TYPE I Ib. Orpheus on the left. Landscape. Inscription: ELYSION. 5th C.

63. COS I.

From the west of the town of Cos, environs of the port, outside town boundary, island of Cos, Aegean coast of Turkey. 1900. Archaeological Museum Istanbul, Turkey. Museum Inv.1606. R.Herzog, JbDAI XVI (1901), AA. 134 and 137. G.Mendel, Catalogue des sculptures romaines et byzantines III (1914), 507-511, no.1304. RPGR, 203, 2. A.Neppi Modona, 'L'isola di Coo nell' antichita classica', Memorie I (1933), 168-9, pl.XIV. Guidi, 124, fig.15, group II. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 277. Stern, 74, no.34. Panyagua Orfeo, 220. Schoeller 36, no.13. Panyagua (1973), 495, no.252. Charitonidis, 24, n.9. G.Azimakopoulou-Atzaka, Hellenika 26 (1973), 234, no.29. Liepmann no.12. Michaelides, 479, n.46. Overall 2 x 5.60m. Central panel 1.67 x 3.74m. TYPE IIa. A wide rectangle, at either end, two narrow panels with figures. O.on rock between two trees. Three-quarter view to left. Arm outstretched.

Long, loose multi-coloured Roman robe ornamented with *orbiculi* cf. Saragossa [34], Pesquero [32], long striped sleeves, cloak. Sandals. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Peacock in tree. Porphyry. Wild cat. Pendent: borders 2 x 0.73m. pairs of named gladiators in combat accompanied by games masters. Inscription: *TYDEUS, LEUCASPIS, PACTOLOS, NYMPHEROS, PERSEUS, [ACHILL]EUS*. *NEI* indicates the victor of each combat. Associated: next room, panel of hexagonal compartments occupied by sea monsters, tritons, *erote venatores* and beasts. Mendel *Cat.* 1305, Inv. 1611 + fig., Modona, pl.XV. Another room, disc. 1926, *in situ*: bird-catcher in action, riverine landscape, perhaps Nilotic, fish and harpoon. 4th C.

64. COS II.

Port quarter excavation, Cos town, house built to include old temple of Hercules, adjacent to his sanctuary, island of Cos, Aegean coast of Turkey. 1935. *In situ*. G.Karo, *AA* 51, (1936), 175-9, fig 24. L.Laurenzi *Boll. d'arte*, 30 (1936-7), 137, fig.14, no mention of Orpheus. L.Morricone, 'Scavi e Ricerche a Cos', *Boll. d'arte* 35, (1950), 54-75, 320, 330, figs 21-9 (area excavations, not Orpheus mosaic), called 'mosaico de Ercoli', 62, described 64. 3rd C. *Hellenika* 26, (1973), 235, no.31 and 236, no.36. Michaelides, 478, nos.31 and 36 of *Hellenika* 26, identical. TYPE Ib. Central circular panel, tangent semi-circles, corner quadrants cf. Salona [57]. Animals, all recumbent cf. El Djem [13], in compartments and interstices. Nothing remains of Orpheus but a bare foot and part of the lyre. Facing picture left? Birds and snail. Pendent: Hercules feasted in the house of Admetus, Alcestis by the tomb, scene from Euripides cf. Mytilene [66]. Inscription: *PROTEAS*. Associated: Koan fisherman with rod and line between panels of birds cf. Lepcis I [9], La Chebba [12], Djemilah [24]. Late 3rd.C.

65. MILETUS.

From Miletus, Turkey. 1903. Pergamonmuseum, Antikensammlung, Berlin, Germany. W.von Massow, *Führer durch das Pergamonmuseum* (1932), 99-100, fig. 46. *Stern*, 77, 46. *Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung* (1955), 41ff., figs. 26ff. and colour plate. Panyagua *Orfeo* 218, 220; *idem*, (1973), 495, no.253, fig 43, Orpheus only, notes only two creatures. Liepmann no.5. Boeselager, *Mosaiken Sizilien* (1983) 186-187, n.95. Severan. I.Kriseleit, *Antike Mosaiken, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung* (1985), 14-7, no.3, 2pls. End 2nd.C. Michaelides, 479, n.46. T-shaped field within *semis*, 2 panels, square with Orpheus 3.35 x 3.32m. crossing rectangle with *erotes*, 3.00 x 6.30m. TYPE Ib. Centre panel square, eight compartments, squares and rectangles around, cf. Forêt de Brotonne [39]. Rocky setting with plants. Frontal. Outstretched arm. Green, long sleeved, high-waisted, Greek *stola*, red mantle around knees cf. Paphos [69] also Vienne [46], Adana [60], Mytilene [66]. Bare feet. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Crow and seated fox looking up accompany Orpheus. Other animals paired in outer compartments; seasonal birds pecking appropriate flowers in

corner squares act also as pendent subjects. Pendent: crossing panel, *venatio* with *erote* protagonists. Cf. Rottweil. c.225.

66. MYTILENE.

Roman house of late Empire with peristyle, Mytilene, island of Lesbos, Aegean coast of Turkey. *In situ*. BCH 86, (1962), 874-6. AJA 66, (1962), 390-1. S.Charitonidis, *Praktika*, (PAAH), 1962 (1966), 134-141. L'Ann. Philol. 37, (1966), 493. *Hellenika* 26, (1973), 239, no. 42. S.Charitonidis, L.Kahil, R.Ginouves, *Les mosaïques de la Maison du Menandre* (1970), 17-25, 90-1, 105, pl.I,2, colour, pls.9, 10, 12-14. Panyagua (1973), 494, no. 251, called Chorafa. Liepmann no.19. Ovadiah, 47, 55, fig.12, group II. Michaelides, 479, n.46. TYPE Ib. Central octagon, encircled by 8 tangent trapezoids, 4 lozenges and 4 triangles. Rocky setting and tree in central medallion. Facing left, twists right. Yellow, short-sleeved Greek *stola*, green undertunic. Green mantle around knees cf. Adana [60], Trinquetaille [45], Vienne [46]. Heavy seamed eastern boots. Lyre issuing blue smoke = music? Phrygian bonnet. Hound, horse. Tortoise, snake, lizard. Recumbent fox. Associated: next room, famous scenes from stage comedies, busts of playwright Menander, muse Thalia, theatrical masks cf. Chahba [71]. Cf. Cos II [64], scene from Euripides. After 250AD.

67. SELEUCIA.

From barrel-vaulted room in N. corner of E. stoa of agora. Doric facade and *exedra*, public colonnade, Seleucia, Pamphilia, Turkey. *In situ?* M.Mellink 'Archaeology in Asia Minor', AJA 60 (1976), 273. S.Campbell, 'Roman Mosaic Workshops in Turkey', AJA 83 (1979), 287; *ibid* 'Archaeology in Asia Minor', 337. Michaelides, 478. Pendent: Hylas and the Nymphs cf. St Colombe [42].

68. TARSUS.

From Tarsus in Cilicia. Antioch Museum, Turkey. A.M.Mansel, FA VII, (1952), no.2310. Harrison, 13, n.4. Panyagua, *Orfeo*, 220; *idem*, (1973), 495, no. 254. Charitonidis, *Mosaïques Mytilene* 25, n.3. L.Budde, *Kilikien* I, figs. 174, 178, *idem*, *Kilikien* II, 121-6, fig.22, pls.118, 156-167, inc. 158, colour. Liepmann no.3. Ovadiah, 46-7, 54 fig.9, group Ic. Michaelides, 478, called Antioch. Orpheus 1.94 x 2.14m, the right of three panels in a tableau 7 x 8m within a geometric field c.10 x 12m. TYPE IIb. Rocky setting. Small tree. In profile left, twists right. Contemporary Roman garments, short-sleeved yellow tunic, waist belt, with two blue *clavi*. Long-sleeved undertunic, blue leggings, red boots. Striped red cloak. Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Animals all recumbent behind rocks or cut by frame, effectively a composition of *protomae*. Eagle on rock. Pendent: Abduction of Ganymede, Budde 124, pls.149-55. Satyr and maenad, 123, pls.146-8. Busts of satyrs and maenads in medallions surrounding main panels, 123, pls. 115-155. c.225 AD.

CYPRUS.

69. PAPHOS.

House of Orpheus, Nea Paphos, Cyprus. 1984. K.Nicolaou in ILN (August 1979), 47; *idem*, 'Three New Mosaics at Paphos, Cyprus', CIMA, (Ravenna 1980) 1984, 219-225, figs.6-8. D.Michaelides in V.Karageorghis, 'Chronique ...1982', in BCH CVII (1983) and following; *idem* in V.Karageorghis, in ARDA 1982 and following; *idem*, 'A New Orpheus Mosaic in Cyprus'. Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident' Nicosia 1985 (1986), 473-489, pls.LIIII-LVI; *idem*, Cypriot Mosaics (1987), 12-14, colour pl.XIX and XX. I.Jesnick, 'The Mannerist depiction in Orpheus Mosaics' in Acts of the VIth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaic, Spain 1990, forthcoming. c.4.25 x 5.10m. TYPE IIa. Rock seat. Plants in corners cf.Hanover [73]. Frontal. Arm outstretched. Blue, long-sleeved, high-waisted Greek *stola*, yellow mantle round knees cf.Miletus [65] also Adana [60], Mytilene [66], sandals. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Recumbent fox looking back. Sitting boar. Inscription: [...]JOS PINNIOS RESTITOUTOS EPOIEI (Greek letters). Associated: Hercules and Nemean Lion, an Amazon and her horse. 220-30AD.

70. SALAMIS.

Exedra at entrance to baths of a house adjoining the gymnasium, Salamis, Cyprus. 1882. Destroyed by exposure. Michaelides, 473-4, n.1-11, history and earlier bibliography. pl.LIIII:1. 3rd-4th C. At time of discovery some animals remained, known: goat, duck. Monkey, hand raised, cf.Palermo II [7], Sakeit [17]. Orpheus lost. Perhaps deliberate damage to figure of Orpheus in antiquity, cf. Oudna [15], Sakiet.

THE EAST.

71. CHAHBA.

From a rich house in Chahba-Philippopolis, Syria. c.1970. Museum of Chahba-Philippopolis, conserved *in situ*. Charitonidis, Mosaics Mytilene, 105, n.7. J.Balty, Mosaïques Antiques de Syrie, (1977), 44-9, pls. 17-19, details in colour; *idem*, 'La Mosaïque d'Orphee de Chahba-Philippopolis', Mosaïque, Recueil d'Homages a Henri Stern (1983), 33-7, pls. XXI-XXIV. Michaelides, 478. Wattel and Jesnick, JBAA (1991), 92-106. 3.085 x 3.075 *emblemata* 2.365 x 2.355 TYPE IIb. Landscape setting. Orpheus in profile facing right, gazes left cf.Sparta [59]. Long-sleeved, short Phrygian dress, belted at waist cf.[59] and cinched on chest. Long cloak. Baggy oriental trousers with stripe, heavy seamed eastern boots. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Horse, recumbent fox, mongoose, ostrich, elephant. Mouse on *kithara*. Snake-in-tree. Peacock in tree. Griffin. Pendent: border with theatrical masks cf. Mytilene [66]. Associated: in next room, marriage of

Dionysus and Ariadne cf. Orbe [51], *thiasos* figures, drunken Hercules, vintaging *erotes*, vegetal masks cf. Jerusalem [74], Balty (1977), 50-6, pls.20-3. Same house: Tethys, border of fishing *erotes*, Aphrodite and Ares, Balty 66-69, pls.28-9; 58-65, pls.24-7. c.325AD.

72. EDESSA.

From a burial cave, necropolis south of the city walls, Edessa, ant *Urfa*. 1956. *In situ*. J.B.Segal, *Archaeology* XII (1959), 151-7 esp. 157. Ch.Picard, *Rev. Arch.* (1960), 1, 118-20, fig 9. J.Leroy, *Syria* 38 (1961), 160. Harrison, 13, n.3a. Panyagua *Orfeo* 220-1, fig 14. J.B.Segal, *Edessa, the Blessed City* (1970), 51ff. Ch.III, 94, pl.47. Panyagua (1973), 496, no.255. Liepmann no.40. Ovadia, 46, 53 fig.8, group Ic. H.J.W.Drijvers, *Cults and Belief at Edessa* (1980), 189-92, pl.XV. Michaelides, 479, n.46. TYPE IIa. Stylised rock seat, tree. three-quarter view facing right. High-belted, long-sleeved, Greek stola, cloak, mantle around knees cf. Miletus [65], Paphos [69]. Baggy oriental trousers, bare feet. Lyre. Lion and gazelle. *Tabula ansata* held by two *putti* cf. Constantine [23]. Inscription in Syriac: "In the month Tammuz in the year thirty-nine, I Aphtuha son of BRLY made for myself this tomb, for myself and for my children and for my heirs to eternity." The date corresponds to 227-228AD.

73. HANOVER.

From a monastic complex in Northern Syria. Hannover, Kestner-Museum, Germany. *Museum Inv.* 1970.48. U.Liepmann, 'Ein Orpheus Mosaik Im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover' *Neiderdeutsche Beitr. zur Kunstgeschichte* XIII (1974), 9-36, Cat. no.11. Michaelides, 479, n.46. Square. TYPE IIa. Rock seat, bushy tree. Corner plants cf. Paphos [69]. Frontal. Long purple robe and *chlamys* cf. Ptolemais [75], Littlecote [81]. Phrygian bonnet. Soft shoes. *Kithara*. Mouse, crocodile, cobra, lizard, peacock in tree, hound, horse. After 350AD.

74. JERUSALEM.

From the courtyard of a Jewish house to the north-west of the Damascus gate. 1901. Istanbul Museum, Turkey. *Museum Inv.* 1604. J.Strzygowski, 'Das neuegefundene Orpheus-mosaik in Jerusalem', *ZDPV* 24 (1901), 139-165, pl.4. *AJA* V, (1901), 366; IX, (1905), 135. H.Vincent, 'Une Mosaïque Byzantine a Jerusalem', *Rev. Bibl.* X (1901), 436-444, fig; XI (1902), 100-3. Mendel (1914), *Cat.*, 511-4, no.1306. *RPGR*, 203, 4 and 6. Eisler (1925), 299-306. Cabrol-Leclercq, *DACL* VII (1927), 'Jerusalem' 2354-55, fig. 6191; *ibid*, XII (1936), 'Orphée' 2740-46, fig.9240. M.Avi-Yonah, 'Mosaic pavements in Palestine', *QDAP* II, (1932), 172-3, no.133. Levi, *Berytus* 7 (1942), 53f., n.151, pl.VII,4. P.B. Bagatti, 'Il Mosaico dell'Orfeo a Gerusalemme' *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* XXVII (1952), 145-60. Thirion 161, n.3. *Stern* 74, no.35. TYPE IIa. A.Grabar, *L'age d'or de Justinian*, 1966, fig.119 (colour). Panyagua *Orfeo*, 221. J.B.Friedman, 'Syncretism and Allegory in the Jerusalem Orpheus Mosaic', *Traditio* 23, (1967), 1-13;

idem, Orpheus in the Middle Ages (1970), 72-85, fig.15,16. Stern, CRAI (1970), 69-70, fig.7. Budde, Kilikien II, pl.258. Liepmann no.13. A.Dupont-Sommer, 'Le mythe d'Orphée aux animaux et ses prolongements dans la Judaisme le christianisme et l'islam', Accad. Naz. dei Lincei (1975). Ovadiah, 45, group Ia. A.Ovadiah and S.Mucznik 'Orpheus from Jerusalem, Pagan or Christian Image?' Jerusalem Cathedra I (1981), 152-166. B.Rosen, 'Reidentified Animals in the Orpheus Mosaic from Jerusalem', IEJ, 34 (1984), 182-3. P.Prigent, 'Orphée dans l'iconographie chretienne', Rev. d'hist. et de philos. rel. 64 (1984), 205-21. Michaelides, 479, n.46. Overall 5.87m x 3.485m. Orpheus panel 3.795 x 2.98m. TYPE IIa. No setting, no seat. Plant sprigs scattered between figures cf Cherchel [22]. Frontal. Long dark (grey) robe and red *chlamys*. Sandals. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Eagle with *bullā*, mongoose, viper, mouse, owl, sheep. Pendent: with Orpheus, seated centaur overcome by the music, Pan (cf. satyrs, Tarsus, Budde pl.140). Lotus border. Peopled vegetal scroll, fruit, baskets, birds, beasts cf. Pesquero [32]. Two old and two young male vegetal masks in corners = Seasons? At foot of tableau, female personification of plenty wearing *bullā*, diadem and mural crown, carrying cornucopia cf. Panik [55], Ptolemais [75], Newton St. Loe [82], Whatley [85], Winterton [86]. Two female figures carrying flower, bird, a sacred column between; below, two *venatores* and felines. Inscription: *THEODOSIA, GEORGIA* (Greek letters). 5th-6th century.

74a. BEIRUT.**

Actes du Ve congrès international d'archéologie chretienne (Vatican + Paris 1957) 170. Harrison, 13, n.8: the mention of an Orpheus mosaic here is erroneous. Really a Good Shepherd. See M.Chehab 'Mosaïques du Liban', Bulletin de Beyrouth XIV (1957), 55, pl. XXXI 'The Good Shepherd of Jenah'.

74b. GAZA**.

From the central nave of a synagogue at Gaza. 1966. *In situ?* M. Marc Philonenko 'David-Orphée sur une mosaïque de Gaza', Rev. d'hist. et de phil. rel. (1967), 355-7. Ovadiah, 'The Synagogue at Gaza' Quadmoniot I (4), (1968), 195; *idem* 'Excavations in the area of the Synagogue at Gaza' IEJ XIX (1969), pl.15A. H.Stern, 'Un nouvel Orphée-David dans une mosaïque du VI siècle', CRAI (1970), 63-79. A.Dupont-Sommer (1975) 11-12, figs 9, 10. P.C.Finney, 'Orpheus-David: A Connection in Iconography between Greco-Roman Judaism and Early Christianity', Journal of Jewish Art 5 (1978) 6-15. Ovadiah (1980), 46 and n.18, group Ib. Michaelides, 477. Frontal. Long striped robe, shoulder decoration, *chlamys*, diadem, nimbus cf. Ptolemais [75]. *Kithara*. Lioness, giraffe? snake (or elephant's trunk). Inscription: *DAVID* (Hebrew lettering). King David 'fitted into the iconographic cliché' of 'Orpheus the *kitharode*' (Finney, 7) so as to evoke Orphean qualities, dominion over the powers of nature, by music, to bring universal peace. Not Orpheus. 6thC.

CYRENAICA.

75. PTOLEMAIS.

From a room opening off the corridor fronting a *peristyle* court in a late Roman dwelling, near the sea, Tolmeita, ant. *Ptolemais*, Cyrenaica, Libya, 100km. east of Bengazi. 1960. In *museum*. JDAI: H.Sichter mann, AA. (1962), cols.427-8, figs. 5,6, col.430, fig 6, col.435. R.M.Harrison, 'An Orpheus Mosaic at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica' *Journal of Roman Studies* 52, (1962), 13-18, Pls. I-VIII. Resumé: *AJA* 66, (1962), 197. Toynbee (1964), 256, n.1. Panyagua *Orfeo*, 221-3, fig.15. Schoeller 38, no.33. Panyagua (1973), 492, no.248. Liepmann no.34. Ovadiah 1980, 47, 55 fig.11, group Id. Michaelides, 479, n.45. Circular emblema 1.50m. diam., in square panel 3.50m wide, in room 8.20 x 10m. TYPE IIB in circular frame cf. Brading [78]. 4 small medallions where guilloche border of centre interweaves with outer frame. Stylised rock seat. Tree growing from picture frame. Frontal. Long purple robes, chlamys cf.Hanover [73], Littlecote [81], seamed boots. Phrygian bonnet. Blue nimbus cf.Gaza [75a]. Lyre. Mouse, blue leopard. Snake-in-tree. Wolf? Birds pecking fruit or flowers cf. Miletus [65] in medallions and spandrels. Scratching bird, waders. Pendent: wave-crest border to Orpheus panel cf.Withington [87]; on threshold cf.Panik [55], Jerusalem [74], Newton St.Loe [82], Whatley [85], Winterton [86], bust of winged and nimbed personification of fruitfulness (cf.Antioch Seasons). Christian or late pagan imperial iconography? Discussion in Harrison 17f. and Panyagua (1973), 493. Late 4th - 5th C.

76. TOBRUK.

From near Tobruk, Libya, 1959. Badly damaged by rain. Destroyed? *In situ?* Harrison, *JRS* 52 (1962), 17 and n.22, description. Panyagua *Orfeo*, 224; *idem* (1973), 493, no.249. Liepmann no.62. Michaelides, 479, n.45. 1.80 x 1.50. TYPE IIa. Tree growing from picture frame. Frontal. Robes? *Chlamys* over left knee, Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Snake-in-tree, elephant, monkey, seated fox? or wolf? Animals have own ground lines. Pendent: Marine scene with fish 0.66m x 1.50. 4th.C.

BRITAIN.

77. BARTON FARM.

From site called Barton Mill, outside walls of ant. Corinium, Cirencester, Gloucestershire, England. 1842. Corinium Museum, Cirencester. J.Buckman and C.H.Newmarch, *Remains of Roman Art in..Cirencester* (1850), 32-4, pl.VII. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* XXV (1869), 101-4, pls.2-6. T.Morgan *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* (1886), 81, no.18. K.J.Beecham, *History of Cirencester, The Roman Corinium* (1886). E.C.Sewell, A.H.Powell, 'The Roman Pavement at the Barton-Cirencester', *TBGAS*

XXXIII (1910), 67-77, pl.; *ibid*, LXX (1951), 51-3, pl.I, II, A.Fox, 'The date of the Orpheus Mosaic from the Barton, Cirencester Park'. Stanton, *JRS* (1936), 45. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 285 (Cirencester). Stern, 75, no.39. J.M.C.Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (1962), 198, no.185, pl.221; *idem*, *Art in Britain Under the Romans* (1964), 268, 273, pl.LXIa. D.J.Smith, 'Three fourth-century Schools of Mosaic in Roman Britain', *CMGR* I (1965), 95-115. Schoeller 35, no.9. D.J.Smith 'The Mosaic Pavements' in *The Roman Villa in Britain*, ed. A.L.F.Rivet (1969), 71-125, pl.3.12. A.Rainey, *Mosaics in Roman Britain* (1973), 21. Liepmann, no.9. D.J.Smith, 'Mythological Figures and Scenes in Romano-British Mosaics' in *Roman Life and Art in Britain*, ed. J.Munby and M.Henig, *BAR* 41 (i) (1977), 107-158, figs 6.1-6.XXXIII, 126, no.69, pls.6. Xb, 6.XIa. Neal (1981) 31. W.B.Yapp, 'The Birds of the Corinium Mosaics' *Mosaic* 6, (April 1982), 19-25. D.J.Smith 'Orpheus Mosaics in Britain' *Mosaïque: Hommages a Henri Stern* (1983), 315-28, 318, no.4., pl.CCV. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Orpheus panel 4.45m sq. TYPE IIIb. 3 concentric circles within square. Orpheus in centre with fox. Birds in first frieze, quadrupeds in outer. No setting, no seat. One frond of vegetation. Orpheus in right profile, gazes left cf. Sparta [59], Chahba [71]. Short Phrygian dress, central *clavus*, short flying cloak, baggy trousers, high boots. Phrygian bonnet, spangled decoration cf. Blanzky [38], Vienne [46], Littlecote [81]. *Kithara*. Walking fox, vertical. Peacock, guinea fowl, goose, crane, peahen. Griffin. Laurel wreath border cf. Piazza Armerina [8], Sousse I [18, II [19], Pesquero [32], Blanzky [38], Woodchester [88]. 293-300AD.

78. BRADING.

In situ, *emblema* of long geometric pavement in entrance corridor of Brading Villa, Isle of Wight. J.E. and F.G.H.Price *A Description of Roman Buildings at Morton Near Brading, IOW.* (1880/1), pl.opp. p.10. Morgan (1886), 234-9, pls. VCH Hants, I, (1900), 313-16, figs.22-4. Hinks 109. Stanton 45. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 285. Stern 75, no.37, fig 13. Toynbee (1962), 201-2, nos.195-7, pl.231-3; *idem*, (1964), 254-8. Smith (1965), 106 + n.56. Schoeller 36, no.20 (erroneously located in BM. London). Smith (1969), 71-125. Rainey, 27, b. Panyagua (1973) 481, no.232. Liepmann no.6. Smith (1977), 125, no.68, pl.6.VI, a. Ovadia (1980), 47, group Id. Smith (1983), 316, pl.CCIII, 1. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Jesnick, *Mosaic* 16, (1989), 9-13, esp.12-13. Circular panel in square, 2.48m.sq.. TYPE IIa in circular frame cf. Ptolemais [75]. Rocky setting, no tree. Frontal. Short-sleeved short tunic, undertunic? long cloak, baggy trousers, high boots cf. Vienne [46], Phrygian bonnet. Lyre. Monkey, seated fox looking up, peacock, crow. Pendent: in spandrels ?Seasons. Associated: Bacchus, gladiators, hunt, Nilotic scene (room 3); marine thiasos, sacred couples, Winds, 'Astronomer', ?literary couples, Seasons (room 12). Fourth century.

79. CAERWENT I.*

Venta Silurum, Wales. Destroyed. *Archaeologia* V, 1799, pp.58-9, pl.1. A parrot tail and a vase depicted in the plate. The local parson recalled seeing a lion, tiger and stag at the moment of discovery.

Toynbee (1964), 266. The parrot is a typically Orphean bird. Perhaps Orpheus.

80. HORKSTOW.

From villa, Horkstow, South Humberside (Lincolnshire), England. 1796. Formerly in British Museum, London, now Hull City Museum, England. S.Lysons, Reliquae Britannico-Romanae (1813) part i, 1-4, pls.I-VIII, IV. Morgan, 136. Leclercq DACL II, 1, (1925), 'Bretagne (Grande)', 1182. Guidi, 136, group IV, B, e. Hinks, 101-10, no.36, figs. 112-24. Stanton, 46. Levi, Berytus 7 (1942), 50-1, fig.2, pl. VII, 1. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 285, 287, n. 50. Stern 76, no.43. TYPE III. Toynbee (1962), 202, no.198, pl.227; idem (1964), 280-82. Smith (1965), 95-115, fig.1 (from Fowler); Panyagua Orfeo, 228. Smith (1969), 71-125, fig. 3.2. Schoeller 36, nos.12 and 19, identical. Panyagua (1973), 481, no.231. Rainey 96, a. Liepmann no.49. Ovadia (1980), 48, 56 fig.15, group II. Smith (1983), 322-3, no.8. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Acc. Leclercq Christian, acc. Levi an Orphic *telesterion*, both dismissed by Panyagua. Three figured panels overall 15.25 x 6.10m. Orpheus panel 5.63m.sq. TYPE IIIc. Two concentric circles, the outer inscribed in a square, linked by eight radiating arms, awning pattern bordering centre, the eight compartments each subdivided by concentric arcs into 3 compartments. The design most closely resembles the painted ceiling at Ostia (Brilliant fig.III.32) No setting? Fox and peacock in centre with Orpheus. Heavy cloak? Phrygian bonnet, *kithara*. Only boar, bear and elephant remain of the quadrupeds. Next a series of confronted birds pecking fruit cf. Miletus [65], Ptolemais [75]. Nearest centre, hunting beasts, hare and hound running. Pendent: birds and hunt might also come into this category. In spandrels 4 heads = Seasons? Adjoining panel, a great circle upheld by anguipedes Titans, divided into 4 quadrants, then concentric circles with inserted medallions containing Bacchic motifs; tritons, nereids and *erotes*, vintaging *erotes* nearer centre - subject lost. Rectangular end panel containing circus race around spina, victorious charioteer, 'shipwreck', games master cf. Rottweil [47]. 350's AD.

81. LITTLECOTE.

From a self-contained complex close to the river comprising the hall with Orpheus adjoining a small bath suite, detached from the residential wing of the villa, Littlecote, 3 miles W of Hungerford, Wiltshire, England. 1727. Lost. Rediscovered and excavated 1977. A substantial proportion remained, allowing restoration following the engraving and embroidery made in the 18thC. *In situ*. Lysons (1813), iv, 4, pl.IX. W.Fowler, Engravings of the Principal Mosaic Pavements (1804), no.20. R.C.Hoare, The History of Wiltshire (1821), 117, pl.1. T.Morgan, Romano-British Mosaic Pavements (1886), 104-5 (Apollo). Stanton, 46. J.A.Richmond, Roman Britain in Pictures (1947), pl.opp. p.33. G.M.A. Hanfmann, The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks ii (1951), 144-5, no.104. Stern, 76, no.44. Toynbee (1964), 253-4. Smith (1965), 95-115; idem, (1969), 71-125, pl.3.16. Schoeller 36, no.16.

Panyagua (1973), 480, no. 229a. Rainey, 110. Liepmann no.68, under heading 'destroyed, unseen image of Orpheus'. Smith (1977), 150, no.139, pl.XXIa. M.Todd (ed.), Studies in the Romano-British Villa (1978), 129, 133-5, figs.42, 43; 146, n.31. B.Walters and B.Phillips, Archaeological Excavations in Littlecote Park, Wiltshire, 1978: First Interim Report (1979); *idem*, Second Interim Report 1979 & 80. Toynbee, 'Apollo, Beasts and Seasons: Some thoughts on the Littlecote Mosaic'. Britannia XII (1981), 1-5. B.Walters, 'The Orpheus Mosaic in Littlecote Park, Wiltshire', CIMA III 1984. Smith (1983), 323-4, no.9, pl.CCIX, CCX. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Orpheus panel 3.76m.sq. Tri-apsed chamber cf. Blanzky [38]. TYPE IIIc. Circle quadrilaterally divided, Orpheus in circle at the hub. No setting, no seat. three-quarter view facing right. Long purple robes, *chlamys* cf. Hanover [73], Ptolemais [75]. Phrygian bonnet, spangled decoration, cf. Blanzky [38], Vienne [46], Barton [77]. *Kithara*. Vertical fox, no others. Pendent: Four goddesses mounted on running beasts, goat, doe, dark leopard, bull, alluding to Bacchic myth and seasons. In apses, shell/awning pattern with leopard head finials, leopard-skin reverse. Panel of water pattern, *kantharus* between confronted felines cf. Rudston [84], sea panthers marine motifs and *kantharus*. 360-63AD.

82. NEWTON ST. LOE.

From a Roman villa in Newton St. Loe, western outskirts of Bath (Aquae Sulis), Somerset, England. 1837-8. Lifted 1851. Unrestored remains and full size colour tracing by T. Marsh, City Museum, Bristol. Morgan 102. VCH, Somerset, i (1906), 302. Hinks, 109. G.R. Stanton, 'The Newton St. Loe Pavement' Journal of Roman Studies XXVI (1936), 43-46. Pls. VII-IX. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 285. Thirion, 160, n.2. Stern, 75, 36. Smith (1965), 95-115, fig.10; *idem*, (1969), 71-125, pl.3.10. Toynbee (1964), 247-8. Schoeller 36, 37, nos.17 and 26 (identical), erroneously located in BM, London. Panyagua (1973), 476, no.224. Rainey 122, C. Liepmann no.7. Smith (1977), 127, no.73, pl.6XXVIa. Ovadiah (1980), 48, group II. Smith (1983), 316-7, no.2, pl.CCIII, 2. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Panel c.3.04m.sq. TYPE IIIa. Two concentric circles. Diameter of central circle c.1.52m. Rock seat. Facing left, twists right. 'Phrygian' dress, long-sleeved short, striped Roman tunic, long cloak, grey-green stone used. High, cuffed Thracian boots. Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Vertical fox attendant. Between different types of tree, traditional pairs of confronted beasts of the *venatio*: leopard and stag, lion and doe, bear and bull, bull turned to face the feline whose prey omitted for lack of space. Pendent: on threshold, acanthus scroll, panel with female bust, mural crown and cornucopia, personification of plenty cf. Panik [55], Jerusalem [74], Ptolemais [75], Whatley [86], Winterton [86].
Fourth century.

83. PIT MEADS.*

From Pit Meads, near Warminster, Wiltshire, England. 1800. Destroyed. R.C. Hoare, The Ancient History of North Wiltshire II, Roman Aera, (1821), pl. opposite p.113, fig.4. Smith (1965), 95-115, fig.13; *idem*

(1969), 71-125. Rainey 128, d. Panyagua (1973), 480, no.229b. Liepmann no.58. Smith (1983), 324, no.10, pl.CCXI, 1. Michaelides, 478, n.43. TYPE IIIa, cf. Newton [82], Withington [87], 'putative'. The hind legs of a quadruped moving clockwise near the perimeter of a circular design. Foliage in spandrels reminiscent of Corinian style, cf. Barton [77]. 293-300AD.

84. RUDSTON.*

From the N. side of the courtyard of a substantial villa 6 miles W. of Bridlington, Yorkshire, England. 1971. D.J.Smith, 'The Mosaics from Rudston Villa' in I.M.Stead Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa and other Roman sites in North Lincs. (1976), 131-133, House 8, East Room: (C) 'The Mosaic of the Small Figures', pl.Xc. Neal (1981), 95-7, no.69, 'The Charioteer Mosaic', panel C., colour pl. between pp.104-5. Virtually lost, reconstructed as a linear square containing a linear circle around a large octagon divided radially into eight trapezoidal compartments, perhaps a circular or octagonal panel in centre cf. Winterton [86]. 2.99m.sq. Only a fragment of figuration in the spandrels survived. Pendent: in the angles, human figures. Smith calls attention to figures in similar location on a mosaic from Cologne, spectators to gladiatorial scenes. Clothing suggests daily life scenes, perhaps seasonal (cf. El Djem, Calendar Mosaic, Dunbabin Pl.XXXVIII). A small motif is interpreted by Smith as a phallus, which had a protective function in African imagery. Crenellated parapet border. On threshold, a *kantharus* between a pair of confronted leopards cf. Littlecote [81], olive green with blue spots cf. Sparta [59], Ptolemais [75]. The other pavement: Seasons, birds pecking fruit, victorious charioteer cf. Horkstow [80]. All these fortuitous, fruitful and protective motifs are consistent with the central theme of Orpheus. Mid fourth century.

85. WHATLEY.*

From Whatley, Somerset, England. 1837. Destroyed. Coloured lithograph in Somerset County Museum. VCH, Somerset I (1906), 317, fig 77. Archaeologia lx (1930), 60. Stanton 46 + n.12. Toynbee (1964), 249. Smith (1969), 71-125. I.M.Stead, PSANHS 114 (1970), 37-47. Panyagua (1973), 482, no.233. Rainey, 126-7, a, b. Liepmann no.69: 'destroyed, Orpheus image not seen.' Smith (1977), 127, no.75, 134, no.102, pl.6XXXb; idem (1983), 324-6, no.11, 'putative', pl.CCXI, 2. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Apsed chamber cf. Piazza Armerina [8], Sakiet [17], La Alberca [28], Arnal [35], Martim Gil [36]. Main panel, 4.10 x 4.25m. Rectangular form of IIIa, concentric rectangles. Centre lost. Confronted pairs of animals alternate with trees in outer frieze, lion, oryx, elephant, ass, griffin, typically Orphean fauna. Pendent: in apse fish (without dolphin's trilobed tail), 4 *kanthari* issuing plants. Adjoining panel: acanthus scroll, sea-beasts, dolphins, female bust, A) + mural crown, cornucopia = Abundantia. Or B) = Tethys with oar and starfish crown misinterpreted by litho-

grapher. cf. either A) Panik [55], Jerusalem [75], Ptolemais [75], Newton St.Loe [82], Winterton [86]. B) Chahba [69]. 330's AD.

86. WINTERTON

From room 3, building D of a villa, Winterton, south Humberside (Lincolnshire), 5 miles W. of Horkstow, England. 1752. *In situ*, buried. Re-exc. I.M.Stead, 1958-61. G.Vertue, Vetusta Monumenta (Soc.Ant.Lond.) II, (1789), pl.9. Fowler (1804), pl.1. Morgan, 135. Stanton, 46 + n.11. Stern, 76, no.42. TYPE III. Toynbee (1964), 282-3. Smith (1965), 95-115, fig.2; idem (1969), 71-125, pls. 3.17, 3.18. I.M.Stead, Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa (1976), 39-49 (building D), pl.XXIV; ibid, Smith, 259-271, pls.XVI, XVII, XXIV, XXV, (Mosaic A). Rainey 161 a. Neal 108-114, no.83, pl.83, pls. 84, (=Bacchus), 85, Providentia, fig. 25. Smith (1983), 321-2, no.7, pl. CCVII. Schoeller 40, no.50. Panyagua (1973), 480, no.230. Liepmann no.43. Smith (1977), 152-3, nos. 149, 150, pl.6.XXXIa. Michaelides 478, n.43. Orpheus panel 3.92m.sq. in geometric surround 7.47 x 4.57m. TYPE IIIc. A square, the angles bridged to form corner triangles, within this octagon a circle, divided radially into 8 trapezoid compartments around an octagonal hub. No setting? Orpheus in profile right?. The animals proceed anti-clockwise, either set across a tree cf. Salona [57], Stolac [58], or next to one. 6 surviving animals including leopard (olive green, outlined blue), tiger (the teats identify the generically female *tigris*), hound, griffin. An elephant appears in early drawings. Pendent: in angles, 4 *kanthari*. Associated: in an antechamber 3.05 x 5.03m, stag running across tree in circular medallion, plus another, lost centre, *kanthari* in spandrels (Neal 110 fig.25). Room 6 of same building: Bacchus (Neal Mosaic 84, Fortuna) cf. Smith, 1977 no.150 (and in Stead 1976, 259 attribute identified as grapes). Probably *thyrsus*. Room 13: Abundantia/Felicitas/Providentia, nimbed, with cornucopia cf. Panik [55], Jerusalem [75], Ptolemais [75], Newton St.Loe [82], Whatley [85]. c.340AD.

87. WITHINGTON.

From a long rectangular room, a villa? Withington, 9 miles N. of Cirencester, Glos., England. 1811. Orpheus, lion and wild ass lost, the rest in the British Museum, London save one fragment (Bear) in the City Museum, Bristol, England. Lysons, Rel.Brit-Rom. II, (1817), part 1, pls. XVII-XXI. Archaeologia, 1817, XVIII, pl.7, 118-21. JBAA I, (1845), 44. Arch. Journ. (1846), ii, 42. Morgan 78-9. RPGR 203, 1 and 5. Baddeley, no.37, pl.II. Hinks 111-14, no.37, figs 125-8. Stanton 45. Stern, 76, no.41. TYPE III. Toynbee (1964), 271-2. Smith (1965), 95-115, fig 11; idem (1969), 71-125, pl.3.11. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 276, 285. Panyagua (1973), 477, no.225. Schoeller 37, 40, nos. 21 and 51 (identical). Rainey, 21. RCHM, Glos.I, (1976), 131-2, pl.51. Liepmann no.8. Smith (1977), 124, no.64, 128, no.77, pl.XXXIb; idem (1983), 317-8, no.3, pl.CCIV, 1. Yapp, Mosaic 6, 19-25. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Orpheus panel 3.30m.sq. TYPE IIIa. Two concentric circles. Animals proceed anti-clockwise in outer

zone divided into 8 compartments by stylized, calyx-leaved trees Cf *Volubilis* [27]. Wave-crest border cf. *Ptolemais* [75]. No setting, no seat. Facing left, twists right. Short Phrygian dress, short cloak flying out, baggy trousers, long boots, Phrygian bonnet. *Kithara*. Vertical fox. Bull, hound. Birds in two friezes on either side of the main panel. Cockerel, scratching bird cf. *Woodchester* [88]; *kantharus* between confronted peacocks. 320's AD. Pendent: Neptune/Oceanus cf. [88], with sea-beasts, dolphins, vegetation. *Venatio*. Marine panel. The work of a later school of mosaicists. 340's AD.

88. WOODCHESTER.

Principal oecus on central axis of sumptuous villa, Woodchester, 1 miles south of Stroud, Glos., England. Known from 1695, excav. and drawn Bradley 1722; Lysons c.1796; Clark 1973. *In situ*, buried. Fragment of acanthus scroll in Brit. Museum, London. S.Lysons, An Account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester in the County of Gloucester (1797); *idem*, Rel.Brit-Rom. I, 1813, i, pls. XXII-XXVII. Vetusta Monumenta ii, (1788), pl.xliv. Morgan, (1886), 74ff. W.St.Clair Baddeley 'The Roman Pavement at Woodchester', TBGAS, XLVIII, (1927), 75-96, pl.I, III-X. Hinks, 96-7, no.31, fig.107. Stanton, 45. Gonzenbach (1949/50), 285. Stern, 75, no.38, fig 12 (Lyson's watercolour of 1797). Toynbee (1962), 198, no.186, fig. 222; *idem*, (1964), 272-4, pls.LXI, b,c, LXII, b. M.D.Mann, The Roman Villa at Woodchester (1963), 16pp, figs, 4pls. colour. Smith (1965), 95-115, figs. 17, 18; *idem* (1969), 71-125, 3.13, 3.14. Schoeller 35, 37, nos. 11 and 22 (BM fragment). Gonzenbach (1949/50), 287, n.50. F.Klingender, Animals in Art and Thought (1971), 99, pl.73. Panyagua (1973), 479, no. 228. D.J.Smith, The Great Pavement at Woodchester in Gloucestershire (1973). Rainey 163 a. Liepmann no.44. RCHM Gloucestershire I (1976), 132-4, pls.17, 19, 20, 21 (vertical colour photos). G.Clark, 'The Roman Villa at Woodchester', Britannia VIII (1977). Smith (1977), 121-2, no.52, 125, no.65, 128, no.78, pl.6. XXXIIa, 114, no. 25, 142, no.127, pl. 6.XXXIc. Ovadia (1980), 48, 56 fig 14, group II. Neal, 115-122, no.87, colour pl. opp.p.105, pls.87a, b, c, fig.26. Yapp, Mosaic 6 (1982) 19-25. Smith 1983, 320-1, no.6, pl. CCVI. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Orpheus panel 10.06m.sq. TYPE IIIb. Within a square, a circle divided into three concentric zones edged with guilloche, octagon at centre. Outside, decorative borders take dimensions to 13.91 x 13.76m, forming ambulatory around figured panel, in room 14.86m.sq. At internal angles of inner square, four stone bases, wooden columns may have supported a gallery, perhaps a domed roof covered the chamber. Orpheus placed off centre, probably to accommodate a pool cf. Blanzly [38], in the second zone, where a laurel wreath border is depicted, between the ends of which his feet extend. Once said 'to be fish and a star about the centre' 1722, (Bradley, BM Add. MSS.5238, fol.3). No setting or seat. Frontal. Short Phrygian dress, zigzag central *clavus*, cloak flying out, baggy trousers, boots. *Kithara*. Orpheus between confronted fox and peacock. Scratching bird. 11 beasts proceeding clockwise, trees or trailing plants between. Elephant, griffin. Pendent: Oceanus cf. Withington [87], acanthus scroll. In spandrels, eight naiads, in pools filled with

waterweed, with overturned vases issuing water. Associated: *erotes* carrying basket of fruit, Bacchic figures, Bonum Eventum? Inscription: *BONVM EVENTVM, BIINII = BENE C[OLLITE]* 293-300AD.

88a. DYER STREET.**

From 33 Dyer Street, Cirencester, ant. Corinium, Glos., England. Supposedly found 1810-20. Destroyed? The Gentleman's Magazine, 1849, ii, 358. Beecham (1886), 267-8, pl.opposite p.266. Stanton, 45. Stern 75, no. 40. Toynbee (1962), 198; *idem* (1964), 268-9. Smith (1965), 95-115, fig.12; *idem* (1969), 71-125. R.Reece, "Two 'Lost' Mosaics at Cirencester", TBGAS LXXXIX (1971), 175-6. Rainey, 48, no.12. Panyagua (1973), 478, no.227. Liepmann no.55. Smith 1977, 126, no.70, pl.6XIb. R.Stupperich 'A Reconsideration of some fourth-century British Mosaics', Britannia XI (1980), 299-300. A.McWhirr, 'Cirencester Mosaics' Mosaic, Bulletin of ASPROM, 4, (April 1981) 5-6; *idem*, 'Dyer St. Orpheus Again', Mosaic 5 (November 1981), 17. Smith (1983), 319, no.5 and 328, pl.CCIV, 2. TYPE IIIb. Michaelides, 478, n.43. A.J.Beeson, 'A possible representation of Scylla from Cirencester', Mosaic 17 (1990), 19-23. The historic record and lack of archaeological evidence suggest that the mosaic never existed. The graphic evidence within Beecham's drawing, the only record, substantiates this conclusion, being most likely a garbled record combining features from Barton Farm, notably scale-pattern leopard, birds, vertical fox, with those from Woodchester eg. off-centre Orpheus and head of Oceanus transformed into Scylla.

88b. GLOUCESTER.**

From Southgate Street, Gloucester, ant. Glevum. 1746. Gloucester Journal, 25 March 1746. L.E.W.O.Fullbrook-Leggatt, Roman Gloucester (Glevum) (1968), 36. Rainey, 84, no.9, a. '..Birds and beasts in diverse colours...' Perhaps Orpheus, no proof.

88c. CAERWENT II.**

From room 6 in a suite of two reception rooms, building VIIS, Caerwent, ant. Venta Silurum, Wales. 1901. Restored and displayed Newport Museum. T.Ashby, 'Excavations at Caerwent', Archaeologia 58, (1902), 140, pl.X. Toynbee (1964), 266. J.Liversidge, Britain in the Roman Empire, (1968), 77-8, fig. 26. Rainey 37, no.12. Liepmann no.66. Smith (1977), 129-130, no.84. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Jesnick, 'The Caerwent Seasons Mosaic - Perhaps an Orpheus?' Mosaic 16 (1990) 7-13. Torch-bearing winged *erotes*, animals, Seasons. Centre probably Bacchus. Not Orpheus.

88d. COMBE END.**

A villa, Colesbourne, Gloucestershire. 1787. Lysons, Archaeologia IX, 319, and XVIII, 112. Morgan, 33. TBGAS, XLVIII, (1926), 79. Stanton, 46, n.13. Panyagua (1973), no.233. 'birds, fishes and circles were

reported', 'many figures of birds and fishes'. No indication of Orpheus.

88e. KEYNSHAM.**

From room W of a large and sumptuous villa, Keynsham, Somerset, England. 1922. Formerly in Cadbury-Schweppes Factory, Somerdale. Archaeologia 75 (1926) pl.XVII, fig. 2. Rainey 101, (h) iii. Toynbee (1964), 241: head of Orpheus prophesying. Liepmann no.65. Contrary: Smith (1977), 149-150, no.138, pl.6.XIXc. Stupperich, Britannia XI (1980), 294-6. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Stupperich: Minerva sees her reflection in water. Not Orpheus.

88f. PATERNOSTER ROW.**

From Paternoster Row, near St Pauls Cathedral, London, England. 1839-41. A mosaic some 40' long found at a depth of 12' and subsequently destroyed had a design of birds and beasts and an object said to resemble a starfish in compartments within a border of guilloche and rosettes. cf. Lancha, Mosaïques Vienne (1990) nos.27, 34, xenia subjects. Archaeologia XXIX, (1842), 155. Roach Smith, Illustrations of Roman London, (1859), 57-8. W.R.Lethaby, Londinium 1923, p.149. Toynbee (1964), 247, n.4. R.Merrifield, The Roman City of London (1965), Gazeteer, 18-20; *idem* London, City of the Romans (1983), 247: fourth century levels, perhaps the residence of an official. No mention of Orpheus, no central focus, though mosaic apparently seen *in toto*.

88g. PITNEY.**

From a courtyard villa, Pitney, Somerset, England. 1828. Destroyed. Toynbee (1964), 248-9. Smith (1969), 102, 125. Rainey, 129, 1,a. Liepmann no.70. Smith (1977), 133, no.96, 120, no. 51, pl.6.XXVII. Stupperich (1980), 296-7. Michaelides, 478, n.43. Attis with Sagaritis (cf. R.Ling Mosaic 5 [Nov. 1981] 6, pl.II, 1). Not Orpheus.

WELLOW. Information received too late for inclusion. 89.

From a rich courtyard villa, Wellow, Somerset. 1685. Lost. Coloured drawings in Somerset County Museum. VCH, Somerset I, (1906), fig. 71, Room A; Vetusta Monumenta I (1747) pl.50. An enigmatic drawing of 1685: Aubrey's unpublished Mon.Britann. (Bodleian Lib. MS. Aubrey fo.103), not published in VCH, which shows central medallion, brought to notice by S.Cosh and interpreted as a lyrist by A.Beeson, who kindly relayed the information. A close resemblance between the design of this pavement and Panik [55], Yugoslavia is seen. This suggests that the central figure may be Orpheus. The guilloche mats of the VCH drawing are shown as panels of zig-zag in Gale MDCCIX (information kindly supplied by P.Witts), recalling the water panel of Littlecote. Water is a common motif with Orpheus. Type Ib.

TABLE ONE DISTRIBUTION OF MOSAIC TYPES

<u>THE WEST.</u>	Type I	Type II	Type III	Unclass.[1]	Unknown	TOTAL
Britain	2	1	9		1	13
France	7	2			1	10
Italy	2	5		1		8
Spain	2	4	1			7
Switzerland	2	2			1	5
Yugoslavia	3	1				4
Portugal		2				2
Germany	1				1	2
Austria		1				1
	19	20	10	1	4	52
<u>AFRICA.</u>						
Tunisia	5	4			2	11
Libya		3			1	4
Algeria	1			2	1	4
Morocco	1		1			2
	6	7	1	2	4	21
<u>THE EAST.</u>						
Asia Mr. [2]	3	5			1	9
Syria		3				3
Cyprus		2				2
Greece		1				1
Israel		1				1
	3	12			1	16
<u>TOTALS</u>	27	39	11	3	9	89

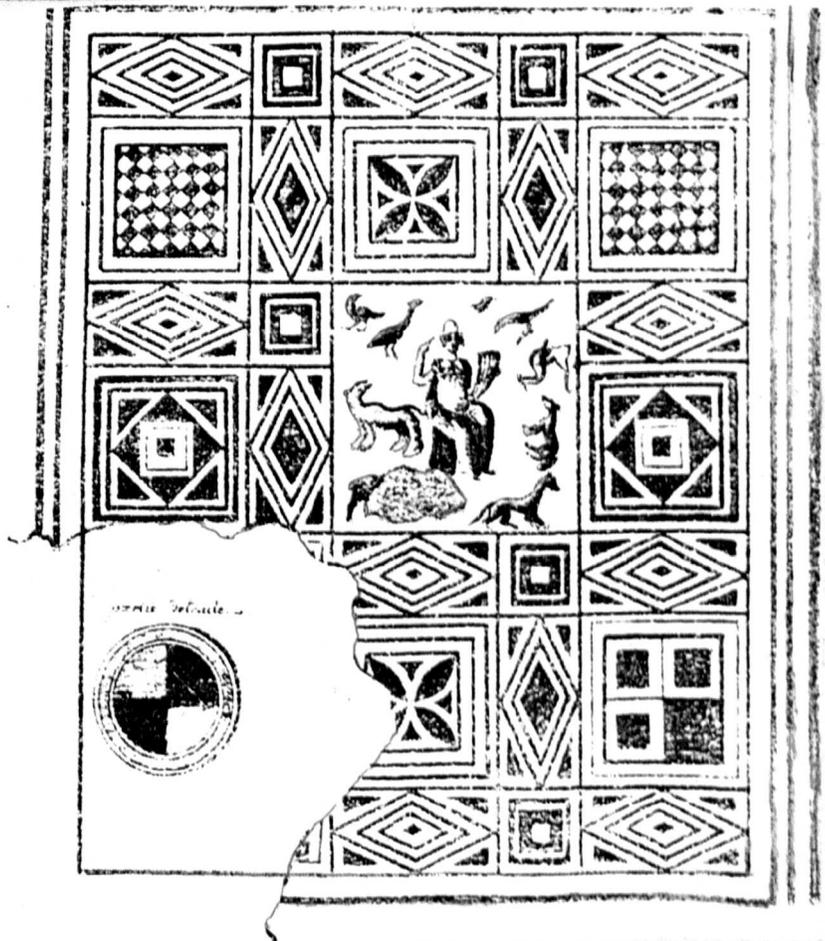
[1] Unclassified are mosaics whose design does not fit any of Stern's types: Cagliari, Djemila, Constantine. Unknown mosaics are not properly described in the literature or too fragmentary to tell.

[2] Designation 'Asia Minor' here includes the Aegean islands, disregarding modern political boundaries for the sake of geographic and repertorial alliances.

Ill. 84a:
Avenches I,
Switzerland.

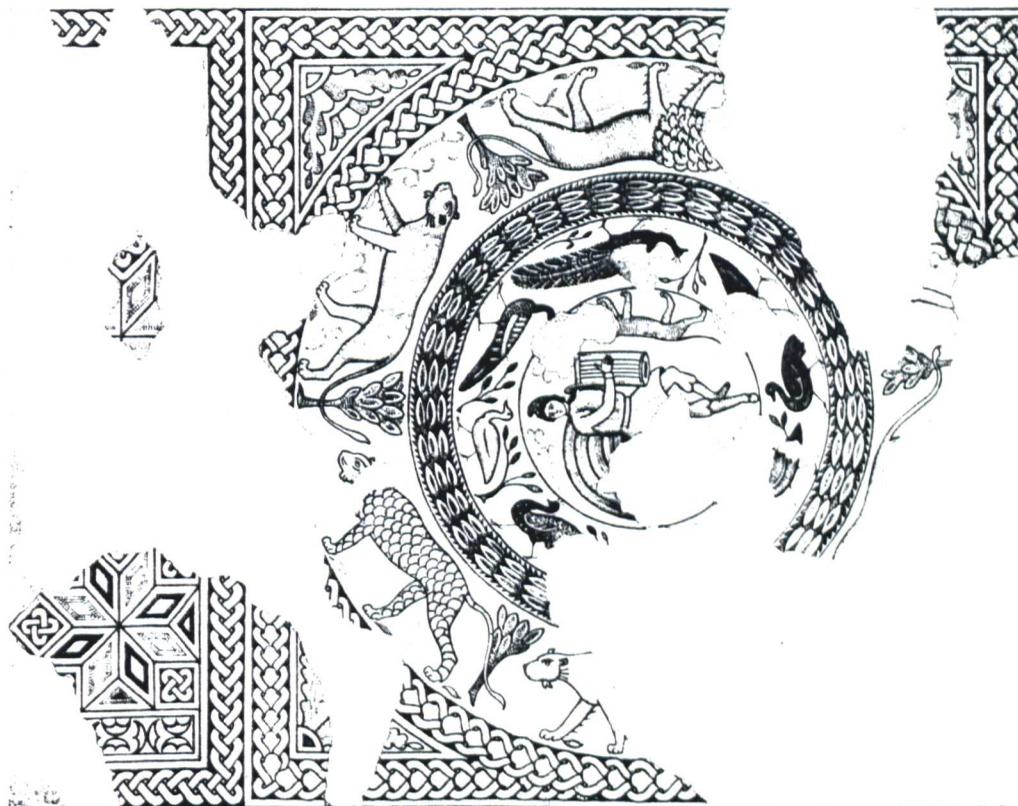


Ill. 84b:
Avenches II,
Switzerland.





Ill. 85a-b: Barton Farm, Cirencester.
General view (top); detail (below).



ROYALTY PAYEMENT
AT THE BARTON FARM
CIRENCESTER.

Ill.85c: Barton, coloured engraving, Ashmolean.

Ill.85d: Barton, woodcut, Corinium museum.



Ill. 86a: Brading, Isle of Wight. Present state.

REMAINS OF ROMAN BUILDINGS NEAR BRADING, ISLE OF WIGHT. (N° 9)



0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

PAVEMENT IN CHAMBER VI.

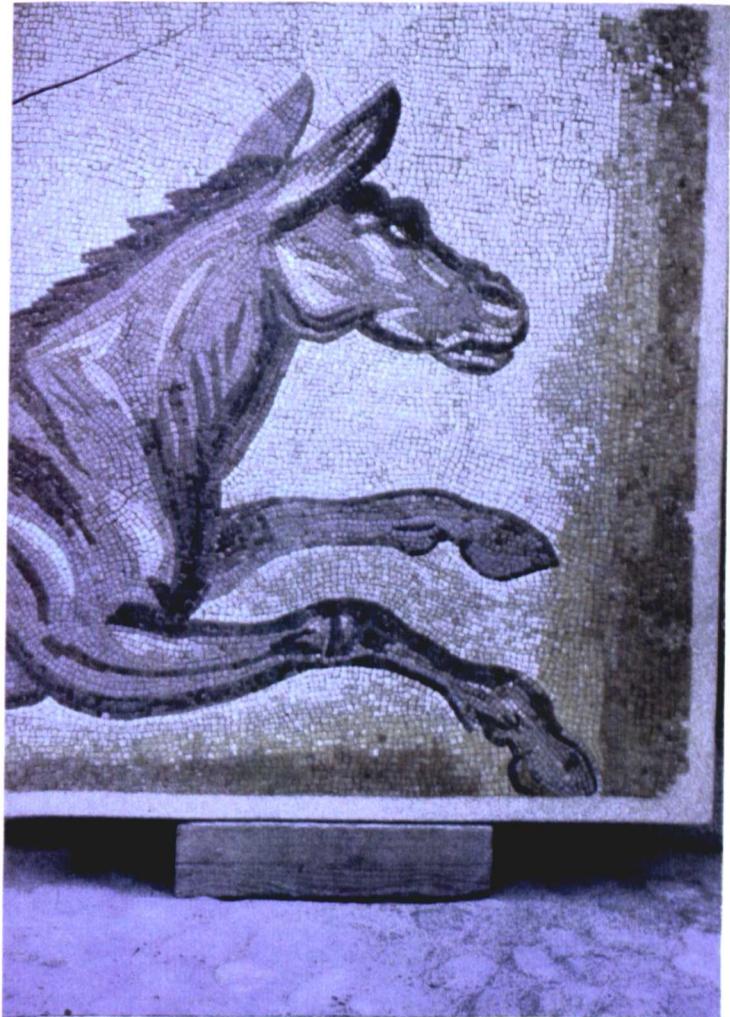
Ill. 86b: Brading, lithograph, 1881.



Ill. 87a: Cagliari, Sardinia. Engraving.



Ill. 87b:
Cagliari, watercolour.
G. Bigliani, 18thC.
Fragments taken to
Turin.



Ill. 87c:
Cagliari, Sardinia.
The ass.



Ill. 88 (top): Carnuntum, Austria.

Ill. 90 (below): Chahba, Syria.





Ill. 89: Carthage, Tunisia.

Ill. 91: La Chebba, Tunisia.



Ill. 92: Cos I, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.



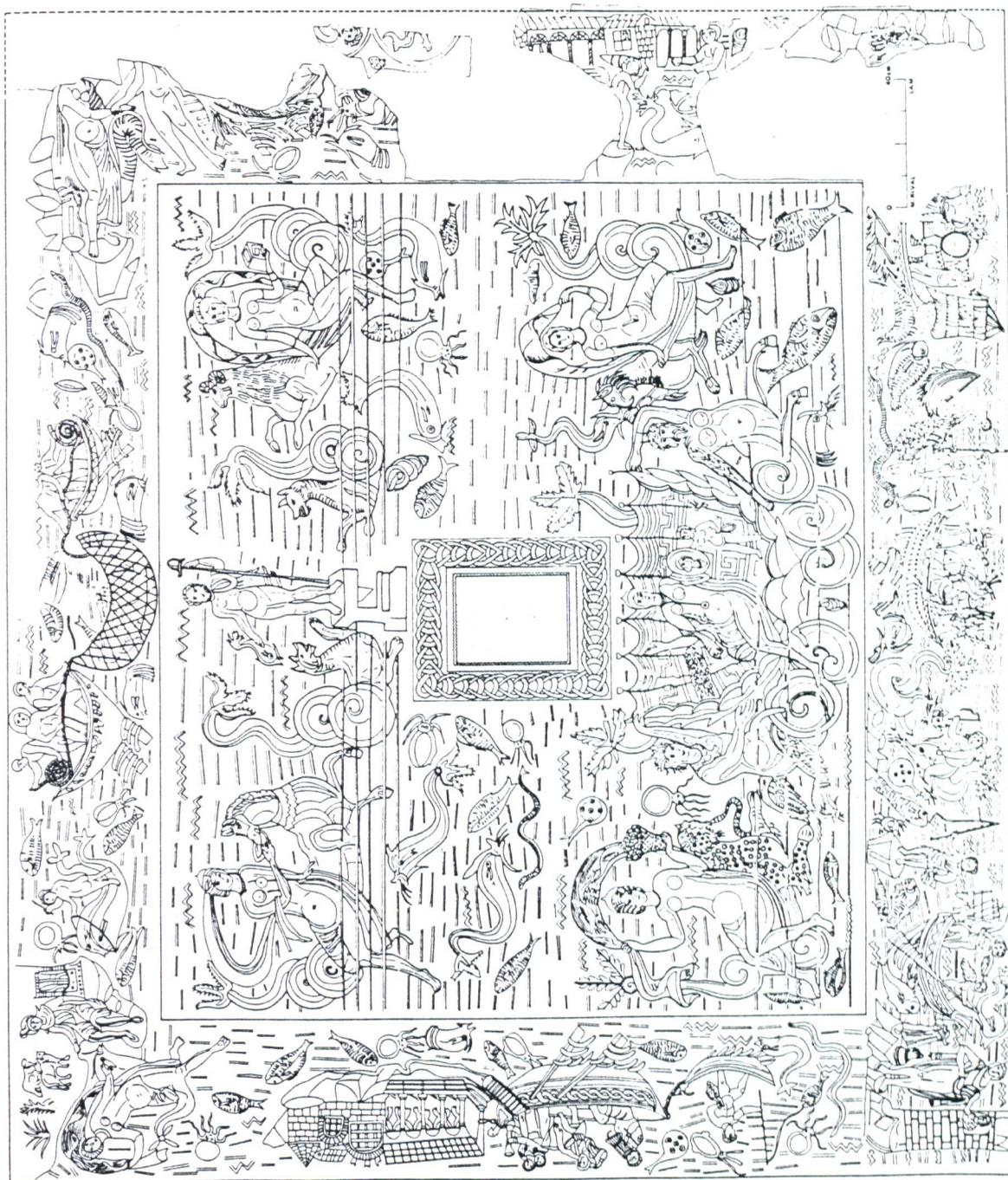
Ill. 93: Cos II, in situ, island of Cos.

Above: Entire field including Hercules scene, top.

Below: From side, with Orpheus facing observer, his feet appear at the lower edge of central circle.



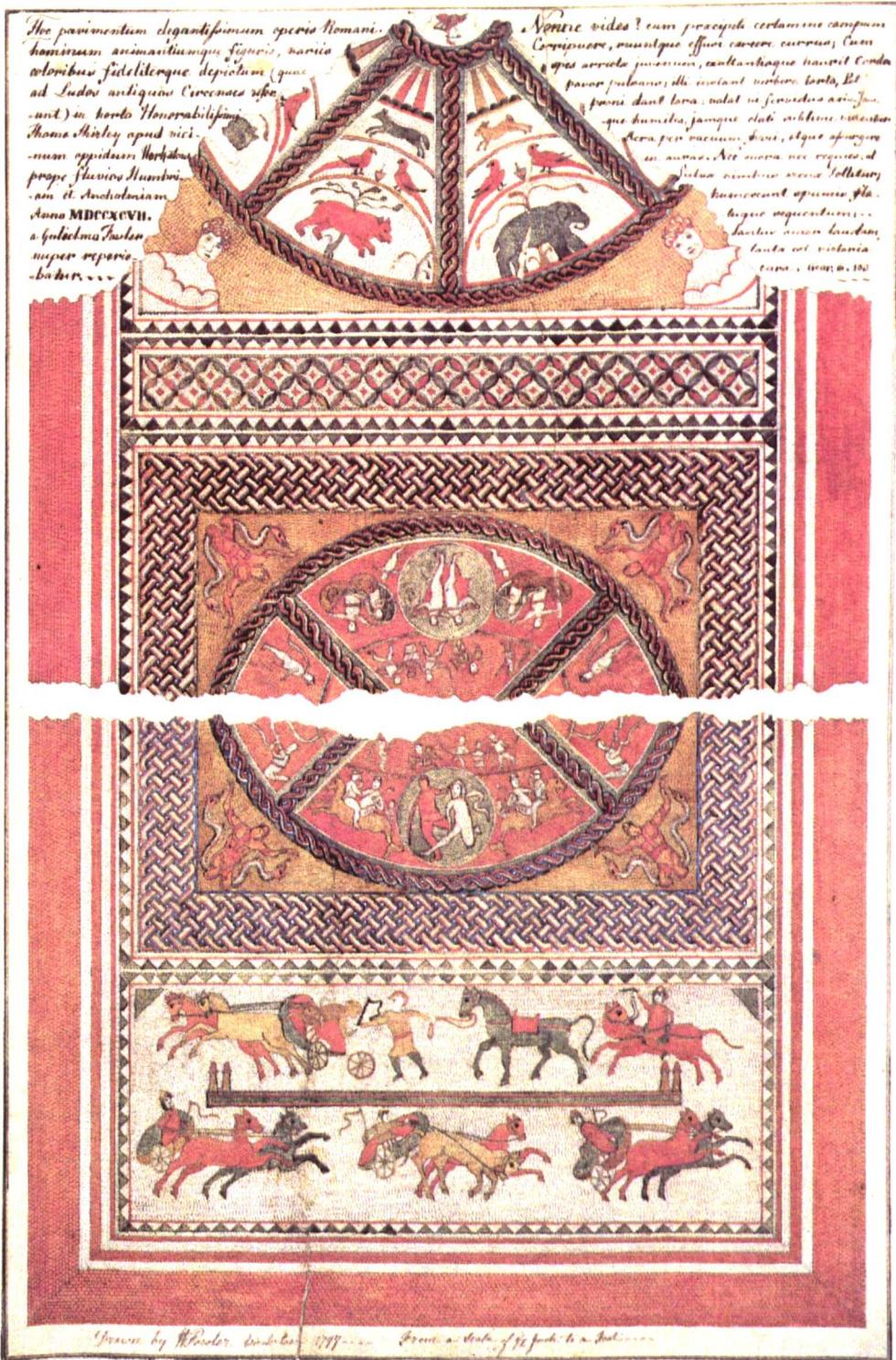
Ill. 94: El Djem (Thysdrus), Tunisia.
Restored and reduced.
Cf. ill.55, centre.



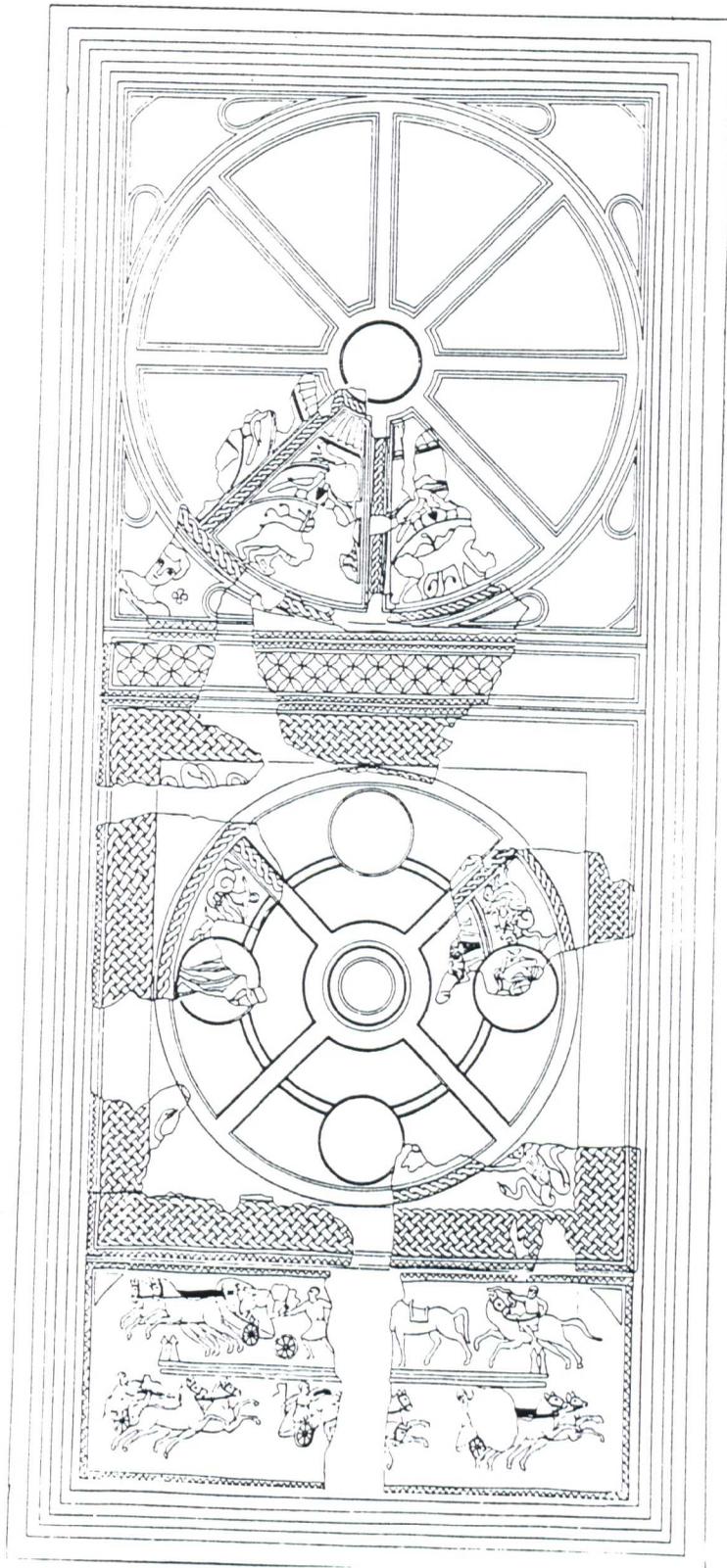
Ill. 95:
Djemila (Cucul),
Algeria.
Drawing M.Rival,
1970.



Ill. 97: Hanover. Mosaic from North Syria.



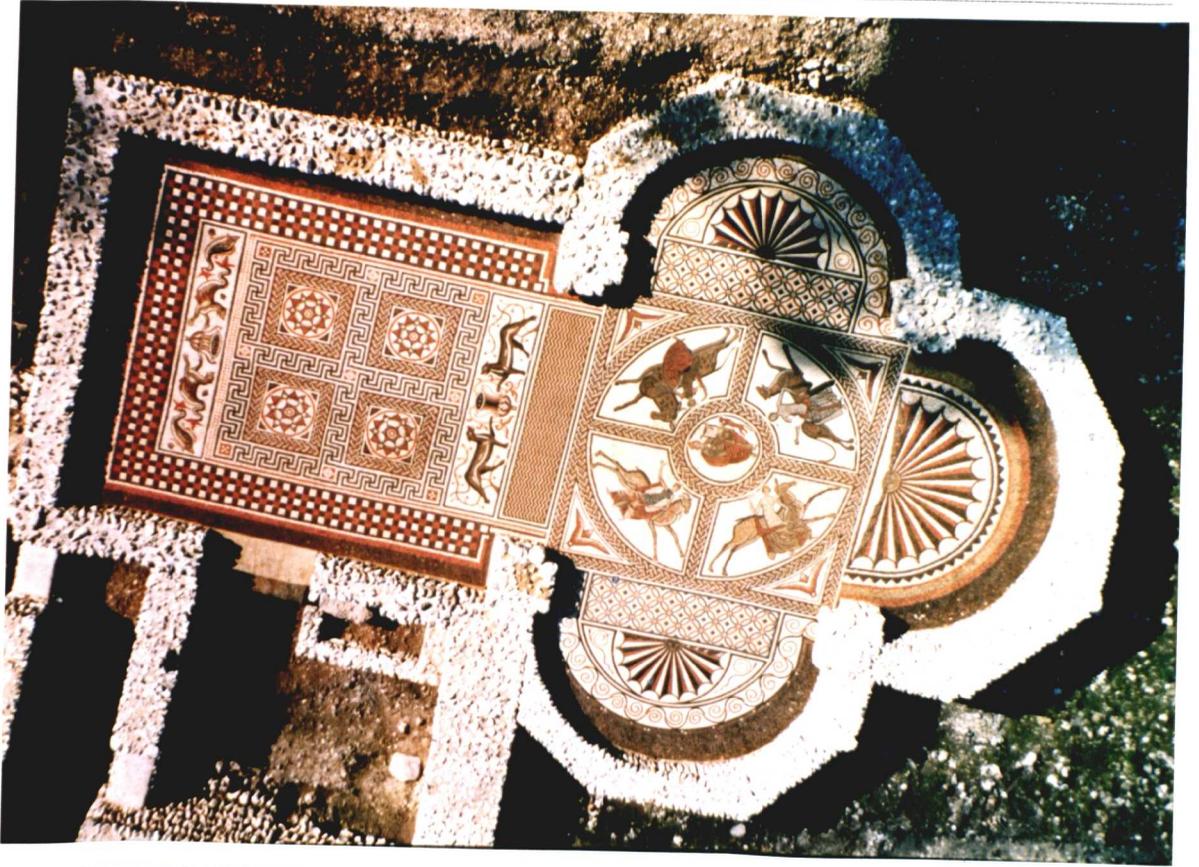
Ill. 98a: Horkstow, Lincs.
Coloured engraving, 1797.



Ill 98b: Horkstow, Lincolnshire.
Reconstruction drawing,
Trustees of the British Museum.



Ill. 99a-b: Lepcis Magna I, Libya.

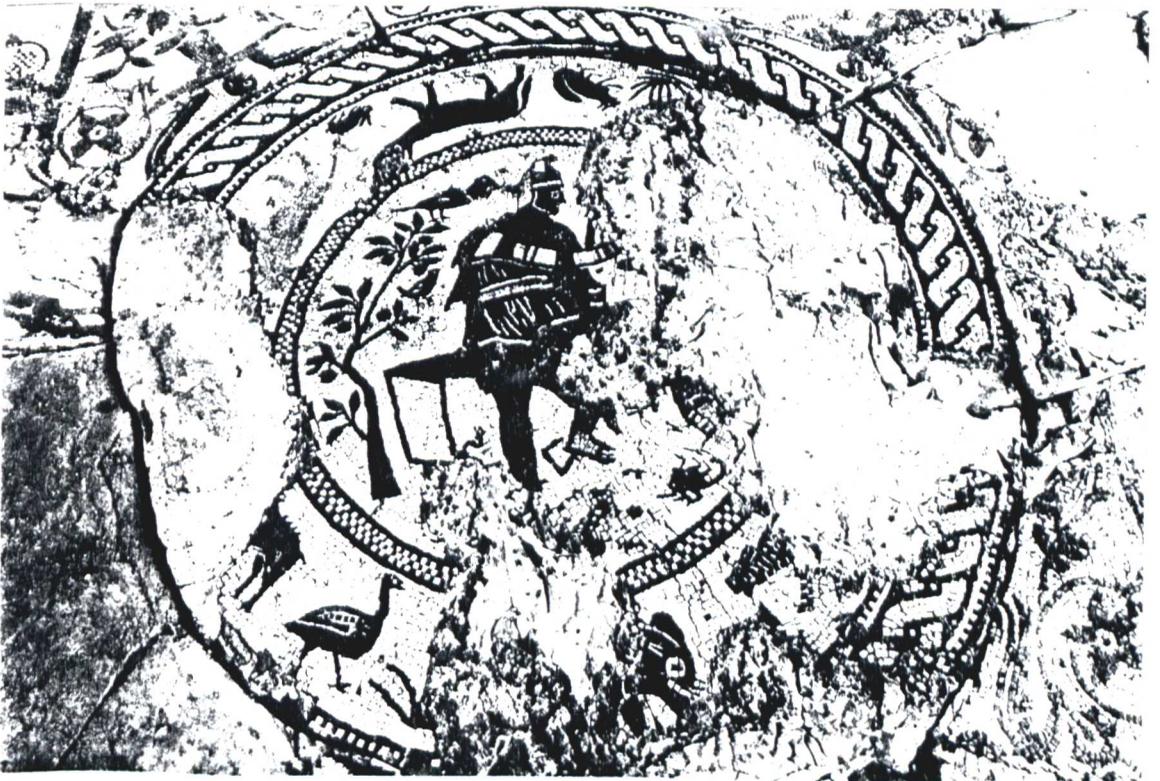


Ill. 100 (right): Littlecote, Wilts.

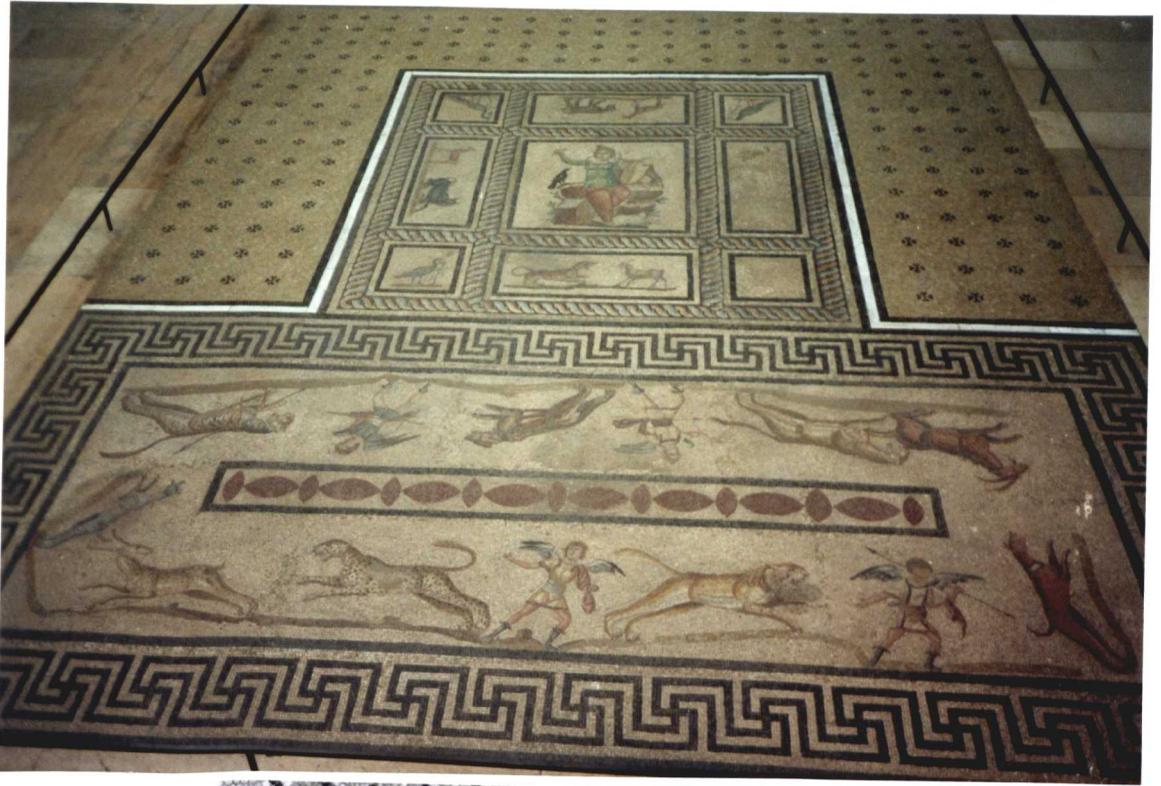
Ill. 101 (above): Lyon, France.
Bacchus standing, Orpheus seated.



Ill. 102: Martim Gil, Portugal.



Ill. 103: Merida I, Spain. Detail, central panel.



Ill. 104a-b:
Miletus,
Turkey.

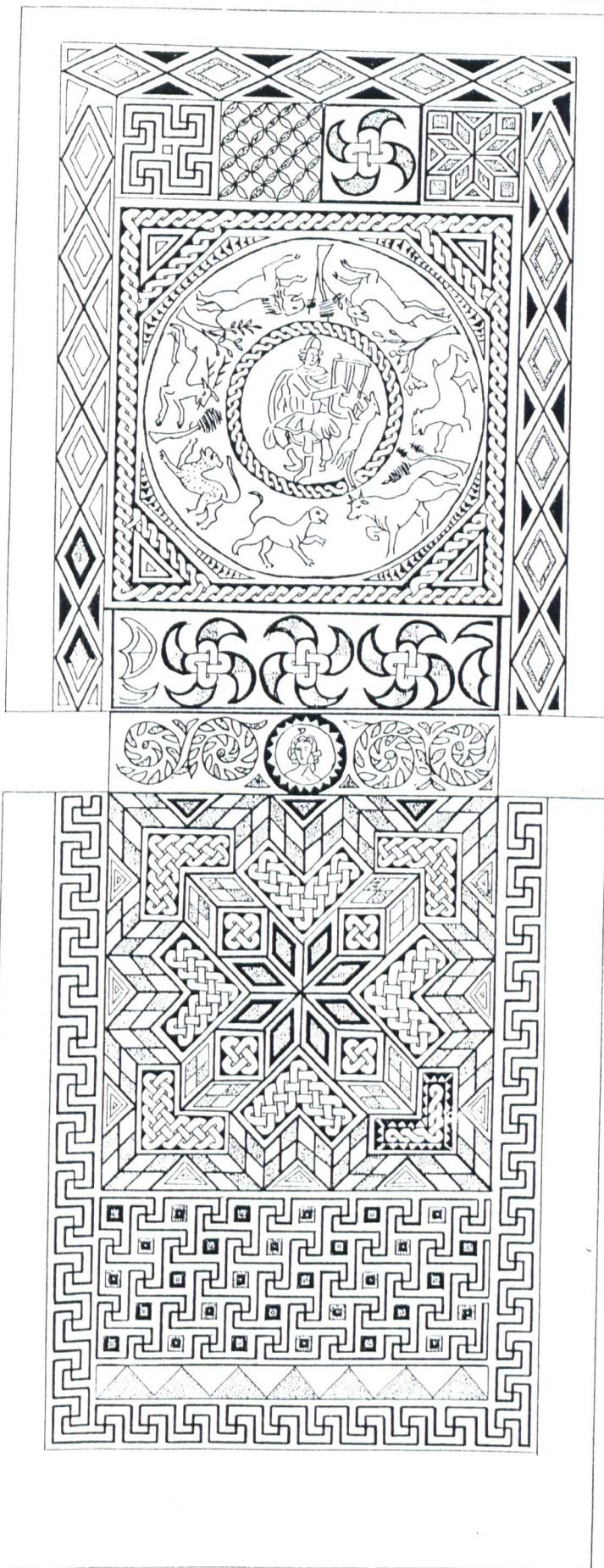


Ill. 105a:

Newton St. Loe,
Somerset.

Reconstruction
drawing 1988.

S.Cosh.



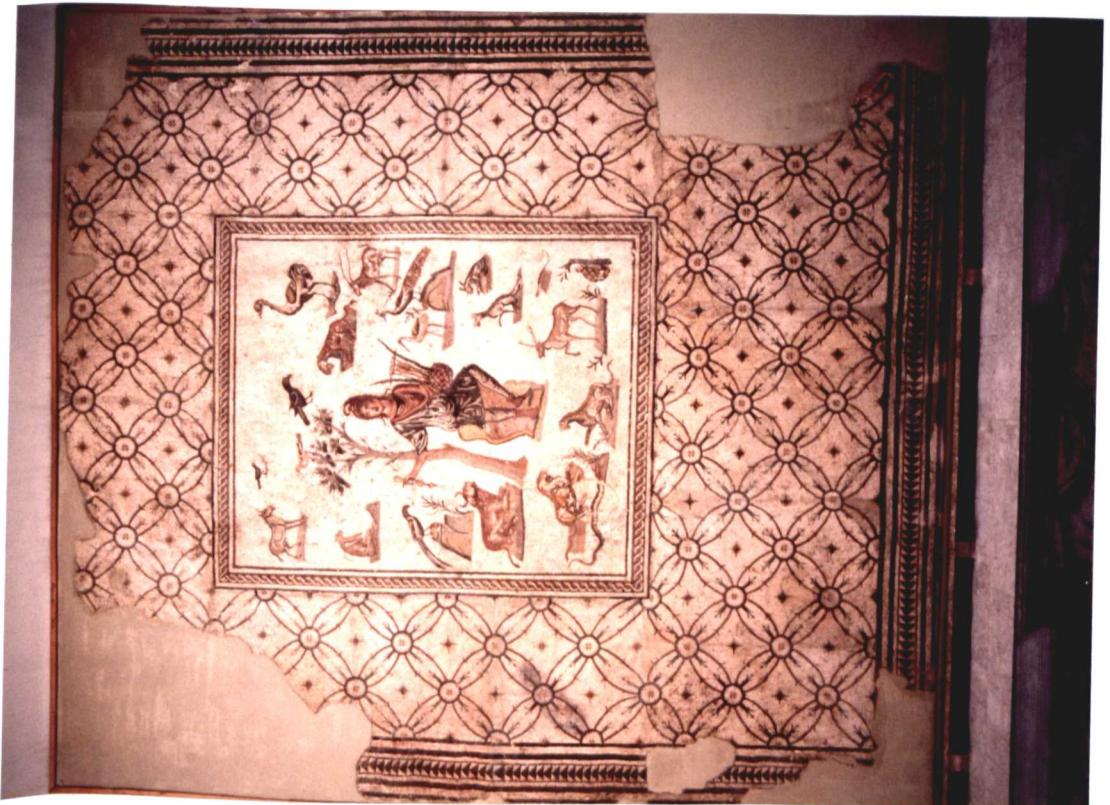


Ill. 105b: Newton St. Loe, Somerset.
Colour tracing by T.E.Marsh, 1837-8.



Ill. 106: Oudna, Tunisia. (right)

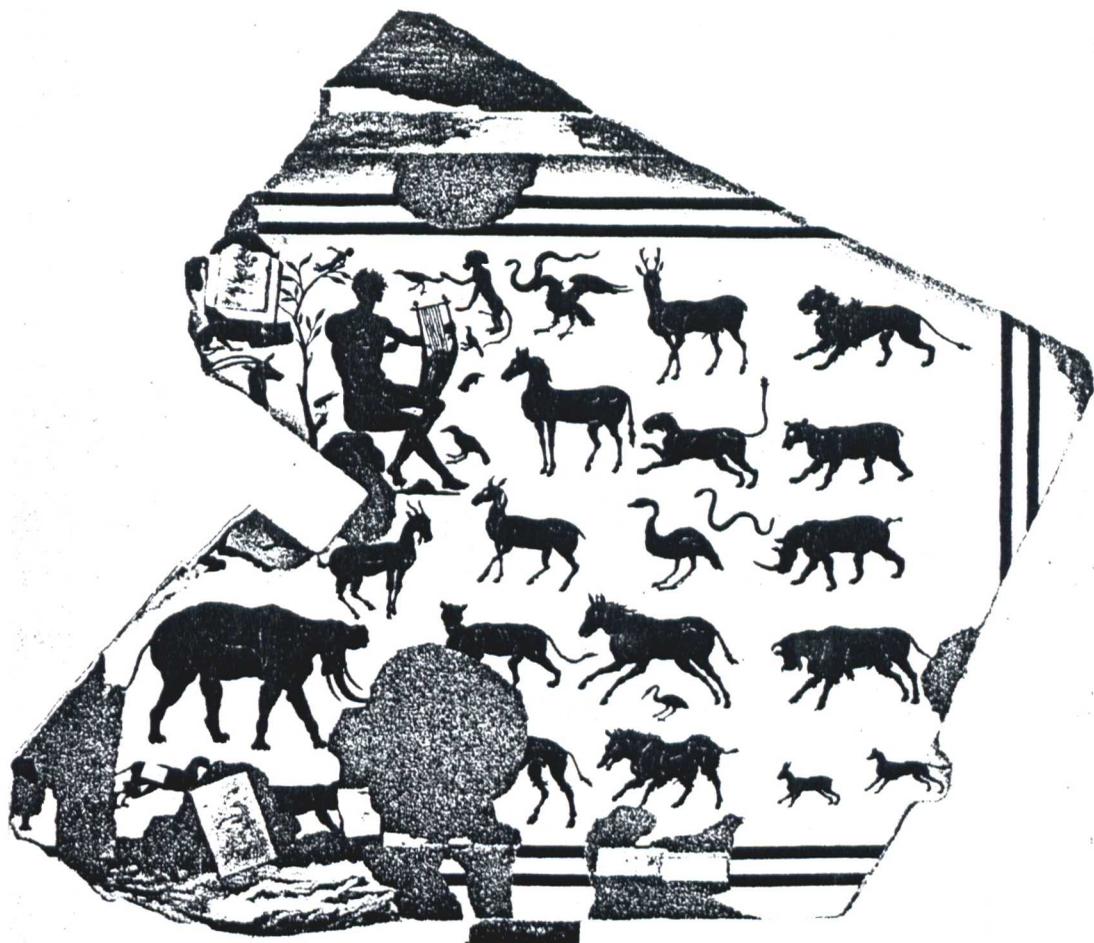
Ill. 108: Palermo II, via Maqueda, Sicily. (above)



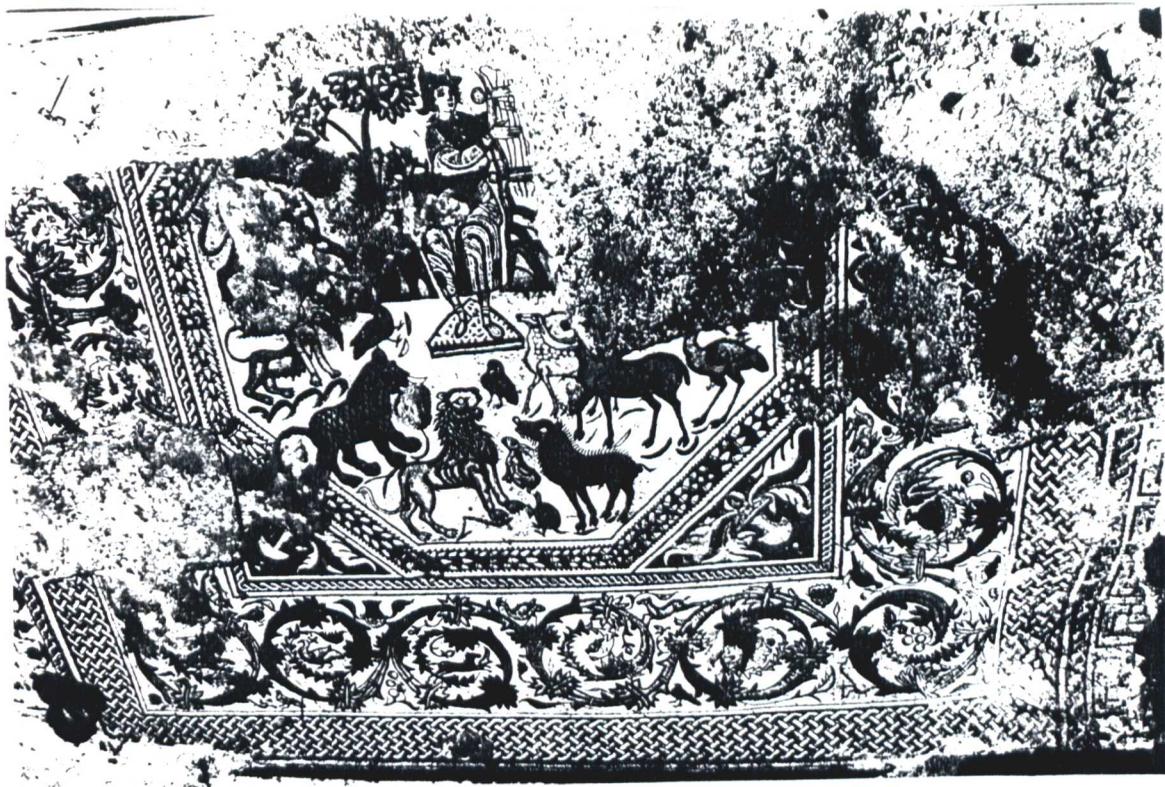
Ill. 107: Palermo I, Piazza della Vittoria, Sicily.



Ill. 109: Paphos, Cyprus. Raked (top) and overhead views.



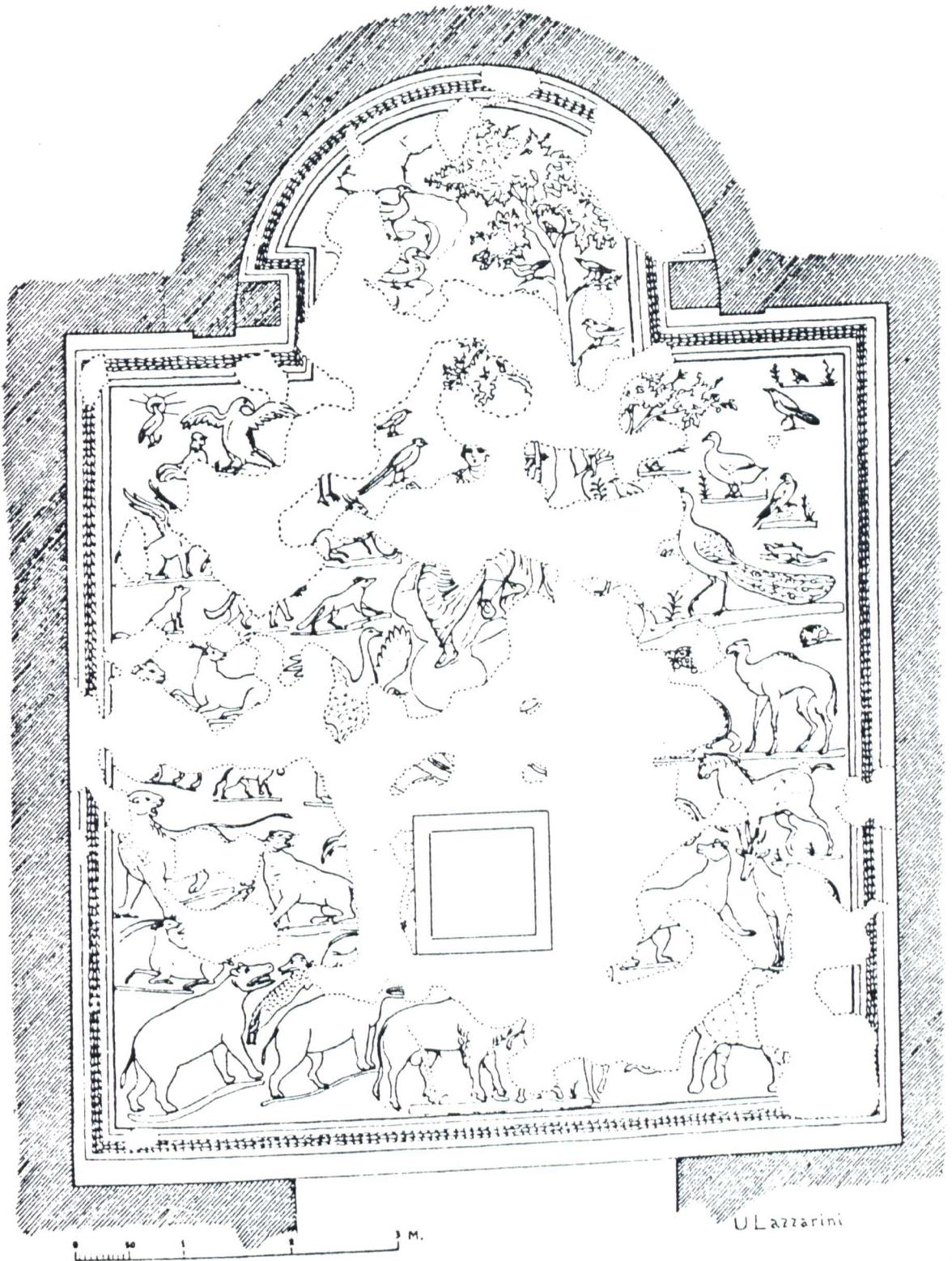
Ill. 110a-b: Perugia, Italy.
In 1935, above; area now revealed, below.



Ill. 111: El Pesquero, Spain.



Ill. 112a: Piazza Armerina, Sicily.
Combination view.



Ill. 112b: Piazza Armerina, line drawing, Gentili fig.10.



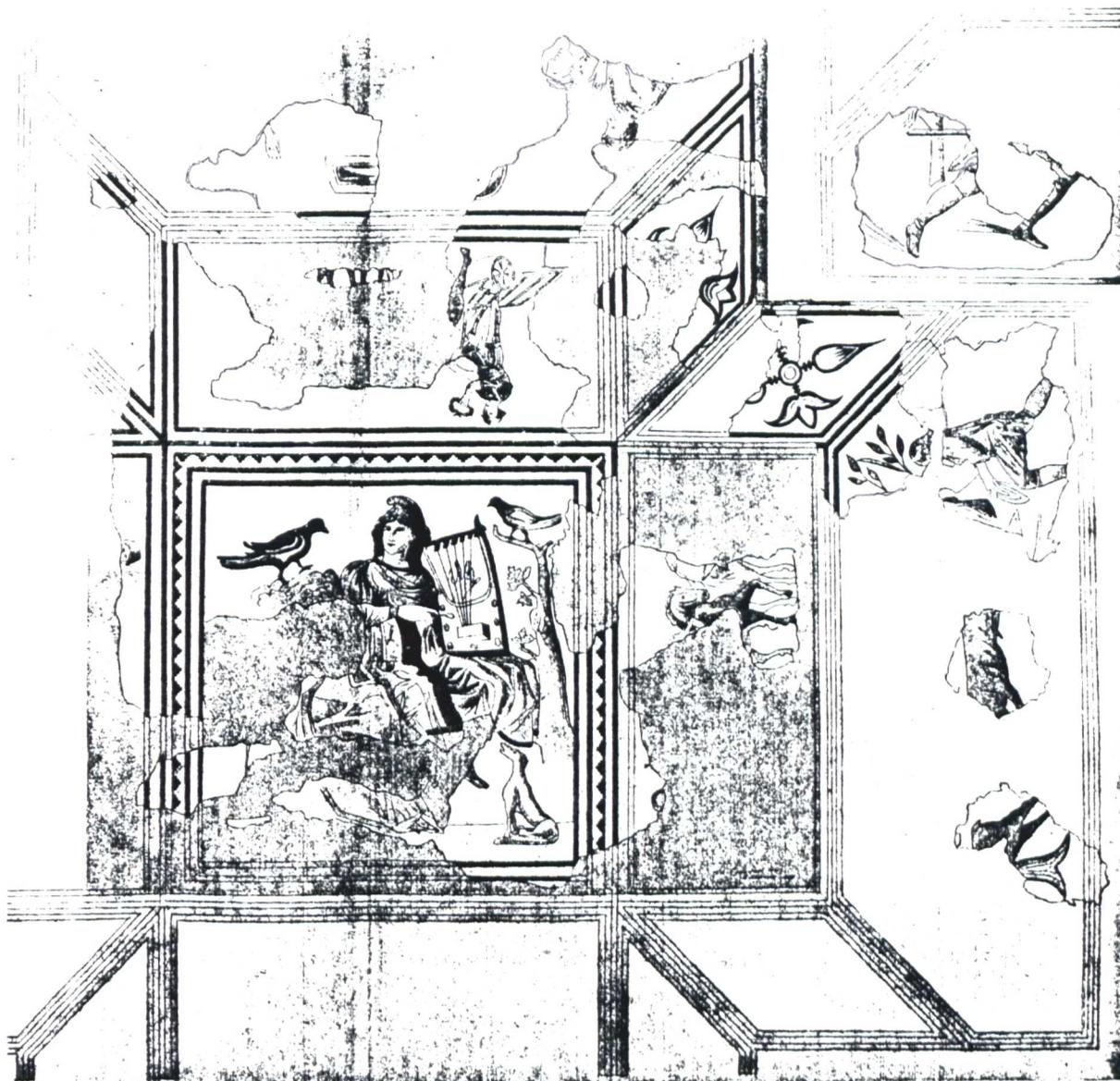
Ill. 113: Poljanice-Glavnik, Yugoslavia.
Truer colour below.



Ill. 114: Ptolemais, Libya.



Ill. 115: Rome, Convento di sant'Anselmo. Italy.



Ill. 116a: Rottweil, Germany. Inv.Gaul 1611.



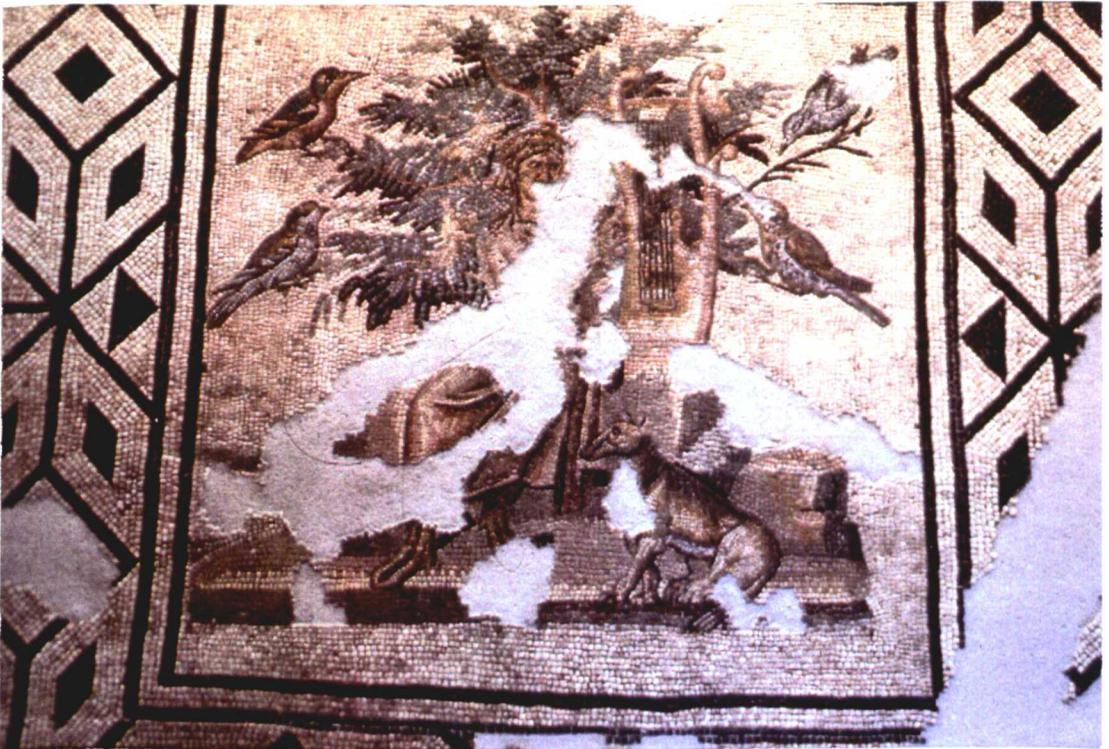
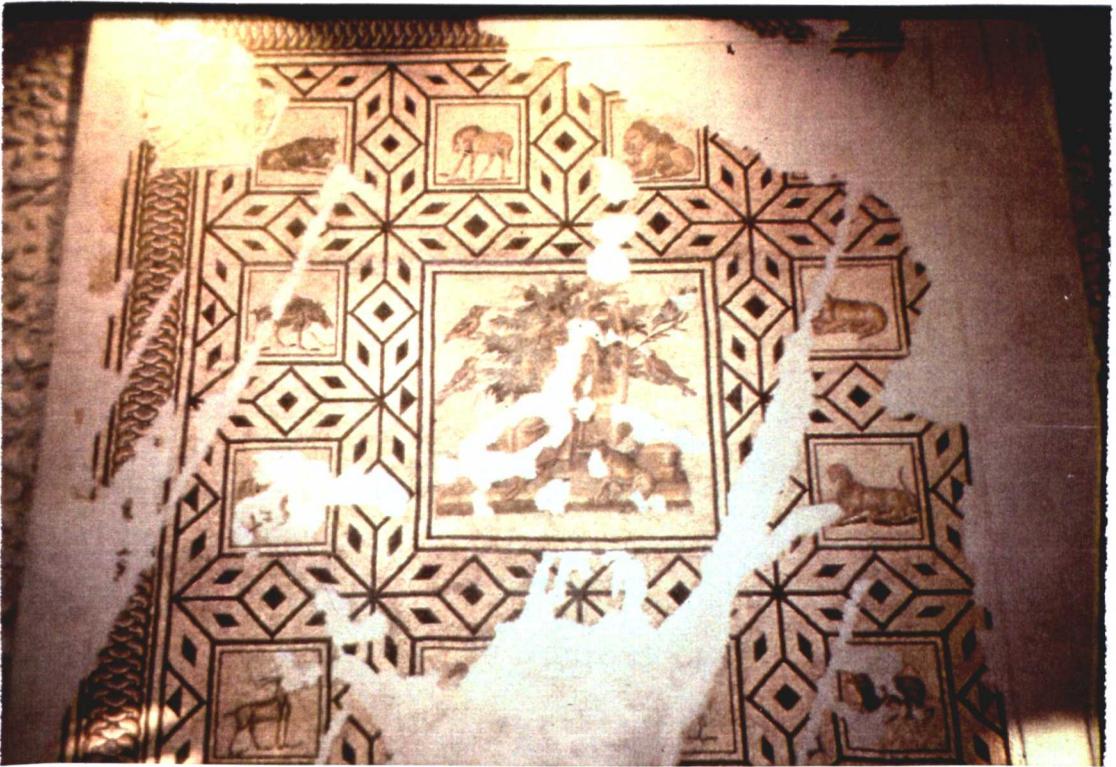
Ill. 116b: Rottweil, detail.



Ill. 117: Rougga (Bararus), Tunisia.



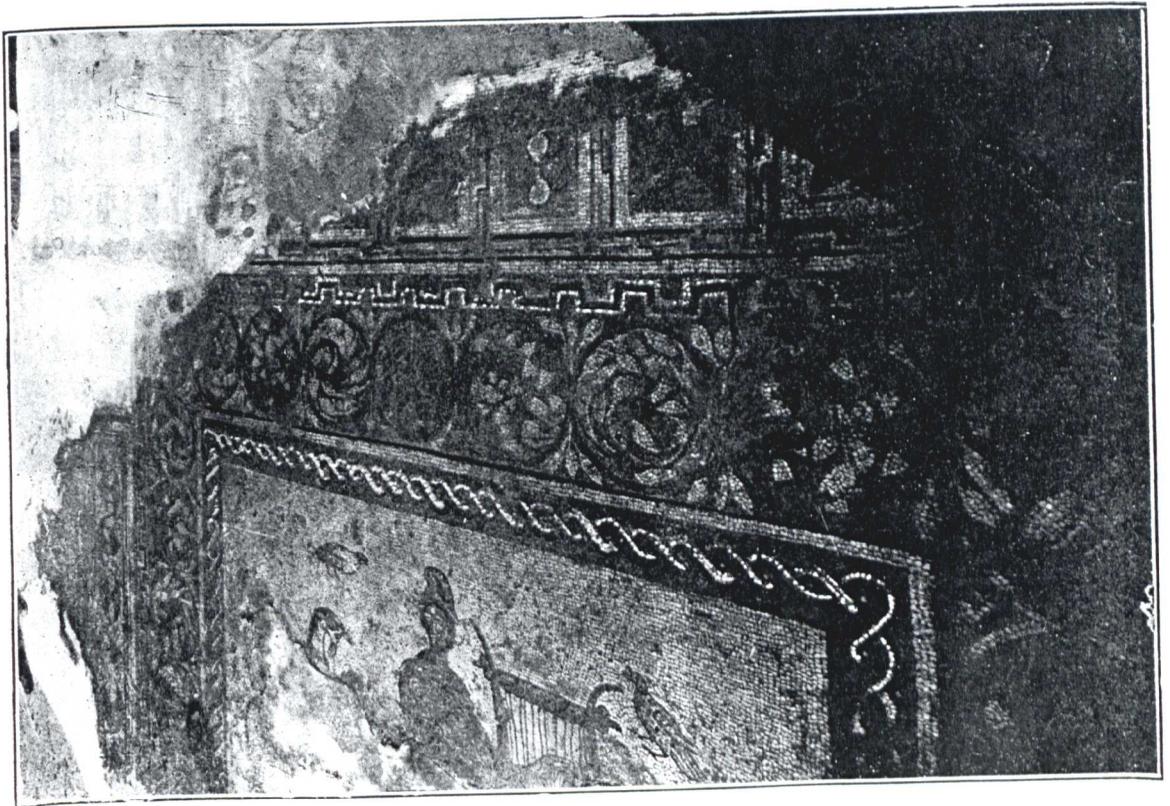
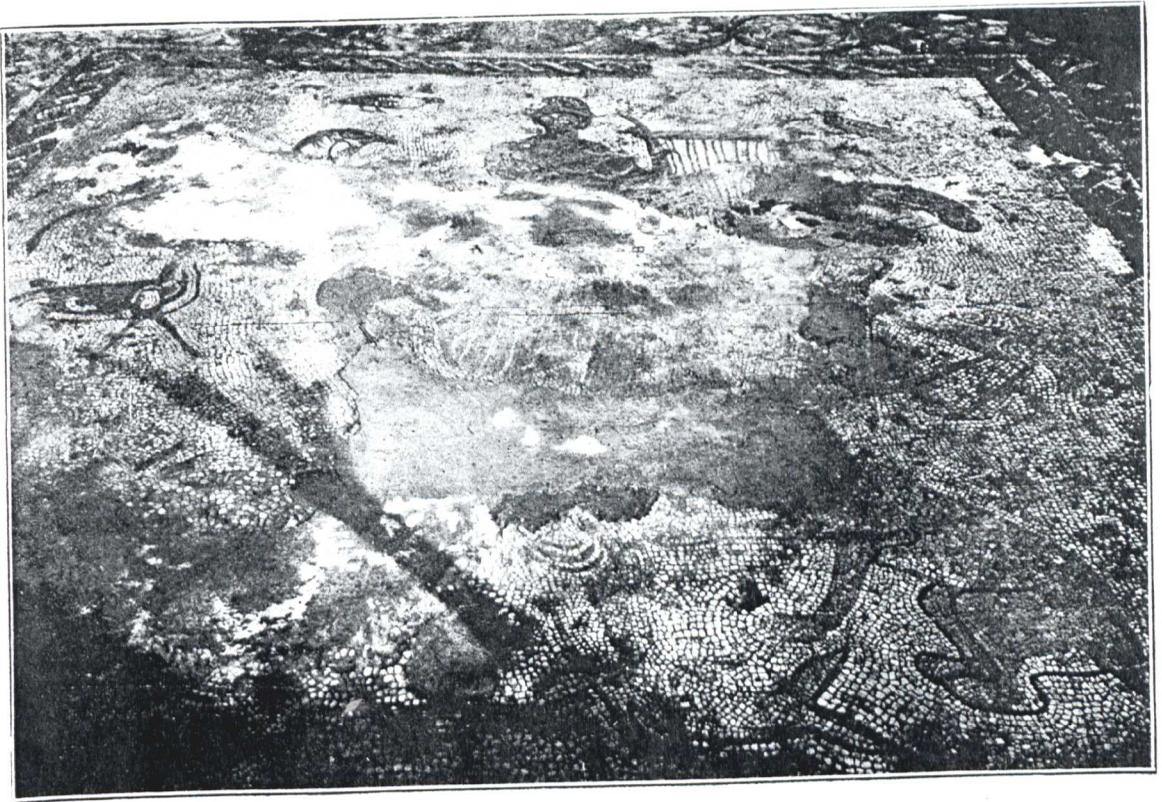
Ill. 118: Saint Colombe, France.
Collection of J. Paul Getty Museum.



Ill. 119: Saint-Paul-lès-Romans, France.



Ill. 120: Salona, Yugoslavia.



Ill. 121: Santa Marta de los Barros, Spain.



Ill. 122: Saragossa, Spain (top).

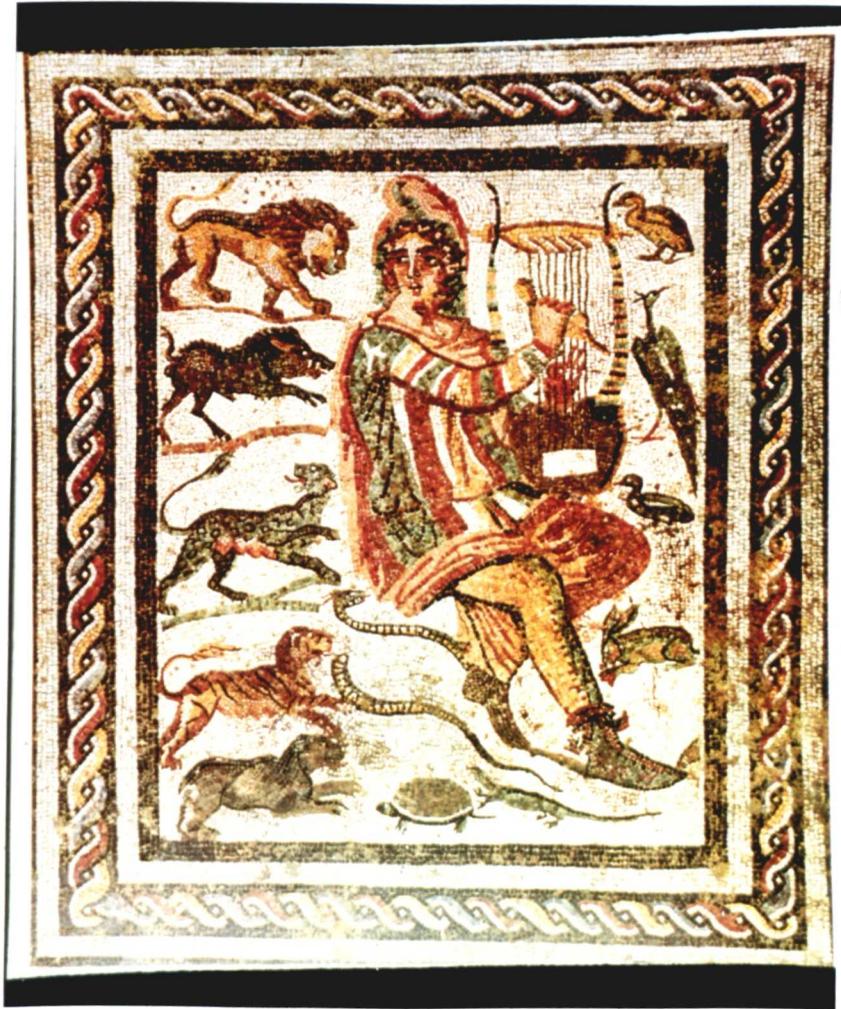
Ill. 123a: Sousse I, detail with fishing scene pendent above. (Lower picture)



Ill. 123b: Sousse I, general view (top).

Ill. 124: Sousse II, Tunisia (below).

Ill. 125:
Sparta, Greece.

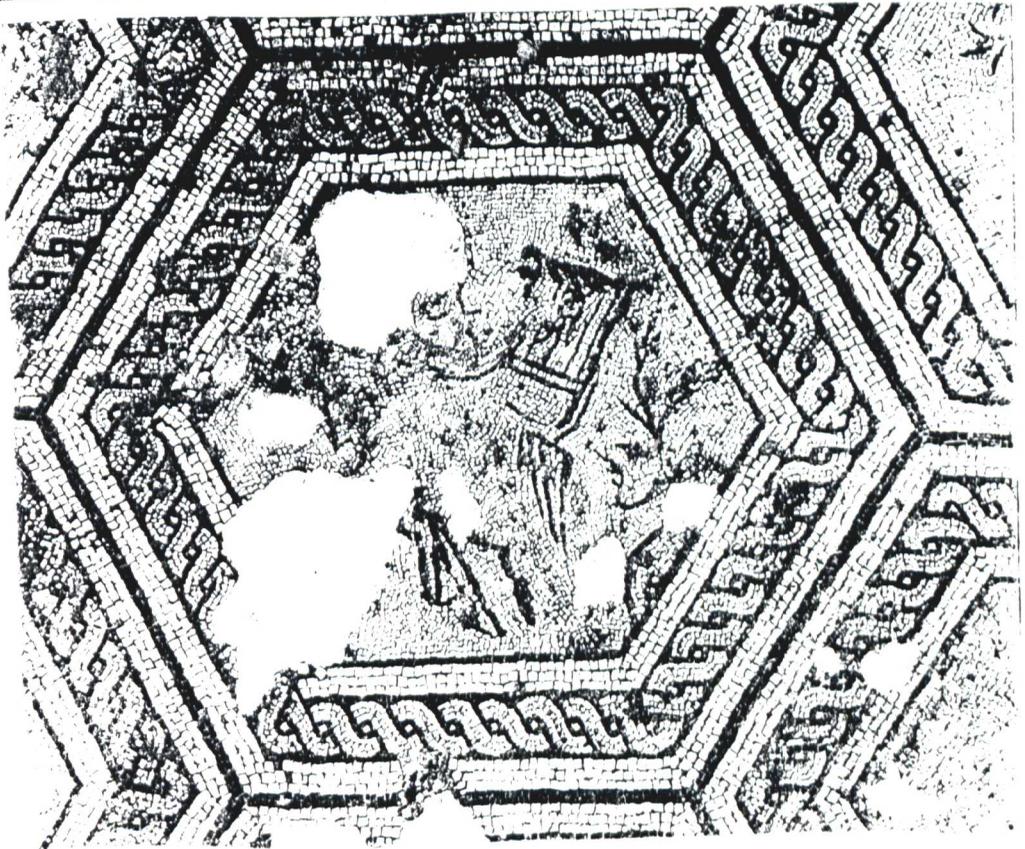
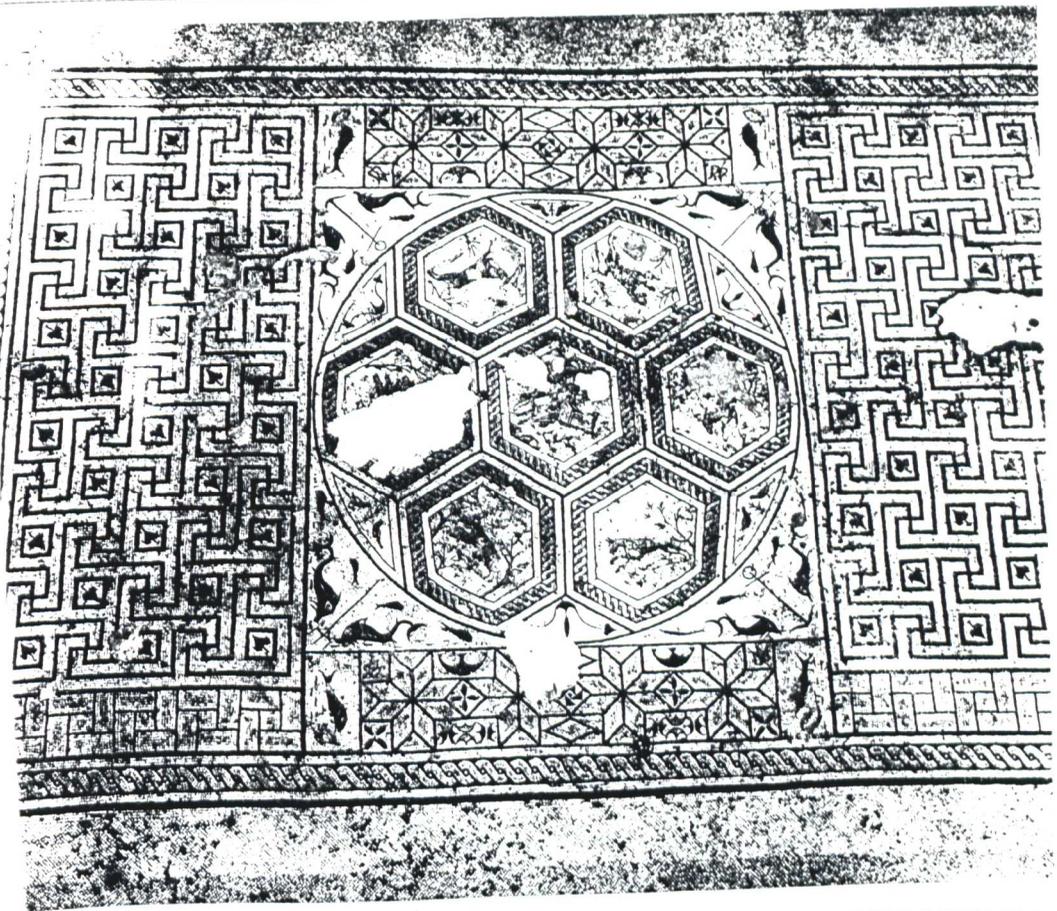


Ill. 126:
Tarsus, Turkey.





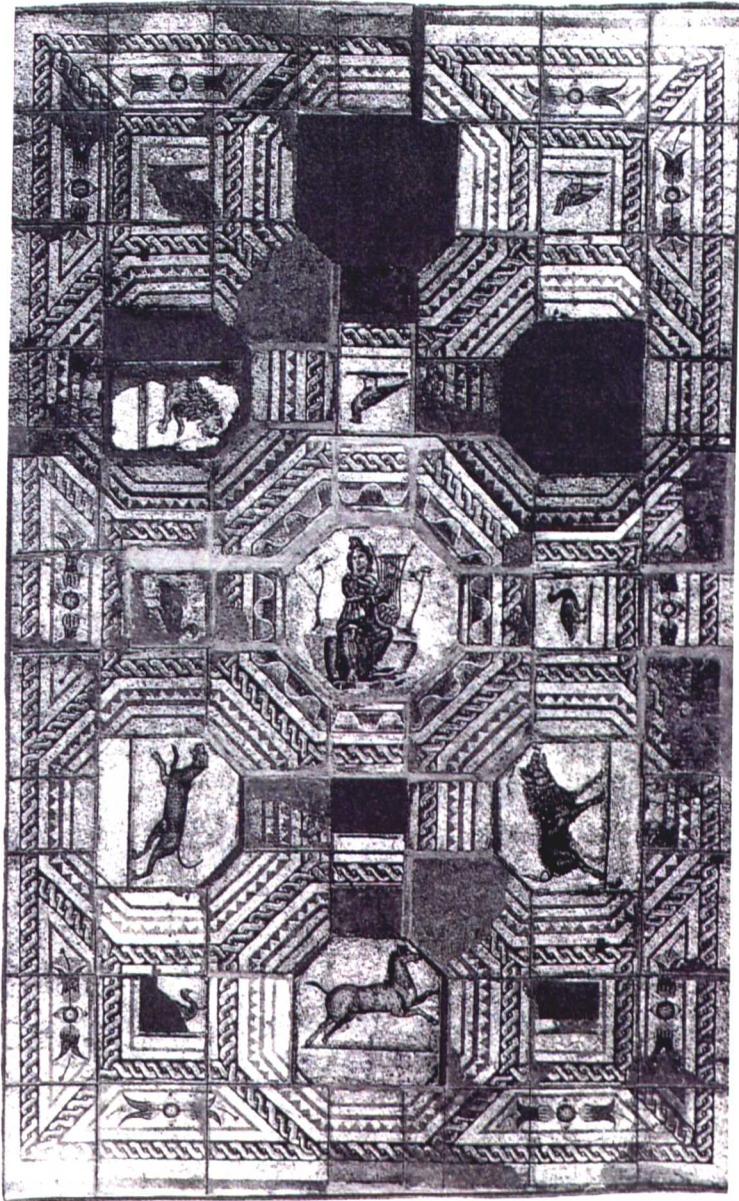
Ill. 127: Thina (Thenae), Tunisia.



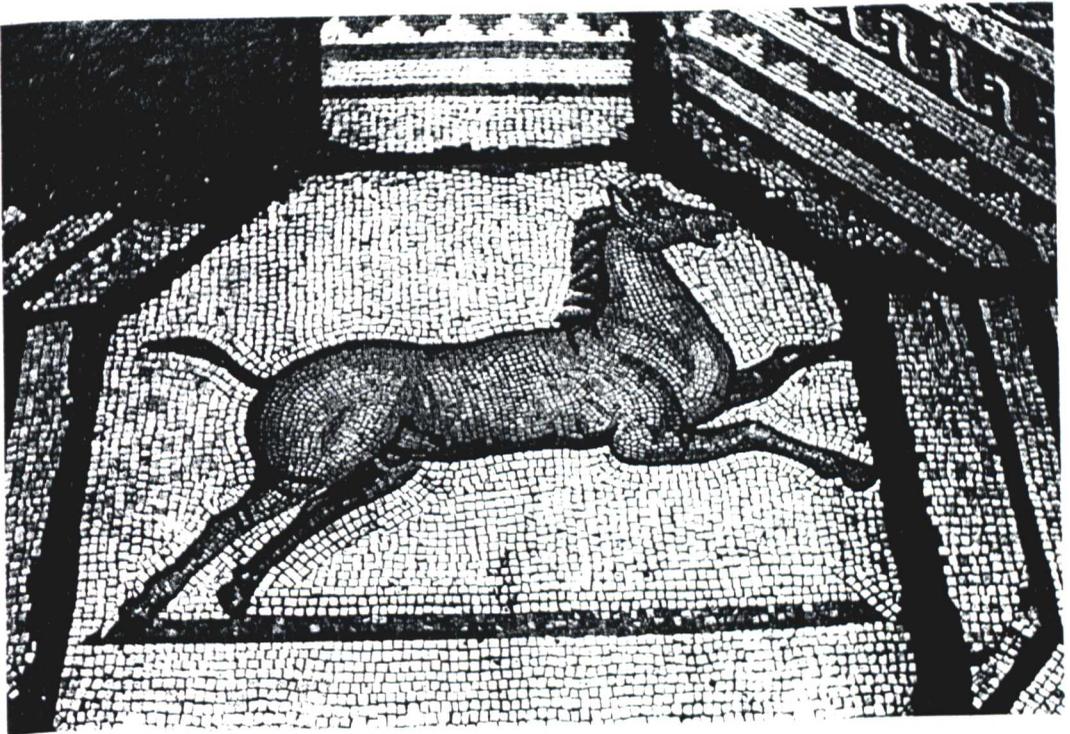
Ill. 128a-b: Trento, Italy.



Ill. 129: Trinquetaille, France.



Ill. 130a: Vienne, France.



Ill. 130b (top): Vienne, detail, leopard.

Ill. 130c (below): Vienne, detail, ass.



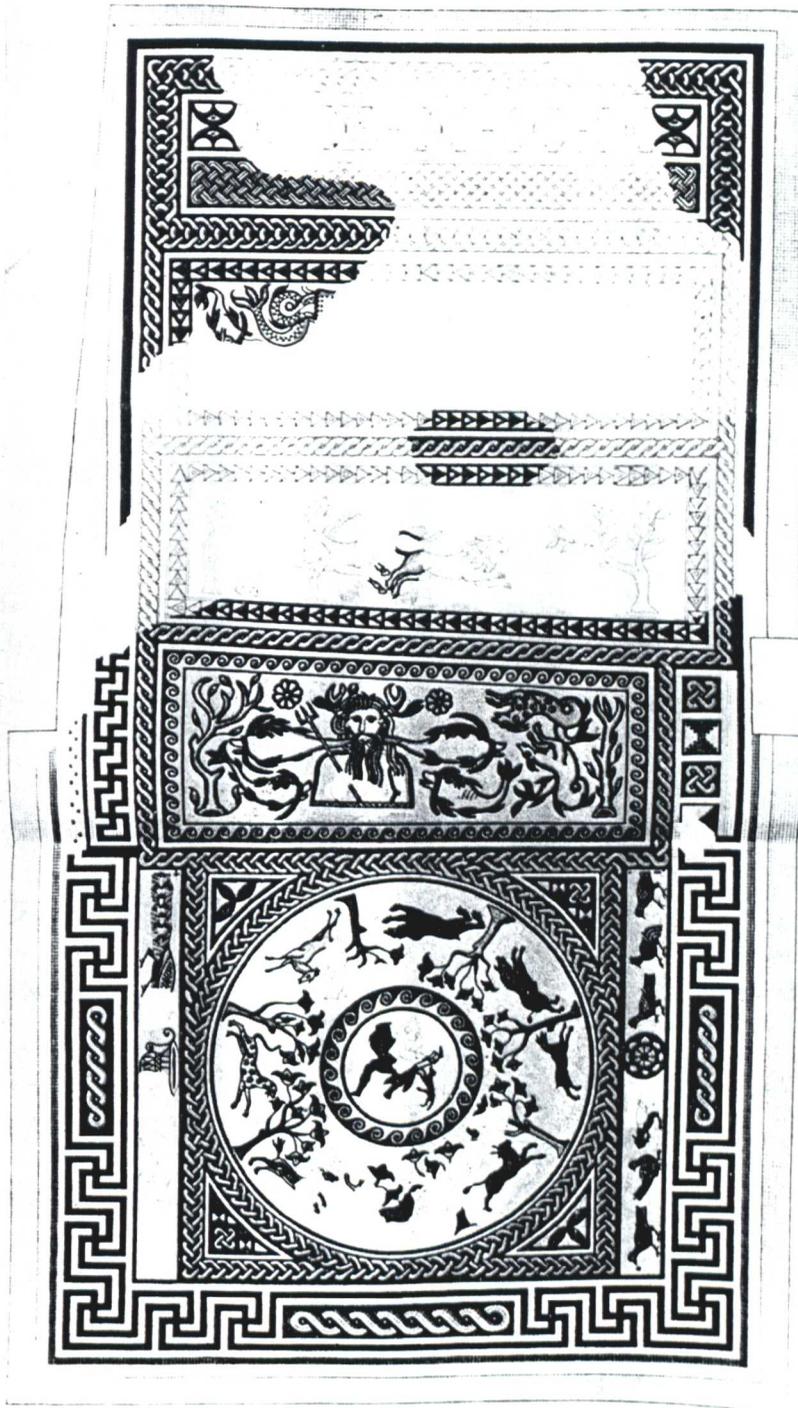
Ill. 131: Volubilis, Morocco.



Ill. 132: Whatley, Somerset.
Coloured lithograph, c.1837.



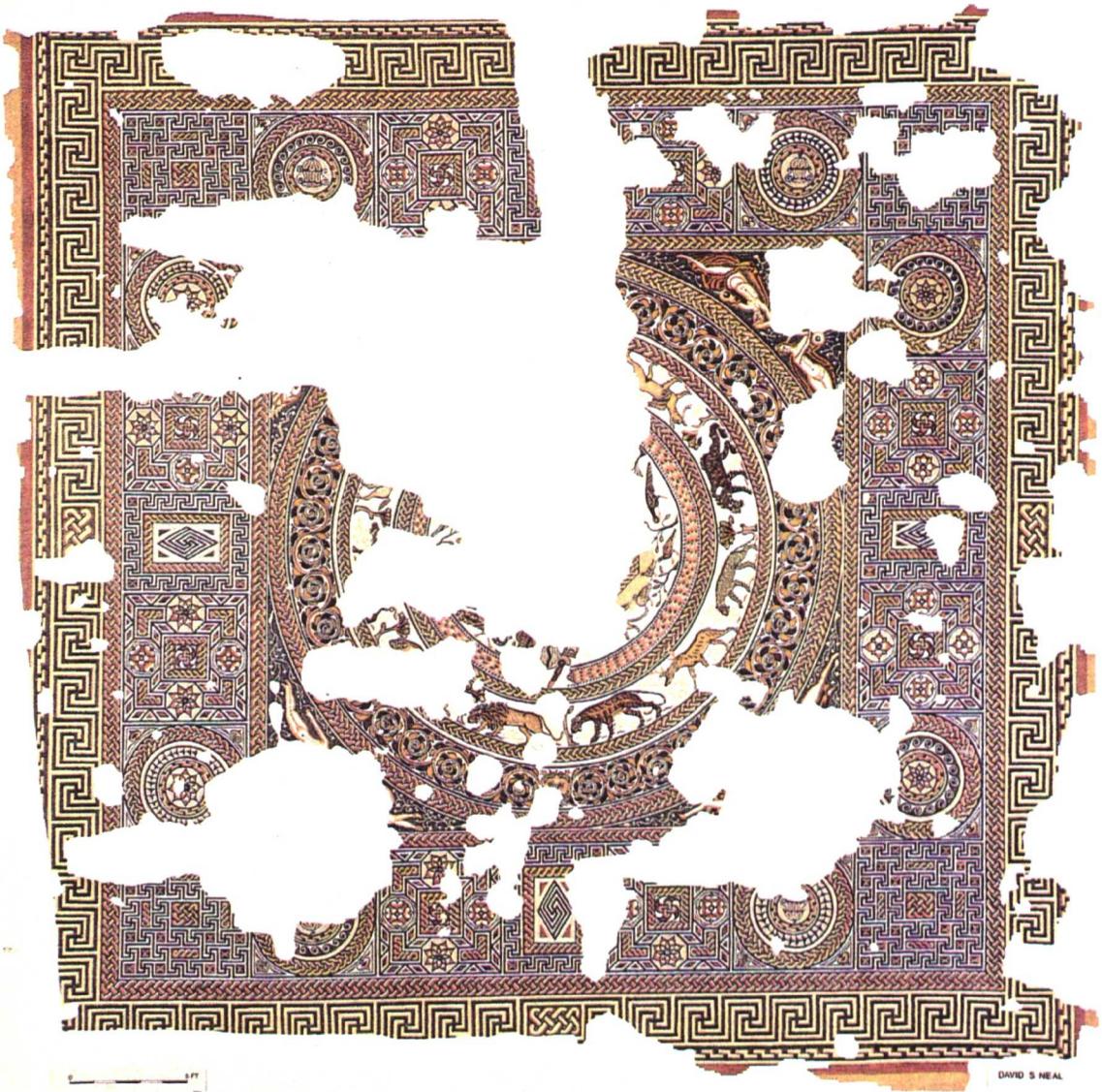
Ill. 133: Winterton, Lincolnshire.
Painting, D.Neal 1981.



Ill. 134a: Withington, Gloucestershire.
Coloured engraving,
S.Lysons, 1817.

Ill. 134b-c:
Withington,
details.





Ill. 136: Woodchester, Gloucestershire.
Painting, D.Neal, 1981



Ill. 137 (above): Edessa (Urfa), Turkey.

Ill. 138 (below): Jerusalem, Israel.

ABBREVIATIONS

A list of the principal abbreviations in use throughout the text. A longer list, applicable to the catalogue, prefaces it.

- ARLA: J.MC.Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art. 1973.
- ASPAR: G.Jennison, Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome. 1937.
- BAR: British Archeological Reports.
- Dunbabin: K.M.Dunbabin, The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. 1978.
- DA: C.V.Daremborg, E.Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romains. 5 vols. 1873-1919.
- DACL: F.Cabrol, H.Leclercq, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie. vol.12, 1935.
- Eisler: R.Eisler, Orphisch-Dionysische-Mysterien-Gedanken in der Christlichen Antike. 1925.
- Gruppe: O.Gruppe, 'Orpheus' in Roscher's Lexicon, vol.III, 1898.
- Guidi: G.Guidi, 'Orfeo, Liber Pater e Oceano in mosaici dell Tripolitania', in Africa Italiana VI, 1935.
- Guthrie: W.K.C.Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion. 1935.
- Inv.: Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique romaine, III vols. 1909-1919.
- Linforth: I.M.Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus 1941.
- Loeb: Loeb Library Editions, Classics.
- Panyagua 1967: E.R.Panyagua 'La figura di Orfeo en el arte griego y romano'. Helmantica XVIII, 56, 1967.
- Panyagua 1972: E.R.Panyagua 'Catalogo de representaciones de Orfeo en el arte antiguo' Helmantica XXIII, 70, 72, 1972.
- Panyagua 1973: E.R.Panyagua " Helmantica XXIV, 75, 1973.
- RPGR: S.Reinach, Répertoire des Peintures Grecques et Romaines. 1922.
- Stern 1955: 'La Mosaïque d'Orphée de Blanzky-lès-Fismes'. Gallia XIII, 1955.

- Schöeller: F.Schöeller, Darstellungen des Orpheus in der Antike. 1969.
- Smith 1977: D.J.Smith, 'Mythological Figures and Scenes in Romano-British Mosaics', BAR 41 (i), 1977.
- Smith 1982: 'Orpheus Mosaics in Britain'. Mosaïque..hommages H.Stern, 1982.
- Test.: *Testimonia*, O.Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta 1922.

Abbreviations of journals accord with usage in Bulletin of AIEMA, fasc. 12, 1988-9.

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THE CAERWENT SEASONS MOSAIC - PERHAPS AN ORPHEUS?

By Ilona Jesnick

The question has often been raised in regard to this enigmatic mosaic, that the figure of Orpheus once graced the lost centre (1). The reasons behind the assumption are as interesting as the answer. The design of Romano-British Orpheus mosaics is familiar enough. Wild animals surround the figure of Orpheus playing his lyre in the central panel. As a favourite subject in the province, especially the region just across the Severn, we would not be surprised to find it in the town of Caerwent, Venta Silurum. One might object on the grounds that Romano-British designs are all of the same type, with a circular field concentrically or radially divided, derived from the pattern set by a particular 'school', while the Caerwent mosaic does not fit this scheme. A provincial style does indeed prevail, but examination brings differences into focus. Brading is not concentric, while Whatley is rectangular (2). These are obvious exceptions. What we expect to see are the animals and a composition structured around a centre. Which returns us to Caerwent. The possibility of its being Orpheus remains unless study of its iconography proves otherwise. At the centre, within an octagonal frame, is a roundel. Of its figured subject only ambiguous fragments remain - a flying cloak, an arm reaching to play the lyre perhaps. The other figures must hold the clues. Four Erotes, Cupids or Genii holding upraised torches are set in medallions at the corners of the central design. At central points on the outer edges, panels with animals. Four female busts in the outer corners are the eponymous Seasons.

The mosaic apparently shows a novel theme, the four torch-bearing Cupids, while its figures are crudely drawn. This presents several iconographic problems which may be elucidated by placing the motif within its artistic context. A characteristic of later Roman art was its impulse to copy and especially to adapt imagery. This affected the nature of its innovations. An image unlike anything previously known would have been meaningless to the contemporary eye. The development of early Christian art, to take one closely studied example, depended on the adaptation of well known Greco-Roman models. The composing of an image was governed by a visual language structured in the same manner as the spoken language, with a grammar (3).

Whether the artist was visually illiterate or working in a language foreign to him, the intention may be discerned beneath the ineptitude. An interpretation of the figuration should include a consideration of decayed or distorted traditions before forced associations with obscure symbolism

are brought into account. Where craftsmen who only dimly recognised the pictorial conventions, although working with classical themes, produced clumsy images, they can be baffling to the modern eye. A good example is the Rudston Venus mosaic (4). Its narrative may be read, but the motifs, drawn from a variety of sources, are unusually combined. If an enigmatic fragment was all that remained at its centre, I doubt that Venus as the focus of savage arena scenes would be our first choice, although, as it stands, it appears inevitable. The scheme employed at Caerwent, whether its centre was Orpheus or another figure, may be of such a kind. A solution to the problem of the missing figure depends on the extent to which this mosaic conforms to or diverges from the pictorial conventions for Orpheus, or any other figure, beyond superficial design similarities. In the discussion of his iconography it will become obvious before long whether Orpheus could have been present, but it is an interesting exercise to continue to weigh up the considerations for and against him or the Seasons as principal subject matter. No one indication on its own can be conclusive in the argument. The process may be applied elsewhere when the figure of Orpheus is questioned.

The most important motif for Orpheus is the bestiary, but another reference point for the observer is the pendent scene, depictions on the mosaic which are not Orpheus charming the animals, but which extend the meaning. Here the pendants to the central figure are the Seasons, Cupids and, at this point, the animals. In Orpheus mosaics the choice and position of such figures was governed by clearly defined conventions, which these will have to fit. Representations of Orpheus were less prone to the type of eclectic combination which produced images such as those seen at Rudston and Brading (5). Orpheus charming the animals came to be understood as an image expressing the ideals and traditions of Roman culture. Details evolved, but the depiction remained an essentially conservative one. The choice of associated figures was similarly constrained by the need to express clearly the popular concepts. Orpheus mosaics of the Empire were subject to the same changes of style, evolving fashions and local taste prevailing in all art forms, but within this diversity a consistent approach can be recognised. Deviation from the traditional patterns must either be signalling a specific message or, perhaps, be something else entirely.

Before discussing Caerwent in detail, it should be noted that certain differences exist

between the mosaic as excavated, the coloured tracings made at the time and housed in Newport Museum, Loxton's lithograph of 1902 (*Archaeologia* LVIII, Pl. X) and the mosaic in its present state. The mosaic has had an unfortunate history; it suffered mutilating early reconstruction (6). The lithograph is not entirely accurate compared with the tracings and the extant fragments. Some details must remain obscure.

The obvious subject with which to begin is the animals. A noticeable effect is the difference in their orientation to the other figures. Presumably the central image aligns with the Cupids and Seasons, which face the entrance to the adjoining room (the lower edge of the lithograph). To conform with this pattern, the animals in the upper and lower panels should have their feet on a ground line parallel with the borders fronting room 7. In fact, they appear to run towards the far end of the floor. In an alternative spatial reading, they can all be seen to be galloping towards the far edge, the depiction of the lion flattened to the right, rather than the left, to keep it facing centre. Perhaps an attempt was made to show them going around a centre in the manner of an Orpheus mosaic, when they should all proceed in the familiar composition, backs to the centre; if they were supposed to face the centre, to honour another figure, the animals in the lower panel would be upside down at the threshold of room 7, which would be visually awkward. The presentation is caught uncomfortably between schemes. This points up the disparity between the sophistication of the geometric setting and of the iconographic programme, which will become apparent, and the naive execution of the figures.

Space-filling may have been another impetus where, again breaking with conventions, two creatures occupy the lower compartment - a bear and a hare. The bear has all its conventional features, the slightest indication of a hump, a short pointed tail and large rump. On the right is a lion with its characteristic brush-ended tail. The creature in the left panel was perhaps a boar with cloven hoof and spiked back-ridge. So little remained and the lithograph is not clear, but repetition of the lion would be unlikely, while a boar fits both the general delineation and type of animal grouping here. The creature in the upper panel at first sight hardly differs from the bear, but the distinctions are sufficient. On the extant fragment a shape appears above the neck which is not shown by Loxton. The tesserae comprising it are indicated on the tracing, but not coloured. In my view, the animal wears a wide collar, of which this is the loop for its leash, identifying it as a hunting dog (7). The stumpy tail shows that this is a boar-hound, seen on many North African and Eastern hunting-mosaics. For example, in the boar hunt of the 'Little Hunt', Piazza Armerina (8), the

right-hand hound has the docked tail and loop to its collar, while the hound on the left wears the wide collar seen here. All the animals shown on the Caerwent mosaic are common in Orpheus depictions and hunting-scenes. In most of the western regions of the Empire the lion would be known as an arena beast, but it forms part of a traditional, symbolic, but not realistic, hunting fauna depicted on many artifacts of provincial manufacture.

The models to which the animals conform besides representing Orpheus's pacified audience are important clues to the extended meaning of the image. Hunting could be a powerful metaphor in antique culture of virtue, struggle and victory. The figure on whom such imagery was centred might offer, on the exalted plane, a hope of salvation, or a simpler protection from the hazards of life symbolised by the hunt. The charmed circle of peace which Orpheus's music creates around him is the antidote to the ferocity of the chase, ameliorating the hazards both for man and beast. So hunting-scenes were fitting accompaniments. At Piazza Armerina he plays to a huge bestiary in accord with the scale of hunting and fighting scenes depicted there. At Rottweil in Germany hunting and circus scenes on the mosaic are pendants to Orpheus. At Horkstow, again with a circus race, deer and hounds form scenes of the chase in the arched compartments around the centre. A lion hunt is seen in one of the panels added to the Withington pavement. In later Orpheus mosaics elements of the hunting-scene are conflated with the depiction of the entranced animals. At Greek Mytilene a collared hound sits in the audience, while later still the animals are seen running, the pursuing hounds among them. At Withington a short-tailed hound is seen among the running animals, behind the boar. Another hound, dripping saliva, appears at Winterton (9). At Newton St. Loe the pairs of confronted animals are derived directly from the conventions of hunting and amphitheatre scenes. (BAR 41, i, pl. 6, XXVI, a., fig. 48, Zliten I, e.) The bull has been turned to confront the lioness whose adversary is omitted for lack of space eg. Bull v Bear - cf. Zliten, Dunbabin, pl. XX. Bull and bear baiting continued as popular sport into the 16th century at least). Several concepts are bound up in the same figures at Littlecote for the animals ridden by the divinities, if understood as the metamorphoses of Dionysus fleeing the Titans (10), offer a scene of pursuit. These animals wear halters or leashes so cannot be construed as Orpheus's wild audience.

Directly related to ^{the subject of} the animals is that of design, for a perception of the character of the audience would be embodied in the design of an Orpheus mosaic. The animals had to be gathered around the singer, or moving towards or round him, drawn from the forest into the grove, a

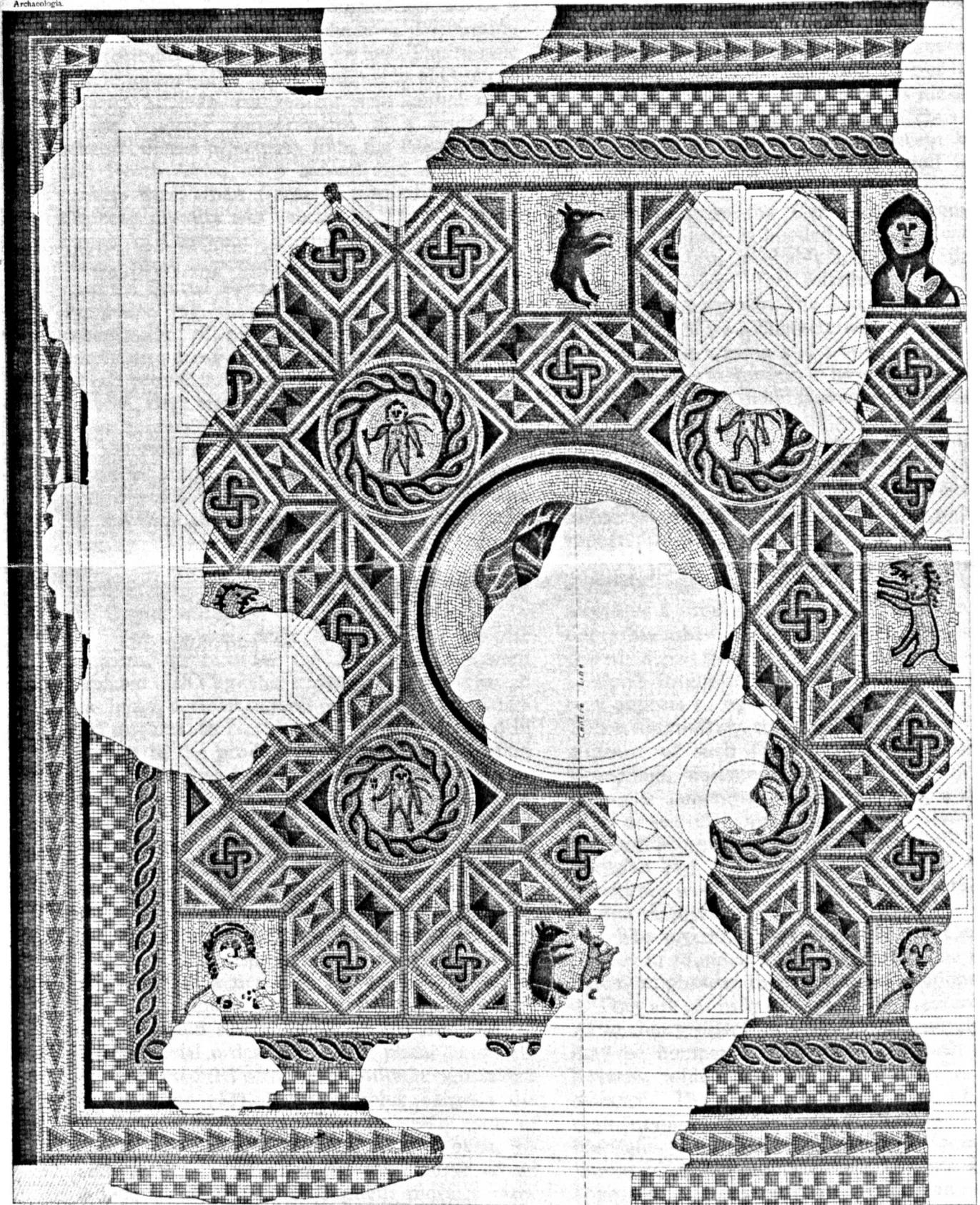


Fig. 1. Caerwent - Mosaic Pavement in House No. VII Room 6.

concept eloquently expressed in the concentric circles of Woodchester and Barton Farm. The influential effect of such a successful design in the province may lie at the root of the confused orientation of the animals here. The relative importance of auxiliary subjects is shown by their location in the field. Thus, composition can be a factor in recognising an Orpheus or discounting the possibility where the centre is lost. This mosaic with its animal-filled panels reminds us of Orpheus mosaics. Such an arrangement, with animals each in the separate compartments of a geometric scheme, comes principally from the Rhone valley and North Africa, of a second and early third century date, when a crop of similarly designed Orpheus mosaics was executed (11). The visual impact of Caerwent's geometric setting makes it almost more important, in the decorative sense, than the figured insets, but the present concern is expression of subject matter by design. A composition of perspective boxes and circles emphasises quadrilateral symmetry. The mosaic is of late provincial character, with a simple colour scheme, large tesserae and chequer pattern in the outer borders. Some decorative features occur in the repertory of Corinthian 'saltire' style work (12). However, compartmental designs of this type had gone out of fashion for the presentation of Orpheus by the time this mosaic was laid in the fourth century. Moreover, the placing of the animals within the field tells us that they are relegated to the level of associated figures, for it is not they, but the Cupids which are closest to the centre.

The Cupids must be left aside for the moment, to consider the four Seasons, often depicted with Orpheus. In late antiquity his image was lucky, deemed capable of warding off disasters and diseases. In North Africa it was employed in relation to the produce of the sea and salvation from its dangers as well as to the major harvests of grain, olives and so on. On the mosaic of La Chebba, Tunisia, (Stern 1954, fig.8) the sea journey and sea fishing depicted in the central panel, are protected respectively by a dolphin-riding genius and Orpheus. In this province the flocks and fields, providing the rich yield of fleeces and grain for which it was famous, would need protection. The disposal of correct amounts of sun and rain was a necessity for the production of seasonal bounties. Orpheus, who could control nature, would surely secure for the householder the beneficial ordering of these phenomena. He was even credited with the invention of agriculture at one time (13). In the Orphic exegesis the Seasons represented not just the yearly cycle of nature, but also the unending cycle of birth, life and death, a metaphor for the course of an individual life. A dozen Orpheus mosaics show Seasons, mostly personifications, but seasonal birds and flowers, seasonal beasts or chariots

running the course of the year, occur. However, by comparison, Seasons appear in Roman art more often with other figures, Bacchus in particular. The god, epitomising fertility and the force of animate life, was a symbol of the annual decay and regrowth of vegetation. Bacchus and Seasons are combined on some Romano-British mosaics, Thruxton the clearest example. At Chedworth, where Cupids embody the Seasons, Bacchic figures dance around a lost centre. Bacchus and Silenus occupy side panels of the Cirencester Seasons mosaic. At Pitney, again with Cupid Seasons, Bacchus sits at the centre of the adjacent scene. Recent studies have shown the popularity of the god in this province (14).

Returning to the Caerwent Seasons, the identity of Winter, in hooded cloak, is clear. The two lower busts are probably Spring and Summer, reading clockwise, the missing season being Autumn in the top left. The lower right could not be Autumn. Since a characteristic of this mosaic is to show the waxing and waning of the yearly cycle, one expects Autumn to have worn more than Summer, a diadem in her flower-sprigged hair, but less than Winter. The bust on the lower right, lightly adorned, bearing a cornucopia, must be Spring. The torches held by the Cupids bear out this hypothesis, for each flame is different. This feature shows on Loxton's colour lithograph and appears on the extant fragments. The Summer Cupid's torch is full, Autumn's (upper left) is guttering out. According to the lithograph, recording a panel now lost, the Winter torch was not extinguished, but had a white flame which may cleverly depict the cold sun of Winter, unless it was Loxton's invention. The extant Autumn Cupid now appears to be wearing a tiny Phrygian cap. This is not unlikely, since the cap is a conventional attribute of such figures who, particularly on sarcophagi, commonly personify the Seasons. Winter is sometimes dressed as Attis, a divinity with a seasonal myth (15). The tracings in Newport Museum reveal that the feature is not the Phrygian cap, but the topknot or quiff of hair sometimes worn by Cupids, frequently those on Season sarcophagi (16).

The prominent placement of the Caerwent Cupids in roundels next to and alike the central figure, emphasises their important relationship to it. They are clumsily drawn stumpy creatures with rudimentary ribbon-like wings. Surprisingly, they may be compared with the Chedworth Cupid Seasons, which may be their model at some distance. The over-large eyes, lack of neck, segmentation of the upper chest and white highlights to the flesh of Chedworth's 'Spring' and 'Summer' are all replicated at Caerwent. Cupids appear as Seasons only on the Romano-British mosaics of Chedworth and Pitney, where Bacchus is also prominent, though elsewhere in the Empire

they are commonly seen in that guise on mosaics and other artifacts. But Cupids with Orpheus are infrequent. They are depicted with him on two tomb mosaics from Syria and North Africa, a type deriving originally from funerary relief. In tombstones of soldiers with Orpheus, two Cupids in the upper register hold torches, moving us towards the present imagery (17). On mosaic again, Cupids replace the human participants in scenes traditionally associated with Orpheus, alluding to luck and fertility, which their presence increases. Cupid charioteers ride fish on a North African mosaic and they take the part of venatores on an arena scene with Orpheus from Miletus (18). At Woodchester, in a small room leading on to the great Orpheus pavement, Bacchic figures alternate with Cupids in panels bearing inscriptions urging good cheer and health with a central depiction perhaps of Bonus Eventus, Fortuna or even Bacchus. (BAR 41, i, pl. 6. XXI, c) So, in certain surroundings, domestic or formal rooms, the presence of Cupids could increase the positive aspects of the imagery, but torch-bearing Cupids with Orpheus on mosaic would be expected to appear in a funerary context.

Torch-bearing Cupids can be companions to Venus. A famous pair appears on the Low Ham mosaic, which depicts the tragic love story of Dido and Aeneas. (BAR 41, i, pl. 6. XXIII, a) On either side of the Goddess, the disposer of life and death, one holds aloft the torch which fires passion and points Aeneas's destiny, the other, with closed eyes, lowers the torch to light Dido's funeral pyre. They sport the topknot. The single Cupid with lowered torch appears in tragic love stories, such as Phaedra and Hippolytus, to signal death. Two such Cupids are often the principal motif of sarcophagi. The upraised torches held by those on the sarcophagus of Julia Victorina from York are unusual; the object itself, of Continental workmanship, is unrivalled in the province (19). The motif generally has the effect of energising the scene, meaning Love or Life. The Cupid with upraised torch who appears in love scenes to ignite desire, also occurs alone on coins, gems or as a figurine as an embodiment of life, health and destiny (20). Torch-bearing Cupids are an attribute of Bacchic scenes, while the Bacchic Cupid himself is a major figure of Greco-Roman religion and art, riding in the god's cortège, as he also rides seasonal animals. (Stuveras, Ch.II esp. pp. 20-1, animals.)

I can find no parallel in mosaic for four torch-bearing Cupids as they appear here, but a granite funerary casket in the Seville Museum (Catalogo del Museo Arqueologico de Sevilla II p. 179, Sala XXV, 22) has Cupids with raised torches at each corner escorting running animals on each face. I do not believe the varying flames seen at Caerwent are modern reconstruction, but an adaptation of

the well known life and death symbolism of torches, giving emphasis to positive aspects. They might signify the fluctuating power of the sun and the life-force throughout the year. The motifs combined in this imagery, the four Season Cupids or Genii and the torch-bearing Cupids, apparently draw on sepulchral relief, perhaps only an accident of survival. Painting, portable objects and ephemera were doubtless involved. Illuminated books may have provided a particular source. Our copies of refined examples may record an imagery with widespread appeal, its provincial versions now lost. On a fourth century calendar the personification of Alexandria, holding poppies, wheat and olives, is accompanied by two Cupids with upraised torches, analogous to the bounteous imagery of the mosaic (21). Although Caerwent's torch-bearing Cupids, apparently unique in mosaic, are in that sense innovative, they no doubt derive from such analogous figures in other media adapted to produce this programme. The doubling of Cupids with female busts may follow the same lines, for male Seasons are sometimes accompanied by female figures of Abundance. Summer's diadem and Spring's cornucopia may indicate what we are meant to understand. Pictorially speaking, full length male seasons from the medium of relief are combined with the female busts which were a commonplace of painting and mosaic. It may simply be a case of filling the corners with something appropriate from the mosaic repertory. Animals often appear with Cupid Seasons to extend their fertility imagery, making all three visible motifs, Cupids, busts and animals, expressions of the same seasonal theme.

While the draughtsmanship of this mosaic is poor, a dilution of 'Corinian' style, important conventions are observed. It seems likely that the same mosaicist was responsible both for the geometric setting and the figures, but was more practised in the former skill. He has looked outside the pictorial language of mosaic for some visual models, an indication of his lack of 'masterliness' in the craft. On the other hand, meaning has not been distorted; in fact the mosaic is far removed from the naive character of Rudston, although not what one might call 'avant-garde'. The craftsman was not cultivated enough to depart knowingly so far from traditions as to present the radical image of Orpheus with torch-bearing Cupids. The mosaic will communicate a message of a more familiar kind. However, the relative sophistication of the iconographic programme indicates that whoever guided it, mosaicist or patron, was familiar with pictorial models more common on artifacts produced outside the province, such as the Season sarcophagi. This may reflect something of the prosperity of House 7 and the character of the town's populace.

Finally we come to the central panel, the most

enigmatic fragment. Unfortunately no original tracing of it remains, for Loxton's lithograph differs in important respects from the excavation photograph. This appears to show that the dark area he recorded as stopping below the grey, actually extended upwards into the white curves within it. Difficult to make out, one interpretation of the dashes and dots on the photograph would be the features of a head. This problematic area does not now survive. If, as it seems to me, the head, slightly inclined, was preserved, the entire area of red could be skin – not clothing. Thus the fragment found would show the head and one shoulder of a nude figure: male, as indicated by the use of red, white being used for a woman's skin. The grey surrounding area is best explained as a billowing cloak, the white internal contours marking the sharp points which represented an animal skin. A Romano-British Orpheus should wear the short Phrygian dress, or in the latest depictions, be heavily swathed in long robes, never fur. His cloak or *chlamys* was usually red. By the fourth century Orpheus was invariably clothed. This figure of a nude male wearing a fur cloak would not be Orpheus. The Bacchic couples of Chedworth might furnish formal parallels. They are depicted with fur cloaks flying to the left and drapery billowing above their heads.

In this mosaic, so great an emphasis is placed on the seasonal theme, even to the quadrilateral design, that the central figure must be the summation of it, which Orpheus would not be. Seasons extend his meaning, but do not govern it. He was not a god, nor did he personify Nature itself, whose elemental forces are celebrated in the present imagery. The Seasons with Orpheus at Brading and Horkstow are so sketchily drawn that, their identity must be inferred. Neither the design nor iconography of this mosaic obeys the conventions of an Orpheus of the period. We do not need to see Orpheus in every central roundel; that design (a scheme focusing on the centre) was employed for many subjects in Britain. Nor are animals necessarily a pointer to the singer, although the Caerwent group borrows from the Orphean fauna. A mosaic from Saint-Romain-en-Gal provides a clue to Caerwent's original imagery. The geometric scheme is simpler. Around the central octagon occupied by a figure of Bacchus, eight square panels set at angles hold alternately Season Cupids and wild animals (22). A notable comparison may be made with the Frampton Bacchus panel. In the spandrels are what could be imagined as four torches flaming amid luxuriant foliage. Possibly they were the more conventional cornucopiae, rendered ambiguously in the drawing. The similarity of the two forms is tantalising. Hunting scenes occupy the side panels. Linking the threshold of this chamber with the imagery of the next comes Cupid himself. The

same elements seen at Caerwent are combined in this more sophisticated pavement. (BAR 41, i, pl. 6 XIV, a)

On balance of probability the centre of the Caerwent mosaic held a depiction of Bacchus in his role as fertility god and leader of the Seasons, employed here, as Orpheus might well have been, to ensure a prosperous rural life. The model for the central figure or figures is elusive. None of the poses customarily assumed by the god – riding a feline, standing with *thyrsus* and *cantharus* or with his arm flung languorously over his head, is quite matched in the fragment. Maybe the divine couple, Bacchus and Ariadne, are present, the torches signifying their fertility conferring union. The mosaic, stylistically provincial yet pictorially international, would express that fervent hope for abundance and the continuance of a healthy life seen on so many Romano-British mosaics, asked of one of the favourite divinities of the province, Bacchus. The torch-bearing Cupids, halfway between Season Genii and Bacchic figures, are a unique motif in this context. The artisan or designer, naively unconstrained by adherence to the bounds of pictorial traditions, has invented a novel theme, the living and dying flames, with which to express the changing seasons. Thus the otherwise artistically poor mosaic is lent a quality of distinction.

Notes

1. Caerwent: T. Ashby, 'Excavations at Caerwent', *Archaeologia*, 58 (i), 1902, 138-47, pl.X. Mosaic from House VII, room 6. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain Under the Romans*, 1964, 266. J. Liversidge, *Britain in the Roman Empire*, 1968, 77, fig.26 (Plan of House VII). A. Rainey, *Mosaics in Roman Britain*, 1973, 37, 12a is sceptical about Orpheus.
2. 'Schools': D. J. Smith, 'Three Fourth-Century Schools of Mosaic in Roman Britain'. *Colloque: La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine I*, (CMGR I) 1965, 95-115. Smith, 'Orpheus mosaics in Britain', *Colloquio: 'Il mosaico antico'* III, (CIMA III), 1983, 315-328. Brading, 316, 1. pl. CCIII, Smith considers Brading to be a circular form of the conventional rectangular panel. Whatley, 324, 10, pl. CCXI.
3. A. Grabar. *Christian Iconography*. 1969. Introduction and p. 31.
4. *British Archaeological Reports*, (BAR), 1977, p1. 6. XXIX, a; D. E. Johnston, 'The Rudston Venus: An Interpretation', *Mosaic*, 14, 1987, 11-17.
5. R. Stupperich, 'A Reconsideration of some Fourth-Century British Mosaics'. *Britannia* XI, 1980, 297. M. Henig 'Ita intellexit numine inductus tuo: some personal interpretations of deity in Roman religion' in Henig and King, eds. *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, 1986, 164-5.
6. See article by C. Brown, documenting the rediscovery of mosaic fragments in their Victorian reconstruction, her excellent conservation and restoration in 1987, at present in Newport Museum.
7. Loxton, not understanding, evidently tidied up the picture. By the same token, early restorers are unlikely to have invented the feature.

8. G. V. Gentile, *La Villa Erculia di Piazza Armerina, i mosaici figurati*, (1959).
9. Rottweil: *Inv. Gaul, I, fasc. II*, 1611; Mytilene: S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès - *Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilene*, 1970; Winterton: D. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain*, 1981, 109-12, fig. 83.
10. B. Walters. 'The Orpheus Mosaic in Littlecote Park, England'. *CIMA III*, 1984, 433-42.
11. cf. H. Stern, *Gallia XIII*, 1954, p. 50. Several later discoveries to be added.
12. Esp. the hour-glass fill of the lozenges. Seen isolated elsewhere, but here the sole motif. cf. Tockington park, North Leigh, N. Cookson, 'Romano-British Mosaics', *BAR 135*, 1984, pls. 60, 61; Cirencester, Corinian Hare, Neal, figs. 22, 25c; London, Broad Street, *RCHM London III* (1928), pl. 48. Perspective boxes, cf. Corinian hare.)
13. Agriculture: Themistius, *Ovationes* 30, 349b. Mid-fourth century.
14. *BAR. 41(i)*, pl. 6: Thruxton, XXX, a; Chedworth, IX, a-f; Cirencester Seasons, XII, a; Pitney, XXVII. Popularity of Bacchus: V. J. Hutchinson, 'The Cult of Bacchus in Roman Britain' in Henig and King *Pagan Gods...*, 1986, 135-145.
15. cf. Mattei Sarcophagus. G. M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 1951. Vol. 2, fig. 31, no. 528. Cupid as Attis wears a Phrygian bonnet. The similar form of the sheaves of flowers, wheat, grapes, held by the Cupids to Caerwent's torches, is notable.
16. Cupids with topknots: Hanfmann, eg. figs. 14, 27, 61, etc. R. Stuveras, *Le putto dans l'art romain*, 1969, p. 26, opines that the hair-style indicates the Bacchic putto, being the sign by which young initiates to Dionysus were recognised.
17. Edessa: Ch. Picard, *Rev Arch.*, 1960, I, 118-20, fig. 9. Constantine: *Inv. Algérie*, 1911, no. 221. Tombstones: S. Reinach, *RRGR II*, 130, 2 and 132, 1. Danubian.
18. Sousse: Dunbabin *The Mosaics of Roman Africa* p. 270, Sousse 14. Pl. XXXVI, fig. 94. Threshold to no. 15, Orpheus. See Foucher, *Inv. Sousse*, 57.124 and 125.
19. Hanfmann, fig. 29. Cupids uphold inscription tablet, torches laid down. Sarcophagus of Julia Victorina: Toynbee, pp. 210-11, pl. L, a, b.
20. Stuveras, 33-9. *LIMC III*, 2, 'Eros'.
21. Calendar of Filocalus, 16th century copy. M. Henig, 'Late Antique Book Illustration and the Gallic Prefecture', pl. VI, in *De Rebus Bellicis BAR S63*, 1979, 17-28, pls. II - IX,
22. Saint Romain-en-Gal, *Inv. Gaul 243. Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule I*, 3 (1963), 367. At Malton, Yorks, Cookson, pl. 89, a bust of winter occupies the adjacent panel to a running hound. The rest, lost.

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA AS LOVERS A MOSAIC PANEL FROM BRADING AND ITS ORIGINS.

By Anthony J. Beeson

The Perseus and Andromeda mosaic occupies the centre panel of the north-west side of the great room, (XII) of the villa at Brading (Figure 1). It faces the most important part of this hall of state that is marked out by the swastika device on the tessellated surround, and which probably indicates the site of the master's chair or a shrine.

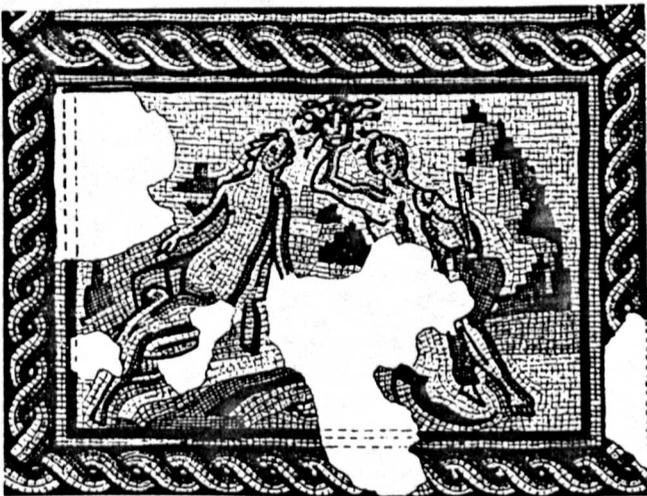


Fig 1. The Brading Panel - From Price

It is the sole survivor of four panels that occupied the sides of the square mosaic that was laid in this part of the room. Of these too little remains to identify their subject matter, but one appears to show a figure advancing towards a tree, fronted by a pool, possibly once Cadmus at the spring, and the other has a figure reclining like a river god, so perhaps myths concerning water or reflections were the theme common to all, unless all were subjects from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

The composition of the Perseus panel is striking for its elegant and antithetic placing of the two figures. The scene is a romantic idyll, an episode not mentioned in Greek mythology. Perseus, having slain both the Gorgon and the Ketos sent to devour the Princess Andromeda, sits, watching her, on the rocky shore where she had previously been chained, and holds aloft the head of Medusa to safely show her its reflection in the rock pool at their feet.

In his other hand he holds the *harpe*, the strange two-pointed sickle-like sword of adamantine metal that he had received as a divine gift, and with which he had beheaded Medusa, and attacked the Ketos, before petrifying it with the Gorgon's head.

THE MOSAICS OF THE HOUSE OF MOURABAS IN SPARTA: EUROPA AND ORPHEUS

By ODILE WATTEL-DE CROIZANT and ILONA JESNICK

Two Roman polychrome mosaics, depicting Europa and Orpheus, are preserved in their original settings in a town house of Roman Sparta. Discovered last century, they have been inventoried, but not studied in detail. Probably both were produced by the same local workshop in the third to fourth century, sharing characteristics peculiar to Greek mosaic. They appear to mirror each other. The depiction of Europa near Orpheus occurs rarely in the classical repertory. This collaborative research defines the pictorial originality of each mosaic. Europa, an archaic image, reflects the iconography of the Nereids. Orpheus may have copied a lost painting. The choice of motif and possible symbolic readings are examined. Perhaps the tenets of Orphic thought pervaded the images. Such a combination might bear witness to tastes and attitudes in Greece during the late Roman period.

IN ROMAN SPARTA the centre of activity was to be found in the north-east of the city, in the sector of the agora and the Leonidaion, demarcated by the theatre and the stadium.¹ The residential quarter was located in immediate proximity. A group of pavements, for the most part conserved under the actual dwellings, partially reinstates the decor of these leading citizens' houses.

The house of Mourabas, situated at the corner of Palaeologou and Dioscures streets, contains two Roman polychrome mosaics depicting the myths of Europa and Orpheus. They date from the late third to early fourth century A.D. and were discovered between 1872 and 1897. They are still to be seen in their original settings.² Since the first mention of their discovery these floors have been inventoried, but not so far studied in detail.³ They were examined *in situ* by O. Wattel enabling the clarification of important archaeological data.

The mosaics decorated two adjacent rooms set at an angle and joined only at one corner. The scenes are oriented in such a way as to appear head to head, facing away from each other. This suggests the existence of diametrically opposed doors, rendering the rooms quite independent in use.

It appears likely that both mosaics were the product of the same local workshop, sharing styles and technical characteristics peculiar to contemporary Greek mosaic. The iconographic interpretation poses complex problems since the representation of Orpheus in close proximity to Europa is an exceptional occurrence in the classical repertory. Only two comparable examples are known, of which the representation at Palermo shows Europa amid a panoply of mythological figures in a scheme evocative of Orphic symbolism.

The aim of this collaborative research is first to define the pictorial originality of each of the two mosaics as compared with traditional models. Secondly it considers whether the choice of these figures, in many respects mirror images, corresponded to an overall iconographic design for the décor of the house. Such a combination of motifs might be seen as bearing witness to an evolution in tastes and attitudes in Greece during the late Roman period. Each of the two writers has made one of the images the object of her

particular studies and so has a specialised understanding of its place in Graeco-Roman art.

The Roman mosaics preserved at Sparta can be classified into two distinct decorative series: the fairly coarse, bichrome 'pebble' mosaics and the more elaborated polychrome panels with figured subjects.⁴ In this second category belong the two examples from the House of Mourabas. The pavements carpeted two virtually square rooms. Room I measures 4.75 m by 4.6 m and room II is 3.4 m by 2.6 m.⁵

The first chamber houses a depiction of the Abduction of Europa and the second Orpheus charming the animals. For reasons of convenience these are designated by the letters A and B (Pls IXA and X). The inverted presentation of the two figured scenes indicates that access to the rooms was by means of two diametrically opposite entrances and that they were independent. There are two hypotheses which could justify this plan. Either chamber II was annexed to the building at a much later date, or else the rooms were deliberately separated in order not to mix the activities to which they were dedicated. The amorous scene of the marine voyage of Europa and Jupiter would seem fitted to the décor of private apartments, while the symbolism of the theme of Orpheus could suit a small sanctuary. Comparative analysis of the two mosaics reveals similarities in the design of the panels, but also significant variation in composition and interpretation. This may permit us to determine whether they originated from the same school and date from exactly the same period.

SURVEY OF THE FIGURED ELEMENTS *by O. Wattel*

Mosaics A and B were not conceived as a pair, but as separate pavements, of different proportions and shapes. It could be seen from the survey carried out *in situ* that mosaic A was larger than B⁶ and both floor areas were almost square. Mosaic A measures 3.22 m in length by 3.16 m in width. Mosaic B is 2.7 m long by 2.43 m wide.

The borders are of the same width in both cases — 0.65 m. They comprise a succession of linear compositions which can be followed from the central tableau out as far as the external limits of the floor and are composed of a series of similar geometric motifs. They are, for mosaic A, a shaded eight-strand guilloche of 0.41 m, followed by a simple guilloche on a black ground, 0.13 m wide, inserted between two white bands.⁷ On mosaic B the field is surrounded by a simple guilloche on black ground of 0.1 m, set within two monochrome white bands 0.045 m wide, like the outer border of the previous floor. The shaded guilloche, of only six strands, is 0.35 m wide and has been relegated here to the order of the exterior framing band.⁸

This outer frame exists only partially on mosaic B, although it remains complete on mosaic A (Pl. IXB). In both cases it is composed of a line of elongated 'saw-tooth' triangles, green, red and black alternating. The points are inverted on mosaic B as compared with A. The width of this zone varies between 0.21 m (A) and 0.15 m (B). This frieze of isosceles triangles is interrupted at the corners of mosaic A by 'Solomon's knots'. The decoration of mosaic B stops at this motif. The horizontal framing band of mosaic A is extended by a composition of intersecting circles making the four leaves of cross-shaped florets, varying between 0.19 m to 0.4 m high.⁹ A band, between 0.3 m and 0.4 m, ornamented by a row of quasi-tangent pairs of backed *peltae*, alternately upright and

recumbent, flanks the vertical side of the floor.¹⁰ In comparison with the typology of the corpus of Greek mosaics, established by S. E. Waywell,¹¹ this geometric decoration presents no particular originality. It is an assemblage of elements characteristic of the style flourishing in the third century. In fact elongated triangles were not used for borders before the end of the second or start of the third century¹² and *peltae* became rarer after the third century.

The fields into which the figured tableaux are inserted are outlined by black monochrome bands of differing widths,¹³ the tesserae measuring 1.92 m × 1.86 m on mosaic A, and 1.4 m × 1.13 m on mosaic B. The scenes stand out against a light cream background. The cubes here are densely packed¹⁴ and of comparable dimensions.¹⁵ The wear is minimal and does not affect the general lineaments of the figuration, except for the upper bust of the right-hand Eros on mosaic A, extending to the surround.¹⁶

THE LEGENDARY SCENES

A *The Abduction of Europa* by O. Wattel

The figures of mosaic A are supposed to illustrate the episode of the voyage. A massive bull 'treads the waves' evoked by several horizontal lines of a greenish glint. Its right hind leg is lifted to simulate swimming, while its other limbs are immersed to a shallow depth.¹⁷ The elongated body is in profile towards the right, but the head, surmounted by symmetrical, crescent-shaped horns, appears in three-quarters view (Pl. XI A). This feature appears to be a characteristic of animal imagery in third-century Greece, since it was also employed for the presentation of the bestiary surrounding Orpheus on the mosaic from the House of the Menander at Mytilene, Lesbos, which dates from this period.¹⁸ The bull is depicted in a style of expressive naturalism, powerfully evocative of the movement and speed of the chase. The slight bend of the withers, as it takes the spring, expresses the intensity of the muscular effort. The great open eye reflects the animal's concentration on its action, thanks to the flash of a white tessera, contrasting with the dark pupil and the chestnut fur of the brow ridge.

Lastly, the tail stands up and spirals back to sweep the upper left half of the tableau with the effect of speed, an artful formula to confine the bovid within the frame. The forms are vigorously designed, even if anatomical details are indicated in a summary fashion. Several touches of red or light beige contrast with the plain chestnut hide to denote articulations. The juxtaposition of highlighted zones with bands of shadow of varying widths, divides the animal's body into independent muscular masses, picked out occasionally by darker lines. The external contours are emphasised by a black ring to make the beast stand out against the neutral ground. None of these pictorial devices was introduced into mosaic before the Severan period and were not in general use until towards the end of the third century.¹⁹

The realism of the animal depiction contrasts strongly with the mannered image of Europa and her accompanying Erotes. The young woman is presented in three-quarter view, slightly turned towards the neck of the bull. She sits side-saddle in a relaxed position, legs crossed, supported on the rump of the animal. Rather than clasping her mount to keep her balance, with her left hand she delicately brushes the bull's nape, which she seems to caress. She raises her right arm to shoulder height, gracefully curving it to

show a heart-shaped flower held delicately between her fingers. These movements are less appropriate to the violence of the abduction scene than to the elegant gestures of the Toilet of Venus, who holds a mirror, or the Nereids.²⁰ The effect produced by the canopy of gypsy-striped drapery held above the group by the two Erotes reinforces the artificial character of this representation. It witnesses to the deviation of the image from that of a legend to a decorative genre scene.

However, the identification of Agenor's daughter cannot be called into question, since this royal ancestry is signified by a yellow and brown diadem with a crenellated edge, rendered in glass paste. It separates the curls carefully arranged in 'melon ridge' effect on the brow. The locks of hair, sprigged with red flowers, descend down the nape to the shoulders (Pl. XI β). Bracelets and a necklace enriched by the use of glass paste²¹ complete this adornment, glittering on her bare arms and neck.²² The orange-red drapery, doubled over to reveal a blue lining, on which Europa sits, conceals the tops of her thighs. It is then wrapped around the right leg as far as the ankle, but leaves the other uncovered. The folds of material have been treated in bands of colour, dominantly brown, flatly arranged and separated by curving lines of white tesserae. The anatomical forms have been rendered with more plasticity. Muscle volumes are emphasised by light zones with curving contours shaded in flat light brown, which stand out on the pale beige skin. The mannered posture of Europa does not correspond with the ancient stereotype of the goddess mounted in a bull, but with that of the Nereids riding marine monsters.²³

If particular care has been spent on the realisation of Europa, the depiction of the Erotes appears, on the other hand, quite summary.²⁴ However, study of the details reveals the use of artistic formulae comparable with those employed for Europa. The oblique gaze, its expressivity accentuated by the laterality of the pupils, the contour of the eyes ringed by a brown stroke, the mouth and nipples enhanced by two orange tesserae and the presence of a yellow 'scale' on the foreheads, constitute sufficient indications to allow the attribution of these three figures to the same hand.

Recourse to spots of vivid colour to animate the neutral ground of a mosaic did not become a current method before the Tetrarchy.²⁵ In contrast, the iconography of Europa, with regard to its erotic and traditional aspects, is related to depictions of the Nereids which first became an important motif in painting from the second half of the first century B.C. It relates also to scenes of the marine thiasos sculpted on tombs of the second to third centuries.²⁶ Such cross-currents between closely related iconographic models explain the 'plastic metamorphosis' of the stereotype image of the goddess on the bull.²⁷

B Orpheus by I. Jesnick

The depiction of Orpheus, seated on a rock, entrancing the animals with his music was one of the most popular in Roman art. In mosaic some eighty certain examples are known²⁸ from all the provinces of the Roman Empire and dating from the second to the fifth centuries A.D. An Orpheus mosaic was customarily located in a public space, an important reception room, often in association with water, occasionally paving the baths. Although the legend originated in the sixth century B.C., the animal-charming scene came to be appreciated in the imperial age as an image profoundly expressive of the ideal of a Roman culture rooted in Greek classicism and in that sense probably Hadrianic in

conception. The proliferation of depictions continued into late antiquity. The mosaic image, an innovation of the second century, shows only the one scene of the animals.

Orpheus is shown here in profile facing right, dominating the space. The figure reaches the top and almost the right margin, the remaining space filled by his audience of twelve creatures. He gazes leftwards, his face bearing a soulful expression with round, darkly underlined eyes with brilliant whites, heavy eyelids and thick eyebrows. The classical lyre, struck with a plectrum, has curving, antelope-horn arms and a tortoiseshell sound box. Seven chords are depicted below the hand and eight above, erroneously.

He wears a short garment common to Orpheus depictions from the north-west provinces, here transformed into the oriental, heavily striped tunic of many colours, variants of which had become customary apparel for most of the Roman Empire by the fourth century. Its motley appearance might also evoke the elaborately embroidered ornamentation of traditional Phrygian costume. The long *chlamys* is arranged in a manner which echoes Europa's drapery, but is unusual for Orpheus. He wears a Phrygian cap and the ancient, short, cuffed Thracian boots over apparently tight leggings. The vertical banding and shading indicate that these are intended for the Persian *anaxirides*, a contemporary garment.²⁹ In the mosaics of the Greek East Orpheus was customarily shown in a more formal pose, in the long, Thracian sacerdotal robe. The curved, relaxed posture, turn of the head, and finely pointed toes reiterate Europa's depiction. The colouration is a blend of browns and ochres complementing the green appearing on the tunic and the leopard's coat.

This mosaic has many unusual features. Pictorially it has a hieratic quality, the figures flattened against the picture plane without illusionistic depth or landscape setting. The animals, much smaller in scale than the singer, are so placed as to touch the frame or Orpheus or both. Forms have been cut where they touch the black frame. This constricted space is uncharacteristic of Orpheus mosaics, while the scale of the central figure seems set for a larger field.³⁰ The overall composition of the image is not paralleled in mosaic, but its constituents may be compared elsewhere. The figure of Orpheus is a virtual replica of that of Chahba-Philippopolis in Syria; however, the Sparta mosaic is not its direct copy (Fig. 1). There are important differences in clothing and instrument, while the figured elements of the Chahba mosaic are integrated in a Hellenistic painterly style.³¹ Although the composition of the Sparta Orpheus is cramped and unbalanced, the design has a supple linearity, seen also in the more expanded composition of Europa, leading the eye through the picture and providing an inner tension. The draughtsmanship is expressive. Rhythms of contour and pattern, with black lines crossing and animating the larger colour areas, give the whole mosaic a pleasing, highly decorative surface. Such qualities are evident in the Orpheus of Paphos in Cyprus, but lacking in the mosaics of Uthina, Oudna in Tunisia and Palermo-Piazza Vittoria, Sicily, with which the Sparta Orpheus has been incorrectly compared.³²

The singer's audience comprises some of the most commonly represented animals — a lion, boar, leopard, tiger and bear, a goose, peacock and partridge. At his feet are a lizard, a tortoise and a hare. A snake curls up around the rock on which he sits. The quadrupeds, disposed in tiers in the left field, face Orpheus and run towards him, drawn by his music, all with their red tongues lolling out and flashing eyes denoted by white tesserae. The locks of the lion's mane are reduced to stylised ridges. The roundness of its muzzle and the



FIG. 1 Orpheus, mosaic of Chahba-Philippopolis
Drawing: I. Jesnick



FIG. 2 Orpheus and the Animals, relief, Intercisa. Budapest, Hungarian National Museum
Drawing: I. Jesnick

tiger's are comparable with Europa's bull. Only three of the beasts and Orpheus himself have the shadow-ground line characteristic of late third- to fourth-century mosaic. These shadows, with composition in registers, are features paralleled strikingly in the fragmentary mosaic of Palermo-Via Maqueda as well as Sakiet-es-Zit, Tunisia, Piazza Armerina, Sicily and the central panel of Mytilene.³³

Orpheus in other media perhaps provided more visual sources for the mosaicist. Ceramic dishes from Germany of a third to fourth century date show many animals closely packed in tiers and some gems employ the same compositional format. Nearer to hand, the marble fountain ornaments from Athens, Istanbul and Aquileia bear strong formal resemblances. In particular the Athens marble has small-scale running creatures stacked at either side, a tortoise and a lizard below.³⁴ In such marble depictions Orpheus himself appears in a quite different guise than he does on the Sparta mosaic, but his representation in bas-relief is close, customarily in profile. In the relief from Intercisa he wears a short tunic and sits, legs crossed, facing right, gazing forward, to our right. This large Orpheus dominates the scene, birds above him, small animals entering from the sides (Fig. 2).³⁵

Traditionally, Orpheus's audience was subdued, sitting or walking slowly, their changed character being the point of the classical story. The running creatures here may allude to scenes of the *venatio*, often shown in association with Orpheus,³⁶ but it is perhaps a simple case of visual borrowing from the repertoires of amphitheatre and hunting mosaics. Running animals and the stylistic feature of the lifted foreleg of tiger and leopard are frequently employed in a stylised Orphean repertory of the Greek East originating in the third century.³⁷ To this repertory also belongs the up-curved tail used on the Sparta Orpheus to confine the felines within the frame and paralleled in the depiction of Europa's bull, but also seen in textiles as a decorative device.³⁸

The Sparta leopard is distinctive, being green and female. While customary in mosaic to depict a female tiger, as is the case here, the leopard is usually male. Here, she resembles the creature associated with Dionysus.³⁹ She has stopped, raised one paw and turned her head to look back — apparently away from Orpheus. In mosaic this animal posture, almost heraldic, is a conventional model of the eastern stylised repertory. Had there been room to place the leopard on the right, it would be shown correctly, enthralled by the song. The bifurcated shadow indicating the raised paw is paralleled in the near identical, but male, leopard seen at Paphos, Cyprus. This is so positioned as to be looking up at Orpheus.⁴⁰

To judge from black and white photographs, two snakes appear, but in fact the colours of the mosaic itself clarify the picture. One horned snake curls around a rock in a manner reminiscent of the Python around the Omphalos of Delphi. The volume of the rock is indicated by highlighted contours and the snake's curve. Similarly, the snake of the Orpheus from Leptis Magna in Libya, curls around sinuously from behind the rock seat.⁴¹ This reptile, which appears on many Orpheus mosaics, is associated with a rock on the pavements of Paphos, Poljanice, Yugoslavia,⁴² Saragossa in Spain and Palermo-Piazza della Vittoria. The association of snake with rock crevice is traditional in the Orphean scenario: ' . . . the serpent fled her gloomy den, her venom at last forgot' [Seneca, *Herc. Oet.* 1059–60]. A denizen of the earth and killer of Eurydice, the snake may allude to the underworld episode. The hare, common in Greek art, is seen frequently in Orpheus mosaics. The lizard and tortoise are more unusual, though not rare.⁴³ The group — snake, hare, tortoise, lizard — is specific to the Orpheus mosaics of the hotter Mediterranean and Aegean regions, but appear regularly with Orpheus in other media over a wider area.

The pictorial conventions of the Sparta Orpheus are seen in mosaics of the Asian provinces, Sicily and North Africa. It exhibits especially the characteristics of third- to fourth-century Greek mosaic, although many of its closest parallels are with images in other media either of local provenance or from the immediately proximate regions. Links with the comparatively new traditions of this mosaic genre were broken. While the depiction of Europa draws upon an artistic heritage stretching back to early Greek art, the conception of Orpheus with the animals was Hellenistic in origin and not certainly visually realised until the second century B.C.⁴⁴ The mosaic image is a far later development. The earliest extant example is the pavement from Perugia, Italy,⁴⁵ not deriving from Hellenistic painting, apparently,⁴⁶ but structured according to the design dynamics of black and white mosaic.

The polychrome panel depiction of Orpheus evolved even later, in the late second century, and thus its pictorial conventions, already the product of late Roman art, were

more prone to change and decay. Mosaicists absorbed contemporary artistic currents readily and effectively, rather than having recourse to traditional formulae, as they would have had with such an ancient image as Europa. It is a characteristic of the depiction of Orpheus in mosaic that it would anticipate the stylisations of medieval art while contemporary images might still hark back to their Greek origins, as we see at Sparta. In compensation, the artisan had a strong rhythmic sense and the final effect is closer to tapestry or late ivories than to such Hellenistic painterly traditions as were still displayed in late Roman mosaics from, for example, the North Syrian sphere. Its cramped, but decorative design, conventional imagery and reliance on other media are the product of a provincial vision.

The mosaic may be dated to the years around A.D. 300. The closeness of the figure to the Chahba Orpheus, dated *c.* A.D. 325⁴⁷ might indicate that Sparta was its provincial copy, thus pulling its dating later. Details of the clothing also suggest the period after A.D. 300. However, in composition and design it has affinities with mosaics and artefacts of the late third century. The animals belong to the repertory displayed in Orpheus mosaics from the Greek East dated between A.D. 250 and 300. Stylistic similarities with the depiction of Europa invite the supposition that the workmanship is closely related and the mosaic should, therefore, be of the same date. Equally, there are differences, and the Europa is evidently a more accomplished piece. A possible solution for this writer is to see the hand of an assistant to the Europa Master executing the Orpheus. For the visual correspondence between the Sparta and Chahba depictions, another explanation is to be sought, which would be their common derivation from the same model, probably a famous relief or perhaps painting of Severan date and Danubian origin. The Orpheus of the Sparta mosaic was apparently adapted by a provincial hand while Chahba was executed later by a classicising metropolitan artist. This hypothesis would make most sense both of the chronological sequence and the differentiation in spatial setting between the figure of the Sparta Orpheus and his animal audience. Perhaps the original model was not an expanded composition, but resembled the Intercisa relief. To complete his depiction, the Sparta mosaicist was thrown back on a pictorial knowledge drawn from images in various media, which he applied as best he could, while the Chahba artisan had recourse to naturalistic traditions widely employed in North Syrian mosaic.

In comparison with the usual setting for an Orpheus mosaic the Sparta room, entered down a small flight of steps, is low, small and oddly placed. This calls into question secular associations to the image, allowing for the possibility of the room being a family shrine or sanctuary for which Orpheus may be proposed as a generally suitable image.⁴⁸ His reputation for spiritual knowledge concerning the afterlife and association with the mysteries and ritual permeated culture from the sixth century B.C. to late antiquity.⁴⁹ The late Roman author Macrobius gives a picture of a highly syncretic religious system on which Orpheus is acknowledged as an authority and of which he is the principal poet.⁵⁰ The image of the lyrist surrounded by animals encapsulated the whole story and was employed in a funerary or sacerdotal context in other media in later Roman art, its salvatory character widely pervasive of Graeco-Roman society in both pagan and Christian circles, even adopted for Christian sarcophagi and catacombs in Italy.⁵¹ The presence of an Orpheus mosaic need not imply a particular esoteric cult. He represented ritual and eschatological philosophies in general.

One power of the image of Orpheus was its capability to effect a prophylaxis, its felicitous properties bringing luck, prosperity and fruitfulness to the house and its occupants.⁵² Some animals had a fortuitous quality which would have increased the power of the image. The complex symbolism of the peacock related to immortality, its image having an apotropaic function on North African mosaics.⁵³ Snakes were symbolic of regeneration, some species considered to have a health preserving influence, associated with healing cults. The lizard, too, was a fortuitous animal.⁵⁴ The *venatio* to which the running carnivores allude was itself a prophylactic image.⁵⁵ This is suggestive of the Sparta depiction being expressive of the popular appreciations of Orpheus, perhaps more redolent of superstition than religious cult. Such imagery might well be applicable to life beyond death in a funerary context, but here surely expresses a generalised hope for prosperity and an unscathed passage through life.

COMPARATIVE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF MOSAICS A AND B by *O. Wattel*

Comparison of these two pavements reveals, in the figuration, a number of artistic relationships.

i. The scenes stand out against a neutral ground of pale colour and are bathed in a uniform light which neither projects a solid shadow on the earth nor creates any on the body to constitute the volumes.

ii. Consequently, on mosaic B the shadow is represented by a deep coloured sinuous line which leaves each foot, growing at its extremities. Likewise on mosaic A the chubby flesh of the Erotes and the feminine blush have not been rendered by gradations of light nor the effects of *sfumato*, but by the delineation of shadow and the juxtaposition of areas of uniform tonality.

iii. Both the draperies of A and the clothing of B are treated in juxtaposed areas of flat colour, their folds inconsistently designated by lines.

iv. The supple posture of Europa and Orpheus contrasts with the tense expression of their faces, suggested by the oblique, intense gaze.

All of these traits are associated with the realist current manifest in Roman portraiture from *c.* the A.D. 230s onwards.⁵⁶ Significant variants are distinguished on the mosaic of Orpheus. The geometric stylisation of the forms is more accentuated than on mosaic A and the black line ringing the figures appears more marked. This graphic feature appeared in mosaic towards the end of the third century, though not flowering before the Tetrarchic period in the following century.

These panels reflect at once the general tendencies of Greek mosaic of late antiquity and a provincial style specific to the region of Sparta.⁵⁷ Indeed while the five Greek mosaics of the abduction of Europa⁵⁸ are given to the theme of the journey and generally remain faithful to the stereotyped image of the goddess sitting on the bull, only two of them depart from these iconographic traditions inherited from the archaic period by introducing Erotes as accomplices or spectators to the abduction. These are the versions of Sparta and Cos. They took more of their inspiration from the graceful scenes depicting Apulian vases of the late fourth century B.C. Dating from the third to fourth century A.D., they would be the last of that Hellenic series devoted to the legend of Europa.

In parallel an evolution in the conception of figured motifs is observed in the group of Greek mosaics from the second half of the third century onwards.⁵⁹ Mythological themes

were ousted to the benefit of genre scenes of a narrative and decorative character, where naturalistic scenic elements were combined with people dressed in contemporary costume. A significant example is furnished by mosaic B, where, amidst a zoological setting, is placed an Orpheus clothed in a short, motley tunic, leggings and boots.⁶⁰

The mosaic repertory of the House of Mourabas perpetuates the memory of such ancient Hellenic legends as that of Europa, while at the same time introducing the innovative theme of Orphism. Considering the extent to which mosaic A reconciles artistic traditions inherited from the second century with the stylistic variants of the Severan era, it can be readily dated to the end of the third century. The treatment of mosaic B however, seems more representative of the fourth century.⁶¹ This hypothesis appears more probable especially since, according to S. E. Waywell, the contemporary mosaicists of Sparta were distinguished from their Greek colleagues by this alliance of conservatism and modernity.

If one allows that mosaics A and B were executed at an interval of several years, it then becomes possible to entertain the idea of two periods of construction for the House of Mourabas. One might consider that room B was a private cult room erected after chamber A which would have functioned as an *oecus*, the two wings being without communication. Moreover, the mosaics separately conceived according to different decorative principles, were not arranged as a pair. In such conditions a comparative interpretation of these two mosaics would appear at first sight arbitrary.

INTERPRETATION OF MOSAICS A AND B by O. Wattel

One might argue that in both cases the symbolic value of the legends carried less import than the scenic elements. The spectacle of the voyage overbears the meaning of the abduction, while the animal-filled environment, larger than life, eclipses the figure of Orpheus. At the same time, these principal personages were not random choices thought up by the mosaicists and their associates, but corresponded to the tastes of the Severan epoch, when heroes were preferred to Olympian gods, and to the Imperial ideology, responsible for the consecration of Liber Pater and Hercules as new divinities in the official Pantheon.⁶² *A propos* of two third-party mosaics discovered in two different halls of Neopythagorean basilica of Palermo,⁶³ D. Levi⁶⁴ and R. Camerato-Scovezzo⁶⁵ have evinced the rationale which might accomodate the grouping of the images of Orpheus and Europa within the same building. This they base on an eschatological interpretation of the figured themes.⁶⁶ Here the legend of Europa is integrated into the cycle of the Loves of Jupiter,⁶⁷ the heroine becoming an allegory of eternal happiness by the ensuing hierogamy. The mystic nuptials would form part of Orphic initiation ceremonies, symbolising the union of the soul with divinity.⁶⁸

Europa had also acceded to immortality by triumphing over the dangers of the sea, a hostile universe haunted by Nereids riding marine monsters, when on her voyage to Crete.⁶⁹ The presence of the daughters of Amphitrite by the side of Europa on this same mosaic from Palermo⁷⁰ is not justified only by the iconographic cross-currents existing between these motifs, but equally by the Nereids' psychopompic role, in which they partake along with the beloved of Jupiter. These relationships tally with Orphic beliefs concerning the existence of an afterlife.⁷¹

The amorous transport constitutes another means of acceding to salvation, thanks to the cathartic power of passion. Jupiter embodied Love, the very title of Bacchus. The ties between the two divinities were so close that in the Orphic exegesis Europa's bull represented the hypostasis both of Bacchus and of Jupiter.⁷² In the first case the animal was conceived of as the image of Bacchus, Europa becoming an allegory of Bacchic redemption by virtue of the hierogamy. In the second, the bull evoked the zodiacal sign and passed for a cosmic symbol. The Neopythagorean writer Nigidus Figulus even claimed that Jupiter had assigned that astral residence to the bovid to thank it for having transported Europa.⁷³

None of these arguments permits of anything attaching mosaic A of the House of Mourabas to the Orphic cycle. The scene of abduction presents no express sign of this current nor does it register in the same narrative context as mosaic B. The combining of these images does not appear convincing. On the other hand, one might consider that the choice of legendary themes would proceed from the same spirit, reflecting the eschatological preoccupations of the inhabitants of this dwelling in the Severan epoch. From the end of the third century the influence of Orphic thought might have reverberated in the image of abduction on mosaic A in preference to the marine voyage and the hierogamy of Jupiter and Europa. Clearly it governed the decoration of the room housing mosaic B since this annex was constructed with this intention and doubtless reserved for the manifestations of private cult.

The combining of the images of Orpheus and Europa remains a rare enough motif in mosaic⁷⁴ As far as we are aware only three examples have been noted where these two figures are depicted in near neighbouring rooms of one dwelling. These are Sparta, Palermo and Oudna (Uthina), all dated in the third to fourth centuries.⁷⁵ By the end of the era the myth of Europa was not incompatible with Orphic thought, nor with esotericism. It is also found in association with the legend of Bellerophon and the Chimaera, as we see on a mosaic of the fourth century from the Lullingstone villa.⁷⁶ Such unusual syncretic combinations might be explained by the moral shock provoked by the political events which shook the Roman Empire from the end of the third century. Perhaps their repercussions on the collective mentality were factors in the success of these novel beliefs. Greece did not escape from this perturbed atmosphere, nor from the influence of mystery religions of eastern origin. Therefore, purificatory virtues inherent in Orphic thought might have been able to inspire the mosaic decoration of the House of Mourabas.

The archaeological context has enlightened us on the factors which might have motivated the choice of these figural themes. The comparative iconographic analysis has demonstrated the symbolic meanings which could have united the images. This study has now permitted us to 'rediscover' the setting in which the two mosaics, almost forgotten after their discovery almost a century ago, have been conserved since antiquity.

NOTES

¹ The *Leonidaion* of Sparta is situated to the south of the agora in the axis of the theatre, which fronts it to the north, at the foot of the slopes of the acropolis. Without doubt this is the edifice mentioned by Pausanias in his description of the annual games: Ch. Christou, *Ἀρχαία Σπάρτη* (Sparta 1960), 66.

² The mosaics have not been transferred to the Sparta Museum: P. G. Kastromenos, *Hestia* 15-16 (1883), 367; G. Touidiou, *Archaeologicon Deltion* 19 (1964), 136-7. Mosaic A was discovered in 1872, at 0.5 m-0.85 m below ground level.

Mosaic B was brought to light in 1897. Between times, in 1881, the mosaic representing 'Achilles at the court of Lykomedes', dated to the beginning of the fourth century, was found in the garden of Foustanos, situated in the same quarter, somewhat to the south: S. E. Waywell, 'Roman Mosaics in Greece', *American Journal of Archaeology* (*AJA*), 83, 3 (1979), 293–321, pls 45–52, no. 45; pl. 51, fig. 39.

³ Mosaic A: the abduction of Europa: G. Hirschfeld, 'Comunicazioni dal Peloponneso', *Bull. dell'Inst. di corrisp. arch.* (1873), 213; *Archäologische Zeitung* (*AZ*) (1873), 164; R. Weil, 'Mosaik in Sparta', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Athen* (*AM*) 1 (1876), 175; H. Dressel and A. Milchhoefer, 'Die antiken Kunstwerke aus Sparta und Umgebung', *AM* 2 (1877), 427–9, no. 279; R. Engelmann, 'Zwei Mosaiken aus Sparta', *AZ*, 39 (1881), 130–2, pl. 6; Kastromenos, *Hestia* (1883), 367; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* (*RPGR*) (Paris 1922), 13, no. 2; A. Blanchet, *La Mosaïque* (Paris 1928), 68–9; Ch. Christou, op. cit., n. 1, 66, fig. 8; Touidiou, *Deltion* (1964), 136–7; S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouves, 'Les mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène' (Lesbos) *Antike Kunst* (supplement) (1970), 90, n. 3; G. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, 'Catalogue of Mosaics with Human Figures', *Ellenika* 26 (1973), 247, no. 61a; Waywell, *AJA*, 302, Cat. 46, pl. 51, fig. 41.

Mosaic B Orpheus: *AM* 22 (1897), 229; *AJA* 2 (1898), 'Archaeological News 1897–8', 110; H. Stern 'La Mosaïque de Blanzly-les-Fismes', *Gallia* 13 (1955), 74, no. 33, fig. 19; Ch. Christou, op. cit., n. 1, 67–8, fig. 9; *Deltion*, 136–7; F. M. Schoeller, *Darstellungen des Orpheus in der Antike* (Diss. Friedburg 1969), 39, no. 42; S. Charitonidis et al., op. cit., 19 n. 5, 24–5, 88 n. 12, 91 n. 1, 95 n. 8; *Ellenika*, 247, no. 61b; E. Panyagua, 'Catalogo de representaciones de Orfeo en el arte antiguo III', *Helmantica* 24 (Salamanca 1973), 494, no. 250; Waywell, *AJA*, 302, Cat. 46, 318 (the only previous study of the mosaic), pl. 51, fig. 42. U. Liepmann, 'Ein Orpheusmosaik im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover', *Neiderdeutsche Beitr. zur Kunstgeschichte* xiii (1974), 28, no. 30; A. Ovadiah and S. Mucznik, 'Orpheus Mosaics in Roman and Early Byzantine Periods', *Assaph* 1 (Tel-Aviv 1980), 45 and fig. 4; J. Balty, 'La Mosaïque d'Orphée de Chahba-Philippopolis', *Mosaïque: Recueil d'hommages a Henri Stern* (Paris 1982), 34.

⁴ Ch. Christou, op. cit., n. 1, 66; Waywell, *AJA* 83, 293–321, pls 45–52; G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles 1965 — Mosaïques de Sparte', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (*BCH*) xc (1966), 793–6, figs 1–5.

⁵ *Room I*: floor area almost square — the sides to left and right of the entrance measuring 4.6 m; the other two varying between 4.55 m by the threshold and 4.75 m at the far end.

Room II: irregularly shaped room, oriented diagonally relatively to the first. Dimensions: the wall adjoining room I, 2.6 m; the wall opposite, 2.75 m; the side walls vary between 3.4 m (left) and 3.25 m (right).

⁶ Approximate measurements of the two mosaics, in actual state of conservation:

Mosaic A: total length 4.3 m, that is: field, 1.92 m + exterior borders on two sides, 1.3 m + framing band, approx. 1.08 m.

Total width approx. 4.34 m, that is: field, 1.86 m + exterior borders, 1.3 m + framing band, 1.18 m.

Mosaic B: total length 3.38 m, that is: field, 1.4 m + exterior borders, 1.3 m + framing band, 1.68 m.

Total width originally approx. 3.11 m, actually 2.77 m, that is: field, 1.13 m + exterior borders, 1.3 m + framing band, 0.68 m where conserved completely on the right side of the figuration, or 0.34 m.

⁷ White bands, 0.045 m and 0.05 m. The cubes at the edges measured from 0.008 m to 0.01 m.

⁸ The other components of the exterior border on mosaic B comprise a monochrome black band, 0.045 m, which encloses the central panel, and a monochrome white band, 0.05 m, which separates it from the framing band. This is outlined by a simple guilloche on a black ground, 0.13 m, and followed by the line of 'saw-tooth' triangles, 0.15 m, and a white border, 0.06 m.

⁹ For the evolution of geometric borders on Greek mosaics: Waywell, *AJA*, 306–7, no. 3, 'Intersecting circles' (regular type of circle with monochrome petals and simple filling motifs), pl. 46, fig. 7; pl. 47, fig. 16; pl. 48, figs 24–6.

¹⁰ Waywell, *AJA*, 306, no. 1; 'Peltae', pl. 47 and fig. 17: a mosaic of the Abduction of Europa in Room C of the 'Roman Villa' of Corinth is surrounded by a large composition of peltae, enclosing the exterior border to frame the floor at the very edges of the room. *Corinth* v, 'The Roman Villa' (Cambridge 1930); *Ellenika*, 228, no. 20, pl. 12A (end of second or start of third century).

¹¹ *AJA*, 304–11.

¹² *AJA*, 310, no. 7: elongated 'saw-toothed' triangles are already encountered on the pebble mosaics of Olynthus (Greece), *Olynthus* v, 'Mosaics Vases and Lamps' (Baltimore 1933) but appeared in Greek *opus vermiculatum* only in the second century, later than in Italy. M. E. Blake, 'The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and early Empire', *Memoires of the American Academy at Rome* 8 (1930), 106, pl. 39, fig. 2.

¹³ Mosaic A: 0.015 m; mosaic B: 0.045 m.

¹⁴ Density of tesserae lifted on mosaic A: ground 150 to the square decimetre; figures 250 to the 10 cm square.

¹⁵ Dimension of cubes in the central panel of mosaic A: 0.005 m to 0.01 m for the ground and the figures. They could reach 0.02 m at the junction of contour lines or at the edges of the exterior borders. These measurements equally valid for mosaic B.

¹⁶ *Mosaic A*: the bust and the head of the right-hand Eros had already disappeared when it was discovered in 1872: *Bull. dell'Inst. di corrisp. arch.* (1873). Damage also appears on the shaded multiple-strand guilloche mat in the upper right-hand border, as well as in the right interior corner and the part fronting the threshold.

Mosaic B: the most mutilated portions are the borders to the right of the central panel, relative to the orientation of the figured scene. The surround of the tableau stops at the shaded six-strand guilloche and does not comprise other borders.

¹⁷ The study of S. Charitonidis, *Antike Kunst*, 90, on the mosaics of the House of the Menander at Mytilene, alluded to this movement in the limbs of the beasts surrounding Orpheus, either directly (S₁) or in the geometric setting of the panels (S₂–S₁₇), pls 10–14. Apparently the gesture of lifting the foreleg made by the animals (S₄–S₈), is identical to that of the bull in mosaic A, but it contributes little to rendering the gallop livelier, for the hind legs are stiffened unnaturally. This almost stereotypical formula for animating the limbs of quadrupeds, should not predate the end of the third century.

¹⁸ *Antike Kunst*, 90, n. 3; Orpheus's animals are also depicted in profile, but it is 'un profil absolu' except for the head of the zebu in (S₃), whose eye and horns appear as if they were seen in three-quarter view.

¹⁹ *Antike Kunst*, 90.

²⁰ African mosaics are particularly representative of this kind of depiction. In the series 'The Toilet of Venus' may be cited that of the 'Maison d'Amphitrite', *Bulla Regia* (Tunisia), where two Erotes riding dolphins present a mirror and a coffer of jewels to the goddess (third century): *Inventaire Tun. suppl.*, 585b; K. M. D. Dunabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978), 155, n. 97, pl. 1, 148. 'The Triumph of Venus' on a celebrated mosaic of Timgad (Algeria), of the Hadrianic era, presents interesting parallels with mosaic A. The goddess sits on the rump of a marine centaur in a pose close to that of Europa. With one hand she holds a crown of leaves above the centaur's head, with the other she lifts up a veil, the free end of which is caught by the centaur. Venus is thus nimbbed by a canopy similar to that of mosaic A. The young woman is just as graceful as Europa and similarly dressed, having a mantle which bares only the thigh and left leg before passing across the right leg to fall in regular pleats in front, thus making a drapery identical to hers. S. Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad* (Paris 1969), 27-9, no. 22, pl. xi; Musée de Timgad, *Inv.* 47.

²¹ The glass paste tesserae are well conserved despite the fragility of such a material for a pavement. They are blue on the necklace, the bracelets and in the pleats of the drapery folded around the hips. Greener *smaltae* enhance the foliage sprigged in the hair of Europa and the Eros.

²² These jewelled ornaments are common in mosaic representations of the abduction of Europa and might derive from paintings on Apulian vases of the fourth century B.C. Amongst those representing Europa wearing a necklace and *stephanos*, can be cited an amphora from the Berlin Museum: E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder* (Berlin 1840-58), pl. vii; and a *kratēr*: *Le Musée du Louvre* 3 (Paris 1958), pl. 34. In mosaic, two celebrated examples may be cited. In the 'Maison d'Europe' Djemila (Cuicul), Algeria, of fifth century date, M. Blanchard-Lémée, *Maisons a mosaïques du quartier central de Djemila (Cuicul)* (Paris 1975), 143-7, pl. xxxv, the scene is close in spirit to mosaic A since it also has two Putti escorting the voyage, one of whom displays a necklace no doubt destined for Europa, although she already wears one round her neck. It is possible to see here an allusion of a poetic character, a reference to Apollodorus regarding the necklace offered by Zeus to Europa (*Bibliothèque* III, iv, 2), but surely it is a question of adulteration by the local form of the image of the 'Toilet of Venus': Y. Allais, 'Mosaïque de Djemila (Cuicul), La toilette de Vénus', *Actes du 79^e Congrès des Sociétés savantes, Alger, 1954, section d'archéologie* (Paris 1957), 67-83. The second model is offered by the mosaic of 'La maison de Byblos', end of the third or start of the fourth century: M. Chehab, *Mosaïques du Liban* (Lebanon) (Paris 1958), 16, pl. v. Europa wears necklace and diadem, but is robed in *peplos* and *himation*.

²³ G. Becatti, 'Ninfe e divinità marine — ricerche mitologiche iconografiche e stilistiche', *Studi Miscellanei* 17 (Rome 1970), 50-8. The artistic formula of the Nereid couched on her mount, nude or lightly dressed, derives from the fourth century B.C. sculptures of Scopas: G. Ch. Picard, 'Le problème du thiasos marin de Scopas', *Praktika* (Athens 1988), 217-20, pl. 47.

²⁴ The right-hand Eros is partly destroyed, but, judging from the position of his legs, the pair were not exactly symmetrical. They fly in opposite directions to hold the canopy like a baldachin above the group. The wings, coloured green, are spread like a fan. They bring an erotic note to the scene, playing a comparable role to those of the 'Mosaic House' at Corinth, where they escort the Nereids: *Corinth* 1, 5 (Princeton 1960), pls 53-5; Waywell, *AJA*, 312, no. 4, n. 54, pl. 46, fig. 12.

²⁵ That is to say in the years 284-305. On this current, which combines realism with formal stylisation: S. Charitonidis, *Antike Kunst*, 91-6. For the diffusion of these tendencies and the influence of the 'African style' on this evolution, the mosaics of Piazza Armerina and Sicily in general furnish the most representative examples: B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica* (Milan, Genoa, Rome, Naples 1939), 178-88; Palermo, *Orpheus*, 185, fig. 173; idem, *I mosaici di Piazza Armerina* (Rome 1955); G. V. Gentili, *La Villa Imperiale* (1956), 5 (bibliography on the Constantinian mosaics of the area).

²⁶ For marine scenes in painting: K. Scheföld, 'La peinture pompéienne — essey sur l'évolution de sa signification', *Latomus* 108 (Brussels 1972), 95-7; in mosaic: Waywell, *AJA*, 313-14, 6, pl. 48, fig. 25; Isthmia (Cat. 28); 'Mosaic House', Corinth (Cat. 20); Kronion Baths, Olympia (Cat. 32). Marine divinities on sarcophagi: A. Rumpf, 'Die Meerwesen auf den Antiken Sarkophagreliefs', C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs* 1 (Rome 1969), 110-13; H. Sichtermann, 'Beiträge zu den meerwesensarkophagen', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 85 (1970, 2), 214-41; idem, 'Deutung und interpretation der meerwesensarkophage', *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 85 (1970), 224-38.

²⁷ D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947), 172, has remarked that from the iconographic point of view the motifs of Europa on the bull and that of the marine thiasos are linked and interchangeable.

²⁸ For the most up-to-date listing and résumé of previous catalogues: D. Michaelides, 'A New Orpheus Mosaic in Cyprus', *Acts of the Symposium, 'Cyprus Between the Occident and the Orient'* (Nicosia 1985), 473-89, pls LIII-LVI, pp. 477-80, nn. 43-9. Recent discoveries not included, some errors.

²⁹ E. Abrahams and M. Evans, *Ancient Greek Dress* (Chicago 1964), 117, Ch. viii, 'Footgear'; and L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore 1938). A fragment of a fourth-century ivory figurine, Schoeller, op. cit., n. 3, Taf. v. I, British Museum Inv. no. 1895, 1-54, shows the banded *anaxirides*, also seen on the Orpheus of Chahba in Syria, Balty, op. cit., n. 3, pl. xxiv, 1, A.D. 325 and of Djemila, M. Blanchard-Lémée, op. cit., n. 22, pl. xiii, after A.D. 350. Phrygian dress: Pliny, *NH* viii, lxxiv, 196; M. Besnier, 'Phrygio Opus', *Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, vol. IV, 1, 446-50.

³⁰ Central panel — 1.4 m long by 1.13 m wide. Waywell notes this spatial problem, *AJA*, 83, 318. Cf. the composition of the Intercisa relief, n. 35 below. The Sparta mosaic, like Chahba, seems influenced by such artefacts. Balty, op. cit., p. 34.

³¹ J. Balty, op. cit. Thick trousers and round boots are local eastern style. He plays a heavy *kithara* of sixteen strings. The 'star' on the Sparta Orpheus's shoulder is explained by comparison with this picture, where the rounded shoulder makes a similar shape in the folded material of the tunic.

³² Paphos: D. Michaelides, op. cit. and *Cypriot Mosaics* (Nicosia 1987), 12-14, no. 6, pl. xx. A. Ovadiah and S. Mucznic, 'Orpheus mosaics in Roman and Early Byzantine Periods', *Assaph* 1 (Tel Aviv 1980), p. 51, figs 1-4. The comparison does not hold, the depictions are iconographically distinct.

³³ Palermo-Via Maqueda: G. Guidi, 'Orfeo, Liber Pater e Oceano in mosaici della Tripolitania', *Africa Italiana*, vi (1935), p. 130, fig. 19; Sakiet-es-Zit: J. Thirion, 'Orphée magicien dans la mosaïque romaine', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* xxvii (1955), pp. 149-79; Piazza Armerina: G. V. Gentile, *La Villa Erculia di Piazza Armerina, i mosaici*

figurati (1959), fig. 10; A. Carandini, A. Ricci, M. de Vos, *Filosofana. La Villa di Piazza Armerina* (1982), 138–44, pl. xv and figs 64–8; D. Boesliger, *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien* (Rome 1983); Mytilene: S. Charitonidis, op. cit., n. 3

³⁴ Ceramic dish, Trier: V. H. Elbern, *Das Erste Jahrtausend, Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland* (1962), pl. 92. Gems: H. Stern, 'Les debuts de l'iconographie d'Orphée charmant les animaux', *Mélanges de numismatique d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Jean Lafaurie* (1980). The extent to which the arrangement ensues from craftsmen transferring a design from one medium to another or finding like solutions for the same spatial problem cannot be known. Marble sculptures: Panyagua, op. cit., n. 3, Athens, no. 181, fig. 26. Other examples: Byblos in Lebanon, Sabratha in Libya, Istanbul, Aquileia, nos 179–83. Fantastic and exotic animals are included, in contrast to the conventional bestiary of the mosaic.

³⁵ Relief from Intercisa, in Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Inv. 22.1905.28. The lyre held on the knee like Sparta and Chahba. In eastern mosaics it tends to be resting on the rock to the right of Orpheus: S. Reinach, *RRGR* II, 121, 4; Panyagua, op. cit., no. 167; for comparative examples, *ibid.* 448–51; Schoeller, op. cit., 127–8, pls VII–VIII.

³⁶ *Venatio* with Orpheus on mosaic: Miletus, Turkey, Eroses as *venatores* in pendant scene, I. Kriseleit, *Antike Mosaiken* (Berlin 1985), 14–17; fig. 3; Rottweil, Germany, in outer compartments of geometric setting: Reinach, *RPGR*, 201, fig. 5; K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (1959), 99, pl. 96; Withington, England, lion hunt on adjoining panel, D. J. Smith, 'The Mosaic Pavements' in *The Roman Villa in Britain*, ed. A. L. F. Rivet (1969), fig. 3.11; Piazza Armerina, the 'Great' and 'Little' Hunts and children hunting; Merida, Spain, hunting scenes and pigmy hunts in adjacent mosaics, J. M. Alvarez-Martinez, *Mosaicos Romanos de Merida Nuevos Hallazgos* (Merida 1990), no. 3, pp. 37–49, fig. 3, pls 8–20; Rougga, Tunisia, Diana and hunt on adjacent mosaic, H. Slim, 'Orpheus Charming the Animals', *Carthage: A Mosaic of Ancient Tunisia*, Catalogue (New York 1987); Paphos, Hercules and Nemean lion, adjacent room; Horkstow, England, hounds and hares in the arcuate compartments around the central Orpheus: Levi, op. cit., 39, fig. 2; Jerusalem, hunting figure and prey beneath main depiction: Levi, op. cit., pl. VII, 4. The two ivory *pyxides* from Italy, of eastern manufacture, probably fourth century, likewise depict a hunt to accompany the animal charming scene: F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (1961), fig. 84.

³⁷ See I. Jesnick, 'The Mannerist Depiction in Orpheus Mosaics', in *Acts of VIth International Colloquium on Antique Mosaics* (Palencia-Merida 1990). Charitonidis, *Antike Kunst*, 90, notes the raised paw gesture, but has not placed it in an artistic context. Cf. n. 17 above.

³⁸ Fragment of fourth-century woven fabric, Egypt, British Museum, *Inv.*, M&LA 1922, 10–16, 27; purple, female leopards running, tails up. Seen also on the Orpheus mosaics of Mytilene, Paphos and Miletus, where there is no question of saving space, the tails are a stylistic feature evidently widespread in late Roman animal imagery in the east.

³⁹ A green, female leopard appears in a Dionysiac context at Cologne: H. G. Horn, *Mysteriensymbolik auf dem Kolner Dionysosmosaik* (1972). A female leopard occurs on the Orpheus from Adana, Turkey: L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken den Kilikien u* (1972). Leopards in a Dionysiac context often adopt the same pose as the Sparta animal, e.g. female leopard on the Pashley sarcophagus, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, *Inv.*: GR. 1.1835. A well-known example of the leopard as the god's steed is the Hellenistic mosaic from Delos, J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, fig. 26. On a first-century A.D. wall painting from the villa of Dar Buc Ammera, Tripoli, W. Dorigo, *Late Roman Painting* (London 1970), 50–1, fig. 26, he rides a female leopard.

⁴⁰ The same mistaken placement is made at Paphos in the case of the bear. For comparable examples of the turned head, Saragosa: Stern, op. cit., n. 34, 71, no. 20, fig. 18, head and foreparts only; Piazza Armerina, forepaw and tail down. Cos (Istanbul Museum): G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures romaines et byzantines* III (1914), 507, no. 1304, recumbent leopard looking back at Orpheus. Chahba's leopard runs forward.

⁴¹ For Leptis Magna: Guidi, op. cit., fig. 3. Where two snakes appear they are clearly distinguished, usually a rearing cobra and a harmless colubrine snake on the ground. Perugia: Guidi, op. cit., fig. 14; Sakiet-es-Zit; Henchir Thina in Tunisia: Thirion, op. cit., pl. VII; Santa Marinella, P. Gianfrotta, *Formae Italiae* (Reg. VII, 3) Castrum Novum (Rome 1972), pp. 56–7, fig. 97.

⁴² Poljanice: S. Fidanovski, *Arheoloski Pregled* (1985), 150.

⁴³ Including Sparta the lizard makes nine appearances on Orpheus mosaics, the tortoise ten. Lizard: Piazza Armerina; Palermo-Piazza Vittoria; Sakiet-es-Zit; Hanover, North Syria: U. Liepmann, op. cit., n. 3, 9–36; Mytilene; Rougga; Rome-San Anselmo: Stern, op. cit., 71, no. 16, fig. 15; Santa Marinella. Tortoise: Piazza Armerina; Palermo-Piazza Vittoria; Sakiet-es-Zit; Mytilene; Rougga; Rome-San Anselmo; Henchir Thina; Perugia; El Pesquero, Spain, J. M. Alvarez-Martinez, 'La iconografía de Orfeo en los mosaicos Hispanorromanos' in *Mosaicos Romanos* (Guadalajara 1990), 29–50, pl. VI.

⁴⁴ H. Stern, 'Debuts ...', 160 and fig. 6. Sardonix in the British Museum, 163–123 B.C. He cites a bronze mirror as an earlier example (158–9 and fig. 2, dates it to the fifth century B.C.; Panyagua, op. cit., 134, no. 94, with bibliography), but the interpretation is controversial. It probably shows Apollo, a model for later depictions of Orpheus. The death of Orpheus was the episode conventionally depicted on Attic red-figure vases of the same period. He was not shown singing until the early fourth century B.C. on vases from Magna Graecia, not yet charming the animals, but Thracian warriors. See Panyagua, op. cit. and Schoeller, op. cit., for catalogues of the material.

⁴⁵ For Perugia, Guidi, op. cit., 123, fig. 14. Blake, *MAAR* II, 199, 34, 4. Antonine.

⁴⁶ For fresco from Pompeii: Stern, 'Debuts ...', fig. 21.

⁴⁷ Balty, *Mosaïque*, 36–7.

⁴⁸ Should an Orpheus mosaic denote any cult, it is a matter of speculation whether it might be specifically Orphic or Bacchic. For the arguments see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (1935); I. M. Linforth, *The Acts of Orpheus* (1941); H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysus* (1951), 390–416, E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951), 147 ff. Orphism: W. Burkert, 'Ancient Mystery Cults' (1987), 46–7 and Ch. II, nn. 127–31.

⁴⁹ Statue on Mount Helicon of Orpheus with Telete — 'Mystery', *Pausanias* IX, 30, 4.

⁵⁰ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 18, 12–22.

⁵¹ H. Stern, 'Orphée dans l'art Paléo-chrétien', *Cahiers Archeologiques* XXIII (1974), 1–16; pagan funerary steles: Pettau, Austria: Reinach, *RRGR* II, 130, 2 and Panyagua, op. cit. 447, nos 169, 170, 172; mausoleum, North Africa: P. Berger, 'Le

Mausolée d'El-Amrouni', *Revue Archeologique* xxvi (1895), II, 71–81. Panyagua, op. cit., no. 166. All third- to fourth-century date.

⁵² Cf. the Orpheus of Brading, placed in the potentially dangerous threshold corridor: J. E. Price and F. G. H. Price, *A Description of the Remains of Roman Buildings at Morton, near Brading, Isle of Wight* (1881); for prophylactic function, A. Merlin and L. Poinssot, 'Deux mosaïques de Tunisie a sujets prophylactiques', *Monuments et Mémoires E. Piot*, xxxiv (1934), 129–76.

⁵³ Dunbabin, op. cit., 166–9, Merlin and Poinssot, op. cit., 138, J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Art and Life* (1973), 250–3.

⁵⁴ Snake: G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (1937), 130. For the prophylactic properties of the lizard see Merlin and Poinssot, op. cit., 154, 162–76. Cf. Dionysus with gecko, El Djem, Tunisia, 'Maison de Bacchus', Dunbabin, op. cit., 77, and pl. xxvii, 68. The date is later than A.D. 350.

⁵⁵ See J. Aymard, 'Notes sur une mosaïque de Westerhofen', *Latomus* LVIII (1962), 171.

⁵⁶ *Antike Kunst*, 91–4: Bust of Menander in realistic style, where the man's tense and tormented expression contrasts with the simplicity and solidity of the portrait.

⁵⁷ Waywell, *AJA*, 321 and Cat. 45–50: The group of pavements from Sparta dates to the end of the third or start of the fourth century, furnishing convincing witness to that survival of earlier iconographic traditions, demonstrating the existence of a core of conservative mosaicists.

⁵⁸ Five mosaics with Sparta: *Amphipolis*, first half of the second century, Waywell, *AJA*, 314–15, Cat. 1, the most ancient example in Greece, with Erotes; *Corinth*, end of second to start of third century, *Roman Villa* (Room C), Waywell, 297, Cat. 17, pl. 47 and fig. 17, unusual and very skilful representation of Europa; *Rhodes*, second to third century, *Ellenika* (1973), 247, no. 60, pl. 27a, voyage, without escort, Europa's veil constitutes the principal ornament; *Cos*, end third to beginning of fourth century, *Bolletino d'arte* 35 (1950), 236, fig. 64, marine ceremony with Eros.

⁵⁹ Waywell, 316.

⁶⁰ Waywell, 320–1.

⁶¹ *Ellenika*, 247; Waywell, 321.

⁶² The *Dii Patrii* of Leptis Magna, the Severan's city of origin, which honoured them at the time of the Secular Games. J. Gage, 'Les jeux séculaires de 204 (ap. J.C.) et la dynastie des Sévères', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* LI (1934), 68.

⁶³ M. B. Aubé, 'Descriptions des restes d'un antique édifice à Palermo', *Archives des Missions Scientifiques* VII (1872), 25–39. The building presents a suite of paved rooms in one row. The polychrome depiction of Neptune's quadriga at the entrance precedes the great mosaic of the 'Loves of Jupiter', including Europa (9.9 m × 4.75 m). Because of its wide surround of geometric decoration it was erroneously likened to a *triclinium*. In fact it was an Orphic basilica, the surround being the site of benches reserved for the faithful. After a room with a pavement of black and white geometric motifs came that housing the mosaic of Orpheus charming the animals.

⁶⁴ D. Levi, 'Mors Voluntaria, Mystery Cults on Mosaics from Antiochia', *Berytus* VII (1942), 19–55, pl. 5, esp. pp. 37–9.

⁶⁵ R. Camerato-Scovazzo, 'Nuove proposte sul grande mosaico di Piazza della Vittoria a Palermo', *Kokalos* 21 (1975), 231–72, pls LV–LXIII, esp. p. 232, n. 4.

⁶⁶ Mosaic of the 'Loves of Jupiter', Palermo, Museo Nazionale, *Inv.*, NI2275, wilfully mutilated for prophylactic purposes; mosaic of Orpheus, Palermo, *Mus. Naz.*, *Inv.*, NI2287. Date fourth century: D. von Boeselager, op. cit., 183, putting in question the hypotheses of D. Levi, op. cit., 38 and R. Camerato, op. cit., 268, favouring the first half of the third century.

⁶⁷ Composition of twenty adjacent curvilinear octagons, ranged on seven levels (the seven spheres of the Orphic ladder), in lines of three. The first two rows, near the threshold, concern the terrestrial world, in particular the 'Loves of Jupiter'. Antiope, Danae, Leda surround the abduction of Europa, with other anonymous seduced women. *Kokalos*, 237–45. Europa and the bull, panel 11, pl. LXII and fig. 1.

⁶⁸ *Kokalos*, 255; R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentation dionysiaque* (Paris 1966), 527–31.

⁶⁹ F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris 1942); K. Schefold, *Antike Kunst* 12 (1969), 116 ff.

⁷⁰ *Kokalos*, 243, panel 10, pl. LXI and fig. 1, Nereid on marine stag; *ibid.*, 245, panel 12, pl. LXI and fig. 2, Nereid on marine monster — a griffin?

⁷¹ Cumont, 166; Ch. Picard, *R. H. Religions* CIII (1931), 5–28; *Berytus*, 47. Note, in the distribution and choice of scenes in the mosaic of the 'Loves of Jupiter', the separation between the terrestrial world and the celestial sphere: upper panels with Hercules (*Kokalos*, 249, panel 18) and probably two other divine figures, now lost. Europa and the Nereids are on the edge between two universes, like Bellerophon on Pegasus (*Kokalos*, 247, panel 16) and two other Nereids also in the surround. The eschatological symbolism of these figures is identical, their psychopompic role evident. The winds themselves blow the souls on their divine route towards the Isle of the Blessed, where the marine passage is achieved (*Kokalos*, 251, 4 medallions).

⁷² *Kokalos*, 261 and n. 142; on Dionysus in bull form, H. Gregoire, 'Bacchus le taureau à les origines de son culte', *Mélanges Ch. Picard* I (Paris 1949), 401 ff.

⁷³ J. Carcopino, *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeur* (1926), 364; *Berytus*, 44.

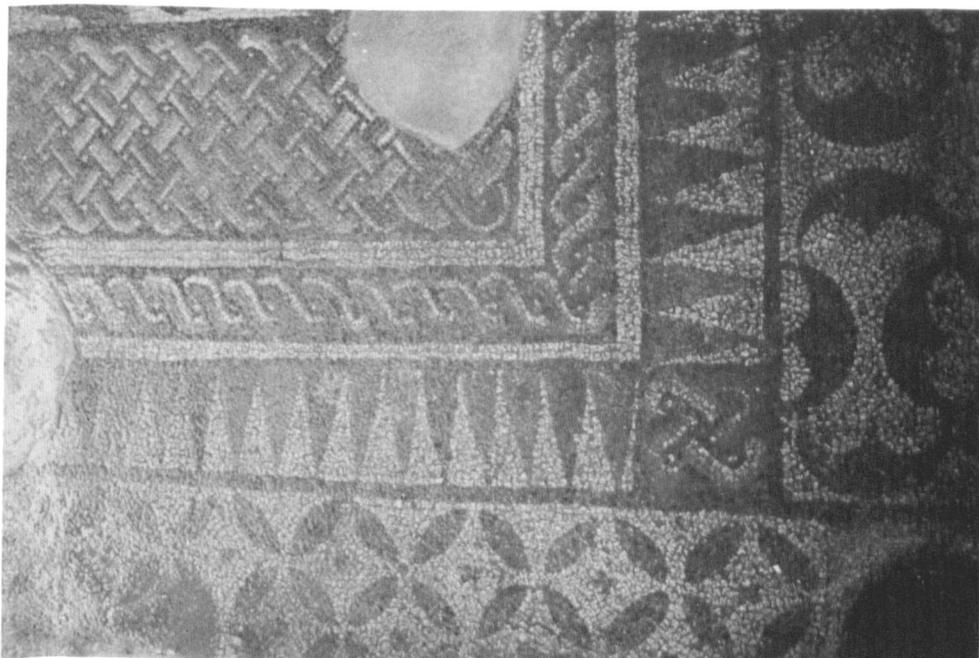
⁷⁴ This problem was previously raised a *propos* of two adjacent mosaics of the villa San Marco, Stabiae, representing the Abduction of Europa and Phrixos-Helle. The marine ride of Jupiter and Europa generated three types of image: the solitary crossing; the marine cortege with Eros and divinities or sea monsters; a mixed type integrating the voyage in the cycle of the 'Loves of Jupiter'. O. Wattel-de Croizant and H. Lavagne, *De la villa de San Marco (Stabies) au Musée Conde (Chantilly), Histoire d'un 'Enlèvement d'Europe'*, in *MEFRA*, 767–9, nn. 105–8.

⁷⁵ *Uthina*, Maison des *Laberii*, P. Gaukler, *Inv. Mos.*, 118–19, no. 350; Europa, *ibid.*, 129, no. 381, Orpheus; *idem.*, 'Le domaine des *Laberii* à Uthina', *Monuments et Mémoires E. Piot* III (1896), 189–92 and fig. 2, 190; Europa, chamber no. 2; *ibid.*, 218 and fig. 12, 219–20; Orpheus, baths. S. Ben Mansour Besrou, 'La mosaïque d'Europa de la Maison des *Laberii*', *Antiquités Africaines* 14 (1979), 197–211; third-century date.

⁷⁶ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (London 1963), Lullingstone villa, 200, no. 192, pl. 229, Europa; *ibid.*, 200–1, no. 193, pl. 228, Bellerophon and the Chimaera. Both fourth century.



A. The Abduction of Europa, Sparta, House of Mourabas. *In situ*
Photo: O. Wattel



B. Mosaic (A), border detail, lower right corner
Photo: O. Wattel



Orpheus and the Animals, Sparta, House of Mourabas. *In situ*
Photo: Archaeological Museum of Sparta



A. Mosaic (A), detail, bull's head
Photo: O. Wattel



B. Mosaic (A), detail, head of Europa
Photo: O. Wattel