DOMUS AETERNA AND DECOR

DOMUS AETERNA AND DECOR: FUNERARY FRESCO IN THE ROMAN NEAR EAST AND ASIA MINOR

By

JESSICA HEMBREY, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Jessica Hembrey, B.A. (Brock University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Alexandra Retzleff

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Abstract

The goal of this study was to examine the fresco decoration from tombs in the area of the Roman Near East and Asia Minor in relation to the material found in the domestic sphere to reveal any iconographical relations between the two spheres. An examination of both spheres revealed a considerable connection. While fresco decoration in tombs was chosen to be appropriate for its surroundings, it is clear that most of the motifs were shared with the domestic sphere.

The first pattern to emerge from the painted tombs in the Near East and Asia Minor was the commemoration of the deceased in way of portraits and scenes recalling favourite pastimes. The use of painted portraits in tombs were used in much the same way as wax masks and shield-portraits placed in the atria of affluent homes were used, to commemorate and essentially create an important ancestor to be honoured by the family. Allusions to banqueting in the form of servants and scattered flowers, and other luxuries of life including gardens were also popular motifs in the tombs. In addition to recalling activities and settings from an affluent household, these two motifs also appear as decoration on home walls. Finally, mythological scenes used in the tombs were usually picked for their chthonic associations and rarely appeared in homes. The use of chthonic myths in the tombs was appropriate with their messages of victory over death and the inevitably of fate. Likewise, tales of bodily desecration portrayed the punishments inflicted on those who unjustly treated a family member.

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Valde enim falsum est vivo quidem domos cultas esse, non curari eas, ubi diutius nobis habitandem est.

"It is quite wrong for a man to decorate his house while he is still alive and not to trouble about the house where he must make a longer stay."

-Petronius, *Satyricon* 71

Introduction

The funerary landscape in the Roman Near East and Asia Minor was closely associated to its urban centres, both geographically and artistically. Cemeteries located just outside of the city walls were filled with tombs which adopted features or even assumed a structure commonly seen in the cities: benches, walled gardens and house tombs were all popular. These tombs were constructed to allow for interaction with travelers passing in and out of the city. The interiors of the tombs were no different. Reminiscent of the decorative programs adorning the walls, floors and ceilings of homes, fresco and mosaic were also used in tombs. Visitors to the tombs were confronted with decorative programs meant to engage their memory and imagination. The goal of this study is to analyze the fresco decoration from tombs in the area of the Roman Near East and Asia Minor in relation to the material found in the domestic sphere, and to establish the iconographical relations between the two spheres.

Geographically, this study covers the area of the Roman Near East and Asia Minor and chronologically spans the first through fourth centuries AD. The Near East is defined by the Roman provinces of Syria (both Phoenice and Palaestina), Judaea and Arabia, and Asia Minor by Cilicia, Lycia and Asia. There was an immense diversity of tombs in the Near East and Asia Minor at this time. Simple shaft graves existed alongside the more complex temple- and tower- tombs, which were especially popular in Asia Minor. Rock-cut tombs, principally in the form of underground hypogea, were especially popular and are associated with virtually every Roman town in the Near East.[1] Most of the surviving painted decoration from tombs in the Near East and Asia Minor comes from hypogea, with the exception of the tombs above ground at Anemurium, whose paintings have been severely damaged due to the weathering. Small fragments of fresco are documented in some of the tower tombs around Palmyra but their fragmentary state leaves little room for discussion.[2] Painted decoration in tombs had a long tradition in the Near East and Asia Minor. A built tomb at Kizilbel in northern Lycia dating to the late sixth or early fifth century BC preserves wall painting which was applied directly to the limestone walls.[3] The paintings, which mix Greek and Persian traditions, show a number of scenes from the life of the deceased. A number of Archaic and Classical tombs from

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[1] Ball 1999, 364.

[2] See Colledge 1976 for a discussion of these fragments.

[3] Mellink 1978, 805-809.

modern day Turkey and Israel show that the tradition continued uninterrupted into the period of Roman occupation.[4] The painted tombs from the Roman period thus follow a long funerary tradition.

A considerable amount of work has been done in the field of ancient wall painting over the past three decades. Due to chances of preservation, much of the work, especially in regards to the domestic material, has focused on Rome and the Bay of Naples. In the Near East and Asia Minor, tombs with painted decoration dominate the archaeological record primarily because of their underground construction. Alix Barbet has led the field of research. In *Les peintures des necropolis romaines d'Abila et du nord de la Jordanie* Barbet presents painted tombs from the Decapolis in the northwestern part of Jordan with the bulk of the discussion focused on the large number of tombs from Abila. A rescue excavation at Zeugma led to the publication of Barbet's *Zeugma II: Peintures murales romaines* which recorded the fresco from several of the houses at that site before it disappeared beneath the waters of the Birecik dam. Barbet's studies focus mainly on the style and organization of the painting, with little attention paid to how the art would been read by the ancient viewers. Studies such as Eleanor Winsor Leach's *The Social Life of Painting in Ancient Rome and on the Bay of Naples* provides a theoretical foundation for interpreting painting as visual language, communicating with the viewers. *Au royaume des ombres*, a collection of papers addressing funerary decoration, deals more specifically with iconographic programs and symbolism in tombs across the Roman Empire. This study will bring together the funerary and domestic material with a specific eye on the decoration of tombs from the Near East and Asia Minor.

The second chapter will examine the painted decoration from the tombs. The chapter has been treated as a catalogue which includes a brief discussion of the architecture followed by a more thorough examination of the fresco. The corpus of funerary painting shows a great variety. Motifs include portraits of the deceased and the occasional scene from daily life. On many Roman holidays, families would banquet at the tombs of their ancestors and this tradition is echoed in the funerary paintings which included allusions to banqueting. Closely associated with this concept of banqueting and the good life were luxurious gardens, often included on the walls of tombs in the form of scattered flowers. One of the most striking groups to emerge is mythological scenes, most of which have some chthonic association. Scenes of the Rape of Persphone, the return of Alcestis and Cerberus from the Underworld, Homeric tales of death and desecration and other tales of lessons learnt from death are all found in the tombs of the Near East and Asia Minor.

Painted decoration from the domestic sphere is presented in the third chapter. The material is laid out in the same format as the first chapter. From the second century BCE onward fresco was used to embellish the walls of houses and palaces in the Near East.[5]

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[4] See Rozenberg 2001, 313-319; Mellink 1980, 91-98.
[5] Galor 2003, 53.

Although isolated, images of individuals, historical or familial, appear in houses in the form of painted portraits. Scenes taken from daily life, including allusions to banqueting, were also quite common in houses as were painted landscapes of gardens and floral embellishments. Lastly, mythological scenes are also quite popular in the domestic sphere. While many of these mythological references were used as exempla, often they could perform as pure entertainment calling to mind popular myths or plays.

The final chapter offers a thematic comparison of the material from the two spheres. First, a discussion about patrons and viewers considers who may have commissioned the decoration of the tomb and their intended audience as well as what kind of activities occurred at the tombs. This is essential for understanding why certain images may have been chosen and how and by whom they would eventually be seen. The different motifs from the tombs are then discussed in relation to similar decoration found in the domestic sphere.

This thesis will demonstrate that a great number of the motifs found in the tombs are also found in the houses in this region, and will suggest that there was a conscious connection between the two spheres. The main concern of Roman funerary monuments was keeping the memory of the deceased alive; it is not surprising therefore to find most of the painted motifs paralleled in the domestic sphere. Meant to recall elements found in luxurious homes, these decorative elements would remind visitors of the life of the deceased. Mythological scenes, on the other hand, dealt specifically with death and served as a unique element in the funerary sphere.

Chapter Two
Funerary Fresco

This chapter presents an extensive catalogue of frescoed tombs from the Roman Near East and Asia Minor. The discussion includes a brief description of the architecture of each tomb followed by a more thorough examination of its painted decoration. The chronological range of the tombs spans from the first through the fourth centuries AD. The precise dating of the frescoes is extremely difficult as it is often based on stylistic criteria. To make analysis more difficult, architectural evidence usually applies to the initial construction of the building, whereas the fresco decorations often belong to a secondary phase of use. For this catalogue, the period of use for each tomb is estimated based on architecture, associated graves goods and inscriptions. Where possible, a more precise date is provided for the painted decoration. When no additional date is included in the discussion of the painted decoration itself, it can only be said that the tomb was painted at some point during its period of use.

A large number of tombs in the Near East and Asia Minor maintain painted decoration in varying degrees of preservation. Several tombs preserve only small areas of paint and have been excluded from this study.[6] Painted architectural elements make up a large portion of the evidence preserved on the walls of these tombs. The origins of the architectural style has been discussed at great length by other scholars[7] so this discussion will focus primarily on the figurative and floral decoration.

1.1 Tomb of Chrysanthios

Location: Sardis
Period of Use: Fourth century AD.
Figures: Figures 1-2.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of a single vaulted subterranean chamber with a roughly square floor plan. The tomb is accessed through a rectangular cutting on the north end. In substitute of stairs, three irregular stones were set into the north wall to facilitate access into the tomb. The walls were built of thin bricks set with mortar and covered with a layer of plaster.
Decoration: The entire surface of the interior including walls and ceiling are covered in plaster and painted at the time of the construction of the tomb in the fourth century (Figures 1 and 2). The lower walls simulate revetment panels of veined marble. The

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[6] Over fifty tombs with painted decoration have been excavated at Abila. Several contain small traces of fresco which would make any interpretation difficult and have been let out of this discussion. For a complete discussion of all the tombs and their remaining decoration, see Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994.
[7] For a complete discussion of painted architectural elements, see Guldager Bilde 1993, 151-177.

upper portions of the east and west walls are bordered in red and painted in a free-field composition. Baskets, cornucopia, wreaths, doves and peacocks fill the field while scattered flowers (probably poppies) fill the space between these other motifs. A painted inscription framed by a wreath dominates the south wall. The inscription, eight lines long and in Greek records that Flavius Chrysanthios, δουκηνάριος and φαβρικήσιος (high official and armourer), built this tomb for himself and his family. Three other inscriptions, one on the vault and two on the north wall, were also found. Although the inscription on the vault is damaged and does not allow for a reading, one of the wall inscriptions records that Chrysanthios in addition to being δουκηαρίος and φαβρικήσιος was also ζωγράφος (painter). Colours include pink, red, maroon, dark blue, light blue, yellow, light green, dark green, brown, black and white.
Publication: Greenewalt 1978 (61-64); Greenewalt and Freedman 1979 (4-8); Foss 1979 (279-283); Hanfmann 1981 (87-88)

1.2 Chamber Tomb
Location: Sardis
Period of Use: First and second centuries AD.
Figures: Figure 3.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of a paved area in which was placed, on the east side, an opening to an underground chamber. The chamber itself is roughly square and has a slightly irregular vaulted ceiling. Three stones were placed at intervals in the east wall to facilitate access into the tomb.
Decoration: A narrow red border runs along the edges of all four walls and an additional green border is added to the east and west walls. All four walls are painted in a free-field composition consisting mainly of baskets of fruit, birds, vines and unusual worm-like shapes which Shear interprets as long, narrow curved bags tied at each end with green ribbons (Figure 3).[8] They occur on all walls except the west. Red flowers, probably meant to represent poppies, are scattered on all walls and fill space between the larger objects mentioned above. Colours are prominently red and green, with some touches of blue. Evidence for the reuse of the tomb exists, but the paintings appear to date to the construction of the tomb no later than the second century.
Publication: Shear 1927 (19-25)

1.3 Tomb B.I.16
Location: Anemurium, Necropolis B
Period of Use: Third century AD.
Figures: Figures 4-5.
Tomb Architecture: This is a large, two-storeyed complex consisting of two major parts. A barrel-vaulted antechamber on the east provides entrance to the tomb. From the

[8] Shear 1927, 21.

antechamber, one can access a burial chamber to the south and a large vaulted hall to the west. The hall has a rectangular niche in the east wall and is provided with a platform which runs along its north wall. North of the antechamber is a small vaulted room containing the substructure of a staircase. This room was probably used as an arcosolium, as it fits nicely one sarcophagus. The upper storey, which seems to have been a later addition, echoed the layout of the first floor. Although badly damaged, traces of a mosaic floor and a drainage system were recovered. These rooms in the upper storey contained no provisions for burial.

Decoration: The antechamber has two preserved layers of fresco which do not seem too far from each other in date as the motifs are very similar. The upper level of the north and south walls preserve a cycle of the four seasons consisting of five medallions and four squares, with garlands and flowers interspersed between these shapes. On the rising part of the vault (north and south) two medallions each flanks one square on either side, while in the crown of the vault are two squares flanking one medallion (Figure 4). Each of the seasons is represented twice, once by a portrait in a medallion and once by a winged personification holding the appropriate attribute in a square. The portraits with rounded faces, large bulbous eyes and details done in thick dark strokes look forward to trends in Byzantine art. The seasons are also identifiable by painted inscriptions in Greek.

The small room located under the staircase is decorated in quite a different fashion. The north and east walls of this small room preserve a fresco of standing figures (Figure 5). On the north wall stands a man in a long robe who turns slightly towards the right where the figure of a woman holding a shallow bowl of fruit stands. To the left of the man is another figure of a man wearing a short tunic also carrying a bowl or basket of fruit. The central position of the man and the costumes and attributes of the two outside figures suggest a banquet scene. Similar to the portraits of the Seasons, these figures also have rounded faces, bulbous eyes, and thick outlines. A double red line at the bottom and a broad scroll pattern at the top frame the scene while the void space between the figures is filled with wreaths and festoons. Traces of scattered flower, probably roses, still remain on the vault of this small room. The east wall is quite damaged, with only the lower part of a small figure and the legs of a *kline* being securely identified. Although severely damaged, this is probably another banquet scene with the reclining host, now lost, being attended to by a servant whose small scale represents his low status. The scattered flowers from the vault continue onto this wall and are used to fill the void space between the figures. All of the paintings most likely date to the initial construction of the complex.

Publication: Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1971 (177-182); Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1965 (41-45)

1.4 Tomb A.VI.2

Location: Anemurium

Period of Use: Third century AD.

Figures: Figure 6.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of a large hall which leads into a small barrel vaulted antechamber. The burial chamber, provided with three arcosolia, is accessed through the antechamber and is situated at a much lower level than the two preceding rooms.
Decoration: Only the decoration in the antechamber remains and dates to the initial construction of the tomb. The walls and vault of this room are divided into areas representing architectural features (Figure 6). The dado is divided into yellow panels which are framed by thin red lines and cut diagonally by narrow green garlands crossing at the centre. A cornice is imitated above the dado. It consists of three thick bands: yellow, white, and again yellow. The actual vault and upper portions of the walls are divided into zones. Beginning from the lowest zone, these consist of: a lozenge pattern of pink, white and green with red outlines, a checkerboard pattern with stepped colours in white, green, red and yellow; above this, a narrow strip of three-dimensional dentils. Above this, is a broad band subdivided into panels. Only one panel survives in its entirety and depicts a bird. Very little remains of the other panels but the traces which do survive suggests that each of the panels were filled with birds. Along the very top of the vault, the lozenge pattern is repeated. Each of these zones are divided by a thick, yellow band.
Publication: Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1971 (153); Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1965 (40-41)

1.5 Hall A.IV.7
Location: Anemurium
Period of Use: First half of the third century AD.
Figures: none
Tomb Architecture: This vaulted hall cannot be accurately assigned to any of the tomb complexes in its vicinity, but Alföeldi-Rosenbaum maintains that it may have served as a cult room for the tomb north of it. The hall is entered from a courtyard paved with large limestone slabs. The hall itself is provided with a high platform on the south wall and a bench along the west. There are also curved niches along the north and east walls.[9]
Decoration: The lower parts of the walls are decorated with painted panels imitating marble incrustation. Above this zone, the two end walls are subdivided into four zones, each separated by broad, horizontal bands. The south wall is better preserved and it can only be assumed, based on traces left on the north wall, that the same program was repeated there. Idyllic scenes are depicted in the two lowest zones. A nude putto and peacock frolic amongst foliage. The two lowest zones continue along the long walls on the east and west. A vine scroll appears in the third zone. Little remains of the fourth and uppermost zone but traces of a hand and possibly legs of a seated figure can be made out. The vault itself is decorated with a lozenge pattern formed by bands of guilloche crossing each other. Rosettes are placed over the areas where the guilloches cross each other while

[9] Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1965, 37.

the lozenges themselves contain medallions. Only two medallions, one containing an animal head and another, a human head, survive in a condition which allows for easy recognition. It can be understood that all the lozenges once held several motifs. The painting probably dates to the initial construction of the tomb.
Publication: Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1971 (142-143); Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1965 (37-40)

1.6 Paleochristian hypogeum
Location: Nicaea
Period of Use: Second through fourth century AD.
Figures: Figure 7.
Tomb Architecture: This tomb consists of an irregular, barrel-vaulted underground chamber entered through a small doorway in the west. The west wall is entirely constructed by bricks. The other surfaces are made of the natural, cut stone and partly built with square bricks. A socket for a pivot, located on the left side of the door, suggests that there was a swinging door on this tomb. The tomb is provided with space for two burials. The burials, one opposite the entrance and the other along the south wall, are approximately 50 cm high. A moulding of bricks runs along all four walls at this same height and may indicate the level of the original floor of the chamber. The burials themselves would have been covered with lids and accessed at this level.
Decoration: The lower portion of the walls is left bare. The north and south walls are divided into five panels which are arranged to mirror the designs opposite them. They alternate between a lozenge pattern coloured black, red and brown, and representations of birds and foliage. The eastern panel on both the north and south is long and narrow with a yellowish green palm on a white background. Two peacocks flank the doorway on the western wall. The peacocks, looking directly ahead and with their tails fully exposed, are painted in a dark blue with accents of gold, white and blue. In the lunette above the door is a centrally placed monogrammatic cross flanked by two partridges on a white background (Figure 7). The same design is mirrored in the lunette on the east wall. Here, however, the design is more elaborate with poppies and foliage filling the empty space around the two partridges. The cross itself is also more elaborately decorated accented with white pearls. Beneath, in the large panel, is represented a garden with poppies, small trees and birds. At the centre is a large kantharos. Two large peacocks, both with one foot on the handle of the vase, flank the kantharos. Shown in profile and with their tails relaxed, they are painted with gray, blue, brown and white.
Publication: Andaloro and Barbet 2002 (171-195); Firatli 1974 (917-932)

1.7 Massyaf
Location: Massyaf
Period of Use: Second and third century AD.
Figures: Figures 8-9.

Tomb Architecture: This rock-cut tomb is built entirely underground. The plan is highly irregular but essentially consists of a series of alcoves centered around a central corridor. The tomb is provided with thirteen burial troughs.
Decoration: The decoration is very damaged and only allows for the identification of a few narrative scenes. On the north wall is a 2 metre long painting of the Abduction of Persephone framed by a red border (Figure 8). This depiction includes all the elements typically associated with a format that can be traced back to the Classical period. A nude Hermes leads a horse-drawn chariot carrying away Hades and Persephone. Persephone pulls away for Hades and reaches backwards where a helmeted Athena stands and watches. A few painted Greek letters above Hermes suggest that all the figures were originally labeled. Against the back wall of the northeastern alcove stands a lone, preserved figure of Hermes, identified with a painted Greek inscription. In this depiction, Hermes is fully clothed and appears to hold a caduceus. Nothing else remains of the setting to indicate any specific episode.

The alcove in the southeastern corner of the tomb preserves a scene of Narcissus (Figure 9). Situated in a landscape of trees and rocks, a nude Narcissus looks into a pool of water. Separated from Narcissus but located in the same landscape are three children gesturing towards an altar(?). On the west wall, beside the entrance, is a poorly preserved scene. Framed by a red border, the only remaining features of the scene are Jason's head and its accompanying inscription, part of a bellowing drapery and part of an inscription presumably indicating that Medea was part of the scene.
Publication: Chapouthier 1954 (172-211)

1.8 Tomb of the Three Brothers
Location: Palmyra
Period of Use: Second and third century AD.
Figures: Figures 10-12.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb is T-shaped and is entered at the east end by a staircase descending from the ground. Lateral exedras extend to the north and south and a long gallery runs westward into the heart of the mountain. It is constructed with brick barrel vaults. The walls are punctuated with sixty-five recesses at intervals of less than one metre, each accommodating six loculi – a burial capacity totaling 360.
Decoration: The largest concentration of painting is found in a chamber at the extreme west of the tomb. The boundary of this chamber is marked with an arch supported by flat pilasters each painted with a female figure (Figure 10). On the south pilaster the figure wears a floor-length robe and is crowned by a high turban hung with jewels. In her left arm she holds a baby dressed in a tunic of grey and wearing a brown hat. The background is predominantly a solid green, with the exception of blue in the area above her shoulders. A casket and bowl are also visible. Directly opposite, on the north pilaster, is a woman likewise dressed in a long robe and a turban. The same division of green and blue is used

for the background but a white curtain hangs behind her from two pins. Beside her left calf, a stemmed cup is balanced on a square brown casket. Both figures are rendered in a very linear style, with red-brown contour lines employed for the folds of the drapery and the outline. These two figures, who differ considerably in style and execution from the other paintings, are identified as daughters of Sim'on (on the south) and Malê (on the north) and are connected to their fathers' purchases of burial rights in the tomb in AD 191 and 241 respectively thus possibly later additions to an existing decorative scheme.

Inside the chamber proper, the vaulted ceiling is covered with a carpet-like pattern of interlocking hexagons and a central medallion containing Ganymede. The young boy is nude with the exception of a cap and a cape which spreads out behind him. Jupiter as an eagle flies behind him. Another mythological scene is painted on the lunette on the western extreme. The rather crowded scene shows Achilles being discovered by Odysseus in the court of King Lycomedes (Figure 11). Achilles, holding a shield high above his head and tearing off his female robes, stands in the centre surrounded by Odysseus, Diomedes, Pyrrhus and ladies of the court.

Winged female figures, probably representing Victories, float on the pilasters between the loculi (Figure 12). The females are all frontal with a slight twist of the head towards the left, and stand on gray spheres. Their arms are raised and support a portrait medallion. Males and females are represented as well as one infant, all against a blue background. All the women wear turbans and cloaks pulled up over their heads while the men wear short hair and a beard. Each of the figures also holds an object in their left hand. One man appears to be holding the top of a crook and the woman beside him, a scroll. Round the bottom of the pilasters and chamber walls run a double dado. The upper row consists of lozenges enclosing a circle and the lower, a series of birds and animals running or prowling. The winged figures and most of the decoration in the chamber itself presumably date to the original construction of the tomb around AD 142, while the portraits medallions are later commissions added as burial rights were purchased. The surviving inscriptions do not allow for precise identification or dating of the portraits.
Publication: Ball 2000 (369); Balty 1989 (531-535); Kraeling 1961-1962 (13-18)

1.9 Hypogeum of Hairan
Location: Palmyra
Period of Use: Second century AD.
Figures: Figures 13-14.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consisted of the typical underground T-shaped chamber whose walls were cut with loculi. A small exedra was added later to the right of the central gallery.
Decoration: The surviving decoration comes from the small exedra added to the tomb in AD 149/150 (Figure 13). A beardless man stands on a raised base on the left wall. The man wears a tunic with a black stripe and has two large rings on his left hand. He is

sketched primarily in red-brown strokes and has brown shading along his left side. A painted inscription in Palmyrene above his head records "Hairan, son of Taimarsu". On the opposite wall stands a woman. She wears a tunic of green with a red stripe, pulled over her hair. Two keys hang from a brooch attached to her tunic. She too stands on a raised platform. Both of these figures stand against a white background scattered with vines and grapes. In the centre of the ceiling is an eagle shaded and outlined in the same brown and red-brown strokes as the beardless man. On the back wall of the exedra, above the four niches, is a circular medallion enclosing a male bust (Figure 14). The portrait is frontal and very stylized, with little attention given to naturalistic details. The rendering of the hair, for example, is cap-like. The medallion is flanked on each side by a winged youth in a red Phrygian cap, carrying a wreath and a palm. To the left of the medallion is an incomplete painted inscription in Palmyrene: "Image of M…". The unclear attributes of the portrait and the incomplete inscription do not allow for a secure identification of the young man.
Publication: Colledge 1976 (84)

1.10 Hypogeum of Dionysos
Location: Palmyra
Period of Use: Second and third century AD.
Figures: Figure 15.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of two central chambers with two side chambers, one on each side. In these side chambers, the majority of the niches are not finished.
Decoration: The only painted decoration remaining decorates the first of the two central chambers and shows a reclining male figure identified as Dionysos (Figure 15). The god is nude with the exception of a himation thrown over his legs. He appears to be wearing a wreath and holds a patera in his right hand. A nimbus surrounds the god's head. A large vine scroll, stemming from a large jar to the right, arches over the god.
Publication: Colledge 1976 (87)

1.11 Sidon
Location: Sidon
Period of Use: Second and third century AD.
Figures: Figures 16-17.
Tomb Architecture: The long, rectangular chamber is entered from the south. Both the east and west wall are cut with four loculi directly across from each other creating a sense of symmetry. On the north wall are two small chambers with two additional burials each.
Decoration: The entire surface of the walls and ceiling is covered with fresco. The ceiling and areas above and inside the loculi are scattered with flower buds while a continuous flow of garlands run along the area above the loculi. In the lunette above the chambers on the north wall are two birds who hold a garland between them in their

beaks. The two small chambers on the north wall also have vertical garland elements. In addition to the scattering of flower buds, two of the loculi in the main chamber have rhomboids on each of the three walls.

On the wall spaces between the loculi and the chambers in the north stand almost life-size figures on white panels, all of whom are identified by painted Greek inscriptions above their right shoulders with the exception of the three female figures located on the north side of the tomb whom remain unspecified (Figure 16). The identified figures, all male, wear long white robes with two vertical stripes and are further individualized by their hairstyles including one figure, Petenos, who wears his hair in a knot on top of his head. The rest wear short or long hairstyles. Each of the male figures can be identified as servants based on their names, which are all common to slaves in this period (Oinophilos, Kalokeros, etc.) and the fact that each carries a large plate in front of them with a variety of different foods including birds, fish and legs of ham. The procession of servants with plates explicitly brings to mind a banquet scene.

The female figures, all located on the northern wall of the tomb, are also individualized. Each of them wears long white robes covered with a darker mantle but are individualized by their attributes. One holds a scroll, another holds *lekythos* (Figure 17) and the third, a *volumen* (roll of writing). These three figures have been identified as personifications of Culture and the Banquet.[10] The precise dating of the fresco is difficult but the overall uniformity of the figures suggests one phase of decoration.
Publication: Barbet, Gatier and Lewis 1997 (141-160)

1.12 Tyre
Location: Tyre
Period of Use: Middle of the second century AD.
Figures: Figures 18-20.
Tomb Architecture: The complex consists of a paved dromos leading down to an underground, rectangular entrance hall. A high bench is located along the extent of the southern wall. Opposite is a small, square burial chamber containing four loculi. This room is also provided with a bench which runs along all four walls. A larger, roughly square, burial chamber is located to the east of the hall. It holds fourteen loculi (four to the north, five to the east and four more to the south) and a small side chamber to the north.
Decoration: The majority of the painted decoration is found in the larger of the two burial chambers. The arched doorway leading from the entrance hall into the large burial chamber is the only area outside of the burial chamber which is decorated. The arched area over the doorway is decorated with scrolling vines and bunches of grapes which continue onto the lunette above the door. In the centre of the field is a bust of Psyche. Interweaving vine scrolls crawl up either side of the doorway.

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[10] Barbet, Gatier and Lewis 1997, 145-146.

The walls of the larger burial chamber and the zones located above the loculi are heavily decorated. The spaces between the loculi are painted to imitate architectural features including thin, spindly columns flanking either side of the loculi openings and imitation stone and marble both above and in between the openings. These architectural echoes continue on the upper zone where imitation marble columns are placed on each on the four corners of the chamber. Between each of these columns hang garlands which act as pseudo-ground lines for the figurative scenes dominating these spaces. On each of the walls, large winged putti stand roughly in the middle of the zone acting as additional supports for the garlands thus creating two zones on each wall. Large ribbons also hang from both the corner columns and the putti. The putti and the columns rest on a thin band which runs along the top of the loculi.

The figurative scenes are located above the loculi. Painted inscriptions in Greek identify each of the characters depicted in these scenes. Beginning on the northwestern side of the burial chamber, one first comes across a scene of Tantalus in the garden of the underworld (Figure 18). The setting is indicated by a few trees laden with olives on either side of Tantalus and sketchy lines around his feet suggesting water. Tantalus himself bends down unsuccessful in reaching the water. He is depicted with dark skin and wearing only a loin cloth and cap. The artist has effectively shown the effect of the water with Tantalus' legs disappearing between the stream whereas the proportions of the figure are slightly awkward. His right arm is too long and large for his body. On the eastern end of the north wall is a scene of Hercules leading Alcestis out of the Underworld. Hercules, nude except for a crown and a lion's skin thrown over his left shoulder, leads Alcestis with his right hand. Alcestis wears a long chiton and himation. The same dark ochre colour used on Tantalus is also used on Hercules while Alcestis is depicted with a lighter skin tone. Other than Hercules' shadow, no other indication of a setting is used.

A scene of the abduction of Persephone dominates the eastern wall (Figure 19). A four-horse chariot, led by Hermes, presumably carries off Hades and Persephone. Behind the fleeing chariot stand Athena and Artemis, both of whom are mostly destroyed as well. A sense of depth is created in this scene with the overlapping of the four horses and a great deal of shading on both the animals and Hermes. Similar to the abduction scene from the tomb at Massyaf, this example follows the same iconographic tradition that goes back to the Classical period.

The figured scenes continue on the south wall with a depiction of Priam ransoming for the return of Hector's body (Figure 20). The body, badly damaged but identified by an inscription, lies on a large scale. A fully dressed Priam kneels in front of an enthroned, heroically nude Achilles. Achilles is shown as a young man with curling hair and defined musculature and Priam as an old man with beard and a crook. Achilles is also larger in scale than Priam and Hector perhaps an indication of his semi-divinity. The last of the mythological scenes shows Hercules and Cerberus. A nude Hercules holds a

club in his left hand and leads Cerberus with a chain in his right. They face towards the door of the tomb.
Publication: Dunand 1965 (5-51)

1.13 Tomb of Pluto and Persephone
Location: Marwa
Period of Use: Third century AD.
Figures: Figure 21.
Tomb Architecture: The underground tomb consists of a single rectangular chamber with a rectangular offset at the back. The tomb is approached by a ramp leading down to the door. Loculi, with both flat and rounded tops, are cut into the south and east walls, and the sides of the extension. Some of the loculi remain unfinished.
Decoration: The only painting that survives is located on the east wall. A thick, black band frames the arch of the arcosolium. The back lunette of the arcosolium shows the figures of a man and woman seated on a cushioned stool (Figure 21). Each of the figures holds a staff in one hand and a small crown rests on their heads. With her free hand, the woman touches her companion's shoulder. The figures have been identified as both the builders of the tomb and as Pluto and Persephone. Unfortunately, the intentional defacement of the figures does not allow for a positive identification. On the east side of the couple is a three-headed animal usually identified as Cerberus while a tall basket filled with small round fruit flanks them on the west. The stool rests on an artificial ground line and an arch of garland and rosettes which follows the curve of the arcosolium frames the scene. The empty space is filled with palm branches. Below the arcosolium are three masks of maidens with garlands and ribbons hanging between them. Between the arcosolium and the door, a six-line inscription was originally painted within a painted *tabula ansata*. Unfortunately, the inscription was intentionally defaced and the inscription once has been lost. Colours include black, dark blue, red, dark and light brown, and a flesh colour.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (257-263); McCown 1939 (1-30); McCown 1936 (2-4)

1.14 Tomb of the Nymphs
Location: Askalon
Period of Use: End of the third century AD.
Figures: Figure 22.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of a vaulted chamber placed on slightly raised ground containing four burials, two along the east wall and two along the west. A small open vestibule reached by three steps precedes the chamber.
Decoration: The paintings cover the walls and the vault of the tomb. Along the four walls, the painting starts approximately 60 centimetres from the floor. The south wall

depicts an idyllic scene with a pond in the foreground and two semi-draped nymphs reclining at its shore (Figure 22). Although the proportions of the figures are somewhat awkward, the artist's use of shading gives the bodies a sense of volume. Both nymphs hold tall reeds in one hand while their other arms rests on overturned amphorae from which water is flowing. Fish are swimming in the pond, and water birds and a bull are depicted drinking from its water. On the north wall, the bottom portions of two male figures in short tunics flank the door. Each of the side walls (east and west) are divided into five panels of imitation marble slabs; the central panel on each side is larger and has a unique pattern. The vault is decorated with vine trellis together with vintage scenes, beasts, and birds as well as a female bust and a Gorgon's mask. The female bust has tentatively been identified as Persephone or Demeter. The identification rests on a stalk of green leaves with two red flowers or fruit perhaps pomegranates, which the figure holds.
Publication: Michaeli 1998 (163-169); Ory 1939 (38-44)

1.15 Migdal Ashqelon Tomb
Location: Migdal Ashqelon
Period of Use: Third century AD.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb is approached through a courtyard on the south. The underground burial hall itself is vaulted and rectangular in shape. Eight vaulted loculi, three each on the east and west walls, and two on the north, are cut into the walls of the burial hall. Tall niches are placed in the spaces between the loculi, totaling five.
Decoration: Garlands border both the openings of the loculi and the niches. The only other surviving decoration is found in the niches. In each of these niches stand nude male figures. Each of the figures occupies the entire height of the niche and holds an object – a peacock, two dead ducks, a bowl of figs, a tray and a jug. Red flowers are scattered around the figures. The figures may represent servants and with their attributes undoubtedly are meant to evoke a banquet.
Publication: Kogan-Zehari 1999 (179-181); Michaeli 1999 (181-183)

1.16 Tomb of the Busts
Location: Abila
Period of Use: Middle of the second century AD.
Figures: Figures 23-24.
Tomb Architecture: The underground tomb is entered from the south-west through an arched doorway. The burial chamber is roughly rectangular with a small alcove located opposite the doorway. The south wall is cut by ten loculi, organized into two rows of five which are placed one on top of each other. The north wall follows the same design but has only eight completed loculi. It seems that the south-west portion of the wall remained unfinished. The wall opposite the door is furnished with two more loculi cut quite high to avoid disrupting the loculi cut into the walls of the back alcove. The alcove itself is

furnished with seven loculi, two on each of the side walls and two rows of three along the back. In addition to the loculi, three pits were dug into the floor of the chamber allowing for the addition burial of two adults and one child. A bench runs along the entire length of the chamber and the alcove with the exception of the north-west wall.
Decoration: The walls are painted to simulate monumental architecture with marble plinths, small columns and a frieze but are interrupted by the loculi. The plinth of every small column is situated between the loculi of the lower row; they are decorated with lozenges outlined in black and placed in rectangles. The lozenges alternated between imitation marble and those of a solid colour. The small columns rise between the loculi on the upper level, each topped with a Corinthian capital.

In between the loculi of the alcove, thicker, fluted columns fill the space. The decoration in the alcove also deviates from the design of the burial chamber with the inclusion of six busts (Figure 23). The busts, three on each side, are placed in panels located above the *loculi* on the side walls. The busts themselves are quite fragmentary but it appears that five represent males and the sixth, slightly smaller than the rest, depicts a female. Each is frontal and relies on thick dark lines for details (Figure 24).

The ceilings of both the alcove and the burial hall are completely covered with a 'carpet' designs. The ceiling of the main burial hall consists of hexagons and diamonds formed by weaving garlands. Although heavily damaged, traces of painted busts within some of the hexagons suggest that each was once filled with the same motif. In the centre of the vault is a square panel which may have featured an eagle. The ceiling of the alcove uses the same twisting garlands but the design here consists of interlocking circles. Small squares with rosettes at the centre fill the spaces between the circles.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (95-114); Barbet 1987 (45-53)

1.17 Tomb of Loukianos
Location: Abila
Period of Use: Second and third century AD.
Figures: Figure 25.
Tomb Architecture: Three steps lead down into a large chamber supported by four square pillars. A total of 37 loculi are cut into all four walls at different elevations. The organization of the loculi appears quite haphazard, with some large areas of the walls left unfinished. Both flat and vaulted loculi are represented. An alcove is cut into the eastern wall and is provided with three burial troughs and an additional four loculi.
Decoration: Little decoration remains in the main chamber. Traces of plaster over some of the loculi openings suggest that they were covered with panels of imitation marble, while some contained painted Greek inscriptions within *tabula ansata* or wreaths. The best preserved of these panels records the name Loukianos. The rest of the preserved decoration is once again concentrated around the alcove. The arch of the alcove is bordered with vines and grapes isolated within lozenges. Both walls of the alcove are

divided into three rectangular panels, all of which contain figures (Figure 25). Figures include a female with a writing tablet, a female with two palm leaves held across her chest, another holding a scroll with a fourth possibly carrying *cymbales* with a nimbus surrounding her head. Two panels also contain birds. The females figures have been identified as personifications of Science, Victory, and Culture, respectively with the identity of the fourth remaining a mystery.[11] The back lunette of the alcove between the niches is decorated with vegetal candelabras which are fairly symmetric. The vaulted ceiling of the alcove is divided into 18 panels (6 x 3) by brown lines. Vegetal material appears in most of the panels (including vines and grape clusters). At least five of the panels have birds while two show nude figures (both female) holding vines. Two more panels also preserve busts.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (73-84)

1.18 Tomb of the Ceiling of the Octagons
Location: Abila
Period of Use: Third century AD.
Tomb Architecture: A small entrance room with cistern leads into main large rectangular courtyard with six loculi in north wall and three in the east. A small, slightly elevated extension is located in the southern wall, close to the entrance. The extension is provided with a burial trough and a rather small, crudely cut loculus. Part of the loculus is constructed with coarse stone and a hole in the south side which comes in contact with loculi from a neighbouring tomb. This suggests a miscalculation on the part of the builders of one of the tombs.
Decoration: Only the ceiling is painted. The surface is divided into geometric panels. The most commanding of the panels are the octagons while the remaining spaces are filled with circles surrounded by four small squares and flattened hexagons. The octagons each frame a bust. The busts themselves each differ in little details and seem to represent both masculine and feminine figures. A staff, crook or scepter is placed behind each of the busts. The flattened hexagons frame dolphins while the small squares contain rosettes.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (85-93)

1.19 Tomb of the Veiled Women
Location: Abila
Period of Use: Second century AD.
Figures: Figure 50.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of a large, rectangular chamber. The walls are cut with two levels of loculi, the lower of which has curved roofs while the higher examples have flat roofs. In total, there is room for a minimum of thirty-four burials.

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[11] Barbet 1994, 81-82; Safwan 1995, 376.

Decoration: Above the entrance to the tomb are the remains of two medallions, one placed directly over the doorway and the other to the right hand side. In each of the medallions are busts that cannot be accurately identified as male or female due to lack of preservation. There is also faint evidence that the busts were originally identified with painted Greek inscriptions. The background of the middle medallion is blue whereas the background of the other is white.

In the main chamber of the tomb, the walls were painted to imitate elements of monumental architecture. In the spaces between both the lower and upper levels of the loculi were fluted columns with elaborate Corinthian capitals. The plinths of the columns line up with the bottom of the *loculi.* On the lower level of the south wall and on both levels on the east wall, a pseudo-metope and triglyph scheme is created. Above both the columns and the loculi themselves are alternating panels. Each of the panels are outlined with a thick black band. There is no clear organization to the motifs within these panels. Fish, birds, and other animals in rustic settings appear along with busts and full-figures of veiled women. Colours used include black, blues, greens, red, yellow and a flesh tone. Above the loculi of the upper level on the south wall runs a continuous vegetal frieze.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (179-192)

1.20 Tomb of the Candelabras
Location: Abila
Period of Use: First and second centuries AD.
Figures: Figure 26.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb is entered from the east through a small vestibule which is provided with six loculi along the ground line, two on the east and four on the west. The main chamber is approximately 54 square metres and is topped with a barrel vault. Six vaulted loculi at ground level are located on each of the lateral walls. Extending from the two side walls are also small chambers, both located at the eastern extremes of their respective walls. At the centre of the rear wall is a small corridor which leads to a small, square antechamber approximately six square metres. On either side of this small corridor are two, vaulted loculi, all four at ground level identical to the rest of the loculi of the tomb.
Decoration: The surviving decoration is concentrated on the main chamber and the vestibule walls and is badly damaged. Very little remains of the painting in the vestibule but two red bands run horizontally above the loculi and two vertically between each of the openings. The space between both sets of bands appears to have once held decoration but the remains do not allow for a reconstruction.

In the main chamber, the same horizontal band runs above the loculi opening. The decoration between these two bands is better preserved in the main chamber and allows for some reconstruction. On the east wall, this area is decorated with rows of circles formed with a continuous line of vine. The circles are filled with animals. The surviving

images show a large cat, a rabbit and a horse. Along the north wall runs a frieze, which preserves the remains, of what happens to be a continuous scene (Figure 26). On the east extreme of the frieze is a man in a two-horse chariot charging towards a large animal. Only the hindquarter of the animal in question survives, making it difficult to determine its species. On the western extreme of this frieze, another animal is preserved. The animal, once again too destroyed to be accurately identified, is leaping towards a construction composed of six arches. The condition of the frieze makes an interpretation difficult but the scene recalls a *venatio* from the circus or amphitheatre or a hunt. The frieze along the south wall is severely damaged but the traces of leaping and running animals suggest that a similar scene to that along the north once occupied this wall.

Candelabras fill the spaces between the loculi openings in the main chamber, alternating between large, ornate examples and thin, spindly ones. The only decoration on the thin candelabras consists of a single ribbon tied around the middle of a slim, plain staff. The more ornate examples stand on three-legged bases and consist of a number of decorative embellishments along the entire length of the candelabras. Each of these candelabras are also decorated with climbing vines and a bird standing at the top.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (115-126)

1.21 Tomb H60
Location: Abila
Period of Use: Second and third century AD.
Figures: Figures 27-30.
Tomb Architecture: A courtyard cut back into the hillside precedes the tomb. The tomb itself is cut into the bedrock and is subterranean. The central chamber is entered through a stepped entrance on the west. The lateral and opposite walls are cut with a variety of niches, loculi, arcosolia and exedras, all provided with spaces for interment. A large exedra is cut into the southern wall and is provided with arcosolia, niches for altars and a large platform.
Decoration: The frescoed surfaces are concentrated in the areas of the arcosolia and are used alongside carved reliefs. On either side of the main arch on the northwestern wall are sculpted lions, sphinxes and hanging garlands. The three sarcophagi in the arcosolium of the eastern wall were plastered over and painted to imitate bed coverings. Along the back wall of this same arcosolium is a portrait medallion of a young woman, presumably one of the deceased (Figure 27). The woman is richly dressed and is accompanied by a painted *tabula ansata*. She has dark hair and dark almond shaped eyes. The depictions can be compared to the portraits from Fayum common in this same period. Although badly damaged, the painted inscription preserves fragments that indicate the young woman was either 18 or 38 years of age. Along the same wall is a small, vaulted niche outlined in a thick, red border. The arched ceiling of the niche is decorated with scattered, pink flowers which continue onto the back wall. In the centre of this back wall is a small

medallion containing a bivalve shell. Directly below the niche is a badly damaged *tabula ansata*. Unfortunately, nothing can be read from the inscription.

Within the large exedra cut into the south wall, three arcosolia maintain traces of fresco. Immediately to the right of the entrance is an arcosolium highlighted by a red border outlined by thin black lines. Though badly damaged, the tails of flanking peacocks and two winged sphinxes can be discerned. Traces of an inscription indicating that the deceased was 22 years of age can also be seen. To the left of this arcosolium, along the southern wall of the exedra, is another arcosolium with preserved fresco. The curve is again outlined in red and traces of a winged Victory remain on the wall directly above the arcosolium. The front surface of the wall, directly below the arcosolium, two birds placed in an idyllic landscape of flowers, flank a medallion that was once decorated with a funerary portrait. The arched ceiling of the arcosolium is decorated with scattered flowers. On the back lunette, painted on a blue gray background and framed by two vertical elements, is a man dressed in white. A woman dressed in a full-length purple dress accepts a bouquet from the man and holds an unidentifiable object in her right hand (Figure 28).

A large recess extending into the wall occupies the eastern side of the exedra. The wall in front of the recess was once decorated with a design which included birds, faces and swirling lines. Most of this decoration was found in fragments on the floor and in pits directly beneath the wall. On the back wall of one of the arcosolium is a medallion containing a funerary portrait of an older woman in dark clothes (Figure 29). Directly below is a fragmented inscription recording that the woman was 65 years old. The exedra extends beyond this first arcosolium. Above and approximately 2.5 metres back is another painted arcosolium. A white-robed man reclines on a couch next to a circular table (Figure 30). He extends his right hand towards a barelegged man whose presence is indicated in fragments. In his left hand, the reclining man holds a scroll. The scene was completed in quick, sketchy strokes of paint.
Publication: Smith and Mare 1997 (307-314)

1.22 Tomb at Or ha-Ner
Location: Or ha-Ner
Period of Use: Fourth century AD.
Figures: Figures 31-32.
Tomb Architecture: This subterranean tomb consists of a vaulted, rectangular central hall oriented north-south. Near East and west of the hall are four vaulted chambers (two on each side).
Decoration: Only the decoration in the central hall is preserved. Above the door on the northern wall is a painted Greek inscription reading, Εἰσέλθε Οὐδις / ἀθάνατος (Enter. No one / is immortal). The inscription is not framed. On either side of the door are sword-like forms which have been interpreted as burning candlesticks or torches. The lower zone of

the southern wall is divided into two panels within each is a rhomboid of imitation marble. The east and west walls are divided into friezes by thin red stripes. The lower frieze is divided into three panels on each side and contains traces of a marbled motif. Unfortunately, the middle frieze is too damaged to suggest a motif. The upper frieze consists of fourteen medallions, seven on each wall and containing portraits of men and women (Figure 31). The portraits are all frontal and painted with dark strokes for the outline, nose, mouth, large eyes and brows. Depth and shading has been created with the use of some lighter colours on the right side of their faces as if highlighted by a light source (Figure 32).
Publication: Tsafrir 1968 (170-180)

1.23 Tomb of Prometheus
Location: Capitolias
Period of Use: Second century AD.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of a simple subterranean chamber, quite irregular in shape, with two adjoining arcosolia. The southern arcosolium is provided with space for two burials while the eastern can only accommodate one. There is also a bench along the northern wall.
Decoration: The decoration is concentrated in and around the two arcosolia. The lunette of the eastern arcosolium is decorated with a scene occupying the entire height of the wall. On the left, Hermes leads a small figure, perhaps an image of the deceased; on the right, Prometheus with a flaming rod glances towards a figure labeled Plasma. The scene is quite fragmentary but the figures are identifiable because of painted labels in Greek. The opening of the arcosolium is framed with squares shown in perspective. The spandrels contain traces of figures perhaps representing winged victories. Below the opening of the arcosolium two striding lions in a heraldic pose.

The lunette of the southern arcosolium is separated into two zones. The lower zone is divided into three panels each filled with different patterns. The surviving fresco on the side wall of this arcosolium shows the scene of Achilles killing Hector. The upper zone depicts a scene of Achilles dragging Hector's body behind a chariot in front of the walls of Troy. Each of these scenes is extremely fragmentary and relies heavily on the inscriptions for the identity of both the characters and the specific episodes. The artist's uses quick paint strokes to create a sketch-like rendering of the myths. Dark lines are used to indicate folds in clothing and the overall form of the characters while shading is achieved with broad strokes of light and dark paint. The opening of the arcosolium is framed by a simple guilloche and like the eastern wall preserves traces of figures in the spandrels. The figures on this wall however are much larger. The lower portion of the wall does not contain lions but is rather split into three panels, each filled with different patterns.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (229-244); Zayadine 1976 (285-294)

1.24 Tomb of the Veteran
Location: Som
Period of Use: Second century AD.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb is irregular in shape and design. The main chamber is roughly rectangular. From all four walls extend irregularly shaped loculi, corridors and extensions. Opposite the door, on the southern wall is an alcove which is provided with a bench on three sides.
Decoration: The spaces between the loculi and other openings on the walls of the main chamber are painted to imitate columns. The plinths of the columns are in line with the loculi leaving the lower layer of the wall free of decoration. The lower portions of the columns are painted a solid colour while the upper part is fluted. Each of the columns are topped with an acanthus plant. Garlands hang between the columns and each frames a bird. A somewhat randomly situated bust is painted above one of the *loculi* on the west wall. The arch of the alcove is framed by a garland painted in the same technique as those which hang between the columns. As on the west wall, traces of an isolated bust are visible in the right spandrel. The entire interior of the alcove is painted in a free-field style of scattered flowers. The back lunette, sides and vaulted ceiling are scattered with red flowers and unusual red worm-like images tied at the ends with green ribbons. Mythical and realistic creatures also appear in the alcove. A panther and a griffin are visible along the side walls which the back lunette is dominated by a central image of a sphinx.
Publication: Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994 (247-254)

1.25 Cave of Birds
Location: Jerusalem, Mount of Olives
Period of Use: End of the third century AD.
Figures: Figure 33.
Tomb Architecture: The tomb consists of an almost square burial chamber entered from the west. Arcosolia are cut into the three other walls and are each provided with burial troughs: one in the southern arcosolium, three in the eastern, and two in the northern.
Decoration: The arches of the arcosolia are outlined with reddish-brown bands while the walls are decorated with a scattering of long stemmed, pink flowers. The basic design of the decorations in the central chamber consists of four grapevines, which emerge from the four corners of the chamber and interlace all over the ceiling (Figure 33). A pair of birds – a dove and a peacock – are featured in each of the four corners. Eight more birds are depicted on the ceiling interspersed between the vines and bunches of grapes. In addition to more peacocks and doves, other types of birds are depicted including a pheasant.
Publication: Kloner 2000 (306-310)

Chapter Three
Domestic Fresco

This chapter presents a catalogue of fresco painting from the domestic sphere. It covers roughly the same geographical and chronological scope as the funerary material. Dating of the fresco is once again difficult. Several of the houses were occupied for extensive periods of time and, although the actual construction of the house may be dated on the basis of the architecture and associated finds, the wall decoration was changed to suit the needs or tastes of the successive occupants. In some cases, two or three consecutive layers of plaster can be identified on a single wall. For this catalogue, I have focused on the decorative schemes that are well-preserved and which therefore provide detailed evidence for the changing tastes of the occupants through the Roman period. For the houses at Zeugma, only the final phases are examined; the earlier phases are omitted due to their poor state of preservation and our inadequate understanding of their overall decorative schemes. The houses at Ephesus, on the other hand, have been studied in more detail and more sense can be made of the early periods of decoration. The material from the Herodian period, including the palaces at Herodium, Jericho, Masada and Kypros and the cities of Caesarea, Samaria, and Jerusalem, have been left out of this examination for two reasons. Firstly, all the Herodian material dates to the reign of Herod in the late first century BC, predating the majority of the funerary material .[12] All the funerary material, the focus of this study, dates to the first through fourth centuries AD whereas the Herodian material can all be dated to the reign of Herod in the late first century BC. Secondly, Talmudic law forbade the use of figurative decoration, and there are only a few known representations of birds, animals and living plants amongst the Herodian material. Since this analysis of funerary fresco focuses on figured compositions, the Herodian domestic frescoes offer little basis for comparison.[13]

2.1 House of the Consul Attalus
Location: Pergamum
Period of Use: Originally built in the second century BC; remodeled during Roman period.
Figures: Figure 34-35.
Architecture: The house consists of a series of rooms built on three sides of a central courtyard.

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[12] For an examination of the Herodian material and its relationship to wall painting in Greece and Italy, see Fittschen 1996, 139-161; Rozenberg 1996, 121-138.
[13] There are exceptions to this trend. Most notably is the synagogue from Dura-Europos from the third century and the painted decoration of the Jewish catacombs in Rome but both of these fall outside the scope of this discussion.

Decoration: The surviving decoration dates to around AD 200. Several rooms in this house preserve substantial remains of wall decoration allowing for a good understanding of the decorative schemes. The remains of plaster are concentrated in a series of rooms located just off the main peristyle. The most complete of these schemes comes from Room 36 located off the western side of the courtyard. Here, a garden painting is depicted with a low parapet wall painted in perspective beneath a shrub (Figure 34). A dark band frames the garden panel. The plants and shrubs stand against a white background, which eliminates any real sense of depth. Several of the plants themselves are quite stylized and attain an unnatural symmetry. Flower buds and other vegetal elements float against this white background. The low wall running beneath the garden panel creates a greater sense of depth. The wall, meant to imitate marble panels, has two small projections on which are placed two large vessels. On each stands two birds, one taking a drink from the water in the vessel. The inspiration for the large drinking cup with birds goes back to a Hellenistic model best known from the Roman copies of the dove mosaic by Sosos.[14] A comparable plan is found in Room 38, a cubiculum. A similar parapet wall with projecting pilasters in front of a panel of standing shrubs and floating flowers buds is identified. The feature of the birds and vessels is not present but this may be an issue of preservation.

In an adjoining room (Room 37), a very different scheme is encountered. The lower zones consist of a number of solid bands surmounted by an arched feature in a dark solid panel. The space within the arched feature is painted in a light colour and contains very faint traces of paint perhaps meant to represent an illusionary vista beyond the wall. Above is a zone of imitation moldings shown in perspective; this is surmounted by another illusionary zone (Figure 35). Here, columns frame another 'window'. The remains are once again washed out but the top of an architectural feature supposedly meant to be beyond the wall is seen in the lower space of the 'window'. The environments outside these illusionary windows do not correspond with each other at all, indicating that they represent fictional landscape.
Publication: Radt 1999 (95-99); Conze et al. 1913 (286-289)

2.2 House II
Location: Pergamum
Period of Use: Originally constructed in the second century BC; remodeled in the Roman period.
Architecture: The house centres on a courtyard with rooms on two sides.
Decoration: The remains from this house are very fragmentary, but some general schemes can be identified. In Room II, a simple masonry style can be reconstructed. The scheme consists of a white plinth divided into rectangles by two parallel lines, followed by a main zone of red panels framed by thick black bands. Two thin white bands add

[14] Radt 1999, 99.

more embellishment and also help to frame an occasional isolated element within the panel. A peacock, for example, is preserved in one of the panels. In addition, a fragment of a face with large, dark eyes and set against a red background was found in the same room and may have once been positioned as one of these isolated motifs. The main zone is surmounted with a geometric border and two red bands. A similar plan is also found in Room III. Here, the main zone consists of the same red panels but without the isolated figures within. The decoration of House II dates to the late second or early third century AD.
Publication: Pinkwart and Stammnitz 1984 (81-84)

2.3 House III
Location: Pergamum
Period of Use: Originally built in the second century BC; remodeled during Roman period.
Architecture: The house consists of a central courtyard surrounded on three sides by rooms.
Decoration: The evidence, dating to the third century AD, is once again fragmentary but carpet-style schemes can be reconstructed in two of the rooms. The walls of Room VII consist of a white plinth with diagonal black lines creating a zebra-like effect. The main zone is divided into large panels by black bands. The panels contain a series of interconnecting acanthus scrolls which creates an overall carpet effect. In Room V, a similar scheme is reconstructed. The plinth here is plain white and divided into rectangles. The main zone is once again divided into panels but here with thinner bands. The scheme consists of a series of thick weaving vines in which are placed wreathed medallions. The image within the medallions alternates between tigers and busts of young women. The women are depicted with thick wavy hair, rounded faces and large, dark eyes. Each wears a crown of leaves. The busts recall characteristic depictions of maenads and their association with tigers also suggests a Dionysiac interpretation.
Publication: Pinkwart and Stammnitz 1984 (86-92)

2.4 House I
Location: Ephesus
Period of Use: Built in the first century BC and used until the seventh century AD
Architecture: The structure consists of a main peristyle located in the southwest and a series of rooms to the east. The house was two-storeyed.
Decoration: The best-preserved decoration of House I is located in the dining room and dates to around AD 300. Above a rather high plinth of actual marble is the main zone imitating a number of architectural features. The zone has an additional plinth painted to imitate alabaster above, which are alternating panels, and Corinthian columns placed against a red background. The fluted columns, standing on high bases, are white with red

outlines and gray highlights creating a fairly convincing sense of depth. The panels imitate imported stones such as white marble, red porphyry and dark, gray granite. Above the columns, level with the column capitals is a continuous stringcourse of imitation marble achieved through the use the concentric circles of white and red within a thin frame of black. This scheme dominates all four walls of the dining hall with the exception of a couple of niches and depressed windows. The same red background is used, but with white panels of stylized floral designs taking the place of the more elaborate panels. The back wall of a niche located on the southern end of the west wall is also painted with a woven basket laden with red flowers probably meant to be poppies or roses and below, two red festoons.

The only other painted decoration from this house comes from a vaulted room and is quite faded and damaged. A series of panels of solid colours and imitation marble and alabaster can be identified on the lower zone of the wall, while a small section of the upper wall preserves a series of light and dark blue stripes against a white background.
Publication: Strocka and Vetters 1977 (31-39)

2.5 House II, Unit I
Location: Ephesus
Period of Use: Built in the first century BC; continued use and restoration until the seventh century AD.
Figures: Figures 36-39.
Architecture: This unit is located in the southeast corner of the building. It consists mostly of a series of small room and a four-columned peristyle courtyard.
Decoration: Much more of the decoration in this house is preserved and dates to the late second century AD. The west wall of the courtyard is decorated with a somewhat haphazard arrangement of rectangular panels of varying shape. The prominent colours are yellow and red and each panel is framed with a broad black band. Two of the red panels hold isolated miniature figures who each stand on a ground line and tend to rustic activities; one leans to pick up a large basket, the other swings a scythe (Figure 36).

Another room commonly known as the 'Theatre Room' located east of the courtyard preserves an impressive height of fresco on the north wall (Figure 37). The room receives its name from this wall because the surface is divided into two levels imitating the *scaena* of a theatre. The lower level stands on a plinth of long yellow panels with purple tube-shaped designs interrupted at intervals by square red panels containing yellow lozenges and stylized floral motifs. The lower level of the imitation *scaena* consists red panels alternating monumental figures standing in a white area perceived beyond the surface of the wall. Fluted Corinthian columns punctuate the panels. Two figures on the north wall are well preserved and show a young man and a young woman, each in their own panel, standing on a ground line and both nude with the exception of

some drapery which appears to hang between each of their hands. The figures are quite Classical in their form and modeling.

The artist has used a considerable amount of shading to create a great sense of depth and roundness to the figures in particular, the musculature on the young man. This pattern of figured panels continues on the south and east walls where the remains of more monumental, nude figures can be identified. The upper level of the north wall uses an alternation of blue and red between diminished columns on perspective pedestals. On this red and blue backdrop are panels of yellow with garlands which hang beyond the surface of the wall and extend from one panel to the next. One theatrical mask is also preserved on a yellow surface. A large portion of this upper level is occupied with a figural panel of onlookers watching Herakles wrestling with Achilles (Figure 38). All the figures are nude and a great amount of shading is used to give the figures a fleshy appearance.

The red panels on the lower level of the room preserve miniature scenes from popular plays. Each of the scenes contain one to two characters each wearing a theatrical mask and is identified by a painted inscription in Greek. Unlike the other figures in the room, these miniatures are rather flat and attempts at perspective go amiss. Scenes from *Orestes*, *Iphigeneia,* and the *Sikyonoi* are a few of the scenes preserved.

A cubiculum opening off of the 'Theatre Room' is painted with an open field of red flowers, festoons and miniature figures against a white background and framed within a red band. Among the miniature figures are a peacock, a nude reclining woman, a small putto with a basket on his head and two birds who hold a festoon between them (Figure 39). A small woven basket is also visible. Strocka dated this particular fresco to AD 400 but more recent archaeological evidence from the site suggests an earlier date more in line with the decoration from the rest of the house to the late second century or Severan period.[15]

Publication: Strocka and Vetters 1977 (40-68)

2.6 House II, Unit II

Location: Ephesus

Period of Use: Built in the first century BC; continued use and restoration until the seventh century AD.

Figures: Figure 40.

Architecture: This unit lies in the southwest corner of the block and contains a series of rooms centred around a nine-columned peristyle courtyard.

Decoration: Most of the decoration in this house typifies one of the most popular trends of the fourth century, the red and green linear style. The majority of the walls are left white and adorned with thin red and green lines, acting as frames for panels or highlighting the structure of the wall. In the 'Ivory Room' (Room 18), a reclining nude nymph is positioned on the back wall of a niche against a background of scatter red

[15] Wood Conroy 2003, 282.

flowers and a small, naked putto stands on a small ground line in a panel on the east wall. A series of three rooms jointly known as the 'Bird Rooms' incorporate the red and green linear style into a two-leveled design. The lower level consists of a continuous row of red-framed panels, each of which contains one bird. The upper zone is more architectural in its organization with garlands hanging from very delicate arbours and spindly candelabras. The walls of the latrine are also painted with this popular style. Contained with panels bordered with red and green frames are two individual figures, both gesturing towards an altar (Figure 40).
Publication: Parrish 1995 (507-513); Strocka and Vetters 1977 (69-90)

2.7 House II, Unit IV
Location: Ephesus
Period of Use: Built in the first century BC; continued use and restoration until the seventh century AD.
Figures: Figures 41-42.
Architecture: This unit is quite small and lies north of Unit II. The small rooms all communicated with a small, open pillared courtyard which was later walled up.
Decoration: During the early third century AD, the courtyard was decorated with a representation of a garden (Figure 41). The painting was placed above a plinth of genuine marble plaques. Along the lower wall ran a low wall of imitation marble finished with a molding of a rather poor egg-and-dart pattern. The garden achieves a certain degree of depth; in the foreground is a dense collection of shrubs and flowers and in the distance trees, some laden with fruit, stand against a blue sky. The occasional bird flies through the scene. An architectural feature with perspective dentils hovers above the top of the tree line, framing the entire garden scene. During the second phase of the decoration, the garden scene was painted over with a more architecturally influenced design with an imitation marble plinth beneath a main zone consisting of white panels against a black background.

It was during the first phase of decoration that two of the cubicula received monumental images of Achilles and Skypos (Room 14b), and Achilles receiving Priam (Figure 42).[16] All that remains of the receiving scene is a nude, reclining Achilles. The artist has adhered closely to classical canons both in the form and contouring of the body. Very little remains of the first scene as well. Achilles and Skypos were later painted over with a simpler scheme of a plinth beneath a main zone of alternating broad and narrow panels framed in red. A climbing vine of stylized blue and red flowers is represented in the narrower panels and is also repeated in a horizontal course that runs along the top of the main zone. Within each of the broader panels stand miniature figures partaking in a

[16] These frescoes are badly damaged and the images available for study are not adequate for a thorough interpretation. My discussion of this scene therefore is heavily dependent on the facts provided by Strocka and Vetters, 1977.

variety of household chores such as carrying food and trying to put together a barrel. All this takes place against a white wall. The second cubiculum received a second phase consisting of a low, white plinth and a main zone framed in red bands and decorated with scattered red flowers, birds and festoons.

Some of the rooms during this last phase of decoration at the beginning of the fifth century AD were painted in the red and green linear style. In Room 22, the white walls are divided into panels by thin red and green bands, which are also used to highlight a circular feature in the corner. Isolated figures of hunting *putti*, birds and leaping animals occupy the centre of the panels. They stand on a green ground line and are quite stylized in their form.

Publication: Strocka and Vetters 1977 (91-114)

2.8 House II, Units III and V

Location: Ephesus

Period of Use: Built in the first century BC; continued use and restoration until the seventh century AD.

Figures: Figure 43.

Architecture: Units III and V lie to the north of Unit II and were originally part of a large apartment which was diagonally cut into two during a later rebuilding. Both units had a small but modest peristyle.

Decoration: The only surviving material from the first phase of decoration during the early second century AD comes from the east wall of the courtyard. Above a high plinth of real marble plaques is a white zone divided into panels by thin, concentric frames of red and yellow. In each of the preserved panels is a portrait medallion (Figure 43). To the right is a frontal portrait of Socrates, identified by an inscription and placed against a light blue background. The artist used primarily reds and pinks for the portrait and created a very sketchy and subtle image with broad, free flowing strokes of his brush. Cheilon is featured in the other medallion, this time in a profile view. He reads a book against a white background. A similar painting technique of free brush strokes is used here but the use of small black and darker reds for details creates a more solid figure.

The second identifiable phase of painting from the early fourth century, similar to House II, Unit II, adheres mostly to the red and green linear style. An additional courtyard uses a scheme very similar to the one seen in the 'Bird Rooms'. The walls are once again broken into two levels with the bottom consisting mostly of red-framed panels on a white background, and the top incorporating more details. The panels are filled with a variety of different objects including hanging garlands, kantharoi with ribbons and an elaborate candelabrum which incorporates a winged, female figure.

The cubiculum uses the red and green linear style and divides the wall into three distinct zones. Above a plinth with a continuous thin, red crenellation is the main zone which alternates between large, broad panels and narrower areas decorated with stylized

climbing garlands and floral features. In each of the broad panels, standing on a ground line, is a miniature figure. Among the figures represented are the Muses, Sappho and Apollo. They are identified by Greek inscriptions and attributes which each of them hold. Thaleia, for example, holds a mask while Kleio holds a book. Located above a molding is the third and upper most zone. Similar to the main zone, figured panels alternate with smaller panels with geometric and linear motifs. The figured panels on the upper zone are badly damaged but one clearly shows a scene from a tragedy. A robed actor, unmistakably wearing a theatrical mask, gestures towards two others who both are almost completely destroyed. Four other panels on the west and south walls show the same type of dark, nude male figure. In three of the images, he appears to be facing forward while one shows him from behind. There are no attributes to aid in his identification.
Publication: Strocka and Vetter 1977 (115-136)

2.9 House of Poseidon
Location: Zeugma
Period of Use: End of the second and beginning of the third century AD.
Figures: Figures 44-45.
Architecture: The eastern half of the house focuses on a courtyard surrounded on three sides by a large corridor. Rooms open to the east and south of this corridor. To the west is a smaller, secondary courtyard surrounded on three sides by rooms. Most of the rooms communicate directly with this courtyard with only limited access to the eastern courtyard.
Decoration: In the triclinium (P11) of the house, which opens off the western courtyard, the north, east and west walls, preserve the remains of a continuous sequence. Only the lower portions of the walls are preserved and depict figures framed by columns and standing against a red background (Figure 44). Between each of the figures is a painted, closed door. Reconstruction of the scheme suggests that there were a total of thirteen figures, four each along the north and west walls and five along the east. The figures themselves were quite tall, estimated to be approximately 1.25 metres tall. The position of the arms, raised and held close to the body, and a fragment of a painted leg of lamb, suggests that each of these figures represented servants carrying dishes and other household objects. A fragment of a painted inscription with the name Pheto further suggests that the servants were identified by name. Stylistically, the figures can be separated into two distinct groups and may represent the hand of two artists working side by side. The figures located along the north wall and the figure on the northern extreme of the east wall wears no sandals and simple white tunics. The figures on the west wall and the remaining figures on the east wall, on the other hand, each wears sandals. Their drapery is also embellished with a fringe along the hem. The use of shading on this latter group also gives the figures more definition and a greater sense of depth.

In an adjoining room (P23), a similar scheme is noted. Here, a series of monumental female figures, six in total, stand against a red background and in a framework of pink and green bands. A plinth of imitation stone runs around the entire room. Similar to the servants in the triclinium, only the lower portions of the female figures survive but reconstructed they stood between 1.10 and 1.20 metres tall. Each wears a floor-length robe and a mantle in different combinations of colour. One figure on the north wall was also provided with a light gray halo. The direction of each of the figures is also noteworthy as each turns or appears to acknowledge a feature. On the north wall, the figures turn towards the central door. The figures on the east and west walls on the other hand turn towards the window on the eastern wall. Finally, the figures on the south wall turn to regard the door to their right. The lack of inscriptions and any distinguishing attributes makes a positive identification of these figures difficult but the appearance on a halo on at least one of the females does suggest a divine association. They may represent Roman personifications or figures from mythology, which were popular at Zeugma during this period.

Between the figures are additional panels of varying heights. On the north wall, one of the figurative panels is flanked with candelabras framed with a green band and against a blue background. Beneath the windows are simple garlands of red and white against a yellow panel.

In the eastern peristyle (P9), a red background and plinth of imitated stone blocks is featured again. Pilasters and blue bands frame large figures. On the west wall is a young woman wearing boots who grips a goat against her thigh and carries a woven basket of white cheese in her left hand. Fragments of a female head and an ear of wheat were also found along the west wall near the feet of an incomplete figure. Opposite on the east wall is a barefooted man carrying a kantharos and an incomplete male figure wearing boots. Barbet proposes that these figures represent personifications. The woman accompanied by the goat and holding a basket of cheese is associated with the Spring Equinox (Figure 45) while the barefooted youth opposite represents the Autumn Equinox. Continuing with the motif of Seasons, Barbet identifies the female figure linked to the ear of wheat with Summer.[17] The incomplete male figure therefore might personify Winter. On the east wall is also a depiction of a small statuette on a pedestal placed against a white background. The figure with his large head and slightly deformed figure has been identified as Bes.

In a cubiculum (P6), a white dado, divided by trident shafts, sits below a main zone of festooned garlands on white panels framed with red and yellow bands which alternate with slimmer, inter-panels depicting plants. Beneath one of the festoons is a painted inscription which invokes Lord Zeus, followed by a wish of long life for a certain Germanus presumably the owner of the house. Similar schemes (trident-divided dado and

[17] Barbet 2005, 81.

white panels with garlands) are found throughout the house. It is found in corridors (P36), in one of the peristyles (P13) and under the windows in another room (P23).

In the atrium of the house (P4), the very fragmentary remains of a garden panel are visible on the south wall. Against a black background, flowers emerge from behind a red lattice. The foot and base of a vessel, perhaps a crater, are also visible. The scheme is reminiscent of the garden painting from the House of the Consul Attalus (2.1).
Publication: Barbet 2005 (23-121)

2.10 House on the Euphrates
Location: Zeugma
Period of Use: The duration of use remains unclear but probably extended for approximately one hundred years until the destruction of the town in AD 253 by the Sassanians.
Figures: Figure 46.
Architecture: The largest of the peristyles lies to the west and is surrounded by rooms on three sides. The area to the west of the peristyle remains unexcavated. The northeastern portion of the house consists of two large rooms with the northernmost one communicating with a smaller two-columned peristyle.
Decoration: In a small chamber (P26) off the west peristyle, the main zone consists of white panels with full-length figures of women (Figure 46). Each figure is slightly taller than one metre and stands on a white panel framed by red and yellow bands. The two figures on the east wall are the best preserved and can be accurately identified. The first wears a white and green high-waisted robe and a yellow mantle highlighted with broad red strokes, which she grasps with her left hand. In her right extended right hand she holds a piece of ivy. A palm leaf floats behind her right arm. She is identified as Deidamia by a Greek inscription above her left shoulder. The second figure, Penelope, here also identified with an inscription wears a long red robe and a yellow himation. The details of the figure and the folds of the drapery are once again highlighted in red strokes of paint. Penelope's figure is not well defined under the drapery and looks rather cylindrical. Her bellybutton and the form of her right arm are implausibly visible through the drapery. Very little attempt at shading and the use of the red lines to indicate the folds of the drapery leads to an a flat treatment of the figure. The other figures are more fragmentary than Deidamia and Penelope but can also be seen to wear floor-length robes of varying colours. The scheme therefore has been interpreted to contain seven women known for their fidelity to their husbands in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The other women have tentatively been identified as Chriseis, Cassandra, Briseis, Helen, Ariadne and Phaedra.[18]
Date: Early third century AD.

[18] Barbet 2005, 156.

Publication: Barbet 2005 (123-157)

2.11 House without Mosaics
Location: Zeugma
Period of Use: The duration of use remains unclear but probably extended for approximately one hundred years until the destruction of the town in AD 253 by the Sassanians.
Figures: Figure 47.
Architecture: A large portion of this house remains unexcavated. The excavated remains show a series of rooms running roughly east to west and sharing a party wall with the House of the Euphrates to the north.
Decoration: In a cubiculum (P30), the conventional scheme of a low, white plinth and a main zone consisting of monumental figures within panels appears again. The figures stand against a red background within a white beveled frame, which creates a shadow box effect (Figure 47). On the east wall, only the feet and lower portion of a green robe can be identified. On the south wall, two more complete figures are preserved. On the left hand side stands a woman also wearing a green robe. Her left arm, the only one to be preserved, is too long and thick for her body and is bare with the exception of a red bracelet. Unfortunately, her head is not preserved. To her right stands another female figure who, in addition to wearing a green robe, also wears a dark, red mantle. An inscription identifying the figure as Prothoe is painted to the left of her now absent head. The name can be assigned to several women from mythology but Barbet proposes that the figure is that of Prothoe, the nurse of Dionysos.[19] When reconstructed, the room would have preserved a range of at least eight figures, perhaps all famous nurses from mythology.

In a small room (P31), a bird on a white panel was painted hastily, with traces of a garland.
Publication Barbet 2005 (160-171, 300-301)

2.12 House of the Servant with a plate
Location: Zeugma
Period of Use: The duration of use remains unclear but probably extended for approximately one hundred years until the destruction of the town in AD 253 by the Sassanians.
Figures: Figure 48.
Architecture: This small series of five rooms is located between the House of Poseidon to the north and the House of the Euphrates to the south. At its centre is a small two-columned peristyle.

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[19] Barbet 2005, 300.

Decoration: In a small room (P1), a servant is portrayed in an architectural setting with columns and pilasters, measuring 1.70 metres tall and carrying a dish the end of which is barely visible (Figure 48). He stands against a red background and rests his weight on his left foot. The walls are badly damaged but it might be hypothesized that a series of similar figures filled the room comparable to the scheme found in the triclinium of the House of Poseidon.

Room P3 is simpler in decoration consisting of a white plinth divided by volutes above which is a main zone of alternating broad and narrow panels all set against a red wall. Vertical vines climb up the narrow panels while hanging garlands with ribbons hang across the border.

Publication: Barbet 2005 (203)

2.13 Building XII

Location: Mampsis

Period of Use: Second and third century AD.

Figures: Figure 49.

Architecture: Building XII is a large, irregular construction consisting of a several paved courtyards surrounded by rooms.

Decoration: The decoration is preserved on the upper parts of the southern and western wall and on the three arches of a small rectangular room. Running continuously along the south and west wall is a decorative frieze of panels defined by reddish-brown bands. A motif, which is repeated at intervals on both walls, resembles a small, fringed carpet or tapestry. The motif consists of a solid thick green horizontal band spotted with red and white daubs of paint. Diagonal red and green hatches surround the edges of the band, giving the impression of a fringe. Two faces or masks are barely visible, hidden within the colours of the fringed carpet on one of the southern panels. The faces are round with large, dark eyes. Other motifs in this frieze include wheels of radiating stripes of white, reddish-brown and green, and geometric patterns consisting of triangles of similar colours. A panel on the southern wall preserves a scene of Eros and Psyche. The figures sit back to back on a roughly outlined couch. They twist their bodies so that their arms and hands meet in an embrace. Each has one leg bent and is nude except for some drapery which hangs over their bent legs. The bodies of Eros and Psyche are similar and little anatomical detail is given to distinguish their gender. They are identifiable by Greek inscriptions and differing wings; Psyche is depicted with butterfly wings and Eros with bird wings. The use of pink flesh tones and a dark reddish-brown for shading gives some dimension to the nude bodies. One panel contains the beginning of a Greek inscription: αγα... δαι... This can probably be reconstructed as αγαθός δαίμων ('Good genius'), a popular dinner toast.

The areas above the decorative frieze on the south and west wall is not as well preserved but contains traces of large, standing figures. The left-hand panel on the south

wall, separated from the right by a thin window, shows only the legs of a naked man. The figures casts a shadow behind and to the right of him and the shading on his legs conforms to the same light source. The right-hand panel is badly damaged. Another naked figure, whose sex cannot be accurately assigned, appears to crouch on one knee. On the west wall between the arches are the traces of two standing frontal figures. Only the naked legs are partly visible. Due to the poor preservation it is impossible to suggest a unifying relationship between the figures although the panels may well have contained full mythological scenes.

The arches of the room also retain traces of painted plaster. Two arches on the eastern side of the side retain the images of two nude men both approximately 1.3 metres high. The first man, whose head is not preserved, stands frontally with his legs stepping slightly to the left and holds a garland in both of his hands. The upper torso and shoulders are awkward in proportion (including a three-fingered hand later corrected by the artist) while the lower body is nicely and naturalistically defined and shaped. The second male figure is also nude and stands in a three-quarter view, striding towards the left. His face is frontal and detailed in thick, heavy lines. The proportions are once again haphazard with a successfully proportioned and detailed torso and left leg, and a clumsily drawn left arm and right leg. He holds a palm branch in his left hand.

The nude men are balanced on the western arches with full-length winged female figures. Only the upper portions of these figures and fragments of their bodies are preserved. They both gently incline their heads so as to look towards the other. The first woman is quite larger than the second and painted in a more stylized fashion with round, bulbous eyes and her round face thickly outlined in black. The smaller and presumably younger female has a similar rounded head but the details of her mouth, eyes and nose are rendered with more delicate lines.

The centres of the two arches are decorated with portrait medallions. Only one medallion is preserved in enough detail to make any comments (Figure 49). The centre of the second arch is decorated with the bust of a young man outlined by a thick circular band of yellow. The background is blue. He wears a dark red cloak drawn over his left shoulder. The same black outlines shown on the full-length figures are used for the details of his face although in a more delicate manner similar to that used on the younger of the winged females. Perhaps the use of more delicate details was an artistic effort to portray a more youthful appearance.

Publication: Goodman 1988: 147-162

2.14 Painted House

Location: Petra

Period of Use: Second century AD.
Architecture: The Painted House is in fact a single rock-cut biclinium located at the top of a flight of stairs. It is one of several such structures located along a caravan route in the Siq al-Barid gorge which functioned as diners for merchants traveling along the route.[20]
Decoration: The surviving painting comes from the vaulted ceiling of a recess located in the structure's biclinium. Along the back walls are the remains of imitation masonry panels, painted in red and yellow. The remaining portion of the vaulted ceiling is decorated with a carpet-like scene of vines, flowers, birds and mythological figures. The vines are laden with heavy bunches of grapes and interspersed with festoons of blossoming flowers. A number of different species of birds can be identified and are all shown in profile. Some remain motionless while others are shown in flight or feeding on the vines. The three figures are each framed in a separate arbour of vines and flowers. The first, Pan is shown seated playing his flute while Eros, the second figure, draws on his bow. The third figure is a bit more difficult to interpret due to its condition. The figure grasps the neck of an eagle with their left hand and crosses its back with their right leg and thus conforms most closely to the iconographic tradition of Zeus carrying off Ganymede. A medallion once decorated the centre of the vault but long ago torn out and no record remains of what it once held.
Publication: Glueck 1956 (13-23)

[20] Taylor 2007, 116-118.

Chapter Four
Patrons, Viewers and Motifs

No known ancient source dictated how a tomb had to be decorated; Vitruvius, on the other hand, clearly states that decoration in a home had to be appropriate for its position in the house and with the specific characteristics of the building.[21] The sense of *decorum* that fueled all decisions on decoration in the Roman world required Romans to simultaneously consider both subject and setting.[22] Surely, the decoration of a tomb also required *decorum,* since it was to be the final home of the deceased and a monument to record the family's legacy. It is impossible without the help of direct literary references to determine for certain why particular images were chosen for tombs. This chapter therefore first considers how visitors coming into the tombs may have viewed the painted decoration in light of their exposure to similar motifs from the domestic sphere.

The Patron and the Viewers

A consideration of the identity of the viewers and of those who commissioned the paintings may, however, be helpful in interpreting the iconography. Art is never wholly "intra-aesthetic" and needs to be placed within other modes of social activity to give it cultural significance.[23] Anyone who spent money decorating a tomb did so on the assumptions that people would visit the tomb and that when these visitors arrived, they would be able to view the decorations as one coherent system. The continued use of the tombs over decades and centuries by individual families or groups of people makes it more difficult to establish who originally commissioned the painted decoration. In only rare cases is the primary patron of the tomb known both by name and occupation. Flavius Chrysanthios, patron of a small chamber tomb (1.1) in Sardis, for example, is recorded in a Greek inscription as both a *doukenarios* (high official) and *farbrikesios* (armourer). These titles indicate that Chrysanthios enjoyed a rather high position in the hierarchy of the imperial arms factory in Sardis. In fact, Foss suggests that the title *doukenarios* was a honourific title of a fairly high official, a '200,000 *denarii* man'.[24] The inscription also records that he was a *zographos* suggesting that he also painted the tomb. Foss suggests that such an activity implies a certain degree of leisure and admiration for the arts.[25] Where there is no equivalent evidence, we can assume that the patron or patrons, rather than the artist, made all of the important iconographic choices.

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[21] Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 7.4.4.
[22] Here, I use Perry's definition of *decorum* meaning appropriateness. For complete discussion, see Perry 2005.
[23] Geertz 1983, 97.
[24] Foss 1979, 282.
[25] 1979, 282.

Without detailed reference to the lives and occupations of the deceased, determining their social status is inherently difficult. Although several tombs provide the names of the deceased, further biographical information is generally missing. The cost implicit in the construction and decoration of the tombs suggests some substantial means but it can be misleading to assume that the 'best' funerary art must be associated with the highest-ranking orders of Roman society.[26] During the years of the late Republic and early Empire, determining the social status of the patron was relatively straightforward but with the rise of the freedman and middle classes in the mid-first century AD, the distinction between the political and the cultural elite became blurred.[27] Freedman and the freeborn working class gained easier access to symbols and luxuries once reserved for the upper stratum of society. There was the possibility, for example, that a freedman successful in his own businesses could purchase his family an elaborate tomb. Very few discussions about burial in the Roman world neglect to mention Petronius' satirical personality, Trimalchio, and his plans for an elaborate burial and tomb.[28] Without more biographical information, we can only deduce general information regarding the patron's financial means and little regarding their social status. The necropolis at Abila, for example, contains a number of different burial types showing clear division of economic stratification. Simple shaft graves and the columbarium likely demonstrate the existence of the poorer stratum of society, while the elaborate, painted chambers represent the wealthier portions of the town's population. A large middle class is represented by a group of undecorated, smaller rock-cut chambers. Palmyra also shows a diversity in tomb types. During the first and second centuries AD, simple rock-cut graves marked with a stele were placed along side more complex, family-oriented tower- and temple-tombs.[29] Loculi inside hypogea were also available for those who could not finance the construction of these large tombs. The Tomb of the Three Brothers (1.8) at Palmyra provides an exceptional amount of economic information. Inscriptions from the tomb explain that the three brothers, Na'ma'în, Malê and Sa'adî, built the tomb and elaborately decorated it for the implicit purpose of the sale and re-sale of funerary loculi.[30] Other inscriptions also record that relatives of the three brothers were later buried in the hypogeum as late as the mid third century.

The nature of most symbols employed in tombs in the years of the second and third centuries often makes it impossible to identify with certainty the religious beliefs of the patrons of these tombs. This was a time of great religious diversity and pluralism, especially in the Near East where native gods worshipped since the Bronze Age continued to exist alongside deities and cults developed during the Hellenistic and Roman

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[26] Riggs 2002, 98.
[27] Clarke 2003, 7.
[28] Petronius, *Satyricon,* 71.
[29] Colledge 1976, 58-61.
[30] Colledge 1976, 84; Kraeling 1961/62, 13-18.

occupation.[31] Art was used by each of the religious sects to decorate their sacred spaces, burial sites and other everyday objects such as talismans, lamps, and amulets to represent their own personal belief, but with little regard to how other groups may have been using the same images to their own advantages.[32] Iconography was shared. The catacombs of second and third century Rome provide a telling example of this phenomenon. Here, mythological scenes were used beside scenes clearly derived from stories of the New Testament.[33] As Henig suggests, a well-educated Christian would no doubt be able to absorb moral lessons from Homer or Vergil, just as he could from the Bible.[34]

Certainly, the inclusion of some symbols or phrases makes the identification of the religious beliefs of the deceased much more precise. The hypogeum from Nicaea (1.6), for example, is decorated with rather neutral symbols including peacocks, vases and flowers; however, the inclusion of two crosses immediately changes the significance of these symbols and clearly indicates that the owner of the tomb was indeed Christian (Figure 7). Flavius Chrysanthios decorated his family tomb with the same imagery and provided enough information, an evocation to a single god (Θεε), to identify his belief as well.[35] These tombs are the only examples that confirm the religious beliefs of their patron through unequivocal visual symbolism or epigraphical evidence. In his discussion of the Cave of the Birds (1.25), Kloner claims that the peacock decorating the ceiling does not seem to have had any religious significance.[36] Without other indicators of religious affiliations, this issue usually remains ambiguous.

Tombs featured prominently on the landscape of most, if not all, Roman towns and villages. Streets leading in and out of town were lined with tombs with citizens vying for the most prominent positions where their tombs could be seen by a large number of travelers. Purposely located in full view, they were meant to be public places. The intended viewers of the tomb's exterior therefore would include a large portion of the population. While many tombs contained decoration, epitaphs and even gardens on the exterior to capture the imagination of the passerby, all of the painted decoration under examination here was located within the tombs, limiting the number of individuals who were to engage with the imagery. The intended audience of the interior painting, on the other hand, would have been a more intimate group, probably consisting mostly of members of the *familia* and perhaps a few close friends and clients of the deceased. Literary sources and archaeological remains combine to give us some idea of how often the tomb was visited and what sort of activities took place at the tomb itself. Ceremonies

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[31] Kaizer 2007, 446-456.
[32] Elsner 2003.
[33] Shohet Brettman 1985.
[34] 2006, 122.
[35] Chrysanthios' evocation of his god is unique in Asia Minor. Cormack (1997, 157) remarked that inscriptions in this area "studiously avoid" any reference to religious beliefs, deities or hopes for the afterlife.
[36] 2000, 308.

for the deceased were celebrated on the third, ninth and thirteenth days following a death and annually on the deceased's death-day and birthday.[37] Additionally, several Roman holidays were devoted to ancestors and thus involved tomb visitation. Many of these visits included visits to the interior of the tomb.[38] Both the Parentalia and the Lemuria involved trips to the cemeteries.[39]

During these trips, members of the familia would clean the tombs and decorate them with flowers and wreaths, a practice paralleled during some banquets where flowers were scattered about the dining room and guests were garlanded.[40] The terms of ancient wills tell us that money and often very specific terms were set for the perpetual care of the tomb. A will inscribed on a tomb in Arycanda by an influential women, Aristainete, ordered that two of her slaves, Melitene and Eunoia, provide regular offerings at the grave; the action would secure the two their freedom.[41] Another inscription form Patara mentions a ταφοδουλος whose duties included dispensing the 500 denarii per year left by the tomb's patron for the care of his grave.[42]

Libations would also be made. The archaeological record provides tangible evidence of such activities in the form of holes cut into tombs and individual sarcophagi which clearly allowed visitors to provide the deceased with some nourishment. In a two-storey tomb at Mylasa in Caria, a circular hole in the marble floor of the second storey lead directly into the crypt directly below.[43] In addition to taking care of the tomb and the deceased, these visits often also included banquets.[44] Several of the tombs (1.12, 1.16, 1.23, 1.24) are provided with benches which may have functioned as built-in dining areas. Scattered groups of banquet ware also indicate that activities occurred at the tombs throughout the year. It must also be remembered that many, if not all, of these tombs were used for the interment of several generations and with every death, the number of visits to the tombs was surely to have grown.

Analysis of Motifs

Faux Architectural Elements. Architectural elements are imitated in some degree in all the tombs and houses studied here. A great deal of research is available on this topic so only a brief discussion is necessary.[45] Overall, the greatest factor in the choice of faux architectural features appears to have been space. In houses where more continuous wall

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[37] Snyder 2005, 357; Clarke 2003, 182.
[38] Cicero, *Pro Archia* 22; Livy, 38.56.4.
[39] Ovid *Fasti* 2.533, 5.419.
[40] Clarke 2003, 100.
[41] Şahin 1994, no. 36.
[42] Şahin 1994, no. 147.
[43] Cormack 2004, 119.
[44] Examples are also known from the Western Empire. At Ostia, several tombs preserve the appartus needed for such occasions including built-in triclinia or biclinia and ovens. For an overall, see Meiggs 1973, 460ff.
[45] See Fittschen 1996, 139-161; Guldager Bilde 1993, 151-177.

space was available, more elaborate schemes of plinths, panels, columns and moldings were a popular choice. This could take the form of simpler masonry panels imitating marble or alabaster and columns (2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 2.12) or more elaborate perspective architecture (2.1, 2.5, 2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12). This form of perspective architecture was most often used to frame monumental figures including those from the Theatre Room in Unit I of House II at Ephesus (2.5) and the numerous large figures at Zeugma (2.9, 2.10, 2.11, 2.12). Only one example of perspective architecture with an imaginary vista (Figure 35) survives in the House of the Consul Attalus at Pergamon (2.1).

The construction of tombs on the other hand with their numerous loculi and arcosolia cuttings often made the use of architectural elements more difficult; some elements do however make a frequent appearance in tombs. The most prominent of these architectural features are columns. Columns were most often used to divide the space between loculi or mythological scenes. Occasionally, panels imitating marble or alabaster were also used to fill space. The use of perspective architectural features on the other hand were not easily applicable to the tombs. The Tomb of the Veiled Women at Abila (1.19) provides the only surviving example from this corpus; although badly damaged, a faux door surmounted with a column can be identified (Figure 50). Clarke suggests that images of doorways in Roman funerary art is not so much a reference to the journey to the afterlife as an imitation of architectural features common to domestic decoration.[46] With the lack of secure information regarding attitudes to the afterlife and the prominence of images associated with life and luxury, Clarke's argument deserves more attention. Ceilings provided a large, continuous surface for decoration and here too, many of the patterns can be found in the domestic sphere especially on floor mosaics.

Portraits of the Deceased (1.8, 1.9, 1.16, 1.21, 1.22, 2.8, 2.13). Portraits of the deceased are found in both spheres. In the tombs, they appear as both portrait medallions and full-length figures. They are usually located in areas such as arcosolia or on pilasters in front of loculi and may have marked where the individual was buried within the tomb. Their primary use was to commemorate the deceased and to create an ancestor. In the domestic sphere, they are used in much the same way, usually in the form of portrait medallions, and are placed in highly trafficked areas such as the atrium to designate and essentially create important ancestors and a sense of continuity between the living and the deceased.

The terms *monumentum* or *peribolos* used for tombs emphasized the role of the burial place as a memorial and reminder to following generations of the achievements and lives of those interred within. The most direct way to commemorate the deceased was with a portrait. The use of painted portraits of the deceased was rare in areas outside of the Near East and Egypt. Few examples survive in Italy or the West and most actually come from the domestic sphere. The use of painted portraits as a means of

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[46] 2003, 201.

commemorating the dead had a long and established history in both the Roman and Greek world. Pliny tells us that shield portraits of precious metals such as bronze and silver had replaced the old painted portraits once valued by family members.[47] The most well-known examples, the three-dimensional masks of ancestors, in the form of wax masks, sculptured busts or *clipeatae imagines* (shield portraits), were found in the atria and other important rooms of a Roman household. Shield portraits, thought to have originated in the fourth century BC in the Hellenistic Near East, were initially reserved for images of gods and rulers.[48] As the Romans adopted the format and incorporated the design into both their domestic and public art, the shield portrait was used by more and more of the population and probably directly inspired painted portrait medallions. Vermeule suggests that their early Hellenistic roots may explain the strong connection with the format in the Near East during the second and third centuries.[49]

Painted portrait medallions survive in tombs across the Near East and Asia Minor. The portraits hold prominent positions in the decorative schemes of the tombs, just as their counterparts did in the atria of houses. Individual portraits are most commonly found in areas removed from the main chamber but designated for burial of one or a few. In Tomb H60 at Abila (1.21) the two portrait medallions, both depicting women, are placed in arched burial chambers built for one to three burials (Figures 27 and 29). In Palmyra (1.8), the portraits of the deceased are limited to the chamber at the western end of the tomb on the pilasters directly in front of the loculi. For the most part, the portrait medallions appear to have been painted in an area close to the interred subject.

In many cases, specific portraits were an addition to the original decorative program, being painted as needed, that is at the death of an individual. Both the portraits at Palmyra in the Tomb of the Three Brothers (1.8) and those in the tomb at Or-ha Ner (1.22) show variations in style and workmanship suggesting more than one hand was responsible for their completion. At Or-ha Ner, the fourteen medallions that make up the upper frieze are all fairly similar in their general appearance continuing the tradition most notably seen in Roman Egypt of frontal portraits painted with dark strokes and large eyes emphasized by heavy brows. The individuals all possess similar facial features yet no two are identical with small changes in their hairstyles and clothing. The portraits probably attempted to depict members of the family that built the tomb.[50] Different hands however can be seen in the workmanship of the portraits. One of the women's portraits, for example, is asymmetrical and disproportionately thick strokes are used for the outline, eyes and nose. The craftsmanship is poor in relation to the other portraits. Perhaps this image was added at a later date than the other portraits and was completed by another artist.

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[47] Pliny, *HN* 35.2.
[48] Vermeule 1965, 363-366.
[49] 1965, 383.
[50] Tsafrir 1968, 177.

The portrait medallions from the Tomb of the Three Brothers at Palmyra (1.8) show similar variations in workmanship. Inscriptions from the tomb record the sale of various loculi to individuals over the decades of the tomb's use. The portraits of the recently deceased were doubtless added to the medallions around the time of interment (Figure 12). In addition to the portraits are also the two full-length figures on the entrance pilasters of the chamber. Here, two daughters of the original constructors, Sim'on and Malê, are displayed on highly visible and prominent surfaces. The full-length images of Hairan and his wife (1.9) take a similar prominent position in the tomb constructed under his name. Although each is highly stylized, as was the fashion in Palmyra, differences in brush strokes from more delicate to heavy, thick outlines suggest multiple artists (Figure 10).[51]

Discussion of portraits also raises the question of how an artist captured an individual's image. Textual sources inform use that lifelikeness was highly valued.[52] Realism and resemblance, however, are subjective and based on socially constructed notions.[53] In general, we may assume that, as was customary in that period, the artists of the portraits were working from prepared models as the practice of sitting for a portrait is a fairly recent development.[54] In consideration of the purpose of these images as commemorations of the deceased, the artists do appear to have individualized the portraits through attributes and dress. One of the female portraits in the Tomb of the Three Brothers (1.8) for instance holds a scroll. A symbol of culture and literary, the scroll may emphasize her education.

Painted portrait medallions, although rare, also appear in the domestic sphere in both the Near East and West. Unit III/V of House II at Ephesus (2.8) reserves the medallions for portraits of famous philosophers including Socrates; in other cases, ordinary citizens are also framed. One surviving example comes from Building XII at Mampsis (2.13). Located in Locus 401, a small arched room adjoining a large, paved hall, two portrait medallions decorate the centre of the second and third arches. The second arch preserves a bust of a young man framed by a thick circular band of yellow. The young man, shown frontally but gazing slightly to the right, wears a red cloak drawn over his left shoulder and a short, close cut hairstyle. His features are quite delicate and the artist used a great amount of shading giving the impression of a slightly hollowed cheek. The face of the portrait from the third arch has not survived but the same red cloak can be identified. Stylistically, these portraits draw their inspiration from a more western,

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[51] Traditional Palmyrene religion dictated that burials had to be accompanied by a nefĕs (or nafšâ), a relief or monumental marked with the name of the deceased or an image. The relief was essential to the survival of the soul as it guided it back to the proper burial. Colledge suggests that this early significance gradually gave way to a new function as portraits though the two functions were never really incompatiable. (1976, 62)

[52] Pliny, *HN* 35.52.

[53] Riggs 2002, 91.

[54] Riggs, 91.

naturalistic approach. Rather than the stiff, frontal portraits and stylized 'oriental' large-eyed portraits of Or-ha Ner and Palmyra, the Mampsis busts are turned slightly to the side and display delicate features and shading effects in line with Classical prototypes.[55]

As with most portraits lacking an inscription or attribute, the exact identity of the Mampsis portraits is difficult to establish. Similar in placement and date are the medallions from the ceiling tiles of the House of the Roman Scribes at Dura-Europos, dated by the excavators to the mid-third century.[56] Although the exact function of Locus 401 cannot be determined, its access to the main hall of the residential section of Building XII and its elaborate decorative program makes it possible to assume that it functioned as an important, highly trafficked room.

The surviving portraits from the Near East and Asia Minor are not located in rooms with securely identified functions. Better preserved examples with more established contexts within the domestic sphere, however, exist in Italy. In Agrippa's villa at Boscotrecase, two portrait medallions of women, one young and the other slightly older, decorate the walls of a cubiculum. [57] The portrait medallions were added to the existing decoration in 12/11 BC after the death of Agrippa and perhaps as a commemorative of Julia's marriage to Tiberius. Unlike the portraits commonly found in funerary contexts, these two portraits are used in a commemorative fashion, recording the marriage of two individuals rather than a death.

Speculation surrounds two portrait medallions of children in the house of Lucretius Fronto in Pompeii. [58] The portraits, located on opposite sides of the entrance to room located directly off the atrium and beside the tablinum, portray a young girl and a young boy dressed in the guise of Mercury with the attributes of traveling hat and wand. De Kind proposes that the two portraits honour the deceased children of Lucretius Fronto. The interpretation is based on the boy's guise as Mercury, the use of the medallion which De Kind proposes carries funerary significance, and the location of the portraits in a apparently important yet unspecified room in the house. The use of portrait medallions however should not viewed so narrowly. Clarke instead proposes that the room was a cubiculum for the children and that the portraits acted as a moral lesson for the children that slept there. He argues that this kind of commemoration would be inappropriate:

> Against [De Kind's] interpretation is the fact that, in houses, Mercury always appears as the god of commerce and financial prosperity-not of death. What is more, why would an official of even moderate wealth commemorate his dead children in so cheap a medium – and in such an informal way – as in the frescoed decoration of a room. Far more appropriate would be marble or bronze busts; add

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[55] Goodman 1988, 154.
[56] Rostovtzeff 1936, 284-288.
[57] Anderson 1987.
[58] Anderson 1987.

> to this the fact that there are no precedents for commemorating deceased children in Roman houses. [59]

The portraits are also accompanied by two mythological scenes; on the north wall, Narcissus contemplating his own reflection and on the south, Pero and Micon. Both of these scenes carry strong messages – vanity kills, love and respect for your parents, respectively. Although their identification can never be firmly established, their placement in a cubiculum and association with mythological scenes point to something other than funerary.

The portrait medallions seen in tombs thus should not be seen as distinctively funerary but rather commemorative and a motif which most of the Roman population would have been familiar with. Placing a portrait of a deceased relative in either the domestic or funerary sphere effectively turned the deceased into an ancestor and the survivor into a dutiful and deserving descendent.[60] The placement of portraits in both the funerary and domestic sphere was generally a very calculated process. Funerary portraits seem to have been placed in areas designated for individuals such as arcosolia or on pilasters fronting loculi whereas portraits in houses were placed in the most heavily trafficked areas such as the atrium.

Allusions to Banqueting (1.3, 1.10, 1.11, 1.15, 2.9, 2.12). Allusions to banqueting are also used in both spheres but in slightly different ways. In the tombs, actual depictions of banqueting seems to be used to recall favourite pastimes of the deceased, whereas images of servants may be used also to recall this pastime but additionally may have been used to symbolically serve the deceased in the tomb or the attendants of the funerary banquets. Images of servants on the other hand are used in two different houses at Zeugma (2.9, 2.12). In both cases, large servants line the walls of purposed dining rooms and probably enhanced the experience of the diners. The only pronounced difference between the imagery of servants is the nudity used in the Migdal Ashqelon tomb (1.15).

Banquets occurring at tombs during festival days and on anniversaries is established in ancient literature and the archaeological record. Banquets were important in the lives of ancient Romans, whether in the funerary, domestic or public sphere and formed part of the commemoration rituals for the dead, making their iconography especially appropriate for tombs. The iconography of banqueting was especially appropriate for the tomb as it was commonly believed that the deceased continued to live on in some form in or around the tomb, participating in the feasts that would take place on festival days and important anniversaries. Two banqueting scenes are preserved at Anemurium, both of which are quite fragmentary. In Tomb B.I.16 (1.3) only the lower portion of the scene is preserved but the legs of a kline and the legs of a small figure,

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[59] Clarke 2003, 254.
[60] D'Ambra 1995.

probably a slave, fit in well with established banquet scenes. The guest of the banquet, most likely the deceased, would have laid on the couch. Hall A.IV.7 (1.5) preserves more of the scene; here, two servants with plates stand on either side of a robed man. The location of this scene is particularly appropriate. The vaulted hall, not accurately assigned to a particular tomb, is provided with a high platform and bench, furniture necessary for a banquet. These two scenes are probably meant not so much to communicate the participation of the deceased in a funerary banquet but rather to show him during his life time, participating in a past-time known to all well-appointed citizens. Several other tombs preserve scenes clearly taken from the life of the deceased. In the Tomb of the Candelabras (1.20), the frieze above the loculi show a man drawn by a two-horse chariot in the countryside charging towards a boar with an arcaded structure, reminiscent of an aqueduct, in the distance (Figure 26). Hunting, like banqueting, was particularly associated with the good life and was depicted in funerary art as early as the Archaic period. In Tomb H60 (1.21), a man presents a woman with a bouquet: the scene is quite unique, having little direct reference to death so it may be suggested to represent a scene from daily life. These generic scenes were probably meant to remind the visitors to the tomb or the deceased themselves of the joys of living. Similar scenes are found in homes but more often denote household chores or even more generic scenes such as the miniature sacrifice scenes in sacro-idyllic landscapes. Miniature scenes of rustic activities including sacrifice are found on the walls of Unit I of Terrace House II (2.5) and Unit II of House II (2.6) at Ephesus while household chores are found on the walls of Unit IV of House II (2.7). Unit I of House II also preserves miniature scenes from popular plays. All these miniature scenes are not meant to be the focus on the painting but rather act as decorative additions to larger panels; instead, they seem to act as amusing little vignettes for anyone who might look close enough and focus more on the activity than the individual. In the examples from the tombs, scenes such as the banqueting scenes from Anemurium and the hunting scene from Abila took prominent positions in the decorative scheme and command attention from the viewer. Here too, dress and position designates some of the individuals as the focus of the scene. In Tomb B.I.16 (1.3), the togate man reclining on the kline is clearly meant to be the focus while the central togate man in the banquet scene from the same tomb demands the same degree of attention.

Epitaphs and literature record that funeral banquets acted as more than commemorative acts as it was generally believed that the deceased participated in the banquets since they lived in or around the tomb, their *domus aeterna.*[61] As a result, the deceased was supplied with all he needed to continue dining in the afterlife including servants. In each of the five niches in the Migdal Ashqelon tomb (1.15) stand nude men holding apparatus appropriate for servants including fowl, a bowl of figs, a jug and a plate. The tomb at Sidon (1.11) follows a similar scheme. On the west and east walls, large male servants, each individualized by their hairstyles and dressed in long tunics

[61] CIL VI, 26554.

with vertical stripes, are painted on the pilasters between the loculi. Similar to the Migdal Ashqelon figures, each holds a plate, some with fish and others with birds. Their identity as servants is furthered emphasized by the names each is given, painted in Greek over their shoulders. The names all have associations with dining such as Οἰνόφιλος and Γλύκων. Several of the other figures take names from servants from popular mythology including Ἑλικών and Νηρεύς who were associated with the cult of the Muses in Boeotia.[62] The additional painted figures on the north wall of the tomb, all female, are not identified by an inscription but their attributes which include a scroll, a large krater and a *volumen* suggest that they are allegories for Culture and the Banquet.[63] Similar figures are painted on an arcosolium from the Tomb of Loukianos (1.17) and have also been identified as allegories of Science, Victory and Culture.[64] The painted servants may have been thought to assist the deceased in the afterlife, helping in the *domus aeterna*. On a more familiar view, they may have simply acted as appropriate decoration for the banquets at the tombs or recalled banquets that were a common occurrence in the life of the deceased.

The same scheme of large scale figures of servants is well attested in the domestic sphere. At Zeugma, both the House of Poseidon (2.10) and House of the Servant with a plate (2.13) have large, monumental servants painted on the walls; in Poseidon, a room clearly identified as a triclinium. One of the figures in Poseidon is identified with a Greek inscription above his shoulder - Φετο. The treatment of the servants is very similar to those found in the Sidon tomb (1.11). In the two houses from Zeugma, all the surviving servants are male and dressed in long robes. The servants here would serve much the same function as they would in the tombs, serving as appropriate iconography and adding to the experience of the banqueters themselves. In the Near East, there was also a long established Hellenistic tradition under which it was believed these sacred banquets took place under the auspices or even in the symbolic presence of deities. [65] The reclining figure of Dionysos, from the Hypogeum of Dionysos at Palmyra (1.10), looks ready for a banquet, holding a patera in his hand and taking the traditional reclining position of Roman banqueters.

Gardens and Floral Designs (1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 1.6, 1.11, 1.13, 1.15, 1.21, 1.24, 1.25, 2.1, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.9, 2.14). Gardens and floral patterns remain a popular choice in both spheres. In the tombs, they appear as stylized scatters of flowers on both walls and ceiling. The scattering was used as both the main decoration or as filler on the arches of arcosolia or the interior of niches. This scattering may recall the scattering of flowers at banquets or the tradition of scattering flowers on specific holidays. The painted flowers in

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62 Barbet, Gatier and Lewis 1997, 146.
63 Ibid, 146.
64 Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994, 81-82; Safwan 1995, 376.
65 Kaizer 2007, 451.

all of the examples from the Near East and Asia Minor, with the exception of long-stemmed pink flowers from the Tomb of the Birds (1.25), are red and thought to represent either poppies or roses. Flowers may also allude to the gardens popular in Roman households and the luxury associated with them. In the domestic sphere, gardens and flowers are used in much the same way. Found on the interior walls of Roman houses, they too are used as the dominant motif or an accent and recall the luxurious settings of a peristyle garden.

Gardens and other floral motifs appear frequently in tombs across the Roman Empire and may also be tied into the theme of banqueting. Roman authors mention that it was customary for flowers to be scattered on the floors, and even couches, of the dining rooms: guests would also be decked with flowered garlands.[66] Clarke suggests that the scattered flower motifs which line several of the tombs in the Near East and Asia Minor (1.1, 1.2, 1.3,1.6 1.9,1.11,1.13, 1.15,1.21 1.24, 1.25), may be an extension of this practice.[67] The use of a stylized floral motif in the Painted House at Petra (2.14), a structure built specifically and exclusively for dining, corroborates this connection. Of the tombs which are painted with these open field compositions, only the tomb at Sidon (1.9) and the Migdal Ashqelon (1.15) are decorated solely with flowers; the other tombs include other features such as birds, baskets and sphinxes. The only other painted decoration in both of these tombs are servants perhaps making this practice of scattering flowers for banquets stronger. Many have sought to associate these motifs with conceptions of the Elysian Fields or other ideas of gardens of paradise. This concept becomes difficult when no secure religious beliefs can be attributed to the patron of these tombs. Perhaps instead a connection with banqueting can be made.

Several outwardly Christian tombs feature stylized floral patterns and other rustic motifs and in these cases, the association between the tomb and the garden of Eden is more easily applicable.[68] The tombs in the Near East and Asia Minor whose construction and use can be clearly attributed to a Christian use free-field compositions of flowers with additional motifs of birds and baskets, a stylized extension of the garden of Eden. The Tomb of Chrysanthios from Sardis (1.1) and the Paleochristian hypogeum from Nicaea (1.6) both use fields of red flowers, probably poppies, as their dominate motif and include other details such as doves, peacocks and baskets.

Clark has suggested that their association with banquets, flowers and floral designs in general may have been associated not so much to the Elysian fields as to the world of the living, where they were synonymous with a life of luxury.[69] Many Roman houses centred on peristyles planted with gardens. The tablinum of the house often communicated with these peristyle gardens acting as a backdrop to any business taking

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[66] Horace *Odes* 1.36.15, 3.19.22; Martial 9.93.5; Ovid *Fasti* 5.336.
[67] 2003, 110.
[68] For example, see entry 1.1 and 1.6.
[69] 2003, 207.

place that day. This sign of prestige also extended into the funerary sphere. Gardens are attested to the necropoli from Italy such as Ostia's Isola Sacra and at Herculaneum and Pompeii[70] but seem to have been particularly popular in tombs from the Near East and Asia Minor. An inscription from Pisidia refers to a tomb as a παράδεισον (enclosed park or garden).[71] The peribolos area of temple tomb on the Niyazitepe hill outside Pergamon contained cisterns, which Cormack assigns to a watering system for the garden, and banqueting areas.[72] The appeal of gardens extended into the interior of Roman households as well. In the House of the Consul Attalus at Pergamon (2.1), a garden is painted on the walls of a room directly west to the courtyard while in Unit IV of House II at Ephesus (2.7) the courtyard itself is decorated with a garden painting. Both are completed with low parapet walls and birds flying in the background. The atrium of the House of Poseidon at Zeugma (2.9) is also decorated with a garden viewed through lattice-work. Painted gardens was used in highly public areas of the house and in some cases, even in areas where a view of a natural garden was possible.

The use of more stylized arrangements of flowers, as seen in the tombs, is also attested in the domestic sphere (2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7, 2.15). These arrangements usually consisted of a scattering of flowers, primarily red, across a surface, often including the same elements as seen in the tombs such as birds, baskets, putti.

Mythological Scenes (1.7, 1.8, 1.12, 1.13, 1.14, 1.23, 2.5, 2.7, 2.10, 2.11). Although popular in both spheres, the choice of mythological scenes in the funerary and domestic spheres is quite different and appears to be more heavily determined by the Roman sense of *decorum*. Not surprisingly, scenes from myths involving death and the Underworld, and more interestingly, the desecration of a body are extremely rare in the domestic sphere but appear in tombs. When mythological scenes are used, they are usually in connection with other myths and make up the dominant decoration in the tombs. While other episodes from the same myth could be used in the domestic sphere, here they seem to have been chosen for their use as exempla or amusement. Mythological scenes in the domestic sphere could be used in panels or as the primary decoration. Overall, the same motifs appear in both the funerary and domestic sphere but often take on additional or different meanings based on context and association with other motifs.

Mythological scenes account for the largest portion of figurative decoration in the tombs. The great variation in religious beliefs of the Romans during the period in question and especially in the Near East, where a number of Oriental religions were also practiced, means that symbolic content could differ considerably depending on the client or artist.[73] Overall, most of the mythological scenes that feature in these tombs carry

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[70] Meiggs 1973; Jashemski 1971.
[71] Kubinska 1968, 143.
[72] 2004, 121.
[73] Wood 1993, 85.

messages of redemption or victory over death. The most common scene to appear in tombs is the Abduction of Persephone. At Tyre (1.12), the scene occupies the wall opposite the entrance and follows the scheme established as early as the fourth century BC at the Tomb of Persephone in Vergina. Persephone pulls away from Hades who clasps her as he rides away in a four-housed chariot. Hermes leads the chariot while Athena and Artemis look on. The scene from Massyaf (1.7) is confined and reversed but follows the same formula. The abduction of Persephone also falls into a category of mythological scenes that emphasis the delight the soul can take when it ascends to the sky or descends to the underworld. A less dramatic representation of Persephone and Hades is used on an arcosolium in the Tomb of Pluto and Persephone (1.13). Here, the two sit as a couple supposedly ruling over the Underworld from their thrones, protected by Cerberus on the left. Images of Ganymede (1.8) in the funerary sphere may also take on a similar lesson. Carried away by Jupiter, Ganymede takes delight in his ascension into the heavens.

At Tyre, Hercules leads Alcestis out of the Underworld to be reunited with her husband. Scenes from the life of Alcestis were particularly popular in funerary art and appeared frequently on sarcophagi. Alcestis' story like many of the images found in tombs could be viewed in a number of different ways depending on the way in which the viewer related to her story. Willing to sacrifice herself in place of her husband, Alcestis was honored for her virtues. Her story thus was appropriate for a number of contexts. In a domestic context, she may have been an exemplum of female virtue, having sacrificed herself for her husband. Depictions of Alcestis in the domestic sphere emphasize this role as a virtuous wife and her eventual reunion with her husband, Admetus. In a panel from the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii (VI 8, 3) for example, a veiled Alcestis sits beside her husband. Wood suggests that the reunion scene between Alcestis and Admetus was imbued with the idea of marital loyalty because of its strong resemblance to conventional wedding scenes. Literary and mythological figures were often painted on walls of house offering *exempla* of desired virtues. In the House of Euphrates at Zeugma (2.11), standing figures of women some identified by name as mythological heroines including Penelope and Deidameia may have acted in such a way. The women all known from the Homeric epics for their fidelity to their husbands were possible role models for the women of the house.[74] On the walls of a cubiculum of the House with out Mosaics also at Zeugma (2.12), monumental female figures identified by Barbet as nurses from mythology stand, perhaps also serving as exempla.[75] Their loyalty and devotion would again be virtuous. In the specific context of the tomb at Tyre and the location of the Alcestis and Hercules located diagonally from Hercules leading Cerberus out of Hades, paralleled these two as scenes of triumph over death. Naturally, the painter chose the portion of the story set within the realm of the underworld whereas other elements of the

[74] Dunbabin 2006, 287.
[75] Barbet 2005, 300.

story including the marriage and eventual reunion of Alcestis and Admetus would be more appropriate for the domestic sphere.[76]

Several mythological scenes, despite dealing with death and the underworld, seem on first glance even too inappropriate to decorate the tombs of yourself, your family and possible future generations. These are dark and disturbing tales of gruesome deeds. Their dark lessons and associations with death certainly made them inappropriate for the domestic sphere. The supplication of Tantalus is one such example. In order to please the gods, Tantalus killed his son, Pelops, cut him up into pieces, and offered him as a sacrifice to the gods. As punishment for parricide, Tantalus is forced to stand forever in a pool of water which subsides each time he leans in for a drink and surrounded by olive trees which pull back each time he tries to eat.[77] The scene appears in the tomb at Tyre (1.12). Tantalus is shown, wearing only a loincloth and a cap, standing in his timeless pool of water surrounded by olive trees. The representation of Tantalus is unique. The story of Tantalus was not a popular one in Roman popular culture and when he is shown he is most often shown in stories of Odysseus' journey to the Underworld. This scene takes on a different meaning recording the adventures of Odysseus, not so much the torture Tantalus is to experience for the rest of eternity. Of the seven depictions of Tantalus alone from the Roman period, three come from sarcophagi, one from an altar (probably funerary in nature), one from a mausoleum, another from a funerary altar and the last from Tyre.

Tantalus and his story of parricide is balanced on the opposite wall with another story of the mutilation of a body. Here, Priam kneels in front of Achilles begging for the return of Hector whose body has been desecrated by Achilles for twelve days.[78] The same story is played out on the walls of the Tomb of Prometheus at Capitolias (1.23). Here, Achilles is shown in the actual act of dragging Hector's body in front of the walls of Troy. The ransom of Hector was a popular choice in the domestic sphere as well. In the Near East, the only example comes from the House II, IV from Ephesus (2.7). The painting in the domestic sphere however was probably meant to recall the episodes of the Trojan War rather than specifically focusing on the desecration of Hector's body.

At Massyaf (1.7), a very fragmentary scene depicts Medea and Jason. Unfortunately, not much can be said about what moment from their story was captured on this wall but its context might suggest that the scene depicted the moments before or after Medea had slaughtered her young child to get her revenge on Jason. It too would send a strong message regarding parricide. These scenes seem quite out of place with the other images usually associated with ideas of redemption and victory over death. The dark tales highlight the punishment of the impious, those who slaughter and desecrate individuals unworthy of such treatment. Whereas most decoration in tombs seem to have some

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[76] For instance, see the painted panel of Alcestis and Admetus from the House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii.
[77] Hygenis, *Fabulae* 82-83; Homer, *Od.* 11.611.
[78] Homer, *Il.* 24.1-30.

connection to the deceased, these horrible tales may act as warning signs to the visitors to the tombs. Many Romans were concerned with the treatment of their bodies after burial and left explicit details regarding the protection of their bodies in wills and epitaphs. A law preserved in the Digest states that anyone who despoiled a corpse could endure the death penalty or work in the mines.[79] The commissioner of the painting reinforced the concept that it was impossible to escape destiny. Someone who committed such a crime could not escape the consequences.

The Roman sense of *decorum* seems to have kept many of the mythological scenes involving death and the underworld limited to the funerary sphere and out of the domestic while a limited few existed in both spheres. One of the most prevailing was the story of Narcissus. The myth of the young man who fell in love with his own reflection was an extremely popularity story appropriate for both spheres. Ovid's retelling of the myth in the *Metamorphoses* made it quite popular in the Empire and this popularity is attested by the numerous frescoes depicting the young man in Pompeii. In the Near East, it appears in the tomb at Massyaf (1.7). Its associations with death make it an appropriate choice for a tomb as does its lessons on the ultimate consequence of vanity.

Another more inexplicable scene is Achilles on Skyros. Scenes involving Achilles were a popular chance for funerary iconography for their lessons in mortality, hubris and the inability to escape destiny. At Capitolias (1.23), he is shown both in combat with Hector and afterwards dragging the body in front of Troy. At Tyre (1.12), Achilles is again featured receiving Priam who begs for the body of his son back. While the Skyros scene may be indirectly referencing Achilles own death since this is the moment when he resumes the path to his fated death at Troy, the popularity of the scene especially in the domestic sphere could be attributed to a late fourth century BC masterpiece by Athenion of Maronea. Pliny does not say much regarding the painting: "Achilles disguised in a girl's clothes being detected by Odysseus".[80] The only surviving example from Asia Minor decorates the wall of a cubiculum in House II, Unit IV at Ephesus (2.7). It is tempting to suggest that the proprietors of the Tomb of the Three Brothers (1.8) commissioned this painting because of its connection, however accurate to the original, to an old master. Achilles on Skyros is the only mythological scene found painted in a tomb in the Near East and Asia Minor during the Roman period that does not have any clear associations with death or the Underworld.

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[79] *Digest* 14.12.3.7.
[80] Pliny, *HN* 35.134.

Conclusions

Painted decoration in tombs was clearly chosen to be appropriate for its surroundings, yet, by examining what is left in the domestic sphere, it is clear that most motifs were shared with the domestic sphere. Chapters two and three presented the painted material from the tombs and houses known in the Roman Near East and Asia Minor. Both groups of structures showed a great diversity in their decoration choices. No two tombs or houses were decorated in the same fashion. More simple constructions, for example, such as the tombs from Sardis, were painted with fields of scattered flowers while other more elaborate tombs like the ones from the necropolis at Abila show a great diversity and complexity in decoration. Here, they combine faux architecture with scenes of everyday life or stories from popular mythology.

The fourth chapter offered a short discussion on who may have commissioned the paintings in the tombs and who the intended audience was, and demonstrated that the paintings were probably viewed by a small, intimate group consisting primarily of members of the familia, and friends. The rest of the chapter synthesized all the material from the Near East and Asia Minor in an effort to understand how the decoration in the tomb may have been viewed by visitors. It was shown that the painted motifs in tombs were often used as commemoration or celebration of the pleasures of life rather than symbolizing or picturing the ideal afterlife. Medallion portraits and in some cases, such as the Hypogeum of Hairan at Palmyra, even full-figure images of the deceased were used in the tomb in much the same way as they were in households. With no prevailing attitudes towards an afterlife, tombs were often created with the purpose of commemorating ancestors and securing their position as such — illustrious predecessors to whom the living could honour on important festivals and holidays, thus securing their own positions as the dutiful descendants. The placement of portraits was a careful decision. In tombs, they are located in arcosolia or on pilasters, most likely close to the deceased, while in homes, they were placed in highly trafficked areas. In the Tomb of the Three Brothers at Palmyra, for example, portrait medallions were placed on each of the pilasters of the main chamber, most likely commissioned at the death of an individual who was placed in a loculus adjacent to the painted pilaster. Similarity, the portrait medallions adorning the walls of Tomb H60 at Abila are found in the arcosolia, areas of the tomb designated for one to three burials. By commemorating their ancestors in the form of wax masks, paintings and shield portraits, a Roman fulfilled his or her role as a descendant and helped to secure the identity of their ancestors. Allusions to banqueting and gardens also helped to keep the memory and prestige of the ancestor alive. The tomb was commonly believed to be the *domus aeterna* of the deceased and was equipped accordingly. Banquets were held on festival days and anniversaries of the birth and death of the deceased, who was thought to participate in the activities. These banquets acted as a form of interaction between the living and dead and managed to preserve for the

deceased some of the luxuries they enjoyed in life. Similarly used were images of scattered flowers which could recall the scattering of flowers themselves at banquets or the luxurious peristyle gardens where these banquets took place. Lastly, the mythological scenes are examined.

The sense of appropriateness important to the Romans kept some mythological scenes confined to the funerary sphere. While myths offered artists a number of episodes from which to draw from, their choice for tombs always had clear chthonic associations. Two main groups of mythological scenes emerge from this analysis. The first group of paintings consists of scenes depicting some form of victory over death: Persephone, Ganymede, and Hercules and Alcestis. The second group of paintings presents mythological stories from which the ancient viewers, and maybe even the deceased, could learn some lessons. Stories involving the desecration of bodies including Tantalus, Medea, and Achilles and his treatment of the body of Hector, could have acted as a warning to viewers not to disturb the bodies.

This study focused on style and iconography but more recent research has focused on the chemical composition of both plaster and paint. Further study in this field could lead to the identification of regional trends and perhaps even workshops, conceivably working in both tombs and homes. The identification of workshops is difficult because of the widespread use of specific motifs and images across the Empire, most likely a result of the use of pattern books. The use of similar patterns in different media such as painting, mosaic and even textiles further strengthens the arguments for such books.[81] The fragile condition of fresco and its resulting preservation also makes such identification difficult; one exemplary image which may now be considered unique may have in fact been quite popular during its period of creation. Some scholars have however suggested ways to potentially identify the handiwork of workshops. Sheila Campbell, in her study on the possible identification of mosaic workshops in Turkey, lists three ways in which to identify groups of artists such as variations on standard geometric forms, the use of repeated patterns, especially in borders, and of specific mythological or figurative scenes.[82] These three methods of analysis have possibilities in the study of fresco as well.

More technical analysis of the actual frescoed surface may also provide fruitful results. Plastering techniques, for example, varied across time and regions. Vitruvius explains in great detail the number of layers to be applied and their required consistency.[83] Several scholars have started to analyze the chemical composition of the pigments and plaster to determine sources. Given that different compositions including marble dust, clay or even crushed pottery was used as aggregate material, this study could provide some preliminary information. Closer examination of the paint itself can also

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[81] Campbell 1979, 289.
[82] Campbell 1979, 288.
[83] *De Architectura* 7.3.7-10,

reveal more information regarding technique, including the layering or combining of pigments to achieve darker colours, or the use of more expensive, foreign pigments.[84]

[84] See Atkinson 2003 for some possible research avenues.

Figures

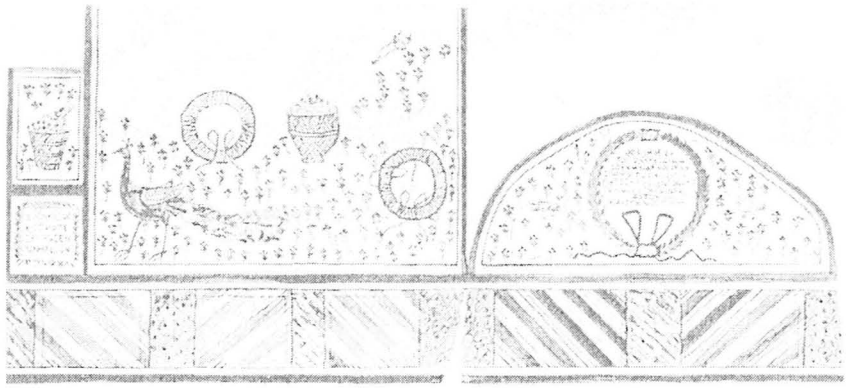


Figure 1: Drawing of east and south wells, with painted inscription, from Tomb of Chrysanthios (Greenewalt 1979, fig. 4)

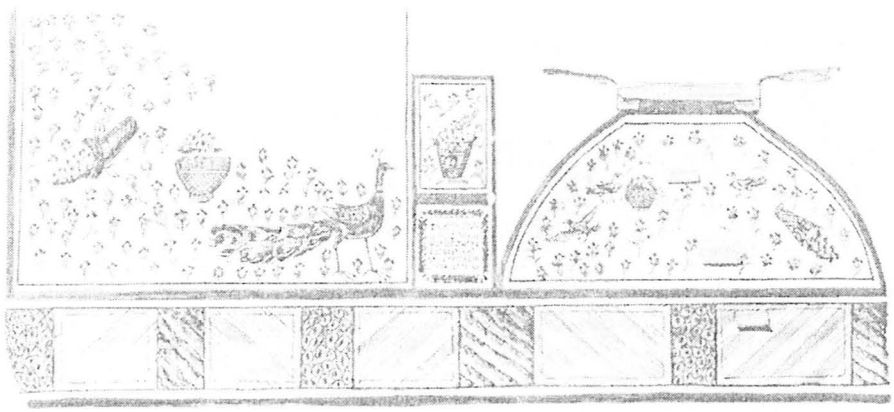


Figure 2: Drawing of west and north walls, from Tomb of Chrysanthios (Greenewalt 1979, fig. 3)



Figure 3: South wall, from chamber tomb at Sardis (Shear 1927, pl. IV)

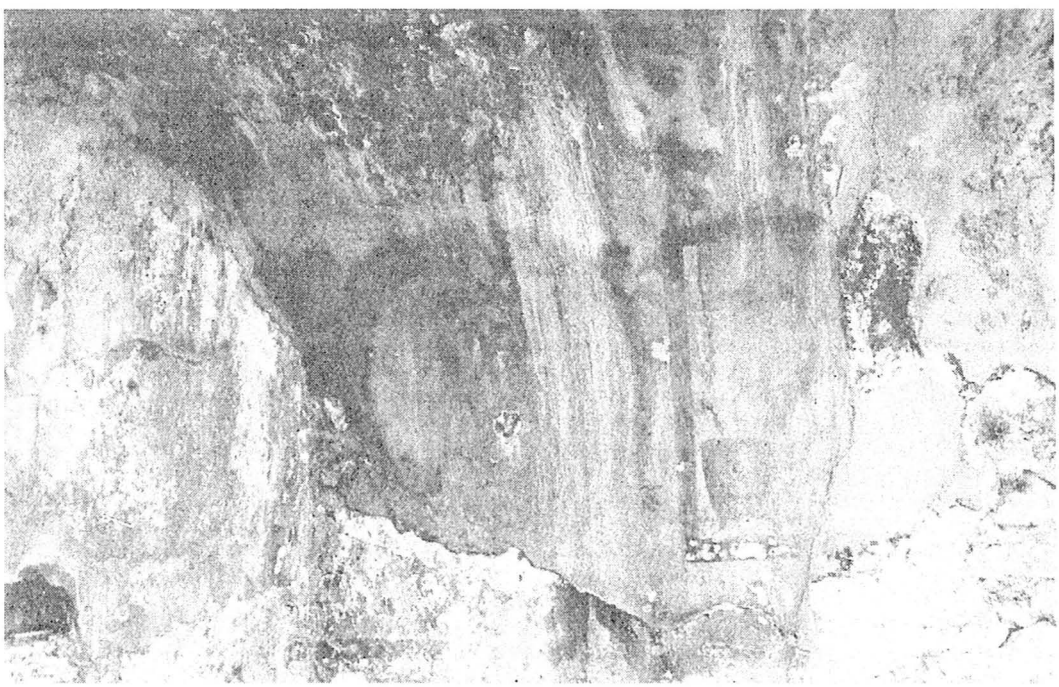


Figure 4: Portraits of the Seasons, from Tomb B.I.16 (Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1971, fig. 18)



Figure 5: Man flanked by two servants, from Tomb B.I.16 (Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1971, fig. 19)

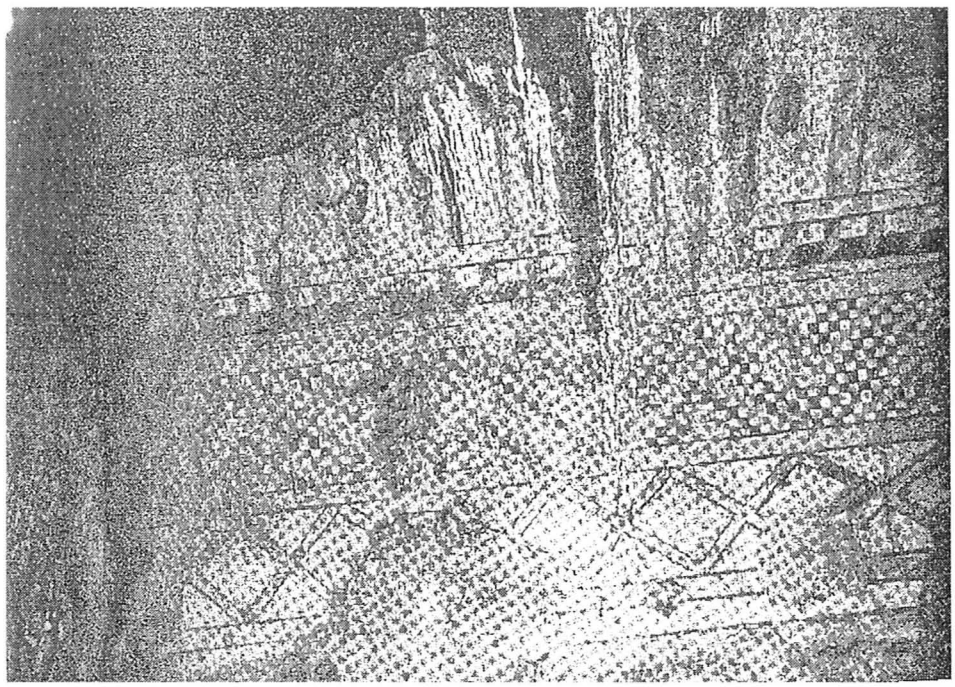


Figure 6: Geometric and architectural elements, from Tomb A.VI. 2 (Alföeldi-Rosenbaum 1971, fig. 15)

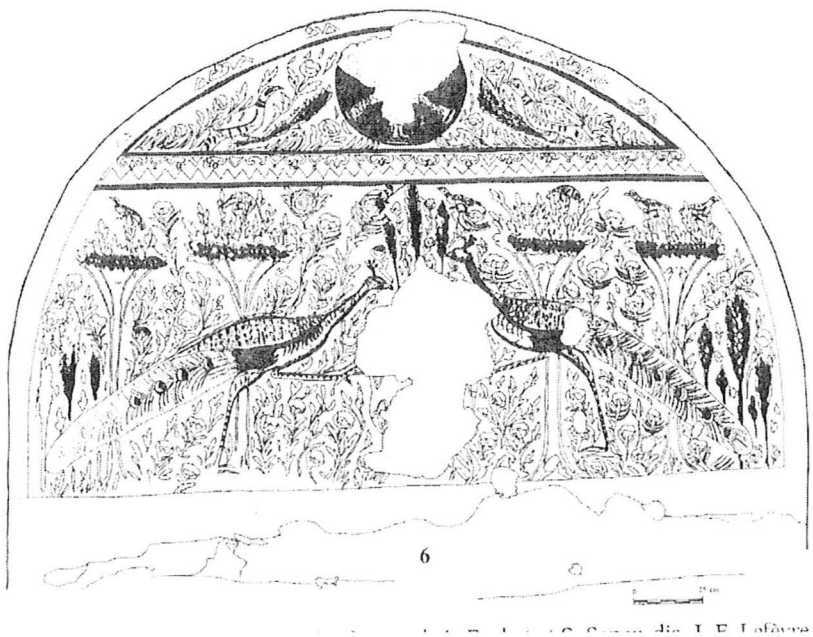


Figure 7: East wall showing peacocks and chi-rho, from Paleochristian hypogeum (Andaloro and Barbet 2002, fig. 2)

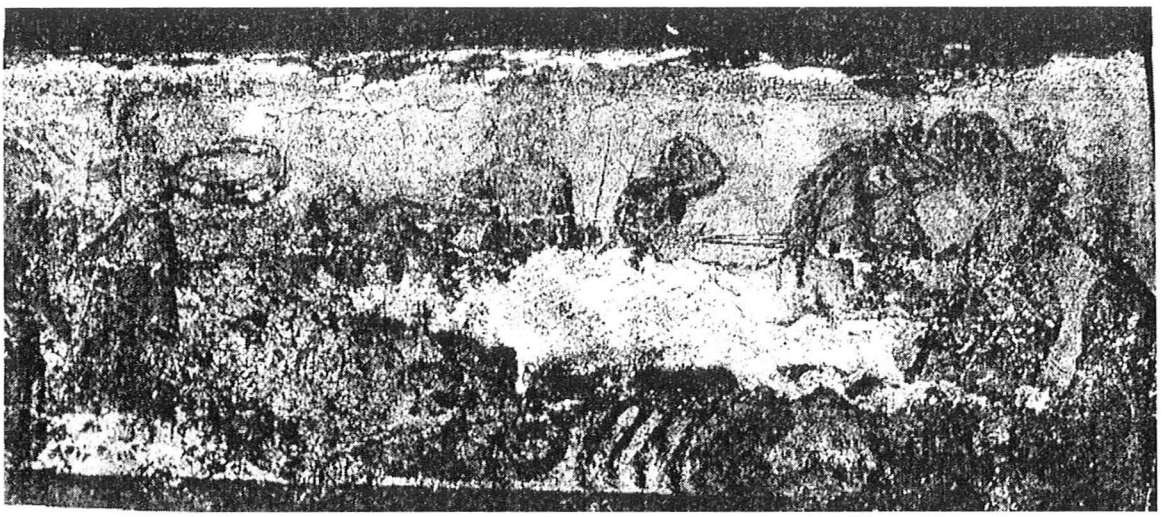


Figure 8: Detail of the Abduction of Persephone, from Massyaf (Chapouthier 1954, fig. 1)

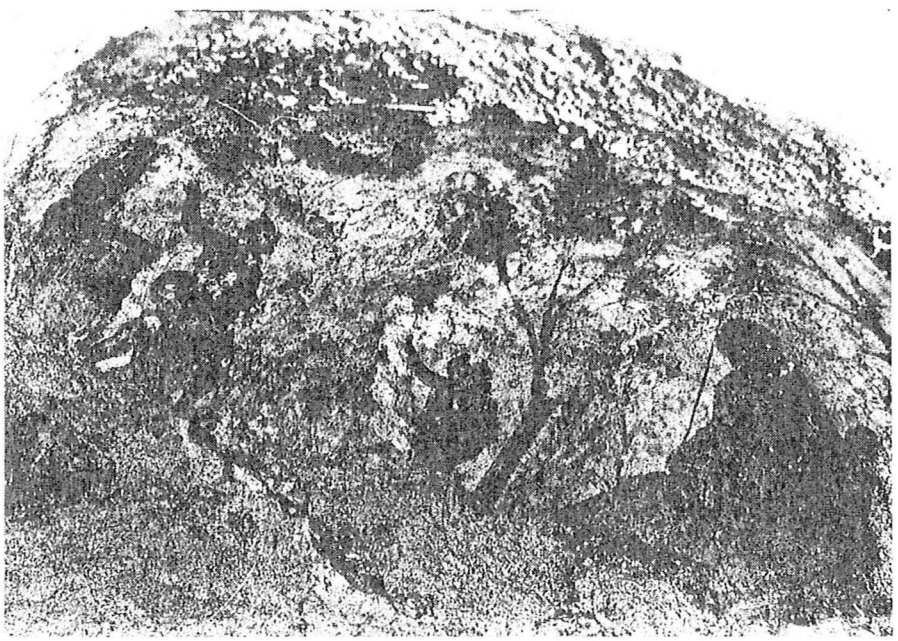


Figure 9: Detail of Narcissus, from Massyaf (Chapouthier 1954, fig. 2)



Figure 10: Two pilasters with full-size portraits of Sim'on and Malê, from the Tomb of the Three Brothers (Chabot 1906, pl. XVI, fig.3-4)

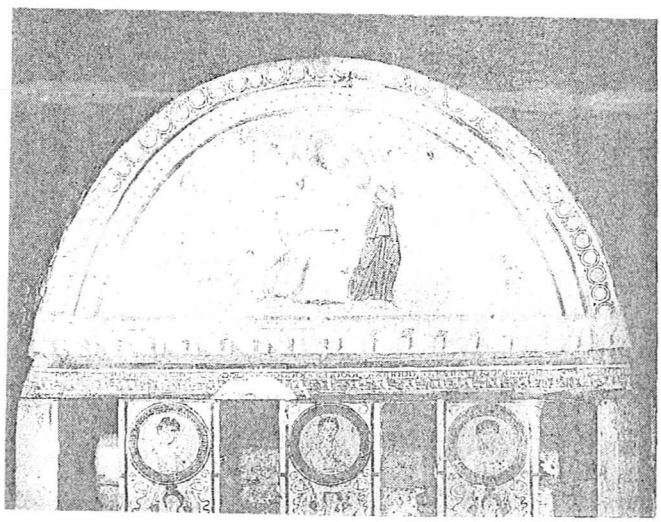


Figure 11: Achilles and Odysseus in court of King Lycomedes, from the Tomb of the Three Brothers (Chabot 1906, pl. XIV, fig. 2)

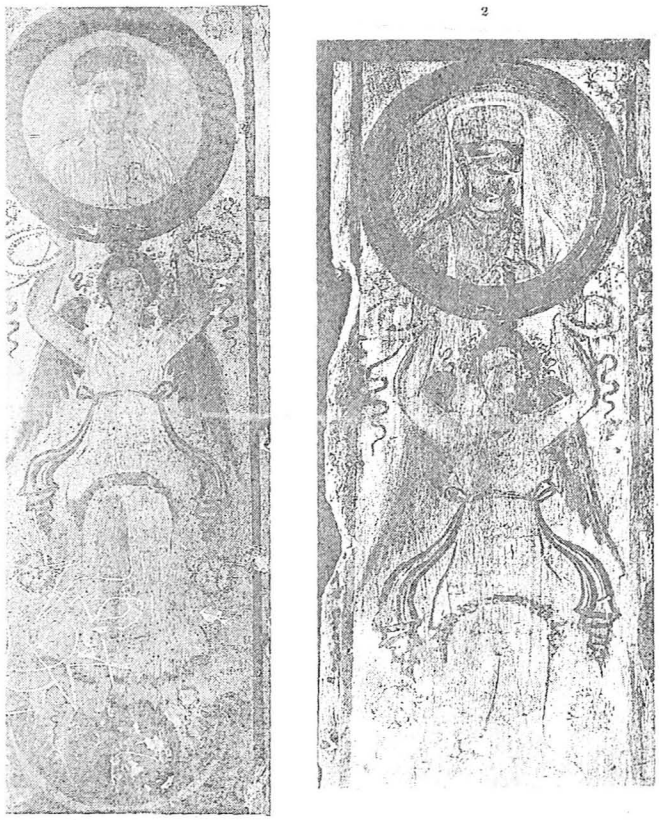


Figure 12: Pilasters with Victories holding portrait medallions, from the Tomb of the Three Brothers (Chabot 1906, pl. XVI, fig. 3-4)



Figure 13: Drawings of the full-size portraits of Hairan (left) and his wife (right), from the Hypogeum of Hairan (Colledge 1976, fig. 4)



Figure 14: Portrait medallion, from the Hypogeum of Hairan (Ingholt 1932, fig. 2)



Figure 15: Reclining Dionysos, from the Hypogeum of Dionysos (Colledge 1976, fig. 118)

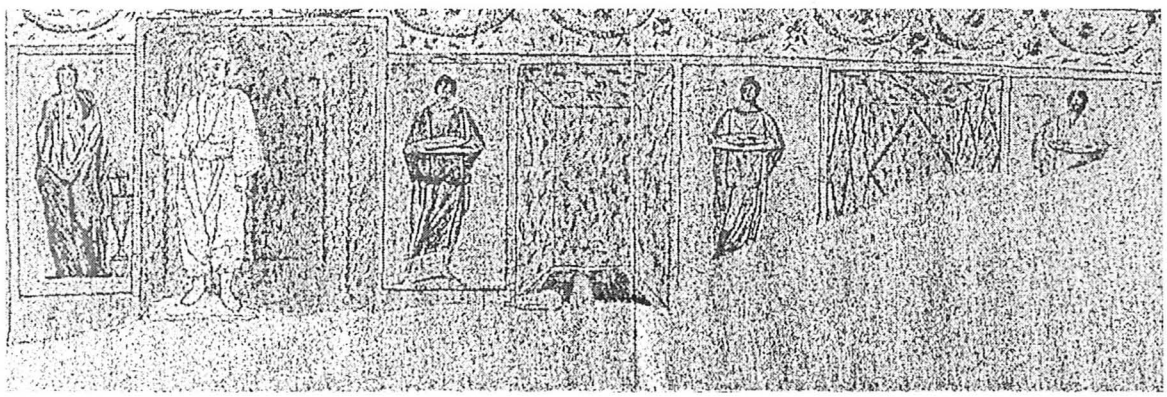


Figure 16: Drawing of tomb architecture with painted servants, from Sidon (Barbet, Gatier and Lewis 1997)



Figure 17: Drawing of female identified as an allegory for Culture or Banquet, from Sidon (Barbet, Gatier and Lewis 1997)

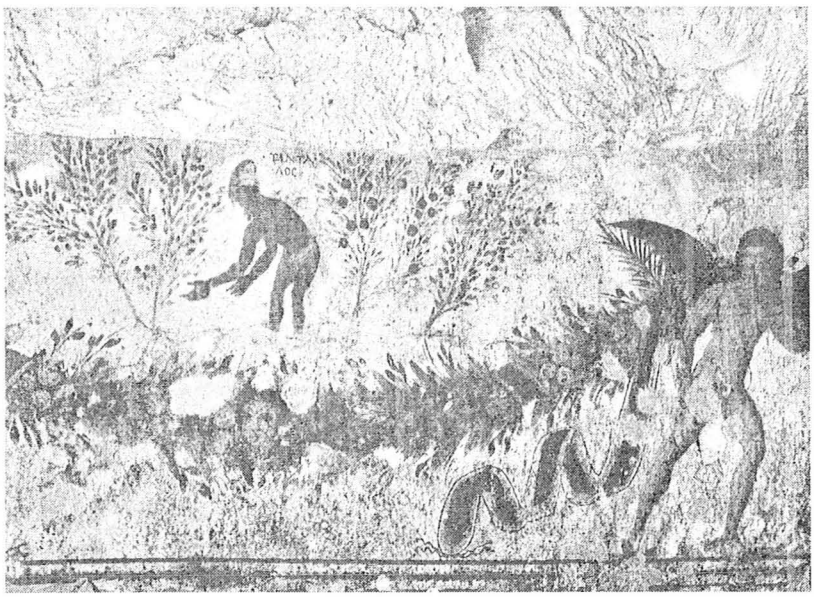


Figure 18: Detail of Tantalus, from Tyre (Dunand 1965, pl. VIII)

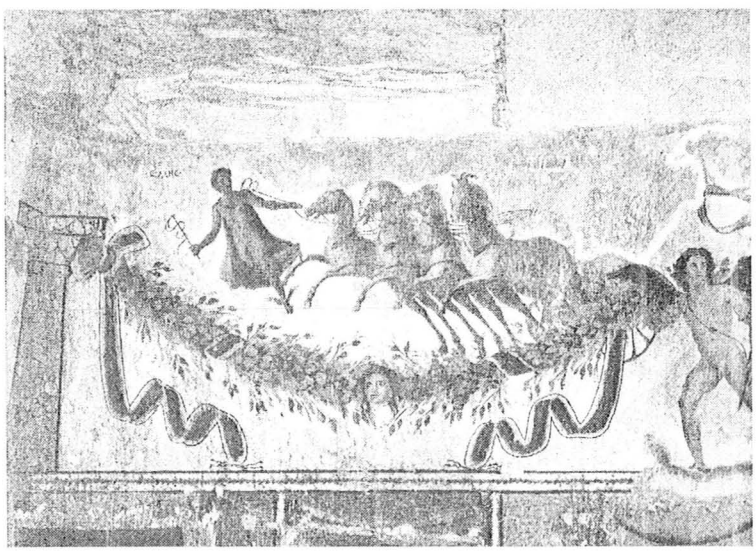


Figure 19: Detail of the Abduction of Persephone, from Tyre (Dunand 1965, pl. XIII)

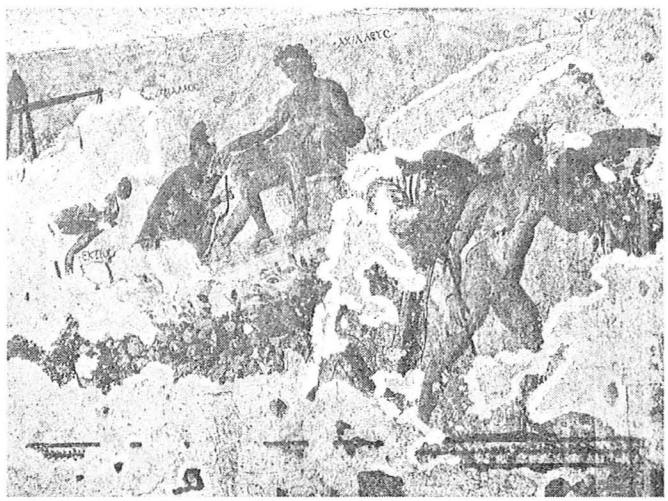


Figure 20: Detail of the Ransom of Hector, from Tyre (Dunand 1965, pl. XV)

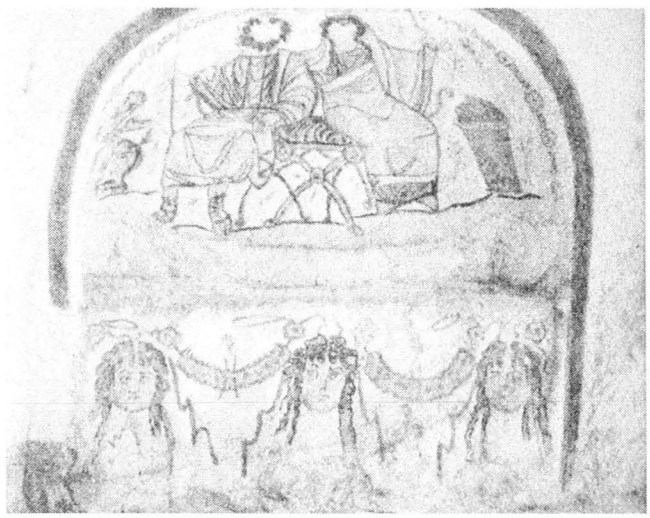


Figure 21: Arcosolium with Pluto and Persephone (or deceased couple?), from the Tomb of Pluto and Persephone (Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994, fig. B1)

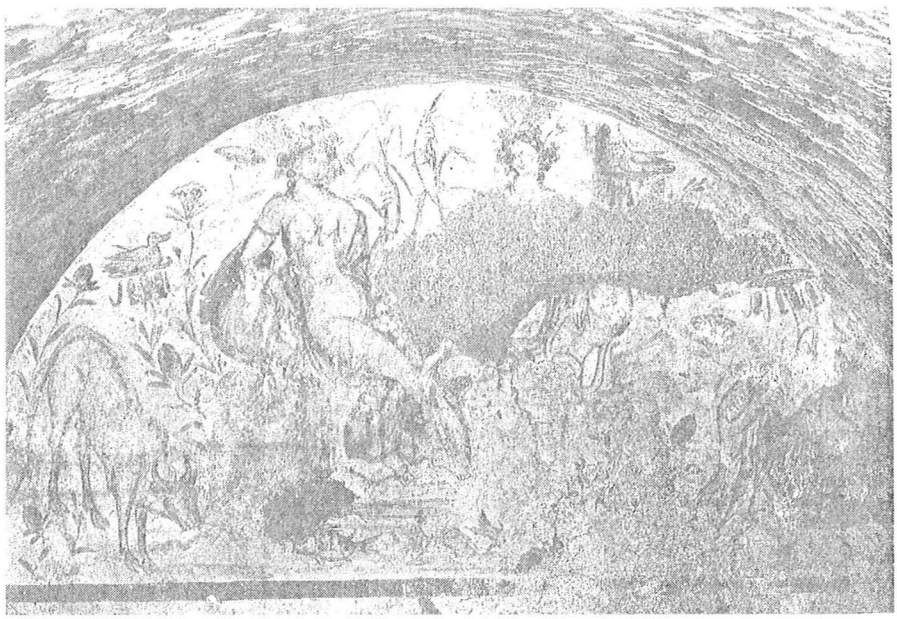


Figure 22: Idyllic scene, from Tomb of the Nymphs (Ory 1939, pl. XXVII)



Figure 23: Drawing of portraits and geometric decoration in arcosolium, from Tomb of the Busts (Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994, pl. 33)

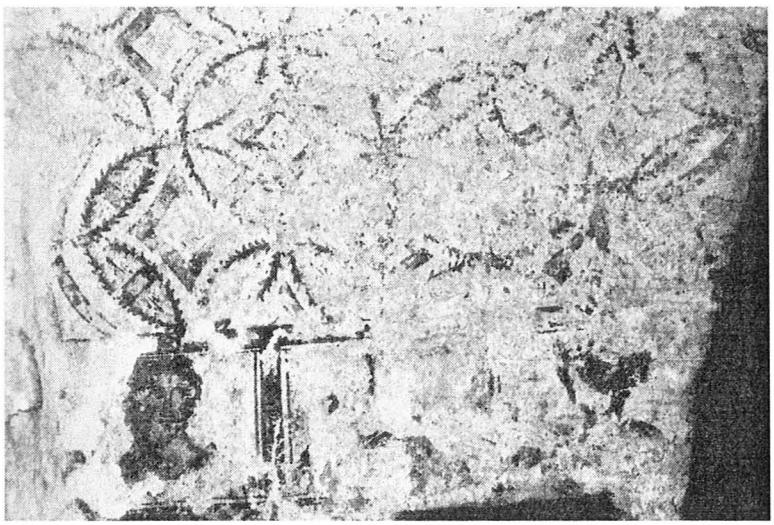


Figure 24: Detail, from Tomb of the Busts (Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994, pl. 41c)



Figure 25: Drawing of arcosolium with allegories, from Tomb of Loukianos (Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994, pl. 11)

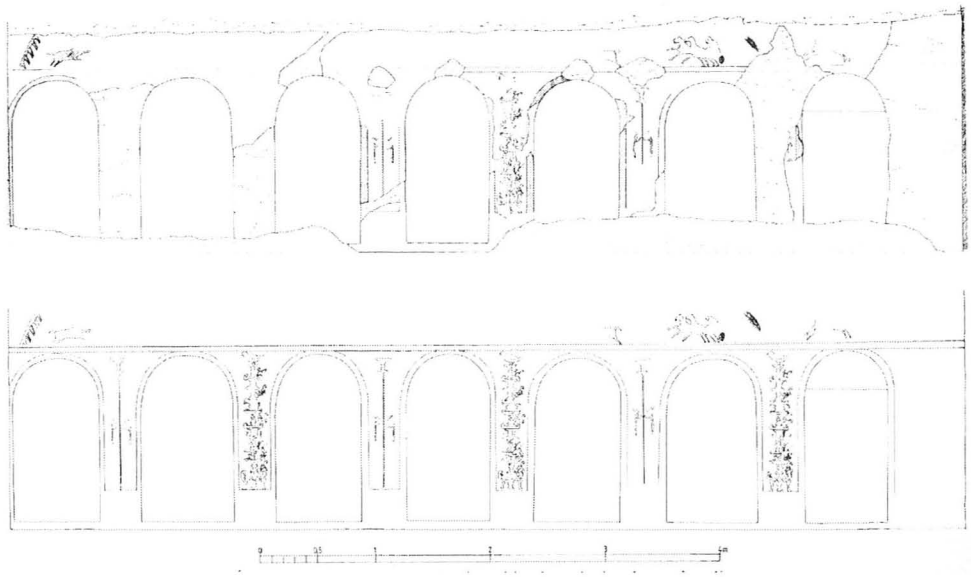


Figure 26: Drawing of painting showing possible *venatio* scenes above loculi, from Tomb of the Candelabras (Barbet Vibert-Guigue 1994, pl. 51)

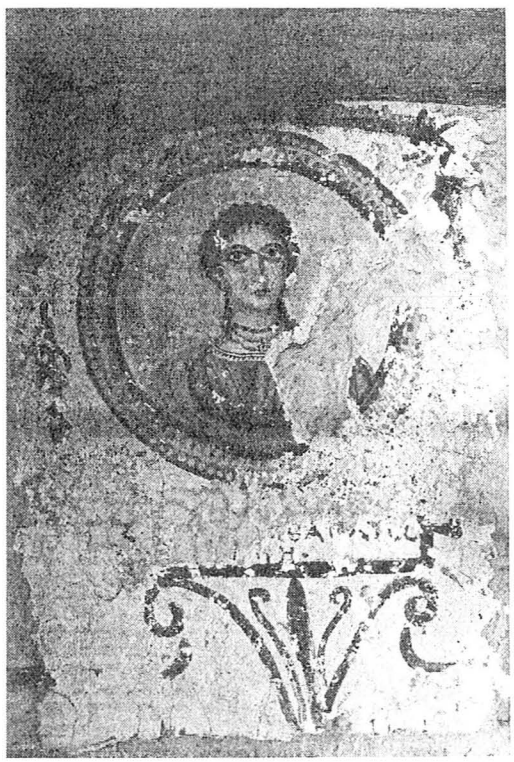


Figure 27: Portrait medallion of younger woman, from Tomb H60 (Smith and Mare 1997, fig. 3)

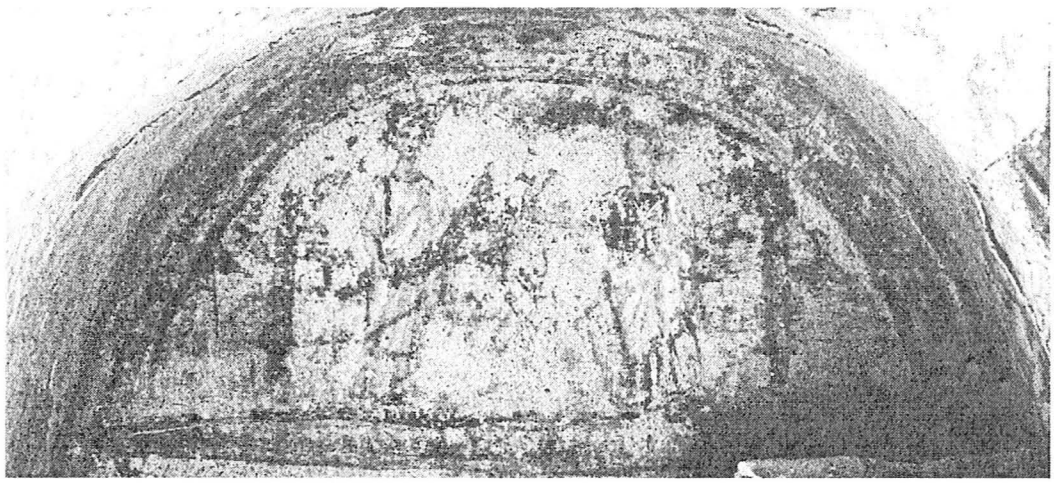


Figure 28: Man giving bouquet to woman, from Tomb H60 (Smith and Mare 1997, fig. 10)

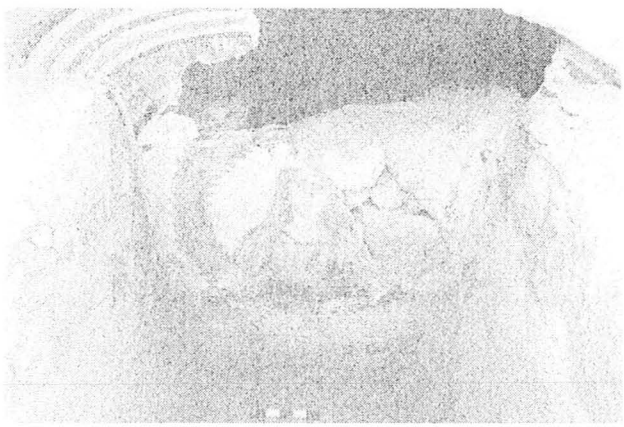


Figure 29: Portrait medallion of older woman, from Tomb H60 (Smith and Mare 1997, fig. 11)

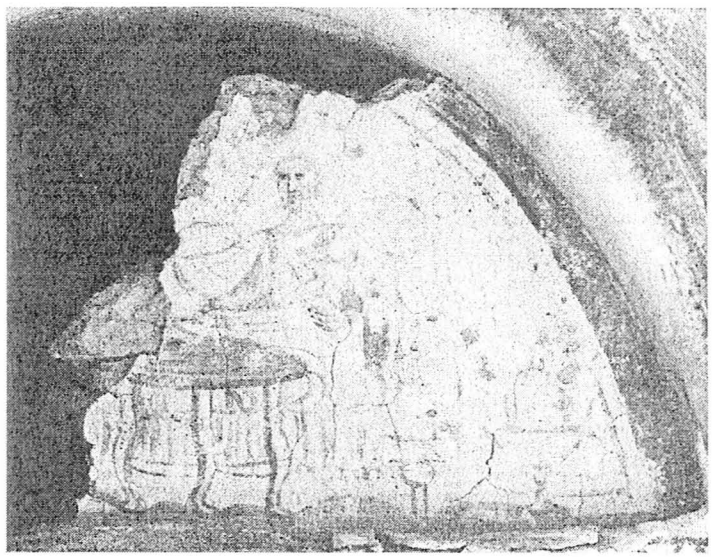


Figure 30: Kline scene, from Tomb H60 (Smith and Mare 1997, fig. 13)

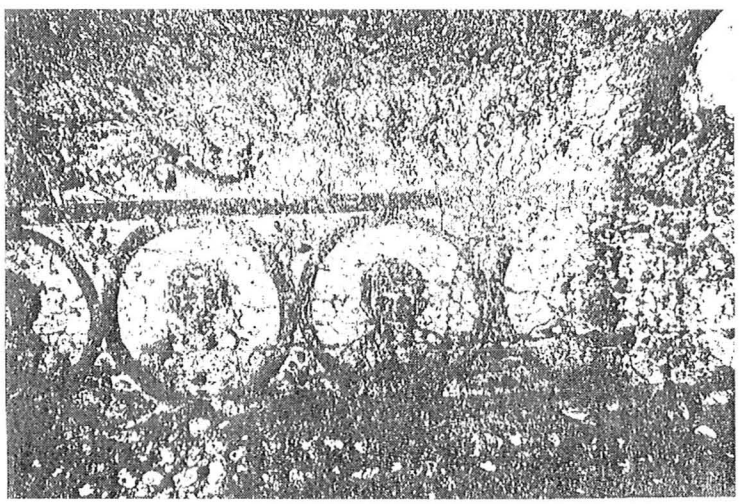


Figure 31: West wall showing placement of portraits, from Or ha-Ner (Tsafrir 1968, pl. 14b)



Figure 32: Detail of portrait, from Or ha-Ner (Tsafrir 1968, pl. 16.1)

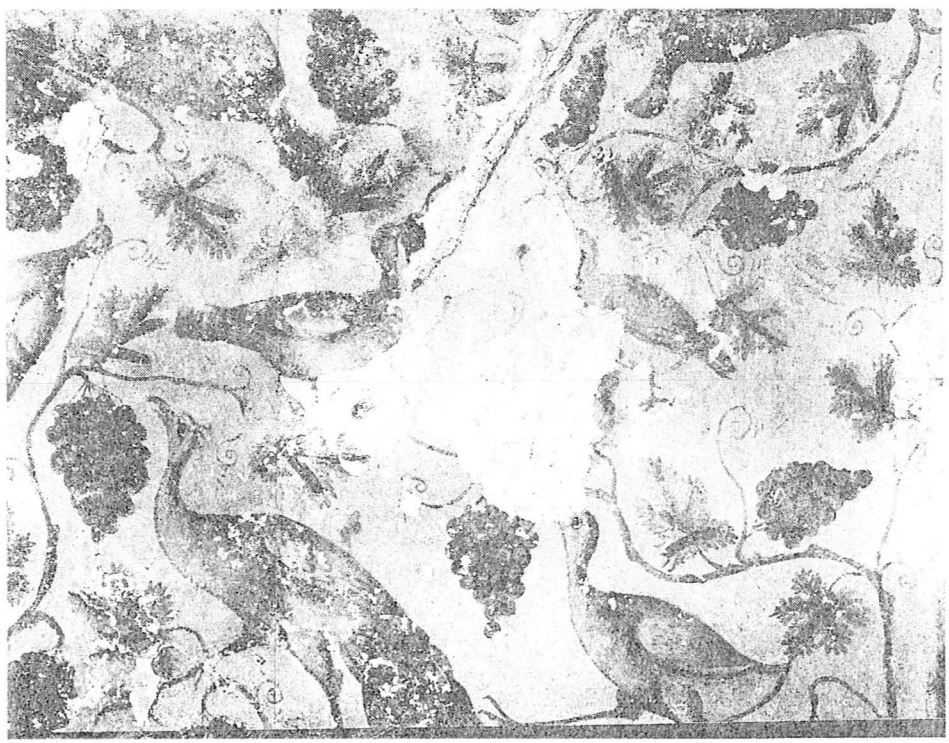


Figure 33: Detail of ceiling decoration, Cave of the Birds (Kloner 2000, p. 309)

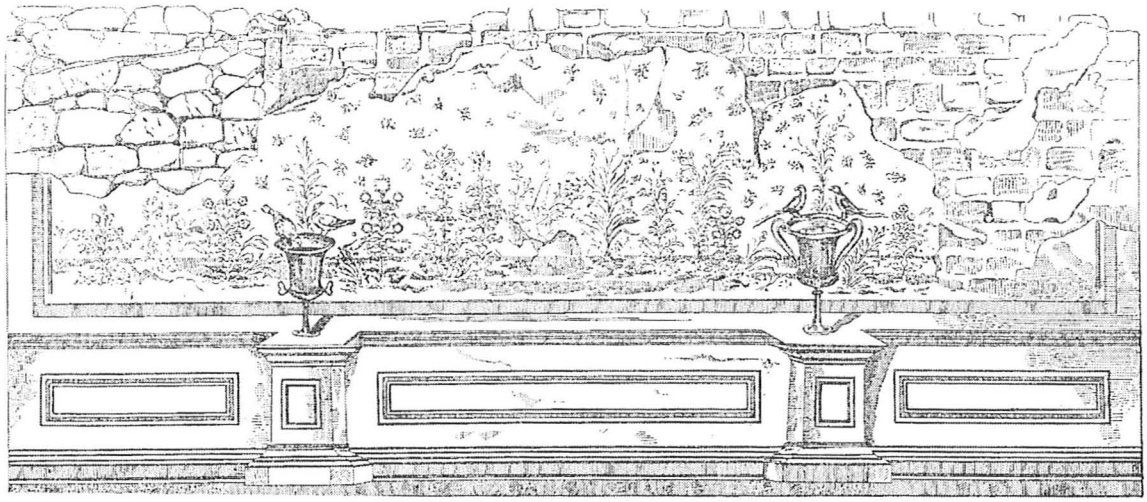


Figure 34: Partial reconstruction of garden scene, from House of the Consul Attalus (Radt 1999, fig. 88)

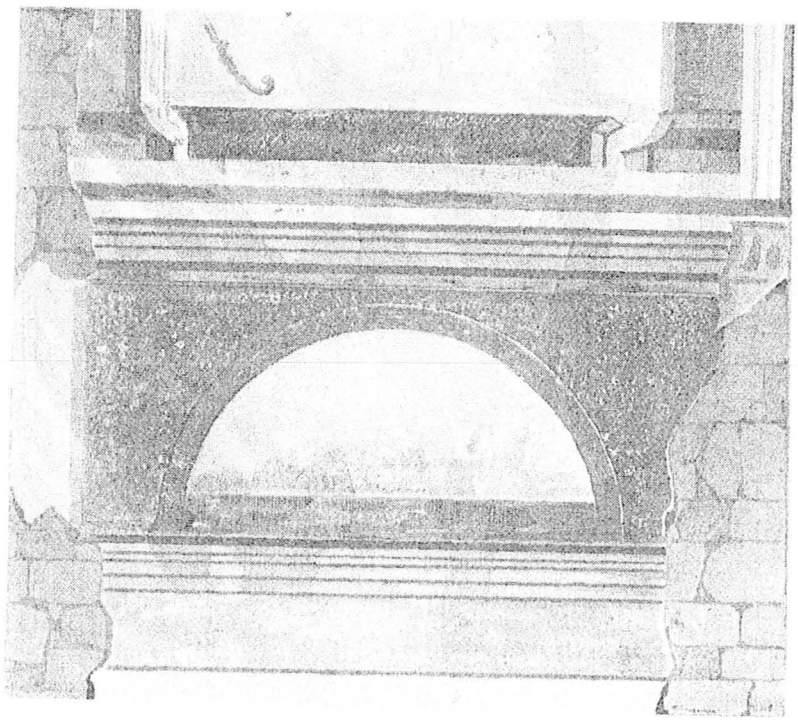


Figure 35: Drawing of fictive architecture, from House of the Consul Attalus (Radt 1999, fig. 88)

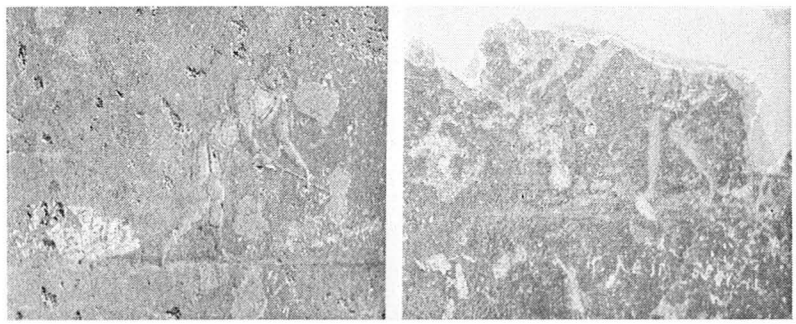


Figure 36: Detail of rustic activities, from Unit I of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 50-51)

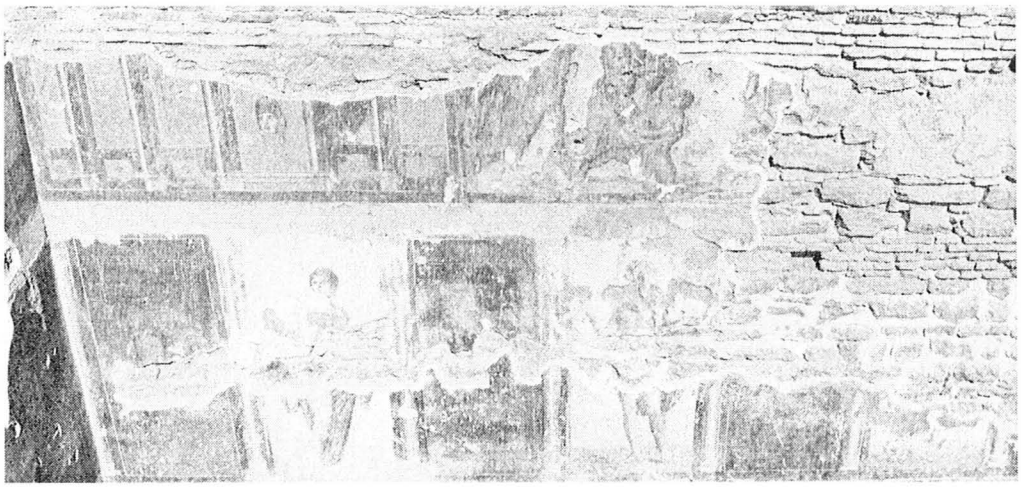


Figure 37: Theatre Room, from Unit I of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 73)

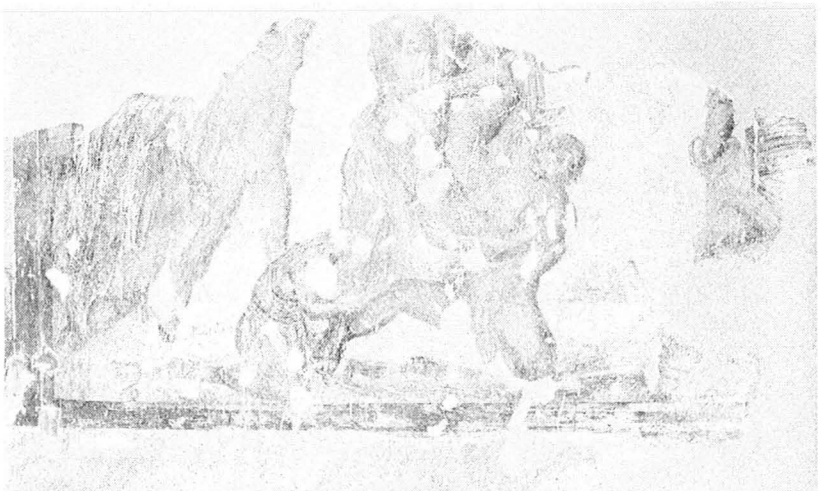


Figure 38: Detail of Hercules fighting Achilles, from Unit I of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 70)

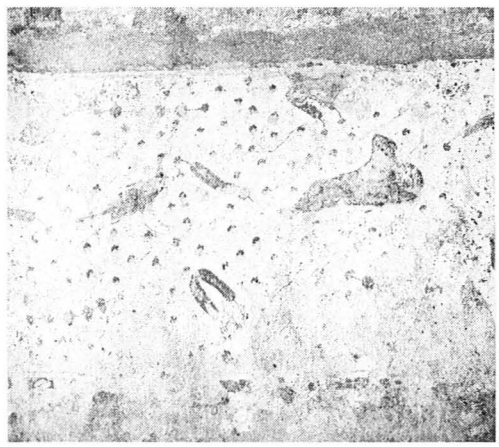


Figure 39: Floral decoration with reclining nymph, peacock and festoons, from Unit I of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 79)

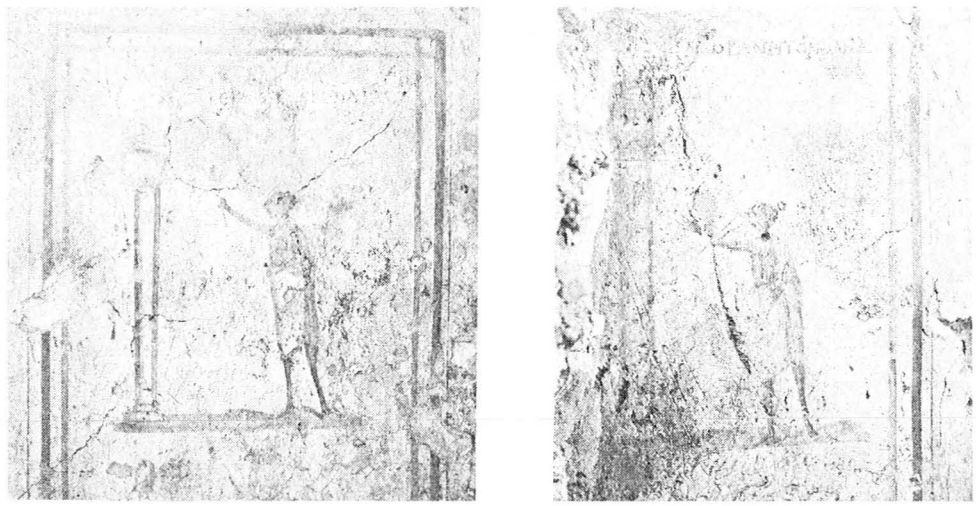


Figure 40: Details of miniature figures at altars, from Unit II of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 183-184)

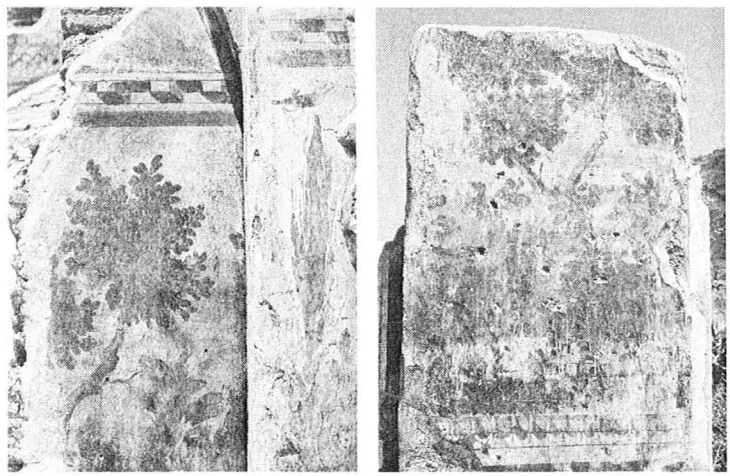


Figure 41: Garden painting, from Unit IV of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 208-209)



Figure 42: Ransom of Hector showing reclining Achilles, from Unit IV of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 223)

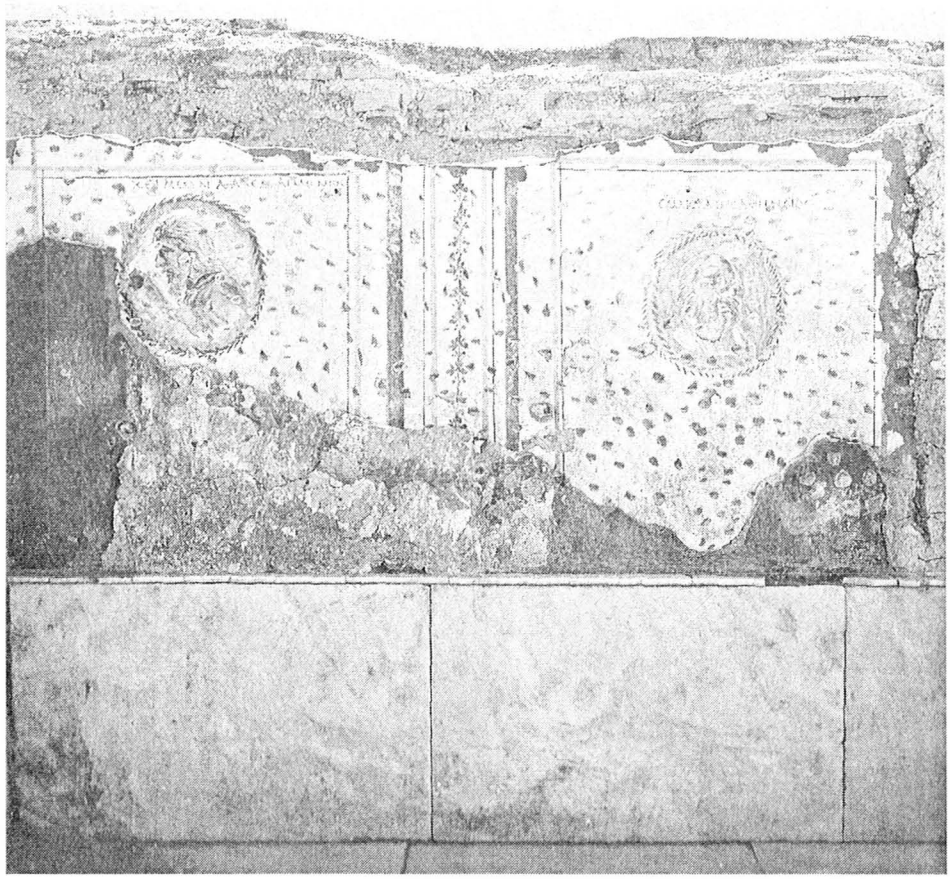


Figure 43: Portrait medallions of philosophers, from Unit III/V of House II (Strocka and Vetters 1977, fig. 263)



Figure 44: North wall, servants, from House of Poseidon (Barbet 2005, pl. 36)



Figure 45: Detail of figure tentatively identified as a personification of the Spring Equinox, from House of Poseidon (Barbet 2005, pl. 42)



Figure 46: East wall showing Penelope and Deidamia, from House of the Euphrates (Barbet 2005, pl. XXVI 3)



Figure 47: South wall showing two female figures, from House without a Mosaic (Barbet 2005, Pl. XXV 1)

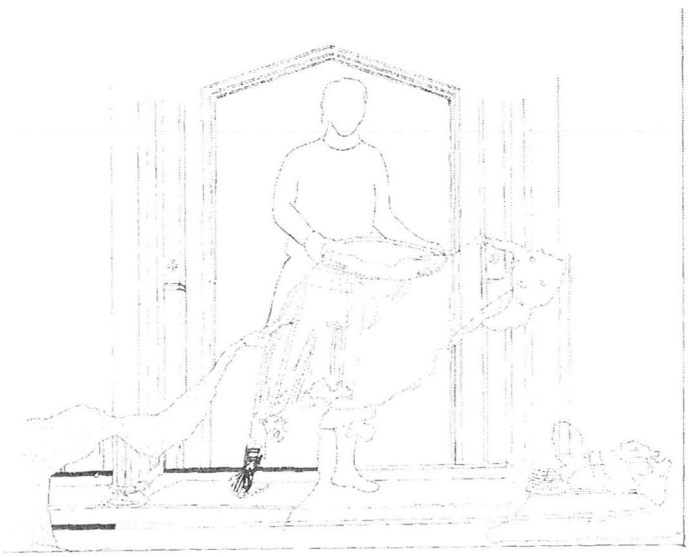


Figure 48: Partial reconstruction of servant with plate, from House of the Servant with a Plate (Barbet 2005, fig. 117)



Figure 49: Detail of portrait medallion, from Building XII (Goodman 1988, photo 152)

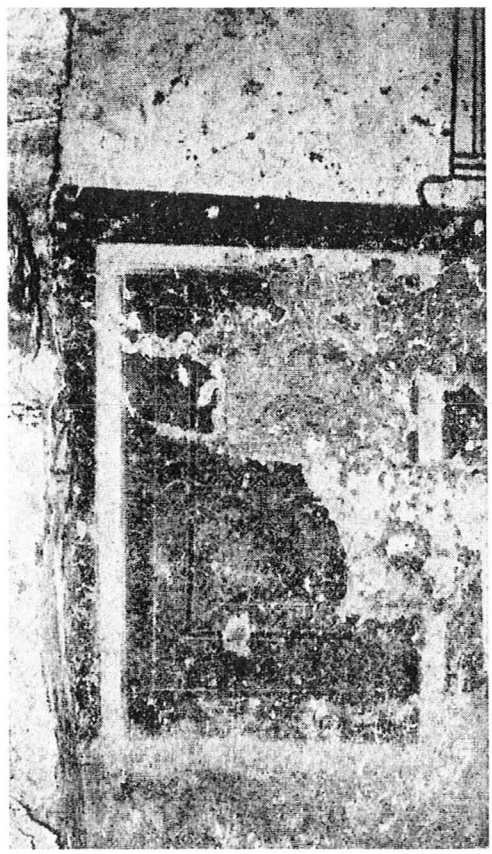


Figure 50: Fictive door, from Tomb of the Veiled Women (Barbet and Vibert-Guigue 1994, pl. 107 C)

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