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**THE DIONYSIAC MOSAICS OF GREECE
AND THE COAST OF ASIA MINOR**

**THE DIONYSIAC MOSAICS OF GREECE
AND THE COAST OF ASIA MINOR**

By

ZOGRAFIA WELCH, B.A, M.A.

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AUTHOR: **Zografia Welch, B.A., M.A. (McMaster University)**

SUPERVISOR: **Professor K.M.D. Dunbabin**

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ABSTRACT

As one of the most popular gods in the Greek and Roman world, Dionysos inspired artists of virtually every medium. This resulted in a rich iconographic tradition that stretches over eleven centuries. Dionysos' continuous popularity in both public and private life, however, cannot be traced in all media. The mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor are at the present time the only medium in Greece and around the Mediterranean which allows us to trace Dionysiac imagery for over nine centuries. This thesis collects forty-three mosaics from Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, and analyzes their iconography, compositional schemata, and architectural context.

By following the long history of Dionysiac mosaics in the Greek world, by examining their iconographic and stylistic characteristics, and by comparing them to similar representations in other media and on mosaics from different regions, we are able to trace the development of the iconography of Dionysos and his followers. But we are also able to address questions which are central to the overall mosaic tradition in Greece, such as for example the role that Greece played in the development of mosaics in the ancient world; methods and problems of chronology; controversies relating to suggestions of an unbroken Hellenistic tradition that lasted well into the imperial period; influences from developments in the West; and outside cultural influences in the Roman imperial period. Furthermore, the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor raise questions which are important for mosaics from all regions of the ancient world, such as the method of transmission of motifs and the tendency of modern scholarship to assign specific non-residential uses for buildings which contain more than one Dionysiac mosaic .

Inevitably, some of these issues are very complex and their investigation is hindered by major gaps in our knowledge. It is the intent of this thesis, however, to provide as many answers as possible, through a comprehensive study of the Dionysiac mosaics, which will contribute greatly to our understanding both of Dionysiac iconography and of the overall mosaic tradition in Greece.

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134. Pergamon, Building "Z", overall view (cat. 35, 36). After W. Radt, "Pergamon. Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1991," *AA* (1992) Fig. 8.
135. Pergamon, Building "Z", Silenos and Dionysos *Pais*, central panel (cat. 36). After Salzmann (1993) p. 393, Fig. 7.
136. Pergamon, Building "Z", Silenos and Dionysos *Pais* mosaic, overall view (cat. 36). After W. Radt, "Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1991," *AA* (1992) p. 359, Fig. 53.
137. Textile from Egypt, detail showing Silenos, initiant (?) and maenad. Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg (Switzerland). After G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 1996) pl. 10.
138. Nea Paphos (Cyprus), House of Aion, childhood of Dionysos. After G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 1996) pl. 2.
139. Sarrîn (Osroène), Dionysiac panel, detail of Silenos. Museum of Alepo. After Balty (1990) pl. B.1.
140. Nea Paphos (Cyprus), House of Aion, Papposilenos as *tropheus*. After W.A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (Mainz am Rhein 1985) pl. 4.
141. Wall painting, Pompeii, Villa dei Misteri, Papposilenos, detail. After Ph. Parroy et al., *Les Fresques de Pompéi* (Paris 1983) p. 52.
142. Wall painting, Pompeii, Villa dei Misteri, detail, Papposilenos. After Ph. Parroy et al., *Les Fresques de Pompéi* (Paris 1983) p. 55.
143. Sarcophagus, Dionysos' purification bath and investiture. Munich, Glyptothek 240. After Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, pl. 210.
144. Stucco relief, ceiling decoration, Rome, Villa Farnesina, Silenos performing initiation rites. After I. Bragantini and M. de Vos, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Pitture II*, 1 (Rome 1982)

Figure

Fig. 78.

145. Attic white-ground *calyx krater*, Hermes brings Dionysos to Silenos and the Nymphs. Vatican, Mus. Gregoriano 559. After J. Charbonneaux et al., *Classical Greek Art* (New York 1972) Fig. 296.
146. Marble table decoration, Pompeii (VI 15,7.8), Casa del Principe di Napoli. After *PPM* V, p. 679, Fig. 46.
147. Larisa, Katsigra property, Dionysos and the Seasons, central panel (cat. 29). After S. Sdrolia, "Ψηφιδωτό Δάπεδο με το Διόνυσο και τις Τέσσερις Εποχές," *Θεσσαλικά Ψηφιδωτά* (Athens 1991) p. 19.
148. Larisa, Katsigra property, Dionysos and the Seasons, detail of geometric borders (cat. 29). After S. Sdrolia, "Ψηφιδωτό Δάπεδο με το Διόνυσο και τις Τέσσερις Εποχές," *Θεσσαλικά Ψηφιδωτά* (Athens 1991) p. 20.
149. Larisa, Katsigra property, Dionysos and the Seasons, hunting Eros, detail from the border (cat. 29). After S. Sdrolia, "Ψηφιδωτό Δάπεδο με το Διόνυσο και τις Τέσσερις Εποχές," *Θεσσαλικά Ψηφιδωτά* (Athens 1991) 21.
150. Larisa, Katsigra property, Dionysos and the Seasons, Summer, detail from the border (cat. 29). After S. Sdrolia, "Ψηφιδωτό Δάπεδο με το Διόνυσο και τις Τέσσερις Εποχές," *Θεσσαλικά Ψηφιδωτά* (Athens 1991) p. 21.
151. Larisa, Augustus and Papadiamanti Street, Dionysos and the Seasons, drawing (cat. 30). After A. Tziafalias, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) chr.¹, p. 220, Fig. 1.
152. Larisa, Augustus and Papadiamanti Street, Dionysos and the Seasons, Dionysos in central medallion (cat. 30). After A. Tziafalias, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) chr.¹, pl. 89c.
153. Larisa, Augustus and Papadiamanti Street, Dionysos and the Seasons (cat. 30): a. Summer, b. Spring, c. Autumn. After A. Tziafalias, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) chr.¹, pls. 88a-b, 89a.
154. Chania, House of Dionysos, drawing of Dionysiac mosaics (cat. 3, 4). After Markoulaki (1990) Fig. 3.
155. Chania, House of Dionysos, satyr, detail from the border (cat. 3). Museum of Chania. Photograph by the author.
156. Chania, House of Dionysos, maenad, detail from the border (cat. 3). Museum of Chania. Photograph by the author.

Figure

157. El Djem (Tunisia), Apollo, Marsyas, the Seasons, and seasonal plants. Museum of Bardo 1399. After M. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) Fig. 172.
158. El Djem (Tunisia), Maison de la Procession Dionysiaque, Genius of the Year and the Seasons. Museum of El Djem. After M. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) Fig. 17.
159. El Djem (Tunisia), Maison de la Procession Dionysiaque, *triclinium*, details of the Seasons (Winter, Autumn, and Summer). Museum of El Djem. After M. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) Figs. 26, 27, 30.
160. Sarcophagus, Dionysos and the Seasons. New York, Metropolitan Museum 55.11.5. After Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 4, pl. 268.
161. Kasteli Kisamou (Crete), Summer. After I. Tzedakis *ArchDelt* 34 (1979) chr.², pl. 205a.
162. El Djem (Tunisia), Maison du Silène, Autumn. Museum of El Djem. After M. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) Fig. 14.
163. Hagios Taxiarchis (Argos), Winter. Museum of Argos. Photograph by the author.
164. Hagios Taxiarchis (Argos), Autumn. Museum of Argos. Photograph by the author.
165. Delos, House of the Masks, Room H, Dancing Silenos (cat. 12). After *Delos* XIV, pl. VII.
166. Chania, House of Dionysos, scene from Menander's *Plokion* (cat. 3). Photograph by the author.
167. Mytilene, House of Menander, scene from Menander's *Plokion*. After Charitonidis et al., pl. 3.1.
168. Chania, House of Dionysos, theatre scene, from the border (cat. 3). Photograph by the author.
169. Chania, House of Dionysos, theatre scene, from the border (cat. 3). Photograph by the author.
170. Wall painting, Ephesos, Apt. 1, House no. 2, Room SR 6 (*Theaterzimmer*), scene from Menander's *Sikyonioi*. After *Ephesos* 8.1, Fig. 64.
171. Rhodes, *emblema* with slave mask (cat. 37). Rhodes, Castello Museum. After G. Konstantinopoulos, *Αρχαία Ρόδος* (Athens 1986) pl. XXVII.

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172. Rome, theatre masks of a female and a slave. Rome, Capitoline Museum. After F. Garolla ed., *Capitoline Museums, Rome* (Milan 1984) p. 51, Fig. 3.
173. Delos, House of the Masks, *oikos*, drawing of pavement (cat. 11). After *Delos XXIX*, Fig. 184.
174. Delos, House of the Masks, *oikos*, New Comedy masks (cat. 11). After *Delos XIV*, pl. VI.
175. Chania, House of Dionysos, the "Discovery of Ariadne" panel and masks (cat. 3). Museum of Chania. Photograph by the author.
176. Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, *oikos*, Hermes, Athena, and floral border with masks (cat. 8). Museum of Delos. Photograph by the author.
177. Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, *oikos*, mask no. 8, old man (cat. 8). Photograph by the author.
178. Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, *oikos*, mask no. 7, slave (cat. 8). Photograph by the author.
179. Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, *oikos*, portrait of a young male, playwright (?) (cat. 8). After *Delos XXIX*, pl. A.3.
180. Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, *oikos*, mask no. 6 (cat. 8). Photograph by the author.
181. Pergamon, Building "Z", Room of the masks (cat. 35). After Salzmann (1991) Fig. 18.
182. Dion, Villa Dionysos, *triclinium*, central panel and Dionysiac masks (cat. 16). After Pandermalis, *AEMT* 1, Fig. 3.
183. Dion, Villa Dionysos, *triclinium*, old satyr mask (cat. 16). After D. Pandermalis, "ΔΙΟΝ," *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 33 (December 1989) p. 43.
184. Chania, House of Dionysos, *triclinium*, satyr masks (cat. 4). Museum of Chania. Photograph by the author.
185. Kos, House of the Judgement of Paris, drawing (cat. 28). After L. de Matteis, "Il bordo con *venationes* del Mosaico del "Guidizio del Paride" di Coò," *Corso di Cultura sull' Arte Ravennate e Bizantina XL* (1993) p. 124.
186. Kos, House of the Judgement of Paris, details from central panel (cat. 28). After L. Morricone, "Cronaca d' Arte. Scavi e Ricerche a Coò (1935-1943), Relazione preliminare," *BdA* 35 (1950) Figs. 37-38.

Figure

187. Kos, House of Silenos, overall view (**cat. 27**). After L. Morricone, "Cronaca d' Arte. Scavi e Ricerche a Coa (1935-1943), Relazione preliminare," *BdA* 35 (1950) Fig. 75.
188. Kos, House of Silenos, *venator* panel (**cat. 27**). After L. Morricone, "Cronaca d' Arte. Scavi e Ricerche a Coa (1935-1943), Relazione preliminare," *BdA* 35 (1950) Fig. 76.
189. Hagia Triada, Koroni, Dionysos and the amphitheatre (**cat. 26**). After M.N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (Lund 1938) pl. V.
190. Smirat (Tunisia), mosaic of Magerius. Museum of Sousse. After M. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) Fig. 162.
191. Thelepte (Tunisia), amphitheatre scene. Museum of Bardo Inv. 3575. After M. Hassine Fantar et al., *La Mosaïque en Tunisie* (Paris 1994) p. 162.
192. Kreuznach (Germany), *venatio* scenes. After K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959) pl. 90.
193. Rhodes, *venator* killing leopard. Rhodes, Castello. After E. Kollias, *The Knights of Rhodes* (Athens 1992) p. 106, Fig. 84.
194. Vallon (Switzerland), hexagonal panel with *venatores*. After S. Rebetez, "Les deux mosaïques figurées et le laraire de Vallon (Fribourg, Suisse)," *AntW* 23.1 (1992) Figs. 44-45.
195. Nennig (Germany), *venator* trampled by bear. After K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959) pl. 37.3.
196. Chios, *venator* killing lion. After A. Tsaravopoulos, "A mosaic floor in Chios," in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson eds., *Chios. A Conference at the Homereion in Chios*, 1984 (Oxford 1986) pl. VIIIb.
197. Nea Paphos (Cyprus), House of Dionysos, *venatio* scene from the peristyle. After Kondoleon, pl. 4.
198. Pompeii (I 6,2), Casa del Criptoportico, ceiling decoration. After *PPM* I, p. 227, Fig. 59.

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used for the ancient authors and their works are those listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*² (Oxford 1970). For modern works, the abbreviations follow those set forth in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 95 (1991) 4-16.

<i>ABV</i>	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters</i> (Oxford 1956).
<i>ARV</i> ²	J.D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters</i> (Oxford 1963).
Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1972)	P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, "Πέντε Ψηφιδωτά Δαπέδου του Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης" <i>Βυζαντινά</i> 4 (1972) 255-78.
Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973)	P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, " Κατάλογος Ρωμαϊκών Ψηφιδωτών Δαπέδων με Ανθρώπινες Μορφές στον Ελληνικό Χώρο," <i>Hellenika</i> 26 (1973) 216-54.
Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1987)	P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, <i>Σύνταγμα των Παλαιοχριστιανικών Ψηφιδωτών Δαπέδων της Ελλάδος II. Πελοπόννησος - Στερεά Ελλάδα</i> (Thessaloniki 1987).
Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1993)	P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, <i>Το Επάγγελμα του Ψηφοθέτη κατά την Όψιμη Αρχαιότητα (3ος - 7ος αιώνας)</i> (Athens 1993).
Balty (1990)	J. Balty, <i>La Mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène)</i> (Paris 1990).
Balty (1991)	J. Balty, "Notes d' Iconographie Dionysiaque: La Mosaïque de Sarrîn (Osrhoène)," <i>MEFRA</i> 103 (1991) 19-33.
Bieber	M. Bieber, <i>The History of the Greek and Roman Theater</i> (Princeton 1961).
Blackman	D. Blackman, "Archaeology in Greece 1996-97. Central Crete," <i>AR</i> (1996-1997) 106-108.

Blake (1930)	M.E. Blake, "The pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and Early Empire," <i>MAAR</i> 8 (1930) 7-160.
Blake (1936)	M.E. Blake, "Roman Mosaics of the Second Century in Italy," <i>MAAR</i> 13 (1936) 67-214.
Broneer	O. Broneer, "Excavations in Corinth, 1934," <i>AJA</i> 39 (1935) 53-75.
Bruneau (1969)	Ph. Bruneau, "Prolongements de la Technique des Mosaïques de Galets en Grèce," <i>BCH</i> 93 (1969) 308-332.
Bruneau (1981)	Ph. Bruneau, "Tendances de la mosaïque en Grèce à l'époque impériale," <i>ANRW</i> II, 12.2 (1981) 320-46.
Bruneau (1984)	Ph. Bruneau, "Les Mosaïstes Antiques. Avaient-ils des Cahiers de Modèles?," <i>RA</i> (1984) 241-71.
Bruneau & Vatin	Ph. Bruneau and C. Vatin, "Lycurgue et Ambrosia sur une Nouvelle Mosaïque de Délos," <i>BCH</i> 90 (1966) 391-427.
Bruneau & Siebert	Ph. Bruneau and G. Siebert, "Une Nouvelle Mosaïque Délienne à Sujet Mythologique," <i>BCH</i> 93 (1969) 261-307.
Carpenter	T.H. Carpenter, <i>Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art</i> (Oxford 1986).
Charitonidis et al.	S. Charitonidis, L. Kahil, R. Ginouvès, <i>Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène</i> (6es Beiheft zur <i>AntK</i> , Bern 1970).
CMGR I	<i>La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine. Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1963</i> (Paris 1965).
CMGR II	<i>La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine. IIe Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique, Vienne 1971</i> (Paris 1975).
CMGR III	<i>III^e Colloquio Internazionale sul Mosaico Antico, Ravenna 1980</i> (Ravenna 1983).
CMGR IV	<i>La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine. IVe Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique, Trèves 1984</i> (Paris 1994).

<i>CMGR V</i>	<i>Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, Bath 1987 1-2 (Ann Arbor 1995), 2 vols.</i>
<i>CMGR VI</i>	<i>VI Coloquio Internacional sobre mosaico antiguo, Palencia-Mérida, Octubre 1990 (Guadalajara 1994).</i>
<i>Corinth I.5</i>	S.S. Weinberg, <i>Corinth I.5: The Southeast Building, the Twin Basilicas, the Mosaic House</i> (Princeton 1960).
<i>Corinth V</i>	T.L. Shear, <i>The Roman Villa: Corinth V</i> (Princeton 1930).
<i>Csapo & Slater</i>	E. Csapo and W.J. Slater, <i>The Context of Ancient Drama</i> (Ann Arbor 1995).
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.</i>
<i>Décor</i>	C. Balmelle, M. Blanchard-Lemée, J. Christophe, et al., <i>Le Décor Géométrique de la Mosaïque Romaine</i> (Paris 1985).
<i>Delos XIV</i>	J. Chamonard, <i>Exploration Archéologique de Délos, v. XIV: Les Mosaïques de la Maison des Masques</i> (Paris 1933).
<i>Delos XXIX</i>	Ph. Bruneau, <i>Exploration Archéologique de Délos, v. XXIX: Les Mosaïques</i> (Paris 1972).
<i>DFA²</i>	A. Pickard-Cambridge, <i>The Dramatic Festivals of Athens</i> , 2nd ed., revised by J. Gould and D.M. Lewis (Oxford 1968).
<i>Dunbabin (1971)</i>	K.M.D. Dunbabin, "The Triumph of Dionysus on Mosaics in North Africa," <i>PBSR</i> 39 (1971) 52-65.
<i>Dunbabin (1978)</i>	K.M.D. Dunbabin, <i>The Mosaics of Roman North Africa</i> (Oxford 1978).
<i>Dunbabin (1979)</i>	K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Technique and Materials of Hellenistic Mosaics," <i>AJA</i> 83 (1979) 3-21.
<i>Dunbabin (1982)</i>	K.M.D. Dunbabin, "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments," <i>AJA</i> 86 (1982) 65-87.
<i>Dunbabin (1991)</i>	K.M.D. Dunbabin, in W.J. Slater ed., "Triclinium and Stibadium," <i>Dining in a Classical Context</i> (Ann Arbor

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- LIMC III* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae III* (Zurich and Munich 1986), s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri) p. 414-514; Dionysos in peripheria orientali (C. Augé and P. L. de Bellefonds) p. 514-31; Dionysos/Bacchus (C. Gasparri) p. 540-66; Ariadne (M.-L. Bernhard and W. Daszewski) p. 1050-1070.
- LIMC IV* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae IV* (Zurich and Munich 1988), s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus in peripheria occidentali (S. Boucher) p. 908-23; Helios/Sol (C. Letta) p. 592-625.
- LIMC V* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae V* (Zurich and Munich 1990), s.v. Horai (V. Machaira) p. 502-510; s.v. Horai/Horae (L. Abad Casal) p. 510-38; Helios (N. Yalouris and T. Visser-Choitz) p. 1005-35.
- LIMC VI* *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae VI* (Zurich and Munich 1992), s.v. Lykourgos I (A. Farnoux) p. 309-19; Nike (A. Moustaka, A. Goulaki-Voutira, and U. Grote) p. 850-904.
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INTRODUCTION

Dionysos was one of the most prominent gods in the Greek world; his popularity can be traced over many centuries through references in literature, inscriptions, and artistic representations. In art these stretch from the Archaic to the early Byzantine period. In his first appearance, on a black-figure *dinos* by Sophilos,¹ c. 580 B.C., the god is one of several deities in the wedding procession of Thetis and Peleus, where he is shown holding a branch of vine. On this and other early representations on vases, Dionysos' image is that of the inventor of wine. This imagery had a long-lasting effect throughout antiquity and was produced, with many variations, repeatedly. It was joined by other popular motifs, including images of Dionysos' cult, the theatre, and the arena (in the Roman period), representations of different episodes of the god's life, his followers, and his emblems, as well as a plethora of representations which aimed to depict Dionysos appearing to his followers in all his glory.

Dionysos' popularity inspired artists of virtually every artistic medium throughout these centuries. The continuous popularity that he enjoyed in both public and private life, however, cannot be traced with the same continuity in all media. In vase painting, for instance, Dionysiac imagery is found frequently on Attic pots of the Archaic and Classical periods and on the fourth century B.C. pots from Southern Italy. In wall painting, a number of examples have been preserved, mostly from the Campanian cities, while free-standing sculpture, although more widespread chronologically, presents its own set of problems which arise primarily from the extensive copying of Greek and Hellenistic originals by Roman artists. Dionysiac imagery on relief sculpture is abundant, but most of it is found outside of Greece,

¹ London, BM 1971.11-1.1; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 465-66 no. 495.

primarily on Roman sarcophagi. Mosaic pavements are, at the present time, the only medium in Greece and the cities on the coast of Asia Minor which allows us to trace Dionysos' iconography from the Classical to the late imperial and early Byzantine period. Even more importantly, Greece is the only country around the Mediterranean where the god's imagery on mosaics can be followed over such a long period of time.

This study, then, is an attempt to trace the development of Dionysiac imagery on Greek pavements from the first known mosaic with a Dionysiac theme from the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos (cat. 33), dating to the first half of the fourth century B.C., through to the late fifth-early sixth century A.D. mosaic from the Villa of the Falconer at Argos (cat. 1). Geographically, it covers the whole of the Greek mainland, the coast of Asia Minor, and the islands, excluding Cyprus. The decision to exclude Cyprus was a conscious one, although a number of the mosaics that were discovered at Paphos have a lot in common with the mosaics of Greece, particularly those from the island of Kos. The recent and thorough publication of the mosaics from the House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos by Christine Kondoleon,² however, would make their inclusion in this study superfluous.

Through the years Dionysos has been the subject of several notable studies. Many of them centre around Dionysiac cult, such as the works of Kerényi, Jeanmaire, Otto, and Nilsson,³ while Pickard-Cambridge's history of the dramatic festivals of Athens was the first major study to document the public celebrations in honour of Dionysos.⁴ Alongside these appeared a number of studies on Dionysiac imagery, which aimed to collect and, in many cases, also to follow the development of

² C. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos* (Ithaca 1995).

³ K. Kerényi, *Dionysos: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life* (Princeton 1976). H. Jeanmaire, *Dionysos: Histoire du culte de Bacchus* (Paris 1951). W.F. Otto, *Dionysos: Mythos und Kultus* (Frankfurt 1933). M.P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (New York 1975).

⁴ A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Oxford 1968). A second edition of this book appeared in 1988, revised by J. Gould and D.M. Lewis (Oxford 1988).

Dionysiac iconography on specific media. The earliest of this kind are the works of Turcan and Matz on the Dionysiac sarcophagi of the imperial period.⁵ Within the last twelve years a number of other studies were produced. Carpenter's two monographs on Dionysiac imagery on Attic pottery of the Archaic and Classical periods made a substantial contribution to Dionysiac iconography in vase painting,⁶ while Pochmarski's two works made an equal contribution on free-standing sculpture.⁷ A study by Manfrini-Aragno documented the image of Dionysos on Hellenistic and Roman bronzes⁸ and a number of scholars have collected and catalogued a substantial number of artifacts with Dionysiac representations from all media and from all regions of the ancient world in the *LIMC*.⁹ To date, however, while many Dionysiac mosaics from various parts of the empire have been individually published and, occasionally, some specific themes have been studied, such as Dionysos' Indian triumph motif on the mosaics of North Africa,¹⁰ there are only a few synthetic or regional studies produced of Dionysos on mosaics, such as those of Blázquez, Durán Penedes, and Guardia Pons on the mosaics of Spain,¹¹ or Kondoleon's

⁵ R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations Dionysiaques* (Paris 1966). F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage* (Berlin 1975) 4 vols.

⁶ T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (Oxford 1986). *id.*, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth Century Athens* (Oxford 1997).

⁷ E. Pochmarski, *Das Bild des Dionysos in der Rundplastik der klassischen Zeit Griechenlands* (Vienna 1974). *id.*, *Dionysische Gruppen. Eine typologische Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Stützmotivs* (Vienna 1990).

⁸ I. Manfrini-Aragno, *Bacchus dans les Bronzes Hellénistiques et Romains* (Lausanne 1987).

⁹ C. Gaspari, *LIMC* III, p.414-514, 540-66; C. Augé and P.L. de Bellefonds, *LIMC* III, p. 514-31; M.-L. Bernhard and, W. Daszewski, *LIMC* III, p. 1050-1070; S. Boucher, *LIMC* IV, p. 908-23; V. Machaira, *LIMC* V, p. 502-10; L. Abad Casal, *LIMC* V, p. 510-38; A. Farnoux, *LIMC* VI, p. 309-19.

¹⁰ K.M.D. Dunbabin, "The Triumph of Dionysus on Mosaics in North Africa," *PBSR* 39 (1971) 52-65.

¹¹ J.M. Blázquez, "Mosaicos báquicos en la Península Ibérica," *ArchEspArq* 57 (1984) 69-96; M. Durán Penedes, *Iconografía de los Mosaicos Romanos en la Hispania alto-imperial* (Barcelona 1993); M. Guardia Pons, *Los Mosaicos de la Antigüedad tardía en Hispania. Estudios de Iconografía* (Barcelona 1992).

discussion of the Dionysiac motifs in the House of Dionysos at Paphos.¹²

The mosaics of Greece have been the subject of some collective studies, such as Salzmann's catalogue of the pebble mosaics, Bruneau's catalogue of the mosaics of Delos, Pelekanidis' and Asimakopoulou-Atzaka's or Spiro's catalogues of the early Christian mosaics.¹³ The mosaics of the imperial period, on the other hand, are much more poorly documented. Of the vast number of imperial mosaics that have been found in Greece many received only brief publication in the *Deltion* with minimal information about their context and the associated finds. In 1971, Elizabeth Ramsden-Waywell produced a much-needed corpus of the Roman mosaics in Greece, but this was never published and it is not easily accessible.¹⁴ Until recently, Asimakopoulou-Atzaka's 1973 *Hellenika* article and Waywell's 1979 *AJA* article,¹⁵ were the only available catalogues of the imperial mosaics in Greece. Both of these, however, were produced over two decades ago, were limited even at the time of their production, and they do not include a large number of mosaics that were discovered in recent years. Moreover, both are simply catalogues and contain only minimal analysis of the pavements. On the analytical side, two articles, one by Philippe Bruneau and the other by Gisela Hellenkemper Salies,¹⁶ provide an analytical discussion of the imperial mosaics in Greece from the first four centuries of the empire. But the two discussions are

¹² Kondoleon (supra n. 2). The House of Dionysos at Paphos contains a number of mosaics, two of which are Dionysiac: the one, at the entrance of the *triclinium*, depicts the Triumph of Dionysos and the other, at the centre of the West portico, depicts the story of Dionysos and Ikarios. In addition, representations of the hunt, the Seasons, and the vine, are also part of the decorative scheme of the house and provide valuable comparisons for the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece.

¹³ Salzmann (1982); *Delos XXIX*; S. Pelekanidis and P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα τῶν παλαιοχριστιανικῶν ψηφιδωτῶν δαπέδων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, I, Νησιωτικὴ Ἑλλάς* (Thessaloniki 1974); Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1987); M. Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth/Sixth Centuries*, 2 vols. (New York 1978).

¹⁴ E. Ramsden, *Roman Mosaics in Greece: The Mainland and the Ionian Islands* (Diss., London 1971).

¹⁵ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973); Waywell (1979).

¹⁶ Bruneau (1981); Hellenkemper Salies (1986).

at variance with one another, as Bruneau maintains that the imperial mosaics show a continuation of the Hellenistic tradition, while Hellenkemper Salies argues for a revival of Hellenistic traditions in the third century A.D. and substantial influence from developments in the West. About four years ago, another corpus of the Roman mosaics in Greece was produced by Alexandra Kankeleit, whose dissertation has catalogued some two hundred and thirteen mosaics of the imperial period.¹⁷ Kankeleit's contribution to the study of pavements from the imperial period in Greece is noteworthy, especially since it can now be consulted with some ease, even though it is still available only in dissertation form. In addition to producing a catalogue of the mosaics, Kankeleit has provided a limited analysis of compositional schemata and geometric ornament, but there is no iconographic analysis of the motifs. Moreover, her study is also hindered by the lack of evidence from recorded archaeological finds, which prevents an accurate dating of the mosaics, and it ends, rather abruptly, at the end of the third century A.D.

Some of the Dionysiac mosaics are included in the above collective studies, but they are not the focal point of any one work. The discussion in the following chapters revolves strictly around the iconography and overall composition of the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor. These pavements are only a segment of the Greek mosaics, but share some of the same problems and raise some of the same questions as those raised for the non-Dionysiac mosaics. It is, therefore, important to outline at the outset of this study the overall mosaic tradition in Greece and to define the context within which the Dionysiac mosaics were produced. Chapter one aims to produce this context by tracing the development of techniques, compositional schemata, and iconographic trends, and by outlining the problems of chronology that surround particularly the mosaics of the imperial period. Although the primary focus of this study is the iconography of the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, at times it is necessary to move outside this area. It is inevitable, for instance, to

¹⁷ A. Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken in Griechenland* (Diss. Bonn 1994).

discuss the mosaics of Morgantina or Alexandria when tracing the overall development of Hellenistic mosaics in chapter one. Nor is it possible to understand and to evaluate properly the influence (or lack of it) that developments in other regions had on the imperial mosaics of Greece in general and the Dionysiac mosaics in particular, without looking at developments elsewhere and without drawing comparisons between the Greek pavements and those of other countries. But even if different stages of development necessitate moving outside the pre-determined geographical area, this is done strictly for comparison purposes. The Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor remain the focal point of this thesis.

The corpus of the Dionysiac mosaics contains forty-three pavements, which display a wide variety of iconographic motifs. Many of these are generic representations which aim to create an overall Dionysiac atmosphere in the rooms that they decorate, but their iconography is limited and repetitive. Other mosaics display major iconographic motifs which require a thorough and detailed analysis. This, naturally, places the weight of the discussion on the larger iconographic themes and dictates the format of the thesis. Chapter two is a survey of the entire corpus of mosaics. The emphasis of the discussion here is placed on compositional schemata and on generic representations. The large iconographic themes receive minimal attention in this chapter, as they are discussed in detail in chapters four and five. In order to present as complete a picture as possible of the Dionysiac pavements and to examine the use made of the motifs in different contexts, their architectural context, when known, is also introduced in chapter three.

Throughout the thesis some central questions arise. To what extent is there continuity in Greece in the way Dionysos himself is represented? How original are the motifs on the Greek mosaics and how much do they have in common with Dionysiac mosaics from other regions and similar representations on other media? Are there any important developments in figures that are associated with Dionysos, such as Ariadne or members of the thiasos? Do the Dionysiac mosaics give any indication of the role that

Greece played in the overall development of mosaics, and do they provide secure evidence for dating these and other, non-Dionysiac mosaics for which evidence is lacking? Can we assign a specific use to a room or a building on the basis of the iconography of the mosaics? Does the iconography support suggested identifications as cult centres of buildings that contain more than one Dionysiac mosaic? What light, if any, do mosaics cast on the significance of Dionysiac scenes and on the relationship of art to Dionysiac cult? My aim is to answer as many of these questions as possible in the following chapters by examining the Dionysiac motifs on mosaics in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor.

Through examination of the iconography of the mosaics, I also aim to answer some of the more controversial questions that revolve primarily around the mosaics of the imperial period. Can Bruneau's argument for an unbroken Hellenistic tradition be maintained? What changes take place, why, and where do these come from? Did a resurgence of Hellenistic motifs take place in the third century, as Hellenkemper Salies maintains? Moreover, I address questions regarding the degree of influence that Roman culture had in Greece, as it is evidenced through the mosaics, as well as the much broader and very controversial question of the working procedures of craftsmen and the transmission of motifs.

With regard to the working procedures of craftsmen, the argument concerns the question of how many individuals were involved in the production of a pavement, what was their trade name, and what function did they perform. Most of the evidence for this comes from inscriptions and signatures found on the mosaics themselves. Some of these contain one name only, but others mention two individuals who, through the names assigned to them, appear to have performed different tasks. The ψηφοθέτης or the *tessellarius*, for example, appears to have been responsible for the laying of the mosaic, while the ζωγράφος or the *pictor* may have been responsible for the design. But as the evidence from these inscriptions is limited and the epigraphists use a variety of names to refer to the craftsmen, at present

the picture that emerges is unclear.¹⁸

An even more difficult question is that of the transmission of motifs. Scholarly arguments have been raging on for years, but there is still no consensus on this subject. Many, on the basis of the close similarities between many motifs of wide geographical distribution, argue in favour of copy books which would have circulated in mosaic workshops around the Mediterranean,¹⁹ while others suggest that the motifs were passed along from the master to the apprentice.²⁰ A third theory claims that each workshop created its own images.²¹ These theories can be evaluated through the rich Dionysiac repertory of the mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, the frequency with which some motifs are found all over the ancient world, as well as by the occasional appearance of motifs that have no known parallels.²²

Dionysiac iconography makes a valuable contribution toward our understanding of these issues, which are central to the study of ancient mosaics. Moreover, it allows us to follow developments for almost ten centuries, during which the political and cultural conditions changed considerably in the Greek world and inevitably had an impact on the artistic renderings of each period. It was chosen for this study above all other motifs because of its rich repertory and almost continuous use on mosaics in Greece. My hope is that the answers that the discussion of the pavements will provide will contribute to our understanding both of Dionysiac iconography and of the overall mosaic tradition in Greece.

¹⁸ For a discussion and theories presented on this subject, see Dunbabin (1978) 27-29; Bruneau (1984) 260-70; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1993) *passim*; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (Erlangen 1989) esp. 15-47. See also, *infra*, pp. 13, 44, 72, 77-78, 154-55.

¹⁹ Among many, Dunbabin (1978) 29; Kondoleon, 22, 191-92; R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge 1991) 217-20; C. Dauphin, "Byzantine Pattern Books: A Re-examination of the Problem in Light of the Inhabited Scroll," *ArtHistory* 1 (1978) 400-26.

²⁰ C. Balmelle and J.-P. Darmon, "L'artisan-mosaïste dans l'antiquité tardive," in X. Barral I Altet, ed., *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge*, I (Paris 1986) 247.

²¹ Bruneau (1984) 269-72.

²² For example the sea-chariot motif on the mosaics of Dion (cat 16) and Corinth (cat. 7).

CHAPTER ONE

THE MOSAIC TRADITION IN GREECE

The practice of creating decorative motifs on a floor surface by setting pebbles in clay can be traced in Greece to the late Bronze Age. A late Helladic (LH III A) fragment found within the Mycenaean citadel of Tiryns is the earliest known example of an attempt to produce a very simple, yet decorative pattern.¹ This fragment, however, is unique and, since there are no other examples known in Greece, we cannot be sure of the extent to which decorative pavements were used in the ensuing centuries. Fragmentary examples of pebble mosaics from religious centres of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., such as the seventh century sanctuaries of Artemis Orthia at Sparta and of Poseidon at Isthmia,² or the sixth century Temples of Hera at Delos and of Apollo at Delphi,³ show no evidence of any decoration. There are no known decorated mosaics in Greece, in fact, before the end of the fifth century B.C. A group of pavements discovered at the northern Greek city of Olynthos,⁴ and isolated pavements found

¹ D. Podzuweit & D. Salzmann, "Ein mykenischer Kieselmosaikfussboden aus Tiryns," *AA* (1977) 123-37, Figs. 3-5; Salzmann (1982) 5, 114 no. 129.

² R.M. Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta* (*JHS* suppl. V) (London 1929) 6ff, pl.2.3; for the date, see J. Boardman, "Artemis Orthia and Chronology," *BSA* 58 (1963) 1-7; O. Broneer, "The Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon," in U. Jantzen ed., *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern* (Tübingen 1976) 46, Fig. 8; Salzmann (1982) 7.

³ A. Plassart, *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, v. XI: *Les Sanctuaires et les Cultes du Mont Cynthe* (Paris 1928) 149, 204; *Delos* XXIX, 230 no. 200, Fig. 162; G. Daux, *FdD* II, 3 (1925) 16, Fig. 22; Salzmann (1982) 7.

⁴ *Olynthos* V, 13-14; *Olynthos* VIII, 1-17, 287-90; Salzmann (1982) 100, 101, 104, nos. 83, 84, 86, 93, Figs. 8.1, 12.3, 12.2, 8.3.

at Corinth⁵ and at Sikyon,⁶ which probably date to the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.,⁷ bear witness to an established mosaic tradition in Greece at that time. By the first quarter of the fourth century B.C., Greek pavements have already acquired the form of a unified composition, consisting of geometric, vegetal, and human figures. The sophisticated, for the time of production, technical and compositional skills that they display point to the existence of earlier examples. In the absence of such pavements in Greece, however, and of ancient literary sources that could shed light on the question of the provenance of the Greek mosaics,⁸ scholars were prompted to seek antecedents in the mosaics of the East. The best documented of these mosaics decorates the floor of the late eighth century West Phrygian House at Gordion.⁹ It is adorned with individual black and white geometric motifs: swastikas, lozenges, triangles, and key patterns that are scattered throughout the mosaic without conforming to an overall pattern. Here, clearly, the mosaicist, following the example of artists in other media, is attempting to introduce small geometric motifs into the pavement without any concern for a unified composition.¹⁰ It is possible,

⁵ C.K. Williams and J.E. Fisher, "Corinth, 1975: Forum Southwest. The Centaur Bath," *Hesperia* 45 (1976) 109-115, Fig. 1, pls. 13-14; C.K. Williams, "Corinth, 1976: Forum Southwest. The Centaur Bath," *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 45-51, pl. 19; Salzmann (1982) 22, 95 no. 63, pl. 9.1-3.

⁶ K. Votsis, *BCH* 100 (1976) 577-81, Figs. 1, 3-7; Salzmann (1982) 11, 22, 112 no. 119, pls. 10.1, 11.1-4.

⁷ The mosaics of Olynthos are generally dated between the years 432 B.C., when the city expanded to the neighbouring hill, and 348 B.C., when it was destroyed by Philip II of Macedon. However, a more recent study argues for a fourth century date for all the mosaics of Olynthos: W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland* (Munich 1994) 99, 103-5, 338 n. 255.

⁸ The oldest clear reference to a mosaic is made in the Zenon Papyrus which dates to the second third of the third century B.C.: C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri* IV (Cairo 1931) 102-104 no. 59665.

⁹ R.S. Young, "Gordion 1956: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 61 (1957) 322, pl. 89, Fig. 7; *id.*, "Early mosaics at Gordion," *Expedition* 7 no. 3 (1965) 9-13; Salzmann (1982) 6-7, 93 no. 47-48, pls. 2.2, 3.1-2, 4, 5. Other eighth century B.C. mosaics were found in the East at Altintepe, in Arslan Tash and in Til Barsib: Salzmann (1982) 82 no.5 pl.1.4, 84 no.15 pl. 1.3, 114 nos. 127-28 pl.1.2.

¹⁰ Our best examples come from the pottery of the Geometric period. At that time the artists started to experiment with new patterns that are very much like those found in the Gordion mosaic. Unlike the mosaic, however, the pottery artists arranged their designs in an orderly and repetitive way.

therefore, as Robertson suggests,¹¹ that the agglomeration of geometric motifs is an early form of mosaic decoration that was passed on to northern Greece from Asia Minor. The predominant opinion of most scholars, however, is that the development of the pebble mosaics in Greece was purely Greek.¹²

The early mosaics of Greece are made of smooth natural pebbles that are set close together into a fine layer of mortar to form a pre-determined pattern. This procedure of creating a decorated pavement has been compared to that of fresco painting, where the artist made first an outline on a coarse stucco layer and then laid only small sections at a time on the finer top layer.¹³ Similar guidelines were visible on the late Classical - early Hellenistic mosaics of Pella, where for instance the figures of the Stag Hunt (Fig. 2) mosaic appear to have been painted on the top fine layer of mortar that the pebbles were set in.¹⁴ The use of guidelines continued into the Hellenistic period, as the mid-second century B.C. tessellated mosaic from Samos indicates, where the meander border was fashioned with the help of a grid pattern and strips of lead that were placed into the top layer of mortar.¹⁵

The rich decorative motifs of these mosaics resemble luxurious carpets.¹⁶ This is particularly

¹¹ M. Robertson, "Greek Mosaics," *JHS* 85 (1965) 83-84.

¹² Dunbabin (1978) 1; Ph. Bruneau, *La Mosaïque Antique* (Paris 1987) 36-39.

¹³ Robertson (*supra* n. 11) 72.

¹⁴ Ph. Petsas, "Mosaics from Pella," *CMGR* I, 44, Figs. 12-13. Petsas notes that the guidelines in the Pella mosaics were red.

¹⁵ V. Giannouli and A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets, "Deux mosaïques Hellénistiques à Samos," *BCH* 112 (1988) 557-58, 566-67, Fig. 7.

¹⁶ Both Robinson, *Olynthos* XII, 337-38, and Bruneau, *Delos* XXIX, 38-39, are of the opinion that mosaics ultimately substituted for carpets that initially decorated the floors of the luxurious dining rooms, and that their ornamental patterns echo carpet designs. This idea finds agreement with Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 244, who claims that there are definite parallels between the ornamental decoration of mosaics and textiles. Salzmann (1982) 55-58, however, challenges these theories and claims that there are no grounds for the belief that the development of the pebble mosaics was in any way influenced by tapestries or carpets. Instead, he points to their clear relationship with large scale painting.

true of mosaics with overall floral motifs, such as the mid-fourth century B.C. mosaic of Sikyon¹⁷ and the late fourth century B.C. mosaic from the Palace of Vergina.¹⁸ Other mosaics consist of multiple concentric borders of plain stripes and geometric patterns which often alternate with floral, animal, and figured friezes to frame a square, circular or rectangular field, as we see, for example, in the Arimaspians mosaic from the House of mosaics at Eretria (Fig. 1)¹⁹ or the Dionysiac mosaic from the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos (cat. 33, Figs. 50-51).²⁰ Most of the pavements contain centralized floral motifs, stars, and wheels of fortune. Some show real animals or mythological creatures, and when the human figure is shown, it is almost always in connection with a heroic or divine figure from the realm of mythology: Bellerophon on Pegasus killing the Chimaera,²¹ the triumphal epiphany of Dionysos (cat. 33, Fig. 51), Thetis and the Nereids bringing the arms of Achilles.²²

In almost all of these pavements both the human and the animal forms, as well as the vegetal and geometric motifs, are rendered two-dimensionally in white pebbles that are set against a black background.²³ Occasionally the artist uses green, yellow, and dark red pebbles to accent a specific element, as for instance the harness of the leopards that pull the chariot of Dionysos in the Villa of Good

¹⁷ K. Votsis, *BCH* 100 (1976) 584, Fig. 12; Salzmann (1982) 112 no. 118, pls. 20, 21.1-6.

¹⁸ M. Andronikos, Ch. Makaronas, N. Moutsopoulos, and G. Bakalakis, *To Anáκτορο της Βεργίνης* (Athens 1961) 20-22, pls. 16-17; M. Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs* (Athens 1988) 42-44, Figs. 18-20; Salzmann (1982) 114 no. 130, pls. 39.1-3, 40.1-6.

¹⁹ P. Ducrey, I. Metzger, and K. Reber, *Le Quartier de la Maison aux Mosaïques, Eretria* 8 (Lausanne 1993) 88-91, Figs. 101-102, pls. 2.1, 3.

²⁰ *Olynthos* XII, 341-57, pl. I; Salzmann (1982) 102 no. 87, pls. 14.2, 15.1.

²¹ *Olynthos* V, 4-6, pls. I, 12, 13A; Salzmann (1982) 99 no. 78, pl. 13.

²² *Olynthos* XII, 359-68, pl. III; Salzmann (1982) 102-103 no. 88, pl. 14.1.

²³ There are some exceptions where the colour scheme is reversed. Three of these appear at Olynthos: in the *andron* of the House of the Comedian, *Olynthos* V, 12-2, pls. VII, and in Rooms e and f in the Villa of Good Fortune, Robinson, "The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthus," *AJA* 38 (1934) 503ff, Fig. 2.

Fortune (cat. 33). This, however, is a rare occurrence.

The white on black rendering of the Olynthos mosaics remains popular for a long time and is widely adopted by mosaicists all over Greece. As time progresses pebble mosaics start to display a number of innovations. The floral motifs become more complex and realistic, while the human and animal forms acquire more volume and start to move away from the strict two-dimensionality of the earlier pavements. To achieve this, the artists begin to experiment with colour and other types of materials, such as strips of lead, which leads to the creation of highly sophisticated pavements by the end of the fourth century B.C. The late Classical - early Hellenistic mosaics of Pella are the best examples of this sophistication.²⁴ These elaborate pavements maintain the light-on-dark principle, but at the same time they display a large variety of coloured pebbles. These pebbles, carefully graded according to size and colour, produce a *chiaroscuro* effect, which allows human and animal figures to overlap and lend volume and plasticity to their forms. This attempt to produce a figure in three dimensions is exemplified further in the Lion Hunt²⁵ and in the Dionysos on the leopard mosaics (cat.34, Figs. 62, 64),²⁶ for example, by the strips of baked clay and lead that the artist uses to render internal detail and to outline important parts of the figures. The mosaics of Pella are the earliest known examples of these technical innovations and the earliest to provide us with the signature of a mosaic artist. The Stag Hunt mosaic (Fig. 2) from the House of the Rape of Helen bears the signature "ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΕΠΙΟΗΣΕΝ".²⁷ Gnosis is

²⁴ Petsas (1958) 246-54; Petsas (1964) 74-84; Petsas, *CMGR* I, 41-55; Salzmann (1982) 104-108 nos. 94-105.

²⁵ Salzmann (1982) 105-106 no. 98, pls. 30.1, 31.1-4.

²⁶ See discussion, *infra*, pp. 35-36, 135-37.

²⁷ Salzmann (1982) 107-108 no. 103, pl. 29; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung. Eine Quellenstudie* (Erlangen 1989) 58, A9. Similar signatures are found in pottery from the Archaic period onward. For a general discussion on these, see J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London 1974) 11-12; J.M. Hemelrijk, "A closer look at the potter," in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey eds., *Looking at Greek Vases* (Cambridge 1991) 252-54; M. Robertson, *The art of vase-painting in classical Athens* (Cambridge 1992) 3-5.

the first known mosaicist in Greece or anywhere else to identify himself.

The technical innovations and sophistication of the Pella mosaics provide us with a clear indication that, by the end of the fourth century, the artists had reached a great level of expertise and were both able and eager to produce with bits of stone the type of representations that the contemporary fresco artists were producing with paint.²⁸ Their efforts to do so, however, were hindered by the fact that natural pebbles, on account of their shape, could not be joined together in such a way as to produce a perfectly smooth surface.²⁹ This probably precipitated the practice of cutting natural stones, marble, baked clay, and occasionally even glass, and shaping them into roughly square cubes of different sizes. These cubes, known as tesserae, form a type of pavement which, depending on the size of the tesserae used, is referred to as *opus tessellatum* or "*opus vermiculatum*".³⁰

The introduction of tessellated pavements did not oust pebble mosaics, which continued, although more rarely, to be produced in Greece and elsewhere throughout the Hellenistic period.³¹ But the transition from pebble to tessellated mosaics was gradual and it may have happened independently in the various centres of the Hellenistic world.³² This is supported by the wide geographical distribution of the early tessellated mosaics and necessitates a brief look at the developments which took place

²⁸ Although no large-scale panel paintings from the Classical and Hellenistic periods have survived, the wall paintings decorating Macedonian tombs, such as the tombs of Vergina, the tomb of Lefkadia, and the tomb of Lyson and Kallikrates, provide excellent examples of the types of paintings produced during that period: M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 565-71; S.G. Miller, "Macedonian Tombs: Their Architecture and Architectural Decoration," *Studies in the History of Art* 10 (1982) 153-71.

²⁹ Bruneau (1987) 64-5.

³⁰ The use of this terminology dates to the early years of this century and despite the fact that there is no literary evidence for the term "*opus vermiculatum*", it is widely used by all scholars to denote mosaics whose tesserae are maximum 4mm square: *Delos* XXIX, 13-4.

³¹ Dunbabin (1979) 276; Salzmann (1982) 31-41.

³² Dunbabin (1978) 2. For a discussion on the invention of the tessellated technique and references to the various theories presented by scholars, see K.M.D. Dunbabin, "Early pavement types in the west and the invention of tessellation," *CMGR* V, 26-40.

outside of Greece. In the West, the mid-third century B.C mosaics from the House of Ganymede at Morgantina, in Sicily, show an experimentation with different shapes of materials: marble chips, regular tesserae in various sizes, thin laminations, and occasional specially shaped pieces.³³ In the East, the Hellenistic mosaics of Egypt display the same experimentation with techniques. The most elaborate example of this is the Stag Hunt mosaic from Shatby, near Alexandria, which is dated by Daszewski to c. 290-260 B.C.³⁴

By the end of the third century B.C. Egyptian mosaicists appear to have mastered completely the tessellation technique and are capable of producing extremely fine mosaics. A square panel from Thmuis, signed by Sophilos and depicting a bust of a regal-looking female wearing a headdress in the shape of a prow of a ship, is the earliest known example of "*opus vermiculatum*" and shows the finesse that the tessellation technique attained at this early stage.³⁵ The mosaic workshops of Alexandria, in fact, are often credited with yet another innovation in Hellenistic mosaic tradition: that of the *emblema*.³⁶ At the end of the third century B.C the efforts of the mosaicists to imitate the effects of painting by using minute stone and glass tesserae moved beyond the rendering of images. Similar to the practice of the painters, who could produce their masterpieces on individual wooden panels, mosaicists could produce mosaic panels called *emblemata*. These picture panels, usually of modest size, were fashioned on a separate slab at the artist's workshop and were later inserted in a pre-defined area in the middle of a

³³ K.M. Phillips, Jr., "Subject and Technique in Hellenistic-Roman Mosaics: A Ganymede Mosaic from Sicily," *ArtB* 42 (1960) 243-62; B. Tsakirgis, "The Decorated Pavements of Morgantina I: The Mosaics," *AJA* 93 (1989) 399-400, Figs. 11-13; Salzmann (1982) 60-61, 75, pl. 95.1.

³⁴ W.A. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt I: Hellenistic and Early Roman Period* (Mainz am Rhein 1985) 103-110 no. 2, pls. C, 4-7a. The date of this mosaic is controversial. Salzmann (1982) 68-69, 116 no. 134, proposes end of third - first half of second century B.C., while the original excavator, E. Breccia, *BSAA* 19 (1923) 161, suggested a date from the mid first century B.C. to the mid first century A.D.

³⁵ Daszewski (supra n. 34) 142-158 no. 38, pls. A, 32. He dates the mosaic to c. 200 B.C. and suggests that the female bust may be a portrait of Berenike II.

³⁶ *ibid.*, 21-22.

larger pavement.

As time progressed, so did the art of mosaic. Pliny the Elder (*HN* 36.184) describes with admiration the work of Sosos of Pergamon, one of the few known Hellenistic mosaic artists. Sosos is said to have produced a mosaic called the "*Asarotos Oikos*" and another representation where doves were depicted perched on the rim of a bowl, drinking and casting shadows on the water. It is unclear from Pliny's description whether the two representations were separate or whether they were part of the same pavement.³⁷ As the original is now lost, we know both representations only from a number of Roman copies which reveal an exceptionally fine mosaic that would have rivalled even the best paintings of antiquity.³⁸

The Hellenistic mosaics of Greece and Asia Minor show the same experimentation with techniques as those seen in the other Hellenistic centres. Plain chip pavements, already in use by the early fourth century B.C. at Olynthos, were used throughout the Hellenistic period and well into the Empire, as a number of Athenian houses dating from the first to the third century A.D. reveal.³⁹ They are frequently found within the same house alongside more elaborate pebble or tessellated pavements,

³⁷ K. Parlasca, "Das pergamenische Taubenmosaik und der sogenannte Nestor-Becher," *Jdl* 78 (1963) 256-93; M. Donderer, "Die antiken Pavimenttypen und ihre Benennungen," *Jdl* 102 (1987) 368-70; H. Herter, "Die durstigen Tauben," *GrazBeitr* 5 (1976) 123-42; H. Meyer, "Zu neueren Deutungen von Asarotos Oikos und kapitulinischen Taubenmosaik," *AA* 1977, 104-110.

³⁸ The best known example of the *asarotos oikos* was found on the Aventine in Rome, and is part of the Vatican collection: Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano. Two other mosaics with this motif were found in North Africa: Dunbabin (1978) 124-25, 260 no. 22e; *ibid.*, 17, 266 no. 3. The best known example of the drinking doves comes from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. It is now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. This panel is usually dated to c. A.D. 124 and is generally believed to be a copy of a Hellenistic original. However, in a more recent discussion, Donderer claims that this panel was produced in the Hellenistic period and was later reused in Hadrian's villa: M. Donderer, "Das kapitulinische Taubenmosaik. Original des Sosos?," *RömMitt* 98 (1991) 189-97.

³⁹ R. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia* 20 (1951) 277-78, pl.85. For a full discussion on Hellenistic chip and irregular pavements, see Dunbabin (1979) 265-77; Salzmann (1982) 59-77, 115-26 nos.133-72.

decorating the floor surfaces of less important rooms.⁴⁰ But they are also used to fashion one of the decorative components, often an edging band, in pavements of mixed techniques. One of the better known examples of this practice is the Tritoness mosaic at Delos, where some of the borders that frame the white marble chip surface of the carpet are made of regular square tesserae and some are made of completely irregular fragments of marble or terracotta.⁴¹

Other irregular pavements, made for the most part of irregular tesserae, display geometric, floral, and figural motifs. The Triton mosaic from Sparta (cat. 39, Fig. 8), for instance, contains all three elements, all produced by irregular tesserae whose degree of irregularity varies considerably from one element to the other.⁴² A mosaic from Maroneia, from the *andron* of a house, dated to the middle - second half of the third century B.C., presents a far more uniform appearance.⁴³ A square panel decorated with a vine scroll, grapes, and floral motifs, is framed with an almost three-dimensional bead-and-reel border and an outer border in a wave pattern. The tesserae in this pavement are set close together and are considerably less irregular than those of the Sparta Triton. Moreover, an interesting play of alternating square and circular shapes, as well as the alternating colour of the various components that are set against a contrasting background, create a very attractive black and white composition. At the end of a series of mosaics made with irregular tesserae, stands a mosaic from Klazomenai, also from an *andron*, dated to the end of the third- beginning of second century B.C.⁴⁴ A circular central panel, framed with a guilloche and decorated with a representation of Amphitrite riding on a hippocamp, is

⁴⁰ *Olynthos* II, 56-57, 59, pl. I, Figs. 159-61; 102, Fig. 239; *Olynthos* XII, 193, pls. 158-65; *Olynthos* V, 1, n.4; Andronikos (supra n. 18) 44; *Delos* XXIX, 19-22.

⁴¹ *Delos* XXIX, 174-78 no. 75, Figs. 88-91; Dunbabin (1979) 267 n. 16, 274.

⁴² For further discussion on this mosaic, see infra, pp. 37-38; Dunbabin (1979) 270-71.

⁴³ E. Pentazos, *Prakt* 1973, 83-84, Figs. 107, 108 a.b; Salzmann (1982) 123-24 no. 164, pl. 79, 1.2.

⁴⁴ G. Oikonomos, *BCH* 45 (1921) 561; Salzmann (1982) 76-77, pl. 93. 2-3.

contained within a square. An outer frieze with antithetical griffins and floral motifs frames the square. Here the black, white, and red tesserae are almost square, with the exception of round stones used for the eyes. In addition, lead strips outline the guilloche and Amphitrite's upper arm and face.

From the technical point of view, the Sparta, Maroneia, and Klazomenai mosaics present a gradual development, which might be taken to imply a chronological sequence in their date of production. This sequence, however, cannot be sustained, at least for the Sparta mosaic, for which there is no fixed date.⁴⁵ From the point of view of composition the three pavements conform to the most common type seen in the Classical and early Hellenistic mosaics: multiple concentric borders frame a central square or circular panel, which often, as seen in the Maroneia and Klazomenai mosaics, encloses one or more concentric circles. This type of composition is in contrast to the predominantly rectangular-shaped mosaics of the later Hellenistic period.

By the end of the third century B.C., alongside pebble, mixed, and irregular pavements, tessellated mosaics make their appearance in Greece. A mosaic from Thebes is the earliest known dated example of this technique, dated to the late third century B.C.⁴⁶ Two concentric circles within a square are fashioned with tesserae of different size. The variable size of the stones and the fact that they are not always placed at right angles give this pavement a crude appearance and place it at an early stage in the development of the tessellation technique. Over half a century later, two mosaics from a house in Samos, dated to the mid second century B.C., reveal the high level of technical achievement that the Hellenistic mosaicists attained.⁴⁷ Both mosaics are rectangular with a central field paved with white regular tesserae and framed with multiple concentric borders. The focal point in each mosaic is a wide frieze in "*opus*

⁴⁵ For a detailed description of the mosaic and problems of chronology, see *infra*, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁶ Salzmann (1982) 77 n. 673.

⁴⁷ V. Giannouli and A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets (*supra* n. 15) 545-68.

vermiculatum": a scroll, formed of griffin heads that are joined together in one mosaic, and a floral scroll in the other. The motifs in both friezes are rendered in perspective, using minute polychrome tesserae and strips of lead.

The Samos pavements are valuable examples in the evolution of tessellated mosaics in Greece and Asia Minor. However, the island of Delos, in the central Aegean, is the Hellenistic mosaic site *par excellence*. Although some pre-Hellenistic mosaics were found on the island, the majority of the Delian pavements date to the end of the second - early first century B.C.⁴⁸ and display a wide range of techniques: chip pavements, mixed pavements, tessellated mosaics, and even individual panels executed in "*opus vermiculatum*".⁴⁹ The most elaborate of these mosaics decorate the *oikoi*, the reception rooms of the wealthy houses and, occasionally, their peristyle as well, as, for example, in the House of the Dolphins (cat. 14, Figs. 5-6) and in the House of Dionysos (cat. 13, Figs. 76-80). Another house, the House of the Masks, displays some of the better known Delian mosaics, which combine a variety of techniques and decorative motifs:⁵⁰ cubes in perspective and theatrical masks (cat. 11, Figs. 173-74), Silenos dancing to the tune of a flautist (cat. 12, Fig. 165), and floral medallions placed on either side of an amphora with a palm branch. These decorate three of the *oikoi* of the house. The mosaic of the fourth room displays a compositional schema that became very popular in the decoration of mosaic pavements during the later Hellenistic period: individual panels placed in the middle of a rectangular field. In this pavement, a square central panel with a depiction of Dionysos riding on a leopard is flanked by two panels containing images of Centaurs (cat. 10, Figs. 68-70). The Dionysos panel is made in "*opus vermiculatum*" and is the only true *emblema* found on Delos. Another panel, which resembles

⁴⁸ *Delos* XXIX. Bruneau's catalogue includes 354 pavements.

⁴⁹ *Delos* XXIX, 16-35.

⁵⁰ *Delos* XXIX, 239-60 nos. 214-17, Figs. 176-210.

an *emblema*, is also inserted in the middle of a plain rectangular field in the peristyle of the House of Dionysos and contains a depiction similar to that of the House of the Masks: a winged Dionysiac figure riding on a tiger (cat. 13, Figs. 76-80).⁵¹ This panel, also in "*opus vermiculatum*", is of exceptional quality. Minute stone and glass tesserae, in a wide variety of colours, are combined in such a way that even the smallest details are made perfectly clear. Among the most captivating features of this scene are the eyes of the tiger, where, according to Bruneau, the artist has used twenty-nine tesserae for the left pupil alone.⁵²

The mosaics of Delos are a landmark in the history of the mosaic tradition in Greece, not only because their large number allows a comprehensive study of the Hellenistic mosaics, but also because they mark the end of a long period of continuous production and evolution of mosaics in Greece. For following the destruction of Delos by Mithridates' army in 88 B.C. and again by the pirates in 69 B.C., very few mosaics were laid in Greece until the end of the first century A.D. Continuous wars and confrontations during the second and first centuries B.C. devastated and exhausted the entire country. Greece was economically ruined and morale was very low. This prolonged period of depression and poverty suppressed building activity and most of the workshops were closed. The coming of peace and the new Augustan policy, however, brought about a sense of security, which gradually expressed itself in many different ways, including a renewed interest in luxury goods.

During this long period of trials and tribulations very few mosaics were produced in Greece. Moreover, a handful of pavements that are often thought to be products of the early Empire workshops are not securely dated. Hellenkemper Salies, for instance, argues that a black and white mosaic from a house at Philippi, usually dated to Augustan times, could be as late as the second quarter of the second

⁵¹ This figure is often identified with Dionysos, from whom the house gets its name. For a discussion of the iconography, see *infra*, pp. 155-58.

⁵² *Delos* XXIX, 293.

century A.D., on the basis of its construction and ornamental motifs.⁵³ On the same grounds, she argues about the date proposed for the villa at Anaploga, near Corinth,⁵⁴ where colourful panels with *Xenia* motifs are framed by borders of perspective meander, a "peopled scroll", and geometric motifs (Fig. 4). Grobel Miller, who claims that the Corinth mosaicism was heavily influenced by the works of the Campanian painters, dated this mosaic to the last quarter of the first century A.D. on the basis of the evidence from the excavation material found under the pavement. Although these finds provide a *terminus post quem*, Hellenkemper Salies argues that it does not mean that the mosaic was laid at that time as well. Instead, she maintains that the Hellenistic appearance of the mosaic is due to the resurgence of Hellenistic forms in the third century A.D. and dates the Anaploga mosaic to that century.⁵⁵

The problems and controversy that surround the dating of the Philippi and Corinth mosaics are not isolated examples. Regrettably, the vast majority of imperial mosaics in Greece are faced with the same problems in chronology. The damage that some of them have suffered, the often unknown context, and sometimes the inadequate publication of the finds, make any attempt to place these mosaics within a Roman chronological context a difficult task. Style is often the only criterion that we can use for dating the mosaics. This can be done by examining the composition, geometric ornament, and the rendering of the human figure. But this method at the present time is also challenging and dangerous. For although geometric ornament can be potentially valuable to the dating of the imperial mosaics in Greece, to date it has not been studied thoroughly.⁵⁶ The existing discussions of geometric motifs are superficial and do

⁵³ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 281; Kankeleit, v. 2, 283-84 no. 174.

⁵⁴ Waywell (1979) 297 no. 16, pl. 47, Fig. 15; Kankeleit, v. 2, 97-99 no. 54; S.G. Miller, "A Mosaic Floor from a Roman Villa at Anaploga," *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 332-54; H. Joyce, "Form, Function and Technique in the Pavements of Delos and Pompeii," *AJA* 83 (1979) 252-63.

⁵⁵ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 277, 281.

⁵⁶ An extensive study of the geometric ornament of the Roman mosaics, however, is currently underway by a group of Greek and foreign scholars: *BCH* 119 (1995) 791-92.

not allow a clear picture to emerge. Moreover, the development of human figure is so unreliable as a chronological indicator that any discussion of it as a point of chronological reference is missing from the two main discussions on the imperial mosaics of Greece: that of Philippe Bruneau⁵⁷ and Hellenkemper Salies.⁵⁸ This is not to say that there is no difference in figure style in the imperial mosaics between the first and the fifth century. But the differences cannot be traced closely enough to be used as points of chronological reference.

The majority of the imperial mosaics in Greece were produced during the second and third centuries A.D. These pavements display a number of different characteristics from their Hellenistic predecessors. In the second century predominantly black and white pavements display a wide variety of geometric motifs, often in connection with a figural scene. The second century mosaic from the Baths at Isthmia (Fig. 3) is an excellent example of this decorative scheme.⁵⁹ Here the central field is no longer a single unified composition but is divided in two long fields, each decorated with figures of the Marine Thiasos. The figures, rendered in silhouette with only white lines to indicate anatomical details, are two-dimensional and are reminiscent of the approximately contemporary pavements from the Baths of Neptune in Ostia.⁶⁰ Intersecting borders with rhombus motifs frame squares of geometric ornament, thus creating a composition which recalls the coffer-style ceiling decoration seen in Italy.⁶¹ This compartmentalization of the surface of the pavement, in fact, becomes one of the most popular compositional schemes of the imperial mosaics in Greece. Initially, all the elements are rendered with

⁵⁷ Bruneau (1981) 320-46.

⁵⁸ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 241-84.

⁵⁹ Waywell (1979) 299 no. 28, pl. 48, Fig. 25; Kankeleit, v. 2, 70-73 no. 40; Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 258-59, Fig. 6; P. Packard, "A monochrome mosaic from Isthmia," *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 326-46, pls. 97-101.

⁶⁰ Blake (1936) 145-46, pl. 34, 3, 4; G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia IV: Mosaici e Pavimenti Marmorei* (Rome 1961) 310-16; J.R. Clarke, *Roman Black and White Figural Mosaics* (New York 1979) 26-29.

⁶¹ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 258.

black tesserae against a white background, but eventually polychrome representations become popular again. When exactly this takes place it is not certain. But the late first - early second century mosaic with the theatre masks from the so-called Building "Z" at Pergamon (cat. 35, Fig. 181) points to the existence of polychromatic, compartmental compositions already at that time. This type of composition appears to increase in popularity as we move further into the second century and the production of black and white pavements declines. The second century pavements of the Villa Dionysos at Knossos (cat. 23-25, Figs. 11, 13-16) and the late third century mosaic from the *triclinium* of the House of Menander at Mytilene,⁶² are excellent examples of polychrome geometrically subdivided floors seen in Greece during the second and third centuries. Moreover, many decorative motifs, such as hexagons, rhombuses, intersecting circles, and radiating shields of triangles or scales, are common patterns in the decoration of the imperial mosaics in Greece and have numerous antecedents in the West. The last of these motifs alone is found on at least thirteen pavements from the imperial period.⁶³

Alongside these developments exist a number of Hellenistic features, such as pseudo-*emblemata*, wide multi-sectional borders, and patterns rendered in perspective. It is the presence of these elements which form the basis of Bruneau's argument about the continuation of the Hellenistic tradition in the imperial mosaics.⁶⁴ Bruneau claims that mosaicists in Greece remained faithful to Hellenistic principles throughout the imperial period. And although he admits that some new elements, such as the division of the surface of the pavement in compartments, were adopted from the workshops of the West,

⁶² Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 239 no. 42; Kankeleit, v. 2, 191-96 no. 109; Charitonidis et al., *passim*. The date of the mosaic is disputed. Kahil and Ginouvès, who published the mosaic, place it toward the end of the third quarter of the third century A.D. on the basis of the evidence from the destruction layer: Charitonidis et al., 12. In a more recent evaluation, Berczelly argues for a date c. 360 A.D.: L. Berczelly, "The Date and Significance of the Menander Mosaics at Mytilene," *BICS* 35 (1988) 119-26.

⁶³ Waywell (1979) 304-305; S. Houlia, *ArchDelt* 40 (1985) chr.¹, 216, pl. 84c; M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi, *ArchDelt* 42 (1987) chr.¹, 142, pl. 77b; Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 260; *ead.*, "Irritations optiques dans l'ornementation pavimentale Romaine," *CMGR* VI, 423-30.

⁶⁴ See also, *infra*, pp. 268-70.

and some new themes, such as Orpheus and the beasts, were introduced, he claims that the mosaicists continued to use the traditional Hellenistic forms of composition and decorative themes without extensive influence from external sources. Bruneau's views are challenged by Hellenkemper Salies who argues that the composition, ornament, and style of the mosaics of the Roman period show a much stronger connection to the mosaics of the West than to Hellenistic floors.⁶⁵ Bruneau also claims that, in the absence of external criteria, it is impossible to distinguish a chronological evolution between the second and third century for example. In contrast, Hellenkemper Salies is arguing for such an evolution and sees the use of Hellenistic features on the mosaics of the third century as a revival of Hellenistic traditions in the West rather than a continuation of old ones. In fact, there is very little evidence for placing these mosaics in the third century. At the same time, Hellenkemper Salies points to the use of elements which show clear connections with the mosaics of Syria: for instance, the use of dark ground, seen in the Nereid panel in the Mosaic House in Corinth,⁶⁶ the geometric patterns on the pavement of the Stoa in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens,⁶⁷ or the colourful geometric surrounds of the Roman Villa at Corinth (cat. 6, Figs. 37-38).⁶⁸ The Syrian mosaicists, unlike those of the West, remained faithful to Hellenistic traditions at least until the end of the fourth century. They continued to use these elements in their compositions which, for the most part, consisted of centralized figural panels and three dimensional motifs. It can be argued, therefore, that the Hellenistic elements observed on the imperial mosaics of Greece may be the result of the direct influence from Syria.

The iconographic repertory of the imperial mosaics is dominated by well-established themes

⁶⁵ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 242.

⁶⁶ *Corinth* I, 113-22, pls. 53-57, plan V; Kankeleit, v. 2, 101-105 no. 56.

⁶⁷ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 263-64; Kankeleit, v. 2, 30-33 no. 19.

⁶⁸ See also, Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 228 no. 20; Kankeleit, v. 2, 108-113 no. 59; *Corinth* V, 19-26, pls. VII-XI.

from mythology, particularly during the first three centuries A.D. But even in the late antique - early Byzantine period when mosaic production moves steadily away from secular to ecclesiastical pavements, mythological scenes are still being produced, as the early sixth century Dionysiac panel from the Villa of the Falconer at Argos indicates (cat. 1, Figs. 42-46, 48).⁶⁹ Along with the mythological mosaics from the imperial period, we find personifications, scenes from everyday life, such as hunting and fishing, as well as activities of the gymnasium and the theatre, which are firmly embedded in Greek ideals and are part of the potters' and sculptors' repertory from as far back as the Archaic period.⁷⁰ But we also find some new themes which have their origins in Roman Italy, as for example, the activities of the amphitheatre.⁷¹ Clearly, gladiatorial combats and wild beast fights like those depicted in the late second - early third century mosaics of Kos (cat. 27-28, Figs. 185-88), an approximately contemporary mosaic at Patras,⁷² and a much later mosaic at Chios,⁷³ are firmly connected to Roman culture and have no predecessors in Greece. Equally clear is the fact that the houses which these mosaics decorated belonged to wealthy individuals. What is not clear to us, however, is the ethnicity of these individuals, for they may have been Romanized Greeks who wished to display their integration into Roman society, just as well as Italian colonials who wished to preserve and display their Latin culture.

The same problem arises from a group of mosaics with literary subjects, such as the Muses,

⁶⁹ For a corpus of the mosaics of Greece from the fourth to the sixth centuries, see Spiro (supra p. 4, n. 13); Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1987).

⁷⁰ J. Neils, *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Times* (Princeton 1992); J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Berkeley 1986) 81-92; N. Yalouris et al., *The Olympic Games* (Athens 1976) 1-285; for theatre representations on Greek pottery and relief sculpture, see Green (1994).

⁷¹ For further discussion on amphitheatre scenes on the mosaics of Greece, see *infra*, pp. 252-59.

⁷² Kankeleit, v.2, 250-53 no. 151; I.A. Papapostolou, "Monuments des Combats de Gladiateurs à Patras," *BCH* 113 (1989) 393-401, Figs. 35-41. Papapostolou places this mosaic to the second half of the second century - early third century.

⁷³ A. Tsaravopoulos, "A mosaic floor in Chios" in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson eds., *Chios. A Conference at the Homereion in Chios 1984* (Oxford 1986) 305-15.

busts of lyric poets, or scenes of theatrical plays. Here efforts to determine the direction of the dissemination of influence in the use of such motifs on mosaic decoration invariably lead to frustration. For there can be no doubt that the subjects of the late third century mosaic from the House of Menander in Mytilene,⁷⁴ where Menander himself, scenes of his comedies, the Muse Thalia, and Socrates are depicted in individual panels, and the late third-early fourth century mosaics of Sparta,⁷⁵ whose surviving panels depict Sappho, Anakman, [Ana]kreon, Alkibiades, and the Muses Urania and Calliope, are clearly products of Greek culture. Nor can there be any doubt that the choice of subject matter would have rested with the client and not with the mosaicist, as Bruneau maintains.⁷⁶ But who was the client? Should we automatically assume, on the basis of the Greekness of the subjects, that he was of Greek origin and preclude any possibility that he may have been an Italian colonist?

The evidence from historical, literary, and archaeological sources strongly demonstrates the fascination that Roman society in Italy had with Greek culture. Athens, for example, from the time of the Republic onward, became the "finishing school" of Roman intellectuals and aristocrats. Greek artifacts, highly prized in the decoration of public and private spaces, were carted off to Rome and Greek craftsmen were commissioned to produce statuary in Italy. Moreover, the entertainment in the *symposia* of the Italian elite was dominated by performances of Greek tragedies, Menander's comedies, and the poems of Sappho and Anacreon. For the Romans, familiarity with Greek culture was indicative of a high level of sophistication, and those who possessed it were eager to display it. This display of intellect was often in the form of wall paintings or elaborate mosaic pavements which decorated the opulent surroundings of the Roman aristocracy in Italy. It would not be unrealistic, therefore, to suggest that the

⁷⁴ Charitonidis et al., *passim*.

⁷⁵ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 249-50 no. 65, pl. 29b; Waywell (1979) 303 no. 49; Kankeleit, v. 2, 305-306 no. 194.

⁷⁶ Bruneau (1981) 340, 342-43.

Italian population who settled in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor may have been carrying on practices that were current in their native Italy. This argument gains more strength from the fact that the compositional schemata of these pavements, namely the division of the surface in multiple panels, reflect practices in the West. On the other hand, it would be difficult to accept that an Italian living in Greece would have chosen Alkibiades' portrait, for example, to decorate a pavement in his house. This type of representation was more likely to be chosen by someone of Greek descent, as it would be more meaningful to him than to someone of Italian descent. The same questions, however, could be asked about representations of *venationes* and gladiatorial combats, which were firmly rooted into Roman culture and yet they had a strong following in Greece, especially between the first and third centuries A.D.⁷⁷ It is clear, therefore, that the social and cultural exchange between Italy and Greece was very strong. But the patterns of this acculturation are complex and difficult to establish. For both the Italian and Greek elite in Greece may have chosen specific decorative themes to demonstrate their affiliations with one culture or the other. Therefore, the amphitheatre scenes that decorate the houses at Kos, Patras, and Chios may have been commissioned equally well by an Italian living in Greece, who wish to affirm his Latin descent, or by a Greek, who wished to display his *Romanitas* by choosing a theme which lies in the heart of Italian culture. In the same manner, the owner of the House of Menander in Mytilene or the patron who commissioned the literary panels at Sparta may have been a Greek who wished to display not only his literary interests, but also his Greek heritage. But at the same time an Italian in Greece, Italy, or any other Roman province, could have also used the same motifs to display his cultivation. Many examples of such cultural pretensions are known from outside of Greece, such as portraits of Virgil and

⁷⁷ See discussion, *infra*, pp. 247-51, 257-58, 262.

Menander(?) in North Africa,⁷⁸ or references to the Homeric poems in Nabeul, in North Africa,⁷⁹ and in Cabezón de Pisuerga, in Spain.⁸⁰ It becomes clear from these arguments, then, that it cannot always be determined from the iconography of the mosaics to what extent Greece, as a Roman province, was influenced by practices in Italy.⁸¹

The mosaics of Sparta are also important to the overview of Greek mosaics because of the changes in artistic rendering that they display. For here the volume and contours of the human figure are not portrayed as accurately as in earlier mosaics. Here, instead of a careful gradation of colours, artists use heavy outlining, wide stripes, and patches of colour. This results in a more schematic rendering that does not lend itself either to facial expression, or to the modelling of hair and drapery. Thus in the portrait bust of Alkibiades,⁸² the hair is rendered with strips of black and brown tesserae, his features are outlined with bold lines, the flesh texture is shown with patches of colour, and the folds of the drapery with wide stripes. The same rendering is used in the panel of Orpheus and the beasts and the panel of the Abduction of Europa,⁸³ where the rendering of the bull is reminiscent of those seen in the

⁷⁸ The mosaic of Virgil and the Muses (Bardo Mus. inv. A 226) comes from the House of the Arsenal at Sousse, c. A.D. 200-210: Dunbabin (1978) 269 no. 12e, pl. 130. The so-called mosaic of Menander comes from Thuburbo Majus (Bardo Mus. inv. 1396), c. end of second-beginning of third century: M. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) 219, Fig. 164.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 241, Figs. 177-78.

⁸⁰ T. Mañanes et al., *El Mosaico de la Villa Romana de Santa Cruz* (Valladolid 1987).

⁸¹ For the Romanization of the East and West, see also P.A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 267-81.

⁸² This is one of several portraits of historical and literary personalities found at Sparta. For this and the other portraits, see Ch. Christou, *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) chr.¹ 138-41, pls. 138-40; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 249-50 no. 65, pl. 29b; Waywell (1979) 303 no. 49; G. Neumann, "Alkibiades," *AA* (1986) 103-12.

⁸³ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 247 no. 61a & b, pl. 27 b; Waywell (1979) 302 no. 46.1 & 2, pl. 51, Figs. 41 & 42; Kankeleit, v. 2, 298-300 no. 188.

Great Hunt mosaic in Piazza Armerina.⁸⁴ As external criteria for the dating of these mosaics are lacking, their excavators have assigned them to the late third - early fourth century A.D. on the basis of their stylistic characteristics, which appear to be following the trend that prevails in all art media at the end of the third century and the period of the Tetrarchy in the West. This trend is in total contrast to the careful and detailed rendering of figures of the mosaics of Syria at this date.

The trend toward linear and odd proportioned human figures becomes even more pronounced as we move into the fifth and early sixth century. These characteristics are clearly shown in the early sixth century group of mosaics from the villa of the Falconer at Argos, which include a Dionysiac panel in the dining room (cat. 1, Figs. 42-46, 48), six panels with depictions of the Months on one side of the corridor, and five preserved panels with hunting and falconing motifs on the other side.⁸⁵ Moreover, they are also characteristic of figures on the early Christian mosaics which, by the end of the fifth century, were produced in great numbers. One of the better preserved examples of this can be seen in the animal and human forms of a basilica pavement at Delphi.⁸⁶ The most interesting point of fifth and sixth century mosaics, however, is the co-existence of pagan and Christian motifs.

In conclusion, the overview of the mosaics of Greece reveals that the workshops of the Classical and Hellenistic period played the leading role in the production and evolution of the medium. This is amply demonstrated by the mosaics of Olynthos, Pella, and Delos, where the concentration of pavements best displays the continuous development and innovations in technique and representation during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. But when mosaic production resumes after the troubled years that

⁸⁴ A. Carandini, A. Ricci, and M. de Vos, *Filosofiana. La villa di Piazza Armerina* (Palermo 1982) 197-230, Figs. 103, 106-131, pls. I, XXVII-XXXI.

⁸⁵ G. Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos. A Study in Early Byzantine Iconography* (Stockholm 1974).

⁸⁶ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1987) 194-97 no. 129, pls. 337-51.

followed the destruction of Delos, Greece is no longer a leader but a follower.

The problems in modern scholarship and exploration make a conclusive assessment of the mosaics of the imperial period difficult. Yet, in spite of the present limitations, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. It would appear that in the imperial period mosaic workshops in Greece no longer set the trend in mosaic production, but they followed that of their neighbours. On the one hand, the black and white mosaics from the early Empire, the compartmental compositions, the wide borders and radiating shields of geometric motifs, as well as some of the subject matter, such as the *venatio* and gladiatorial combats, demonstrate a major influence from the western mosaic tradition. On the other hand, the centralized picture panels, the multi-sectional borders, and the three dimensional geometric motifs indicate an influence from the East. The only evidence of a continued Greek tradition appears to be the Greek themes that are used in the decoration of many imperial mosaics. But even in this case we cannot be sure whether this reflects a continuation of a strong local tradition which adheres to Greek ideals, whether this is the result of influences from the West, or whether it is a conscious revival, in line with other trends of the mid imperial period.

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION TO THE DIONYSIAC MOSAICS OF GREECE AND THE COAST OF ASIA MINOR

Dionysos' popularity in the mosaics of Greece is well attested from the Classical to the early Byzantine period. For about nine centuries, from the fourth century B.C. villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos to the sixth century A.D. villa of the Falconer at Argos, Dionysiac imagery figures prominently in the repertory of Greek mosaicists and stands above that of all other gods, demi-gods, and mythological creatures.

The Dionysiac repertory contains a wide range of motifs in a variety of compositions and techniques. In two thirds of the pavements Dionysos himself is the centre of attention, while the rest show members of his thiasos and generic Dionysiac symbols. Mythological subjects are few and restricted to well known stories: the Discovery of Ariadne at Chania and Thessaloniki (cat. 3, Figs. 95-98; cat. 42, Figs. 99-101), Lykourgos and Ambrosia at Delos and Trikala (cat. 9, Figs. 117-18; cat. 43, Figs. 119-20), Papposilenos and Dionysos *Pais* at Pergamon (cat. 36, Figs. 135-36). Protomes, not found in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, are popular in the decoration of the Roman Dionysiac mosaics and are divided into three distinct groups. In the first group a disembodied head displays close associations with the theatre mask. At Corinth (cat. 6, Fig. 17) the head of Dionysos is contained within a circular panel and is surrounded by a field of colourful geometric motifs, while at Knossos (cat. 23, Figs. 11, 14) the disembodied heads of members of the thiasos float against a white ground and are framed with a simple black fillet. The second group contains busts of the god, the Seasons, and members

of the thiasos. These are depicted as if in a portrait which cuts the figure off below the shoulders, displaying a substantial amount of the torso and the garment to the viewer. This type of bust with the image of Dionysos decorates the central square panels of the mosaics of Ephesos (cat. 19, Figs. 21-22) and Melos (cat. 32, Figs. 23-24), as well as the central medallions of two of the mosaics at Knossos (cat. 23, Fig. 11, 13; cat. 24, Fig. 16), a mosaic from Larisa (cat. 30, Figs. 151-52), and a vault mosaic from Ephesos, where Ariadne's protome is combined with that of Dionysos (cat. 18, Fig. 20). The Seasons on both mosaics from Larisa (cat. 29, Fig. 150; cat. 30, Fig. 153) and images of a satyr and a maenad in the mosaic of Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 155-56) are shown in the same type of bust. The protomes of the third group are a hybrid form of the first two types, as the figure here is cut off at the shoulder level and floats against a white ground in a disembodied way. This is found at Knossos (cat. 25, Fig. 15) where compartments contain protomes of members of the thiasos only.

On the vast majority of the pavements where the god is depicted he is shown in full figure. Most of these show a divine epiphany. At Dion (cat. 17, Fig. 9) he is seated on a throne holding a sceptre; at Pella (cat. 34, Fig. 62), Eretria (cat. 20, Fig. 65), Delos (cat. 10, Figs. 68-69; cat. 13, Fig. 77), and Chania (cat. 4, Figs. 72, 74) Dionysos is riding on the back of a feline; at Olynthos (cat. 33, Fig. 51) he arrives overland in a leopard-drawn chariot, whereas at Dion (cat. 16, Figs. 53, 55, 182) and Corinth (cat. 7, Fig. 58) a sea-chariot transports him over the ocean. Most of the time, however, Dionysos is shown standing. This is perhaps the most versatile motif in Dionysiac iconography, and as a result numerous variations exist. In the mosaics of Greece we find him alone or attended by one or more members of the thiasos, and always leaning on something. Alone, at Corinth (cat. 5, Figs. 37-38) Dionysos is leaning on his thyrsos, while at Rhodes (cat. 38, Fig. 41) he is leaning on a column. He is also leaning on a column at Chania (cat. 4, Figs. 72, 75), where only Pan is standing behind him; but at Argos (cat. 1, Figs. 42, 46, 48) he is surrounded by several members of the thiasos. At Koroni (cat. 26, Fig. 189) Dionysos' arm is resting on the shoulders of a satyr, while at Kasteli Kisamou (cat. 21, Fig. 35)

his one arm rests on a maenad and the other on a satyr. This is a good example of the so-called "Stützmotiv"¹, which is found again as part of a larger scene in Thessaloniki (cat. 42, Fig. 100), Corinth (cat. 7, Fig. 58) and Dion (cat. 16, Figs. 53, 55, 182).

Occasionally the context in which Dionysos appears is obscure, as is the case at Larisa (cat. 29, Fig. 147) and Sparta (cat. 40, Figs. 33-34); and sometimes images of fighting gladiators (cat. 27, Fig. 187) and *venatores* (cat. 28, Fig. 185), found alongside Dionysiac features, conjure up Dionysiac associations. But often Dionysos' presence is evoked by his followers and emblems: Silenos dancing to the sound of a flute (cat. 12, Fig. 165) or riding on a donkey (cat. 27, Fig. 187), centaurs, satyrs, maenads, Pan, and Eros carrying Dionysiac emblems (cat. 10, Figs. 68, 70; cat. 14, Figs. 5-6; cat. 39, Fig. 8); a large *krater* flanked by two Pans at Olynthos (cat. 33, Fig. 52) and by two leopards at Sparta (cat. 41, Fig. 31), a sprawling vine growing out of *kantharoi* at Melos (cat. 31, Fig. 25), and above all a profusion of theatre masks (cat. 11, Figs. 173-74; cat. 8, Figs. 176-80; cat. 31, Fig. 25; cat. 35, Fig. 181; cat. 37, Fig. 171).

These motifs sometimes are the principal subject of the pavement and sometimes are placed into a wide border. But often, especially in the mosaics of the Roman period, a number of the motifs are placed in separate compartments and are incorporated within the same pavement. Thus at Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 95, 154), for example, the central depiction of the Discovery of Ariadne is surrounded by depictions of a satyr and a maenad, scenes from New Comedy, theatre masks, leaping animals and winged Erotes, all separated by geometric and floral borders and placed within a geometric surround.

With very few exceptions the Dionysiac mosaics, particularly those of the Roman period, are plagued by the same problems in chronology as the rest of the mosaics of Greece. For most of these pavements evidence from stratigraphy is lacking or remains unpublished, and in most cases the date that

¹ Pochmarski. See also discussion of the motif, *infra*, pp. 80-83.

has been assigned to the mosaic is based on style. This method of dating, however, can be only approximate and, on occasion, it can also be misleading.²

In view of the absence of secure evidence from stratigraphy for the majority of the pavements, I have intentionally followed a loose chronological framework in the study of the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, and have made no attempt to assign specific dates to them. For in the absence of evidence, such an attempt will only result in further approximations and pointless hypotheses. I have therefore indicated only the date assigned to each mosaic by the excavator and, where applicable, that of subsequent studies, and the criteria used for dating in each case. For the purpose of this study the material has been divided into four large chronological periods:

1. Classical and Early Hellenistic period (cat. 20, 33, 34, 39).
2. Later Hellenistic period (cat. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 37).
3. Early and High Empire (cat. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 17, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43).
4. Late Empire and Early Byzantine period (cat. 1, 2, 18, 19, 29, 30).

1. Classical and Early Hellenistic Period

The early mosaics of Greece were made of natural pebbles, a practice which continued more rarely alongside the tessellated technique until the end of the Hellenistic period.³ While the vast majority of the Dionysiac mosaics are tessellated, this group is led by two well-known and impressive examples of the pebble technique, both from northern Greece. The earliest known is the mosaic from the *andron*

² For a general discussion on the chronology of the mosaics, see *infra*, pp. 94-96. Also see discussion on individual pavements in this chapter.

³ *supra*, pp. 14-18.

of the villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos (cat. 33, Figs. 50-52). Robinson dated this mosaic to the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.,⁴ to the early years of the expansion of the new town to the north hill, but more recent appraisals have placed it in the second quarter of the fourth century B.C.⁵ The central panel, where Dionysos is depicted riding on a chariot drawn by leopards and led by a satyr, is framed by concentric friezes of ivy, palmettes, and a wave band, as well as a figural frieze depicting members of the Dionysiac thiasos.⁶ Here a satyr playing the flute leads a goat-legged Pan and a group of maenads in an ecstatic dance, swirling and turning around, brandishing their thyrsos, beating their $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\nu\alpha$ and killing fawns. At the entrance, which is placed off-centre, a rectangular panel shows two goat-legged Pans standing on either side of a large *krater*. This is framed by a garland of ivy whose ends extend half way up the sides of the *krater*. The Olynthos pavement belongs to the large group of mosaics where all geometric, floral, and human forms are rendered in white and are set against a black background. With internal detail limited to a few black lines, the entire composition displays the same two-dimensionality seen in all mosaics of this period. Here, however, we find an early conscious effort to introduce polychromy, for the entire box of the chariot and the reins are made of natural red pebbles.⁷

This timid attempt toward polychromy reaches greater heights in the second pebble Dionysiac mosaic, at Pella, depicting Dionysos nude, riding side-saddle on the back of a leopard (cat. 34, Fig. 62-64).⁸ This mosaic decorates the floor of the smaller of the two *andrones* of the so-called "House of Dionysos". Unlike the Olynthos pavement the Pella mosaic is not framed by multiple elaborate borders.

⁴ D.M. Robinson, "The Villa of Good Fortune," *AJA* 38 (1934) 507.

⁵ Salzmann (1982) 102 no. 87, pls. 14.2, 15.1. He places this mosaic to c. 370-60 on the basis of the scroll border of the Achilles and Thetis panel that decorates the anteroom and other stylistic criteria: *id.*, p. 24-25.

⁶ For a discussion of the iconography of the central panel, see *infra*, pp. 116-22.

⁷ Similar pebbles are also found in some of the other Olynthian mosaics but their use is haphazard.

⁸ For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, pp. 135-37.

Instead, it is positioned in the centre of the room within a large field of coarse white pebbles. This method of composition serves to accentuate the central scene and gives the impression of a picture on the floor, thus anticipating the *emblema*. Here too the figures are light-on-dark, but there is a complete break away from the silhouette rendering seen on the Olynthos pavement. The Pella mosaicist, to render the figure of Dionysos and the leopard he is riding on, used a mixture of the linear technique and modelling, effected, on the one hand, by dark pebbles, terracotta, and lead strips to emphasize the anatomical details and outlines, and on the other, by a variety of small fleshtone pebbles and shading. In the mosaic's present state of preservation, the soft earthtone colour scheme is enlivened by the contrast that the red pebbles of the leopard's tongue and the shaped terracotta tesserae of the ivy wreath and the thyrsos create. This contrast would have been initially much greater, since a chemical analysis of the terracotta tesserae has revealed that these were at first covered by a layer of malachite whose natural green colour would have made the ivy leaves and the pine cone of the thyrsos look more realistic.⁹ These technical innovations mark the first major effort made on mosaics to create a figure in three dimensions and foreshadow the great level of sophistication and workmanship that the mosaic technique reached in the Hellenistic period. The Pella mosaic is dated on historical, technical, and stratigraphic grounds to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., thus placing it at the very end of the Classical and the beginning of the Hellenistic period.¹⁰

Hellenistic Greece provides us with several Dionysiac mosaics in a variety of techniques,

⁹ Makaronas & Giouri, 143 and n. 60.

¹⁰ M. Robertson, "Greek Mosaics," *JHS* 85 (1965) 87, 89, suggests that the Pella mosaics were produced either during the reign of Cassander, 316-297 B.C. or the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, when Pella was re-established as the capital of Macedonia in 277 B.C. A later investigation by I. Touratsoglou, "Μεταλεξάνδρεια Πέλλα," *ArchDelt* 30 (1975) 181, also concludes that the mosaics were produced in the last quarter of the fourth century, after 316 B.C. In the most recent publication of the houses and mosaics of Pella, Makaronas and Giouri concur with the last quarter of the fourth century date proposed by the other investigators: Makaronas & Giouri, 167.

which reveal both the sophistication and the experimentation that took place at that time. Pebble mosaics were still being produced in the third century, as a mosaic from Eretria with another representation of Dionysos riding on a leopard reveals (cat. 20, Fig. 65).¹¹ This panel is now lost and is known to us only from a reconstruction drawing.¹² A square, placed diagonally within a larger square panel, contains a circle framed with a wave pattern. The corners between the circle and the square are decorated with birds in flight and the circle contains a light-on-dark representation of Dionysos riding on a leopard. In this panel the method of representation of this well-known motif is vastly different from the one we have seen at Pella. Moreover, the careful rendering and elegance of the Pella mosaic are absent from this pavement. Salzmann dates it to the second quarter of the third century B.C.¹³

The Triton mosaic from Sparta (cat. 39, Fig. 8) is another interesting and highly controversial mosaic on account of the irregularities that it presents in technique.¹⁴ This pavement, whose central scene and inner frieze are decorated with marine creatures, is not strictly Dionysiac, but it displays Dionysiac elements in its outer frieze: satyrs carrying thyrsos, riding on panthers or dancing, thyrsophoroi centaurs, Pan fighting a griffin, as well as scattered torches, thyrsos, *τύπανα*, and wreaths, all of which promote its Dionysiac nature. This marriage of maritime and Dionysiac figures is interesting but hardly surprising, for Dionysos' connection with the sea and its real or mythological creatures can be traced as far back as the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos.¹⁵ In the

¹¹ For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, pp. 137-38

¹² Salzmann (1982) 91 no. 39, pl. 49.1.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ *supra*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁵ Also see *infra*, pp. 123-33.

Hellenistic and Roman periods this "marriage" occurred with great frequency in both painting and mosaics. The light-on-dark silhouette rendering of the figures in Sparta, as well as the concentric figural friezes that frame the central panel, echo closely the Dionysos mosaic from the villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos (cat. 33, Fig. 51). But the Sparta artist has created a much more lively and interesting pavement by mixing and contrasting colours and techniques. Here the two colour scheme of the central scene where the white body of the Triton is set against a dark green ground, is in total contrast to the five colour scheme of the Dionysiac frieze where the figures are set against a terracotta red ground.¹⁶ Similar contrasts exist in technique, since near square tesserae are used for the meander border, whereas the rest of the pavement is made of very irregular stone fragments. The technical idiosyncrasies of the Sparta Triton mosaic make it one of the best known examples of the irregular technique. As such, technically, it stands at the opposite end of the spectrum from the other Dionysiac mosaics of the Hellenistic period which are made in the *tessellatum* or *vermiculatum* techniques. Chronologically, it presents a major problem because on the one hand, there is no fixed point of archaeological reference and, on the other, its technical idiosyncrasies, discussed above, have scholars in complete disagreement about a possible date of production. As a result, suggested dates vary anywhere from the fourth to the end of the second century B.C. and even to the beginning of the Roman period.¹⁷

Conclusions - Classical and Early Hellenistic period

The Dionysiac mosaics of the Classical and the Early Hellenistic period are among the earliest

¹⁶ I. Loukas, "Ελληνιστικό Ψηφιδωτό Σπάρτης με Διονυσιακές Σκηνές" *Λακωνικάί Σπουδαί* 8 (1986) 221.

¹⁷ For a full discussion on the problematic chronology of the mosaic, see Loukas, 227-31. Also Dunbabin (1979) 270-71, 277; Bruneau (1969) 324-32; Salzmann (1982) 66; G.P. Oikonomos, *ArchDelt* 4 (1918) 171-76.

examples with human representations on mosaics. They, therefore, have no known parallels in the same medium either in Greece or in the neighbouring regions of the Mediterranean. The only known parallels come from the red-figure vases of the Classical period, where similar Dionysiac motifs appear.¹⁸ It is very doubtful, however, that these motifs had any influence on the decorative themes of the mosaics. It can also be conjectured that large-scale painting of the type that Pausanias (1.20.3) describes in his discussion of the Temple of Dionysos in Athens may have influenced the iconography of the Classical and early Hellenistic mosaics. But Pausanias' description is brief and the paintings, which would have allowed comparisons to be made both in iconography and technique, did not survive. On the other hand, the continuous progression and experimentation displayed in the rendering of Dionysos' figure which took place in the years that separate the mosaics of Olynthos and Pella, would discourage any notion of influences from other media, at least initially. The Dionysiac mosaic of Pella, in fact, and the other pavements found at the same site, are the earliest known examples where the technical ability of the mosaicists clearly appears to have progressed to a level that they could begin to compete with fresco artists. It is only at this stage that we can suggest with any degree of certainty that mosaicists were trying to imitate contemporary practices in painting.

Yet, even though these early mosaics are primarily two-dimensional, black and white representations and do not show the refinement or polychromy of later mosaics, they are most valuable because they provide points of comparison to the mosaics of the following centuries and they allow us to trace the evolution of the medium. Moreover, they constitute the only examples known to have depicted a major deity. Dionysos is the only god depicted on the mosaics of this period, which is indicative of the popularity that he enjoyed in Classical Greece.

¹⁸ For parallels in pottery, see references *infra*, pp. 116 n. 9, 135-36 n. 68, 70, 71.

2. Later Hellenistic Period

All the Dionysiac mosaics of the later Hellenistic period come from the island of Delos with one exception: an *emblema* with a depiction of a slave mask from Rhodes¹⁹ (cat. 37, Fig. 171). This fine example of *vermiculatum* initially decorated a room of a Hellenistic house and after its destruction was removed and rebuilt into a room of the Roman house that replaced it.²⁰ In its new surroundings the square *emblema* was set in the middle of a square white field framed by a floral border. Light-on-dark, the central panel is framed by a row of egg-and-dart and a plain light green band. In the figure the tesserae are extremely fine, which allowed the artist to show a great deal of detail not seen in the earlier pavements. Here the modelling of the face is effected by the careful gradation of minuscule fleshtone tesserae. So the light colour tesserae used for the modelling of the right side of the face, which catches the light, become progressively darker as they move toward the left side of the face, which is in shadow. Moreover, contrasting light and dark tesserae allow the facial lines to show clearly and lend volume to the puffy cheeks, eyelids, and snubby nose. Yet, in spite of the careful modelling of the flesh, the eyebrows and the beard are very stylized. This representation has a close, although not as elaborate, parallel in an *emblema* from Rome.²¹ Its excavator dates it to the mid Hellenistic period strictly on stylistic grounds and produces no external evidence on which it may be dated more precisely.²² A more recent appraisal by Guimier-Sorbets and Barbet dates it to the second century B.C. on stylistic grounds

¹⁹ For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, pp. 233-34.

²⁰ G. Konstantinopoulos, *Αρχαία Ρόδος* (Athens 1986) 149.

²¹ Copy of uncertain date: Rome, Capitoline Museum 392: Bieber, 93, Fig. 329; H. Stuart Jones, *Sculptures of the Capitoline Museum* (1912) 154, pl 35; *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 4a, p. 187.

²² Konstantinopoulos (*supra* n. 20) 147-49.

and the presence of lead strips in the egg-and-dart border.²³

Of the 354 Delian mosaics listed in Bruneau's catalogue only seven date prior to 130 B.C.²⁴ He places the rest of the pavements in the chronological period between 130 - 88 B.C. Several of these are securely dated by inscriptions and other archaeological finds. But Bruneau places in the same period even the pavements which cannot be securely dated because they exhibit the same style and technique. Furthermore, he claims that these dates are fully supported by the history of Delos.²⁵ Eight of the Delian mosaics display Dionysiac imagery. One of these is an *emblema* depicting Dionysos riding on a leopard and decorates one of the rooms in the House of the Masks (cat. 10, Figs. 68-69). The *emblema* and two diamond-shape panels depicting centaurs, one on each side, are placed on a white field framed by red and white fillets, a wave border, and a band of alternating black and white triangles. Floral motifs, two laurel wreaths, and two ivy wreaths decorate the spaces between the panels. Another panel, which resembles an *emblema*, depicts a winged Dionysiac figure riding on a tiger and decorates the peristyle of the House of Dionysos (cat. 13, Figs. 76-80). It is placed in the centre of a white field framed by a double wave border. Both panels, made in *vermiculatum*, are of an exceptional quality, displaying light-on-dark figures in a wide variety of stone tesserae as well as glass and faience.²⁶ Iconographically they are also exceptional, for although depictions of Dionysos riding on a feline are numerous, the garment that he is wearing in the panel at the House of the Masks and the wings on the back of the rider from the House of Dionysos set them apart from all other known "feline riders".²⁷

²³ A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets and A. Barbet, "Le motif de caissons dans la mosaïque du IV^e siècle avant J.-C. à la fin de la République romaine: ses rapports avec l'architecture, le stuc et la peinture," *CMGR* IV, 26, n. 25.

²⁴ *Delos* XXIX, 99.

²⁵ *Delos* XXIX, 95-101.

²⁶ Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 616-20; *ead.* (1995) 531-34.

²⁷ For a detailed discussion of these mosaics, see *infra*, pp. 138-52, 155-58.

In the House of the Masks two more pavements, both decorating reception rooms, contain Dionysiac motifs in their decoration. In the largest of the two, which gives the house its name, a large rectangular field decorated with cubes in perspective is framed by a wave border and two friezes that seal off the short ends of the pavement (cat. 11, Figs. 173-74). These are decorated with theatre masks, five on each side, connected with a garland of ivy. The masks, dark-on-light, are made of stone tesserae in a variety of colours, which are smaller than those used for the rest of the pavement. In addition lead strips are used to mark the short edges of each frieze.²⁸ Of the ten masks, all of them representing characters from "New Comedy", only one is female, whereas the others represent young and older, bearded, men.²⁹

In a smaller room of the same house a rectangular panel framed by concentric friezes of wave pattern and a floral motif contains the figures of a flautist and Silenos dancing to the sound of the flute (cat. 12, Fig. 165).³⁰ Here the technique is inferior to that of the other figural mosaics from this house. This becomes obvious especially when we look at the naked body of the flute player and Silenos' bare limbs. For the modelling of the body is not produced by the subtle colour gradation of fleshtone tesserae seen in the *emblema* of the other room, but by bold stripes. Moreover, the larger sized tesserae used in this mosaic are not appropriate for the rendering of fine detail, and as a result the artist was forced to use irregular shaped tesserae for the face of each figure.

In the Îlot des Bijoux a square panel has been preserved resembling an *emblema* both in size and quality (cat. 9, Figs. 117-18). The tesserae used here are not as fine as those of the *emblemata*

²⁸ These lead strips are now visible only on the frieze on the west side of the room. Bruneau, however, indicates that they were used on the other frieze as well; *Delos* XXIX, 246.

²⁹ Chamonard, *Delos* XIV, 29-31 and Webster, *MNC*², 70, have attempted to identify the characters that each mask represent, but the two scholars are in complete disagreement. Chamonard, however, was writing thirty six years before Webster and the information available at that time was very limited. For the most recent commentary on the identification of the masks, see *MNC*³, v.2, 3DM 5, p.188. Also, see *infra*, pp. 235-36.

³⁰ For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, pp. 223-25.

mentioned above, but the range of colours and the vast amount of faience used for Ambrosia's garment and the vine make this panel one of the finest at Delos.³¹ This panel, depicting Lykourgos as he is about to kill the nymph Ambrosia,³² was found in the debris from the second floor, indicating that, at least in this house, lavish decoration was not restricted to the public rooms on the ground floor but extended to the upper level as well.

Of equally exceptional quality is the mosaic of the *oikos* in the same house (cat. 8, Figs. 176-80). This mosaic and the two remaining examples from Delos cannot be properly classified as Dionysiac, but since they do contain some Dionysiac elements they are included in this study. In the *oikos* mosaic from the Îlot des Bijoux Athena, Hermes, and a badly damaged female figure seated in the middle, decorate a rectangular panel placed in the middle of a white field. This is framed by a wide frieze with a garland adorned with theatre masks and bulls' heads, reminiscent of the friezes in the House of the Masks, only this one is far more elaborate and of superior quality.³³ To render the rich foliage of the garland the artist has used, in addition to stone tesserae in various shades, a large amount of glass and faience.³⁴ In both the rendering of the foliage and its overall function this border resembles closely that of the much smaller mosaic at Rhodes (cat. 37), for in both pavements the foliage is rendered on a dark ground and in both the border frames a white field which contains a central figural panel.

Other than the theatre masks, which connect the Îlot des Bijoux mosaic to the world of Dionysos, the iconography of its central representation has also been connected to the Dionysiac repertory by Siebert, who suggests that the central figure may be the goddess Demeter holding in her

³¹ Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 617-18, 620.

³² For a discussion of this motif, see *infra*, pp. 178-95.

³³ For a detailed discussion of the masks and the border, see *infra*, pp. 236-38.

³⁴ Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 616; *ead.* (1995) 538-47, esp. 545.

arms a child, either Ploutos or Dionysos.³⁵ This idea is also explored by Bruneau, who accedes to the possibility that the female figure is holding a child in her arms, but does not attempt to name either her or the child.³⁶

The next example comes from the well known mosaic that decorates the peristyle of the House of the Dolphins (cat. 14, Figs. 5-6). Apart from its fine quality, the mosaic's interest lies in the fact that it bears the signature of the mosaicist, [Ἀσκλη]πιάδης Ἀράδιο[ς] ἐποίησεν,³⁷ and in its composition. Here a large circle, decorated with successive borders of geometric motifs, is placed within a large square framed with a row of reversible black and red crenellated towers. This type of composition, very popular in classical and early Hellenistic pavements, is unusual in the late Hellenistic period. At Delos, it is unique to the mosaic from the House of the Dolphins, which raises the question of whether this composition is a carry-over from earlier Hellenistic traditions in Greece, or whether it reflects current trends in Asklepiades' native Syria. As there are no examples of Hellenistic mosaics in Syria known, however, it is not possible even to speculate on this point.³⁸ The corners between the circle and the square are decorated with pairs of dolphins and small Erotes, each carrying the emblem of a god. The Eros on the south-west corner (Fig. 6), dressed in a green tunic, a yellow scarf, and a green and yellow cap, is holding in his left hand Dionysos' best known attribute: the thyrsos.³⁹

Finally, a fragment (cat. 15, Fig. 7) depicting part of a leopard's body may have also been part

³⁵ G. Siebert, "Sur la mosaïque de l'habitation de l'Îlot des Bijoux à Délos," *BCH* 95 (1971) 147-65.

³⁶ Bruneau, *BCH* 93 (1969) 304-307; also *Delos* XXIX, 80-81.

³⁷ This is one of the two signed mosaics found at Delos: *Delos* XXIX, 111-12. See also, M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (Erlangen 1989) 56 no. A 6, pl. 6.1-2.

³⁸ Also, *infra*, pp. 60-61.

³⁹ One of the corners of this pavement is damaged, but the other two Erotes are holding the emblems of Hermes and Poseidon: the *caduceus* and the trident respectively.

of a Dionysiac pavement, on account of the preserved section of a garland with a bunch of red grapes that rests on the animal's back. Its front legs, shown in a galloping position, allow us to carry the hypothesis further and suggest that this leopard too may have carried Dionysos on her back.⁴⁰

Conclusions - Later Hellenistic period

The importance of Delos to the overall study of mosaics is acknowledged by all scholars. But as this overview reveals, the site is also very important specifically to the study of Dionysiac mosaics on account of the substantial number of such pavements found at Delos. The importance of the Delian pavements to the study of Dionysiac iconography becomes more significant when it is placed within the broader spectrum of the entire Mediterranean region. To date there is only one mosaic known to me from the later Hellenistic period in the eastern Mediterranean that displays Dionysiac features: the mosaic from the Altar room in Palace V at Pergamon, which contains tragic and comic masks.⁴¹ In the West there are two mosaics with similar features: the so-called "Tiger-rider" mosaic from the House of the Faun at Pompeii, whose Dionysiac character cannot be disputed, in spite of the ambiguity that surrounds its iconography,⁴² and the satyr chorus mosaic from the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii, where the actors are shown preparing for the play.⁴³

In general, apart from the advances in technique and composition discussed in the previous chapter, the Dionysiac mosaics of the later Hellenistic period display an interesting mixture of old and

⁴⁰ For a discussion on this iconographic motif, see *infra*, pp. 134-58.

⁴¹ G. Kawerau and Th. Wiegand, *AvP* 5.1, *Die Paläste der Hochburg* (Berlin 1930) 58-63, pls. V, XII-IXX; Salzmann (1991) 436-37, Fig. 4. Daszewski (*supra*, p. 15, n. 34) 69, 130-32 no. 23, pl. 24c, notes a Dionysiac panel from Alexandria in Egypt. This panel, however, is so fragmentary that the identification of the partly preserved figure, which Daszewski identifies as Dionysos, is unclear.

⁴² *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 559 no. 258; E. Pernice, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji VI. Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken* (Berlin 1938) 159.

⁴³ Bieber, 20 Fig. 62.

new motifs. Dionysos riding a leopard from the House of the Masks (cat. 10) and the similar representation with a winged Dionysiac figure riding a tiger from the House of Dionysos (cat. 13) show, with variations, a continuation of the motif from the late Classical-Early Hellenistic pebble mosaics of Pella (cat. 34) and Eretria (cat. 20). But at the same time new themes from the world of Dionysos appear, such as images of the theatre and the story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia (cat. no. 9), which introduces for the first time in art a different version of the events that led to the punishment of Lykourgos' defiance of Dionysos.

3. Early and High Empire

Roman Greece has yielded by far the largest number of Dionysiac mosaics. These, however, do not start to appear until the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, and from then on they are found regularly, particularly during the second and third centuries and even as late as the early sixth century. Before that, following the decline of Delos, in the last century before Christ and during the first century A.D. it appears that very few new mosaics were laid in Greece. None of those which survived is Dionysiac.

Some of the earliest Dionysiac mosaics of the Roman period come from the so-called "Villa Dionysos" at Knossos. The final publication of the villa is pending,⁴⁴ but the available information from stratigraphy, as well as the associated finds, indicate that the present remains belong to the last two construction phases of the house which took place in the first and second centuries A.D. According to Hayes, a large amount of pottery recovered from the site indicates that the present remains are "not

⁴⁴ There have been no publications on the villa following the death of Prof. M.R.E. Gough. The BSA, however, took over the study of the villa in 1994 and a publication of the finds from the initial excavations is now in progress under the direction of Dr. Sara Paton.

earlier than the end of the reign of Hadrian...and no later than 170-80".⁴⁵ A lot of this pottery was found on the destruction layer directly above the mosaic floor of the *oikos* as well as in a pit below the floor level of a corridor next to the *oikos*. The pit-pottery, dating to c. A.D. 125-150, is a good indication for the construction of the room and serves as *terminus post quem*.⁴⁶ However, a coin of Faustina II, c. A.D. 147-76, bearing the inscription FAUSTINA AUGUSTA on the obverse, was found under a column of the peristyle and it may also be considered as a possible *terminus post quem*, if it was placed there at the time of the construction.⁴⁷ The recent re-evaluation of the original excavation records by Dr. Sara Paton suggests that the last construction phase took place probably c. A.D. 160, at which time most of the mosaics were laid, and that the villa was destroyed by an earthquake c. A.D. 200.⁴⁸ The elaborate mosaics of the villa decorate rooms which are arranged around a central peristyle. Three of these are Dionysiac, decorated, with variations, in the so-called "medallion style" of composition which is firmly connected to the western mosaic tradition.⁴⁹ All three pavements are impressive examples of this style. But the close similarity in the manner of composition allows us to speculate that the artist's repertory may have been very limited.

The largest room of the villa, on the west side of the peristyle (cat. 23, Figs. 10-11, *oikos*) is decorated with a large square pavement framed with geometric borders consisting "of four rectangular

⁴⁵ J.W. Hayes, "The Villa Dionysos excavations, Knossos: The Pottery," *ABSA* 78 (1983) 98.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 103.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 98, 102 table 3. Also, S. Paton, "The Villa Dionysos at Knossos and its Predecessors," *Post Minoan Crete Colloquium* (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr. Paton for allowing me to see an advance copy of this article.

⁴⁸ S. Paton (*supra* n. 47).

⁴⁹ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 248-51, 270; Waywell (1983) 12, describes the mosaic of the largest room in the house as "an eight-spoked wheel". A number of variations of the so-called "medallion-type" composition exist, for instance, that of the pavement of a Roman villa at Kasteli Kisamou, in Crete: *BCH* 94 (1970) 1162, Figs. 597-600. For references to other pavements with a "medallion-type" composition in Greece and elsewhere, see *infra*, p. 50 and n. 62.

panels of hexagons and lozenges alternating with panels of meander [and] a zone of peltae arranged in pairs".⁵⁰ This is followed by concentric borders of wave pattern, juxtaposed tangent ogives⁵¹ and guilloche that frame an octagonal field in the centre.⁵² There, in a central medallion is the bust of Dionysos (Figs. 11, 13), set against a white ground. He is wearing a sleeved garment, a nebris tied over the left shoulder, and a wreath. Around the central medallion are eight trapezoid panels with depictions of disembodied heads of members of the thiasos floating against a white background (Figs. 11, 14). The corners between the octagon and the square are decorated with female figures which spring out of acanthus leaves and appear to support the central octagon. So, in both stance and attire, they resemble caryatids.⁵³ The large variety of fine polychrome tesserae and the multitude of geometric, floral, and figural motifs create a fine and rich looking pavement. Yet, when we look at the bust of Dionysos in the central medallion, the artist's ability to render accurately the human form is questionable because the proportions used for Dionysos' figure are odd: the torso is very large, the neck is too thick and the head, by comparison, looks too small.

The mosaic of the largest room on the north side of the peristyle (cat. 25, Fig. 10, 15, room N1) is of a near-square shape framed with concentric borders of black saltires of chevrons set against a white ground,⁵⁴ simple acanthus scroll,⁵⁵ and swastika meander.⁵⁶ A circle inscribed within a square field

⁵⁰ Waywell (1983) 12.

⁵¹ *Décor*, 98-99, pl. 49h.

⁵² A pavement with a similar octagonal pattern decorates the Alpheios Baths at Olympia. The central panel in this mosaic, however, is also octagonal: Waywell (1979) 300 no. 34, pl. 49, Figs. 29-30; A. Kankeleit, "Die Kaiserzeitlichen mosaiken von Olympia. Eine Bestandsaufnahme," *CMGR* VI, 142-46, Figs. 7-12.

⁵³ Waywell (1983) 12. This motif has an antecedent in the floral mosaic of the late fourth century B.C. Palace of Vergina. The Vergina figures, however, do not support the central circle. Their head is positioned at the corner of the pavement and they face inward.

⁵⁴ *Décor*, 30-31, pl. 4d.

⁵⁵ *Décor*, 114-15, pl. 64d.

contains seven hexagonal panels framed by a black fillet and decorated with busts of members of the Dionysiac thiasos. This hexagonal-panel design is unique in Greece but it has a number of parallels in the West. An early variation of this composition dates to the last days of Pompeii⁵⁷ but later examples from Gaul display compositions identical to that of Knossos.⁵⁸

The hexagons at the top and bottom of the circle contain images of satyrs and Pan with fawn skins tied around their necks and carrying *peda*, and of Papposilenos, wearing a wreath and carrying a spear-pointed thyrsos. The depictions in the three hexagons in the middle, however, are more problematic. The image on the left hand-side is for the most part destroyed and cannot be identified. The only thing that can be said about it is that the preserved left shoulder reveals some sort of a formal garment and therefore it cannot be another satyr. The image on the right hand-side is most likely Ariadne, wearing a wreath and carrying a spear-like thyrsos. But a case could also be made for Dionysos himself, whose effeminate appearance can easily be mistaken for that of Ariadne. The figure in the middle, by virtue of its central position in the mosaic, was wrongly identified in the past as "...the god, this time depicted as a wild youth...".⁵⁹ In fact, it is just another satyr playing the flute. The corners between the circle and the square are decorated with birds and fish. Using a wide range of fleshtone tesserae for the body parts and a large variety of contrasting coloured tesserae, including blue and green glass, the artist has captured perfectly the wild nature of his subjects and created an exciting and striking pavement.

In the adjacent room (cat. 24, Figs 10, 16, room N2) a long rectangular mosaic is framed by a

⁵⁶ *Décor*, 80-81, pl. 38c.

⁵⁷ Blake (1930) 115, 117, pl. 36, Fig. 1. At first glance, this mosaic looks quite different because the seven hexagons are inscribed within a square and with the help of internal lines they form large cubes in perspective. The basic composition, however, is the same.

⁵⁸ J. Lancha, *Mosaïques Géométriques. Les Ateliers de Vienne (Isère)* (Rome 1977) 71-73, 89, Figs. 28-29.

⁵⁹ I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982) 51, pl. 14.

white border with black semis of serrated squares⁶⁰ placed at regular intervals. Against the back wall there is a panel, approximately six feet wide, decorated with antithetical pairs of black peltae.⁶¹ This is followed by an animal frieze depicting two hounds(?) on each end leaping toward their prey in the middle, a central square, and another animal frieze of two hounds(?) leaping toward a pair of goats.

The medallion-style composition of the central panel has a number of parallels in Greece and is found regularly in the West.⁶² The earliest example of this composition is found in the black and white mosaics of Pompeii.⁶³ In the East, however, it is virtually unknown.⁶⁴ The square in this composition is divided into multiple compartments like the other two mosaics, only here the central medallion is surrounded by semi-circles and quarter-circles in the corners. The central medallion with a bust of Dionysos is framed with a simple guilloche and parallels closely that of the *oikos*. The god here too is shown wearing a sleeved garment with buttons on the sleeves, a nebris tied over the left shoulder, and a wreath. In this case, however, the proportions are correct and the adjacent compartments are also curved: four semi-circles with different types of birds, and quarter circles in the corners with depictions of masks. The rhomboid spaces between the circles have floral motifs.

⁶⁰ *Décor*, 170-71, pl. 113e.

⁶¹ *Décor*, 221-22, pl. 222d. For the peltae motif on the mosaics of Greece, see Kankeleit, v.1, 197-227.

⁶² In Greece, in addition to the Knossos (cat. 24), Koroni (cat. 26), and Kos (cat. 28) mosaics, three more pavements display the same composition: one at Sparta, Ch. Christou, *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) chr., pls. 137a, 138a, and one at Kos, L. Laurenzi, "Attività del Servizio Archeologico nelle isole italiane dell'Egeo nel biennio 1934/5," *BdA* 30 (1936-37) 137, Fig. 14. Also Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 235 no. 31b. The third mosaic was discovered recently at Sparta and is not published yet; see, *infra*, n. 65. For the popularity of the composition in the West, see J. Lancha (supra n. 58) 123-35, with references. For Roman Britain, see D.J. Smith, "Roman mosaics in Britain before the fourth century," *CMGR* II, 269-90, pls. CXIX.2, CXX 1&2, CXXII; S. Tebby, "Geometric mosaics of Roman Britain," *CMGR* V, v. 1, 273-94, Figs. 7-8.

⁶³ Blake (1930) 117, pl. 22, Fig. 4.

⁶⁴ A variation of this composition is found in a mosaic in Jerusalem: L.A. Roussin, "The mosaics of the villa of Ein Yael (Jerusalem)," *CMGR* V, v. 2, 30-42, Fig. 12.

An almost identical composition is found in the mosaic of Koroni (cat. 26, Fig. 189): the same guilloche border, the same shape and number of divisions.⁶⁵ What differs is the type of motif that decorates each compartment. Here the full figure of Dionysos is shown standing, nude, except for the nebris, soft boots, and a wreath. His weight is resting on the right leg and his left arm is draped around the shoulders of a young satyr. In the right hand he is holding a *kantharos* from which wine appears to be dripping into the mouth of a leopard by his feet. In four adjacent semi-circles *venatores* fight wild beasts; masks of members of the thiasos are hanging in the rhomboid spaces between the circles, while a leaping leopard and *kantharoi* decorate the quarter circles in the corners.⁶⁶ This division of the pavement's surface into several compartments, all filled with figures, as well as the extensive use of colour, create a rich and busy looking pavement with multiple viewing points. The Koroni mosaic was found out of context and therefore we do not know what type of building it decorated. Valmin dated the mosaic to Trajanic times, on the basis of two criteria. Firstly, on the basis of a coin of Trajan found in the mortar-bed of the mosaic. If this is true, it would provide a *terminus post quem*. However, Valmin admits that the area where it was found was badly damaged "and the coin may well have found its way into the mortar at a later time".⁶⁷ This makes the evidence from stratigraphy insecure. Secondly, on the basis of the stylistic proximity of the Koroni mosaic to that in the so-called Palace of Nero at Olympia,⁶⁸

⁶⁵ A Dionysiac mosaic recently discovered at Sparta displaying the same composition as that of Koroni, was presented by Dr. Anastasia Panagiotopoulou in the 1997 AIEMA conference in Lausanne, Switzerland. In this case the central medallion contains Dionysos flanked by a satyr and a maenad, while the semi-circles contain animal representations and the quarter-circles floral motifs. The Sparta mosaic, however, is framed by small square panels with *Xenia* motifs. The mosaic is not published yet.

⁶⁶ For a detailed discussion of the masks and the *venatio*, see *infra*, pp. 242-43, 252-56.

⁶⁷ M.N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (Lund 1938) 470.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 475. Valmin points to similarities in decorative borders and, most of all, to a close similarity in the rendering of the face of the Triton at Olympia and that of Dionysos at Koroni. Although some stylistic resemblance between the two figures cannot be denied, I do not believe that this is profound enough to be used as dating evidence. For a discussion and references to the Triton mosaic in the so-called Palace of Nero at Olympia (also known as the Kronion Baths) see: A. Kankeleit (*supra* n. 52) 135-38, Figs. 1-2.

a mosaic which Parlasca claims cannot be dated before A.D. 200.⁶⁹ The date proposed by Valmin is brought forward to the mid second century by Waywell⁷⁰ and Pochmarski,⁷¹ to c. A.D. 175-200 by Parlasca on stylistic grounds,⁷² and to the late second century by Hellenkemper Salies, on the basis of its composition and geometric motifs.⁷³

Another great city whose extensive Roman remains include Dionysiac mosaics is Corinth. A mile west of the theatre, in an area known as Kokkinovrysi, several mosaics were discovered in the so-called "Roman Villa". Two of these are Dionysiac. The one mosaic decorates a small room opening off the so-called impluviated atrium (cat. 5, Figs. 37-38). Here a rectangular panel is surrounded by a multitude of colourful geometric motifs: concentric borders of blue, white and red fillets frame a border of grid enclosing orange serrated squares,⁷⁴ a wide border of alternating squares and rectangles decorated with a black, white and orange chessboard pattern, a key-pattern meander,⁷⁵ and intersecting circles enclosing concave squares.⁷⁶ Finally, a simple guilloche frames the central panel. The depiction of the central panel is damaged, but in the small section that survives we can recognize the standing figure of Dionysos. He is nude, wears an ivy wreath, and is holding a thyrsos with the left hand. Judging from the

⁶⁹ Parlasca, *Gnomon* 26 (1954) 112. In the latest discussion of the pavement, Kankeleit proposes a date to the end of the first or early second century A.D. on the basis of the stratigraphy and mosaic fragments from the Hellenistic period found under the pavements in this building: Kankeleit (supra n. 52) 142. Also, Kankeleit, v. 2, 214-19 no. 121.

⁷⁰ Waywell (1979) 299 no. 30, pl. 49, Fig. 27.

⁷¹ Pochmarski, 90, 295, compares the Koroni mosaic to one from Ostia, dating to the mid second century.

⁷² K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959) 116.

⁷³ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 271-72.

⁷⁴ *Décor*, 188-89, pl. 124 e.

⁷⁵ *Décor*, 298-99, pl. 189 c.

⁷⁶ *Décor*, 374-75, pl. 239 a.

curvature of the body on the right side, we can take the reconstruction of this depiction a step further and suggest that the weight of the body was carried on the left leg, causing the left hip to thrust out. It would also be consistent with Dionysiac iconography to suggest that with the right hand he was probably carrying a cluster of grapes or a *kantharos*.

In contrast, the villa's second mosaic is very well preserved and allows proper identification. The geometric ornament of this pavement is perhaps the richest and most varied of all Dionysiac mosaics (cat. 6, Fig. 17). Borders of intersecting circles inscribed with concave squares, lozenges alternating with circles, and antithetical pairs of peltae, frame a large square that contains a circle. This is in turn framed by a simple guilloche and decorated with a radiating shield of polychrome triangles. The only figural representation in this mosaic is a close-up depiction of the head of Dionysos, contained within a small circle in the middle framed by a wave pattern. His face, shown in three-quarter view and surrounded by brown curls of hair, is expressive, but it does not display nearly the same degree of finesse, either in technique or in appearance, as the winged figure from the House of Dionysos at Delos, as Shear suggests.⁷⁷ The corners between the circle and the square are filled with *kantharoi* and vine tendrils.

Both these pavements display the bright colour scheme and geometric ornament that characterize all the mosaics of the Roman Villa, thus suggesting that they were all the product of a single workshop. Their date of production, however, is problematic. The pre 146 B.C. date suggested by Shear in 1925 is simply unacceptable. Nor can the similarities he claims between the villa mosaics and those of Delos be sustained.⁷⁸ The confusion may arise from the mixture of eastern and western elements that the villa mosaics display. There can be no doubt, however, that the pavements of the Roman Villa are products of the imperial period with close connections to the western tradition, even though some of the decorative

⁷⁷ Shear, 395.

⁷⁸ Shear, 395, 397; *Corinth* V, 26.

elements, such as the alternating rectangular and square panels of colourful geometric motifs around a central figural panel, may initially look Hellenistic. This appearance is due to an influence from the mosaics of Syria, which retained their Hellenistic characteristics approximately until the end of the fourth century. Hellenkemper Salies attributes the presence of such characteristics on the mosaics of Greece to the strong connection of the Greek workshops in the second century A.D. with the development of mosaics in the West. Thus, on the basis of their ornamentation, she and other scholars date the Roman Villa mosaics to the second century A.D., to the years between the reign of Hadrian (117-138) and the Antonine dynasty (139-192).⁷⁹

The third Dionysiac mosaic from Corinth decorates the so-called "Mosaic House", to the east of the south Basilica (cat. 7, Fig. 58). A rectangle of polychrome stone and some glass tesserae, flanked on each side by two square panels with depictions of Erotes, is framed by two borders of double guilloche, a saw-tooth pattern, spaced polychrome squares set on a white ground and, on one side only, pairs of antithetical peltae. The main panel contains a centralized depiction of Dionysos, attended by Papposilenos and riding on a chariot which is pulled by sea leopards. Two sea-centaurs, carrying large *kraters*, swim on each side of the chariot holding the reins. The iconography of this panel is unusual and interesting, but unfortunately the mosaic presents a number of problems, first because its poor quality and condition make it difficult to distinguish some of the details, and secondly, because it is not securely dated.⁸⁰ The date assigned to it by the excavator to the end of the second or beginning of the third century rests entirely on the style of the figural and geometric decoration and not on evidence from stratigraphy. The problems associated with this mosaic make us appreciate all the more a mosaic from

⁷⁹ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 265-66; Waywell (1979) 297 no. 17; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 228 no. 20; Kankeleit, v. 2, 108-13 no. 59.

⁸⁰ For a detailed discussion of the iconography of this mosaic and the mosaic of Dion (cat. 16), see *infra*, pp. 123-33.

Dion (cat. 16), whose iconography is almost identical and whose state of preservation is excellent.

Among the many impressive remains of the Roman period in the Macedonian city of Dion is a large house. In recent years archaeological exploration has revealed a number of intricate and colourful mosaics that pave its many rooms and corridors, most of which are geometric. The only two figural mosaics found at the house are Dionysiac and, on account of this, it is frequently referred to as "Villa Dionysos". On the east corner of the building, a large *triclinium* is paved with a polychrome T-shape mosaic (cat. 16, Figs. 53-56, 182-83). The horizontal section of the "T" is divided into five panels of unequal width filled with geometric motifs: intersecting circles forming concave squares, a pattern of orthogonally placed black squares inscribed with smaller white square motifs, and a circle with a radiating shield of polychrome triangles, inscribed within a square panel. In the upright part of the "T" a rectangular figural panel is divided into three sections. The middle section is framed with a twisted ribbon motif⁸¹ and contains a representation identical to that of Corinth, except that the left centaur here carries on his shoulder a *dinos* instead of a *krater*. The main difference between the two pavements lies in their quality, for the Dion panel is technically greatly superior, and as a result all the details and the careful modelling of the figures can be seen clearly.

The other two sections of the central rectangle consist of two friezes placed along the top and bottom of the central panel. Each one of these contains three square panels with depictions of masks.⁸² A simple guilloche separates the masks from one another and frames the whole rectangle. Moving outward, a wide scroll border with acanthus leafs in each corner is set against a black ground, followed by a tightly braided double guilloche⁸³ and a row of wave pattern which frames both the upright and the

⁸¹ *Décor*, 110-111, pl. 60 e.

⁸² For a detailed discussion of the masks, see *infra*, pp. 243-46.

⁸³ *Décor*, 125, pl. 75 a.

horizontal part of the "T". Finally the area where the dining couches were placed is decorated with a black grid pattern formed by four tesserae and set on a white ground.⁸⁴ This border is interrupted in the middle of the back wall by a square geometric panel of the kind that we usually find at the entrance. This is puzzling, for the entrance into the *triclinium* is clearly marked on the opposite side of the room. Moreover, since there is no evidence of a repair around this panel, we can only assume that it was placed there from the beginning, and therefore it leads to the speculation that there may have been another door there. In the preliminary reports that have so far appeared on the construction of the house and the mosaics, there is no mention of a door along the back wall. Nor is there mention of specific finds that could provide a fixed date for the pavement. Pandermalis only suggests that the masonry of the entire house should be dated to c. A.D. 200 and assigns the same date to the mosaics as well.⁸⁵

The composition of this pavement shows close connections to the continuing Hellenistic tradition of the mosaics of Syria where large pictorial panels placed in the middle of the room are commonplace. Often these are framed by sectional borders in a variety of motifs including theatre masks, for instance, in Room three of the House of the Mysteries of Isis and in Room eight of the House of the Boat of Psyche at Antioch.⁸⁶ The dependence of the Dion mosaic on the Hellenistic tradition is further emphasized by the use of the light-on-dark floral border seen earlier on the mosaics of Delos and Pompeii and found in profusion on the mosaics of Antioch, as well as the twisted ribbon border which frames the central panel. This too finds many parallels in Antioch.⁸⁷

The second Dionysiac mosaic at Dion decorates an apsidal room to the south of the *triclinium*

⁸⁴ *Décor*, 44-45, pl. 15 f.

⁸⁵ Pandermalis, *AEMT* 1, 181.

⁸⁶ Levi, 165-66, pl. XXXIII.c, and 186-90, pl. XLII.a, respectively.

⁸⁷ Levi, 453-457, Fig. 174, traces the development of this motif in the mosaics of Antioch.

(cat. 17, Fig. 9). The floor of this elongated room is decorated with an elaborate geometric pavement in the centre of which is a rectangular panel with a depiction of Dionysos. Concentric borders of convoluted wave pattern, a tightly braided double guilloche, five alternating white and black fillets, and a simple guilloche, frame a large panel decorated with seven horizontal rows of four squares each. Framed with a simple guilloche the squares enclose alternating circles enclosing a concave square or a knot. This pattern of geometric motifs is interrupted in the middle by a rectangular panel where Dionysos is shown seated on a throne in a very relaxed pose.⁸⁸ The torso is frontal, the head and lower body are turned slightly to the left, the left arm, bent at the elbow, is resting on a pillar and is then raised to support the head. The right arm is extended, holding a staff which does not end with a pine cone. He is wearing an ivy wreath and a purple cloak, which is draped behind the back with one end falling over the left shoulder and the other over the right leg. His face is pensive but shows none of the delicacy seen in the *triclinium* mosaic. Here the face is full, the body is stocky and there is no evidence of the effeminacy that often characterizes Dionysos. Nor is the quality as fine as that of the *triclinium* mosaic. For although in this panel we find glass as well as stone tesserae, they are not as fine nor as carefully colour-graded as those of the other pavement. These differences between the two pavements could be attributed either to a different workshop or to a different date of production. So far, the only known find from this room which might help us date this mosaic is a second century marble statue of Dionysos.⁸⁹ However, the statue may not necessarily be contemporary with the mosaic.

The types of composition seen at the Dion mosaics, where a figural panel is inserted in the

⁸⁸ Dionysos is shown seated on a mosaic from Sparta (cat. 40, Figs. 33-34) as well. The seated position, however, is found seldom on mosaics and it is equally limited in sculpture where only a handful of examples are known in marble or bronze: *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 437-39 nos. 130-47; I. Manfrini-Aragno, *Bacchus dans les Bronzes Hellénistiques et Romains* (Lausanne 1987) 96-98, Figs. 133-40. On pottery, on the other hand, Dionysos is depicted seated regularly from early times: *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 453-55 nos. 325-47. Moreover, he is often shown in the same relaxed manner of the Dion panel, for instance, in a *Hydria* from Campania, c. 360-330 B.C.: *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 454 no. 342.

⁸⁹ Pandermalis, *AEMT* 2, 147, Fig. 1.

middle of a large field covered with geometric motifs or a field subdivided into squares each decorated with a special motif, became increasingly popular during the second and third centuries in the decoration of mosaics in all Roman provinces. In the Greek world, the earliest known Dionysiac mosaics with these types of composition come from Pergamon, from the so-called building "Z". The larger of the two pavements decorates a large room which occupies 49 m², c. 7.5 x 7.5 m (cat. 35, Fig. 181). Concentric borders of swastika meander, a grid of bands of lozenges and squares, and a double guilloche,⁹⁰ frame a square panel decorated with sixteen octagonal panels, each framed by a simple guilloche and a simple dentilled fillet. Twelve of the panels along the perimeter of the square contain masks from tragedy, comedy, and of members of the thiasos, all of them facing outward.⁹¹ In contrast, the four panels in the middle of the square are decorated with antithetical animal forms: two roosters, a tiger, and a leopard. All the motifs, figural and geometric, are rendered in the Hellenistic tradition against a dark ground.

The second mosaic decorates a smaller room, c. 25 m², on the north side of the peristyle (cat. 36, Figs. 135-36). Here too multiple borders of fillets, a row of squares in three alternating colours, a wave pattern, and a meander shown in perspective, frame a rectangular panel. Between the wave and the meander there is a white border whose only decoration consists of small squares on the corners. Two of these are destroyed, but the other two enclose a mask and a Gorgoneion. The field of the central panel is covered with cubes rendered in perspective which are interrupted in the middle by a square pseudo-*emblema*. It is framed with an egg-and-dart border and contains a light-on-dark depiction of Papposilenos holding the child Dionysos.⁹²

Both mosaics of Pergamon are of excellent quality, displaying a large variety of polychrome

⁹⁰ *Décor*, 124, pl. 74c.

⁹¹ For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, pp. 239-40.

⁹² For the iconography of this motif, see *infra*, pp. 194-205.

stone tesserae whose appearance is enhanced further by the ample use of glass. What is unusual in these pavements is the light-on-dark rendering and, in the case of the Silenos mosaic, the perspective geometric ornament, both of which are characteristic of Hellenistic mosaics. In this respect, both pavements echo closely the mosaics of Delos (cat. 10-13) and the Hellenistic *emblema* from Rhodes (cat. 37), which display the same light-on-dark rendering. Moreover, the Silenos mosaic at Pergamon, like the *emblema* at Rhodes, is framed with an egg-and-dart border. From the point of view of composition, however, while the Silenos mosaic falls directly within the Hellenistic tradition, the multi-sectional composition of the mosaic of the masks follows trends that are observed on the imperial mosaics of the West. In Syria, where Hellenistic trends continue at least until the end of the fourth century, light-on-dark renderings and perspective geometric ornaments are found regularly. On the imperial mosaics of the West, however, such representations are relatively rare. In Greece a handful of mosaics found at Athens,⁹³ Olympia,⁹⁴ Corinth,⁹⁵ Kos,⁹⁶ Sparta,⁹⁷ and Knossos⁹⁸ show a light-on-dark rendering. The last one, decorating a room on the south side of the peristyle (Room S3, Fig. 10) in the Villa Dionysos, displays close similarities with the Papposilenos mosaic at Pergamon, in that in both pavements a square pseudo-*emblema*,

⁹³ Waywell (1979) 295-96 no. 9 (room 3) pl. 46, Fig. 10. Also Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 275.

⁹⁴ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 274, Fig. 17.

⁹⁵ More than one mosaic in Corinth contain light-on-dark motifs. One, decorating the middle room of the Mosaic House, shows a nereid riding on a triton in the central panel and depictions of Erotes in surrounding small square panels: *Corinth* I.5, pp. 114-15, 118-21, pl. 55. The other, from the South Stoa (*Agonotheteion*), shows in the central panel a victorious athlete standing in front of a seated female figure. This is surrounded by square panels where the motifs in every second panel are rendered against a dark background: *Corinth* I.4, 107-109, pls. 30-31.

⁹⁶ This mosaic shows the nine muses and is now at the Castello at Rhodes: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 236 no. 34, pl. 19.

⁹⁷ A square panel, depicting Achilles at the court of Lycomedes, at Skyros: Waywell (1979) 302 no. 45, pl. 51, Fig. 39; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 249 no. 64, pl. 29a.

⁹⁸ M.S.F. Hood, *JHS* 78-79 (1958-1959) 22, Fig. 38; Waywell (1979) 12; Blackman, 106, Fig. 104.

decorated with a light-on-dark motif, is inserted in the middle of a geometric field. And although the geometric field of the Knossos pavement is not rendered in perspective, the guilloche border and the cubes of the two rectangular borders are three-dimensional.

The Pergamon mosaics are earlier than any of the Imperial pavements in Greece, as well as most of the Antioch pavements, the vast majority of which were produced after the earthquake of A.D. 115. Systematic archaeological exploration of building "Z" revealed successive construction layers from the Hellenistic period onward. The two Dionysiac mosaics belong to the last phase of construction and are securely dated to the beginning of the second century, c. A.D. 100 or shortly after.⁹⁹ The building was destroyed in the second half of the second century, possibly by the earthquake that shook Pergamon in A.D. 178.¹⁰⁰ The secure dating of the pavements is vitally important to our understanding of mosaics from the late first - early second century, which are limited in number and whose proper evaluation is usually hindered by the absence of a secure chronological context. The mosaics from building "Z" are rare examples of pavements produced on the coast of Asia Minor where very few mosaics from the Early and High Empire have been discovered to date. Therefore, we cannot be certain of the extent to which they are representative of mosaic production during this period in the Greek world. However, their strong Hellenistic appearance and date of production indicates a potential influence from a mosaic *koine* of the eastern Mediterranean. The early mosaics of Pergamon and of Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syria (prior to the A.D. 115 earthquake) were part of this *koine*. Very few mosaics from this period have been preserved either at Pergamon or at Antioch, and the date assigned to some of the Antiochean mosaics

⁹⁹ W. Radt, "Pergamon 1992," *AA* (1993) 372.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, 362, 364, 372.

by Levi is disputed.¹⁰¹ A geometric panel from the House of Trajan's Aqueduct,¹⁰² however, dated to A.D. 98-115, displays the same cubes-in-perspective pattern as that of the Pergamon mosaic. Moreover, similar compositions of rectangular panels of geometric motifs, framed by multiple borders and containing an *emblema*-type panel in the centre, are found in the House of Polyphemos, which Levi dates to the pre-earthquake period.¹⁰³

Yet, in spite of their strong Hellenistic appearance, the mosaics of building "Z" show influence from the West as well, seen primarily in the compartmental composition of the mosaic with the masks. It would appear, therefore, that even though the Pergamene workshops were still using some of the traditional Hellenistic motifs at the end of the first century A.D., they made every effort to accommodate the taste of the newly arrived Italian population by adopting western fashions.¹⁰⁴

Further south, off the coast of Asia Minor, the islands of Kos and Rhodes were important Roman centres and have preserved a substantial number of mosaics. At Rhodes a pavement that decorates the floor of a *nymphaeum* is the only known imperial mosaic with a Dionysiac motif on that island (cat. 38, Fig. 41). It is rectangular in shape and it is divided into three sections. In the centre a square panel framed by a wave pattern displays the standing figure of Dionysos. He is nude, wearing a

¹⁰¹ Levi lists four houses, which he suggests date to the period from the Early Empire to the earthquake of A.D. 115: The Atrium House, pp. 15-25, the House of Polyphemos, pp. 25-28, the House of the Evil Eye, pp. 28-34, and the House of Trajan's Aqueduct, pp. 34-35. The dates for some of these houses, however, are contested in later evaluations. The date of the Atrium House, for example, is placed to c. A.D. 115-150 by Sheila Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (Toronto 1988) 18-22 no. IV A 6, and by François Baratte, *Mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1978) 87-92.

¹⁰² Levi, 34-40, fig. 10, pl. XCIV a. Levi claims that the house was built at the same time as the aqueduct, whose date is known by stamped bricks. See also Campbell (supra n. 101) 82-84 no. IV A 39, pl. 234.

¹⁰³ Levi, 25-28, pls. IIb-c, IIIc. He suggests that the house was ruined by the earthquake. He also suggests that the central panels of these mosaics were true *emblemata*. In a more recent publication of the mosaic, Campbell (supra n. 101) 30-31 no. IV A 12, pls. 88-90, makes no reference to any *emblemata* from this house.

¹⁰⁴ Salzmann (1991) 437.

wreath, holding a thyrsos in the left hand and resting his right elbow on a pillar. In the right hand he is holding a *kantharos* from which wine is dripping to the ground. Here we would expect to find a leopard by his feet catching the drops of wine, but the artist has deviated from the standardized motif and eliminated the animal, perhaps for the sake of economy. Dionysos' figure, rendered in a variety of polychrome stone and glass tesserae, is placed on a white ground which allows it to stand out. The body proportions, however, are a little odd, for Dionysos' legs are far too long compared to the rest of the body. To either side of the central square there is a rectangular panel with black and red geometric motifs: rhombuses containing circles and squares, and a central square containing a circle with an inscribed six-leaf rosette. The mosaic has not been assigned a date by the excavator, but other observers have dated it to the second century, presumably on stylistic grounds, for there is no mention of any evidence from stratigraphy or other related finds.¹⁰⁵

At Kos the yield is greater. The houses and public buildings in the western part of the city display elaborate plans that are matched by equally elaborate floor and wall decoration. Some of the mosaics in these buildings have Dionysiac motifs. "The House of the mosaic of Silenos" received its name from a representation of Silenos riding side-saddle on a donkey (cat. 27, Fig. 187). This scene is shown in one of the three rectangular panels that decorate the courtyard. Silenos is bearded, wearing a white tunic and trousers, a red mantle that covers the right leg, and soft boots. The left arm, bent at the elbow, rests on the donkey's neck and supports the thyrsos. In the right hand he is holding a flail; an instrument that Silenos is often depicted holding, as we will see also in the discussion of the mosaics of Dion and Corinth.¹⁰⁶ Occasionally, a religious symbolism has been attached to this flail.¹⁰⁷ But here we

¹⁰⁵ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 246-47 no. 59.

¹⁰⁶ *infra*, p. 127.

¹⁰⁷ Balty (1991) 26-28.

cannot claim such a symbolism, since it is clear that the only possible use for the whip in this scene is to goad the donkey. At the same time, however, it serves to verify the identity of the rider, whose manner of riding, combined with the wreath, the thyrsos, and the mantle, resemble depictions of Dionysos so closely that Silenos here could almost be mistaken for the god. For although Dionysos is commonly depicted riding on a feline and Silenos on a donkey, the positions are occasionally reversed.¹⁰⁸ Dionysos, however, is never depicted wearing trousers or holding a whip. Nor is he depicted, after the 430's B.C., with a beard. These items are commonly associated with Silenos and so they help to establish his identity in this representation.

In a panel of equal size to that of Silenos is a depiction of a hunter killing a wild boar (Fig. 188). This is facing in the opposite direction and is separated from the Silenos panel by geometric motifs and a basin, which is now badly damaged. The youthful hunter steps forward with his spear aimed at the boar, whom he has already injured, as we see blood dripping from the muzzle. He is nude, except for a red scarf draped over the neck, the left shoulder, and the left arm. On his head he wears an unidentifiable head-dress. These two panels are framed by red and blue fillets, as well as a border of red and blue triangles. The final publication of the mosaic is still pending, but preliminary appraisals assign it to the late second - early third century.¹⁰⁹

A third panel, considerably larger than the other two, decorates the entrance to the courtyard. Here two pairs of fighting gladiators, identified by inscriptions, are refereed by a fifth figure wearing a short white tunic and boots, and holding a long cane (Fig. 187). The two gladiators on the left side of the panel are both heavily armed *secutores*. One of them is identified by an inscription as ΑΙΓΙΑΛΟΣ. Of

¹⁰⁸ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 458- 59 nos.392-403, 407; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 548 no. 89.

¹⁰⁹ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 232-33 no. 25, pl. 15 a&b. See also, L Morricone, "Cronaca d'Arte. Scavi e ricerche a Coa (1935-43). Relazione preliminare," *BdA* (1950) 240-41. Morricone assigns all the houses in the area to after the beginning of the second century A.D.

the two gladiators on the right side of the panel, one is also a *secutor* by the name of ΥΛΑΣ and the other is a lightly armed *retiarius*, identified as ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ. Judging from the amount of detail with which the mosaicist has depicted the costumes and the weapons of the gladiators, we can conclude that here too, as in Koroni, the artist was well acquainted with the activities of the arena. This conclusion is reinforced further by the presence of another mosaic with a very similar representation found in the port excavation area at Kos, now in the museum of Istanbul. This panel shows also two pairs of fighting gladiators, all identified by inscriptions, and two referees.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, in the nearby House of the Judgement of Paris (cat. 28, Figs. 185-86), a huge pavement measuring 13.8 x 6.55 m contains three large scenes. The one on the left contains a central rectangular panel with "The Judgement of Paris" motif, which is framed on each of the long sides with representations of Orpheus and the Muses. The central panel, very little of which now remains, displays a medallion style composition and some Dionysiac elements: satyrs, maenads, and Pan. A partly preserved centaur in the central medallion may have been pulling the chariot of Dionysos. The right scene is completely destroyed. The three scenes are separated from one another by a border of *venatores* fighting and killing the types of wild beasts commonly associated with the arena. Here too, all the figures, human and animal, are named and rendered on a white background. The excavator suggests that, on the basis of style and technique, the mosaic should be dated to the end of the second century. However, he also indicates that the archaeological evidence shows that the mosaic increased in size in the third century.¹¹¹

Melos, in the Cyclades, has also preserved examples of Dionysiac mosaics from the Roman imperial period. There, on the western slope of the ancient city of Melos, is a building which the British

¹¹⁰ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 234 no. 29; Kankeleit, v. 2, 134 no. 68; also L. de Matteis, "Il bordo con *venationes* nel mosaico del 'Giudizio di Paride' di Coò," *Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina XL* (1993) 117.

¹¹¹ Morricone (supra n. 109) 227, Figs. 37-40. Also, de Matteis (supra n. 110) 111-12.

excavators called a "Baccheion" and its principal room the "Hall of the Mystae".¹¹² This identification is based on the iconography of the mosaics and on inscriptions incised on architectural elements and on a marble base.¹¹³ This base supported the statue of a hierophant and was found lying on the mosaic of the main hall. The mosaic of this room is preserved to a length of 19.2 m (cat. 31, Figs. 25, 28). Concentric borders of polychrome swastika-peltae with a central knot and of acanthus scroll growing out of *kantharoi* frame an elongated field of five successive panels, each framed by a simple guilloche. The first two are the most interesting and the best preserved.¹¹⁴

The first panel is rectangular and is decorated with a sprawling vine motif. The tendrils of four vines that grow out of the four corners of the panel stretch over its entire surface supporting clusters of grapes and a variety of birds. In one corner a gazelle and in another a hare are resting under the branches.

Vine compositions appear with great abundance on mosaics of the Imperial period, as well as on other media.¹¹⁵ The largest and richest collection of such pavements comes from Roman North Africa where elaborate representations of the vintage are found either in realistic scenes of rural life or in mythological representations connected primarily to the world of Dionysos.¹¹⁶ These vine motifs in North Africa generally follow two distinct compositional schemes: they are either placed on a border around a large mythological scene, as for example on the Triumph of Dionysos mosaic from Sousse (Fig. 59),¹¹⁷

¹¹² R.C. Bosanquet, "Excavations of the British School at Melos," *JHS* 18 (1898) 60, 78-80.

¹¹³ For the inscriptions and the identification of the building, see *infra*, pp. 104-108.

¹¹⁴ The third, central, panel has two thirds of its geometric motif preserved. The fourth panel is missing but it is quite possible that it balanced the second panel on the other side and contained a figural representation. In the last panel, a small segment preserved in the corner reveals another geometric motif on the basis of which the decoration of this panel was reconstructed: Bosanquet (*supra* n. 112) Fig. 4.

¹¹⁵ For a detailed study of the motif in all media, see J.M.C. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic motif in Imperial Art," *PBSR* 18 (1950) 1-49.

¹¹⁶ Dunbabin (1978) 115-18.

¹¹⁷ Dunbabin (1978) 269 no. 12d, pl. 182.

or they spread over the entire floor surface. The latter are often interrupted by a small Dionysiac panel in the centre and by vintaging or hunting Erotes and birds spread throughout the pavement, as for instance on the overall vine pavement from the House of Silenos at El Djem (Fig. 60).¹¹⁸ Regardless of the method of composition, with two exceptions seen on mosaics from Cherchel,¹¹⁹ the vines in the North African mosaics always grow diagonally out of *kraters* or clusters of acanthus leaves placed in the corners. This arrangement may be traced to the decoration of ceilings.¹²⁰

In contrast, vine motifs on Eastern mosaics of the High Empire are rare and when they appear they follow a different method of representation. On two mosaics, one from Tarsus¹²¹ and one from the House of the Boat of Psyche at Antioch,¹²² vines spread through each panel encircling the body of Ambrosia in one case and Lykourgos in the other. In both mosaics the vines grow naturally out of the ground. However, the vine in both panels forms part of the distinct iconographic motif of Lykourgos and Ambrosia, which cannot be considered in the same light as the vine-carpet mosaics of North Africa or that of Melos. The only example of an overall vine mosaic from the East is the Dionysiac mosaic from the *triclinium* of the House of Dionysos at Paphos where scenes from rural life and the world of Dionysos are conflated to depict a vintage scene.¹²³ But here, in contrast to the North African mosaics, the vines spring out of the ground at regular intervals around the perimeter of the large rectangular panel.

¹¹⁸ Dunbabin (1978) 259 no. 16d, pl. 159.

¹¹⁹ Dunbabin (1978) 116, 254-55, Cherchel no. 9 pl. XLII, and no. 10.ii.

¹²⁰ For a discussion on vine motifs on ceilings and floors, see I. Lavin, "Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and their sources," *DOP* 17 (1963) 219-21; J.R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 250: Ritual, Space and Decoration* (Berkeley 1991) 184-85, Fig. 101.

¹²¹ L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien, II: Die Heidnischen Mosaiken* (Recklinghausen 1972) 121-26, Figs. 118, 146.

¹²² Levi, 178-81, pl. 38a.

¹²³ Kondoleon, 231-69, Figs. 144-47, 160-62. Kondoleon provides a good overview of the vine motif on mosaics and other media with references.

In the West, two vine pavements from Spain, one from Mérida,¹²⁴ and one now extant panel from Sagunto,¹²⁵ display the same arrangement seen in the North African mosaics: vines populated by vintaging Erotes growing out of acanthus leaves or *kantharoi* at the corners and sprawling over the panel. They are interrupted in the middle by a central motif depicting men treading grapes at Mérida and Dionysos riding on a tiger in Sagunto. The most spectacular example from the West, however, is the late second century mosaic from Vienne (Figs. 127-28).¹²⁶ This too is connected to the story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia but the treatment of the overall pavement here combines the iconography traditionally connected to this story with the overall vine-carpet motif seen in North Africa, except that here too, as at Paphos, the vines grow naturally out of the ground. In a less spectacular and only half preserved black and white mosaic from Rome, dating also to the end of the second century, vintaging Erotes are shown amid vine tendrils which spring out of an acanthus cluster.¹²⁷

Compared to the various examples from all these regions, the Melos vine panel displays an individuality in composition which does not conform to the overall vine motif treatment observed in other regions. For at Melos, similarly to the North African pavements, the vines grow diagonally in the corners, but, unlike them, they grow directly out of the ground in the manner of the Paphos and Vienne mosaics. Moreover, the Melos panel does not contain a depiction of either a real or a mythological vintage scene. This is a more abstract representation where the only life shown is that of birds and small animals. The treatment here is more in keeping with the iconography of the Early Christian mosaics where, as a rule,

¹²⁴ E. García Sandoval, *Informe sobre las casas romanas de Mérida y excavaciones en la "Casa del Anfiteatro"* (Madrid 1966) 23-24, pls. XXXIV-XXXVII; A. Blanco Freijeiro, *Mosaicos Romanos de Mérida* (Madrid 1978) n. 39, pls. 72-74.

¹²⁵ José Maria Blázquez, "Mosaicos báquicos en la península Ibérica," *ArchEspArq* 57 (1984) 69-71, Fig. 1.

¹²⁶ J. Lancha (supra n. 58) 185-87, pl. 4, Fig. 98; *ead.*, *RecGaule III. Province de Narbonnaise*, 2. *Vienne* (Paris 1981) 157-63, no. 331, pls. LXXVII-LXXXI.

¹²⁷ Blake (1936) 84-85, pl. 39.1.

representations are restricted to flora and fauna. It is therefore possible that this pavement may have been produced later than the early third century date that is usually assigned to it.¹²⁸

In Greece, vines appear also on a late fourth century mosaic from Argos (cat. 2, Fig. 29) whose overall iconography will be discussed later.¹²⁹ It is worth pointing out here, however, that the treatment of the vine motif in this pavement is very similar to that of the mosaic at Melos, in that the vines grow diagonally in the corners of the rectangular panel, directly out of the ground, and spread inward, toward a central medallion. The difference here is the strong Dionysiac presence, which is created by the large figures of members of the thiasos that are standing on the vines. This imagery would have been made even stronger by the representation in the central medallion, which most likely depicted Dionysos riding on a leopard.

The second panel at Melos is square and contains a circle framed with simple guilloche. The corners are decorated with theatre masks. A substantial part of the depiction in the circle was damaged and has been reconstructed. Different species of fish swim around a fisherman, who stands in his boat, holding a fishing rod or most likely a rope from which is hanging a bottle-shaped object. The identification of this object is difficult on account of its shape and the fact that the artist has rendered two thirds of its lower section in plain dark blue colour, while the top part appears to be transparent. So clearly, whatever this object is, it is two thirds full. Bosanquet,¹³⁰ trying to identify it, presented three hypotheses, all of which he ultimately rejected: a) a bottle containing a dark blue liquid b) a κύρτη, a basket trap,¹³¹ and c) a marine creature, possibly a πίννα, a bearded mussel. Moormann,¹³² many years

¹²⁸ Bosanquet (supra n. 112) 69-70. Also, see *infra*, pp. 107-108.

¹²⁹ *infra*, p. 90.

¹³⁰ Bosanquet (supra n. 112) 73.

¹³¹ The κύρτεία was one of the methods of fishing mentioned by Aelian (*NA* xii.43). This involved the use of a κύρτη, a basket-trap (Latin *nassa*).

later, trying to connect the depiction within the circle with the world of Dionysos, suggested that this peculiar object is a bottle of wine. This, he claimed, helps to explain the ambiguous meaning of the inscription "MONON MH ΥΔΩΡ", which, Moormann believes, aimed to warn the visitors to the building that they have to drink wine. The meaning of the inscription is obscure and has invited a number of suggestions by different scholars.¹³³ But the bottle-shaped object, although it does look like a bottle, cannot be identified as one. For not only are there no parallels for it, but also pouring wine to the fish makes no sense. It is more likely, as Bosanquet suggested, that it is a basket-trap, similar to those seen in the mosaics of North Africa (Figs. 26-27).¹³⁴ In the North African examples, however, the weave of the baskets is clearly shown, thus preventing confusion. At Melos this detail is omitted, with the result that the half-full basket-trap looks like a half-full bottle of wine.¹³⁵

A square pseudo-*emblema* panel with a bust of Dionysos, measuring 0.90 x 0.69 m (cat. 32, Figs. 23-24), was initially thought to have decorated the *hestiatorion* of the Baccheion. This suggestion, however, has since been refuted and the context of the panel remains unknown.¹³⁶ Here the god's image rendered on a white ground is framed by concentric black fillets and a simple guilloche. The torso is frontal and the head is turned slightly to the left. The contour of the face is rendered in black outline and is framed by long strands of hair that fall over the shoulders. He wears a wreath of large vine leaves, a blue *chiton* and is holding a thyrsos with the right hand. The tesserae used are in a variety of colours and

¹³² E.M. Moormann, "Imperial Roman Mosaics at Leiden," *OMRO* 71 (1991) 99.

¹³³ Bosanquet (supra n. 112) 68, 71-73; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *IG XII 3*; A. Geyer, *Das Problem des Realitätsbezuges in der dionysischen Bildkunst der Kaiserzeit* (Würzburg 1977) 141; Moormann (supra n. 132) 99. For this and other inscriptions found at the site, see also, *infra*, pp. 104-105.

¹³⁴ M. Blanchard-Lemée, M. Ennaïfer, and H. and Latifa Slim, *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) Figs. 79, 81, 106.

¹³⁵ For different types of traps used in fishing, see Kankeleit, v. 1, 66-68, Fig. 1.

¹³⁶ Moormann (supra n. 132) 100-101.

materials, but they are not very fine. This panel, now at the museum of Leiden, originally decorated the centre of a pavement and was surrounded by smaller panels with depictions of animals, fish, and satyr masks, as well as geometric friezes.¹³⁷ For these two mosaics, like so many of the ones discussed already, only an approximate date can be sought. Based on their style, Moormann concludes that the Melos mosaics were probably produced in the beginning of the third century.¹³⁸

To roughly the same chronological period is attributed by some scholars the production of the most outstanding Dionysiac mosaic of Greece: the mosaic of Thessaloniki (cat. 42, Figs. 99-101). The impressive size and quality of this pavement allows us to conjecture that it decorated an important and luxurious building. But unfortunately nothing is known either about the mosaic's context, or about the stratigraphy of the terrain. Although the excavator has not assigned a date to the mosaic, later observers have proposed dates which range from the end of the second or early third century,¹³⁹ to the second half of the third century,¹⁴⁰ and to the early fourth century,¹⁴¹ clearly on stylistic grounds. This large pavement, measuring approximately 4.20 x 4.40 m, has an unusual tripartite composition with all three panels containing mythological scenes. The largest one of the three shows a depiction of the story of the finding of Ariadne on Naxos by Dionysos and his thiasos.¹⁴² The other two panels are decorated with scenes of Ganymede and the eagle and, possibly, a depiction of the rape of Daphne by Apollo.¹⁴³ The

¹³⁷ For a discussion of the surrounding panels and a drawing of the overall pavement, see Moormann (supra n. 132) 100-102, pl. 2.1.

¹³⁸ Moormann (supra n. 132) 103.

¹³⁹ Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 223 no. 11, places it at the end of the second century. Waywell (1979) 303-304 no.53, pl. 52, Fig. 45, places it to the late second - early third century.

¹⁴⁰ Pochmarski, 295.

¹⁴¹ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 279.

¹⁴² For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, pp. 158-78.

¹⁴³ This panel has suffered quite a lot of damage and a definite identification is difficult.

three panels are framed by concentric borders of meander and a four-strand guilloche, while a simple guilloche separates them from one another. The Ariadne and Dionysos panel of the Thessaloniki mosaic is the most impressive depiction of this well-known story in all Roman mosaics. What makes it so unique is the multitude of figures and the richness and subtlety of colour.

The same iconographic motif also decorates a pavement in western Crete. As we have seen, some of the earliest Dionysiac mosaics of the Roman period in Greece come from the Villa Dionysos at Knossos, a major centre in Roman times but hardly the only one. Archaeological exploration in fact has brought to light Roman remains from across the island, and it would appear that western Crete also enjoyed prosperity under the Romans, a deduction based on the number of elaborately decorated buildings that were found in that region.¹⁴⁴ At Kasteli Kisamou two adjacent buildings yielded six mosaics, which have not yet been completely published. A preliminary evaluation of the pavements and the associated finds, however, places them chronologically in the third century. Two of these belong to the Dionysiac cycle. The quality of the available photographs of the two pavements is very poor and does not allow a clear picture to emerge. It appears, however, that in the one pavement (cat. 21, Fig. 35) interlaced squares of guilloche enclose a circle, framed with a wave pattern. In the corners are female protomes which may be personifications of the Seasons. In the centre, Dionysos is depicted standing, wearing a wreath, and holding a thyrsos. The left arm rests on the shoulder of a satyr (?) who is holding a *pedum*, while the right arm rests on the shoulders of a maenad. She is holding a *τύμπανον* and a palm branch. As both figures are smaller in stature than the god and they are both looking in his direction, the viewer's attention is inevitably drawn to Dionysos. Above the heads of the three figures is the signature of the artist: "Μερόπας ἐψηφοθέτησα".

The second pavement from Kasteli (cat. 22, Fig. 36) appears to be rectangular in shape and

¹⁴⁴ Sanders (supra n. 59) *passim* ; G.W.M. Harrison, *The Romans and Crete* (Amsterdam 1993) *passim*.

consists of a geometric surround, in the middle of which a rectangular figural panel has been inserted. This is framed by successive borders of alternating black and white(?) triangles and a wave pattern. It is difficult to identify the theme of the central scene from the available illustration, but it contains several figures. Dionysos is standing in the middle, larger than any of the other figures, and appears to be holding a thyrsos. By his feet is a small Silenos, dressed in a short tunic, and behind him stand Pan and a maenad. In front of Dionysos is a panther, leaping to the direction of the god, a small nude satyr, and two superimposed figures of maenads. Next to the figure of the lower maenad and above the satyr's head is a *kantharos* from which pours wine. Dionysos is shown often pouring wine from a *kantharos* and it is, therefore, tempting to suggest that this is the case here too. But this is not at all clear in the illustration and, as the vessel is placed very close to the maenad, it may be that she is the one who is holding it.

The Ariadne and Dionysos mosaic decorates the floor of yet another elaborate building at Chania. Its function is not clear, but the preserved remains of three rooms built around a central space, possibly a peristyle, suggest a private house.¹⁴⁵ Two of the three rooms found here are decorated with Dionysiac pavements. One, decorated with a T-shape mosaic, is clearly identified as a *triclinium* (cat. 4, Figs. 71-75, 154). The entire "T" is framed with a black grid pattern set on a white ground.¹⁴⁶ The vertical part of the "T" contains one panel with a depiction of Dionysos riding on a leopard and escorted by a satyr.¹⁴⁷ This panel is framed by a plain black border with part of the mosaicist's signature, "...ΔΑΦΝΗΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ", preserved on one side, and wide friezes of alternating rectangular and square panels. The rectangles are placed in the centre of each frieze and contain two concentric lozenges with a circle and a concave square inscribed in the middle. The squares, one on each corner, contain two

¹⁴⁵ See also *infra*, pp. 112-14.

¹⁴⁶ *Décor*, 44-45, pl. 15e.

¹⁴⁷ For a detailed discussion of this motif and the inscription, see *infra*, pp. 152-55.

concentric poised squares with a circle and a concave square in the middle. In the horizontal part of the "T" there are four rectangular panels, each set off by a triple black fillet and framed with a four-colour simple guilloche opened to form eyelets. The panels, dark-on-light, differ in size and are all facing in different directions, thus providing multiple viewing points. The two panels in the centre are smaller than those on the sides and are decorated with masks. One of the side panels is almost completely destroyed and does not allow identification. In the other panel Dionysos is shown standing, with only a mantle draped around his nude body, wearing a wreath and holding a thyrsos in the right hand. The left elbow is resting on a column, behind which grows a tall tree. A goat-legged Pan stands to the left of the god. The right hand-side of the panel is almost completely destroyed.

The Ariadne and Dionysos pavement decorates a space adjacent to the *triclinium* (cat. 3, Figs. 71, 95-98, 154). Here, two wide concentric borders frame a central square. The outer border is decorated with a geometric motif of intersecting circles that form concave squares. The inner border contains alternating rectangular and square panels, each set off by a black fillet and framed with a simple guilloche. The rectangular panels contains scenes from New Comedy (Figs. 166, 168-69), while the squares contain depictions of a satyr and a maenad (Figs. 155-56).¹⁴⁸ The central panel displays an interesting mixture of geometric forms: a circle, inscribed within a square, contains two interlaced squares, one of simple guilloche and the other of perspective boxes. These in turn create an octagonal space where the story of the "Discovery of Ariadne" is depicted. The tableau is set off by a black fillet and consists of four figures: Ariadne, Dionysos, Papposilenos, and a satyr. Winged Erotes, theatre masks, leaping animals, and birds fill the triangular spaces created by the combination of the circular and square forms.

The variety and combination of the figural and geometric motifs in the Chania pavements is

¹⁴⁸ For the identification of these motifs as the Seasons and a discussion of the theatre scenes, see *infra*, pp. 217-18, 225-31.

impressive and suggests that the overall decoration of these rooms was very luxurious. This is supported by the numerous fragments of painted plaster and marble that were found in the layer of destruction. In the same layer were also found architectural terracotta remains and a number of coins. Two of these, one dating to the reign of Aurelian (270-275) and the other to the reign of Maximian, produced at Carthage c. 299 -303,¹⁴⁹ are well preserved. Based on the evidence from the coins, the architectural terracotta remains, the type of lettering in the inscription, the theatrical costumes, and the overall composition, the excavator has dated the pavements to approximately the middle of the third century.¹⁵⁰ In a more recent evaluation, Green places the mosaic with the "Discovery of Ariadne" motif to the fourth century.¹⁵¹

Sparta makes a great contribution to the study of Roman mosaics through a series of impressive pavements in a variety of iconographic themes. To date, one hundred and forty-four mosaics of the Roman period have been discovered at Sparta, most of which remain unpublished. Sixty-seven of the known Sparta mosaics date to the third century. The remainder were produced in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries. One of the third century pavements, found in a building near the ancient theatre, is Dionysiac (cat. 40, Figs. 32-34). Only four rooms of this structure have been preserved, all placed at right angles to one another and all decorated with elaborate mosaics. It is difficult from these remains to determine its exact nature, but it is quite possible that these rooms belonged to a luxurious house, a possibility of which the excavator appears to be convinced.¹⁵² Furthermore, she places its construction in the second half of the third century on the basis of the mosaics, the type of wall construction, and a number of Roman and post-Roman terracotta fragments that were found in the earth layer directly above

¹⁴⁹ Markoulaki, 449, 451 and n. 3.

¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 461-62.

¹⁵¹ Green (1994) 164.

¹⁵² A. Demakopoulou, *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) chr.¹, 171.

the mosaics. None of these, however, are securely dated and therefore the proposed date is only an approximation.

The Dionysiac mosaic decorates the second largest room of this building, which measures 4.2 x 4.0 m. A wide border, consisting of alternating rectangular panels decorated with a multi-strand guilloche and square panels decorated with superimposed chevrons and fleurettes, frames a field of swastika guilloche meander. In the centre, in a small 0.8 m square panel, Dionysos is shown seated on a throne. His head, crowned with ivy, is shown in profile, but the rest of the body is shown in three-quarter view. He is wearing a long garment with long sleeves and a nebris. Directly in front of him stands a male figure, hunched forward and dressed in trousers, a long-sleeved tunic, and a mantle tied around his waist. He is wearing soft boots and an ivy wreath. With his two hands he is holding an unidentifiable object in front of his face, shielding it almost completely. Dionysos is also touching this object with his right hand. The iconography here is very ambiguous and we cannot interpret this scene with any degree of certainty. The interpretation offered by the excavator, that the standing figure is an actor who is trying to put on a mask offered to him by Dionysos,¹⁵³ seemed at first possible, since no other parallels could be found with this type of representation. However, recently, two other panels were discovered in the same area which display almost identical scenes.¹⁵⁴ The closeness of the three mosaics, both in representation and geographical location, points to a local workshop which specialized in this type of motif. But at the same time the best preserved of the two new mosaics clarifies for us the identity and actions of the figure standing in front of Dionysos. This is no other than Papposilenos himself who is

¹⁵³ Demakopoulou (supra n. 152) 172. See also *MNC*², v. 2, 6CM2.

¹⁵⁴ Both mosaics are recent discoveries and have not been published yet. They were presented, however, by Dr. Anastasia Panagiotopoulou at the 8th International Colloquium on ancient mosaics, which was held in Lausanne in October 1997. Dr. Panagiotopoulou used the three pavements on that occasion to point to the existence of a local workshop at Sparta.

bending forward to drink out of a bowl offered to him by Dionysos.¹⁵⁵

In composition the Sparta mosaic has antecedents in the first century B.C. mosaics of Pompeii where a small square panel is inserted in a field of labyrinth meander.¹⁵⁶ This pattern remains popular in Italy and also finds parallels in Cyprus, in Roman Britain, and North Africa down into the third and fourth centuries A.D.¹⁵⁷ These, however, unlike the Sparta mosaic, use a simple black line for the meander instead of guilloche. In Greece, with the exception of the other two pavements with the same representation, only variations of the motif are found, for example, in the central room of the Mosaic House at Corinth where not one but six figured panels are placed in a field of labyrinth guilloche meander.¹⁵⁸

In another building, most likely a luxury residence, a rectangular panel 2.10 x 1.10 m shows two antithetical leopards on either side of a large *krater* (cat. 41, Fig. 31). They are standing on their hind legs with one front paw resting on the *krater* handle and the other raised over the vessel's rim. As in the entrance panel to the *andron* of the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos (cat. 33, Fig. 52), the iconography of the Sparta mosaic is generic and aims at nothing more than to create a general Dionysiac association. The panel of the leopards was placed outside the entrance of a large room also paved with a mosaic, and formed part of the pavement that decorated a corridor. Since only panels with geometric motifs and

¹⁵⁵ In the new panel the imagery is a little more consistent with Dionysiac iconography, in that Papposilenos is drinking out of a *kantharos*.

¹⁵⁶ The motif is found in the *Casa del Laberinto* and in House VIII 2,16: Blake (1930) 83, pl. 19, Figs. 1 and 3.

¹⁵⁷ One of the best known examples of the labyrinth motif is the Theseus mosaic from Nea Paphos at Cyprus: W. Daszewski, *Nea Paphos II: La mosaïque de Thésée* (Warsaw 1977). In Italy, an interesting example of the Labyrinth motif is found in the Imperial Palace in Ostia (c. A.D. 150): G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia IV, Mosaici e Pavimenti marmorei* (Rome 1961) 166, pl. XV. In Britain the motif is found in many regions: D.S. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain* (London 1981) nos. 21 and 27; D.J. Smith, "The Labyrinth Mosaic at Caerleon," *Bull. B.C.S.* 18, pt. 3 (1959) 304-310, pl. II. In North Africa there is an excellent example from Thuburbo Majus (c. end of 3rd-early 4th A.D.): M. Yacoub, *Le Musée du Bardo*, 252, Fig. 181.

¹⁵⁸ S. Weinberg, *Corinth I*, 113-22, pl.55; Waywell (1979) 298 no. 20.

fragments of figural representations have been preserved from the surrounding area, it is not possible to establish any iconographic connection between this panel and those that decorated the rest of the room. It is not necessary, however, to assume such a connection, for the motif is often found on its own, as for example on a mosaic from Ptolemais, in Libya.¹⁵⁹ Yet, on other occasions, the Dionysiac connection becomes obvious, as for example in the late fourth century mosaic from Complutum in Spain, where identical scenes of leopards placed on either side of a *krater* frame the central panel depicting Dionysos and his followers.¹⁶⁰ As there is no mention of any evidence from stratigraphy that could be used to date the Sparta mosaic, it is generally dated on stylistic basis to the late third century.¹⁶¹

At the end of this chronological period stands a mosaic from Trikala, one of the more remote centres of Roman Greece (cat. 43, Figs. 119-20). Here, in a large rectangular building believed to have been the Asklepieion of ancient Trikki,¹⁶² a large panel contains a depiction of the story of Ambrosia and Lykourgos. As in the panel of Delos with the same story (cat. 9), Lykourgos is about to chop Ambrosia down with his double axe. The Trikala panel, however, is much richer than the Delian one, in that it contains two additional figures: one, a female, identified by an inscription as "ΘΠΑΚΗ" and the other a maenad, or, possibly, Dionysos himself.¹⁶³ An additional point of interest in this pavement is the inscription on the top left corner: "[Τ]ί[τ]ος Φλάβιος Ἑρμῆς καὶ [Βά]σσος, Ἑρμοῦ [υἱ]οί, ἐαυτοῖς τ[ῶν γ]ραφομέν[ων ψη]φοθέτ[αι]".¹⁶⁴ The *lacunae* in the inscription have been

¹⁵⁹ C.H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais, City of the Libyan Pentapolis* (Chicago 1962) 244, Fig. 68, pl. 59c.

¹⁶⁰ D. Fernández-Galiano, *Complutum 2 Mosaicos* (Madrid 1984) 148-186, pls. LXXXII-CI, Fig. 10; *LIMC* IV, 916 no. 159.

¹⁶¹ Waywell (1979) 302-303 no. 48.

¹⁶² D. Theocharis, *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) chr.² 313-15; A. Tziafalias, "Ασκληπιείο Τρίκκης," *ArchDelt* 44 (1989) chr.¹, 235-36.

¹⁶³ See *infra*, p. 183 ff.

¹⁶⁴ Theocharis (*supra* n. 162) 315.

supplemented by Theocharis to indicate that the two men were responsible for both the design and the laying of the tesserae. This substitution is accepted by some scholars, particularly Bruneau,¹⁶⁵ but is rejected by others. In the most recent evaluation of the inscription, Donderer promotes a different reading according to which Τίτος Φλάβιος Ἑρμῆς and [Βά]σσος were not the artists but the donors of the mosaic: "[Τ]ί[τ]ος Φλάβιος Ἑρμῆς καί [Βά]σσος Ἑρμοῦ [υἱ]οί ἑαυτοῖς τ[ᾶ] γ[ρ]αφόμεν[α] ἐψη]φοθέτ[ησαν].¹⁶⁶

Theocharis assigns the mosaic to the last construction phase of the building, which, he claims, most likely took place in the second century and was destroyed suddenly in the fourth century. Theocharis does not assign a more specific date to this mosaic, but he points to the evidence from a mosaic that decorates a nearby room of the same building where a denarius from the reign of Caracalla (211-217) found under that pavement provides a *terminus post quem* for that pavement and possibly for the entire building.¹⁶⁷ A third century date is adopted by Bruneau and Asimakopoulou-Atzaka¹⁶⁸ but is rejected by Donderer, who places the mosaic in the second century on the basis of the inscription.¹⁶⁹ The most recent evaluation by Tziafalias places the mosaic at the second quarter of the third century, at the second construction phase of the building.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Bruneau (1984) 261-63, Fig. 7. Also Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1987) 41-42; *ead.*, (1993) 45-46. In both occasions Asimakopoulou-Atzaka describes the text of the inscription as problematic, but she ultimately accepts the substitutions proposed by Theocharis.

¹⁶⁶ Donderer (*supra* n. 37) 129-30, C8. See also, Kankeleit, v. 1, 77-81.

¹⁶⁷ D. Theocharis, *Prakt* (1958) 75.

¹⁶⁸ Bruneau (1984) 261-63; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1987) 41-42; *ead.*, (1993) 45-46.

¹⁶⁹ Donderer (*supra* n. 37) 129-30, C8.

¹⁷⁰ Tziafalias (*supra* n. 162) 236.

Conclusions - Early and High Empire

The overview of the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor from the Early and High Empire reveals a number of new and interesting trends. On the one hand the popularity of some of the Classical and Hellenistic motifs continues. A more elaborate version of the well-known story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia is found at Trikala (cat. 43), masks are still produced in large numbers, and one of the great favourites of earlier mosaicists, Dionysos riding on the back of a feline, is found again on the mid third century mosaic of Chania (cat. 4). In spite of the versatility of the latter motif, which enabled artists to incorporate it into a variety of representations and use it as part of multi-figural scenes, as seen on sarcophagi for example,¹⁷¹ in the mosaics of Greece mosaicists used it always in isolation, even in the Roman period, to decorate *emblemata* or pseudo-*emblemata*. For even at Chania, where the Dionysos on the leopard panel is not the only depiction in the *triclinium* pavement, its isolation within a separate frame and its solitary position on the upper part of the " T " echoes an *emblema*.

Alongside these well-known motifs from the Classical and Hellenistic period is a variety of new images. For the most part they are stock subjects that are found frequently on mosaics throughout the Roman world. The Discovery of Ariadne, for example, decorating pavements at Chania (cat. 3) and Thessaloniki (cat. 42), has several parallels on mosaics from both East and West and several antecedents on wall paintings from the Hellenistic period.¹⁷² Protomes are also very popular. Protomes of the type where the figure is cut off at the shoulder level¹⁷³ were known in the Greek world since the end of the fourth century B.C., as the pebble mosaic from Dyrrachium demonstrates.¹⁷⁴ Protomes of the type which

¹⁷¹ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 1, 157-64 nos. 51-57A; *id.*, v. 3, 307-313 nos. 162-68.

¹⁷² For a detailed discussion, see *infra*, pp. 158-78.

¹⁷³ For the different types of protomes, see *supra*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁷⁴ Salzmann (1982) 14, 18-19, 90 no. 33, pl. 28.1. As Salzmann points out, this type of protome has antecedents in the red-figure vases of Apulia: A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-figured Vases of Apulia I*, (Oxford 1978) *passim*.

display a substantial part of the bust, on the other hand, although known in Egypt in the Hellenistic period as the so-called Berenike II panel from Thmuis indicates,¹⁷⁵ do not appear in Greece until the Roman period. The three pavements from the second century Villa Dionysos at Knossos (cat. nos. 20, 21, 22) are the earliest known Dionysiac protomes in Greek mosaics. They are also excellent examples of the suitability of protomes a) in the decoration of compartmental or medallion-type compositions, and b) in the decoration of a floor surface where the artist's aim was to create general Dionysiac associations without alluding to any one aspect of Dionysos' persona. In the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor the use of protomes was simply a conventional way of creating purely ornamental pavements, devoid of any narrative content.

But perhaps the most widely used stock subject in Dionysiac iconography is that of the so-called "Stützmotiv" (Fig. 39). This, one of the most popular motifs in Dionysiac iconography, shows the god standing with one arm resting on the shoulders of a member of his thiasos, while the other is sometimes raised over his head in the so-called Apollo Lykeios pose,¹⁷⁶ sometimes resting on the shoulders of an attendant, and sometimes holding a *kantharos*. Pochmarski has collected numerous examples of this motif from all known media: from vase painting and terracotta reliefs to free-standing and relief sculpture, to wall painting, mosaics, and coins. Moreover, he has traced its origins to the early fifth century B.C. black-figure vases and followed its history through the next one thousand years, to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Daszewski (supra p. 15, n. 34) 82-83, 142-58 no. 38, pls. A, 32; B.C. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* (Cambridge, Mass. 1957) 68, 70-74. See also, supra, p. 15 and n. 34.

¹⁷⁶ Closely connected to the "Stützmotiv" is the so-called "Apollon Lykeios" motif, where Apollo is shown standing with one arm raised and placed over and behind his head. Dionysos is often depicted in this stance, attended by a young satyr in the manner of the "Stützmotiv": S.F. Schröder, *Römische Bacchusbilder in der Tradition des Apollo Lykeios* (Rome 1989) 147-78.

¹⁷⁷ Pochmarski, 5-12. For the motif's history on mosaics, see *id.*, pp. 89-96. For representations on bronze statuettes, see Manfrini-Aragno (supra n. 88) 91-93, Figs. 125-30.

The popularity that the "Stützmotiv" enjoyed is mainly due to its versatility, which enabled artists of most media to adapt it to suit the specific requirements of their work. In Greek mosaics, at Koroni (cat. 26, Fig. 189), the motif is isolated and serves the same purpose that the protomes do in the Knossos mosaics (cat. 23-24, Figs. 11, 13, 16). But at Dion (cat. 16, Figs. 53, 55, 182), Corinth (cat. 7, Fig. 58), and especially at Thessaloniki (cat. 42, Fig. 100), the motif becomes part of a larger scene for which a narrative content is adduced. And it is in these mosaics that the great versatility of the "Stützmotiv" is displayed.

Yet this well-known motif is also controversial, in that the usually naked and frontal Dionysos with his arm draped around the shoulders of one of his attendants has been routinely interpreted as a depiction of the "Drunken Dionysos".¹⁷⁸ Although it cannot be denied that in some representations Dionysos appears to be drunk and in need of support, as for example in two late fifth century B.C. Attic red-figure *choes* (Fig. 40),¹⁷⁹ this is not always the case. In fact, in the vast majority of depictions of the "Stützmotiv" Dionysos looks anything but drunk. The Koroni Dionysos' face is alert and his body is standing erect, displaying no signs of the unsteadiness that one would expect from a drunk. Nor is there any evidence of the weight of the body shifting on to the satyr's shoulders; it is firmly placed on the right leg. These observations apply also to the Thessaloniki mosaic, where the same motif has been incorporated into the larger mythological scene of the "Discovery of Ariadne",¹⁸⁰ as well as the Dion and Corinth pavements where, attended by Papposilenos, Dionysos rides over the sea in a sea-chariot.¹⁸¹ In all these examples the god of wine shows no signs of having sampled the fruit of his creation. So, if there

¹⁷⁸ Waywell (1979) 312; B. Holtzmann, "Un Dionysos ivre, dispersé et mal entendu," *REA* 95 (1993) 247-56; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain* (London 1962) 128; L.A. Roussin (supra n. 64) 41.

¹⁷⁹ Athens, Nat. Mus. inv. nos. 1218 and 1219; *ARV*² 1212.1 and 1212.2.

¹⁸⁰ *infra*, pp. 159-62.

¹⁸¹ *infra*, pp. 123-30.

is no obvious need for a support, what purpose, if any, does the attendant serve? Valerie Hutchinson in her review of Pochmarski's book questions whether the "Stützmotiv" may "reflect the close mutual dependence of Dionysos and his followers" or whether it was designed "to highlight a contrast...between god and mortal, or divine and less-than-divine".¹⁸² In iconographic terms, I believe that it is both. For although the two questions have a different starting point, they both aim at the same thing: to enhance the image of Dionysos, to make him appear bigger than life. To this end the artists effectively set two images of unequal size side-by-side, thus inviting the viewer to compare and contrast them. This method is exploited to add an extra dimension to the importance of an individual, be it a god or a mortal. In Dionysiac terms, this image building can only be achieved with the help of the thiasos. For it would be unthinkable to set a mere mortal in such close proximity to the god. So, indeed, Dionysos depends on his followers to demonstrate his superiority, in the same way that they depend on him for their popularity in art, because it is by virtue of their close association to the god that they enjoy this degree of popularity.

A variation of the "Stützmotiv" is seen in the High Empire mosaics of Rhodes (cat. 38, Fig. 41) and Chania (cat. 4, Figs. 72, 75), as well as the Late Empire mosaic of Argos (cat. 1, Figs. 42, 46, 48), where the god's arm rests on a column and not on the shoulders of one of his attendants. In these examples the weight of Dionysos' body is partly shifted onto the column, but in spite of this there is still no evidence of any unsteadiness or drunkenness. In these examples, which have numerous parallels in sculpture,¹⁸³ the column serves the same purpose that the thiasos member serves on the previous mosaics. It is simply an artistic device designed to project the image of the god in the best light possible. So on the whole the "Stützmotiv" is just another means of depicting a glorified Dionysiac epiphany.

In addition to these widely distributed motifs the mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor

¹⁸² V. Hutchinson, "A new book on Dionysiac iconography," *JRA* 5 (1992) 296.

¹⁸³ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 435-36 nos. 119-27; *LIMC* III (Dionysos in per. orient.) 516-18 nos. 13-32, 39.

display also subjects that are firmly connected to the Roman world, such as the *venatio* at Kos (cat. 27, 28, Figs. 188, 185) and Koroni (cat. 26, Fig. 189), and the gladiators panel from the House of Silenos at Kos (cat. 27, Fig. 187). In these cases the Latin origin of the subject matter cannot be disputed, even though both events gained momentum in the Greek world as well.¹⁸⁴

In terms of subject matter, therefore, the Greek Dionysiac mosaics of the Early and High Empire display an interesting mixture of old and new imagery, where motifs well-established in the Classical and Hellenistic mosaics of Greece are found side-by-side with new motifs that are known throughout the Roman world. In turn, these new motifs show a mixture of influences, in that some subjects, such as the theatre panels from Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 166, 168-69), remain faithful to Greek culture, whereas others, such as scenes of *venatores* and gladiators, exemplify originally Latin culture. Between the two there are numerous stock motifs which emerged during the Roman period, but show no clear evidence from either culture.

A mixture is also attested in composition, as well as in the extensive use of geometric ornament. The Greek Dionysiac mosaics of the Roman period show on the one hand old Hellenistic elements, whose uninterrupted history is clearly attested in the East, such as three dimensional motifs, dark ground and pseudo-*emblema* compositions. On the other hand, new elements appear which are firmly connected to the western tradition, such as the division of the mosaic surface into multiple compartments and ornamental motifs for which no parallels can be found in the East prior to the fourth century. Here, however, the Dionysiac mosaics show closer dependency on Italian models, as the majority of the pavements from the Early and High Empire display compartmental compositions and geometric ornament that clearly were derived from the West.

¹⁸⁴ See also, *infra*, pp. 257-58, 262.

4. Late Empire and Early Byzantine Period

The turbulent political situation of the late empire and its subsequent fall in the West affected all aspects of domestic and secular life in the Greek world as much as everywhere else. At the same time the spreading of Christianity gave rise to the construction of elaborate churches and provided new opportunities in the production of decorated pavements. As a result, from the mid fourth century onward the emphasis started to shift from pagan to Christian iconography. The change, however, was gradual and alongside the large number of pavements that were produced for the decoration of Christian churches, pagan mosaics were produced too for domestic and secular contexts. Among these are several Dionysiac mosaics.

The most exquisite example of the late empire comes from Ephesos, in Asia Minor (cat. 18, Figs. 18-20). A niche, in the south wall of the peristyle of apartment II in insula II of the so-called "Hanghäuser", is roofed with a vault decorated with mosaic. It covers an area of 3.7 x 2.0 m, or 7.4 m² and it is made, for the most part, of glass tesserae. The walls of the niche are encrusted with marble, as are all the walls of the peristyle, on top of which there was once a painted frieze. On the back wall a lunette, formed between the marble encrustations and the vault, is also decorated with mosaic depicting two peacocks holding a garland with their beaks and surrounded by other flora and fauna.¹⁸⁵ The mosaic of the vault has suffered a lot of damage but large enough sections have been preserved that enable us to reconstruct its iconography fairly closely. In the centre of the panel, a medallion framed with a bead-and-reel border set against a red ground contains the busts of Dionysos and Ariadne. Of Ariadne's figure on the left, only the head has survived. Her face, shown in three-quarter view, is expressive and full but shows none of the delicate modelling seen in the mosaics of the earlier periods. Instead, heavy black

¹⁸⁵ W. Jobst, *Ephesos* 8.2, 67, pls. 111, 122-24.

outlining and blotches of colour are used for both faces. Ariadne's head is turned toward Dionysos and is tilted downwards. Dionysos, in contrast, is holding his head up and turned slightly to the left. This way both figures are turned inward. His aloof-looking face is framed by blond curls and he wears an ivy wreath. A small section of the torso preserved on the right side shows that he is dressed in a blueish long-sleeved garment and is holding a thyrsos. The rest of the pavement is covered with a sprawling vine laden with clusters of grapes and birds perched on its branches. On the right hand-side, placed vertically on the edge of the panel, preserved segments show a winged figure, possibly an Eros, wearing a short yellow tunic with a wide belt and soft yellow boots. In the left hand he is holding a shepherd's crook and the left leg is stepping forward, indicating the direction of his movement. Yet he looks backward, toward a pair of leopards that he is leading by the reins. Enough of the animals' bodies is preserved to indicate that there are two of them. Moreover, a white wheel directly behind them indicates that they were pulling a cart loaded with grapes. All the figures and floral motifs are rendered on a bright blue ground which makes the rest of the colours appear brighter and creates an overall lively and impressive looking panel. The extensive use of glass tesserae is unique, among the Dionysiac mosaics, to this panel and is no doubt to be attributed to the fact that it is not laid on the floor, like the other mosaics discussed, and therefore the artist could afford to use a large quantity of a sensitive and less durable material, such as glass. The stunning polychromy and the fact that it decorates a wall surface and not a floor make this mosaic stand out from among the rest of the Dionysiac mosaics.

The precise date of the vault mosaic is somewhat problematic, for as Hellenkemper Salies demonstrated, the dates presented for the wall paintings and the mosaics of the house are not secure.¹⁸⁶ Strocka claims that this vault mosaic was produced at the time when the entire house underwent

¹⁸⁶ Hellenkemper Salies (1980) 776-77.

extensive renovations, c. 400-410.¹⁸⁷ He compares the niche of the peristyle with the two vaulted niches of the *triclinium*, also decorated with mosaics, for which he advocates a date of c. 400-410 on the basis of the stucco remains that held the marble veneer on the wall. Moreover, he claims that the mosaics of the peristyle and the *triclinium* vaults were produced at the same time because they display many similarities in style, similarities that Hellenkemper Salies finds less convincing.¹⁸⁸ The early fifth century date is espoused also by Vetters, who suggests that the mosaic in the niche of the peristyle was put in place possibly at the same time as the *opus sectile* veneer of the walls in Theodosian times,¹⁸⁹ and by Jobst, who compares the niche mosaic to several vault mosaics from Italy and in particular to that of S. Giovanni in Naples.¹⁹⁰ But Hellenkemper Salies, while she accepts the general period of the first quarter of the fifth century, believes that the date cannot be narrowed down to within ten years and advises caution over the very precise dating of c. 400-410 proposed by Strocka.¹⁹¹

In the third apartment in the same insula a Dionysiac mosaic decorates a room opening off the central peristyle (cat. 19, Figs. 21-22). A near square panel decorated with intersecting circles forming concave squares is placed in the middle of a plain white field. It is framed by concentric black and white fillets. The uniformity of the geometric motif is interrupted by a smaller square panel, approximately 0.56 m square, which, however, is not placed in the geometric centre of the larger square, as is usually the case in this type of composition. This pseudo-*emblema* is orientated toward the back wall of the room; it is framed by concentric black and white fillets and contains a bust of Dionysos. He is wearing

¹⁸⁷ V.M. Strocka, *Ephesos* 8.1, 76ff.

¹⁸⁸ Hellenkemper Salies (1980) 777.

¹⁸⁹ H. Vetters, *Ephesos* 8.2, 25. It appears that the so-called "Theodosian Renaissance" precipitated extensive renovations in the houses of Ephesos. Investigations have shown that the walls of the peristyle of the great *domus* in Insula I was also embellished with marble veneer at that time: *id.*, *Ephesos* 8.2, 20, 25 n.50.

¹⁹⁰ Jobst, *Ephesos* 8.2, 67-70.

¹⁹¹ Hellenkemper Salies (1980) 777.

a grey and beige garment tied over both shoulders and a wreath of ivy. He is also carrying a thyrsos which stretches diagonally over his right shoulder. His torso, turned slightly to the right, is in contrast to the movement of the head which is turned to the left and is tilted slightly upward. Curly brown hair, parted in the middle, frames the face and falls over the shoulders. Here too the attempt at modelling is unsuccessful and so facial characteristics and shadows are rendered in a linear manner or with patches of colour. It is interesting to note that this room and the one next to it, which is decorated with an almost identical mosaic with the head of Medusa in the centre, initially formed one long room measuring approximately 5.85 x 3.50 m. Evidence for dating the mosaic derives partly from the decoration of the walls which contain three successive layers of painting. Strocka has placed the earliest layer to c. 380, the second to c. 400-410, and the third layer to c. 440-50, which is contemporary with or later than the intervening dividing wall. He assigns the production of the mosaics to the same date as the third layer of wall paintings that decorate the room.¹⁹² Jobst, agreeing with Strocka, supports the c. 440-50 date for the mosaics and compares them to similar pavements found in other parts of the Empire.¹⁹³ Hellenkemper Salies on the other hand, challenges the mid fifth century date on the basis that a) the evidence provided by Jobst is tenuous and b) that stylistic and iconographic characteristics alone are not sufficient for the dating of the mosaics, and they should be considered along with the evidence from stratigraphy. She suggests that the Medusa and Dionysos mosaics initially formed one large pavement, whose subsequent division by the wall was concealed with paint. She suggests further that the mosaics might be contemporary with the second layer of painting which is of much better quality.¹⁹⁴ This, however, is contradicted by Jobst's account. He reveals that when the two mosaics were raised and

¹⁹² Strocka, *Ephesos* 8.1, 123, 125.

¹⁹³ Jobst, *Ephesos* 8.2, 98-99.

¹⁹⁴ Hellenkemper Salies (1980) 778.

restored, an earlier black and white mosaic was found underneath, which has been assigned a date c. 220-40 on the basis of a coin of Elagabalus that was found in the mosaic's bedding. The borders of this pavement, however, are considerably later. They are contemporary with the second layer of painting whose date, c. 400-410, serves as the basis for dating the borders to the same period.¹⁹⁵ The Medusa and Dionysos mosaic, therefore, must be later.

The last four Dionysiac mosaics to be discussed come from the Greek mainland: two from Larisa in central Greece and two from Argos in the Peloponnese. One mosaic from Larisa was found out of context (cat. 29, Figs. 147-50). It measures approximately 40 m² and consists of a central square panel with a Dionysiac theme. This is framed by multiple borders of straight tongued double guilloche, a row of triangles, black and white fillets, a wave pattern, a row of rhomboids, and by squares with hunting Erotes and wild beasts. In the corners are depictions of the four Seasons identified by inscriptions. All the squares are framed by a wide guilloche. The figures in this mosaic display a linear two-dimensional treatment where no attempt is made at modelling and not much attention is paid to scale and correct proportions. The figure of Dionysos in the central scene stretches almost the entire height of the panel, whereas the other figures are dwarfed. Dionysos is turned slightly to the left and wears a short garment, a nebris over the left shoulder, and boots. The upper part of his head is destroyed but we can see the long curls of the hair falling over his shoulders. By his feet is his favourite animal, the leopard, while at about the same height as his head there is a mask of Silenos which appears to be suspended in the air. In front of Dionysos is an altar on which stands a tiny satyr. He is looking up to the god extending his left hand to him and holding the shepherd's crook with the other. On a tall branch of vine behind the god, a goat-legged Pan is picking grapes, and a pair of figures, a bearded male and a female, both wearing wreaths, are standing behind Dionysos. Since they do not appear to belong to the

¹⁹⁵ Jobst, *Ephesos* 8.2, 97, 101, pls. 184-86; Hellenkemper Salies (1980) 778.

thiasos, it is possible that they may represent the owners of the house who are bringing offerings of grapes to the altar of Dionysos. All the figures are schematic and cartoon-like, including those of the Erotes and the Seasons. In a preliminary evaluation, this pavement was dated to the end of the fifth or the early sixth century, presumably on stylistic grounds, for there is no evidence from stratigraphy.¹⁹⁶

The second mosaic from Larisa (cat. 30, Figs. 151-53) decorated a large room of what is thought to have been a large house.¹⁹⁷ Here a wide border of intersecting circles encloses a rectangular panel, 6.4 x 4.3 m., which is framed by a polychrome guilloche. Four square panels with *xenia* motifs on each of the short sides of the rectangle frame a central square inscribed with a circle. The corners between the circle and the square contain busts of the Seasons, two of which, Spring and Summer, are identified by inscriptions. Autumn has no preserved inscription and Winter is completely destroyed. The circle, framed also with a polychrome guilloche, is decorated with a radiating shield of triangles and contains a medallion with a bust of Dionysos. The god is wearing a sleeved *chiton*, the nebris tied over the left shoulder, and an ivy wreath. With the right hand he is holding a thyrsos and over the left shoulder is a large bunch of grapes. Both the geometric ornament and the figural motifs are rendered in a wide variety of stone and glass tesserae which create a luxurious pavement. The figures, however, have the same schematic and cartoon-like appearance as those of the previous mosaic. Moreover, the rendering of Summer appears to be almost identical in both cases. The close similarities between the two pavements has led to suggestions of the existence of a large local mosaic workshop whose favourite creations included Dionysos and the Seasons.¹⁹⁸ In a preliminary evaluation the excavator places the mosaic at the

¹⁹⁶ L. Deriziotis, *ArchDelt* 31 (1976) chr.¹, 187-88; S. Sdrolia, *Θεσσαλικά Ψηφιδωτά* (Athens 1991) 19-21 no. 10.

¹⁹⁷ A. Tziafalias, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) chr.¹, 219-20, Fig. 1, pls 88 a-c, 89a, c.

¹⁹⁸ Tziafalias (supra n. 197). Tziafalias attributes to the same workshop a third mosaic, also Dionysiac, which, however, does not appear to have received even preliminary publication.

end of the fourth century on the basis of the excavation material and style.¹⁹⁹ If this and the preliminary evaluation of the previous pavement prove to be correct, then the vast difference in the date of their production would make the attribution of both mosaics to the same workshop very unlikely.

One of the Dionysiac mosaics at Argos (cat. 2, Figs. 29-30) is a large rectangle which is framed with a wide border of geometric ornament: triangles, pointing in different directions, are enclosed within squares to form an overall pattern. This is interrupted at regular intervals by small rectangular panels, each decorated with a different motif: intersecting circles, rhombus, guilloche, chequer-board, and rhomboids in perspective. This is followed by a thin border of twisted ribbon motif. The central panel contains a medallion of which only fragments are preserved. They show the front legs of a leaping animal, which suggest that, given the Dionysiac character of the representation, this may have been yet another depiction of the "feline rider". In the corners of the panel vines, growing out of the corners,²⁰⁰ support maenads. The four female figures are dressed in a light *chiton* and a heavy, high girded *peplos*, which parts at the front to reveal the legs underneath. They also wear short boots and hold a fan, made of feathers, on one hand. All of this gives the impression that they are dancing. With the other hand they help to support the central medallion. In between them, in the midst of the vine tendrils, is a Pan on one of the short sides, a dancing Silenos on the other short side, and birds on each of the long sides. In a preliminary evaluation, the excavator assigned the pavement to the period of the late empire, c. end of fourth - early fifth century A.D., on the basis of recognizable successive layers of occupation found on the site.²⁰¹

The second mosaic from Argos is a long rectangular panel that decorates the *stibadium* of the

¹⁹⁹ For a discussion of Dionysos and the Seasons motif on the mosaics of Larisa, see *infra*, pp. 214-17.

²⁰⁰ For the vine motifs, see also *supra*, pp. 65-68.

²⁰¹ Ch. Kritzas, *ArchDelt* 29 (1973-74) chr.², 231, 242.

Villa of the Falconer (cat. 1, Figs. 42-46, 48). The Dionysiac panel is placed at the entrance of the room and is facing to where the guests would have reclined. This panel contains many figures which are arranged symmetrically on either side of the standing figure of Dionysos. He is nude, apart from a mantle that covers the right leg and flows behind the back with one end falling over the left elbow. He is wearing boots and is holding a thyrsos covered with foliage along its entire length. The damage that the mosaic suffered on the left side prevents us from seeing what type of object he was holding in the right hand. But judging from the position of the leopard by his feet, who is looking up to the god with the mouth open, we can conjecture that it was a *kantharos* from which wine was poured into the leopard's mouth. Dionysos is leaning on a column encircled with a vine from which hang clusters of grapes. Just above the column we can see the ends of the ribbon that was tied to the thyrsos and the tail-end of a large drinking horn from which liquid, presumably wine, is dripping into the vessel that a young Eros on the right side of the panel is holding. To the right of Dionysos stand the small figure of Eros, shown from the back, a satyr with a leopard skin around his waist blowing on a horn, a dancing maenad dressed in a see-through long garment and holding $\kappa\rho\acute{o}\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha$, and finally a nude satyr holding a shepherd's crook. He is stepping toward the maenad with clearly lecherous intentions. The part of the panel on the other side of Dionysos is almost completely destroyed, with the exception of the leopard and the legs of a standing figure wearing a short garment, dark breeches, and short boots. In a Dionysiac context, this attire is commonly connected with the late antique image of Papposilenos and therefore, in spite of the fragmentary state of preservation of this figure, we can be quite certain that it belonged to Papposilenos. The old satyr is shown wearing the same type of costume in the mosaic from the House of Aion in Nea Paphos in Cyprus and possibly also in the mosaic from Sarrîn in Syria.²⁰²

²⁰² The identification of the costume on the Sarrîn mosaic is uncertain, because the legs of Silenos on that pavement were destroyed and restored. For the mosaic of Sarrîn, see Balty (1990) 38, pl. C, XII.1. For Nea Paphos, see W.A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (Mainz 1985) pl. 2-4, 19; W.A. Daszewski and D. Michaelides, *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* (Ravenna 1988) 56-70, Figs. 26-33. Also see a more detailed

Although this mosaic is of much better quality than the one at Larisa (cat. 29), the rendering of the figures follows the same trend: heavy outlines, very little modelling, odd proportions, and minimal internal detail. This is true of all the figures, although here the artist has clearly paid more attention to the god's figure, or most likely used an older model, and at least the proportions of Dionysos' body are good. The types of figures and the joviality they display are commonplace in Dionysiac iconography and certainly appropriate for the decoration of a dining room. So is the large drinking horn which is filling up the vessel that Eros is holding. Åkerström-Hougen has suggested that the object that Dionysos is holding is a cornucopia, which may "symbolize the generous supply of wine to be expected at the owner's table" or it may allude "to the miracle of the invention of wine which formed part of the Dionysiac mysteries".²⁰³ I think that it is more likely that what Dionysos is holding is a large drinking horn, for which a number of parallels exist. In either case, I do not think that we need to read a deeper meaning into the depiction of the vessel in this scene other than the desire to remind the guests in the room of the pleasures they will experience by sampling the god's special gift whose source is inexhaustible. This message fits both with the activities of the banquet room and the merriment that governs the entire scene. This and all the other mosaics from the Villa of the Falconer are dated to the early sixth century A.D. on stylistic grounds.²⁰⁴

Conclusions - Late Empire and Early Byzantine period

The number of Dionysiac mosaics from the Late Empire and Early Byzantine period is considerably smaller than that of the first four centuries of the Empire. This is certainly not surprising,

discussion, *infra*, pp. 194-205.

²⁰³ G. Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* (Stockholm 1974) 115.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, 69-71.

considering that from the time of Constantine the Great onward Christians were able to worship openly. This gave rise to the construction of numerous Christian churches and brought about a change in mosaic decoration. For starting in the mid fourth century, the emphasis starts to shift from pagan to Christian motifs, which were used to adorn the new churches. It is interesting, therefore, that in spite of the growing number of Christians and the official disapproval of pagan practices, to find Dionysiac mosaics produced during this period. These, however, where the context is known, come from private houses.

For the most part, the Dionysiac themes that appear at this time show a continuation from the previous period. Half of the mosaics contain generic representations with Dionysiac busts which make no allusion to Dionysiac cult. When these are combined with vines, as in the vault mosaic at Ephesos (cat. 18) or the mosaic of Argos (cat. 2), the imagery moves one step closer to the concurrent Christian iconography in which vines are commonplace.

It is also interesting to find depictions of Dionysos and his revelling thiasos as late as the early sixth century A.D. This, as we have seen, is one of the oldest motifs in the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece, as it appears for the first time at Olynthos (cat. 33). There is, however, a distinct difference in the treatment of the motif between the two representations, because at Olynthos the killing and tearing of live animals apart suggests a cult activity. In contrast, at Argos (cat. 1), the scene is one of merriment which solely aims to elate the banqueters. It contains no hidden meaning that can pose a threat to the changing religious beliefs. The same deduction can be made for the second mosaic from Argos (cat. 2), for there too, the imagery of the thiasos dancing amid the sprawling vines holds no special meaning beyond that of a general well-being. This feeling of well-being is also projected by the two representations from Larisa (cat. 29-30), where the presence of the Seasons, the hunting of animals, the *xenia* motifs, and the offering of grapes at the altar aim to conjure images of general prosperity and happiness, feelings that were deeply rooted in both pagan and Christian beliefs.

It becomes clear, therefore, that the Dionysiac imagery that was chosen for the mosaics of the

Late Empire and Early Byzantine period was primarily decorative, which is the reason why it continued to be produced as late as the sixth century.

5. Chronology

The overview of the Dionysiac mosaics reinforces the problems of chronology that the study of the mosaics of Greece faces. In this body of pavements, as in the rest of the mosaics of Greece, there are very few external grounds that could provide *termini post* and *ante quos* which would enable us to assign specific dates. The lack of such evidence severely hinders a thorough study of the mosaics. Occasionally historical events, such as the expansion of the city of Olynthos to the north hill in 432 B.C. and its destruction by Philip II of Macedon in 348 B.C., or the destruction of Delos by Mithridates in 88 B.C., or the destruction of Sparta in A.D. 267 by the invasion of the Heruli, provide chronological parameters within which the date of the pavements can be sought. Therefore, the years of the Athenian supremacy at Delos, 166 - 69 B.C., serve as *termini* for the majority of the Delian pavements, *termini* that Bruneau was able to narrow down considerably to the years between 130 - 88 B.C. This, however, was possible only because several of these pavements could be dated on external grounds.²⁰⁵

The problem is considerably greater with the mosaics of the Roman period. Some of the pavements can be dated fairly closely on external grounds. Thus at Pergamon the mosaics from building "Z" (cat. 35-36) are dated on evidence from stratigraphy to the house's last phase of construction, c. A.D. 100 or shortly after. Similarly the fifth century floor mosaic from Ephesos (cat. 19) appears to be securely dated to c. A.D. 440-50 on the evidence provided by the superimposition of two mosaics in the same room and their relevant position with the last two successive layers of wall paintings, which are

²⁰⁵ *Delos* XXIX, 95-99.

believed to be contemporary with the superimposed pavements.²⁰⁶ At Knossos the chronological parameters are broader, as the production of the mosaics from the Villa Dionysos (cat. 23, 24, 25) are placed within limits of about fifty years, "not earlier than the reign of Hadrian...and no later than 170-80"²⁰⁷, or to c. A.D. 160-200.²⁰⁸ The dating of the Pergamon, Ephesos, and Knossos pavements is important to this study because it provides some indication about artistic and compositional trends at the time of the pavements' production. However, their limited number and, in the case of Knossos, the fairly broad chronological parameters do not allow a clear enough picture to emerge which could provide a general framework for the dating of all Dionysiac mosaics in the region.

The vast majority of the mosaics can only be dated on stylistic grounds, a method tenuous at best and potentially dangerous. The Dionysiac mosaics of the Roman period are considerably different in composition, polychromy, and decorative motifs from those of the Hellenistic period and therefore are easily distinguishable from their predecessors. But in the absence of external criteria, any effort to assign specific dates to the pavements becomes impossible.

We may gain some help by observations in the rendering of the human figure where there is an obvious progression. Such observations could help to establish some sort of chronological parameters. Thus, the careful modelling of the body effected by subtle colour gradation at Dion for example (cat. 16, Fig. 55), slowly gives way to outlines and patches of colour seen at Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 96-98), and finally it breaks down completely at Argos (cat. 1, Figs. 45-46) and Larisa (cat. 29, Figs. 147, 149-50), where very little effort is made toward a realistic and well proportioned human figure. However, the chronological parameters that the evolution of human representations create are vague and, invariably,

²⁰⁶ *supra*, pp. 87-88.

²⁰⁷ Hayes (*supra* n. 45).

²⁰⁸ *supra*, p. 47.

attempts to date a mosaic on the basis of these criteria result in huge approximations. Moreover, an additional danger to this method of dating is the dependence of motifs or perhaps entire designs on older models. This dependence is common in depictions of Dionysos throughout the imperial period and even as late as the early Byzantine period, as the mosaic of Argos (cat. 1) demonstrates. So it would be even less effective for the dating of Dionysiac mosaics than perhaps for mosaics with different representations.

For some pavements of the Roman period parallels can be drawn with dated mosaics from other parts of the Empire. Such comparisons, however, useful as they may be in the absence of all other evidence, cannot be considered as proof for dating the Greek mosaics. For although there is much common ground in the evolution of mosaics throughout the Roman Provinces, it is by no means uniform. Moreover, it would be difficult to determine how closely, chronologically, Greek mosaicists followed trends imported from other parts of the Empire on account of the country's earlier strong mosaic tradition, which may have delayed the adoption of new motifs.

In view of the lack of evidence from archaeological finds, the lack of publications, and the gap which exists from the sack of Delos by pirates in 69 B.C. to the end of the first century A.D., it is extremely difficult to establish an accurate framework for the dating of the Dionysiac mosaics in Greece. This may become possible when the publication of the pavements from important sites such as Dion, Kos, and Sparta takes place. Meanwhile, the study of some of the geometric ornament of the mosaics of the Roman period which is currently underway may provide some answers to the question of chronology.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT OF THE DIONYSIAC MOSAICS

Several of the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece were brought to light by chance in a farmer's field or as a result of excavations for modern construction. The discovery of pavements under these conditions often necessitated their hasty removal from the site before sufficient information about the site, the stratigraphy, and related finds could be collected and analyzed. Consequently, the context, function, and date of these mosaics cannot be established or re-examined. Many other pavements, however, were discovered as a result of systematic excavations and have received varying degrees of publication. More importantly, most of these remain in situ, which allows the periodical re-evaluation of earlier finds and theories in the wake of more recent discoveries.

The Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor are seldom found in public or semi-public buildings and once only on walls. For the most part, where the context is known, Dionysiac mosaics decorate the floors of the more public rooms of private houses. As luxury and highly decorative items, mosaics, especially those with figural motifs, were highly prized and were usually placed in areas where they could be noticed and admired by visitors. But at the same time they were also prized for their utilitarian qualities since their durability and imperviousness made them suitable floor coverings for areas which were exposed to water, such as peristyles, *nymphaea*, and dining rooms. When more than one mosaic is found in the same house, the most elaborate one decorates a reception room. Occasionally, the choice of themes used in the overall decorative scheme of the house and the multiplicity of the same type of imagery suggests that its use was not strictly residential, but it may have been used for other

purposes, such as a cult centre. Such deductions have been made often for buildings, in Greece or elsewhere, whose floors are paved by more than one Dionysiac mosaic.

In Greece and the coast of Asia Minor Dionysiac mosaics decorate a variety of spaces. With one exception, the mosaic of Ephesos (cat. 18) which decorates the vault of a niche in a peristyle, the mosaics are used for the decoration of floors. A few, as at Delos (cat. 13, 14) and Kos (cat. 27), are found in the peristyle or courtyard; occasionally they are found in less common spaces, such as the *nymphaeum* at Rhodes (cat. 38) and a *cubiculum* at Knossos (cat. 24); but the majority of the pavements come from the richly decorated reception rooms. These rooms are usually arranged around a central peristyle (cat. nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 23, 24, 25, 33, 34, 35, 36) and in some cases they can be clearly identified as dining rooms by their rich decoration, different architectural elements, their size and position within the house, and sometimes also by the layout of the pavement (cat. nos. 1, 4, 8, 16, 33, 34).

The Classical and early Hellenistic *andrones* at Olynthos (cat. 33) and at Pella (cat. 34) are distinguished by two architectural elements: the off-centred doorway, where a smaller mosaic panel could be placed (cat. 33, Fig. 52), and the raised platform, which runs around the perimeter of the room and whose function was to support the dining couches (Figs. 49, 63). These elements set this room apart from every other room in the house, and designate it as a dining room. The platform also defines the area that is to be decorated with mosaic. In the houses of the later Hellenistic period, however, this distinction cannot always be made as easily, because, in most cases, the elimination of the platform altered the character of the dining room considerably. Often in the later Hellenistic period, the pavement consists of a plain edging band, similar in width and decoration to the platform, which is placed around the central carpet, creating the illusion of a platform. This illusion was often reinforced by the use of a contrasting technique, where considerably larger tesserae or irregular chips were used for the edging band. This arrangement is seen clearly in the elaborately decorated rooms of the House of the Masks at Delos (cat.

10, 11, Figs. 66, 68, 173). The absence of the platform and the appearance of one or two smaller rooms, which are often found at the side or at the back of the main room, have led to the deduction that such rooms were used as dining rooms in the later Hellenistic period, but they were not dedicated to dining alone; they had a multiple function.¹ On account of these changes, most scholars, in reference to such rooms, use the general term *oikos*, which indicates the importance of the room without assigning a specific use to it.²

Although the vast majority of the *oikoi* from the later Hellenistic period do not have a platform, exceptions do occur. Occasionally *oikoi* with raised platforms are found even at this time, as for example, at the *oikos* of the Îlot des Bijoux (cat. 8) at Delos. But here the edge of the platform is framed with a row of marble plaques, which provide an even clearer definition for the area that contains the mosaic carpet.³

Further changes take place in the make-up of the dining room in the imperial period, when the Roman *triclinium* is introduced to the Greek world. In these rooms, three couches are placed along the back and side walls, at right angles to each other, forming a "U" and leaving enough room at the front of the room for the servants to move around and for the entertainers. This arrangement creates a T-shape mosaic carpet, which easily identifies the Roman *triclinium* at Dion (cat. 16, Fig. 53) and at Chania (cat. 4, Figs. 71-72, 154), among many others throughout the Roman empire. In these rooms the three couches were positioned over a white mosaic border which is modestly decorated with a black grid pattern, while more elaborate borders frame the scenes contained on the upright and the horizontal parts of the "T". This arrangement remains popular throughout the imperial period, but alongside this, from the third

¹ Dunbabin (1991) 122.

² The word *oikos* was used in classical times to designate the most important room in the house, but it also applied to the house as a whole and often to temples as well. On account of its generic meaning, its use in relation to the dining room was often defined by the number of couches that the room could accommodate, i.e. οἶκος τρίκλινος or οἶκος πεντάκλινος.

³ This is one of four known *oikoi* at Delos which have raised platforms. For the other three, see: *Delos* XXIX, 174 no. 73, 205-206 no. 152, 295-300 no. 306.

century onwards, another manner of reclining at dinner becomes popular. In this case, the couches were not positioned at right angles to one another, as was the case in the *andrones* and the *triclinia*. Instead, the banqueters reclined on a semi-circular couch called *stibadium* or *sigma-couch*. One of the best examples of this arrangement is marked on the floor of a room in the Villa of the Falconer at Argos (cat. 1, Fig. 42)⁴ and clearly identifies this room as a dining room.

These characteristics found in the pavements, then, along with the elaborate decoration of the walls and the usually prominent position that the rooms they decorate occupy in the building, designate them as dining rooms. The same clear distinction, however, cannot be made for other elaborately decorated rooms with Dionysiac mosaics, such as those at Chania (cat. 3), Corinth (cat. 5, 6, 7), Dion (cat. 17), Ephesos (cat. 19), Knossos (cat. 23, 25), Kos (cat. 28), Pergamon (cat. 35, 36), and Sparta (cat. 40). The best that can be said about these rooms is that they were important reception rooms, which at times, may have also been used for dining. There is one exception, however. The layout of the mosaic in room N2 at "Villa Dionysos" at Knossos (cat. 24, Fig. 10) suggests that this room was most likely a *cubiculum*. For here the rectangular panel with the geometric ornament that is placed against the back wall and behind the Dionysiac panel is appropriately positioned to accommodate one or more couches.⁵ Similar arrangements are known in Italy from the late Republican period onwards. Several examples can be seen in the houses at Pompeii where sometimes the area where the couch was positioned is marked by an alcove. As *cubicula* were used not only for sleeping, but also for relaxation, meeting close friends, or doing business they were often centrally located within the house and were elaborately decorated.⁶

⁴ Dunbabin (1991) 128ff; Dunbabin (1996) 74ff; Åkerström-Hougen (supra p. 92 n. 203) 36, 116-17, pl. 7.2, Fig. 74.

⁵ For the layout of the mosaic, see supra, p. 50.

⁶ J.R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C. - A.D. 250* (Berkeley 1991) 13; also see A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton 1994) 17, 96-97, Fig. 5.2. For literary references to activities that took place in *cubicula*, see *id.*, 219 n. 2.

The cult of Dionysos, which was known in Greece from at least the sixth century B.C.,⁷ reached its zenith in the Roman imperial period. But the Dionysiac cult, even though it was acknowledged in public with temples and formal celebrations, was also a private cult whose ritual practices took place in the seclusion of small cult centres. On account of the secrecy that governed the Dionysiac mysteries, very little is known either about the ritual itself or the make-up of the space where it was practised.⁸ But one thing we can reasonably assume is that Dionysiac imagery would have been very strong in all cult centres. Wall paintings, mosaics, statues, relief sculpture, and decorated vessels would have been carefully chosen to promote this imagery. Therefore, when more than one Dionysiac pavement is found within the same building, scholars are often inclined to postulate a non-residential use for the building and to suggest the existence of a cult centre. This is the case in the so-called "Villa Dionysos" at Dion and at Knossos. At Dion one of the two Dionysiac mosaics decorates the floor of what is clearly a *triclinium* (cat. 16, Fig. 53). The other mosaic (cat. 17, Fig. 9) is inserted in the middle of a geometric-designed floor that decorates a long apsidal room. Here, in addition to the mosaic, archaeologists discovered a marble statue of Dionysos, which may have stood in the apse. On account of the strong Dionysiac presence in the building, Pandermalis suggests that this was not an ordinary villa. In particular, he suggests that the apsidal room with the Dionysiac mosaic and the statue of the god was dedicated to the worship of Dionysos.⁹

At Knossos the three largest rooms of the building are decorated with Dionysiac mosaics (cat. 23, 24, 25). A fourth room (Room S3, Fig. 10), decorated with a non-Dionysiac mosaic, has a niche at

⁷ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985) 290ff.

⁸ F. Graf, "Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions," in T.H. Carpenter and C.A. Faraone, eds., *Masks of Dionysos* (Ithaca & London 1993) 239-58; also W. Burkert, "Bacchic *Teletai*," *ibid.* 259-75.

⁹ Pandermalis, *AEMT* 2, 147, Fig. 1.

the one end, on account of which it is thought to have been a shrine.¹⁰ Moreover, a range of wine-amphorae and other domestic and table-ware, some of which are "peculiar to this site", led John Hayes to suggest that "these, if indeed they represent what was actually used in the building, tend to confirm its Dionysiac associations, as revealed by its mosaics and shrine, and its probable use as a dining and drinking establishment".¹¹ Thus, on the basis of the pottery remains, which are by no means conclusive, the so-called shrine, fragments of wall painting said to depict heads of members of the thiasos, and, most of all, the Dionysiac character of the mosaics, Hayes, Waywell, and Sanders¹² suggest that it is likely that the building may have been a cult centre and not a private house. It is interesting that the primary basis for these suggestions is the iconography of the mosaics, which some scholars connect to the Dionysiac cult. Sanders refers to them as "mosaics of the Dionysiac cult",¹³ while Waywell says that "the theme of the mosaics...suggests that it (the building) is likely to have been linked to the cult of Dionysos and was possibly a religious or cult centre...".¹⁴ Yet when we look at the mosaics there is no evidence of any specific iconographic elements which allude to ritual practices or present Dionysos as a cult object. In fact, the imagery in the mosaics is strictly generic and does not allude to any one aspect of Dionysos' multi-faceted nature. The same applies to the iconography of the Dion mosaic (cat. 17), where Dionysos is shown seated on a throne. Indeed, it is always possible that these motifs may have been used to decorate rooms where some cult activity took place, but there is no direct connection to it. Nor does the presence of more than one Dionysiac mosaic within the same building necessarily imply that it was

¹⁰ M.S. Hood, *JHS* 78-79 (1958-59) 22, Fig. 38.

¹¹ J.W. Hayes, "The Villa Dionysos excavations, Knossos: The Pottery," *ABSA* 78 (1983) 102, 109, 111.

¹² *ibid.*, 102; Waywell (1983) 12; I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982) 69.

¹³ Sanders (*supra* n. 12) 69.

¹⁴ Waywell (1983) 12-13.

a cult centre. Dionysos was by far the most popular god of the Roman pantheon and a favourite of mosaicists and other artists who found in him rich material for their representations. Therefore, it is not implausible to attribute the multiplicity of Dionysiac imagery within the same house either to the choice or even the specialty of a local workshop, or to the preference of the patron who commissioned them. Nor, if we accept a strictly residential use for these buildings, need we necessarily assume that their owners were Dionysiac initiates.¹⁵ To do so, on the basis of a few generic motifs grouped together, would be misleading. As for the remaining artifacts presented as evidence of cult activity, none of these is secure enough to support suggestions of a religious centre. The statue found lying in the apsidal room at Dion may have been taken there from another part of the building, in the same way that the statues of the philosophers found in the nearby *triclinium* appear to have been moved there from another room.¹⁶

There are a number of recorded cases where statuary was removed from its original position and was deposited elsewhere, either in antiquity or in more recent history. Such finds can often create wrong impressions, particularly as they may be used for dating purposes. An interesting example of this is the large statue of Hadrian, which was found over one of the mosaics on the north side of the peristyle at the Villa Dionysos at Knossos. While the original excavator had pointed out that the statue did not belong to the villa but had been buried there in recent times, these records were not known until very recently.¹⁷ Consequently, scholars were led to the conclusion that the statue belonged to the villa and used it as evidence for dating the building.¹⁸

At the present time, there are still a number of things that are not very clear about the

¹⁵ For more on this, see Dunbabin (1978) 185-86.

¹⁶ Pandermalis, *AEMT* 1, 183, Fig. 6.

¹⁷ The statue was discovered in 1935 by Hutchinson. For his views, see S. Paton, "The Villa Dionysos and its Predecessors," in *Post-Minoan Crete Colloquium* (forthcoming).

¹⁸ Sanders (*supra* n. 12) 70; Hayes (*supra* n. 11) 98.

architecture of the Villa Dionysos at Knossos. But the presence of a niche in room S3 (Fig. 10) need not to be interpreted as evidence of cultic activity in the building. According to the recent re-evaluation of the architectural remains, it appears that room S3 did not open directly to the peristyle, as one would expect it to if its use was not private. Instead, access to it was provided through room S2, which was initially connected with the smaller room behind it (Room S4) and formed a single room, probably a *cubiculum*.¹⁹ The same hypothesis is now also presented for Room S3, on account of the shape of the room and the mosaic. The records also reveal that the niche on the west wall of the room was a late addition, possibly put in place at the same time that the mosaic was made. The evidence from the architectural remains strongly suggests that this took place not long before the villa was destroyed, c. A.D. 200.²⁰ If these rooms were *cubacula*, then it raises their number in the Villa to three, which in turn points to a residential function for the building. As for the evidence from the pottery, that too is inconclusive, for it is not clear if and for what purpose the different vessels were used in the "Villa Dionysos". The same uncertainty surrounds the wall painting fragments, which according to Sanders depict women and satyrs. This too does not find much support in the latest reports.

Another building for which a connection to cult activity has been proposed is the so-called Baccheion at Melos. The remains of this building, excavated at the end of the last century, consist of a long room, surrounded by columns, whose floor is paved with five connected mosaic panels (cat. 31, Figs. 25, 28).²¹ On top of the first panel, which is decorated with a sprawling vine, archaeologists found a marble base supporting a statue. This is believed to have stood in a niche on the SE corner of the room. Its lower part consists of a plain marble shaft which bears the inscription "M. MAPION ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΝ

¹⁹ D. Blackman, 107. Blackman notes that the two rooms originally formed a single rectangular room, which at a later date was divided into two unequal parts.

²⁰ S. Paton (supra n. 17). Some of this information was reconfirmed to me through private communication with Dr. Paton, to whom I am very grateful.

²¹ For the iconography of the mosaic, see supra, pp. 64-69; for the masks, see infra, p. 241.

ΤΟΝ ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΝ ΟΙ ΜΥΣΤΑΙ",²² while the upper part shows the Ἱεροφάντης dressed in a short *chiton*, a mantle, and a nebris. In addition to this, three other pieces of sculpture were found, all of them inscribed: a column, found in a near by field, with the inscription "ΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ ΤΡΙΕΤΗΡΙΚΩ";²³ a statue of Tyche holding Ploutos, set between columns and bearing the inscription "ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ ΜΗΛΟΥ ΕΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ ΚΤΙΣΤΗ ΕΙΕΡΩΝ ΜΥΣΤΩΝ";²⁴ and a marble portrait bust of Aurelia Euposia with an inscription advising us that it was set up "...ΕΝ ΤΩ ΙΔΙΩ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΩ" by the "ΠΕΡΙΒΩΜΙΟΙ".²⁵ Another inscription, reading "ΜΟΝΟΝ ΜΗ ΥΔΩΡ",²⁶ is shown on the second panel of the pavement itself where a fisherman is depicted in a circular panel surrounded by different species of fish. The iconography of this panel and the meaning of the inscription have invited a number of interpretations by different scholars. The original excavators, Smith and Bosanquet, interpreted the inscription to mean "Give us anything but water"²⁷ and "Give them water and they will swim".²⁸ A much later interpretation by Geyer suggests that the panel of the fish and the panel of the vine should be viewed together and be interpreted to represent the earth and the sea. Both themes, Geyer claims, would be appropriate for the decoration of a Dionysiac cult building.²⁹ Moreover, she believes that the inscription was directed to the fish. In the latest evaluation of the building and its artifacts, however,

²² IG XII 3, 1125; C. Smith, 'Inscriptions from Melos,' *JHS* 17 (1897) 14; R.C. Bosanquet, 'Excavations of the British School at Melos,' *JHS* 18 (1898) 74-75.

²³ IG XII 3, 1089; Smith (supra. n. 22) 14.

²⁴ IG XII 3, 1093; Bosanquet (supra n. 22) 60-61, Fig. 1.

²⁵ IG XII 3, 1126; Smith (supra n. 22) 16; Bosanquet (supra n. 22) 61, 76-79.

²⁶ IG XII 3, 1244.

²⁷ C. Smith, 'Archaeology in Greece, 1895-96,' *JHS* 16 (1896) 354-55.

²⁸ Bosanquet (supra n. 22) 68.

²⁹ A. Geyer, *Das Problem des Realitätsbezuges in der dionysischen Bildkunst der Kaiserzeit* (Würzburg 1977) 140-41.

Moormann believes that the inscription was aimed at the visitors, warning them that they had to drink wine.³⁰ Even though there is clearly no consensus about the meaning of the inscription, it is generally thought to allude to the activities of the cult of Dionysos. Therefore, on the basis of the sculptures, all of which were dated to the early decades of the third century A.D.,³¹ and especially the inscriptions, archaeologists were led to the belief that the building was a Baccheion, a meeting place for Dionysos' followers.

Similar dedicatory inscriptions have been found elsewhere. The most informative is the second century inscription of Agrippinilla, dedicated by some four hundred MYCTAI, whose names and titles are inscribed on the base of her statue.³² Another interesting inscription is the one set up by the Iobacchi in Athens, which Dörpfeld believed marked the site of the sanctuary of Dionysos in Limnai, the Baccheion, on the southwest slope of the Areopagus.³³ Later observers, however, identified those remains with the shrine of Herakles Alexikakos and placed the Baccheion further away, in the Ilissos area. These inscriptions are very important as they provide valuable information about the groups of people which participated in the mysteries of Dionysos. They do not, however, give any indication of what took place during the mysteries or about the places where the participants met. Some of them were

³⁰ E. M. Moormann, "Imperial Roman Mosaics at Leiden," *OMRO* 71 (1991) 99. See also, *supra*, pp. 68-69.

³¹ Bosanquet (*supra* n. 22) 77.

³² This inscription was found at Torre Nova, outside of Rome, and it is dated to A.D. 160-65. For different interpretations of the inscription, see A. Vogliano and F. Cumont, "La grande iscrizione bacchica del Metropolitan Museum," *AJA* 37 (1933) 215ff, pls. XXVII-XXIX; M.P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Lund 1957) 46-47; J. Scheid, "Le Thiase du Metropolitan Museum (IGUR I, 160)," in *L' Association Dionysiaque dans les Sociétés Anciennes. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l' École française de Rome (Rome 24-25 mai 1984)*, (Rome 1986) 275-90. For other evidence of Dionysiac mysteries in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, see Nilsson, *ibid.*, 45-66.

³³ IG, ii², 1368; SIG, 1109; W. Dörpfeld, "Die Ausgrabungen am Westabhange der Akropolis. II.," *AthMitt* 20 (1895) 176-206; L. Moretti, "Il Regolamento degli Iobacchi Ateniesi," in *L' Association Dionysiaque dans les Sociétés Anciennes* (*supra* n. 32) 247-59; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York 1971) 274, 332.

undoubtedly elaborately decorated and had mosaic pavements. An inscription on a third century pavement from Smyrna is a clear testimony to both the existence of a Baccheion in that city and to its mosaic decoration, which was paid by Ti. Iul. Septimius Iulianos, a citizen of Smyrna: "Τι(βέριος) Ἰού(λιος) Σεπτίμιος Ἰουλιανός Σμυρναῖος, ἐγ̃ προγόνων βουλευτής, περιοδονεΐκης, ξυστάρχης, δεσπότης ἀπὸ προγόνων τοῦ κτήματος, τὴν ψηφοθεσίαν τῷ Βαχχεΐῳ ἐποισάμην."³⁴ The pavement in this case was decorated with branches of ivy growing out of *kantharoi* and a lion which is placed under the inscription.

At Melos, I think that the evidence which is presented in support of a Baccheion on this site is inconclusive. For in the first place, Bosanquet's comparison of the Melos "Baccheion" with that of Athens is no longer applicable. Secondly, even though all the sculptures were thought to have been produced at the same period, the lettering of the inscriptions indicates that they are not all contemporary.³⁵ And thirdly, the contemporaneity of the inscriptions and the mosaic in this long room is debatable. Bosanquet suggests that when the supports that held the statue of the hierophant in the niche were removed, the statue was pushed on to the mosaic, where it lay until its discovery in 1896, while the head had been found earlier a few metres away. As was argued earlier for the statue of Dionysos found at Dion,³⁶ the discovery of the sculptures at this site cannot automatically support the assumption that they belonged to this building. They could have been transported and deposited there from elsewhere, as was the case with the statue of Hadrian at Knossos. Moreover, while depictions of the vine are plentiful on Dionysiac mosaics,³⁷ at the same time they are also very common on Christian

³⁴ SEG XV (1958) 180 no. 727; J. Robert & L. Robert, *BullEp* (1944) 224 no. 159a. For the inscription and the mosaic, see G. Rohde, "Yeni Bulunan Kitabeler Hakkında (I)," *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve etnografya dergisi* 4 (1940) 59 no. 3; *id.*, "Neue Inschriftenfunde, (I)," *ibid*, 67-71 no. 3, Figs. 4-6.

³⁵ Bosanquet (*supra* n. 22) 76.

³⁶ *supra*, p. 103.

³⁷ *supra*, pp. 65-68.

mosaics. As Bosanquet already in 1898 pointed out, the closest parallel for the vine mosaic at Melos was found in a Christian church. So in the absence of clear Dionysiac emblems in this panel, its Dionysiac nature is questionable. As for the fisherman and the fish that decorate the adjoining panel, there is nothing specific there that would allow us to connect it to the world of Dionysos. The masks in the corners naturally come closer to Dionysiac imagery, but these too, as will be argued later,³⁸ appear to be simply decorative and hold no specific meaning. Thus, on the basis of our present knowledge, any attempt to define more closely the function of this building is impossible.

The last building whose identity is questionable and should be explored further is the House of the Masks at Delos (Fig. 66). Long ago, Chamonard suggested that the house served as the seat of the Dionysiac *technitai*, a place where they could practise their performances. He further suggested that the house may have been the generous gift of a victorious poet or a *choregos*, whose victories at the dramatic festivals were commemorated on the pavements of the house.³⁹ Four rooms in this house, placed next to one another, open on to the peristyle and are decorated with mosaics: the one with an *emblema* depicting Dionysos on the back of a feline (cat. 10, Fig. 69), the other with a geometric field framed with borders depicting New Comedy masks (cat. 11, Figs. 173-74), the third with a panel depicting Silenos dancing to the tune of a flautist (cat. 12, Fig. 165), and the fourth with an amphora and a palm branch placed between two medallions with floral ornament.⁴⁰ Chamonard's suggestion that the house was for the use of the artists of Dionysos is based a) on the proximity of the house to the theatre, and b) on the subject of at least three of the mosaics. Of these one (cat. 10), he claimed, represented tragedy, the other (cat. 11) comedy, and the third (cat. 12) satyr play.⁴¹ Yet, as will be argued in the following chapters, there

³⁸ *infra*, p. 242.

³⁹ *Delos* XIV, 8.

⁴⁰ *Delos* XXIX, 256-60 no. 217, Figs. 204-210.

⁴¹ *Delos* XIV, 40.

are no grounds to suggest that Dionysos' costume (cat. 10) is that worn by actors of tragedy. Nor do the comedy masks on the mosaic of the *oikos* (cat. 11) need necessarily to be interpreted as a depiction of theatrical performance. For although their connection to theatre practice cannot be disputed, theatre masks are commonly found in floor and wall decoration and they may be used, as Green argued, "as a popular image that carries with it the idea of festivity";⁴² in this case to decorate a room that was synonymous with festivity. We find them again at Delos, in the same context, in the *oikos* of the Îlot des Bijoux (cat. 8, Figs. 176-80). Finally the imagery of the flautist and the dancing Silenos of the neighbouring room does not allow us to place it firmly in the world of the theatre and satyr play.⁴³

As for the theory that the House of the Masks was for the exclusive use of the Dionysiac *technitai*, this would indicate that the *technitai* of Dionysos at Delos were a strong group. Yet, there is no evidence of a local guild, nor do we know of any local actors.⁴⁴ We know that strong guilds existed in other cities and regions, such as Athens, Isthmia, Nemea, and Boiotia, to name but a few, and we know that *technitai* from such cities visited Delos.⁴⁵ We also know that foreigners were allowed to own property at Delos, and therefore it is possible that *technitai* from another city may have owned the House of the Masks. It is possible but not provable, because nothing is known about its ownership. This lack of evidence is in fact conspicuous, given the prominence of the House of the Masks within the local community and the vast amount of inscriptions that have been preserved at Delos.

Until the early Christian period, when numerous pavements were produced for the decoration of Christian churches, mosaics were rarely used in the decoration of public buildings in Greece. Among

⁴² Green (1994) 140.

⁴³ For a discussion of this motif and the theatre masks, see *infra*, pp. 223-25, 234-39. For Dionysos' costume, see *infra*, pp. 138-52.

⁴⁴ G.M. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama* (London 1967) 20.

⁴⁵ See *DFA*², 279-321; Csapo & Slater, 239-55; Sifakis (*supra* n. 44) 19-23.

the Dionysiac mosaics, only one, the mosaic of Trikala (cat. 43), was clearly designed to decorate a public space. This pavement was one of several mosaics that were produced to decorate the Asklepieion of the ancient town of Trikki, the present day city of Trikala. Archaeological exploration indicates that the building was in existence in the late Hellenistic period, but in the second quarter of the third century A.D. it was reconstructed and the interior was altered considerably to create a large unified space. The central representation of the mosaics that paved the entire floor of this huge room shows Lykourgos as he is about to kill the nymph Ambrosia.⁴⁶

A public function was also initially suggested for the so-called building "Z" at Pergamon (Fig. 134). Dörpfeld, one of the original excavators of the site, tentatively suggested that building "Z" may have been the Prytaneion of Pergamon, on the basis of a dedicatory inscription which was commissioned by the Prytaneis and was found near the building. Dörpfeld's suspicion, however, has yet to be confirmed or rejected.⁴⁷ It has also been suggested that on account of the building's size, proximity to the shrines of Demeter and Hera, and, most of all, the strong Dionysiac imagery of the decoration, building "Z" may have been a Dionysiac cult centre. Several opinions have been presented in particular about the function of the room with the masks (cat. 35, Fig. 181). Salzmann claims that the Dionysiac theme of the mosaic, and animal bones and oyster shells that were found lying over the pavement, clearly indicate that the room was used for dining. At the same time, he presents the proposed theories of a possible cult centre. These are based, in addition to the mosaic and the well-known popularity of Dionysos at Pergamon, on a large *pitthos* with Dionysiac attachments that was found in the room, as well as a niche which is recessed in the back wall.⁴⁸ Green, on the other hand, claims that the iconography

⁴⁶ For the iconography of this motif, see *infra*, pp. 178-94.

⁴⁷ W. Radt, "Pergamon 1991," *AA* (1992) 350.

⁴⁸ Salzmann (1991) 451-52.

of the mosaic, along with the attachments of the *pithos*, which include a bust of Dionysos, a tragic mask, and the head of Pan, indicate that this was a theatre room, possibly used by a guild of actors.⁴⁹ Indeed, the iconography of the mosaic in this case would support claims for some sort of theatrical context for this room. This, however, does not necessarily mean that it was used exclusively for that purpose. Theatrical performances were very much part of dinner parties as well. Moreover, the debris of bones and shells found on top of the pavement, the *pithos*, and the very elaborate decoration not only of the floor but also the walls of the room,⁵⁰ would indicate that at least one of its functions may have been a dining room. But neither the shape of the mosaic nor the shape of the room in this case display any distinctive characteristics that would readily allow us to identify its use.

The only known Dionysiac wall mosaic decorates the vault of a niche in the peristyle of a house at Ephesos (cat. 18, Figs. 18-19). The iconography of this panel has been discussed in detail earlier,⁵¹ but some points should be stressed here again. Firstly, the extensive use of glass tesserae creates a sensitive and not very durable mosaic which would be completely inappropriate for the decoration of a floor. Secondly, the mosaic's composition and the individual motifs, namely the central medallion and the sprawling vines that grow out of the sides, are common to floor decoration and are found, with variations, in many pavements, for instance at Argos (cat. 2, Fig. 29), Melos (cat. 31, Fig. 25), and other mosaics from different regions, where mythological scenes are mixed with overall vine motifs.⁵² Similarly, the fruit, flowers, peacocks, and other species of birds which at Ephesos decorate the lunette of the niche (and are therefore in close proximity to the Dionysiac panel) are commonly found in

⁴⁹ Green (1994) 165.

⁵⁰ For the remains of the wall decoration and the preserved segments of relief architectural elements, see Radt (supra n. 47) 354-55, Figs. 12-18; *id.*, "Pergamon 1992," *AA* (1993) 371-72, Fig. 27.

⁵¹ *supra*, pp. 84-86.

⁵² See discussion, *supra*, pp. 65-68.

Dionysiac compositions used in floor decoration. All of this shows a close relationship between vault and floor mosaics and indicates that the mosaicists who specialized in wall and vault decoration could draw freely on the Dionysiac repertory of floor mosaics or vice versa. It also indicates the degree of adaptability of these motifs, made possible by their generic nature, as they could be used interchangeably between floors and vaults in different rooms of the house.⁵³

A final point to be discussed in connection with the architectural context of the mosaics is that of their orientation within the space that they decorate. As mosaics are placed horizontally on the floor they can be viewed from many different sides. This presents no problem when their decoration consists of all-over repetitive motifs that can be read equally well from all sides of the room. When the pavement, however, is decorated with animal or human forms, it can only be viewed satisfactorily from certain angles.

The Dionysiac mosaics display a great variety in their orientation. With one exception, the border in the *oikos* at the Îlot des Bijoux at Delos (cat. 8, Fig. 176), all other borders with animal and human figures, as for instance at Olynthos (cat. 33, Fig. 51), Chania (cat. 3, Fig. 154), Kos (cat. 28, Fig. 185), and Sparta (cat. 39, Fig. 8), face outward on each side of the pavement, thus offering multiple viewing points. The orientation of the central compositions, however, presents a less homogeneous picture. Some of the compartmental compositions provide multiple viewpoints, but usually only for sections of the mosaic. The best example of this is the *triclinium* mosaic at Chania (cat. 4, Figs., 72, 154) where the main scene depicted on the upright part of the "T" could be properly admired only by the guests who reclined on the left couch, while those on the opposite side would have had a distorted upside down view. On the other hand, each of the four panels on the horizontal part of the "T" faces outwards but in a different direction: one of the two small panels with depictions of masks in the centre of the bar

⁵³ For the interchangeability of vine compositions between floors and vaults, see also H. Joyce, *The Decoration of Walls, Ceilings, and Floors in Italy* (Rome 1981); Kondoleon (1995) 231-69.

faces towards the door and the other towards the back wall; on either side of these is a large rectangular panel, one depicting Dionysos and Pan and facing the left wall and the other, whose representation is almost completely destroyed, facing the right wall. This circular arrangement offers varying viewpoints upon entering the room or when reclining. In the adjacent room (cat. 3, Figs., 71, 154), although the border is facing outward, the central scene faces towards the door which opens onto the peristyle. On the basis of the room's relative position to the *triclinium*, as well as the orientation of the central scene on the mosaic, it would appear that this room provided access to the *triclinium* and, therefore, one of its functions was to serve as an anteroom to it.

A different arrangement is seen on the mosaic of the masks at Pergamon (cat. 35, Fig. 181) where all the masks face outward, in the manner of a figural border, and therefore the visitor would have had to move around the pavement to get a proper look at all the masks. At Kos (cat. 27, Fig. 187), on the other hand, the visitor was greeted by the gladiator scene at the entrance of the courtyard and then by the Silenos riding on his donkey, which faces in the same direction. But the *venator* panel, which is orientated to the opposite direction, was clearly meant to be seen by the visitor as he walked around the courtyard to approach the other rooms of the house. Finally, multiple viewpoints are also provided by the compartmental compositions of the Koroni (cat. 26, Fig. 189) and the Knossos mosaics (cat. 23, 24, 25, Figs. 11, 15-16) where animal and human figures are arranged around the central medallion. However, in these pavements, as in the one from the *triclinium* at Chania, the main representation of the mosaic offers a single viewing point. The context of the Koroni mosaic is not known and therefore we cannot be sure of the direction that the figures in the medallion faced. But at Knossos the bust of Dionysos in two of the pavements (cat. 23, 24, Figs. 11, 16) and all of the busts of the third pavement (cat. 25, Fig. 15) face towards the entrance of the room. This orientation is in fact the most popular for the Dionysiac mosaics and can be traced to the earliest example in the *andron* of the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos (cat. 33, Figs. 50-51). For when facing the entrance, these mosaics were

immediately legible upon entering the room, and their positioning was therefore carefully chosen to create a good first impression on the guests. This orientation was even more significant when it was used in the *andron* because, as the space to the right of the door was reserved for the guest of honour, he was provided with the best viewpoint.

In the *triclinia* and *stibadia* of the imperial period the orientation of the mosaic is different from that of the Classical dining room. We have already seen the multiple panel composition of the Chania mosaic (cat. 3), which was designed to offer multiple viewpoints. At Dion (cat. 16, Fig. 53) the guests would have had a good view of three of the mask panels when they entered the room. The remaining panels, however, as well as the large central scene were designed with a single viewpoint in mind, i.e. the middle couch. As they face the back wall of the room, they can only be appreciated when seen from that side. Similarly, the rectangular panel with the Dionysiac thiasos at Argos (cat. 1, Fig. 42) was placed at the entrance of the room, facing the *stibadium*. In this case, the circular arrangement of the couch would have given all the banqueters, even those on the sides, a better opportunity to admire the decorative panel.

In conclusion, it becomes evident that there is no homogeneity either in orientation or in the manner that Dionysiac mosaics were to be viewed. As the theme and the shape of the representation, in most cases, offered more than one choice in the direction that the mosaic could be laid, it was most likely up to the client to decide the orientation of the figural scene. Occasionally, the traffic pattern may have dictated the orientation, as for instance, in the mosaic at Chania (cat. 3). On other occasions the function of the room may have indicated preferable viewing points for the mosaics, such as the *andron* at Olynthos or the *stibadium* at Argos. But for the most part, it would appear that the choice was made with a view to impress the visitor. As prized possessions, mosaics were meant to be shown in the best light possible, and to attract attention and admiration. The best way to do this was by orientating the mosaic towards the entrance so that it had an immediate impact on the guest who entered the room.

CHAPTER FOUR

MAJOR ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS

1. THE CHARIOT OF DIONYSOS

The chariot is an important tool in ancient iconography, for it is not only the principal mode of transportation, but it is also an indication of the importance of those who ride on it. This importance is demonstrated not only by the fact that these individuals are allowed to ride when others walk, but also by the fact that their elevated position on the chariot raises them above all others and emphasizes their superiority. The early sixth century B.C. depictions of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on a large fragmentary *dinos* by Sophilos,¹ c. 580-570 B.C., and on the François vase by Kleitias and Ergotimos,² c. 570 B.C., are the earliest known examples of this concept. In both depictions, the major gods ride on chariots, whereas the minor deities and guests walk alongside them. What is most interesting for our purposes is that Dionysos is depicted walking along with the lesser guests, clearly indicating that in the first third of the sixth century B.C. he was considered to be inferior to the other Olympians.³ It is not until the last third of the sixth century that Dionysos is shown, for the first time, riding on a chariot, as for example on the black-figure Phineus cup,⁴ c. 520 B.C., where he is riding on a chariot with Ariadne.

¹ London, BM 1971.11-1.1; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 465-66 no. 495.

² Florence Mus. 4209; *ABV* 76.1; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 466 no. 496. Also see Carpenter, 1-12, pls. I-III.

³ Carpenter, 8.

⁴ Würzburg, Wagner-Mus. L164; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 486 no. 763.

In the last quarter of the same century the chariot becomes commonplace in Dionysiac iconography.⁵ As Carpenter demonstrated, from c. 520 B.C. onward numerous depictions appear in black-and red-figure vases where Dionysos is shown on a chariot, sometimes with a female, sometimes alone, and occasionally with another divinity. Sometimes, late Archaic artists show a frontal view of the chariot,⁶ but for the most part they render the chariot in profile drawn by a variety of animals. In the Phineus cup the role is assigned to a lion, a leopard, and two stags, whereas in other contemporary examples the chariot is drawn by horses.⁷ By the end of the fifth century the role is usually assigned to felines, mostly leopards.⁸ Most surviving examples from the Classical period appear on Attic pottery of the early fourth century,⁹ with one notable exception: the pebble mosaic that decorates the *andron* of the Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos (cat. 33, Figs. 50-51).

The Olynthos pavement dates to the second quarter of the fourth century¹⁰ and shows a figural scene surrounded by a wide frieze depicting the thiasos, and concentric borders of floral and geometric ornament. In the central panel of this rectangular pavement a youthful Dionysos is depicted riding on a chariot drawn by two leopards. He is shown in three-quarter view and wears a long *chiton*, high girdled,

⁵ Carpenter, 106-107.

⁶ Vatican 423; *ABV* 281.6; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 486 no. 765. Bologna, Nat. Mus. 29; *ABV* 285.3; *CVA* 2, pl. 21; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 487 no. 766. For the frontal chariot, see K.M.D. Dunbabin, "The Victorious Charioteer on Mosaics and Related Monuments," *AJA* 86 (1982) esp. 70-78.

⁷ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 461-62 nos. 442-54, 486 no. 765, 487 no. 766.

⁸ Carpenter traces the connection of felines to Dionysos to the c. 560 B.C., in depictions of the Gigantomachy: Carpenter, 69. But, as he rightly points out, in these scenes the animals do not pull the god's chariot; they merely help him to defeat his enemy. It is not until the end of the fifth century, when Dionysos' entire image undergoes a curious transformation, that the leopard becomes part of the standard Dionysiac iconography.

⁹ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 463 nos. 457-58. Metzger, *Recherches*, 63-5, pl. XXVII.4; Metzger, *Représentations*, 136-39 nos. 57-58.

¹⁰ For the date, see *supra*, pp. 35, 94.

with short sleeves. Over this he wears a nebris, draped over the left shoulder and under the right arm,¹¹ and a mantle that floats behind his back with the ends falling over the arms. He is wearing a wreath, whose foliage cannot be identified, and is holding the reins in one hand and a thyrsos in the other. The chariot, moving to the right, is rendered with reddish pebbles to distinguish it from the black background, with only the left wheel and the rails showing. The leopards, with their hind legs firmly on the ground and the front ones raised, are clearly in a galloping position. They are led by a human-looking Pan, whose identity is revealed only by the horns on his forehead. This depiction of Pan conforms with the iconography which emerged on the fourth century pottery of Athens and South Italy, where the previously common representations of the bearded daemon with goat legs, horns and shaggy body, were replaced by a human-looking Pan, identified only by the horns and a small tail.¹² The humanized Pan in the Olynthos mosaic runs alongside the animals, holding in the left hand a staff with a peculiar attachment on the top¹³ and the bridle of the leopard with the right hand. The central scene is completed by the small figure of an Eros, flying in front of the god and over the animals. In this representation, Eros is shown as a young adult with large wings on his back, which fill the space between Dionysos and the heads of the leopards. Robinson compares Eros' imagery and his position in this scene with that of Victory, found on the coins of Syracuse.¹⁴ The similarity is indeed striking, but hardly surprising,

¹¹ This is the traditional way of wearing the nebris. In the imperial period, however, Dionysos is occasionally shown with the nebris draped over the right shoulder, as for example on the mosaic of Dion (cat. 16).

¹² Metzger, *Représentations*, 133-35. Although this human-like image of Pan often replaces the older, goat-legged figure, it never displaces it. In fact, the half man, half goat daemon is by far the most popular image of Pan throughout antiquity. Moreover, the two images often co-exist, as in the Olynthos pavement where the Pan of the central scene is human-like, whereas the Pan of the figural border and the two Pans of the entrance panel are goat-legged. For more on Pan, see Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le Dieu Pan* (Swiss Institute at Rome - Rome 1979). Also see, *LIMC* VIII (Zurich and Düsseldorf 1997), s.v. Pan (J. Boardman) 923-41.

¹³ Robinson, *Olynthos* XII, 345, believes that it is an symbol of the sun, but his argument is not convincing.

¹⁴ *Olynthos* XII, 345-46; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 211, pl. 67d.

because, as both figures are winged, their iconographies are closely parallel. They differ significantly, however, in the message that each conveys. For whereas the presence of Nike, the personification of victory, alludes to a victorious deed, the presence of Eros, the god of love, alludes to the pleasures of life.

The Olynthos pavement is an unique representation on mosaics prior to the imperial period but it has a handful of parallels in Attic red-figure vases from the end of the fifth and early fourth centuries.¹⁵ On the pottery, Dionysos is also shown riding on a chariot that he drives himself, wearing a long *chiton*, and holding a thyrsos. In almost all cases the chariot is shown in profile, moving to the right, and drawn by leopards which are led by a member of the thiasos. Moreover, all these depictions project the same sense of movement that we see at Olynthos. So clearly the iconography of the central motif was not new to the mosaic. It had been in use in vase-painting for at least a quarter of a century. What is not clear, however, either from the pottery or from the mosaic, is the full meaning of this theme. The only known discussion which offers an interpretation of the iconography of the mosaic is that of Foucher who describes Dionysos "...comme un combattant..."¹⁶ and interprets the scene as "...le dieu [qui] vole au combat contre l'un de ses ennemis d'Asie car, bien avant que l'expédition d'Alexandre ait popularisé sa lutte contre les Indiens, Euripide s'était déjà fait l'écho d'une tradition d'après laquelle on le voyait partir à la conquête de l'Asie".¹⁷

Foucher's theory is based on two points. Firstly, the "fighter" image that he ascribes to Dionysos is attributed to the god's youthfulness and to the long garment he is wearing: "Dionysos...jeune et portant un long vêtement...apparaît...comme un combattant..."¹⁸ Foucher further compares this garment to that

¹⁵ *supra*, n. 9.

¹⁶ L. Foucher, "Le Char de Dionysos," *CMGR* II, 56.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 55.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 56.

which Dionysos is shown wearing in the Gigantomachy scene on the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. This comparison, however, is inappropriate, because on that occasion Dionysos wears a short *chiton* and boots.¹⁹ Secondly, in support of his theory that the god is flying off to battle against one of his enemies in Asia, Foucher presents the prologue of the *Bacchae* as evidence, suggesting that Euripides' text shows Dionysos leaving to conquer Asia. The text, however, states very clearly that he is just coming back to Thebes, "ἤ κω Διὸς παῖς τήνδε Θηβαίαν χθόνα Διόνυσος...", having conquered all of Asia (Eur. *Bacch.* 1-19). Therefore, the prologue of the *Bacchae*, if we accept that it was part of the original text and not a later insertion, as the German scholar Dihle claims,²⁰ indicates the return rather than the departure of Dionysos from the East.

The central scene viewed in isolation could support both a "departure" and an "arrival" interpretation. However, when it is considered in conjunction with the figural frieze that surrounds it and the room that it decorates, then I would argue that what we are seeing is not a god flying away from the scene, but one arriving on the scene.

The frieze that surrounds the central panel is decorated with a group of figures that display the same liveliness and movement as the central panel. A satyr, a goat-like Pan, and a group of maenads are depicted swirling and dancing around to the sound of pipes, tambourines, and cymbals. Some of the maenads are shown in the process of killing and tearing apart live animals, which emphasizes even further that their dance has reached a high point of ecstasy; an ecstasy which begins when the god enters

¹⁹ LIMC III (Dionysos) 477 no. 657.

²⁰ Dihle challenges the authenticity of the prologue in the *Bacchae* (Eur. *Bacch.* 1-19) He argues, on the basis of linguistic oddities and some geographical terms which he feels cannot belong to Euripides' time, that these lines must have been a Hellenistic insertion into the original text: A. Dihle, *Der Prolog der "Bacchen" und die antike Überlieferungsphase des Euripides-Textes* (Heidelberg 1981) 11-27. This insertion would have taken place at the time when the myth of Dionysos' Indian expedition gained momentum in Hellenistic Egypt, as the Ptolemies, eager to prove themselves legitimate heirs to at least part of Alexander's kingdom, capitalized upon the analogy that was often made by historians between Alexander's campaign to India and Dionysos, and used it as propaganda material.

the world.²¹ Ancient literary sources repeatedly indicate that pandemonium and clamour always accompanied the arrivals of the god. Philostratos (*Imag.* 1.19.4), relating the story of Dionysos and the Tyrrhenian pirates, says that, after the god's epiphany to the pirates, the exterior of his ship was decorated with resounding cymbals so that the god did not have to sail in silence. Ovid (*Met.* 4.391ff) recounts the story of the daughters of Minyas who, having refused to accept Dionysos, went on with their daily chores until, suddenly, they heard the sound of drums and cymbals and their looms were covered with ivy. On another occasion, Ovid (*Ars Am.* 537ff) describes Ariadne fainting from fear, as the whole shore of Naxos came alive by the sound of the cymbals and the tambourines that were struck by the frenzied hands of the satyrs that preceded Dionysos. Catullus (64, 251ff) provides a similar description of the same story. Moreover, Βρόμιος, the loud or boisterous one, was one of Dionysos' many epithets (Eur. *Cyc.* 1). In the Homeric Hymn to Dionysos²² the god, followed by nymphs, wandered through the woods and the whole forest was filled with a great din. Numerous such references exist, all of which indicate that the arrival of Dionysos was accompanied by music and celebration that reached the point of frenzy. I believe that it is this type of celebration depicted on the frieze of the Olynthos pavement; a celebration of the arrival and not, as Foucher claims, of the departure of the god.

The interpretation of the scene becomes even clearer if it is considered in relation to the setting in which it is found: the *andron*. Dionysiac scenes were appropriate and popular motifs for the decoration of symposium rooms, but the choice of motif did not aim solely at decoration. Very often pavements such as the one at Olynthos attempted to put a message across to the viewer. Here Dionysos is the god of wine who is returning in triumph. His arrival evokes images of happiness and elation which

²¹ W.F. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth and Cult* (Bloomington and London 1965) 96. For maenad motives, see L.-A. Touchette, *The Dancing Maenad Reliefs* (London 1995) esp. 5-30.

²² *The Homeric Hymns*, no. 26, trans. H.G. Evelyn-White (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass. & London 1982) 451.

are portrayed in the excitement of his followers. Moreover Dionysos' arrival is perceived to bring good fortune to the house and its owners. Inscriptions on the floors of other rooms in the same house (Fig. 50), reading "ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ" (good fortune), "ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ ΚΑΛΗ" (success is good), and "ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ ΚΑΛΗ" (Aphrodite is beautiful), reinforce this image of well-being that the owner clearly aimed to project through the decoration of the floors.

Clearly then, in the central scene of the mosaic of Olynthos Dionysos is depicted arriving in triumph. But this is not to say that it is a depiction of "The Triumph" of Dionysos, because this terminology evokes images of the Indian Triumph, as we know it from the mosaics and sarcophagi of the imperial period. The Olynthos pavement is the earliest known representation of a chariot scene on Dionysiac mosaics in the Mediterranean basin prior to the imperial period. But from the second century A.D. onwards, Dionysiac chariot scenes become very popular, particularly on mosaics and relief sculpture. Representations found on these media often depict Dionysos riding on a chariot in a variety of contexts. On mosaics the most popular representation, by far, is that of Dionysos' Indian Triumph. The motif is found throughout the empire, but the vast majority of pavements come from the western provinces, especially Spain (Fig. 93) and North Africa (Figs. 59-60), where it appears to have been particularly popular.²³ As Dunbabin's study of Dionysos' Triumph motif on the mosaics of North Africa demonstrates, the iconography is very similar on all pavements, since it follows the same basic scheme and displays a number of common elements. For example, "the chariot is almost always drawn to the right, by a pair of tigresses (occasionally replaced by leopards); Dionysos stands in it almost frontally; he is accompanied, except in the simplest examples, by a Victory riding beside him; and the tigers are led by a satyr or Pan. Various other companions, satyrs, bacchantes, silenoi, surround the chariot....on

²³ For the Indian Triumph motif on the mosaics of Roman North Africa, see Dunbabin (1971) *passim*. For the same motif on the mosaics of Spain and Portugal, see D. Fernandez-Galiano, "El Triunfo de Dioniso en Mosaicos Hispanorromanos," *ArchEspArq* 57 (1984) 97-120. Also see Kondoleon, 191-221 and 192 n. 3.

all but one Dionysos wears the long-sleeved feminine robe, high-girdled and reaching to his ankles...".²⁴ Most of the same basic elements appear also on representations of the Indian Triumph on sarcophagi where, however, the tigers are occasionally replaced by elephants or centaurs and the overall scene expands to include several more figures (Fig. 61).²⁵

The mosaic of Olynthos has a number of features in common with the representations of the Indian Triumph from the imperial period, such as the leopards that draw the chariot, Pan leading them, and Dionysos' long, high girdled *chiton*, with the nebris worn over it. These similarities often lead scholars to refer misleadingly to this depiction as "The Triumph of Dionysos". But although there are similarities, there are a number of important differences too, such as the depiction of Eros and not Nike, which precludes an iconographic reference to Dionysos' military exploits and ultimate triumph over the Indians. Also the galloping animals, the running Pan, and the figure of Eros shown in motion, convey a sense of movement which is in contrast to the slow moving and dignified procession in the later depictions of the Indian Triumph. These differences set the Olynthos depiction apart from the later representations.

In literature the first direct reference to the Indian Triumph is made by Kallixeinos of Rhodes, whose description of the great *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphos in Alexandria was transmitted to us by Athenaeos (5.146-93). There we hear that a large segment of the procession was devoted to the staging of the Indian Triumph where Dionysos was shown in the form of an 18-foot statue, wearing a purple cloak and a golden wreath of ivy and vine, holding a golden thyrsos, and reclining on the back of an elephant driven by a satyr. This imagery and the story of Dionysos' return from India were modelled on that of Alexander and gained great popularity in the Hellenistic period.

²⁴ Dunbabin (1971) 53.

²⁵ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 2, 212-244 nos. 94-104b; *id.*, v. 1, 165-66 nos. 58, 58a; Turcan, 238-249, 441-472; K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E.C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* (Baltimore 1942) 70-72.

In Hellenistic times and in the early Empire ancient authors repeatedly refer to Dionysos riding on a chariot, but very few examples are known from the art produced during this time. When we find such images, they almost always depict the union of Dionysos and Ariadne and almost always the chariot is replaced by a four-wheel cart.²⁶ It is, in fact, several centuries later, in the second century A.D., that chariot scenes are found in art again, primarily on mosaics and sarcophagi.²⁷ From Spain and Portugal in the West, to Cyprus and Antioch in the East, a large number of pavements contain depictions of Dionysos riding on a chariot. With very few exceptions, most of these conform to the fundamental iconographic scheme of the Indian Triumph.²⁸ In Greece two pavements, one from Corinth and one from Dion, contain depictions of Dionysos riding on a chariot. The mosaics are almost identical, they are both dated by their excavators to the end of the second - early third century A.D., and they share some common elements with the chariot scenes found elsewhere. Yet they are distinctly different.

The Corinth mosaic (cat. 7, Fig. 58) decorates one of the three rooms of the so-called "Mosaic House", to the east of the South Basilica.²⁹ The pavement occupies almost the entire surface of the preserved floor area of the room and consists of a central rectangular panel, flanked on each side by two small square panels with depictions of Erotes. The panels are separated by a double guilloche band and the entire scene is then framed by three successive borders with geometric motifs. The first impression that the chariot scene in the central panel creates is one of a symmetrical, well balanced, pyramid structure. When we look closely at the individual figures, however, we soon realize that their rendering lacks precision. This and the overall poor workmanship of the mosaic initially presented difficulties in

²⁶ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 556-57 nos. 208-224a.

²⁷ *supra*, 121 and n. 23, 122 and n. 25.

²⁸ *supra*, pp. 121-22.

²⁹ The identity of the building is by no means secure, but it may have been part of a large house: *Corinth* I, 113.

the identification of the scene. Today, with our better understanding of Dionysiac iconography in general, and in particular, with the help of the nearly identical mosaic from Dion (cat. 16, Figs. 53-56, 182) which is far superior in quality, we are able to redefine some of the previously obscure elements of the Corinth mosaic.

In the centre of the scene there is a frontal chariot, drawn by two sea-leopards, which are easily identified by their feline heads and spotted animal skins. Their necks are adorned with a red wreath and their lower bodies have been transformed into huge fish tails, which are coiled along the bottom of the panel. This arrangement is echoed by the fish tails of the sea centaurs that flank the central scene on either side. They both hold the reins in one hand and with the other they help to support a large *krater* that each carries on his shoulder. Moreover, they both have a leopard skin tied around their neck and they both look inward, toward Dionysos. They differ in age, for the left centaur has a beard, indicating his maturity and older age, compared to the centaur on the right who is beardless. This pairing of an old and a young centaur is consistent with the overall iconography of these semi-human beasts. Several examples are found on the mosaics of north Africa and in sarcophagi, where two centaurs, one bearded and one beardless, are depicted side by side serving one of the gods, usually Dionysos or Venus.³⁰ Most often they play a musical instrument, such as the lyre or the double pipes. But they are also shown often in the Dionysiac cortege carrying a large *krater*, in the same manner that we see them in the Corinth mosaic. This imagery is not new to Roman art, for we find it over three centuries earlier in the Dionysiac mosaic in the House of the Masks at Delos (cat. 10, Figs. 68, 70).

At the head of the pyramidal depiction in the Corinth panel stands Dionysos. His elongated body is frontal and as the weight rests on the left leg, it forces the left hip to jut out and the right leg to bend

³⁰ One of the best examples on mosaics decorates the central panel of the pavement in the *frigidarium* of the Baths of Trajan at Acholla, in North Africa: Dunbabin (1978) 19, 181, pl. 3. Also see, N. Jeddi, "Les dieux, les déesses et les héros," in M.H. Fantar ed., *La Mosaïque en Tunisie* (Paris 1994) 16-17, 81.

at the knee. He is wearing the nebris and a deep red mantle, which covers part of the legs, drapes behind his back and falls over the right shoulder. The head is partly turned to the left and bent slightly downwards, but it is too poorly rendered to allow identification of the facial characteristics. The right arm is stretched out, holding a drinking horn, while the left, holding a thyrsos, rests on the shoulders of the figure riding on the chariot with him. This figure, standing next to Dionysos, is considerably shorter and of a heavier build than the god. Weinberg calls him "the driver" and describes him as wearing "...a long-sleeved shirt, done in blue tesserae, and a pink collar."³¹ Weinberg's description, hindered by the mosaic's poor workmanship, is too generic and somewhat confusing, for the figure standing next to Dionysos is not holding the chariot reins and, therefore, cannot be the driver. Moreover, his close proximity to the god forces us to look beyond the mere mortal to the mythological creatures that form the Dionysiac thiasos. Indeed, the driver is no other than Papposilenos. In spite of the poor workmanship he is easily identified by his short, paunchy figure, his larger than normal head, the large forehead, and the white beard. He is wearing the shaggy overalls, the *μαλλωτός χιτών*, here rendered in blue tesserae to differentiate it from the white background, and a light-coloured mantle tied in a knot around his waist. The "pink collar" on the other hand, is much more problematic. The pink tesserae clearly indicate that Silenos is wearing something around his neck, which, unfortunately, is impossible to define. This is one instance where the Dion mosaic comes to our aid, for in that mosaic the "pink collar" is clearly shown to be a wreath. Finally, Silenos' left hand rests on the head of the leopard, while his right arm is bent at the elbow and stretches across his chest. The hand, made visible by the use of different coloured tesserae, is closed, indicating that he is most likely holding something, which, however, we are unable to identify.

The Dion mosaic (cat. 16, Figs. 53-56, 182) decorates the *triclinium* of a large building known as "The Villa Dionysos". A rectangular panel, placed on the upright part of a T-shaped mosaic, is divided

³¹ *Corinth* I, 5, p. 117.

into three sections: a central rectangle, which contains the chariot scene, and two smaller rectangles, one at the top and one at the bottom of the central panel. Each of these is in turn divided into three equal-sized squares, decorated with depictions of Dionysiac masks.³² The panels are separated by a single guilloche and the entire scene is framed by an acanthus scroll border and two geometric borders. When we look at the central scene it becomes clear that the chariot scene of the Dion mosaic is almost identical to that of Corinth. However, the Dion mosaic is of exceptional quality, with every detail handled with great precision in a variety of colour. As a result, here we can see clearly the facial expression of all the figures, as well as several interesting details. Dionysos' figure displays the same frontality and body positioning as we saw in Corinth. But his face is youthful and sombre. Shown in three-quarter view, it is full with an elongated nose and full lips. The hair is almost completely covered by the large wreath he is wearing, which is tied with ribbons that fall over the left shoulder. In the right hand he is holding a drinking horn, in the same manner that he does in the Corinth mosaic, but here the tip of the horn is decorated with a fawn's head. If the same detail is incorporated into the Corinth mosaic as well, it is not visible (Fig. 55).³³

Papposilenos' face, in contrast to that of Dionysos, shows clearly signs of old age. The shaggy beard, the full moustache, and even the eyebrows, rendered expertly in a mixture of white and pale blue tesserae, convey his advanced stage in life. Moreover, his full lips, snub nose, and pointed left ear leave us in no doubt of his identity. His head, tilted slightly backwards, is adorned with an ivy wreath and is turned toward Dionysos. Yet his gaze is not directed to the god, but past him to some far away object, giving him an almost dreamy look. The right arm, bent at the elbow, stretches across his chest. In his

³² *supra*, pp. 55-57. For a detailed discussion of the masks, see *infra*, pp. 243-46.

³³ Drinking horns whose tips are decorated with animal heads, are found in Greece as far back as the early fourth century B.C., but their origin is believed to be Persian. For more on drinking horns, see H. Hoffmann, "The Persian origin of Attic Rhyta," *AntK* 4 (1961) 23-24; *id.*, *Tarentine Rhyta* (Mainz 1966) 82-85, nos. 487-509. Also Miller (1997) 141-42.

hand he is holding an L-shaped object, consisting of a short handle with a horizontal section attached at the top. It resembles closely a flail, but Balty, who has studied the iconography of this type of object in different media, believes that it is a *februum*, connected to Dionysiac ritual and symbolizing purification and fertility.³⁴ The centaurs, a bearded one on the left (Fig. 56) and a younger beardless one on the right, lead the chariot. Their bodies are dark and muscular and their equine legs are shown in a galloping position, echoing those of the sea-leopards. They both have a leopard skin tied around their neck, they both wear a wreath, and they both carry a large vessel on one shoulder. As in the Corinth mosaic, the centaur on the right carries a large *krater*, but the centaur on the left here carries a large *dinos* (Fig. 182). This is the single most important difference in the iconography of the two pavements.

The Dion and Corinth mosaics are unique in representation and composition, with no known parallels elsewhere. As at Olynthos, Dionysos is shown riding in his chariot in triumph, but the manner of depiction is very different from that at Olynthos and from the iconography that is associated with the Indian Triumph.³⁵ At Corinth and Dion the chariot is frontal, Dionysos is nude, the figure riding in the chariot with him is Papposilenos and not Nike, and above all the entire scene is transferred to the world of the sea. So the question that arises is how was this imagery formulated.

The tableau-like composition of the two mosaics with its applied symmetry and twisted ribbon frame, as well as the detailed modelling and chiaroscuro effects seen clearly at Dion, suggest that the mosaic may have been a copy of a painting. It is indeed possible that such a prototype may have existed, but it cannot be proven. The question is why, when confronted with a mosaic of great workmanship and narrative content, should we always assume that it is a copy of a long-lost painting. It is equally possible that this scene may have been created specifically for these mosaics. Whether the mosaicist designed and

³⁴ Balty (1991) 24-28.

³⁵ *supra*, pp. 121-22.

executed the entire scene, or whether, similarly to the Lykourgos mosaic at Trikala (cat. 43), there were two artists involved, a ζωγράφος, a designer, and a ψηφοθέτης, one who put the tesserae in place, is not vital to this discussion.³⁶ What is more important is that the designer of this scene may have adopted and adapted well known stock motifs and combined them in such a way as to create a new composition.

The initial impression that this scene creates is that this is brand new iconography, created in its entirety to depict a particular story. But a closer look at the individual components of the scene reveals that they were far from new. We have already discussed the presence of chariots in Dionysiac iconography as far back as the archaic period and especially under the Empire. It is worth stressing here, however, that in the majority of scenes where Dionysos is shown riding on a chariot, the chariot is rendered either in profile or in three-quarter view. There are only a handful of examples in black-figure vases³⁷ and in mosaics where a frontal chariot is depicted. In mosaics the closest parallel is found in the mosaic of the Triumph of Dionysos from Antioch, where a frontal chariot drawn by two tigers is clearly depicted, in spite of the damage that the mosaic has suffered.³⁸ A second parallel could perhaps be drawn with the much later and crudely produced mosaic of Torre de Palma, in Portugal, where the artist, clearly inexperienced and perhaps a bad copyist, has produced a frontal chariot, whose wheel is rendered in three-quarter view and the tigers that pull it in profile.³⁹ Dionysos' frontal chariot, however, is part of a wider tendency in Roman art to present the chariots of deities frontal.⁴⁰ This tendency is more common in the late empire, but earlier examples also exist, particularly in the iconography of Victory, for instance,

³⁶ For the inscription of the Trikala mosaic, see *supra*, p. 77-78. For the number of people involved in the production of a mosaic and views presented by scholars, see *supra*, p. 78, *infra* pp. 264-67.

³⁷ *supra* n. 6.

³⁸ Levi, 93-99, pl. XVI; *LIMC* III (Dionysos in per. orient.), 129.

³⁹ F. Almeida, "Quelques mosaïques romaines du Portugal," *CMGR* II, 219-26; J.M. Blazquez, "Los mosaicos romanos de Torre de Palma (Monforte, Portugal)," *ArchEspArq* 53 (1980), 125-32, Fig. 2.

⁴⁰ See Dunbabin (1982) 70-72.

in a painting from the Casa di Marco Lucrezio in Pompeii (IX 3, 5),⁴¹ and Helios.⁴² A close parallel to the Dion and Corinth mosaics is seen in a striking mid third century mosaic from Münster-Sarmsheim, near Kreuznach in Germany where Helios is shown riding on his frontal horse-drawn chariot.⁴³

Another deity which is often shown riding on a chariot in triumph is Neptune. This motif is particularly popular in North Africa, where four mosaics of the Triumph of Neptune, from La Chebba (Fig. 57),⁴⁴ Acholla,⁴⁵ Utica,⁴⁶ and Constantine,⁴⁷ parallel the two Greek mosaics closely in both style and composition. In all four pavements Neptune is riding on a frontal chariot drawn by sea-horses, whose fish tails are coiled along the bottom of the scene. He is nude with only a mantle floating behind his back and arms, holding a trident in the left hand. The body positioning, with the weight resting on his left leg, and the partial turn of the head, are exactly the same as that of Dionysos. In the Utica and Constantine panels, Amphitrite is riding on the chariot with Neptune. Of the four pavements, the composition of the La Chebba pavement is perhaps the closest to the Dion and Corinth mosaics. For in addition to the characteristics common to all mosaics, at La Chebba Neptune's chariot is led by a sea-centaur on the left

⁴¹ Reinach, 144.7; I. Baldassarre, T. Lanzillotta, S. Salomi, *Pompei. Pitture e Mosaici. La Documentazione nell'Opera di Disegnatori e Pittori dei Secoli XVIII e XIX* (Rome 1995) 342, 344, Fig. 155. For depictions of Nike riding on a chariot, see *LIMC* VI (Nike) nos. 173-81 (Classical), nos. 688-712 (Hellenistic).

⁴² *LIMC* IV (Helios/Sol) 601-602 nos. 122-41; *LIMC* V (Helios) p. 1005-34.

⁴³ K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959) 86-88, pls. 84.2, 85.2, 86-87. Also *LIMC* IV (Helios/Sol) 611-12 no. 291.

⁴⁴ Tunis, Bardo Mus. A 292; Dunbabin (1978) 20, 110, pls. 97-98; Parrish, 201, pls. 66b-68.

⁴⁵ S. Gozlan, "Les Pavements en Mosaïques de la Maison de Neptune à Acholla Botria (Tunisie)," *Mon Piot* 59 (1974) 113, 117, Fig. 51; *ead.*, *La Maison du Triomphe de Neptune à Acholla, I: Les mosaïques*. Collection de l'École française de Rome 160 (Rome 1992) 184-86, pls. L, LI, LXXV. Dunbabin (1978) 20 n. 28.

⁴⁶ Tunis, Bardo Mus. Inv. 2980; Dunbabin (1978) 153, 156, pl. 145. C. Dulière, *Corpus des Mosaïques de Tunisie: Utique* 1.2 (Tunis 1974) 51-58 no. 205, pls. XXXIII-XXXV, LI.

⁴⁷ Paris, Louvre; F. Baratte, *Catalogue des Mosaïques Romaines et Paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1978) 36-37, pl. 23; Dunbabin (1978) 158 n. 114, pl. 154.

and a sea-nymph on the right. Neptune has a nimbus instead of a wreath and in his extended right hand he is holding a fish instead of a drinking horn. The only major difference in composition is the absence of a second figure riding on the chariot with him. In addition to Dionysos, the leopards and the centaurs in their transformed marine form have also numerous counterparts in the mosaics of Roman North Africa. It would appear, therefore, that the scene of the Corinth and Dion mosaics may be a collage of well-known and well established motifs that the artist could combine to create a new theme. This evidence strongly supports the argument of many scholars who believe that copy books containing stock motifs, such as the ones mentioned above, circulated freely among workshops around the Mediterranean.⁴⁸

As with the Olynthos mosaic, it is not at all surprising to find the Dionysiac representation decorating a *triclinium*, at least at Dion, because in Corinth the function of the room is not known. It is indeed a very appropriate theme, if we consider that one of the main functions of the symposium was to help participants escape from everyday cares and problems with the help of wine and entertainment, both of which are closely connected with Dionysos. At Dion the picture emerges clearly: Dionysos is coming over the sea bringing to the banqueters their wine, exemplified by the *krater* and the *dinos*, the vessels that held the symposium wine. From early times, mythological tradition attributes to Dionysos the art of viticulture and wine making, both of which are said to have originated in the East. According to one tradition, red wine was first produced on the island of Chios, on the coast of Asia Minor, from where it was imported to the rest of Greece.⁴⁹ According to another tradition, Dionysos gave the wine and the knowledge of wine making to Ikarios, in gratitude for the hospitality that he offered to the god upon his

⁴⁸ See also *supra*, p. 8 and *infra*, pp.264-67.

⁴⁹ Theopompos, in *Ath.* 1.26c.

arrival in Attica.⁵⁰ Many modern scholars associate Dionysos' first arrival in Athens with the Anthesteria festival and claim a handful of surviving representations on black-figure vases with depictions of Dionysos transported in a ship-chariot to be illustrations of this event.⁵¹ Nilsson, Deubner, and Simon, who support this theory, base their argument on a reference by Philostratos (*Vit. Soph.* 1.25.1), who describes a similar ritual practised at Smyrna.⁵² Frickenhaus, Bethe, and Burkert, on the other hand, argue that Dionysos' arrival in his wagon-ship took place during the Great Dionysia.⁵³ A further suggestion by Otto connects the ship-chariot to Dionysos' disappearance into the sea and his sudden reappearance.⁵⁴ Actually, there is no evidence to support any of these suggestions. However, all these scholars agree that the ship-chariot representations allude to Dionysos' arrival in Athens from the East over the sea, in other words a well-orchestrated epiphany.⁵⁵ This theory is supported by additional representations on black-figure vases where Dionysos is depicted on board a ship, alone or with

⁵⁰ The origins and antiquity of this myth, however, are uncertain. For representations of the story of Ikarios on mosaics, with ancient and modern references, see H. Lavagne, "Les Trois Grâces et la visite de Dionysos chez Ikarios," *CMGR* V, v. 1, 138-48; also Kondoleon, 174-78.

⁵¹ *Skyphos*, Athens, Acr. Mus. 1281a; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 492 no 827. *Skyphos*, London, BM B79; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 492 no. 828. *Skyphos*, Bologna, Nat. Mus. 130; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 492 no. 829.

⁵² E. Simon, *Festivals of Athens* (Wisconsin 1983) 95, n. 25; M.P. Nilsson, "Die Prozessionstypen im griechischen Kult," *Jdl* 31 (1916) 326, 332-34; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932, rep. 1956) 102-11; *DFA*² 12. G.M. Hedreen, *Silens in Attic Black-figure Vase-painting* (Ann Arbor 1992) 86, n. 12, points out that Philostratos says only that this ritual took place on the month of Anthesterion, which does not necessarily mean the festival of Anthesteria.

⁵³ A. Frickenhaus, "Schiffskarren," *Jdl* 27 (1912) 61-70; E. Bethe, *Hermes* 61 (1926) 463; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, trans. P. Bing (Berkeley 1983) 200-201. For the lack of evidence connecting the ship-chariot to the Anthesteria, see also R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria* (Ann Arbor 1992) 57-58.

⁵⁴ W.F. Otto, *Dionysus: Myth and Cult*, trans. R. B. Palmer (Bloomington 1965) 63-64.

⁵⁵ *DFA*² 12; Hedreen (supra n. 52) 68.

attendants, sailing over the sea.⁵⁶ In one of them, the famous type A cup in Munich signed by Exekias,⁵⁷ Dionysos is depicted reclining in his ship as if he were on a symposium couch. This depiction is generally thought to allude to the story of Dionysos and the Tyrrhenian pirates.⁵⁸ This suggestion is by no means conclusive, but it does show a close connection with the symposium which should be pointed out here. For the decoration of this cup was chosen with the banqueter in mind. The fact that the image of Dionysos reclining in a sympotic fashion and sailing in his black ship over the sea decorates the interior of a drinking cup indicates that the artist wished to convey a message to the banqueter who drained the wine in his cup. This idea is explored by Slater, who suggests that the symposium-ship is a metaphor that rose out of the behaviour, language, and apparatus of the symposium and symbolizes "the effects or hallucinations induced by wine".⁵⁹ His argument is supported with examples from the extensive sympotic literature, where the symposium and its activities are often assimilated with the world at sea. In this world the symposium room is the ship, the ship of Dionysos carrying the wine, and the banqueters are the sailors, who under the influence of the wine are able to transport themselves from a world of cares and sorrow to a world of happiness and luxuries.⁶⁰ The wine brought over the sea by Dionysos, then, provides the means to achieve the illusion of happiness and well-being, the very illusion that the Corinth and Dion representations aim to produce. Here, however, there is a distinct difference in the iconography, for Dionysos is no longer transported in a ship-car, but in a chariot. As mentioned earlier, chariots were

⁵⁶ *Kylix*, Munich, Antikenslg. 2044; *ARV* 146,21; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 489 no. 788. *Kylix*, Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 2961; *ARV* 639,100; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 489 no. 789. Amphora, Tarquinia, Mus. Nat. 678; *CVA* I, pl. 5.3; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 489 no. 790.

⁵⁷ *supra*, n. 56.

⁵⁸ For discussions on this theory, see Hedreen (*supra* n. 52) 67.

⁵⁹ W.J. Slater, "Symposium at Sea," *HSCP* 80 (1976) 161, 165-66.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, 161-170. Slater (p.161 n. 2) also points out the development of a massive literature on nautical metaphors.

part of Dionysiac iconography from as far back as the late Archaic period. In the imperial period, with the sharp increase in popularity of the Dionysiac religion from the time of Trajan onward⁶¹ and, in particular, with the popularity of depictions of Dionysos' Indian Triumph,⁶² the chariot became an important component of Dionysiac iconography.⁶³ So, whereas to the classical Athenians Dionysos came from the east in his own ship, to the Greeks of the Roman period he came from the east on his chariot. The substitution of the chariot for the ship most likely reflects the influence from the popular Indian Triumph motif, but does not change the meaning of the arrival over the sea to bring joy to his followers. So at Dion and Corinth the idea survives, even if the mode of transportation changes.

To reiterate, the investigation into the iconography of the chariot scene reveals that the three pavements in Greece had a common goal: to show an epiphany, the arrival of Dionysos, the bringer of happiness. In all three pavements the message appears to be that if one partakes of the god by means of drinking wine, the product of his sacred plant, one can find refuge from the mundane sorrows of everyday life. Through the five and a half centuries that separate the Dion and Corinth mosaics from the one at Olynthos, the message remains the same. Moreover, the main iconographic ingredients are the same: wine, music, and Dionysos riding on a leopard-drawn chariot, surrounded by members of his thiasos. Where they differ is in composition and in the depiction of figures, such as Papposilenos and the centaurs, which joined the Dionysiac cortege considerably later than the date of production of the Olynthos pavement.

⁶¹ Turcan, 368ff.

⁶² Dunbabin (1971) 52.

⁶³ There are very few representations preserved from the imperial period where Dionysos is depicted sailing in a ship. All of these show the story of Dionysos and the Tyrrhenian pirates, as for example a mosaic from the House of Dionysos and Ulysses at Dougga, now in Tunis, Bardo Mus. 2884: Dunbabin (1978) 8,a, pl.16; N. Jeddi (supra n. 30) insert p. 77-78; *LIMC* IV (Dionysos/Bacchus in per. occ.) 910 no. 25. The motif is also found on sarcophagi: *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 558 nos. 237-38; *LIMC* IV (Dionysos/Bacchus in per. occ.) 916 no. 165.

2. DIONYSOS RIDING ON A FELINE

Felines are an important component of Dionysiac iconography. From as far back as the mid sixth century B.C.⁶⁴ a leopard or a lion is depicted in close connection with Dionysos. This group is joined in the Hellenistic period by a third feline, a tiger. It is the leopard, however, which becomes the god's favourite animal and one of his main attributes. As such, it is often depicted hovering around Dionysos, like a puppy to his master, pulling his chariot or carrying him on his back. This last motif, which has come to be known also as the "tiger rider" on account of the occasional substitution of the leopard by a tiger, became a standard motif in the repertoire of ancient mosaicists. From the late Classical period to late antiquity, the image of Dionysos riding on a feline was adopted by numerous workshops around the Mediterranean and was adapted to suit the particular needs and preferences of their clientele. The majestic figure of the god riding on the back of the equally majestic animal can be the only element of the depiction, or they can be accompanied by one or more members of the thiasos. Moreover, the physical appearance of Dionysos can change, as sometimes he is depicted as a young child and sometimes as a young adult. Of these, the former was particularly favoured in North Africa, where it appears to have been connected with ritual practices in the cult of Dionysos.⁶⁵ In the Greek world the image of the child Dionysos is seen on mosaics only once, in connection with Papposilenos, on the mosaic of Pergamon (cat. 36), on the coast of Asia Minor. In Greece, the child Dionysos imagery is absent. Instead, depictions of a youthful Dionysos on a feline decorate four pavements which are chronologically widely separated. Two of these were found in the cities of Pella (cat. 34, Fig. 62) and Eretria (cat. 20, Fig. 65), and date to the early Hellenistic period.⁶⁶ The other two were found on Delos

⁶⁴ Carpenter (1986) 68-75.

⁶⁵ Dunbabin (1978) 174-81.

⁶⁶ For the date of the pavements, see *supra*, pp. 36 and n. 10, 37.

(cat. 10, Figs. 68-70) and at Chania, on Crete (cat. 4, Figs. 72, 74), and date to c. late second/early first century B.C. and c. mid third century A.D. respectively.⁶⁷ To this group we add another unique and controversial mosaic from the House of Dionysos at Delos (cat. 13, Figs. 77-80). The ambiguity that surrounds the representation of this pavement makes it difficult to include it in the original group. Yet the close similarities that it displays make it impossible to isolate it from it.

The Pella mosaic (cat. 34, Fig. 62) is one of the finest examples of the pebble technique. In this square panel, the graceful pair of god and beast is floating on a dark plain background. Dionysos, nude, is riding side-saddle on the back of a leopard (or cheetah?). With the exception of his head, which is rendered in profile, the rest of his youthful body is shown in a semi-reclining position, in three-quarter view. The legs are crossed at the calves, the right arm is draped around the animal's long neck, holding it for support, and the left is stretched out holding a thyrsos. A single red bracelet around the right ankle and a wreath of vine leaves are the only decorative elements of Dionysos' almost perfectly proportioned body. The lean and elongated lines of the leopard's body do not distract from its strength, which is permeated through its broad chest and the bulging buttock muscles. As the animal leaps forward to the left, the hind legs are placed firmly on the invisible ground, while the front ones are raised. This conveys a sense of rapid movement, which is reinforced by the god's and the animal's forward look. For neither one is looking out to the viewer, but they gaze intently ahead to the direction that they are travelling.

The Pella mosaic is the earliest known representation of Dionysos riding on a feline on mosaics, not only in Greece, but in the whole of the Mediterranean area. The theme, however, was popular and was extensively used by the Attic and South Italian vase painters throughout the fourth century.⁶⁸ In all

⁶⁷ For the date of the Delos mosaic, see *supra*, pp. 41, 49. For the Chania mosaic, see *supra*, p. 74. .

⁶⁸ The earliest example preserved is a fragment of an Attic cup, dating to the end of the fifth century B.C. and attributed to the Meidias painter: Metzger, *Représentations*, 136 no. 50; Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 136. For additional examples, see Metzger, *Représentations*, 136-37 nos. 51-56; also K. Schauenburg, "A Dionysiac Procession on a Monumental Shape 8 Oinochoe," in W.G. Moon ed., *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography*

the examples from the fourth century Dionysos is depicted riding always on a leopard, sometimes astride, sometimes side-saddle, and always surrounded by members of the thiasos. With the exception of the depiction on an Attic *calyx krater*, where he is dressed in a short, long-sleeved tunic and high boots (Fig. 84),⁶⁹ in all other cases Dionysos is dressed only in a mantle, which is either tied around his waist, leaving the torso nude (Fig. 83), or is draped behind his back with the ends falling over his arms (Fig. 82). The leopard, with the front paws raised, is moving sometimes toward the left,⁷⁰ but by far the most common direction of movement is to the right. Here it is interesting to note that although the animal's head, like that of its master, is usually rendered in profile, we find in these early examples the beginning of what is to become a common feature in later representations of this motif: the turning of the animal's head to look at its master. On an Apulian *oinochoe*⁷¹ and on a large Tarantine amphora,⁷² the leopard's head, for the first time, is rendered in three-quarter view, while on a fragment from an Attic pot⁷³ the head is completely frontal. This frontality is very effective, even though it is rendered in a completely unrealistic manner. It would appear that the Attic artist was still not skilled enough to render the turning of the neck in a gradual and convincing manner.

There can be no doubt that the objective of the Pella artist was to portray a divine epiphany, for

(Wisconsin 1983) 267, 275-76, 283 n. 121, Figs. 17.1a, 17.19a, 17.35, 17.36, 17.38, 17.39; also *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 461 nos. 430-33.

⁶⁹ Athens Nat. Mus. 1362; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 461 no. 432; Metzger, *Représentations*, 137 no. 56, pl. XIV.3.

⁷⁰ Apulian *oinochoe*, Naples 2123; *RVAp* I, 126 no. 232; Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 16, B 2; Schauenburg (supra n. 68) 267, Fig. 17.19a. Also on a *calyx-krater* from Paestum, Naples 3412; *RVP* 87 no. 126, pl. 45; Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 16, B 5.

⁷¹ Naples 2123 (supra n. 70).

⁷² Taranto 59, Cirillo de Blasi Collection; *RVAp* II, 865, no. 27/40, pl. 327; Schauenburg (supra n. 68) 276, Fig. 17.39.

⁷³ Vatican XXVI.II.36/ 10B Astarita Collection A 150; Schauenburg (supra n. 68) 275, Fig. 17.36.

he has taken great care to show the god's figure in the best possible light. The nude body, forming a gentle S-curve, has its lower half turned to the right and facing to the opposite direction from the movement. This tendency is consistent with all but three of the fourth century examples.⁷⁴ Matz sees in this positioning of the body a *chiasmus*, which, he claims, appears in the late fifth century and becomes a dominant feature in the Hellenistic period.⁷⁵ His assertion of a chiastic composition is puzzling, however, for the evidence from the fourth century material does not display any such tendency. The only apparent *chiasmus*, in fact, is in the Pella mosaic, where it is created by the position of Dionysos' body and the thyrsos that he is holding, and not by the position of the human body and that of the animal.

The second mosaic in Greece where Dionysos is shown riding on a feline comes from Eretria (cat. 20, Fig. 65). This mosaic is now lost, so all observations are based on a reconstruction drawing and should be treated with caution. Salzmann places its date of production to approximately the second quarter of the third century B.C. and, therefore, almost fifty years after the mosaic of Pella.⁷⁶ It was also made of natural pebbles, but it does not display any of the sophistication of the Pella mosaic, either in technique or in artistic rendering. Here Dionysos is sitting astride on the back of a leopard which is moving toward the left. While his head and lower body are rendered in profile, his torso is turned away from the viewer, thus displaying a three-quarter view of his back. He is wearing shoes and is dressed in a short garment and a mantle that is draped around his waist and over the right shoulder, allowing the

⁷⁴ Attic plate, Copenhagen, VIII/838; *CVA*, Denmark, 4, pl. 169.1; Metzger, 137, no.54. Attic *calyx-krater*, St. Louis City Art Museum 31.1921: Schauenburg (supra n. 68) 275, Fig. 17.35. Fragment, Vatican XXVI.II.36/ 10B Astarita Collection A 150: Schauenburg (supra n. 68) 275, Fig. 17.36.

⁷⁵ Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 19-21.

⁷⁶ Salzmann (1982) 32-33, 91 no. 39.

ends to float to the back.⁷⁷ His left arm is partly raised, holding an unidentifiable object, but the thyrsos, stretching diagonally over the leopard and Dionysos' upper body, is problematic, because it appears to be suspended in the air. The leopard's body is long and stocky, but its head is disproportionately small and is partly turned towards the viewer. With only the front right paw raised, this animal, in contrast to the one in the Pella mosaic, is moving at a leisurely pace.

This rendition of the "feline rider" is not only different from the previous one, but in some ways it is different from any of the other surviving examples, in that here Dionysos is not presented to the viewer as the gloriously appearing god. This is due, on the one hand, to the fact that the riding astride position in general does not lend itself to the depiction of an epiphany in the same way that the riding side-saddle composition does. On the other hand, in this mosaic the inward twist of the upper body causes the figure to retreat into space, and at the same time forces upon it an unrealistic contortion. The position of the legs, however, gives the impression that the lower body is turned slightly outwards, in a manner realistic to riding figures. The mosaicist's technical ability to render a riding figure, therefore, is questionable (unless of course the upper part of the body is reconstructed in the drawing, in which case it may be wrong).

The third mosaic decorates one of the reception rooms of the late Hellenistic House of the Masks at Delos (cat. 10, Figs. 68-69). This fine example of the tessellation technique is made in "*opus vermiculatum*" and is the only known true *emblema* found at Delos. Here the leopard and its rider move toward the right, in the opposite direction from that seen in the last two examples. Dionysos, riding side-saddle, is seated in an upright position, his upper body forming a 90° angle with the back of the leopard. The animal is moving at a leisurely pace and has its head turned in the direction of the god, displaying a fine row of teeth and fangs under the curled upper lip. A vine wreath and red ribbons adorn its powerful

⁷⁷ Salzmann (1982) 91 no. 39, says that he wears the nebris. This, however, is not at all clear from the depiction in the drawing.

neck.

Dionysos' torso is frontal, whereas the lower body is turned to the left, allowing the legs to cross at the calves and point toward the back. His head, shown in three-quarter view, is slightly tilted, and the face is expressive and tranquil, which is in contrast to the lively and ferocious face of the beast. He is wearing a wreath of ivy, a diadem, and an elaborate costume that leaves only the flesh of the face and hands exposed. A long white *chiton* with a full skirt allows the tip of the left red boot to show under the folds. It is high girdled, with short sleeves, and adorned with elaborate embroidery on the chest and on a wide border along the hemline. Unfortunately many tesserae in these areas are missing and it is difficult to determine the exact pattern of the embroidery, especially on the chest. Along the hem the pattern is better preserved and shows multiple horizontal stripes and crosslets, rendered in dark yellow tones, imitating gold. This is echoed on the belt, which is tied under the breasts, and, most of all, on the mantle, which covers part of the lower body, drapes behind his back and drops over the left shoulder. Gold accents are also used on the ivy wreath around the leopard's neck, the tassel tied on the spear-pointed thyrsos that the god is holding in the right hand, and the frame of the *tympanon* that he is holding in the left hand. The white and gold colour scheme is contrasted by the bright red colour of the sleeves of the undergarment, the red boot, the leopards' lips and tongue, and the ribbon that is entwined with the ivy wreath around its neck.⁷⁸

Dionysos' costume in this mosaic is rather puzzling and has elicited differing opinions as to its origins as well as to the identity of the rider. When the mosaic was found, Chamonard was not certain whether the figure depicted in the *emblema* is that of Dionysos, Ariadne, or a maenad.⁷⁹ Over twenty

⁷⁸ For the colours and the materials used for the *emblema*, see Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 618; *ead.*(1995) 531-33.

⁷⁹ *Delos* XIV, 12-18.

years later, Picard still believed that this is a representation of Ariadne.⁸⁰ The rider's effeminate look, the long garment, and the *tympanon*, which is usually carried by maenads, created an ambiguity which, according to the early observers, pointed to a female figure. However, as Bruneau has pointed out,⁸¹ today there is no question in any scholar's mind that this is Dionysos. The god's androgynous appearance is now so well documented that it no longer creates the same confusion. So Dionysos' identity is firmly established on the *emblema* from the House of the Masks. But what still provokes controversy is his costume.

The two best known theories presented about Dionysos' costume are those of Chamonard and Matz, both of which place it in the world of the theatre. Chamonard sees Dionysos in this representation as the god of the theatre, presiding over the dramatic performances, dressed in the costume worn by actors of tragedy. Further, he sees in this costume the different components of theatrical tragedy costume mentioned by Pollux (*Onom.* 4.115-20): the *poikilon* (embroidered tunic?); the tiara for the headdress; the *kothornoi* with simple soles for the boots. In the long sleeves he sees the *chiridotos chiton*, the sleeved ritual garment of the Dionysiac cult that the theatre borrowed.⁸²

Matz, on the other hand, suggests that Dionysos at Delos is not shown as the god of the theatre, although his costume is a stage garment required to be worn by kings on the stage, which, he says, is distinguished from the realistic royal Hellenistic garment only by its length. He concludes that through this costume Dionysos in the House of the Masks is also depicted as a victorious Hellenistic royal ruler.⁸³ So both scholars identify the costume as belonging to the theatre, but each interprets its meaning on the

⁸⁰ J.-Ph. Lauer and Ch. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapeion de Memphis* (Paris 1955) 193 n. 1.

⁸¹ *Delos* XXIX, 79.

⁸² *Delos* XIV, 16-18, 20.

⁸³ Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 24.

mosaic differently. Chamonard clearly believes that, if the figure displayed is Dionysos, the artist's intention was to depict him as the presiding god of the theatre. In order to project this image, the artist chose to portray him wearing the tragic actor's costume. Matz's theory, however, suggests that the artist wished to portray the god as a victorious royal figure. To achieve this he chose to show Dionysos wearing a costume which was used on the stage exclusively to denote royalty. Clearly, the implication here is that the viewer, who was familiar with the costume from the stage, would readily recognize it and identify the image on the mosaic as representing a royal figure from the East. And when iconographic elements denoting victory were combined with it, then the overall depiction became one of a "victorious eastern royalty".

Dionysos' costume on the mosaic of Delos and the theories about its identification are inevitably complicated. However, there are three apparent possibilities: a) that it was meant to be seen as a general theatrical tragic costume, b) that it was meant to be seen as a costume of royal easternness in the theatre, and c) that it was meant to be seen as a general eastern costume. But before it can be determined whether this is a theatre costume, we first have to define what a "tragic actor's costume" looked like. Or indeed, if there was such a thing as a "tragic actor's costume", or one specifically designed for "theatre kings", eastern or otherwise.

Modern scholars generally believe that the typical "tragic costume" in the Classical period consisted of a mask, a special type of footwear called *kothornoi*, and a long-sleeved *chiton*.⁸⁴ This sometimes was replaced by a sleeveless *chiton* and a long-sleeved undergarment, and sometimes it was adorned with elaborate patterns. This type of costume is thought to have been appropriate for an actor of tragedy, because it allowed him to conceal his true identity completely and gave him the flexibility of

⁸⁴ Bieber, 22; O. Taplin, *Greek Tragedy in Action* (London 1978, repr. 1995) 14; *DFA*², 180-84, 197-209; E. Simon, *The Ancient Theatre* (London and New York 1982) 13; P.D. Arnott, *An Introduction to the Greek Theatre* (Bloomington, Indiana 1959) 48-50.

impersonating a number of different characters, even females, by simply changing the mask. However, modern beliefs are not readily supported either from literary references to the tragic stage or from the existing iconography. As Green has demonstrated, illustrations found on early fifth century pottery which are often thought to represent a scene from tragedy, can neither be taken at face value nor do they show tragic actors acting. Therefore, we cannot be sure if the actions and costume of the figures represent the actual events of the theatre, or whether they represent the artist's interpretation of what took place on the stage.⁸⁵

For over a century scholars sought to define the so-called "tragic costume" and trace its origins. For the most part, their ideas are based on limited literary references which are sometimes difficult to assess. For example, a reference by Athenaeos (1.21d) who says that "... Αἰσχύλος δέ ... ἐξεῦρε τὴν τῆς στολῆς εὐπρέπειαν καὶ σεμνότητα, ἣν ζηλώσαντες οἱ ἱεροφάνται καὶ δαδοῦχοι ἀμφιέννυνται..." gave rise to the theory that the Eleusinian priests adopted the theatrical costume as their own sacerdotal dress.⁸⁶ And then the opposite has also been suggested, namely that Aeschylus, a native of Eleusis, borrowed the costume from the Eleusinian mysteries and introduced it to the theatre. In fact, as Miller convincingly argued, neither belief is substantiated by textual or archaeological evidence, for depictions of Eleusinian torch bearers from the sixth and fifth centuries show them wearing ordinary Greek dress. It is not until the fourth century that the long-sleeved *chiton* becomes commonplace in representations of the Eleusinian cult.⁸⁷

Aeschylus' contribution to tragedy is also mentioned by Philostratos (*VA* 6.2; *VS* 1.9), who says

⁸⁵ Green (1994) 23ff.

⁸⁶ Bieber, 24-25. Also, G.E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 209. For the dress of Eleusinian priests, *id.*, 230, 232.

⁸⁷ Miller (1989) 317-18; for evidence on sacerdotal dress in general, see *ibid.*, 319-23; Miller (1997) 164-65. Also, *DFA*², 200-201.

that Aeschylus was the first to introduce tragic dress and adorn it, but reveals nothing specific about it. As for Pollux, the main written source of information about theatrical costume, he is problematic because numerous inconsistencies in his account have given scholars reason to suspect that, far from describing contemporary theatrical practices of the second century A.D., he describes costumes and masks of earlier periods for which he had to rely on other sources. As a result his comments are often deemed to be ignorant and therefore unreliable as a source of evidence.⁸⁸

Dionysos' well attested connection with the theatre gave rise to another theory. According to some scholars, the "tragic actor's dress" derived from Dionysos himself and in particular from a dress used in his cult.⁸⁹ This theory is based primarily on depictions from archaic and early classical black-and-red-figure vases, where Dionysos is portrayed bearded and wearing a long garment. In a series of Attic red-figure vases which show images of Dionysiac ritual the mask of Dionysos and a long *chiton* are fastened on a pole. The garment is usually long and ornate, and sometimes a heavy mantle is placed over it, as for example in the cup by Makron, c. 480 B.C.⁹⁰ But most of the times the mantle is omitted and it becomes clear that there is not even a hint of arms, not to mention sleeves, as for instance in the *stamnos* by the Dinos Painter, c. 420 B.C. (Fig. 87).⁹¹ In fact, in the entire body of the early Dionysiac iconography only twice does Dionysos' dress have long sleeves: on a black-figure amphora in Bonn, c. 500 B.C. (Fig. 88), and on a red-figure *krater*, c. 440-30 B.C.⁹² And it is the long-sleeved *chiton* that

⁸⁸ Green (1994) 153-54, 188 n. 52; *DFA*², 177ff. For Pollux' *Onomasticon*, see Csapo & Slater, 393-402.

⁸⁹ H. Thiersch, *Ependytes und Ephod: Gottesbild und Priesterkleid im alten Vorderasien* (Stuttgart 1936) 33-34; M. Bieber, "Die Herkunft des tragischen Kostüms" *Jdl* 32 (1917) 15-104; Bieber, 24-27. See also Chamonard, *Delos* XIV, 14.

⁹⁰ Berlin, Staatl. Mus. 2290; *ARI*² 462.48; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 427 no. 41.

⁹¹ Naples, Nat. Mus. 2419; *ARI*² 1151-1152.2; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 426 no. 33.

⁹² Attic black-figure amphora, c. 500 B.C., Bonn: Bieber, 25, Fig. 80; *DFA*², Fig. 62. Attic red-figure *krater*, c. 440-30, Ferrara, Nat. Mus. 2892; *ARI*² 1041.6; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 477 no. 656.

Dionysos is shown wearing on the black-figure amphora which Bieber has used in support of her argument that this garment was special to Dionysos and was passed from him to the theatre.⁹³ This assumption, however, is not substantiated by the early iconography of Dionysos, and all other examples where he is depicted wearing a long-sleeved dress are later, and therefore could not have had any influence on the supposed theatrical costume.

Erika Simon summed these arguments up best by saying that "The archaeological evidence...forbids the derivation of the tragic costume from a particular model. It was a new creation...in the sense that various parts of the costume which were already in use were combined to make a new ensemble."⁹⁴ Similar deductions were made by Margaret Miller, whose extensive research into fifth century dress in Athens reveals that the adoption of sleeved garments in the theatre was part of a wider trend. Miller has demonstrated that in the fifth century the aristocracy in Athens adopted Persian sleeved garments which were made of luxurious textiles and were highly decorated. This trend "...has been interpreted as a post-war reaction against the perceived luxury culture of the Orient"⁹⁵ and found many followers primarily amongst the wealthy Athenian women, and, to a lesser extent, Athenian men as well. Consequently, Persian dress became a status symbol and the ultimate expression of luxury. These types of garments were also introduced to the theatre and it is very likely that this was due to their perceived luxury, as the staging particularly of tragedies required elaborate dress.⁹⁶

The popularity of Persian dress in fifth century Athens promoted the pre-existing practice of depicting Orientals wearing long-sleeved garments. Attic vase painters, who had used this iconographic

⁹³ Bieber, 25-26.

⁹⁴ E. Simon, *The Ancient Theatre* (London and New York 1982) 13.

⁹⁵ Miller (1997) 155.

⁹⁶ Miller (1997) 165.

device from the mid sixth century onward exclusively for the depictions of Scythians, started to use the same device in the mid fifth century to depict "...mythological foreign ethnicity...".⁹⁷ Miller interprets Dionysos' long-sleeved garment on the Bonn amphora as an expression of this tendency and as an early example of depicting Dionysos as an outsider.⁹⁸ This tendency is reinforced by similar depictions of other mythological figures, such as Medea, who in the last quarter of the fifth century is shown wearing Oriental dress instead of the Greek attire of earlier representations.⁹⁹

The elitist quality of the long-sleeved garment and its Persian origins led to another theory concerning the costume worn by actors of tragedy, which suggests that it was influenced by the garments worn by eastern kings. The idea of the so-called *Theaterkönig* costume was presented by Alföldi¹⁰⁰ who believed that Aeschylus introduced to the stage a Persian royal dress, sleeved and highly ornamental, to be used for the impersonation of Oriental kings, but which was later used for all rulers and other tragic figures. But as Gould and Lewis in their revision of Pickard-Cambridge, and Miller demonstrated, this theory is not substantiated by the evidence from vase painting.¹⁰¹ They specifically point to evidence which shows that a similar type of garment was worn by flute-players (Fig. 90). The early examples of this practice date long before the Persian wars and before it was used to denote royalty on stage.¹⁰² Moreover, Miller argues that the tendency to depict Oriental royal figures on stage by dressing them in elaborate Persian dress starts approximately in the mid fifth century B.C. and coincides with the adoption

⁹⁷ Miller (1997) 163-64.

⁹⁸ Miller (1997) 164. For the Bonn amphora, see *supra*, n. 92.

⁹⁹ Miller (1997) 169.

¹⁰⁰ A. Alföldi, "Gewaltherrscher und Theaterkönig," in K. Weitzmann ed., *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honour of Albert Matthias Friend, Jr.* (Princeton 1955) 15-55.

¹⁰¹ J. Gould and D.M. Lewis, *DFA*², 201-202; Miller (1989) 318.

¹⁰² *DFA*², 201-202, pl. 61; Miller (1989) 315, 318.

of such garments by fashion and status-conscious Athenian women, as well as the desire of artists to depict Oriental mythological characters.¹⁰³ However, from the fourth century B.C. onwards the so-called *Theaterkönig* costume is found frequently in depictions of royal figures and heroes of eastern origin. One of the best examples is seen in the late fifth-early fourth century Pronomos vase where the cast of a satyr play is depicted in great detail (Fig. 89).¹⁰⁴ Two of the figures here, a male and a female, are shown dressed in an elaborately patterned, long-sleeved *chiton* and with tiaras on their masks, and are believed to be royal figures from the East: either the Trojan king Laomedon and his daughter Hesione or the Lydian maiden Omphale and her father Iardanos. This belief is based both on the type of dress they are wearing and on the context of the scene. The garments worn by the two figures are the sort of costume that Alföldi sees as having been introduced by Aeschylus and then adopted by later dramatists for royalty on stage.

Matz, carrying along the idea of the *Theaterkönig* costume, places the Delos mosaic within the chronological period that it was produced and claims that Dionysos' costume is that of a victorious Hellenistic royal ruler: "Weil die Form des Bühnengewandes, das er trägt, insbesondere für die Könige im Theater gebraucht wurde und sich nur durch seine Länge von dem wirklichen hellenistischen Königsornat unterscheidet, ist auch ... durch dieses Kostüm Dionysos in der Funktion dargestellt, die er im Herrscherkult hatte".¹⁰⁵ Matz's theory, however, is also unsupported by iconographic evidence, for we simply do not know what type of garments, apart from military costume, Hellenistic kings wore. We rarely find a full-figure image of a Hellenistic ruler and when we do he is shown on horseback, armoured,

¹⁰³ Miller (1997) 163-64.

¹⁰⁴ Naples, Nat. Mus. H 3240; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 493 no. 835; Csapo & Slater, 69 no. 137, pl. 8; *DFA*², 186-87, pl. 49; Green (1994) 44, 84-85, Fig. 2.19.

¹⁰⁵ Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 24.

or nude,¹⁰⁶ as for example, the bronze statue of the so-called "Terme Ruler" which is usually thought to represent Demetrios I Soter of Syria, or the bronze equestrian statuette of Alexander.¹⁰⁷ Whatever evidence we have of royal Hellenistic iconography comes primarily from coins where only the head is shown and where the only distinctive item is the diadem (Fig. 94). This was a flat piece of white cloth which was first worn by Alexander after his conquest of Asia and, according to Polybios (II.34), was afterwards adopted also by his successors who started wearing it after major military victories. Diodoros (4.4.4) and Pliny the Elder (*NH* 7.191), however, tell us that the diadem was discovered by Dionysos, who wore it to symbolize his victories in the East, and that kings took it over from him. The extensive Dionysiac iconography confirms that Dionysos wears such a diadem regularly, sometimes on its own and sometimes along with a wreath, as for example he does on the mosaic from the House of the Masks at Delos (Fig. 69). It is difficult to determine when exactly Dionysos started wearing this flat diadem, but it appears in early fifth century representations on vases and coins, whereas in the sixth century he consistently wears an ivy wreath. It would appear therefore that Alexander may have adopted the diadem from Dionysos, thus promoting his association with the god. Smith argues that Dionysos was Alexander's model because "Dionysos was important to Alexander...he was a conquering god and provided the divine model for the conquest of India and Asia." And so the adoption of the diadem was "...a symbol...which came to mean conquest and kingship of Asia."¹⁰⁸ However, he also questions whether the adoption of the diadem by Alexander was conscious and points to the use of similar diadems worn, for instance, by the Neo-Assyrian kings which could also have influenced Alexander. In fact, this

¹⁰⁶ R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 32-34. Smith points out that the naked figure was by far the most popular representation of Hellenistic kings. But more importantly, he also points out the total absence of royal statues in civilian dress.

¹⁰⁷ Terme Ruler, c. 150 B.C., Rome, Nat. Mus. Terme. Alexander statuette, Herculaneum, first century B.C. or A.D, based on work of c. 330 B.C., Naples, Arch. Mus.: Smith (supra, n. 106) pls. 32, 70-71; J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986) Figs. 36, 74.

¹⁰⁸ Smith (supra n.106) 36-38.

seems more likely, for we know that, while he was in Persia in 329/8, Alexander adopted Persian dress (Diod. 17.77.5).

In addition to the mosaic of Delos, Dionysos appears in a long-sleeved garment in other contexts as well, such as the Indian Triumph, where he is almost always depicted wearing "the long-sleeved feminine robe, high-girded and reaching to the ankles" (Figs. 91-93),¹⁰⁹ in some representations of the madness of Lykourgos,¹¹⁰ and of the Gigantomachy.¹¹¹ In the case of the Indian Triumph both an eastern and a royal context can be easily established, since Alexander's victory in the East was used as a prototype for the imagery and the story of Dionysos' Indian Triumph, as well as for the victories of all Hellenistic and Roman rulers. In the other two cases an eastern connection cannot be established as easily, but it is clear that Dionysos is depicted as an outsider there too. By most accounts, the story of Lykourgos takes place in Thrace, but there is also some literary evidence which indicates that Lykourgos was worshipped as a god among the Arabs.¹¹² As for the Gigantomachy, Carpenter argues, on the one hand, that when the iconography of the story appears in Attic pottery it is in a fully developed form, which suggests that it was imported to Attica, and on the other, that specific iconographic elements, particularly felines and snakes, may have their origins in Eastern perceptions of the god.¹¹³

But apart from the garment, depictions of these stories often have more elements in common, although here too there is no apparent uniformity. One of these is the diadem which Dionysos always wears in depictions of the Indian Triumph on mosaics, sometimes along with a wreath of ivy or vine, as

¹⁰⁹ Dunbabin (1971) 53. Also, *supra*, pp. 121-22.

¹¹⁰ On the mosaics of Herculaneum and Trikala, see *infra*, pp. 180 n. 206, 182-85. Also on a late fourth century Apulian *loutrophoros*: Munich, Antikenslg. 3300; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 312 no. 19.

¹¹¹ *Krater*, Bari, Arch. Mus. 4399; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 476 no. 641. *Krater*, Ferrara, Nat. Mus. 2892; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 477 no. 656.

¹¹² Bruneau & Vatin, 416-19. For other references to the story of Lykourgos, see *infra*, pp. 179-80.

¹¹³ Carpenter, 55-75, esp. 74-75.

for instance in the mosaic from Sousse (Fig. 91).¹¹⁴ Dionysos also wears a diadem on at least one of the Gigantomachy scenes, while on the Lykourgos and Ambrosia mosaic from Herculaneum he wears both a wreath and a diadem.¹¹⁵ Even more striking is perhaps the fact that in all scenes Dionysos carries a spear or a spear-pointed thyrsos, a *θυρσόλογγον*, instead of the customary thyrsos. And this is another element in common between Dionysiac and royal Hellenistic iconography, where, in full-figure statues, the kings are always shown holding a spear. Smith attributes this to the Macedonian notion of spear-won land which is closely connected to Alexander and his successors.¹¹⁶ Amongst the Hellenistic kings it was clearly meant as a symbolic demonstration of territorial conquest which, along with the diadem, aimed to reinforce military victory. But at the same time it reinforced the intended association with Dionysos, who was without a doubt the favoured deity of the Hellenistic kings.

What follows from all this then is that Dionysos' costume in the *emblema* from the House of the Masks was not meant to be seen either as a general theatrical costume for tragedy or as a costume of royal easternness in the theatre. As Miller demonstrated,¹¹⁷ in the fifth and fourth centuries Athenians adopted and, sometimes, adapted Persian dress to suit their own purposes. In doing so, they did not aim to assimilate to themselves Persian culture. They simply wished to allude to it, in order to claim their rightful place on the social scale. One way to achieve this was to dress in luxurious, highly ornate, and undoubtedly very expensive Persian garments. The fact that many of these textiles may have been locally produced or "Hellenized" in appearance was not important. What mattered was that they looked Persian.

¹¹⁴ Museum of Sousse, inv. 57.099; Dunbabin (1971) esp. 53-54, pl. XII; *ead.*, (1978) 269 no. 12d, pl. 182; M. Blanchard-Lemée, *Sols de la Tunisie Romaine* (Paris 1995) Figs. 64-65; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus in per. occ.) 915 no. 142.

¹¹⁵ Gigantomachy: *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 476 no. 641. Herculaneum mosaic: *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 557 no. 230.

¹¹⁶ R.R.R. Smith, "Spear-won land at Boscoreale: on the royal paintings of a Roman villa," *JRA* 7 (1994) 110-11.

¹¹⁷ Miller (1997) 153-87, *passim*.

Athenians followed the same principle in the depictions of some of their gods which they dressed in Oriental attire. In doing so, the god was made to look as an outsider, a foreigner, even if he or she was not in essence an outsider or if the garment itself was not essentially eastern. As was argued earlier, Dionysos was one of the gods that the artists depicted as an outsider by means of foreign dress. This tendency appeared first in the Classical period.¹¹⁸ The existing iconographic evidence from the Hellenistic and imperial periods, however, indicates that this tendency continued for many centuries and was used in depictions of episodes of the god's life whose origins are placed outside of Greece, such as Thrace for the story of Lykourgos, or India for the story of the Indian Triumph.

On the mosaic of Delos Dionysos' costume has general eastern connotations. The long-sleeved undergarment and the white *chiton* with its elaborate patterning resemble the luxuriously embroidered Oriental garments, but they are essentially non-eastern. As Miller theorizes for representations of similar garments,¹¹⁹ Dionysos' costume at Delos is adapted rather than imitated. It is a Hellenized version of Oriental costume which aims to provide an eastern context for the overall scene. This imagery is reinforced by the depiction of the leopard which also has its origins in the East.¹²⁰ An extra dimension to the eastern context is provided by the diadem and the spear-pointed thyrsos whose symbolic meaning of victory and territorial conquest clearly points to a major military victory. Finally, the notion of victory is reinforced by subsidiary imagery of wreaths that are placed around the panels, and possibly also by the staff carried by the centaur on the right, which is difficult to define but which Matz interprets as yet another sign of victory.¹²¹ Combined, this imagery has connotations of triumph and victory in the East,

¹¹⁸ Miller (1997) 164; *supra*, pp. 144-45.

¹¹⁹ Miller (1997) 180.

¹²⁰ There are some suggestions that there may have been lions in Macedonia and Thrace in ancient times, but there is no evidence of leopards. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii, 606^b 16) specifically states that they lived in Asia. Also see, J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (Baltimore and London 1973) 82-90.

¹²¹ Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 24.

and points to a god who, escorted by centaurs, is arriving on the back of a leopard after he has been victorious in conquering eastern nations, in other words, Dionysos' Indian Triumph.

When we compare the iconography of this mosaic with that of the representations of the Indian Triumph from the imperial period, we find that, although by no means identical, they display many common elements: the long garment and undergarment, very ornate and high girded, the mantle, the diadem and wreath, and the spear-pointed thyrsos (Figs. 91-93). The most notable differences are the absence of the nebris and the chariot, and the colour of Dionysos' dress. In most representations of the Indian Triumph on the imperial mosaics Dionysos' dress is a deep red or purple colour. At Delos, only the undergarment is red, whereas the overgarment is white. This difference in colour is almost certainly due to the fact that in imperial mosaics the figures are rendered against a light background which allows the dark colours to stand out. At Delos, on the other hand, the artist follows the old tradition of placing light coloured figures against a dark background. On account of this, as Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna have argued, the artist has to play liberally with bright colours to create as great a contrast with the dark background as possible.¹²² He achieved this by the brilliant gold-colour mantle, the white *chiton*, the splashes of blue and violet glass for the shaded areas (now lost), the light green faïence in Dionysos' and the leopard's wreath, and the bright red used for the undergarment, the boot, and initially for the *tympanon* too.¹²³

In view of the close similarities that exist between the representation on the mosaic of Delos and the later representations of the Indian Triumph, it is reasonable to suggest that the iconography of Dionysos' costume and that of the entire panel may in fact reflect an early stage in the iconography of the Indian Triumph. For although all the known representations of the Indian Triumph date to the

¹²² Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 532-33; *ead.* (1995) 531-33.

¹²³ The tesserae of the *tympanon* are missing, but Chamonard and Guimier-Sorbets and Nenna indicate that they were also red: *Delos* XIV, 12; Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1995) 532.

imperial period, the story was known at least since the early third century B.C., for it was one of the highlights of Ptolemy Philadelphos' *pompe* at Alexandria, c. 279-70 B.C.¹²⁴ It is therefore reasonable to assume that earlier representations of the Indian Triumph motif would have existed.

The last of the four mosaics was produced some three centuries after the one at Delos and decorates the central area of a *triclinium* pavement at Chania (cat. 4, Figs. 72, 74). A large section of this mosaic is destroyed and as a result, a complete and definitive identification of the scene is not possible. It is clear enough, however, from the preserved sections, that we are dealing with another "feline rider" who can be no other than Dionysos. For in addition to the individual iconographic elements outlined below, the Dionysiac nature of the scene is affirmed by the decorative vine branches that grow out of the two lower corners and spread along the bottom and both sides of the panel.

Dionysos' body is almost completely destroyed. But part of his right leg and his sandalled feet are preserved, which allow us to make some important deductions toward the identification of the scene. Here the god is riding side-saddle on the back of a clearly identifiable female leopard. His legs are bare, which indicate that he was not dressed in a long *chiton*, like the Delos Dionysos, but was probably naked with only a blue mantle draped around his body; the tail-end of this mantle is visible between the legs. The position of the legs, however, is problematic because the relative positioning of the feet indicates that his left leg would have been bent on the knee but raised higher than his right leg. Moreover, it shows that the legs were not crossed. This unrealistic positioning of the legs would have thrown the body into an awkward twist and would have made it difficult for the rider to stay on the back of the animal. It is noteworthy that amid the large number of preserved "feline riders" on mosaics, there is only one example, the Dougga mosaic from North Africa (Fig. 85),¹²⁵ which we can cite as a possible parallel for

¹²⁴ E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983) 4-5.

¹²⁵ Tunis, Bardo Mus. 2808; *LIMC* IV (Dionysos/Bacchus in per. occ.) 911 no. 58; Dunbabin (1978) 257 no. 8c.

the Chania Dionysos, in that there too the god's left leg is bent and raised higher than his right leg. However, the legs in this case are crossed over, with the right leg supporting the left, thus adding a note of normalcy to the overall positioning of the body. We therefore have to question the Chania artist's understanding of the mechanics of the human body.

A small preserved section of the leopard's front leg sufficiently demonstrates that the animal is in a leaping position, which is indicating fast movement. This is reinforced by the figure of a satyr, who is running alongside the leopard and its rider. Only the lower part of a satyr's body is preserved, but his nakedness, dark skin, and most of all, the horse tail, make his identity unmistakable (Fig. 74). His legs, rendered in profile and spread wide apart, clearly indicate that he is running hard to keep up with the moving beast. The rendering of the legs, however, especially the back one, is very amateurish, pointing again to the artist's inability to portray correctly the human body in perspective. As a result, the back leg, below the knee, looks like an amorphous mass, hardly resembling a leg at all. To a lesser extent, the same is true of the front leg, where an unsuccessful attempt to render perspective resulted in alternating stripes of brown hues that cause the leg, and the thigh in particular, to look deformed.

Another preserved section on the upper right corner reveals, along with a section of the vine, part of a *tympanon* and part of an inscription (Fig. 73) on the dark border reading: "...ΔΑΦΝΗΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ". Although the first part of the inscription is missing, it is possible, as Markoulaki demonstrated, to partly reconstruct the inscription on the basis of other similar inscriptions where we read "...Ἀντιοχεύς τῶν πρὸς Δάφνην...".¹²⁶ This format of recording the origin of artists appears to be typical in the East during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, as it is indicated on a number of inscriptions. Following then this format the Chania inscription would read "...Ἀντιοχεύς τῶν πρὸς Δάφνην ἐποίηι". So even though we

¹²⁶ IG XIV 1347; Markoulaki (1990) 461 n. 55, 56, 57; L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, 2nd ed., (Paris 1962) 53.

will never know the name of the mosaicist, we can determine that he came from Antioch near Daphne.¹²⁷ It would appear therefore that this mosaicist was a product of the long standing mosaic tradition of Antioch and the surrounding area. This is interesting because it reinforces beliefs in travelling artists. However, the schematic and almost amateurish treatment of the figures on the mosaic of Chania is in total contrast to the detailed Hellenistic manner of representation that the Antiochean mosaicists followed faithfully at least until the end of the fourth century A.D.

The Chania mosaic is the only one of the "feline rider" pavements that contains more than one figure within the same panel. As mentioned above, there can be no doubt of the satyr's presence. But it is quite possible that a third figure may have been part of the original scene. The preserved section of the *tympanon*, in the top right corner, suggested to Markoulaki the conclusion that Dionysos held it in his left hand and therefore that this mosaic derives from the same prototype as that of the Delos Dionysos.¹²⁸ Even if we were to accept the existence of such a prototype, we cannot accept Markoulaki's theory, because the *tympanon* is placed too far to the right side of the panel. On the basis of the position and scale of the preserved sections of the leopard's body and the god's legs, I think it is possible to reconstruct the central scene of the mosaic in two different ways. First, following Markoulaki's suggestion, in order for Dionysos to be holding the *tympanon* in his outstretched left hand, he would have to be seated in an upright position and in such a way that his upper body would be placed at an approximately 90° angle to the back of the animal; only so would he be able to stay on the back of the leopard without supporting himself. In this case, however, Dionysos' body would be too far removed from the *tympanon* to allow for the possibility of his holding it. The second possible reconstruction of the scene would be to place Dionysos' body in a semi-reclining position on the back of the leopard, as

¹²⁷ Markoulaki (1990) 461-62.

¹²⁸ Markoulaki (1990) 460-61.

if he were at a symposium, only here the animal would be taking the place of the couch. Placed in this position, however, the god would have to support himself either by holding on to the animal's neck with his left hand, or by resting his left elbow on its back; otherwise he would not be able to maintain his balance. Either way, his left arm could not be raised to hold the *tympanon* and it is therefore impossible to postulate that it was held by the god. Nor is there any indication that it may be hanging from the vine branches, as we sometimes encounter it in Dionysiac iconography. This leaves open only one other possible explanation: that the *tympanon* has held by a third, now missing, figure, most likely a maenad. If this theory is correct, then the iconography on the Chania mosaic follows closely the "feline rider" motif seen often on sarcophagi where Dionysos is depicted riding on a feline, escorted by satyrs and maenads carrying *tympana* or cymbals. The main difference is that on the sarcophagi the representations are much richer and include many subsidiary figures.¹²⁹

To the group of mosaics discussed already we can add another pavement from Delos, from the peristyle of the so-called "House of Dionysos" (cat. 13, Figs. 76-80). Like the Dionysos mosaic from the House of the Masks, this panel is also a superb example of craftsmanship. Moreover, it is contemporary to that of the House of the Masks. The ambiguity that surrounds its representation, however, makes its iconographic analysis very difficult and forces us to place it at the end of the list of the mosaics with representations of feline riders. For although it is perfectly clear that we are dealing with yet another depiction of the same motif, we are unable to deduce, with any degree of certainty, if the rider in this case is Dionysos himself. The iconography of this mosaic is unique, although it is often compared to the so-called "tiger rider" from the House of the Faun at Pompeii (Fig. 81),¹³⁰ primarily because both figures are winged. Beyond this, however, they do not have much in common.

¹²⁹ For a list of representations of Dionysos riding on a feline on sarcophagi, see Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 1, 157-64 nos. 51-57A; v. 3, 307-13 nos. 162-68; v. 4, 449-52 nos. 258-59.

¹³⁰ Naples, Nat. Mus. 9991; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 559 no. 258.

The representation from the House of Dionysos shares several common elements with the mosaics discussed earlier: a majestic looking feline moves in a leisurely pace to the right, its head turned around and slightly upwards looking toward its master, the upper lip curled revealing a row of white teeth and fangs, and a wreath placed around its neck (Figs. 77, 79-80). On its back a figure is shown riding astride, wearing an ivy wreath and holding a thyrsos in his raised right hand. Here, however, the similarities end. For unlike any of the beasts in the other mosaics, this feline is a superbly rendered tiger, which makes its appearance for the first time in Dionysiac iconography. Moreover, this beast wears a vine wreath with red grapes around its neck. The harmonious proportions, the amount of detail used to depict the entire animal but especially the head, and the captivating expression of the face, demonstrate not only the mosaicist's great technical ability, but also his first hand knowledge of the tiger's anatomy. The same attention to detail applies to the rider as well, although regrettably a large portion of his figure is destroyed. The preserved sections show a youthful looking face in three-quarter view, with prominent cheeks and chin, and full lips (Figs. 77-78). He is wearing an ivy wreath, a short, long-sleeved *chiton* with an *ependytes* (?) over it, and a mantle, secured on the left shoulder with a round *porpe*. In addition, wings are attached to his back. He is also wearing long boots, the upper part of which appears to have a solid vertical strap in the middle and crisscrossing laces to either side of it. The bottom of the boot is completely destroyed, with the exception of the loop of a bow at about the height of the ankle. This indicates that the lower part of the boot was also laced, although we cannot determine whether it was open or closed in the front.¹³¹

The costume and facial expression of this figure, along with the tiger and the vine wreath that decorates its neck, point strongly to Dionysos himself. The wings, however, are not part of the god's

¹³¹ For parallels and a discussion on ancient footwear, see K.D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the dating of Sculpture* (Wisconsin 1985) 123-39. Also Th. Hope, *Costumes of the Greeks and Romans* (New York 1962) pl. 167.

iconography and their unexpected appearance here creates confusion as to the identity of the figure. It has also caused scholars to suggest that this may not be a depiction of Dionysos himself, but that of a Dionysiac *Daimon*. Unfortunately the existing iconography does not provide much help, with one exception: a depiction from a late fourth century B.C. Apulian *loutrophoros* (Fig. 133)¹³² which may shed some light to this problem. On the upper register of this vase, there is a depiction of Lykourgos killing a female figure, who is probably his wife. To the left of the central figures stands Dionysos, clearly identifiable by his attributes. He is dressed in a short, long-sleeved *chiton*, an ivy wreath, and wears high laced boots. The material of his dress is very ornamental and the sleeves are distinctly patterned with rows of white dots. To the right of the central figures stands another figure who looks almost identical to Dionysos, wears an almost identical dress, and the same high laced boots. Both figures have one arm stretched out, with the fingers partly open, and they appear to be gesturing to one another, or possibly to Lykourgos in the middle. However, there are two differences: the head of the figure on the right is decorated with snakes instead of ivy and its outstretched left arm is also encircled with snakes. Even more importantly, it has wings on its back.

It is possible to identify the winged figure in this representation as a Fury on account of the snakes. But snakes played an important role in early Dionysiac iconography too. They first appear on representations of the Gigantomachy where they help Dionysos fight the giants,¹³³ and later they become a regular feature of the iconography of maenads, who are regularly shown on early red-figure vases carrying snakes, as for example on the well-known amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, c. 500-480 B.C.¹³⁴ Moreover, as mentioned earlier,¹³⁵ the snakes may belong to an eastern image of the god, which

¹³² *supra*, n. 110.

¹³³ Carpenter, 71-74.

¹³⁴ Monaco, *Antikenslg.* 8732; *ARV*² 182.6; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 452 no. 311.

ties in with the long-sleeved garment that both Dionysos and the winged figure wear. In view of these associations, then, it is likely that the winged figure on the vase may be a *daimon*, who is differentiated from the god only by his special attributes: snakes and wings. Otherwise the two figures are the same. This representation is very useful to us for two reasons: first, because it is indicative of the existence of a winged *daimon* connected with Dionysos, and secondly, because it shows that the iconography of the *daimon* was fashioned after that of the god. In the Delos mosaic these two images merge. The mosaicist here, perhaps for the sake of clarity, has dispensed with the snakes and bestowed on the figure all the Dionysiac attributes, leaving the viewer in no doubt of the figure's close connection to Dionysos. But at the same time, the presence of the wings transports the viewer a step further into the spiritual world of Dionysos. Finally, it adds an extra dimension to the iconographic tradition of "feline riders" on the mosaics of Greece, which, as this survey indicates, had a long and variable history. For although the examples share some basic features, they are all very different and therefore we cannot claim a dependence on a common original or a variation of a standard type.

3. THE DISCOVERY OF ARIADNE

One of the best known stories of the Dionysiac cycle is the discovery of Ariadne; the young Cretan princess, whose fate, following her departure from Crete, captured the imagination of numerous ancient writers and artists. In literature, numerous versions of her story are known, although no two of them seem to be alike. Several are recorded by Plutarch in his life of Theseus: "Some say that she hung herself because she was abandoned by Theseus; others...that she was abandoned by Theseus because he loved another woman; ...some say that Ariadne actually had sons by Theseus, Oenopion and Staphylus; the Naxians...say that (she) was married to Dionysos in Naxos and bore him Staphylus and his

¹³⁵ supra, p. 148.

brother".¹³⁶ According to Homer "...Artemis slew her in the sea-girt Dia (Naxos) because of the witness of Dionysus".¹³⁷ Pausanias (2.23.7) on the other hand, tells us that she died at Argos and Dionysos buried her there in the temple of Cretan Dionysos. The Roman poets, Catullus (64) and Ovid (*Her.* 10), have Ariadne waking up to see Theseus' ship departing. Desolate, she laments on the shores of Naxos. Ovid (*Ars Am.* 1.525-66) says that Dionysos and his thiasos interrupt her lament and she is taken away by the god to become his immortal wife, while on another occasion (*Met.* 8.176-77) he says that Bacchus brings her love and help, as she sits deserted and bewailing. The only literary references to Dionysos finding Ariadne asleep are quite late and come from Philostratos (*Imag.* 1.15) in the third century and Nonnos (*Dion.* 47.265-294) in the fifth century.

In art, the story of Ariadne enjoyed popularity in all media for a long period of time. A plethora of ancient representations of the myth exist from many regions, among which stand two Greek mosaics from the imperial period: one in Thessaloniki, in northern Greece (cat. 42, Figs. 100-101), and one at Chania, on the island of Crete (cat. 3, Figs. 95-98).

The Thessaloniki mosaic forms part of a tripartite pavement with mythological scenes (Fig. 95).¹³⁸ "The Discovery of Ariadne" decorates the largest of the three panels, measuring 2.40 x 1.20 m. The figure of Ariadne is stretched out in the foreground, in the middle of the scene. She is clearly asleep, lying on a panther skin with her upper body and head resting on rocks, one arm arched over her head and the other stretched out on the rocks. Two thirds of her body is nude, but a grey-blue cloak covers her legs, transparent enough to allow a glimpse of her shapely figure beneath. She is barefooted and wears

¹³⁶ Plut. *Vit.Thes.* 20.1-5, trans. B. Perrin (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass. & London 1967) 41,43.

¹³⁷ Homer *Od.* 11.325, trans. A.T. Murray (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass. & London 1984) 409.

¹³⁸ Supra, pp. 70-71.

a bracelet on one arm and a diadem on her dark hair. Her body is perfectly modelled with a great range of fleshtone tesserae and she looks relaxed and tranquil as she sleeps on the rocky terrain. Her calm state and pure white flesh are, in fact, in sharp contrast with the stark and unfriendly landscape that surrounds her. This emphasizes the unhappy circumstances of her abandonment and adds an aura of vulnerability.

In the left corner stands Dionysos, shown in three-quarter view, holding a thyrsos in one hand, while the other rests on the shoulders of a young satyr, in the manner of the so-called "Stützmotiv".¹³⁹ The god is nude, with only a voluminous blue-grey cloak covering his legs. A crown of ivy holds his curly black hair gathered at the top of his head allowing only a few strands to fall over his shoulders, while careful modelling adds plasticity to his youthful and muscular figure. With the right knee bent, the body's weight is carried entirely on the left leg, which causes the left hip to jut out and throws the body into a gentle S-curve. The head is slightly bent and his gaze is directed to the figure of the sleeping Ariadne, while a hint of a smile touches his full lips. All of this imparts an air of daydreaming, as if the god is contemplating the pleasures of his union with Ariadne.

The young satyr stands to the right of Dionysos. Even allowing for the slightly higher ground that the satyr stands on, it is obvious that his figure was deliberately subordinated to that of Dionysos to emphasize the god's majestic appearance and to stress the satyr's youth. A leopard skin, draped over both shoulders, covers his upper body, while his dishevelled hair enhances his wild nature and frames his expressive face that looks up expectantly at Dionysos. In the left hand he is holding a *pedum* and he is pointing to Ariadne as he steps forward towards her. This forward movement adds momentum to the scene, for the young satyr is clearly leading Dionysos toward Ariadne, while he is scanning the god's face to catch his reaction at the sight of the beautiful sleeping maiden.

In the right corner there is another pair of figures. This time they are two maenads. The bodies

¹³⁹ For a discussion of the motif, see *supra*, pp. 80-83..

of the two standing females are overlapping, but the skilful rendering of the flesh and the heavy drapery allow each one to stand apart. Both wear a long *chiton* and an ivy wreath, and are barefooted. The one maenad is standing in a relaxed pose, one leg crossing over the other, and holding a thyrsos in one hand. With the other arm she is embracing the maenad next to her and she is pointing with her index finger to Ariadne. The second maenad appears to be overwhelmed and tries to distance herself from the sleeping girl. For while her lower body appears to be moving forward, her upper body leans back, toward her companion, while her arm is stretched out in an effort to block off the sight of the sleeping Ariadne.

From behind the rocks, on a higher ground, stand the last two figures of the composition: Silenos and a small Eros. Silenos' age is emphasized by his long white beard, but his naked torso does not show visible signs of the swollen belly and flabby flesh that are commonly attributed to his figure. A blue-grey cloak is draped around his waist and is then carried over the left arm. He is holding a *kantharos*. Beside him, Eros, with curly long hair and wings on his back, leans over the rocks and points to Ariadne. A short distance to the right, the bare trunk of a tree springs up from behind the rocks, stressing the desolate setting.

This pairing of figures, which creates a semi-circle around Ariadne, is very effective because it creates a closed composition and does not allow the viewer's attention to stray away from the scene's focal point: the sleeping Ariadne. The artist's intention to draw attention to her is exemplified further by the position and space that her elongated figure occupies but, most of all, by the actual gestures of the figures around her as one member of each pair unequivocally points to her. Moreover, this gesticulation, along with the apparent sense of movement of some members of the thiasos, adds urgency to the entire scene. Clearly what the artist aimed at, and succeeded in portraying, is the actual moment when Dionysos and his followers arrive on the rocky shore and find Ariadne asleep.

The second Greek mosaic depicting Dionysos discovering the sleeping Ariadne decorated the floor of one of the rooms in the so-called "House of Dionysos" at Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 95-96). It is

placed in the centre of a large pavement, in an octagonal panel created by two interlaced squares. The panel occupies only a small surface of the overall pavement and does not allow a multi-figural depiction of the myth, such as we see in the Thessaloniki mosaic. As a result the Chania artist, by necessity, has kept the number of figures down to four and has reduced the rocky landscape to a bare minimum. The rocks upon which Ariadne lies in the foreground are rendered in such an abstract way that one can only guess their existence from Ariadne's semi-reclining position. Her upper body and head are clearly resting on something and one is led to the assumption that it is rocks. Of course the ancient viewer, like the modern one, would have been familiar with the story of Ariadne's abandonment on the rocky shores of Naxos, and therefore the mosaicist may have felt that a schematic rendering of the terrain was sufficient, especially since he was faced with space limitations.

Ariadne is clearly asleep, lying on a reddish cloak, which covers her legs and then drapes behind her body, serving as a backdrop to her shapely figure. She is barefooted, her ankles are crossed, her hair is black and parted in the middle, one arm is arched over her head and the other, adorned with a bracelet, lies on the rocks, parallel to her body. The Chania mosaicist, like the Thessaloniki one, has used a great range of fleshtone tesserae to render Ariadne's figure. The body, however, is not modelled by subtle colour gradations, but, for the most part, by small patches and streaks of contrasting colours (Fig. 98). This method of modelling adds a certain tension which does not allow the relaxed state, generally associated with a sleeping figure, to surface. The Chania Ariadne does not emit the same sense of tranquillity and state of oblivion that the Thessaloniki Ariadne does.

Directly behind her stands Dionysos, flanked by Silenos and by a young satyr. The god's nude body, tall and muscular, like that of an athlete, shows no evidence of the effeminacy often associated with Dionysos. His masculinity is made more obvious by a voluminous green cloak, which covers his legs, then drapes behind his back and falls over the left shoulder and arm. Here, as with Ariadne, the heavy rich garment serves as a backdrop, allowing the figure to stand out from the white background, and adds

volume to it. He is wearing a wreath and is holding a thyrsos, which, however, does not have the customary pine cone at the top, but ends in a vine leaf. His head, slightly bent, is turned toward Ariadne, but his body is moving in the opposite direction, toward Silenos. He is striding out in front of the old satyr as if to prevent him from coming closer.

Silenos, his movement arrested, is standing with ankles crossed, resting one hand on his hip (?) and holding a thyrsos topped with a vine leaf with the other. His paunchy figure, shown in three-quarter view, is completely covered with a whitish, long-sleeved garment, traditionally worn by actors, and a heavy reddish cloak draped all around and carried over one shoulder to his back. He is bearded and wears a wreath on his bald head (Fig. 97).

On the other side and on a slightly higher ground stands a young satyr. Dressed only in a yellow loincloth, the dark skin of his nude body is in contrast to the paleness of Dionysos' figure. His lean body is moving toward Ariadne, but his head is turned toward the god at whom he looks with a lively, almost scared expression on his face. He is intently gesturing at Dionysos to come closer and admire the beautiful female figure that was revealed to them, when the satyr pulled back the cloak that covered Ariadne's body. As he stands there, waiting for the god's approval, he is still holding the corner of the fabric. The body movement and the gestures of the satyr and Dionysos are far more pronounced here than those seen in the Thessaloniki mosaic. They add vividness to the scene and capture perfectly the excitement of the moment when Ariadne is fully revealed to Dionysos.

These two mosaics are part of a large group of representations of the "discovery" myth, which consists primarily of wall paintings from Campania (Figs. 110-112),¹⁴⁰ sarcophagi (Figs. 106-107),¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis: topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive* (Berlin 1957); Reinach, 112 no. 6, 113 nos. 1-4; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 554 nos. 180-83; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1062-63 nos. 124-30; S. McNally, "Ariadne and Others: Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art," *CIAnt* 4 (1985) 177; *PPM* I-VI, *passim*.

and nine more mosaics (Figs. 102-105),¹⁴² all from the imperial period. But as our literary sources indicate, the story of Ariadne was known to several generations from as far back as Homer. The earlier versions of her story, however, do not mention her discovery by Dionysos while sleeping on the shores of Naxos. The same tendencies are observed in the pictorial versions of the story on fifth and fourth century Attic and south Italian red-figure vases which mostly concentrate on the "desertion" scene rather than the "discovery" (Fig. 114). The best known example of this is seen in a south Italian *stamnos* by the Ariadne painter, c. 400 - 380 B.C., where Eros stands over the head of the sleeping Ariadne as Theseus is going to his ship (Fig. 115).¹⁴³ Erika Simon has argued that the Apulian vase painter was influenced by a similar representation from the temple of Dionysos at Athens.¹⁴⁴ According to Pausanias (1.20.3), a painting depicting "Ariadne asleep, Theseus putting out to sea, and Dionysos on his arrival to carry off Ariadne" decorated one of the temple's walls. Simon's argument, however, is challenged by subsequent archaeological evidence, which places the construction of the temple after 350 B.C. and

¹⁴¹ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 360-404 nos. 207-29; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 554 nos. 184-87; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1063-64 nos. 131-48.

¹⁴² **Antioch:** Levi, 142-49, pls. 27, 28, 154, 155a. **Avenches** (now lost): V. v. Gonzenbach, *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz* (Basel 1961) 41-42, pl. 78. **Bavay:** H. Stern, *Recueil Général des Mosaïques de la Gaule* 1.1 (Paris 1957) 73-74 no. 109, pl. 39a. **Beirut:** M. Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban* (Paris 1957) 11-14, Fig. 1, pls. 2-3. **El Djem:** Dunbabin (1978) 259 no. 18c; *LIMC* IV (Dionysos/Bacchus in. per. occ.) 914 no. 120. **Mérida:** A. Blanco Freijeiro, *Mosaicos Romanos de Mérida* (Madrid 1978) 34, pl. 26a. **Nîmes:** J.-P. Darmon, *Archéologie à Nîmes: Bilan de 40 années de recherches et découvertes 1950 -1990* (Nîmes 1990) 73, Figs. 9-10. **Volubilis:** R. Thouvenot, "Deux Mosaïques de Volubilis à Sujets Mythologiques," *Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc* (Rabat 1941) 67-81, Fig. 3. **Unknown provenance:** P. Canivet and J.-P. Darmon, "Dionysos et Ariane: Deux nouveaux chefs-d'oeuvre inédits en mosaïque, dont un signé, au Proche-Orient ancien," *Mon Piot* 70 (1989) 2-29, Figs. 1-7.

The provenance of the mosaic published by Canivet and Darmon is unknown, but they suggest that it may come from Syria. For the sake of convenience, this origin will be asserted hereafter.

In the mosaic of Nîmes, although Dionysos is not one of the figures preserved on the existing pavement, the iconography suggests that he most likely appeared on the right-hand corner of the panel, which is now lost.

¹⁴³ Boston, Mus. Fine Arts 00.349; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1057 no. 54; T.B.L. Webster, "The Myth of Ariadne from Homer to Catullus," *Greece and Rome* 13 (1966) 28, pl. 3; A.D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (London 1989) 26, Fig. 45.

¹⁴⁴ E. Simon, "Zur Lekythos des Panmalers in Tarent," *ÖJh* 41 (1954) 87.

therefore later than the date of the vase.¹⁴⁵

Even when a conflation of the two themes occurs, in vase painting the emphasis is clearly on the "desertion", while the "discovery" is only alluded to. Clearly the vase painters' intention was not to provide an insight to Ariadne's emotional state, but rather to justify Theseus' actions. For as Webster¹⁴⁶ has pointed out, any reason, outside of patriotism, would have fallen short of absolving Theseus from his shameful desertion of Ariadne and would have tarnished the image of the adopted national hero of the Athenians. Consequently, Theseus did not abandon Ariadne for the love of another woman, as Hesiod had originally stated (Plutarch, *Thes.* 20), but because, as later authors indicate¹⁴⁷, he was obeying a divine command. This tendency is portrayed nicely by the Kadmos painter on a *calyx krater*, c. 450 B.C., where Poseidon looks down as Athena is placing a crown on Theseus's head, the young Athenians are already boarding the ship, and Dionysos comes to Ariadne, who is sitting and quietly watching the whole scene.¹⁴⁸ The first shift in emphasis is seen in a fragmentary fourth century *calyx-krater* from Taranto, where Theseus' departure is clearly depicted but is subordinated to the sleeping figure of Ariadne, attended to by Dionysos and his thiasos (Fig. 116).¹⁴⁹ This is, in fact, the earliest known representation where Ariadne is asleep when Dionysos finds her. The earliest known examples, however, of the "discovery" scene alone appear about two centuries later on two fragmentary terracotta pedimental

¹⁴⁵ J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Athens* (London 1971) 537.

¹⁴⁶ Webster (supra n. 143) 26.

¹⁴⁷ According to Diodoros (V.51.4) he was obeying a command by Dionysos; according to Servius (Schol. Georg. I 222) by Hermes; according to Pherecydes the Athenian (frag 106), by Athena.

¹⁴⁸ Syracuse, Mus. Reg. 17427; *ARV*² 1184.4; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1060 no. 94; Webster (supra n. 143) pl.2; Metzger, *Représentations*, 111 no. 6; Simon (supra n. 144) pl. 5.2; McNally (supra n. 140) 162-63, Fig. 6a & b.

¹⁴⁹ Taranto, Nat. Mus. 52.230; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1060 no. 96; *RVAp* I, 39, pl. 12.2b; McNally (supra n. 140) Fig. 7.

sculptural groups from Cività Alba in Etruria.¹⁵⁰ They are generally dated on stylistic grounds to the end of the second century B.C.¹⁵¹ and they both depict Dionysos and members of the thiasos unveiling a sleeping figure, assumed to be Ariadne. The position of her figure, however, is different in each plaque, as in one she is shown from the front and in the other from the back. These two methods of representation actually co-exist throughout the Hellenistic and imperial periods, and although the view from the front is the most popular, the back view has several parallels in the paintings of Campania (Fig. 110),¹⁵² in Roman sarcophagi,¹⁵³ and in the mosaics of Nîmes (Fig. 105), Bavay, and El Djem, as well as a mosaic at Orbe, where a scene of the "desertion" is shown in two octagons placed side-by-side.¹⁵⁴

In the Hellenistic period, as the plaques from Cività Alba indicate, emerges the canonical version of the "discovery" scene where Theseus is neither seen nor alluded to. This version becomes the most common representation of the story of Ariadne, but it does not oust completely scenes of her abandonment by Theseus. Examples from wall paintings, relief sculpture, and mosaic indicate that the change is gradual.¹⁵⁵ As a large group of Campanian frescoes bear witness,¹⁵⁶ "desertion" and "discovery" scenes co-exist freely at least until the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, and even later as indicated by the mosaic of Orbe.

¹⁵⁰ Bologna, Mus. Civ.; P. Ducati, *Storia dell' arte Etrusca* (Florence 1927) Fig. 642; G.Q. Giglioli, *L' Arte Etrusca* (Milan 1935) pl. 380; Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 362, no. 18; S. McNally (supra n. 140) Figs. 20-21.

¹⁵¹ E. Richardson, "The Story of Ariadne in Italy," *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen* (Locust Valley, New York 1979) 194.

¹⁵² Reinach, 112 no. 6, 113 nos. 3-4; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 554 nos. 180-81; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1060 no. 97, 1062 nos. 124-25, 1063 no. 128.

¹⁵³ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 376-80 nos. 209-210.

¹⁵⁴ For the mosaic of Orbe, see *Inventaire de Mosaïques de la Gaule* 1, no. 1378; v. Gonzenbach (supra p. 142) 177-82, pls. 54-55; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1058 no. 67. For the other pavements, see supra, n. 142.

¹⁵⁵ *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1057-1060 nos. 55-92.

¹⁵⁶ *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1057-1060 nos. 55-66, 75-90, 97; 1062-1063 nos. 124-30.

The vast majority of the paintings depict Ariadne's desertion which is shown in two different ways. In the one group Ariadne is shown lying asleep on a rocky terrain by the shore, as Theseus, assisted by Athena, is boarding his ship (Fig. 109).¹⁵⁷ In the other group she is shown sitting up with Eros weeping next to her, watching Theseus' ship disappearing in the horizon (Fig. 108).¹⁵⁸ A conflation of Ariadne's desertion and her subsequent discovery is also seen in at least two paintings, where she is shown surrounded by Dionysos and his retinue, while Theseus' ship is sailing off in the distance.¹⁵⁹ In both cases, as in the *calyx krater* from Taranto,¹⁶⁰ the emphasis is on the "discovery", but even here there are variations, as on one occasion Ariadne has fallen asleep again, but on the other she is still sitting up when Dionysos and the thiasos arrive (Fig. 113). In a third group of paintings no attempt is made to show her abandonment on the shores of Naxos. Instead, the artists focus on the moment when Ariadne is found asleep by the god (Figs. 110-12).¹⁶¹

So clearly the Campanian artists, on the one hand, are following closely the iconographic trends seen on vase painting of the Classical period, but on the other, they move forward to what is to become the most popular depiction of Ariadne's story during the imperial period. But in spite of the fact that artists chose to depict different moments of the same story, there is a lot of common ground in the depiction of the various figures. Ariadne, for example, is always shown nude with only a cloak covering her legs and in most cases she wears bracelets. The main variation in her representation is observed in the "discovery" scenes where sometimes she is shown from the front and at other times the artist opts

¹⁵⁷ LIMC III (Ariadne) 1057-1058 nos. 55-66; Reinach, 111 nos. 1-5.

¹⁵⁸ LIMC III (Ariadne) 1058-1060 nos. 75-90; Reinach, 111 nos. 7-9, 112 nos. 1-4.

¹⁵⁹ LIMC III (Ariadne) 1060 no. 97; Reinach, 111 no. 6, 113 no. 3.

¹⁶⁰ *supra*, n. 149.

¹⁶¹ LIMC III (Ariadne) 1062-1063 nos. 124-30; Reinach, 112 no. 6, 113 nos. 1-2, 4. Also LIMC III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 554 nos. 180-83.

for a back view. Theseus is also shown in heroic nudity (Figs. 109, 114-16), the little Eros is always weeping in the "desertion" scenes, Papposilenos is always nude with a mantle tied around his waist (Figs. 111, 113), and, in the "discovery" scenes, there is always an unveiling taking place which is carried out by a member of the thiasos or Eros (Figs. 110-112). Dionysos' iconography, however, varies. Most of the times he is shown nude, with a mantle thrown over one shoulder, wearing boots and a wreath. But on two occasions he is seen dressed in a short *chiton* (Fig. 110). We also find the same manner of depiction of the various figures in sarcophagi, except that here the representations deal exclusively with Ariadne's discovery.

On mosaics, the "discovery" scene contains a number of elements that are essential to the depiction of the story and can be found in all representations. The protagonists are always the sleeping Ariadne and Dionysos, who is clearly identified by his attributes. In addition, Dionysos is attended by at least one member of the thiasos, who often performs the unveiling. Although many variations in composition and details can be found, these ingredients are essential to the identification of the "discovery" story. On a few occasions, however, scenes with two figures, a partly nude, sleeping female and a male which unveils her, have been identified as depicting the discovery of Ariadne, for instance in a mosaic from Vallon, in Switzerland.¹⁶² The same identity is assigned to a mosaic of unknown provenance in the museum of Brive, in France, although here the unveiling is performed by Pan.¹⁶³ These mosaics are usually placed in the same category with the clearly identifiable "discovery" mosaics. However, the ambiguity that surrounds the iconography of the female figure in both representations, Pan's apparent lecherous intentions on the mosaic of Brive, and the lack of attributes that could identify the male figure at Vallon as Dionysos, suggest to me that the female in these scenes is a maenad and not

¹⁶² S. Rebetz, "Les deux mosaïques figurées et le laraire de Vallon (Fribourg, Suisse)," *AntW* 23 (1992) 9-16, Figs. 11-25.

¹⁶³ M. Labrousse, "Une Mosaïque Inédite du Musée de Brive (Corrèze)," *MEFR* 55 (1938) 78-95, pl. 1.

Ariadne. For this reason they have been excluded from this discussion.

We have seen in the two mosaics of Greece that Ariadne's figure is always the focal point of the scene. Her elongated body is either placed in the lower middle section of the panel or stretches from the middle to the right-hand corner. The placement of her body is very important, for it dictates the arrangement of the other figures within the scene. In the Thessaloniki mosaic, Ariadne's figure is placed with great precision in the centre of the panel, allowing an equal amount of space on either side for other figures. This creates a very symmetrical and formal composition, which is paralleled in only one mosaic, the mosaic of Antioch (Fig. 103), and in six Roman sarcophagi.¹⁶⁴ The Chania mosaicist, on the other hand, along with the mosaicists of the remaining "discovery" mosaics, the majority of the sarcophagus sculptors, and the fresco painters of Pompeii, favoured decentralized compositions and a more casual arrangement of the figures. The Thessaloniki mosaic, however, is the largest of all the known "discovery" mosaics and its size and rectangular shape allow the artist a lot of freedom in the positioning of the figures. Presumably, when the space allowed it, mosaicists, like sarcophagus sculptors, were at liberty to choose between a centralized and a decentralized composition. One deciding factor may have been the pattern that the artist had in his possession and his ability to modify it. In the case of the Thessaloniki mosaic, however, there may have been an additional factor: the size and positioning of the Dionysiac panel in relation to the other two panels in the tripartite pavement (Fig. 99). For the centralized composition of the Dionysiac panel lends itself better to the decoration of the pavement, as it creates a balance in its overall composition.

When we examine the individual figures, the depiction of Ariadne presents wider disparities than the rest. Among the nine "discovery" pavements found outside of Greece, we can distinguish three different traditions. First comes the rendering of the Antioch (Fig. 103), Syria (Fig. 104), and Beirut

¹⁶⁴ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, nos. 217, 220-21, 215, 228-29. For the Antioch mosaic, see *supra*, n. 142.

mosaics, where Ariadne is seen from the front, wearing a *chiton*, wrapped in a heavy cloak, and wearing bracelets. Second is that of the Nîmes (Fig. 105), Bavay, and El Djem mosaics, where she is shown from the back, partly wrapped in a cloak but otherwise nude. The third tradition is by far the most popular. Here Ariadne is seen from the front, mostly nude, apart from the cloak that covers her legs, barefooted, and wearing bracelets. All three traditions have parallels in sarcophagi, but only the last two have parallels in the Campanian frescoes.¹⁶⁵ The Greek mosaics belong to the last and most popular tradition.

The "discovery" mosaics show important variations, particularly in the position of Ariadne's limbs and in the function of the cloak. The greatest variation appears in the positioning of the arms. In four out of the eleven mosaics,¹⁶⁶ including both Greek mosaics, her right arm is raised over her head in the manner of the so-called Apollo Lykeios pose and that of other sleeping figures, such as Alkyoneus or Endymion.¹⁶⁷ This gesture has parallels in a number of Campanian paintings (Fig. 111)¹⁶⁸ and in all the sarcophagi listed by Matz (Figs. 106-107).¹⁶⁹ In the remaining four "discovery" mosaics, where Ariadne is seen from the front, her right arm lies limp over her body. The variation is greater in the position of her left arm. At Antioch, Syria, and Avenches it helps to support her head. At Chania, Volubilis, Mérida (Fig. 102), and most likely Beirut as well, Ariadne's arm lies parallel to her body; this pose has several parallels in painting and relief sculpture.¹⁷⁰ In Thessaloniki, Ariadne's arm stretches

¹⁶⁵ In the vast majority of representations in sarcophagi, however, Ariadne is seen nude and from the front.

¹⁶⁶ Beirut, Chania, Thessaloniki, and Volubilis. For the mosaics of Beirut and Volubilis, see *supra* n. 142.

¹⁶⁷ For the Apollo Lykeios pose, see Schröder (*supra*, p. 80, n. 176). For Alkyoneus, Endymion and other sleeping figures, see McNally (*supra* n. 140), esp. 155-57, 165-66. Also, *LIMC* I (Zurich and Munich 1981), s.v. Alkyoneus (R. Olmos and L.J. Balmaseda) 558-64; *LIMC* III (Zurich and Munich 1986), s.v. Endymion (H. Gabelmann) 726-42.

¹⁶⁸ *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1062-63 nos. 127, 129-30; Reinach, 113 nos. 1-2.

¹⁶⁹ *supra*, n. 141.

¹⁷⁰ Volubilis mosaic, *supra*, n. 142; Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 375-76 nos. 207-208, 383 no. 213, 392-94 nos. 220-221, 399-400 no. 225; Reinach, 113 nos. 1-2.

out and lies over the rocks. This treatment has no parallels on mosaics and only a few in other media.¹⁷¹

When we look at the position of her legs, the most common rendition, in all media, shows Ariadne's right leg slightly bent and crossing over her left leg, which is bent at a 45° angle and crosses under the right knee.¹⁷² In the Thessaloniki and Chania mosaics her right leg maintains the same position but her left one stretches straight out causing the two legs to cross at the ankles. This rendering is rare and has its closest parallels in the mosaic of Volubilis and possibly that of Beirut too, where Ariadne's body position appears very similar to that of the Greek mosaics. The pavement's extensive damage, however, does not allow us to determine the position of the left arm or of the legs. The Chania mosaic has also a close parallel in a wall painting from Herculaneum¹⁷³ where the overall depiction of Ariadne is almost identical with that of the Chania mosaic and, with the exception of the outstretched left arm, with that of the Thessaloniki mosaic as well. It appears therefore that as far as the depiction of Ariadne is concerned, the Greek mosaics parallel closely one another, but have little in common with similar representations on other mosaics and other media.

Whether Ariadne is depicted clothed or nude, from the front or from the back, a cloak always covers the lower part of her figure and then wraps around her body. This cloak has a number of functions, for it serves not only as a backdrop, which allows the figure to stand out from the background, but also as a blanket, a protection for the delicate body from the roughness of the rocky terrain and the sea breeze. In at least seven out of the eleven "discovery" mosaics, a member of the thiasos, a satyr, Pan or Eros, pulls this cloak away from Ariadne, revealing an even larger portion of her usually nude figure.

¹⁷¹ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 386-88 no. 216, 391-92 no. 219, 397-98 no. 223; *LIMC* III (Ariadne)1062 no. 126.

¹⁷² The opposite, however, is also found: Reinach, 113 no. 1; Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 375-76 nos. 207-208, 392-93 no. 220. Also see the Mérida mosaic (supra n. 142), where the entire figure is reversed.

¹⁷³ Reinach, 113 no. 2.

The meaning of this gesture is unclear to us, although it has invited some speculation.¹⁷⁴ What is important here is to differentiate between the depictions where an unveiling takes place, as in the mosaic of Chania, and those where it does not, as in the mosaic of Thessaloniki.

Leaving the Thessaloniki and Chania mosaics aside for a moment, the picture that emerges from the grouping of the remaining pavements under these two headings is very interesting. For it reveals that all the "discovery" mosaics where an unveiling takes place come from the western part of the Empire and North Africa, whereas those with no unveiling come from the east: Antioch, Syria, and, almost certainly, Beirut as well. Coincidentally, these three mosaics are also the only ones of the "discovery" group where Ariadne is shown dressed. It is also important to note that an unveiling is depicted in most of the "discovery" scenes in paintings, in the terracotta sculptures of Civit  Alba, and in the great majority of sarcophagi. In view of this, it is tempting to hypothesize that there existed two different traditions: an Eastern tradition, to which the Thessaloniki mosaic that gives no indication of an unveiling can be assigned, and a Western tradition, where the Chania mosaic could be placed. This hypothesis, however, is contradicted by evidence from Hellenistic Pergamene pottery fragments where Ariadne is being unveiled by Pan(?), while Dionysos, a young satyr, and a torch-bearing Eros are watching.¹⁷⁵

The Thessaloniki mosaic presents one more innovation that has a single parallel in a gem.¹⁷⁶ In this panel the cloak covers Ariadne's legs, but it does not serve as a blanket. Instead, she is lying on a panther skin. This adds an air of luxury to the scene and leaves no doubt as to the identity of the female that lies on it. However, if we accept that this scene shows the moment that Dionysos and his thiasos find Ariadne, as I have already argued, then depicting Ariadne lying on a panther skin is premature, for she

¹⁷⁴ McNally (supra n. 140) 184; also Turcan, 512-17.

¹⁷⁵ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 362 nos. 16-17, 364-65, pl. 94; also McNally (supra n. 140) 176, 182.

¹⁷⁶ *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1064 no. 149.

has not yet become his consort. The use of the panther skin, therefore, shows deliberate anticipation on the artist's part and possibly his desire to produce an aesthetically pleasing and rich representation of the story. The inclusion of the panther skin contributes greatly to this end, for it introduces additional rich colours that create further contrasts.

Turning to Dionysos, we find that there are no fewer variations in his depiction than in that of Ariadne. In seven of the ten mosaics where the god is part of the scene,¹⁷⁷ he is depicted nude with only a cloak covering his loins, which then drapes behind his back. He always wears a wreath and usually holds a thyrsos in one hand. Moreover, he is always escorted by one or more members of the thiasos: a young satyr, Eros, or old Silenos. The pose of the Chania Dionysos does not have close parallels in any of the "discovery" mosaics, but it has a close parallel in a wall painting from Pompeii (IX 7, 20) where the stance and gestures of Dionysos are almost identical (Fig. 112).¹⁷⁸ Moreover, as at Chania, he holds a thyrsos which is topped with a vine leaf instead of a pine cone. The Thessaloniki Dionysos, on the other hand, has close parallels in those of the Beirut and El Djem mosaics, in that in all three he is shown standing, with one arm resting on the shoulders of an attendant, in the manner of the so-called "Stützmotiv".¹⁷⁹ With small variations in the treatment of the drapery and footwear, the Thessaloniki Dionysos has also close parallels in the fresco from the House of the Coloured Capitals in Pompeii (Fig. 111),¹⁸⁰ and in the sarcophagus from the Villa Medici in Rome (Fig. 107).¹⁸¹ Although the Thessaloniki

¹⁷⁷ See *supra*, n. 142.

¹⁷⁸ *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1063 no. 129. The parallel drawn by the excavator [Markoulaki (1990) 454] between Dionysos from the painting in the House of the Citharista in Pompeii [*LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 554 no. 180 & (Ariadne) 1062 no. 124] and that of the Chania Dionysos is not valid, as there is only a faint similarity in facial expression. Otherwise, the two renderings are entirely different.

¹⁷⁹ For a discussion of the motif, see *supra*, pp. 80-83.

¹⁸⁰ Reinach, 113 no.1; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 554, no. 182; *LIMC* III (Ariadne) 1062 no. 127.

¹⁸¹ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 375-76 no.207, pl. 224.1.

Dionysos looks more regal than that of the Beirut mosaic, the stance and modelling of the body are extremely close. The only obvious difference is the treatment of the cloak, which in the Beirut mosaic covers only a small portion of one leg. The El Djem Dionysos, on the other hand, is partly damaged and does not allow clear identification, but he does not appear to be standing as upright as the other two figures. In all three mosaics Dionysos rests his left arm on the shoulder of an attendant. In Thessaloniki and in El Djem it is a young satyr, but in Beirut the satyr may have been replaced by a small Eros.¹⁸² The mosaic has suffered a lot of damage and it is difficult to identify details, but the small figure does not appear to have wings on his back. However, his small stature, nudity, and well-ordered hair style point toward an Eros rather than a satyr.

Beside the protagonists, Dionysos and Ariadne, a number of lesser figures are often represented. Of these, old Silenos is by far the most important and deserves special mention, for his iconographic treatment raises interesting questions.¹⁸³ Like all satyrs, Silenos is traditionally depicted nude or semi-nude, with only a mantle around his waist. This type of depiction belongs to the mythological tradition. There is, however, another tradition too, that of the theatre. From the fifth century onwards, when satyr plays became part of the dramatic competitions in honour of Dionysos in Athens, Silenoi were represented on stage by actors wearing a whitish body suit (μαλλωτός χιτών) that covered their entire body, except for the head, hands, and feet. A mask transformed the actor's face into that of Silenos and shoes covered his feet.

The nudity of the Thessaloniki Silenos places him firmly in the mythological tradition. There is no attempt in this mosaic to place the story within any theatrical context. The Chania Silenos, on the other hand, presents a problem. Dressed in an actor's suit and placed within a theatrical framework, he

¹⁸² Chéhab (supra n. 142) 11-14.

¹⁸³ For the iconography of Silenos, see also *infra*, pp. 194-205.

invites us to place the "discovery" scene in the world of the theatre and to identify it with a stage production of the story. This type of depiction has parallels in the mosaics of Antioch and Syria. In both these pavements, however, Ariadne is fully dressed and at Antioch, so are Dionysos and the maenad. We could therefore support for these pavements a depiction of a stage production, which in Antioch is reinforced by the architectural setting of the scene. This notion is contradicted in the Chania mosaic by Ariadne's nudity.

This leaves us with the problem of explaining Silenos' theatrical costume (Figs. 96-97). It is possible, as the excavator suggested,¹⁸⁴ that we are witnessing here a confusion on the part of the mosaicist. Silenos, however, is regularly depicted wearing shaggy overalls in contexts where there is no obvious theatrical connection. We find him wearing the same outfit in two more Dionysiac mosaics in Greece, the *triclinium* mosaic at Dion (cat. 16) and in a similar representation at Corinth (cat. 7), neither one of which can be readily connected to the theatre.¹⁸⁵ Silenos' depiction in an actor's suit therefore does not necessarily establish a theatrical association for the "discovery" scene in the Chania mosaic, nor does it point to a specific stage production, for there is no evidence of either a stage or of any stage props. In this mosaic Silenos' *μαλλωτός χιτών* is simply part of the general theatrical ambience that the artist clearly aimed to produce. This becomes even clearer when the "discovery" panel is seen within the context of the entire pavement, which includes masks and New Comedy scenes.¹⁸⁶ These theatrical elements are not necessarily connected; they are simply part of the pavement's "theatricality", which is appropriate for a room that served as anteroom to a large *triclinium* and may have even been used for dinner-time theatre.

¹⁸⁴ Markoulaki (1990) 452.

¹⁸⁵ For a detailed discussion on the iconography of these mosaics, see *supra*, pp. 123-33.

¹⁸⁶ For more on these, see *infra*, pp. 226-31, 241.

The widespread popularity of the "discovery" scene has led scholars to search for a prototype. Levi¹⁸⁷ suggests that the so-called Vatican Ariadne¹⁸⁸ may have been the model for the heavily draped Ariadne in the Antioch mosaic.¹⁸⁹ But since this is a rare depiction, he concludes that there was probably at least one more well-known work that served as a model.¹⁹⁰ Matz¹⁹¹ and Scherf¹⁹² claim the existence of yet another prototype from the Hellenistic period, which influenced the painters of two of the surviving Campanian frescoes. McNally,¹⁹³ echoing their view and challenging Simon's theory,¹⁹⁴ supports a later date for the painting in the temple of Dionysos at Athens and suggests that it may have served as a Hellenistic prototype for some of the Campanian paintings. This search for a prototype is complicated further by the numerous and diverse literary accounts, which, however, do not appear to have had much influence, since the only two writers who are known to have written about Dionysos finding Ariadne asleep, Philostratos and Nonnos, produced their work considerably later than the appearance of the "discovery" scene in art. In fact, it may be that they themselves were influenced by the work of the artists.

It is indeed possible that the "discovery" motif may have been based on the painting of Dionysos and Ariadne that Pausanias saw at the temple of Dionysos at Athens. However, the wide geographical distribution of the motif on mosaics, its great popularity in other media, particularly wall painting and

¹⁸⁷ Levi, 145.

¹⁸⁸ LIMC III (Ariadne) 1062 no. 118; C. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art* (London 1971), Fig 122.

¹⁸⁹ Levi, 142-49, pls. XXVII, XXVIII, CLIV, CLVa.

¹⁹⁰ Levi, 147.

¹⁹¹ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 366.

¹⁹² V. Scherf, *Flügelwesen in römisch-kampanischen Wandbildern* (Hamburg 1967) 82-84.

¹⁹³ McNally (supra n. 140) 163, n.37.

¹⁹⁴ Simon (supra n. 144).

sarcophagi, and the many variations that exist both in the rendering of the individual figures and in composition, discourage any notion of the use of a single original. Rather, the above discussion indicates that the "discovery" mosaics follow two basic schemata, one showing Ariadne from the front and the other from the back, which could be modified at the discretion and ability of the artist. In their basic form, these schemata would have circulated around the workshops in various parts of the known world. It should be remembered that the iconography, at least for the most important participants of the "discovery" scene, existed in isolation prior to the emergence of the canonical version of the story. McNally has convincingly demonstrated that sleeping figures appeared in art as far back as the late Archaic and early Classical period. Among these, the anonymous maenad, sleeping out of doors and pursued by satyrs, may have served as a model for the sleeping Ariadne.¹⁹⁵ Pochmarski has also demonstrated that the so-called "Stützmotiv" motif can be traced back to the fourth century B.C.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, we have already witnessed the versatility of this motif on the mosaic of Koroni (cat. 26), where it is shown in isolation in the central medallion, and on the mosaics of Dion (cat. 16) and Corinth (cat. 7), where it is used in the creation of another iconographic motif: the epiphany of Dionysos from the sea.¹⁹⁷ It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the mosaicists may have combined these pre-existing motifs, that no doubt they were familiar with, to create the "discovery" scene. This approach would have given them great flexibility, for if the scene was not conceived as a whole, and the motifs were not dependent on one another, it would have been possible to rearrange, expand or reduce the number of these motifs according to the size of the surface that the artist had to decorate and his technical ability

¹⁹⁵ McNally (supra n. 140) 161. The popularity of sleeping figures, however, increased in the Hellenistic period. On sleeping figures in Hellenistic art see Margarita Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1961) 112-13, 145-46.

¹⁹⁶ Pochmarski, *passim*.

¹⁹⁷ For the mosaic of Koroni, see supra, pp. 51-52. For the mosaics of Dion and Corinth, see supra, pp. 54-55. For the "Stützmotiv" in general, see supra, pp. 80-83.

to do so. This theory is fully supported by the composition of the Thessaloniki and Chania mosaics. This, in turn, supports theories for the existence of copy books from which the artists could select and copy the individual motifs.

In conclusion, the overall composition of the Chania and Thessaloniki mosaics is considerably different from one pavement to the other and from that of mosaics from other regions with the same iconographic motif. This clearly indicates that neither the Greek nor the other pavements depend on the same original. The rendering of the individual figures on the Greek mosaics, however, shows close relationships to one another, to like figures on mosaics from other regions of the empire, as well as other media, particularly sarcophagi and Campanian wall paintings. It appears, therefore, that the overall iconography of the "Discovery of Ariadne" motif is a synthesis of individual motifs which were combined to form a single composition.

4. LYKOURGOS AND AMBROSIA

The story of Lykourgos, the legendary king of Thrace, is another important legend from the world of Dionysos that gained popularity among many ancient writers and artists. From the end of the fifth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D., representations of the story appear in several media, including mosaics where the story appears to have been particularly popular. During this long span of time several literary accounts and artistic renditions developed which share a common theme: the punishment of Lykourgos for defying Dionysos. What differs is the form of punishment.¹⁹⁸

In literature, the story first appeared in Homer (*Il.* VI. 123-143) where Zeus blinded Lykourgos for defying Dionysos. From the fifth century B.C. onward the story gained momentum and several other versions of the story appeared. According to most testimonies, Lykourgos was inflicted with madness

¹⁹⁸ See Bruneau & Vatin, 402-427. Also *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) p. 309-310.

for his hybristic actions against Dionysos and his thiasos. While in this state of insanity, he attacked vehemently a growing vine, which he attempted to cut down with a double axe. But instead, he killed his son Dryas (Apollod. *Bibl.* III, 5), his son and his wife (Hyg. *Fab.* 132), or chopped off his own feet (Serv. *ad Aen.*, III, 14). In another account, an anonymous Hymn to Dionysos preserved on a papyrus of the third century A.D.,¹⁹⁹ Dionysos drives Lykourgos insane and replaces the vine by two serpents. As Lykourgos tries to kill the serpents, he kills his two sons, Ardys and Astakios. Then comes his own death: confined in a rock-cut prison (Soph. *Ant.* 955-965), blinded and crucified (Diod. III, 65, 4-6), molested by horses at Mount Pangaion (Apollod. *Bibl.* III, 5), thrown to the panthers at Rhodope (Hyg. *Fab.* 132) or choked by the vine (Prop. *Elegies* III, 17, 23; Stat., *Theb.* 4, 386; Hymn [supra, n. 199] 47-49). At the end of the literary tradition comes Nonnos' version (*Dion.* 21, 1-68) where Lykourgos attempts to cut down the nymph Ambrosia with a double axe. She appeals to mother Earth and, metamorphosed into a vine, encircles Lykourgos and chokes him. The legend of Lykourgos, however, does not end with his death. In the afterlife, when, according to Nonnos (*Dion.* 21, 148-161) Hera makes him immortal, he is worshipped as a god by the Arabs, whereas in the Hymn to Dionysos he is condemned by Zeus to perform an unending task: to fill with water a barrel pierced with holes.²⁰⁰

Several of these traditions are also found in the renditions of artists in most media, whose preferences, however, are distinctly different in various periods. All early representations of Lykourgos' punishment deal exclusively with the killing of his son or his wife. These are particularly popular among the fifth and fourth century B.C. red-figure vase painters of Attica and Magna Graecia (Figs. 132-33),²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ D.L. Page, "Dionysus and Lycurgus," *Select Papyri* III, *Literary Papyri* (Loeb Classical Library, London 1950) p. 522-525, lines 34-40.

²⁰⁰ Anonymous hymn, Page (supra, n. 199) pp. 524-25, lines 52-54.

²⁰¹ LIMC VI (Lykourgos) 311-13 nos. 12-20, 26-30; L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* (Paris 1926, repr. 1967) 70-74; A.D. Trendall and T.B.L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek Drama* (London 1970) 49-72; D. Ferrin Sutton, "A Series of Vases Illustrating the Madness of Lykourgos," *RStCI* 23 (1975) 356-360.

but they do not hold any appeal for artists from the Hellenistic and imperial periods. The preserved iconography from the second century B.C. onward shows either Lykourgos' attempt to kill Ambrosia, or different renditions of Lykourgos and the vine. It can therefore be divided into three groups, none of which contains images of Lykourgos killing members of his family. In the first group, to which most of the later representations belong, Lykourgos is depicted threatening to kill Ambrosia with a double axe.²⁰² In the second group he is shown as he is about to chop a vine with a double axe,²⁰³ while in the third group he is depicted being choked to death by vine tendrils.²⁰⁴ Many of these representations are found on mosaics over a wide geographical area: from the Eastern Mediterranean to the coast of North Africa, to the Western Mediterranean and as far north as England. In all, fifteen pavements have been preserved, five of which show Lykourgos and the vine.²⁰⁵ The remaining ten pavements show Lykourgos and Ambrosia and include two mosaics from Greece: one from the island of Delos (cat. 9, Fig. 117) and one from Trikala (cat. 43, Fig. 120), on the mainland.²⁰⁶

²⁰² *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 313-15 nos. 31-45, 50-53.

²⁰³ *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 315-16 nos. 54-69.

²⁰⁴ *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 316-17 nos. 75-81.

²⁰⁵ **Silin:** O. Al. Mahjub, "I Mosaici della Villa Romana di Silin," *CMGR* III, 299-306, Fig. 9 and unnumbered col. pl.; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 316 no. 76. **Antioch:** Levi, 178-183, pl. 28; Bruneau & Vatin, 414 no. 18; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 316 no. 77. **Sainte-Colombe:** J. Lancha, *RecMosGaule* III, 2 (Paris 1981) 331, pl. LXXVIII & frontispiece; E. Coche de la Ferté, "Le Verre de Lycurgue," *MonPiot* 48.2 (1956), 144 no. 7, Fig. 13; Bruneau & Vatin, 412 no. 13; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 43. **Taormina:** D. von Boeselager, *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien* (Rome 1983) 103-105, Fig. 59; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 315 no. 54. **Carthage:** J.W. Solomonson, *La mosaïque aux chevaux de l'Antiquarium de Carthage* (The Hague 1965) 67-68, 109, Fig. 30, pl. 49; Bruneau & Vatin, 414 no. 19; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 316 no. 70.

²⁰⁶ **Delos** (cat. 9, Figs. 117-18). **Trikala** (cat. 43, Figs. 119-20). **Herculaneum:** Bruneau & Vatin, 409 no. 3, Fig. 7; E. Coche de la Ferté, "Le Verre de Lycurgue," *MonPiot* 48.2 (1956) 139-42, 141-49, Figs. 8-9, 11, 21; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 34. **Aquileia:** L. Bertacchi, *AquilNost* 34 (1963) 57-68, pl. 2a; *ead*, *AquilNost* 45-46 (1974) 535-550; Bruneau & Vatin, 409 no. 5, Fig. 9; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 35. **Djemila:** L. Leschi, "Mosaïques à scènes Dionysiaques," *MonPiot* 35 (1935) 161-64, Fig. 6; Bruneau & Vatin, 409 no. 6, fig. 10; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 36. **Narbonne:** Y. Solier, M. Janon, R. Sabrié, *Narbonne. Les monuments antiques et médiévaux. Le Musée Archéologique et le Musée Lapidaire* (Paris 1986) 59, pl. 2; Bruneau & Vatin, 409 no. 7, Fig. 11; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 37. **Ostia:** G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia, IV, Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei* (Rome 1961) 214 no. 408, pl. 98; Bruneau & Vatin, 409

All the depictions of Lykourgos and Ambrosia on mosaics follow the same basic scheme: the protagonists are always Lykourgos and Ambrosia; the vine is always prominent in the scene; Lykourgos always has a beard and curly hair; he always looks ferocious and carries a double axe; and he is almost always nude with only a short cloak flying behind his back. Ambrosia is almost always shown in a semi-reclining position on the bottom right corner of the panel; she is almost always nude with only a mantle covering her lower body; and the right hand is almost always raised in terror toward Lykourgos. Yet, even though these mosaics follow the same basic scheme, they display a number of differences and similarities both in composition and in the rendering of details.

The earliest known mosaic with this representation is a small near square *vermiculatum* panel from the second floor of the Îlot des Bijoux at Delos (cat. 9, Fig. 117) which dates to the end of the second-early first century B.C. It is framed by a plain terracotta-red border and consists of two figures which are set against a black background. Both figures have suffered some damage, but their degree of preservation allows us to identify Ambrosia, at the bottom right corner of the panel, and Lykourgos standing over her on the left.

On the Delos mosaic Ambrosia is lying on the ground, on a rocky terrain, but her torso is raised and is supported on her left elbow. She is dressed in a beige long-sleeved tunic and a greenish mantle, which covers her outstretched legs from the hips down. Her head, shown in three-quarter view, is turned to the left and is tilted slightly back, allowing her face to turn upwards to look at Lykourgos. The direction and the expression of her eyes leave no doubt of her terror, which is further emphasized by the

no. 8, Fig. 12; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 39. **Libarna:** M. Guasco, "Regione IX (Liguria). Scavi per la sistemazione della zona archeologica dell' anfiteatro (26 maggio-12 luglio 1952)," *NSc* (1952) 220-221, Fig. 16; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 40. **Brading** (England): D.J Smith, "The mosaic pavements," in A.L.F., Rivet ed., *The Roman Villa in Britain* (London 1969) 91-94, pl. 3.8; A. Rainey, *Mosaics in Roman Britain* (Devon, England 1973) 28; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no. 41. **Piazza Armerina,** G.V. Gentili, "I Mosaici della Villa Romana del Casale di Piazza Armerina," *BollArte* 37 (1952) 35-36, Figs. 7-8; A. Carandini et al., *Filosofiana. The villa of Piazza Armerina. The image of a Roman aristocrat in the time of Constantine* (Palermo 1982) p. 318-22 no. 57e, Figs. 193-94, pl. LI 125; Bruneau & Vatin, 412 no. 11, Fig. 13; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 314 no.42.

raised right arm. Lifted over her shoulder in the direction of Lykourgos, the arm acts as a shield from the blow that she is about to receive (Fig. 118).

Above her, and to the left, is the standing figure of Lykourgos. As he straddles her legs, his body turns around its central axis creating multiple views. While most of the figure is shown in three-quarter view, the right leg is in profile and the face is frontal. Part of the right leg is destroyed, but a small preserved section of the lower leg and foot indicates that Lykourgos is wearing a soft boot. The lower part of the left leg is hidden behind Ambrosia's body. A short grey mantle, tied at the waist, covers part of his figure at the front and back, while a short cloak, flying behind his back, is used as a device to show the rapid movement of the body. Bold patches of beige, pink, and brown are used for the rendering of musculature and successfully convey both the strength and the contortion of the body. The arms are raised over his head forming an "X", as they cross one in front of the other. The left hand is missing, but there is no question that both hands are holding firmly a double axe. This is shown behind his head and back, parallel to the angle of the body. Lykourgos' face is the most impressive feature of this depiction. Unruly black hair and beard, an even darker moustache, and slightly raised eyebrows give him a wild appearance and enhance his ferocious nature. The juxtaposition of his ferocity and Ambrosia's consternation captures the intensity and immediacy of the situation, leaving the viewer in no doubt that he will carry through his intention to kill Ambrosia. Finally, a vine springs up behind Ambrosia and sprawls over the black background, alluding to what is to come.

The Trikala mosaic (cat 43, Fig. 120) decorated the floor of a public building from the imperial period which is believed to have been the Asklepion of ancient Trikki.²⁰⁷ This panel is considerably larger than the one at Delos and consists of four figures. Ambrosia, shown in three-quarter view, is seated on the bottom right corner of the panel. Her left hand is touching the ground and her head, shown

²⁰⁷ The most recent evaluation places the mosaic to the second quarter of the third century A.D. For the date of the mosaic, see *supra*, pp. 78, 110.

in profile, is turned toward Lykourgos. The lower part of her body, wrapped in a mantle, is already being transformed into a vine, which encircles the legs of Lykourgos and spreads over to the right side and along the top of the panel.

Lykourgos dominates the scene. As he straddles Ambrosia's lower body, his left lower leg is hidden behind her body, while the right is in full view showing clearly that he is wearing a calf-length boot. His body is almost frontal, facing Ambrosia, with only a hint of contortion of the torso. A short *chiton*, tied over the right shoulder, covers most of his body leaving only half of the torso exposed. His bare arms are raised over his head and his hands, one above the other, hold a double axe. Here, however, the axe is raised above the head and not behind it, as is the case at Delos. The effort that he is putting into the wielding of the axe is emphasized by the slightly backward leaning position of the torso and the enlarged pectoral muscles and biceps. His face, in three-quarter view, is framed by orderly curls, a curly beard, and a black moustache. He looks dark and threatening, but his face does not emit the same degree of savagery and determination as the Delos Lykourgos. Here, in his wild looking face, there is also a hint of surprise and confusion, created by the sudden appearance of the vine that threatens to consume him.

Behind Lykourgos stands a tall figure dressed in a voluminous full length, long-sleeved garment and a mantle which is draped over the left arm. The face and upper torso of this figure are totally destroyed and as a result identification is difficult. The long garment points toward an effeminate figure which could be either a maenad or, on account of his well known effeminacy, Dionysos himself. In fact, both are found in connection with Lykourgos and Ambrosia, as for instance in a mosaic from Piazza Armerina (Fig. 121) where three maenads, Pan, and another figure whose identity is questionable, are seen along with them, or on the mosaic of Herculaneum (Fig. 122) where Dionysos is shown standing above Ambrosia.²⁰⁸ On this occasion, Dionysos is shown with one arm stretched out in the direction of

²⁰⁸ *supra*, n. 206.

Lykourgos, wearing a long-sleeved *chiton* with a mantle thrown over the left shoulder and behind his back,²⁰⁹ and holding a spear-like thyrsos. At Trikala, the figure standing next to Lykourgos displays the same characteristics and therefore allows us to identify it as Dionysos. The god here is shown in the pose of a javelin thrower with both arms stretched out; the left is reaching out for Lykourgos' arm, while the right is stretched backwards and supports a spear-like thyrsos. This is raised and aimed at Lykourgos, which makes clear Dionysos' intention to attack him. An almost identical pose is adopted for one of the maenads on the Piazza Armerina mosaic. Here, however, the costume is different. The partly nude torso and the outlined female breast, as well as the bracelets and necklace that she wears, clearly identify this figure as a maenad.

The state of preservation of the fourth figure in the mosaic of Trikala is very poor but, with the help of an inscription, we can identify another female figure, a personification of ΘΠΑΚΗ. She is seated in the left bottom corner of the panel, echoing the seated figure of Ambrosia in the opposite corner. This arrangement of the figures creates a symmetrical pyramid-like composition where at its peak stands the tip of the double axe. Furthermore, the two artists, identified by an inscription on the upper left corner,²¹⁰ composed a harmonious scene where the visual lines created by the central figures closely parallel one another: the backward leaning bodies, the flowing mantles, the slightly bent and forward right leg, and finally the angle of the raised axe and thyrsos.

The depiction of the story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia in the two mosaics of Greece displays the same basic elements: Ambrosia in the right bottom corner of the panel, Lykourgos towering over her wielding his axe, and the vine sprawling behind the two figures. There are, however, considerable differences, both in composition and in the rendering of the figures. For instance, Ambrosia's semi-

²⁰⁹ For the long-sleeved costume of Dionysos, see also *supra*, pp. 139-52.

²¹⁰ ΤΤΟΣ ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΕΡΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ [ΒΑ]ΣΣΟΣ, ΕΡΜΟΥ [ΤΙ]ΟΙ, ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ Τ[ΩΝ] [Γ]ΠΑΦΟΜΕΝ[ΩΝ ΨΗ]ΦΟΘΕΤΑΙ. For a discussion of the inscription, see *supra*, pp. 77-78

reclining and fully-dressed figure at Delos contrasts with the more upright, almost seated, and nude figure on the Trikala mosaic. Ambrosia's rendering at Delos is actually unique, in that this is the only known representation where she is shown dressed. In the positioning of the body, on the other hand, the Delos Ambrosia has its closest parallel on the mosaic of Djemila where the positions of the body, arms, and head are very similar, though not identical. On all the other mosaics Ambrosia is shown in a variety of poses. At Aquileia, as at Trikala, she is seated, while at Herculaneum (Fig. 122) her body is too upright to be confidently described as reclining, although it seems that this was how the artist attempted to portray it. At Ostia (Fig. 123) she is also seated, but here the overall positioning of the body is reversed, as she is depicted sitting behind Lykourgos and not in front of him, as is the case on the other mosaics. In the remaining representations Ambrosia appears to be suspended in mid air as she is neither reclining nor standing. Furthermore, there is no consistency in the positioning of the arms. At Delos, Trikala, Herculaneum, Djemila, and Aquileia, the left arm rests on the ground and helps to support the body, while the right is raised toward Lykourgos. But the actual position of the right arm is never the same, as sometimes it is raised high over the head, sometimes it extends in front of the chest, and other times, for example in Herculaneum, it is placed directly in front of the chest. The placement of the mantle, on the other hand, is almost identical in most representations as it covers the lower body, from the pubic area down, and drapes behind the back where it serves as a backdrop. Moreover, the positioning and function of the mantle here is almost identical to that which covers the nude body of the sleeping Ariadne at Chania (cat. 3) and Thessaloniki (cat. 42).²¹¹

Variations exist also in the rendering of Lykourgos' figure. The contortion and position of the body and legs of the Delos Lykourgos is paralleled to a large degree on the mosaics of Herculaneum, Djemila, Aquileia, and Narbonne. In all these examples Lykourgos' body is turned to the left, away from

²¹¹ See discussion, *supra*, pp. 160, 162, 172.

Ambrosia, the right leg is bent forward displaying a calf-length boot, while the left is hidden from the knee down behind Ambrosia's body. Close parallels for the stance and contortion of Lykourgos' body on the mosaic of Delos are provided also by the mosaics of Taormina (Fig. 125), Carthage, and Ste. Colombe (Figs. 127-28) where Lykourgos is shown alone trying to cut down the vine.²¹²

The position of his legs is the same at Trikala, but at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 121) both legs are shown clearly with boots on both feet. A further variation is seen at Ostia (Fig. 123), where the scene is shown in reverse with Ambrosia on the left and Lykourgos on the right side of the panel. In spite of this reversal, the right leg is still shown on the foreground with a calf-length boot, but the left, which is bent at the knee and resting on a rock, is shown in its entirety and without a boot. Yet another positioning of Lykourgos' body is seen at Trikala, where it is almost frontal, as it is also in Brading and in Ostia. But in Piazza Armerina he is turned toward Ambrosia while at the same time he is looking at the maenad behind him, who is about to strike him with a spear.

Further variations are seen in the garments of Lykourgos. At Delos, in addition to the short cloak that flies behind his back, he wears a mantle which appears to be placed over the right shoulder and is then held in place by a belt. This, however, leaves most of the body exposed. At Trikala there is no evidence of a cloak, but here too Lykourgos wears what appears to be a mantle draped over the right shoulder and tied at the waist. But the damage that the mosaic has suffered around the right side of his body does not allow us to determine whether the mantle is pulled back, exposing most of the body. A similar garment is worn by Lykourgos on the mosaics from Piazza Armerina (Fig. 121), Herculaneum (Fig. 122), and Ste. Colombe (Fig. 128), while at Narbonne, Antioch (Fig. 129), and Silin (Fig. 130) he is wearing only a cloak. In the remaining scenes he is completely nude.

The greatest differences in Lykourgos' figure is in the position of the arms and the double axe

²¹² For the mosaics of Taormina, Carthage, and Ste. Colombe, see *supra*, n. 205.

where the only notable similarity is in the chiastic position of the arms seen at Delos. This is closely paralleled at Herculaneum and Djemila, but the arms at Djemila are not raised above the head and the axe is held just above the shoulder. At Herculaneum, on the other hand, the arms are raised above the head as they are at Delos, but the axe is not placed parallel to the body.

Perhaps the most important difference between the Delos and Trikala scenes is the function of the vine. At Delos (Fig. 117), Herculaneum, Narbonne, and Ostia (Fig. 123), the vine grows out of the ground and spreads upward behind the two figures, as a reminder of what is to come, but the changing process has not started yet. At Trikala the vine springs out of the side of Ambrosia's legs and stretches across to encircle Lykourgos' limbs, indicating that her metamorphosis is in progress. The same is indicated on the mosaics of Aquileia, Brading, and most of all Piazza Armerina where the metamorphosis is shown in a more graphic manner as Ambrosia's feet have turned into vine branches.

Philippe Bruneau and Claude Vatin, differentiating between the two types of representations, divide the scenes into two groups: those that show "Lycurgue menace Ambrosia de sa double hache" and those that show "La défaite de Lycurgue".²¹³ But while they place the Piazza Armerina mosaic in the second group, they place the Aquileia and Trikala mosaics in the first. It would appear therefore that their criterion for this division is the fact that at Piazza Armerina Ambrosia's metamorphosis is indicated clearly by the turning of her feet into vine tendrils, whereas on the other mosaics this change is only implied by the tendrils that coil around Lykourgos' legs. And yet, this depiction, though not as graphic as the one on the Piazza Armerina mosaic, amounts to the same thing and projects the same message. It should therefore be distinguished from the group of representations where no change is shown or implied.

In addition to these two groups of scenes in which both Lykourgos and Ambrosia appear

²¹³ Bruneau & Vatin, 409, 412.

together, Bruneau and Vatin's discussion addresses another group of representations from the legend of Lykourgos where he appears alone, without Ambrosia. In this group they place images of Lykourgos as he is trying to chop down a vine and as he is being choked by the vine which has encircled his entire body (Figs. 126, 129-130).²¹⁴ They do not, however, differentiate between the two images and they claim that they could be assigned to either of the two versions of the legend of Lykourgos: one referring to the story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia and the other to the story of cutting down the vine. Furthermore, they contest the theory that Coche de la Ferté proposed about ten years earlier which divides the story of Lykourgos into four groups, each seen as a successive stage of the same story: 1) Lykourgos, free, menacing Ambrosia; 2) Lykourgos, alone, brandishing the double axe surrounded by the vine; 3) Lykourgos collapsing; 4) Lykourgos bound by the vine.²¹⁵

In the absence of Ambrosia it is difficult to determine which version of Lykourgos' punishment the scenes in which he is shown alone may represent. It is possible, however, that the imagery of Lykourgos being choked by the vine tendrils may refer to the metamorphosis of Ambrosia into a vine. The imagery of Lykourgos attacking the vine with a double axe, on the other hand, may be a reference to the story of Apollodoros (*Bibl.* III.5) or Servius (*ad Aen.*, III, 14) where Lykourgos in his madness tried to chop down the vine, but in the process he killed his son and chopped his own legs. But it can also be seen as an excerpt of the Lykourgos and Ambrosia story. For when we look at the iconography, it displays a number of common elements with that of Lykourgos and Ambrosia discussed earlier; for example, the stance and contortion of Lykourgos' figure.²¹⁶ Therefore, it may very well be that the artist, perhaps for economy, chose simply to allude to Ambrosia's presence through the vine without actually

²¹⁴ Bruneau & Vatin, 412, 414. In this group they list five examples, two of which are mosaics: the mosaic of Antioch and the mosaic of Carthage. For the mosaics see *supra*, n. 205

²¹⁵ Coche de la Ferté (*supra* n. 206) 139. Also Bruneau & Vatin 407.

²¹⁶ *supra*, pp. 182-83.

depicting her. In this case, the iconography of such representations is useful to the study of the two mosaics in Greece because they provide additional parallels, particularly for the treatment of Lykourgos.

The similarities and differences that the mosaics of Delos and Trikala present when compared to one another and to other mosaics with the same motif are very interesting and constructive. For they indicate that the Lykourgos and Ambrosia motif on the mosaics follows a common model which received many variations through repeated copying, as well as in consequence of the ability of the artists and the space that they had to decorate. The basic motif of the story was versatile enough to decorate a number of different spaces, as it could be kept to a minimum of two figures, Lykourgos and Ambrosia, it could be expanded to decorate larger spaces by adding subsidiary figures, or it could even be reduced to one figure. The decision was left up to the individual artist who could adopt and adapt existing iconographic motifs to produce a larger and richer composition. The same approach in the treatment of the motif was also followed by the sculptor of a sarcophagus in the Villa Taverna in Frascati, Italy (Fig. 131) where he placed Lykourgos and Ambrosia in the middle of the scene and filled the space on either side with figures of the Dionysiac thiasos, including Dionysos himself.²¹⁷

The Villa Taverna sarcophagus is the only surviving example of the Lykourgos and Ambrosia motif in this medium, where clearly it did not enjoy much popularity. In fact, outside mosaics, there is only a handful of examples known from other media. One of these, a fresco from the House in Via del Parrattiere in Pompeii, shows yet another rendition of the motif, as Lykourgos is fully dressed, Ambrosia is kneeling on the ground with both hands raised in terror, while two young children pull away her mantle.²¹⁸ A more interesting composition is depicted on the so-called "Lykourgos Cup" from the fourth

²¹⁷ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 4, 420-21, pl. 257, Fig. 235. Matz lists one more sarcophagus relief where Lykourgos is shown wielding his axe. But there is no evidence there of either Ambrosia or the vine: *id.*, 422, pl. 256.

²¹⁸ LIMC VI (Lykourgos) 313 no. 31.

century A.D. (Fig. 126).²¹⁹ This is a bell-shaped, cage-cup, made of opaque green glass. Its entire outer surface is carved with a scene of the story of Lykourgos, which consists of six figures: Lykourgos, Ambrosia, Dionysos, Pan, a satyr, and a panther. Ambrosia is the smallest of all the figures and is shown sitting to the left of Lykourgos, with only a mantle covering her lower body. She is looking upwards at Lykourgos who is nude, wears boots on both feet, and is in the process of collapsing, as the vine has encircled his entire body. So in this cup we have a conflated imagery of the story where both the beginning and the end are shown. Moreover, with the depiction of Ambrosia here in both her anthropomorphic image and in her inanimate transformed state, i.e. the vine that chokes Lykourgos, the artist clearly indicates what version of the story he wishes to illustrate. This, in turn, supports Bruneau and Vatin's theory about the ambiguity that surrounds the image of Lykourgos entangled by the vine, when it is found in isolation.

The origins of the iconography of the Lykourgos and Ambrosia story are yet another matter which is difficult to establish. As Bruneau and Vatin pointed out, it follows "le schéma traditionnel du personnage debout menaçant un adversaire abattu",²²⁰ as in scenes of the Amazonomachy for example. Numerous other examples exist. The young hunter on the "Stag Hunt" mosaic at Pella (Fig. 2) who wields his double axe to kill the stag, for instance, could serve as an antecedent for Lykourgos' figure.²²¹ And the terrified expression, gestures, and position of the upper body of Persephone's attendant in the tomb of Persephone in Vergina parallel closely that of Ambrosia.²²² The closest parallel for the Lykourgos and Ambrosia motif, however, is found in the fourth century B.C. South Italian vases where

²¹⁹ Coche de la Ferté, (supra n. 205, 206) 131-162, pls. 7-8; D.B. Harden, *Glass of the Caesars* (Milan 1987) 245-49 no. 139; *LIMC* VI (Lykourgos) 315 no. 51.

²²⁰ Bruneau & Vatin, 401.

²²¹ Salzmann (1982) 107-108 no. 103.

²²² M. Andronikos, *Vergina. The Royal Tombs* (Athens 1988) 95, Fig. 54.

Lykourgos is shown killing his wife (Fig. 132).²²³ The manner of representation of the two figures on the vases is so similar to that of Lykourgos and Ambrosia that, found in isolation, there would be no way to distinguish between the two. What identifies the figures on the vases as Lykourgos and his wife is the context provided by the subsidiary figures, such as Lykourgos' son Dryas. But when the peripheral imagery is not clear or it is absent, then it is difficult to identify clearly the female that Lykourgos is attempting to kill as his wife or as Ambrosia.²²⁴

The evidence from the pottery makes it clear that the iconography of Lykourgos killing a female was in existence from as far back as the fourth century B.C. But there is no way of determining whether this was created in the pottery workshops of Southern Italy, or what influence it may have had on the Lykourgos and Ambrosia imagery seen on mosaics. It is unlikely, however, that a minor medium such as pottery would exert direct influence on mosaics, especially since the first known example on mosaics, the mosaic of Delos, was produced about two and a half centuries later. It seems more likely that this influence may have been exerted by large scale painting where the motif may also have been popular over a longer period of time. Two ancient authors testify to the existence of such paintings, although neither one provides us with a detailed description. Pausanias (I.20.3) simply mentions a painting of Lykourgos at the temple of Dionysos at Athens, while Longos (*Daphnis and Chloe* IV.3) relates that one of the paintings that decorated a temple of Dionysos in the garden of Lammon at Mytilene depicted "...Λυκοῦργον δεδεμένον...", presumably bound by the vine.

A final point to address in connection with the iconography of Lykourgos is the tradition of Lykourgos μονοκρήπις. The word, which means one-booted, appears in the *Anthologia Palatina* in a

²²³ *Krater*, Naples, Nat. Mus. 82123; LIMC VI (Lykourgos) 313 no. 27. *Krater*, London, BM 49.6-23.48; LIMC VI (Lykourgos) 313 no. 28. For both vases, see also L. Séchan, *Études sur la Tragédie Grecque* (Paris 1967) 71-72, Figs. 21-22. Séchan, however, describes both vases as amphorae.

²²⁴ For arguments concerning such identifications, see Farnoux, LIMC VI, 317-18.

description of a bronze statue of Lykourgos: "Τίς τόν Θρήϊκα τόνδε μονοκρήπιδα Λυκοῦργον χάλκεον Ἡδωνῶν ταγόν ἀνεπλάσατο;" (*Anth.Pal.* 16.127). But to the best of my knowledge, this is the only occasion where the word is used in connection with Lykourgos,²²⁵ although allusions to the one-booted Lykourgos are found elsewhere in literature, as for example in Ovid (*Ib.* 345-46), where Lykourgos is described as "...in gemino dispar cui pede cultus erat". Lykourgos is not the only figure in antiquity depicted wearing one boot (*monocrepis*) or one sandal (*monosandalos*). A number of others, such as Jason and Perseus, are repeatedly described or depicted wearing one shoe. This peculiar phenomenon has occupied many scholars, who have sought to interpret its meaning and to look for evidence of "one-booted" or "one-sandaled" images in artistic renderings. The latest and most thorough discussion of such figures is that of de Loos-Dietz who has sought to find a common denominator among half-shod figures.²²⁶ Her research has led her to conclude that "la perte ou la cession d' une chaussure marque une rupture avec la situation antérieure. C'est une *separatio*. C' est la phase *préliminale* d' un rite de passage".²²⁷ This passage, de Loos-Dietz claims, could be represented in different ways including a wound to one foot, as is the case in the story of Lykourgos.²²⁸ Moreover, in connection with a human being, a *monocrepis* or a *monosandalos* could indicate that a man "... est voué à la mort."²²⁹ Seen in this light, the image of the one-booted Lykourgos is easier to understand. It must be remembered, however, that in the case of Lykourgos, the "passage" is not a temporary stage in his life, nor does it mark a new beginning in his life, as is for example for Auge whose girlhood status changes to one of womanhood

²²⁵ For the use of the word elsewhere and for related terminology, see M. Robertson, "Monocrepis," *GRBS* 13 (1972) 40-42, n. 12.

²²⁶ Eliz. P. de Loos-Dietz, "Le *Monosandalos* dans l' Antiquité," *BABesch* 69 (1994) 175-97.

²²⁷ *ibid.*, 193.

²²⁸ *ibid.*, 185-86, 195.

²²⁹ *ibid.*, 195.

after she was raped by Herakles, or that of the young initiate who goes through the ritual of initiation into the cult of Dionysos. Lykourgos' passage is a permanent one, from the world of the living to the world of the dead, as a punishment for his resistance to Dionysos.

Another hypothesis for the meaning of half-shod figures is that presented by Robertson, who suggests that this imagery "...can be a simple indication of the derangement through which the divine vengeance takes place".²³⁰ This explanation would be suitable for Lykourgos and other similarly afflicted figures, such as Erysichthon.²³¹ But it has very limited applications and it cannot be extended to figures such as Auge, Jason or Perseus, none of whom were the recipients of divine wrath and all of whom are depicted wearing one shoe. It would appear, therefore, that as interesting and constructive as the existing theories are, they are by no means conclusive. The symbolism of the *monocrepis* or the *monosandalos*, which was probably self-evident to the ancient viewer, continues to challenge modern observers.

In art the manner of representation of "one-booted" figures has also been the object of scholarly research for many years. Reinach's initial discussion,²³² over a century ago, into the iconography of the *monosandalos* was followed by a number of other scholars, primarily Deonna in the first half of this century,²³³ and then by Robertson in the seventies on account of a one-booted figure depicted on the Derveni *krater* which is, inconclusively, thought to be Lykourgos.²³⁴ Robertson points out in his

²³⁰ Robertson (supra n. 225) 43.

²³¹ Like Lykourgos who was the recipient of the wrath of Dionysos, Erysichthon was the recipient of the wrath of Demeter for cutting down a grove sacred to her.

²³² S. Reinach, *Antiquités nationales. Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* (Paris 1894).

²³³ W. Deonna, "Μονοκρήπιδες," *RHR* 112 (1935) 50-72; *id.*, "Mercure. Un pied chaussé, l' autre nu," *RAE* 7 (1956) 156.

²³⁴ Robertson (supra n. 225) 40-41. For the Derveni *krater*, see also M. Andronikos, "The Macedonian Tombs," in R. Ginouvès ed., *Macedonia. From Philip II to the Roman Conquest* (Princeton 1994) 187-88, Figs. 158-60.

discussion that in the Lykourgos and Ambrosia motif, when only one of Lykourgos' feet is shown, it is generally booted, but when both feet are visible, then "they are both booted, or sometimes both bare".²³⁵

The evidence from the mosaics, for the most part, supports this deduction. There are, however, some exceptions where Lykourgos is shown wearing a single boot. The clearest indication of this is found on the mosaic of Ostia (Fig. 123)²³⁶, where the right leg is clearly shown in the foreground with an open-toe boot while the left knee is bent and resting on a rock and the foot is bare. Another possible exception is the mosaic of Aquileia²³⁷ where Lykourgos' legs are shown in the same position as that of Ostia, even though the overall positioning of the figure is reversed. The poor quality of the available photographs of the mosaic, however, do not reveal details. To these mosaics we can add two more examples of the one-booted Lykourgos, the mosaics of Antioch (Fig. 129) and Silin (Fig. 130).²³⁸ On these Lykourgos is shown alone, consumed by the vine, and in an almost identical pose as that of the Ostia and Aquileia mosaics: the right leg stretches forward showing an open-toe boot, while the left knee is resting on a rock and the foot is bootless.

As we look then at the evidence for a *μονοκρήπις* on mosaics, a distinct pattern emerges. On all the examples where Lykourgos is shown wearing only one boot, the boot is always worn on the right foot while the left foot is bootless. Moreover, he is always shown in the same stance, stepping forward with the right leg, while the left knee rests on a rock. It would appear, therefore, that not only were the mosaic artists familiar with the tradition of Lykourgos *μονοκρήπις*, but that they also followed a specific imagery to refer to it. This imagery was most likely found in the workshops' copy books.

²³⁵ *ibid.*, 41.

²³⁶ *supra*, n. 206.

²³⁷ *supra*, n. 206.

²³⁸ *supra*, n. 205.

5. PAPPOSILENOS AND DIONYSOS PAIS

One of the two mosaics of Pergamon decorates a rectangular room on the north side of the peristyle of the so-called building "Z" (cat. 32, Figs. 135-36).²³⁹ The room, referred to by the German excavators as "Silenmosaikraum", receives its name from a depiction of Papposilenos holding the child Dionysos, which is contained in a square pseudo-*emblema* (1 x 1 m), placed in the middle of a field of cubes in perspective.

The imagery in this panel is very compact, with both figures shown in three-quarter view and full bust form. Papposilenos, seen on the right, is the more graphic of the two figures. His long white beard, the bushy white hair at the back of the head, and even the white eyebrows, are combined with extensive *chiaroscuro*, used for the skin to create spatial illusion. This treatment allows the large bald head, puffy cheeks, and nose to stand out from the dark ground of the picture. At the same time, the deep furrows on the forehead and a thin wreath of ivy relieve the large surface of the bald head. What emerges is a striking image of a kindly old man. He is wearing a tunic with long sleeves, whose rendering is in total contrast to that of the face. Here, instead of the careful gradation of colour used for the modelling of the face, the artist uses patches of colour, which results in a schematic and abstract rendering of the body. This treatment applies to the figure of the child Dionysos as well. His face is also carefully modelled with *chiaroscuro* to reveal a slightly larger and much more mature physiognomy than we would expect of a child. The face is lean and long, with a long sharp nose and a rather scowling look. The hair is wavy, reaching the shoulders, and crowned with a wreath of ivy. The body, on the other hand, is schematic and the proportions are odd. This is more obvious in the treatment of the hands whose size is striking. The left hand in particular, shown in the foreground, is far too big for a child's hand. Whether the artist's aim here was to show the limb at a closer range to enhance the perspective of the overall

²³⁹ Also see *supra*, pp. 58-59.

picture is hard to tell.

The schematic rendering of the body of each figure is rather curious and is in total contrast with the careful modelling of the faces, the light on dark rendering of the figures, the overall composition of the pavement, and the geometric ornament, all of which show a close affinity to the Hellenistic mosaics of Delos.²⁴⁰ But as the technical ability of the artist is demonstrated through the precise rendering of the faces, we can only assume that he may have felt that the body parts were not important enough in this case and as a result they received little attention.

Dionysos' early childhood and upbringing by the Nymphs of Nysa and Papposilenos is found in various contexts in both literature and art. But whereas the semi-divine female figures act as surrogate mothers, Papposilenos' role extends beyond that of the surrogate father. The old satyr, the father of all satyrs, is credited not only with the upbringing of the child Dionysos, but with his education as well. Diodorus (4.4.3.) calls him *παιδαγωγός* and *τροφεύς*, and Horace (*Ars P.* 239) refers to him as *custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni*. This image of Papposilenos appears paradoxical at first, since our common perception of satyrs in general, including Papposilenos, is one of merriment, drunkenness, and lecherous behaviour. Yet, ancient writers credit the old satyr with wisdom and skills that justify his ability to be a *παιδαγωγός*. According to Herodotos (8.138) and later Aelian (*VH* 18) as well, when Silenos was captured by king Midas, he displayed his extensive knowledge of the geography of the known world, including the people and their customs. Other writers tell us that when Midas asked him what was the best thing for men, he pointed out, in the manner of a philosopher, that the hopes and the endeavours of humans were worthless and, instead, he praised death.²⁴¹ Furthermore, Virgil's (*Ecl.* 6) account of the shepherds catching Silenos in a cave indicates that the old satyr was also skilled in

²⁴⁰ See also discussion, *supra*, pp. 58-61.

²⁴¹ Arist. ap. Plut. *Mor.* 115; Theopomp. fr. 76; *FHG* i, 290; Cic. (*Tusc.* 1.48, 114).

singing. All this shows that the ancient perception of Silenos was favourable to his image as Dionysos' παιδαγωγός, an image which Seaford suggests may have stretched beyond the child Dionysos to the protection and education of all children.²⁴²

In art the image of Papposilenos in connection with Dionysos *Pais* displays a number of variations, as the old satyr is shown as the *kourotrophos*, the *paidagogos*, as well as the *mystagogos* of the child Dionysos. Representations of Papposilenos in the role of the male *kourotrophos*²⁴³ enjoy a long tradition. The earliest known example appears on a fifth century B.C. (c. 440-430 B.C.) white ground bell-*krater* by the Phiale Painter (Fig. 145).²⁴⁴ Here Hermes brings the infant god to the Nymphs and to Papposilenos, who is shown nude, holding a thyrsos and wearing a wreath of ivy. From the rest of the Classical and Hellenistic periods a number of examples are found, mostly in sculpture and small terracottas, where Papposilenos is often shown either with a nude torso or wearing shaggy overalls and a mantle draped around his waist, carrying the infant Dionysos in his arms or on his shoulder.²⁴⁵ This *kourotrophos* or *tropheus* image is also found in the iconography of the imperial period, as an example from Pompeii demonstrates (Fig. 146).²⁴⁶ In the imperial period, however, the iconographic repertory is considerably more extensive. At this time, we also find Papposilenos assisting the Nymphs in specific tasks concerning the child Dionysos. These representations usually contain a series of individual scenes, placed next to one another. In most cases the Nymphs are shown in the centre of the representation

²⁴² Euripides, *Cyclops*, ed. R. Seaford (Oxford 1984) p. 40, n. 117.

²⁴³ For a discussion of the cults and representations of the *Kourotrophos*, see Theodora Hadjisteliou-Price, *Kourotrophos: Cults and Representations of Greek Nursing Deities* (Leiden 1978), esp. p. 70-71.

²⁴⁴ *ARV*² 1017, 54; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 480 no. 686. A similar scene appears on an attic *krater* (c. 450-425 B.C.) where the Nymphs instead of Hermes bring the infant to Silenos: *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 481 no. 697.

²⁴⁵ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 480 nos. 687-90. Also see Hadjisteliou-Price (supra, n. 243) 71, Fig. 45.

²⁴⁶ *PPM* V, p. 697, Fig. 46. Also, *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 552 nos. 149-150, 157.

giving the child a bath, while Silenos, shown nude or with a mantle tied around his waist, and other Nymphs perform different tasks in neighbouring scenes.²⁴⁷ The clearest example of this type of activity is seen on a mid-second century sarcophagus in the Glyptothek in Munich (Fig. 143).²⁴⁸ Here, in the centre, a seated Nymph is holding Dionysos on her lap while another Nymph is pouring water into an *alveus* for the child's purification bath.²⁴⁹ On the left, the child Dionysos, wearing a nebris and holding a *liknon* over his head, is riding on a goat. He is escorted by two Nymphs and a satyr who is leading the goat. On the right, the child is invested with his attributes. He is shown wearing a nebris and standing on the hands of a seated satyr. The right hand is resting on the satyr's head and with the left he is holding on to a branch of vine, offered to him by the seated Papposilenos. Two Nymphs, one on each side of the scene, are providing assistance.

Rare, although not as clear, examples of the investiture with the attributes are found also in two early fifth century B.C. attic *krateres*, where Dionysos *Pais* is presented with a *kantharos*, a branch of ivy, and a leopard.²⁵⁰ But in these early examples there is no purification and the investor is not Papposilenos, but father Zeus himself. Moreover, it is difficult to read any meaning of cult activity in these representations. On the sarcophagi, however, the choice of scenes is deliberate and they are meant to allude to initiation. In this case they allude to the initiation of the dead child which is assimilated to Dionysos and whose sarcophagus the scene decorates. In the Munich sarcophagus, for example, the bath

²⁴⁷ For a discussion of the motif, see Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 345-46, 351-57 nos. 200-202. Also Turcan, 413-15; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 552 nos. 153-56.

²⁴⁸ Matz, *Sarkophage*, v. 3, 353-54 no. 201, pl. 210,1; *LIMC* III (Dionysos/Bacchus) 552 no. 154.

²⁴⁹ The theme of the "Bath of Dionysos" is also known from mosaics. On one panel of the spectacular third century mosaic from Sepphoris in Palestine six women and a satyr give the baby its bath. The scene here is identified by the inscription "ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ ΛΟΥΤΡΑ": Z. Weiss and R. Talgam, "The Dionysiac mosaic floor of Sepphoris," *CMGR* VI, 231-37, Fig. 1. A similar representation is seen on one of the panels from the mid fourth century mosaic of the House of Aion in Nea Paphos in Cyprus. For the iconography and bibliography of this mosaic, see discussion *infra*, pp. 202-204.

²⁵⁰ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 481-82 nos. 702, 705.

of the child Dionysos alludes to the purification that the future initiate had to undergo prior to initiation, whereas the investiture with the attributes alludes to special rights that the initiate was vested with upon entering the world of Dionysos. Most significant is the *liknon* that Dionysos carries on his head which from the Hellenistic period onward became a symbol of Dionysiac mysteries.²⁵¹ In this context, then, Papposilenos' role is not simply that of the *kourotrophos* or the *paidagogos*, but that of the *mystagogos* as well.

Representations of Silenos in the role of the *mystagogos* are encountered earlier on wall and ceiling decoration where clearer allusions to initiation are made, as for example on the stuccoes from the vaults of the corridors of Villa Farnesina in Rome.²⁵² Here Silenos is depicted on a fragmentary panel standing with a leopard lying by his feet and a maenad who is playing with the animal. His torso is nude, but he wears boots and has a mantle tied around his waist. On another panel a woman escorts a boy, who has his head covered and is holding a thyrsos, to an altar in an outdoor sanctuary (Fig. 144). Silenos, dressed in overalls, soft boots, and a mantle tied around his waist, is standing on the other side of the altar and uncovers a *liknon*. Another example comes from the well known fresco from the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii, c. 60-50 B.C. (Figs. 141-42). Here Silenos is depicted twice, once on the north wall, where he is nude with a purple mantle placed loosely around his body, and once on the east wall where he is shown seated, with a bare torso, a dark mantle wrapped around the lower body, wearing an ivy wreath, and bootees. The interpretation of this fresco has been the object of much scholarly debate over the years as scholars tried to understand the meaning of the iconography. The controversy is still

²⁵¹ For the Dionysiac mysteries in the Hellenistic and Roman period, see M.P. Nilsson, *The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age* (Sweden 1957 - reprint New York 1975) *passim*; for the initiation of children, see *id.*, p. 106-115; for the *liknon*, see *id.*, 21-37. Also see F. Matz, *Dionysiake Telete. Archäologische Untersuchungen zum Dionysoskult in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit.* (Mainz 1963) 1389-1453.

²⁵² The date of the construction and decoration of the villa is uncertain, but it is usually attributed to the last quarter of the first century B.C.: I. Bragantini and M. de Vos, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Pitture II, 1. Le decorazioni della villa romana della Farnesina* (Rome 1982) 23, 138-39, Figs. 74, 78.

raging, but most commentators agree that the imagery represents initiation rites into the cult of Dionysos.²⁵³ So it may be presumed that in these images too Silenos appears as a *mystagogos*.

The representations from the Villa Farnesina and the Villa of the Mysteries display another major difference in the image of Papposilenos. Some characteristics which lead us to identify the figure as Papposilenos are basically the same. There is the same long white beard and the same bald head with tufts of hair growing over the temples. But this Silenos has lost his earlier satyr characteristics: the snubby nose, puffy cheeks, and the big ugly mouth. This is the face of a kindly old man who exudes an air of wisdom. Turcan calls the appearance of Papposilenos in the sarcophagi and in Greek and Roman art in general "Socratic",²⁵⁴ on account of his general philosopher-like appearance and the passage from Plato's *Symposium* where Alkibiades compares Socrates to a satyr (*Symp.* 215 a&b). By all accounts Socrates had an ugly, almost grotesque face. But Papposilenos, particularly on the fresco in the Villa of the Mysteries, is not ugly. He looks wise and resembles the portrait-type images attributed to many philosophers and ancient writers, such as Anaximander, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Lysias, to name but a few.²⁵⁵

Several centuries later, we find the same image on mosaics from the mid fourth to the mid sixth centuries A.D. On these occasions, however, there is an additional difference in the overall representation of Papposilenos: his dress. The Greek and earlier Roman Silenos was usually depicted nude with only a mantle draped around his waist, or wearing the overalls generally associated with the theatre. Sometimes the two images merge and he is depicted wearing both the overalls and a mantle over it, as

²⁵³ For references to the interpretation of the meaning of the iconography of the frieze and bibliography, see R. Ling, *Roman Painting* (Cambridge, New York 1991) 101-104, 229 ch. 6 no. 1, Figs. 104-105, pls. IXA-IXC.

²⁵⁴ Turcan, 414 n.1.

²⁵⁵ G.M.A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks* (abridged and revised by R.R.R. Smith, Oxford 1984) Figs. 50, 62, 100, 118-19.

for example on the mosaics of Dion (cat. 16), Corinth (cat. 7), and Chania (cat.3). The late antique Silenos, however, is dressed in a short tunic with long sleeves, leggings, and bootees. This has prompted Balty to call this imagery associated with Papposilenos "*le simple paysan*", the peasant.²⁵⁶ We find him wearing this outfit on three occasions.²⁵⁷ On a large fragment of wool textile from Egypt, now at the Abegg Foundation at Riggisberg in Switzerland (Fig. 137), Dionysos, Ariadne, and members of the thiasos are depicted standing under a series of arches. One of the figures is Papposilenos who is dressed in this costume and holds a "flail" in the right hand.²⁵⁸ On another example, a mosaic from Sarrîn in Osrhoène (Figs. 47, 139), c. end of fifth - mid sixth century A.D., one of the members of the revelling thiasos is Papposilenos, who wears the same short, long-sleeved tunic. But as his legs were destroyed, we cannot be sure whether he wore leggings and bootees.²⁵⁹ The third example comes from the *triclinium* mosaic at the House of Aion in Nea Paphos in Cyprus (Fig. 138), c. second quarter of the fourth century A.D.²⁶⁰ Here too Silenos wears an ivy wreath, a short, long-sleeved yellow tunic, dark grey leggings, and red bootees.

The "flail", which on the Abegg Foundation textile is held by Papposilenos and on the mosaic

²⁵⁶ Balty (1990) 38.

²⁵⁷ A fourth example most likely existed on the Dionysiac panel at the entrance of the *triclinium* in the Villa of the Falconer at Argos (cat. 1, Figs. 46, 48): supra, pp. 91-92.

²⁵⁸ D. Willers, *Der Dionysos-Behang des Abegg-Stiftung* (Riggisberg 1987). The textile measures 7.3 x 2.2 m. Its context is not known and its date is uncertain, but its style suggests a date in the fifth century A.D.

²⁵⁹ Balty (1990) pl. C, XII.1; for the reconstruction of the legs, see *ead.*, p. 19, Fig. 2. The date of the mosaic is uncertain, but Balty places it at the end of the fifth - mid sixth century A.D., or, on account of close datable parallels, possibly toward the mid sixth century: Balty (1990) 82-85; Balty (1991) 32.

²⁶⁰ W.A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (Mainz 1985) pl.2-4, 19; W.A. Daszewski and D. Michaelides, *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* (Ravenna 1988) 56-70, Figs. 26-33; D. Michaelides, *Cypriot Mosaics* (Nicosia, Cyprus 1987) 28-31 nos. 27-31, pls. XXII-XXIV. A *terminus post quem* is provided by a coin of Licinius I which was found under the pavement. Also, *LIMC* III (Dionysos in per. orient.) 523 no. 97 and 527 no. 131.

of Sarrîn by a maenad who is shown in close relation to him, is identified by Balty as a *februum*, a piece of goat leather attached to a stick. This, Balty claims, in late antiquity became a symbol of purification and fertility. So on account of the *februum*, as well as other objects, such as the *cista mystica* on the mosaic, the bell carried by the maenad and another female on the textile, and by the maenad and Papposilenos on the mosaic, plus the garland of immortality and the pomegranate carried by Ariadne on the textile, Balty was led to the conclusion that these scenes evoke images of the Dionysiac mysteries where Papposilenos is again seen as a *mystagogos*.²⁶¹ On the mosaic of Nea Paphos, however, although Papposilenos' costume and facial characteristics are the same as those of the other examples (except that here we can see a pointed ear), the context is quite different. Here the baby Dionysos is delivered to the nymphs of Nysa by Hermes who is shown seated with Dionysos on his lap. Papposilenos, identified by an inscription as *tropheus*, is standing by with his hands stretched out, ready to receive the child. Three nymphs prepare the child's bath, while other female figures, personifications of Nysa, *Anatrophe*, *Ambrosia*, *Nectar*, and *Theogonia* are witnessing the event.

The motif is well-known, taken over from the imagery of the sarcophagi, where the child's first bath plays an important role. But here the emphasis is different, in that the divinity of the child Dionysos is stressed even further through gestures, such as the hands stretched out to the child, and through the costumes, which are borrowed from imperial iconography, as for example Hermes' costume and the diadem he wears, or the nimbus, worn by deified emperors. Moreover, the fabric that covers Hermes' hands is also taken over from court ceremonial, where nobody was allowed to touch a sacred or important figure, the emperor for instance, with bare hands. In this case the custom applies to Hermes as well, even though he is a god himself. Daszewski interprets this scene as "the Epiphany of a supreme

²⁶¹ Balty (1990) 36-44; Balty (1991) 26-32. For depictions of the flail on the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece, see the Silenos mosaic from Kos (cat. 27), supra, pp. 62-63 ; also the discussion of the *triclinium* mosaic from Dion (cat. 16), supra, p. 127.

god - Dionysos the saviour...born to save the world".²⁶² His success in doing so is indicated by the triumph scene which is depicted on another panel of the same pavement. The remaining three panels, depicting Leda and the Swan, Apollo and Marsyas, and the contest of Cassiopeia and the Nereids, in his view, are subordinated to this pagan monotheism, and the overall iconographic scheme of the pavement is seen as a challenge to Christianity.²⁶³ Moreover, Daszewski sees the combination of all this imagery as a late antique concept, which aims to promote a new kind of religious belief, "eine spezielle Art des Monotheismus", evolving around the figure of Dionysos.²⁶⁴ These views are shared by Bowersock, who in his effort to establish a common ground for all these motifs stresses Dionysos' role in initiating the different episodes depicted on the mosaic, a role that in his view rests in the "concept of the cosmic forces represented by Dionysos" and Neoplatonic beliefs.²⁶⁵ I do not find, however, either Bowersock's or Daszewski's arguments very convincing. The connection between the scenes is very loose and difficult to prove, and the assertion that these panels "bear witness to a deep religious and philosophical torment" cannot be substantiated.²⁶⁶ If the artist's intention was to create a comprehensive theme, this is not at all clear from the outcome.

What is more interesting for our purposes is that in this pavement we find a continuation of the old traditional themes, even though there is some contamination from imperial iconography or from local and religious ideas.²⁶⁷ And it is within this context that we have to place the role of Papposilenos in the Dionysiac panel at Nea Paphos. Here an inscription above the head identifies him as ΤΡΟΦΕΥΣ. He is

²⁶² Daszewski & Michaelides (supra, n. 260) 68.

²⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 69.

²⁶⁴ Daszewski (supra, n. 260) 45.

²⁶⁵ G.W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor 1996) 51.

²⁶⁶ Daszewski & Michaelides (supra, n. 260) 69.

²⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 51.

identified by the same name in the triumph panel of the same pavement, where he is shown riding on his donkey alongside the chariot (Fig. 140). Papposilenos' role as the *tropheus* of the child Dionysos was well-known, but the Nea Paphos mosaic is the only known example where his identity is superseded by his occupation. This is most likely the result of what Balty calls the desire to humanize Silenos.²⁶⁸ As such, we can see it as the third stage in the humanization process, coming after the changes in physiognomy and dress. In terms of the iconography of Papposilenos, therefore, the Pergamon panel shows a close affinity with the late antique imagery seen on the mosaics of Sarrin and Nea Paphos, particularly in the type of costume that he wears. Unlike these examples, however, the compact iconography of the Pergamon panel does not allow us to read or even suggest a hidden message that would connect it to Dionysiac ritual. Papposilenos here is simply shown as the *tropheus* or the *kourotrophos* of the child Dionysos.

The so-called "late antique" image of Papposilenos on the mosaic of Pergamon is most interesting, because as already seen, the excavator, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, has placed the mosaics of building "Z" in the last phase of the building's construction, c. A.D. 100, or shortly after.²⁶⁹ Therefore, if we were to accept this imagery as a product of the late antique period, it would be very surprising to find it at this early date. Clearly then, the evidence provided by the panel from building "Z" dispels all previous suggestions of a late development and proves that the so-called "humanized" image of Silenos with his refined facial characteristics and "peasant" costume co-existed with his traditional and almost grotesque image at least since the beginning of the second century A.D. In fact,

²⁶⁸ Balty (1990) 38. Alongside the *tropheus* identification appears another, that of Maron, who cannot be identified with Silenos, but is nonetheless given the same characteristics and plays the same role with Silenos. Maron is identified on two mosaics: a) a mosaic in a private collection, probably from Syria (?): Canivet & Darmon, *supra*, n. 142, b) on the mosaic of Shahba-Philippopolis, J. Balty, *Mosaïques Antiques de Syria* (Brussels 1977) 50-57.

²⁶⁹ *supra*, p. 60.

as far as the facial characteristics are concerned, the "humanized" image existed in the West from as far back as the mid first century B.C. as the stuccoes from Villa Farnesina in Rome or on the fresco from the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii indicate.

What is more difficult to determine is the direction of the transmission of the motif. The overall decorative scheme and composition of the pavement, the square pseudo-*emblema* placed in the middle of a field of three dimensional geometric ornament, and the dark ground against which the figures are rendered, link the Pergamon pavement to the Hellenistic tradition. Its date of production, which marks the Roman reconstruction of the building, tempts us to suggest that this imagery may have been influenced by western traditions, in the same manner that the pavement with the masks in the neighbouring room was,²⁷⁰ and was introduced to the workshops of the Greek world through the arrival of the Italian populations. Pergamon, however, was an important Hellenistic centre with a strong mosaic tradition which fostered the production of Sosos' masterpieces and undoubtedly those of other artists as well.²⁷¹ Moreover, like most cities and islands along the coast of Asia Minor, Pergamon remained prosperous in Roman times and most likely mosaic workshops continued their production without major interruptions. Unfortunately, our present knowledge of the Hellenistic and imperial mosaics of Pergamon is very limited and does not allow us to reach any conclusions about mosaic traditions in local Pergamene workshops. It is quite possible, however, that the so-called "humanized" image of Papposilenos may be indicative of a surviving Hellenistic tradition at Pergamon or elsewhere in Asia Minor from where it was brought to Italy in the first century B.C.

²⁷⁰ For a discussion of this mosaic, see *supra*, p. 58 and *infra*, pp. 239-40.

²⁷¹ See also, *supra*, p. 16.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEMES ASSOCIATED WITH DIONYSOS The Seasons, the Theatre, and the Amphitheatre

Some of the most popular motifs in the decoration of mosaic pavements are scenes from the theatre, the *venatio*, and personifications of the Seasons. These motifs appear in great profusion on mosaics and other media around the Mediterranean and the northern Roman provinces, either on their own or in connection with other motifs. One of these is Dionysos. Found on their own, these motifs conjure up at most only remote Dionysiac associations. But found alongside other Dionysiac features, they become part of the Dionysiac repertory. Yet, as will become clear from the ensuing discussion, they do not always form a comprehensive picture or become part of a single narrative theme.

In a few of the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor a number of these motifs form part of a large composition. Often scenes consisting of one or more figures are placed in small rectilinear or curvilinear compartments around a central motif to which they are clearly subordinated. In this context these panels play a subsidiary role to the overall decoration of the pavement. So at Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 95-96, 154-56, 166, 168-69, 175) "The Discovery of Ariadne" dominates the centre of the pavement, while masks, fauna of different types, scenes from theatrical performances, and Dionysiac figures decorate the surrounding space. A similar arrangement is found at Koroni (cat. 26, Fig. 189), where curvilinear compartments containing masks and *venatores* are arranged around a central medallion; at Dion (cat. 16, Figs. 53, 55, 182), where compartments with depictions of masks frame the two long sides of the central scene; and on the two mosaics at Larisa, in one of which (cat. 29, Figs. 149-150) scenes of hunting Erotes and the Seasons are placed in the surrounding borders,

while in the other (cat. 30, Figs. 151-53) busts of the Seasons are placed in the corners around the central medallion.

The subordination of these motifs is minimized in the *triclinium* mosaic at Chania (cat. 4, Figs. 71-72, 154); here the difference in size between the two rectangular panels with depictions of masks and the other panels on the horizontal bar of the "T" is considerably less than the ratio of the panels in the mosaics mentioned above. Moreover, here the prominent position of the mask panels in the centre of the horizontal bar at the entrance to the room largely compensates for the difference in size. The subordination in this pavement is not between the individual scenes that decorate the horizontal bar. Rather, it is between the entire decorative scheme of the horizontal bar and that of the vertical bar whose single figural scene dominates the entire pavement. A final stage in the multi-panel decoration of Dionysiac pavements is seen at Pergamon (cat. 35, Fig. 18), where the pattern is divided into sixteen octagonal panels, equal in size. Twelve of these contain depictions of theatre masks. Here the absence of a main figural scene and the symmetry in the design provide equal opportunity for each motif to stand out on its own. Yet, this is hindered by the repetitiveness of the motifs, the perfect symmetry of the composition, and most of all, the highly ornamental geometric motifs that surround them. So, here too the figural motifs are subordinated, but not to a larger figural scene, as is the case in the previous examples. Here the subordination is imposed by the richness of the geometric ornament that characterizes the overall decorative scheme of the pavement.

In contrast to the multi-panel compositions discussed so far stands a single example from Rhodes (cat. 37, Fig. 171), produced in the Hellenistic period, where an *emblema* with a depiction of a theatre mask dominates the entire field. In this case there are no subsidiary panels of any description that could challenge the importance of the central motif. Although the information provided by the excavator is very limited, he indicates that the panel originally decorated a room of a Hellenistic house. It is, therefore, very unlikely that it formed part of a larger figural mosaic in its initial

surroundings. For *emblemata*, on account of their fine quality and undoubtedly their cost of production as well, were usually the focal point in the decoration of a pavement. Moreover, the multiple panel composition was not characteristic of Hellenistic mosaics, as the earliest known attempts in dividing the pavement in compartments are seen in the mosaics of Delos.¹ The practice of combining various themes in the same pavement is, in fact, characteristic of the mid-imperial period. It would appear, however, that even when this panel was reused in a house of the imperial period, the owner may have followed the Hellenistic compositional schema, since the excavator indicates that the panel was placed in the centre of the pavement which decorated a room, measuring c. 4.80 x 10 m.

Another method of incorporating the Seasons, theatre, and amphitheatre motifs into the pavement is by placing them in sectional or continuous borders. In the House of the Masks at Delos sectional borders with depictions of masks seal off the two short ends of the geometric carpet in the *oikos* (cat. 11, Figs. 173-74), while at the Îlot des Bijoux (cat. 8, Figs. 176-80) the masks are placed in regular intervals in an elaborate floral border that frames the entire pavement. The same arrangement, only on a much larger scale, can be seen in the Judgement of Paris mosaic from Kos (cat. 28, Fig. 185). Here independent scenes of the *venatio* form a continuous border which does not only frame the entire pavement, but also serves to separate the three large sections that decorate the field.

1. The Seasons

Background to the Seasons motif

One of the most popular motifs in ancient iconography is that of the Seasons. From the Archaic period onward the three Horai are a stock motif in the repertory of vase painters and relief sculptors.

¹ The best examples of this are the Dionysos mosaic from the House of the Masks (cat. 10, Fig. 68), and the Tritoness mosaic from the House of the Comedians, *Delos* XXIX, 174 no. 75, Figs. 88-91.

Their popularity continues into the Hellenistic period and occasionally we even find representations of the three females in the imperial period. In the Hellenistic period, however, the number of the Seasons increases to four and gradually their attributes increase as well.² By the second century A.D. personifications of the four Seasons become one of the most commonplace motifs, particularly in the decoration of pavements and sarcophagi, throughout the Roman Empire.³ From then on they enjoy a continuous popularity until the end of the imperial and early Byzantine period.

From the Archaic to the early imperial period the manner of the representation of the Seasons is consistent. They are depicted as young maidens, wearing voluminous long garments, moving in close proximity, holding hands, and carrying fruit or a flower. In these representations they regularly accompany major deities such as Zeus, Hera, or Apollo, but they are most commonly found in a procession following Dionysos or Pan.⁴ In contrast, in the High and Late Empire we find a variety of Seasons motifs. The full-figure female images are still occasionally found on mosaics (Fig. 57), sarcophagi, and imperial coins at least until the end of the fifth century A.D.⁵ Alongside these, we also find full-length male images (Fig. 160), often depicted as Erotes.⁶ However, from the second century

² Most scholars state that the earliest reference to the four Seasons appears in Athenaeus' description of Philadelphus' Pompe at Alexandria (Athen. 5.198b). This date is challenged by E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983) 51, and M. Donderer, review of *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, by D. Parrish, *Gnomon* 62 (1990) 639, who claim that the four Seasons were mentioned more than a hundred years earlier.

³ For the Seasons motif in general, see *LIMC* V (Horai) 502-510 and (Horai/Horae) 510-538; also G.M.A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass. 1951). For representations on the mosaics of North Africa, see Parrish, *passim*; also Dunbabin (1978) 158-161, 186. For representations on the mosaics of Roman Britain see R. Ling, "The Seasons in Romano-British Pavements," *Britannia* 14, (1983) 13-22; also D.J. Smith, "Mythological figures and scenes in Romano British mosaics," in J. Munby and M. Henig eds., *Roman Life and Art in Britain* v. 1 (Oxford 1977) 129-32. For representations on the mosaics of Antioch, see Levi, esp. 36ff, 85ff, 161ff, 346ff.

⁴ *LIMC* V (Horai) 504-505 nos.20-32, 509; (Horai/Horae) 511 no. 1.

⁵ Hanfmann (*supra* n. 3) v.1, 136, 211.

⁶ Parrish 22-24.

A.D. onward, the most common method of representation, primarily on mosaics, is the bust form: female, male, and occasionally a mixture of the two.⁷ These figures may be naked or wearing tunics, they may have wings on their back (Fig. 157), and they may be shown alone or in association with another deity, such as Aion (Fig. 158), Neptune, Saturn, or most commonly, Dionysos. Moreover, the Seasons of this period are endowed with a great variety of attributes. Spring has roses, a goat, a hound, a peacock, or a pheasant (Figs. 153b, 157-58). Summer has a lion, a sickle, poppies, a crown of wheat, a partridge, or a parrot (Figs. 150, 153a, 157-58, 159c, 161). Autumn, the time of the grape harvest, is often assimilated to Dionysos and displays a Dionysiac figure or several Dionysiac attributes: a leopard, a bunch of grapes, a crown of grapes and grape leaves, a thyrsos, a pheasant, and occasionally a shepherd's crook and a nebris (Figs. 153c, 157-58, 159b, 162, 164). Winter is best distinguished by the heavy hooded cloak she/he wears, which is in great contrast to the other lightly dressed or nude Seasons (Figs. 157-59a, 163). She/he also has a boar, a duck, a reed, an olive branch or simply a branch devoid of any vegetation.⁸ These attributes are very important because they give the Seasons their individuality and allow the viewer to identify each figure easily. Their importance is demonstrated further by the occasional replacement of the Seasons by the attributes.

Dionysos and the Seasons in the mosaics of Greece

Dionysos and the Seasons enjoyed a close relationship from early times. This relationship appears to have been a great source of inspiration to ancient authors and artists alike, for references in both literature and art abound. It is therefore not possible to examine here every documented reference

⁷ Hanfmann claims that the earliest known representation of male and female Seasons in a bust form is found in a Pompeian house and therefore dates prior to A.D. 79: Hanfmann (*supra* n. 3) v. 1, 212. The earliest example on mosaics is found in Antioch, c. early second century A.D.: Levi, 36-38, Fig. 12.

⁸ These are the most common attributes of the Seasons, but occasionally a number of other attributes are found as well. For a list of known attributes, see Parrish, 25-42; also *LIMC* V (Horai/Horae) 534-35.

that demonstrates this relationship. It should be noted, however, that the earliest known representation where Dionysos and the three Horai appear in the same scene is the wedding procession of Thetis and Peleus on the François vase, c. 580-560 B.C.,⁹ while the earliest known illustration of the god and the four Seasons is a reconstructed Neo-Attic relief of the Hellenistic period.¹⁰ On mosaics, the relationship of Dionysos and the Seasons is not found until the early second century A.D. in North Africa and the Western Provinces. When it does appear, the Seasons are only occasionally shown as full-figure males or females. By far, the most common representations on mosaics are the youthful female and male figures in bust form. In Greece, archaeological evidence shows that the Seasons are as popular in the decoration of pavements from the imperial period there, as they are in the pavements of the other Roman provinces. And there too, as in the other provinces, the most common type is the bust form.¹¹

Representations of the Seasons appear in only two Dionysiac mosaics, both from Larisa (cat.

⁹ Florence Archaeological museum, inv. no. 4209; *ABV* 76; *LIMC* V (Horai) 508 no. 45. In this scene the Horai are shown in close proximity with Dionysos as they walk directly in front of him. However, as the scene contains many other figures as well, it is difficult to determine the exact relationship between Dionysos and the Horai on this occasion.

¹⁰ For the reconstruction and the proposed dates of this relief, see *LIMC* V (Horai) 505-506 nos. 22-23, Fig. 23; *LIMC* V (Horai/Horae) 511 no. 1. Also see Hanfmann (*supra* n. 3) vol. 1, 113, 131, 137; *ibid.* vol. 2, 137 nos. 23-24, Fig. 80.

¹¹ There are two known mosaics in Greece with representations of the three Horai: a) from Hypati, S. Rozaki, *ArchDelt* 38 (1983), chr. B², 176, Fig. 75a; *ead.*, "Οι Τρεις Χάριτες σε Ψηφιδωτό της Υπάτης," *AAA* 16 (1983) 132-141; Kankeleit, v.2, 69-70 no. 39. b) From Kasteli Kisamou, S. Markoulaki, "Οι Ὁρές και οι Εποχές από το Καστέλι Κισσάμου," *Κρητική Εστία* Δ 1 (1987) 33-58, Figs. 9-20; *ead.*, *CMGR* VI, 179-185, Figs. 4-6; *LIMC* V (Horai) 505 no. 18. In this pavement the three Horai decorate the central panel while panels with busts of the four Seasons are placed on the corners. For other representations of the four Seasons in non-Dionysiac context, see Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 221-24 nos. 8, 12, 13, 226 no. 17, 236-37 no. 36, and 229 n.2; *ead.*, (1972) 257-58, 265-78 Figs. 3-4. Also see Waywell (1979) 294-95 no. 2, 298 no. 23, 303 no. 52, and discussion on p. 319; *LIMC* V (Horai/Horae) 522 no. 104; Waywell (1983) 12, room E; H.G.G. Payne, "Archaeology in Greece, 1934-35. Crete" *JHS* 55 (1935) 164, Fig. 12; *LIMC* V (Horai/Horae) 524 no. 120. Also Åkerström-Hougen, 127-29 no. 11, pls. X-XI, col. pl. 8. To these we could possibly add two more pavements: a) from Nikopolis, Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 242-43 no. 49, Fig. 24b; Kankeleit, v.2, 202 no. 114. This is very fragmentary, but I am inclined to believe that the so-called head of Dionysos preserved in one of the corners is a personification of Autumn. b) from Chalkis, Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 251 no. 67, Fig. 30 a & b; Kankeleit, v.2, 39-42 no. 24. This is well preserved and allows a better evaluation. Here I believe that the two mask-like representations on the two corners are personifications of Autumn and Spring, while all four of the Seasons are represented by birds, characteristic of each Season.

29-30, Figs. 150-51, 153). To these we can add a third pavement from Knossos (cat. 24, Fig. 16), where various kinds of flora and fauna are thought to symbolize each Season. This method of seasonal representation is fairly common in the mosaics of North Africa and has led Parrish to include such pavements, under a separate category,¹² in his discussion of Seasons mosaics. Non-figural seasonal representations, however, are absent from Hanfmann's study as well as Casal's list of Horai/Horae representations in the *LIMC*. Their classification of the Seasons' iconography deals exclusively with personifications, and attributes are mentioned only when they are found in connection with them. So, clearly, scholarly opinion is divided as to how to treat non-figural seasonal representations, such as those of the Knossos mosaic and others like it. Can we place them under the heading of "Dionysos and the Seasons"? I think that the problem here rests primarily with the use and meaning of the terminology, rather than the iconography itself. For technically, when we refer to "the Seasons", the visual imagery that this terminology evokes is that of four human forms, male or female, each identified by an attribute. The use of distinctive attributes and personifications creates a clear and self-sustaining imagery that leaves no room for misunderstandings. Artists, however, perhaps for economic reasons, often chose to eliminate the human form and use attributes alone to evoke the Seasons. When properly used, this type of imagery can be just as effective. But technically, in the absence of the personifications, it cannot be referred to as "the Seasons" and therefore, it cannot be placed in the same category with them. Yet, the natural association of the animal and plant attributes with the Seasons allows us to discuss mosaics with this type of imagery alongside Seasons pavements, in the same way that we discuss masks or the vine within the context of Dionysiac iconography, although neither image is exclusively Dionysiac.¹³

¹² Parrish, 19-20.

¹³ Dunbabin (1978) 174.

The Knossos mosaic,¹⁴ frequently mentioned as an example of seasonal representation,¹⁵ falls under this category of pavements. Its composition follows Smith's so-called "Nine Panel" design.¹⁶ A bust of Dionysos contained within a central medallion and framed with guilloche is the pavement's focal point around which four semi-circular panels contain, clockwise, a partridge, a gallinule, a wood pigeon (?), and a peacock.¹⁷ The lozenge-shaped spaces between the central medallion and the semi-circles show, counter-clockwise, a sheaf of wheat for Summer, a bunch of roses for Spring, a branch of a vine with a cluster of grapes for Autumn, and an olive branch for Winter. The corners contain heads which are lacking attributes and are most likely masks.

The plants that decorate the lozenges follow the standard iconography of the flora and fauna associated with the Seasons. Their arrangement on the pavement, however, is not cyclical. Although the same arrangement is often found on the mosaics of North Africa and other regions,¹⁸ the majority of the seasonal representations appear in a chronological order and counter-clockwise around the pavement. At Knossos, starting with the olive branch of Winter in the lower left corner and moving counter-clockwise, we find that the wheat of Summer is placed ahead of the roses of Spring. More problematic are the species of fowl in the semi-circles. Two of these, the peacock and the partridge, are well-known attributes of Spring and Summer respectively and precede the floral attributes of these Seasons in the mosaic. This would indicate that the artist aimed to pair together the plant and bird symbolic of each

¹⁴ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp.50-51.

¹⁵ Waywell (1983) 12; *LIMC* V (Horai/Horae) 523 no. 114; Parrish, 28 n.76; Hanfmann (*supra* n. 3) v. 2, 156 no. 219.

¹⁶ D.J. Smith, "Roman mosaics in Britain before the fourth century," *CMGR* II, 276-281.

¹⁷ Parrish, 28 n. 76.

¹⁸ For this arrangement in the mosaics of North Africa, see Parrish, v. 2, nos. 8, 9, 38, 41, 48, 58 and 61. For a possible example in Cyprus, see Kondoleon 87ff., Figs. 45-46. In Roman Britain there are two possible examples of non-cyclical representations: Ling (*supra* n. 3) 17 nos. 8, 10. What is interesting in Britain, however, is that in the majority of the mosaics the Seasons are arranged clockwise.

Season. But the birds that follow the seasonal plants of Winter and Autumn, tentatively identified by Parrish as a gallinule and a wood-pigeon,¹⁹ are not commonly associated with these Seasons. In the mosaics of North Africa the purple gallinule is a common attribute for Spring, but not for Winter. Moreover, it is not at all certain that the birds depicted on the Knossos mosaic belong to these species. The poor quality of the black and white photograph at my disposal makes a positive identification very difficult. However, keeping in mind that what is true of North Africa may not necessarily be true of Greece as well, and allowing for regional and climatic differences, it is possible that the Knossos artist may have felt justified in using images of birds that were common during these seasons in his region. These images may not have followed closely the patterns in his copy book, but they were familiar to him. Yet, in spite of the discrepancy observed in the birds, the seasonal symbolism in the Knossos mosaic is quite strong.

The only Dionysiac pavements in Greece with clear personifications of the Seasons are the two late empire mosaics from Larisa. Unfortunately, their inadequate publication does not allow a proper comprehensive analysis. It appears, however, that the one pavement (cat. 30, Fig. 151-53) is rectangular in shape and consists of four square panels with *xenia* motifs on each of the short sides and a central square.²⁰ This is inscribed with two concentric circles, the smallest of which contains a bust of Dionysos. The corners between the circle and the square contain busts of the Seasons which are arranged in a cyclical and clockwise fashion, with Spring shown on the bottom left corner, Summer on the top left, and Autumn on the top right. Winter was depicted on the bottom right corner, but there is no trace of this image preserved.

All three female figures are frontal, wearing long-sleeved tunics, and show very small variations

¹⁹ Parrish, 28 n. 76.

²⁰ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 89-90.

in the arrangement of their hair, which is parted in the middle and pulled back, away from the face. The rendering is very schematic and cartoon-like and there is little to differentiate the one figure from the other. The main difference lies in the attributes that each carries and in the inscriptions that identify them. Spring, identified by the inscription EAP, is wearing a wreath of green leaves and has a bunch of flowers over one shoulder and a basket, also full of flowers, over the other. Summer wears a wreath of wheat and has a sickle on one side and a bundle of wheat on the other. She is also identified by inscription: ΘΕΡΟC. Autumn's inscription has not been preserved, but she is shown with a basket of fruit over the right shoulder. She is wearing a necklace made of beads. The combined imagery of the Seasons, Dionysos, and *xenia* motifs, which are usually interpreted as offerings for a guest, evoke a feeling of happiness and well-being. This combined imagery would be most appropriate for the decoration of a dining room. However, our limited knowledge of the architectural context of the pavement does not allow us to make this deduction.²¹

The second mosaic (cat. 29, Fig. 147-50) appears to be square in shape and contains a large square panel in the centre with a Dionysiac representation.²² This is framed by multiple geometric borders and an outer border of consecutive panels with figural representations: busts of the Seasons placed in square compartments on the corners and Erotes hunting wild beasts (lions, wild boars, and deer) in separate compartments in the intervening spaces.

Of the four Seasons only Summer is properly illustrated and can be discussed here. She is shown as a young female, in a full bust-form, where almost the entire torso is shown. She is wearing a sleeveless beige tunic and a necklace of blue and gold beads. Her light brown hair is wavy, parted in the middle and

²¹ A. Tziafalias, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) chr.¹ 219-20, suggests that the pavement most likely belonged to the *triclinium* of a large house. Although this is quite possible, he does not provide conclusive evidence either about the room or the building as a whole.

²² For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 88-89.

tied neatly at the back, allowing no loose strands to fall over the shoulders. She is wearing a crown of wheat and is identified by an inscription, ΘΕΡΟC, on the top left corner and a sickle. Here too the rendering of the figure is very schematic. Any attempt at modelling is abandoned and instead patches of colour are used to indicate the shaded right side of the face and neck, which is created by the slight turning of the head on that direction. Similarly the arms, locks of hair, and facial characteristics are boldly contoured by stripes of colour, and the only indication of the swelling of the breasts is provided by two brown stripes that extend from the shoulders to the waist. This treatment results in a flat figure which would have been very difficult to pick out from the off-white background that the artist used for the pavement, and very likely this is the reason why he chose to change the colour half-way down the panel and place the torso against a brown ground. This way he was able to introduce a hint of depth in the otherwise two-dimensional image.

This is the only pavement in Greece where the Seasons are shown in connection with an agricultural and rural setting.²³ As symbols of fertility, regeneration, prosperity, and good fortune,²⁴ they promote the message that the patron clearly wished to project: the great prosperity materialized through the cultivation of the vine in his estate. This prosperity was made possible by the Seasons and Dionysos, the god of vegetation and the vine in particular. For this good fortune bestowed upon them, the wealthy landlord and his wife apparently bring offerings of grapes to the altar of Dionysos and place themselves under his protection. The overall notion of well-being and rural life is reinforced further by images of the hunt, except here the human activity is transposed to the world of the divine, as the human hunters are replaced by young Erotes. It is possible that the hunting scenes in this pavement were meant to be interpreted as the special gifts of the Seasons, since the wild beasts depicted are commonly associated

²³ The most elaborate version of this type of pavement is the *Dominus Julius* mosaic from Carthage, now at the Bardo, Inv. 1: Dunbabin (1978) 119-21, pl.109; Parrish, 111-13 no. 9, pl.15.

²⁴ For the symbolism of the Seasons, see Parrish 13; also Dunbabin (1978) 158.

with them: the lion of Summer, the boar of Winter, and the deer of Spring.²⁵ In the absence of Autumn's leopard, however, the seasonal imagery in this case is not conclusive.

It becomes clear from this discussion that the two Dionysiac mosaics from Larisa, although different in their manner of composition, have a lot in common. For in both pavements the images of the Seasons are abstract representations which aim to supplement the image of Dionysos, as a god of vegetation, and to create a strong feeling of overall prosperity. Moreover, they were both produced in the same region and, although preliminary evaluations indicate that the two mosaics are separated chronologically by more than a hundred years, they were both produced in the late empire. The large chronological separation prevents us from assigning the two pavements to the same workshop. But at the same time the appearance of the only two mosaics with representations of the Seasons in Larisa tempt us to suggest that the motif may have been a favourite of local workshops over a period of time.

Before we conclude the discussion on the iconography of the Dionysiac mosaics with representations of the Seasons, reference should be made to the mosaic from Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 154-56). This large pavement is rich not only in colour but iconographic motifs as well. Most of these, such as "The Discovery of Ariadne" in the centre and the theatre panels on the border, are discussed extensively elsewhere.²⁶ What is important to this discussion are the two square panels, placed in the middle of each of the two preserved sides of the figural border. Each of the squares contains a medallion with a bust, which the excavator interpreted as male personifications of two of the Seasons: Summer and Autumn.²⁷ As such, Summer is described as being nude, wearing a wreath of vine leaves (?) and holding a sickle,

²⁵ A young Eros hunting a deer is shown also in the central panel of the Chalkis mosaic, surrounded by what I believe to be seasonal attributes: see *supra*, n. 11.

²⁶ For "The Discovery of Ariadne", see *supra*, pp. 158-78. For the theatre panels and the masks, see *infra*, 226-31, 241.

²⁷ Markoulaki (1990) 458-59.

while Autumn is said to be crowned with a wreath of vine leaves and holding a thyrsos. A close analysis of the two images, however, contradicts this theory and points to a case of mistaken identity. In the extensive iconographic repertory of the Seasons, Summer is always easily and clearly identified by the crown of wheat that she is wearing, while the vine is reserved exclusively for Autumn. And even though the pavement is not of the finest quality, it is very unlikely that the artist would depict a personification of Summer with anything else than its most typical attribute: the crown of wheat. The image of the nude male, therefore, cannot be that of Summer. It is the image of a young satyr wearing a wreath of vine and holding a pedom.

The second bust, described as a male personification of Autumn, is not in fact male at all. It is a female dressed in a white tunic, which is tied over the shoulders. Her hair is wavy, parted in the middle and tied at the back, with only a few strands falling over the left shoulder. She is wearing a simple wreath of what appears to be ivy and is holding a thyrsos. She is nothing more than a maenad.

A final point to be addressed in connection to the possible seasonal representation in this mosaic is that of the various species of fowl and beasts that are scattered around the central scene and may be thought to symbolize the Seasons. However, neither the fowl nor the beasts appear to be seasonally related, although three of the beasts, the deer, the lion, and the leopard are the legitimate attributes of Spring, Summer, and Autumn respectively. But there are no known parallels for the bull as an attribute of Winter. Therefore, we have to conclude that the choice of animal representations here is accidental rather than symbolic.

The association of the Seasons and Dionysos is very common on the mosaics of other regions of the ancient world.²⁸ In Greece, however, it is very limited and does not allow us to draw conclusions about the relationship of the Seasons and Dionysos in the mosaics of Greece. But if the mosaics of Larisa

²⁸ For references to mosaics from other regions, see *supra*, n. 3.

are any indication, it would appear that in Greece, as in North Africa, the association of the Seasons and Dionysos aims to project an image of fertility and regeneration, which in turn would evoke a feeling of prosperity and happiness.²⁹ These ideas were so deeply embedded in Roman belief that they were chosen to decorate not only the floors of the aristocracy in imperial times, but their final resting places as well.³⁰ Moreover, their perceived capability of bringing happiness and good fortune made the Seasons an important motif of imperial iconography,³¹ a fact which doubtless contributed to their prolonged popularity.

2. The Theatre

Background to Dionysos and the theatre

The preoccupation and fascination that ancient society had with the theatre is repeatedly demonstrated by archaeological remains. Initially found only on vases, scenes of theatrical performances and masks become an important component of the iconographic repertory of reliefs, terracottas, wall paintings, and mosaics in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.³² The widespread use of these motifs in all media is a good indication of the theatre's popularity among a wide cross-section of society. For although pottery and small terracottas were accessible to the less affluent segment of the population, large stone monuments, wall paintings, and mosaics were the prerogative of the rich. Dionysos' connection to the theatre is well-known and well-documented over a long period of time. That he was

²⁹ For more on this, see Dunbabin (1978) 186.

³⁰ For the Seasons on sarcophagi, see Hanfmann (supra n. 3) 3-72. For the Seasons on Dionysiac sarcophagi, see Matz, *Sarkophage*, v.4, 439-52 nos. 246-59.

³¹ Hanfmann (supra n. 3) 163-84.

³² For a general discussion of theatre imagery on artifacts, see Green (1991); *id.*, (1994); *id.*, (1995). Also Csapo & Slater, 53-78.

among the most prominent and one of the most public gods in Classical Greece is clearly demonstrated, first, by the number of state festivals held in his honour in Athens and many other regions of the Greek world and secondly, by the number of Dionysiac representations preserved primarily on pottery.³³ Dionysos, the god of the theatre *par excellence*, and the dramatic performances staged in the festivals, provided artists of the Classical period with a vast range of illustrative material to choose from for their artistic creations. As we move away from the Classical era into the Hellenistic and imperial periods we find that in spite of the profound changes that took place in the political structure, the state religion, and the overall expectations of public entertainment, the Classical image of Dionysos as god of the theatre remained strong in Greece and in most of the new Hellenistic kingdoms. Dionysiac festivals and dramatic competitions continued to be held in Athens³⁴ and other major centres well into imperial times and, in spite of the rise of the imperial cult and the festivals celebrated to honour the Hellenistic rulers and the Roman emperors, their importance hardly diminished in the Greek world. In Rome, on the other hand, following the suppression of the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C., Dionysos' presence in the official religious *milieu* abated and none of the major festivals celebrated in Rome, which included dramatic competitions, were celebrated in his honour.³⁵

Although our knowledge of festivals celebrated in Rome is adequate, the same cannot be said about drama, because our literary evidence here is limited and difficult to assess. Green, however, argues that the evidence from artifacts from c. 50 B.C.-A.D. 50 "suggests that performance of traditional theatre was hardly popular with the greater public",³⁶ which was attracted more to performances of mimes,

³³ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 491 nos. 818-58.

³⁴ *DFA*² 74, 91, 93.

³⁵ For a list of these festivals, see Csapo & Slater, 207ff.

³⁶ Green (1994) 145. Relevant to the evidence from artifacts is also Green's discussion on the provenance of artifacts according to region: *ibid.*, 146ff, Figs. 6.1 & 6.3.

pantomimes, and the great spectacles, such as chariot racing, *venationes*, and gladiatorial games. If this is true of Roman society, it does not appear to have had a major impact on Greek public life. For even though such activities took place also in the Greek world during the Empire, traditional theatre was a mainstay of Greek culture.

A slightly better documented sphere of theatrical activity is related to the private symposium, a practice which can be traced back to the Classical period.³⁷ In imperial times dinner theatre, following the trend in entertainment toward the spectacular, included a wide variety of shows: from traditional theatre, to mimes and pantomimes,³⁸ and to recitations of famous passages. It appears, however, that among all these, New Comedy, and Menander in particular, was a great favourite, as Plutarch's much quoted passage indicates: "New Comedy...is so bound up with symposia that you could more easily regulate the drinking without wine than without Menander" (*Quaest. conv* 7.8, 712B). It is therefore not surprising to find representations of the theatre decorating the walls and floors of *triclinia*, although often they amount to nothing more than masks tucked away in corners or, at most, decorating small individual panels. On different occasions we find scenes which seem to represent theatrical performances, but we cannot readily link them to a specific play or playwright. However, on a few rare occasions we are more fortunate. Inscriptions with the name of the author, the play, the names of the characters performed, and occasionally even the specific act of the play that is depicted, leave no doubt of their identification. Of the five fully published and clearly identifiable depictions of comedy, four

³⁷ C.P. Jones, "Dinner Theater," in W.J. Slater ed., *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 185-98.

³⁸ For mime and pantomime performances in general, see Csapo & Slater, 369-89. Also E.J. Jory, "Ars Ludicra and the *Ludus Talarius*," in A. Griffiths ed., *Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of E.W. Handley* (London 1995) 138-51; *id.*, "The Drama of the Dance: Prolegomena to an Iconography of Imperial Pantomime," in W.J. Slater ed., *Roman Theater and Society* (Ann Arbor 1996) 1-27.

come from plays of Menander and three of those appear on mosaics:³⁹ one in Bulgaria with a scene of the *Achaiot*,⁴⁰ one in Mytilene with scenes of the *Encheiridion*, the *Epitrepontes*, the *Kybernetai*, the *Leukadia*, the *Messenia*, the *Misoumenos*, the *Phasma*, the *Plokion*, the *Samia*, the *Synaristosai*, and the *Theophoroumene*,⁴¹ and one from Chania with a scene of the *Plokion* (cat. 3).⁴² Recently two more scenes from Menander's comedies were discovered in Crete, at Kasteli Kisamou.⁴³ The available information on these panels at the present time is minimal, but the excavator verifies that both scenes are identified by inscriptions and she indicates that scenes from the same plays appear on the wall paintings at Ephesos and on the Menander mosaic at Mytilene.

Theatrical representations from the imperial period do not always include Dionysos nor are always shown in connection with him. Often this connection is simply implied by virtue of the fact that Dionysos is the god of the theatre and the symposium, for instance, in the *triclinium* mosaic from the House of Menander at Mytilene. An alternative, although a less clear connection to the theatre, is shown in two mosaics of the imperial period from Antioch: the Discovery of Ariadne from the House of Dionysos and Ariadne,⁴⁴ and the Drinking Contest of Dionysos and Herakles, from the House of the

³⁹ The fourth group of representations with inscribed scenes of Menander's comedies decorate the walls of the so-called *Theaterzimmer* at Ephesos (Room SR 6 in apartment no. 1, House no. 2). It is richly decorated with scenes from tragedy and comedy identified by inscriptions, masks, mythological scenes, and other unidentifiable figures: see Strocka, *Ephesos* 8.1, 45-56, pls. 54-78; *MNC*³, v. 2, 6DP 1. The fifth representation is a miniature book illustration of Terence's *Phormio*, act 2, scene 3: Vaticanus Latinus 3868; L.W. Jones and C.R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence prior to the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton 1970) v. 1 & 2; Csapo & Slater, I 147, pl. 13.

⁴⁰ T. Ivanov, "Römische Mosaiken aus *Colonia Ulpia Oescensium*," *CMGR* IV, 155-64, pls. LXXXI - LXXXII; *MNC*³, v. 2, 6DM 1.

⁴¹ S. Charitonidis et al., *passim*; *MNC*³, v. 2, 6DM 2; Kankeleit, v.2, 191-96, no. 109.

⁴² Markoulaki (1990) 456-57, Figs. 60; *MNC*³, v. 2, 6DM 3.2.

⁴³ S. Markoulaki, "ΚΙΣΑΜΟΣ," *Κρητική Εστία* 5 (Chania 1994-96) 218.

⁴⁴ Levi, 141-49, pls. XXVII-XXIX.

Drinking Contest.⁴⁵ Both of these decorate *triclinia* and depict well-known Dionysiac stories, where Dionysos himself is the central figure. Similar representations are found elsewhere and, as a rule, there is nothing to connect them to the theatre. However, at Antioch the scenes are placed within an architectural framework which resembles the stage, and therefore the implication is that they may be representations of theatrical performances. Implications of this nature, however, are unnecessary in the mosaic of Chania, because this pavement is a rare example in mosaic iconography where Dionysos and a clearly defined theatrical scene appear together.

Theatrical motifs in the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor

The theatrical motifs in the mosaics of Greece can be divided into two groups:

- a) Scenes of theatrical performances.
- b) Masks.

Scenes from theatrical performances are rare. The only clear example is found on the mosaic of Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 166, 168-69). Masks, on the other hand, are commonplace and are found in a number of mosaics and in a variety of contexts.

Theatre scenes

I will start the discussion of theatre scenes on the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece with a mosaic from the House of the Masks at Delos (cat. 12, Fig. 165).⁴⁶ In this rectangular panel which decorates the smallest of the reception rooms of the house, a flautist is shown nude, seated on a rock (?) and playing the double pipes. The majority of the tesserae from the top of his head are missing, but enough are

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, 156-59, pls. XXX-XXXII.

⁴⁶ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 42-43.

preserved to indicate that he had black hair and was probably wearing a wreath of some sort. Next to him another figure is dancing to the sound of the pipes. His dancing position is clearly indicated by the contortion of the body, the movement of the arms (one raised in the air and the other placed on his waist), and the fact that he is on tip-toe. He is wearing a short greyish tunic with a blue stripe on the side, a yellow mantle tied around his waist and yellow *kothoroi*. His head, shown in three-quarter view, is turned to the right. He has a bushy beard, he appears to be bald, he is wearing a wreath, and he has a pointed left ear. All these characteristics combined point to one figure: Silenos. Chamonard, without hesitation, identified this figure as Silenos.⁴⁷ A few years later, Webster contradicted this theory and suggested instead that the figure was a slave of the type witnessed in New Comedy: the Μαῖσων Θεράπων.⁴⁸ We can only assume that Green and Seeberg, who revised Webster's edition, felt that this identification was wrong, since they have eliminated it from the catalogue.

Having established the identity of the dancer, we need to assess the theatrical content of this scene. Chamonard believed that it evokes satyr drama,⁴⁹ an idea which he then tried to tie into a theory of a unified theatrical context for the entire house.⁵⁰ Chamonard does not explain the reasons behind his deduction, but presumably it was based on the dancing figure of the satyr and the flute player, who was an important member of the chorus. These are without a doubt important components of satyr play, but the actual iconography of the Delos scene does not promote a theatrical setting. Starting with the flute player, from the early Classical period onward flute players were the most elaborately dressed individuals on stage. We find them primarily on vases, wearing a long ungirded tunic, heavily embroidered, with long

⁴⁷ *Delos XIV*, 34.

⁴⁸ *MNC²*, DM2.

⁴⁹ *Delos XIV*, 34.

⁵⁰ See discussion, *supra*, pp. 108-109.

sleeves (Fig. 89), as for instance, on an Attic red-figure *pelike* from c. 470 B.C. (Fig. 90),⁵¹ an Attic red-figure *calyx-krater* from c. 414 B.C. depicting a bird chorus and a piper,⁵² and the most celebrated late fifth century B.C. *volute-krater* by the Pronomos painter, depicting a satyr chorus.⁵³ Yet, the Delos flautist is stark naked, in total contrast with theatrical practice. And although we find nude boy-flautists in the iconography of the private symposium (which most likely reflects practices of the real symposium), it would be absurd to think that a nude flautist will appear on stage.

Moving on to Silenos, we find that he too does not display any of the well-known attributes associated with him in a theatrical context, such as a mask and the shaggy overalls. And although at a later date he is sometimes found wearing the overalls in contexts that do not readily evoke images of the theatre, the opposite is not true. At Delos, three statues of Silenos were found, all of which depict him wearing the shaggy overalls.⁵⁴ The only item in Silenos' appearance that evokes the theatre are the yellow *kothoroi* he is wearing.

So there is a great confusion of imagery in this scene, which does not permit us to place it firmly in the world of the theatre. If the artist's intention was to create an overall feeling of festivity, then he was certainly successful. But this is as far as we can take the notion of theatrical performance in this case.

The situation presents itself very differently in the mosaic of Chania (cat. 3, Figs. 95, 166, 168-69).⁵⁵ Here the preserved sections of the figural border contain three rectangular panels with theatre

⁵¹ Berlin-Charlottenburg Museum, inv. 3223; *ARV*² 586, 47. For a discussion of the theatrical context on this vase and further references, see Green (1994) 24-26, Fig. 2.6.

⁵² Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.83. This depiction is generally interpreted as a scene from Aristophanes' *Birds*. For further references and discussion on the iconography, see Green (1994) 29-30, Fig. 2.9; Csapo & Slater, 65-66 no. 132, pl. 5.

⁵³ Naples, Nat. Mus. inv. 81673 (H 3240); *ARV*² 1336, 1; J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena. Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1971) 480; T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ARV, ABV*, 2nd edn. (Oxford 1989) 365-66; *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 493 no. 835. Also see, Green (1994) 44, 84-85, Fig. 2.19; Csapo & Slater, 69-70 no. 137, pl. 8.

⁵⁴ Museum of Delos, inv. nos. A 4122, A 4123, A 4143.

scenes. Two of these are fragmentary and do not allow a clear iconographic evaluation. The third one is almost complete, with only a small section missing on the top left corner, which does not hinder its interpretation in any way.

The complete panel (Fig. 166) is located on the west side of the border, between the square panel with a depiction of a satyr, discussed above,⁵⁶ and another square panel on the corner, now destroyed. The scene consists of three figures rendered in light brown against an off-white ground. The treatment is linear and the only sense of depth is provided by darker stripes of brown and black that are used to outline the folds and divisions of the drapery. On the right stands a female, wearing a long dress and a mask, who is gesturing vividly to the figure in the middle. In doing so, her whole body is moving toward the centre. The middle figure is a young male who is shown seated on a stool. He is also wearing a mask and is dressed in a full garment, short enough to allow us a glimpse of his boots. He is gesturing toward the figure on the left, but his head is turned back, looking at the female on the right. The third figure, on the left side of the panel, is an old man wearing a long full gown and a mask. In the left hand he is holding a staff, while the right is crossed in front of his chest. He is also partly turned and looking at the figure in the middle, which leads to the conclusion that whatever the argument at hand is, it is directed toward the seated young man.

It is an animated scene, clearly identifiable as one of Menander's comedies by the inscription placed between the female on the right and the seated man in the centre: ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ. From surviving fragments of this play and the inscriptions that are preserved on another scene of the ΠΛΟΚΙΟΝ on the *triclinium* mosaic from the House of Menander at Mytilene (Fig. 167)⁵⁷ we can identify the three figures

⁵⁵ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 73-74.

⁵⁶ *supra*, pp. 218-19.

⁵⁷ Charitonidis et al., 31-33.

as ΛΑΧΗΣ, the father, ΚΡΩΒΥΛΗ, the mother, and ΜΟΞΙΩΝ, the son. The figures are the same on both the Chania and the Mytilene panels, even though their arrangement and rendering is quite different. At Mytilene all three figures are standing, the mother on the right, the father in the middle, and the son on the left. The attention in this scene is directed to the mother, who is standing quietly, looking back at her husband. He is addressing her, with one hand stretched out toward her, while the son is quietly witnessing the exchange. Inscriptions identify the scene as act B' of *Plokion* (ΠΛΟΚΙΟΥ Μ Β). Furthermore, the three figures are rendered in bright colours and great detail. On the Chania mosaic, on the other hand, the two-tone colouring, the more schematic rendering of the figures, and their smaller size,⁵⁸ do not allow as many details to emerge. In spite of that we can clearly determine that Laches is wearing the *pallium*, the full-length long-sleeved garment, associated in both literature and art with father figures.⁵⁹ His fatherly image and old age are further emphasized by the staff that he is holding with the left hand⁶⁰ and by the colour of his hair. As an old man, Laches has white hair, which is clearly shown at Mytilene with the use of white tesserae. At Chania this distinction is made by rendering his hair in the same light brown colour as the rest of the figure and contrasting it with the hair of his young son and wife which is rendered in black.

Krobyle is portrayed as a young woman with black hair which is parted in the middle and pulled back, with only a few strands falling over her shoulder. The facial characteristics are very schematic, but

⁵⁸ The Chania Plokion panel is rectangular and measures approximately 0.59 x 1.07 m, while the Mytilene panel is near-square and measures 0.74 x 0.71 m: Charitonidis et al., 27 n.6.

⁵⁹ L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of Ancient Romans* (1938) 78-84. Also Charitonidis et al., 74-76. They clearly identify seven old men on six of the twelve theatrical scenes at Mytilene, on the basis of their costume which is identical in all of them. The same costume is also worn by the father on the well-known relief of Naples (Naples 6687) and on a wall painting from Pompeii with a depiction of Menander's *Epitrepontes*. For the Naples relief, see Green (1985) 466-67, pl. 52, Fig. 1; also Bieber, p.92, Fig. 324. For the Pompeian wall painting, see Bieber, p.93, Fig. 327.

⁶⁰ The staff is commonly found in connection with old men. Six such figures on the Mytilene panels hold a straight staff, while a seventh, on the *Encheiridion* panel, is holding what looks more like a pedum. This is paralleled in the painting from Pompeii: supra, n. 59.

they seem to follow closely the description of the text, where the disenchanted husband describes her as having a nose one cubit long.⁶¹ Her dress consists of a long-sleeved undergarment, a full-length, short-sleeved tunic, and a mantle, worn in the same way that her husband wears his: under the right arm, behind the back, and over the left shoulder. This arrangement covers the left arm completely, but leaves the right one free to gesture to her son and her husband. Her shoes are rendered in the same brown colour used for the rest of the figure.

Moschion is wearing a long-sleeved undergarment, with a short-sleeved high girded tunic over it and a mantle draped over the left shoulder. Because he is seated, it is difficult to determine the exact length of his tunic. However, it is obvious that it is not full-length because we can clearly see his white boots and part of the legs. So most likely, his tunic, as well as the undergarment, would have reached to the middle of the calf.⁶² His hair is black, pulled back from the face, with strands falling over the shoulders.⁶³

The *Plokion* scene on the Chania and Mytilene mosaics raises interesting questions, for although the two scenes have a number of elements in common, they also display important differences in the actual arrangement of the figures on the panel and in the obvious shift of emphasis from the young son at Chania to the mother at Mytilene. These differences create the impression that we are looking at two different episodes from the same play, which the ancient viewer may have been able to recognize.

⁶¹ *Plokion*, frag. 402, line 12. The facial characteristics follow closely those of the Mytilene Krobyle as well. Kahil believes that the mask is similar, although not identical, to Pollux' mask no. 31 of the *λεκτική*, the chatterbox: Charitonidis et al., 71-72, 72 n. 2.

⁶² Moschion's costume is considerably different from that of the young man in the Mytilene scene, as well as those in at least four more theatre scenes with depictions of young men on the same mosaic. At Mytilene, Moschion wears a full-length undergarment, a mid-calf-length blue tunic, and a blue mantle: Charitonidis et al., 31, 76.

⁶³ Moschion's mask is the same in the Mytilene scene. There is an attempt to classify the "νεανίσκοι" masks on the Mytilene mosaic according to the types set out by Pollux, where "νεανίσκοι" were differentiated according to the colour of their skin and hair: Charitonidis et al., 66-69. Such distinction is impossible to make at Chania. The best that we do here is to differentiate between the old and the young.

For us, given the fragmentary state of the text, it is almost impossible to point to a particular episode with any degree of certainty. For the Mytilene scene two hypotheses have been presented: either that Laches accuses Krobyle of doing away with his slave girl, or that he defends his son against the matrimonial plans that Krobyle has for him.⁶⁴ Following these suggestions, Markoulaki presents the same hypotheses for the Chania scene.⁶⁵

Similar differences have been identified on representations of other comedies by Menander, such as the *Synaristosai* and the *Theophoroumene*, the earliest examples of which are seen on the Pompeian mosaics by Dioskourides of Samos.⁶⁶ Scenes from both of these plays appear also at Mytilene, where, however, the *Synaristosai* scene is shown in mirror-image. In the *Theophoroumene* the figures have been re-arranged in a manner which suggested to scholars, such as Handley and Erika Simon, that a different episode of the play is depicted.⁶⁷ More recently Csapo, following Green, has argued against this suggestion and, instead, proposed that, on the one hand, a specific group of paintings from the Hellenistic period served as archetypes for the Menandrian representations, and on the other, that the scenes on the Mytilene mosaic do not show a different episode of the play.⁶⁸ He argues that the Mytilene scenes derive from the same set of archetypes, but the mosaicist here, aiming to create a homogeneous and balanced pavement, manipulated the existing images in his copybook by reversing and rearranging the figures in the scenes. His theory extends to the Mytilene *Plokion* scene, in which, he believes, the

⁶⁴ Charitonidis et al., 33.

⁶⁵ Markoulaki (1990) 457.

⁶⁶ Green (1985); Csapo & Slater, 143-44, p.73-75.

⁶⁷ E. W. Handley, "Notes on the *Theophoroumene* of Menander," *BICS* 16 (1969) 88-101; E. Simon, "Menander in Centuripe," *SBFrankfurt* 25.2 (1989) 45-61. Also, *MNC*³, v. 1, p. 94, XZ 39.

⁶⁸ Green (1985) 465-66; Green (1994) 111-12, 164-65; E. Csapo, "Mise-en-scène théâtrale, scène de théâtre artisanale: les mosaïques de Ménandre à Mytilène, leur contexte sociale et leur tradition iconographique," in B. Le Guen ed., *De la Scène aux Gradins. Théâtre et Représentations Dramatiques après Alexandre* (Toulouse 1997).

same distortion of the imagery has taken place. Csapo's argument is convincing, especially when applied to the *Theophoroumene*, which is the most frequently illustrated play and of which seven copies survive.⁶⁹ In the case of the *Plokion* scene, other than the Mytilene panel, the only known example is that on the Chania mosaic, which is dated to c. mid third century A.D. Following Csapo's theory that the Menandrian scenes on the Mytilene mosaic have been subjected to varying degrees of alterations, we may then suggest that the Chania scene may be a copy of a lost original, possibly a painting archetype that Csapo postulates. In the absence of earlier examples, however, we are on a shakier ground here than we are with the *Theophoroumene* scenes, because we cannot be certain of how closely the Chania scene may be following earlier representations of the *Plokion*.

In addition to the *Plokion* scene, two more fragmentary scenes are shown on the border of the Chania pavement. On the same side with the *Plokion* panel, the right corner of a scene reveals two thirds of the body of a male figure, who appears to be wearing a cap over his dark hair (Fig. 169). His tunic is a blue/green colour and it appears to have long sleeves, a belt around the waist, and a dark decorative stripe halfway down the skirt. A reddish mantle is thrown over his left shoulder and covers completely the left arm. The figure, shown in three-quarter view, is turned partly to the left and is clearly gesturing to a now lost figure. It is very likely that this scene too was from one of Menander's plays and it was probably also inscribed. In the absence of any other information, scholars have been trying to match the half preserved image of this scene with some of the other scenes which are better preserved and identified by inscriptions. In this case the parallels are drawn not from the mosaic panels of Mytilene, but from the wall paintings of Ephesos (Fig. 170).⁷⁰ Markoulaki suggests that the male figure may be Polemon, the

⁶⁹ Csapo (supra n. 68) 173.

⁷⁰ For the paintings, see supra, n. 39.

soldier from Menander's play *Perikeiromene*.⁷¹ Green on the other hand sees a closer similarity with the scene of the *Sikyonioi* from Ephesos.⁷² I would agree that as far as the stature, gesturing, and the garment are concerned, the two figures are similar. But the Ephesos figure does not appear to be wearing a cap, which is the basis of Green's identification of the Chania figure as a soldier. He claims that the cap that the figure is wearing may be a *pileus*, which was appropriate for a soldier in the fourth century.

The last partial representation of a theatre scene is on the south side of the border, immediately after the maenad panel (Fig. 168). Here a nude young man is shown on the left wearing only a cloak. This appears to be tied over the left shoulder and it acts as a backdrop to the nude body. His hair is dark but it is difficult to tell if he is wearing a mask. In the left hand he is holding a long staff (or possibly a spear) that rests on his shoulder. In the right hand he is holding an unidentifiable object, which he appears to be presenting to a figure seated in front of him. The head of this figure is missing and it is not possible to determine if it is a male or a female. It is dressed in a full-length garment and seated on a stool. The legs are crossed at the ankles and the feet rest on a cushion (?). The right side of the panel is completely destroyed. The scene is unparalleled and obscure and therefore any speculation about its context would be pointless.

Masks

The mask was the most important equipment used on stage because it concealed the identity of the actor and allowed him to assume the personality of the character that he was impersonating. As a result, a series of masks developed for each type of drama: tragedy, satyr play, comedy, and at a later date, pantomime. Each one of these masks had specific features which allowed the character to be

⁷¹ Markoulaki (1990), 457.

⁷² Green (1994) 164; *MNC*³, v. 2, 6DM 3.1, 6DP 1.1, and v. 1, p. 94, XZ 36. For the *Sikyonioi* at Ephesos, see also *Ephesos* 8.1, 48, Fig. 64; *MNC*³, v. 1, p. 93, XZ 32.

recognized easily. Moreover, each had an enlarged open mouth and eyes, which enabled the actor to talk and move freely on the stage. But even when found on its own, the mask could readily evoke images of the theatre and, as an extension, of the world of Dionysos. It became "a vehicle through which to approach the theatre and the Dionysiac".⁷³ On account of this and the adaptability of the motif to different media and compositions, the mask became one of the most common motifs in iconography, and Dionysiac iconography in particular.

Existing discussions of theatrical representations have demonstrated that depictions of masks on artifacts from the Classical and Hellenistic periods are clearly recognizable theatre types, primarily from Middle and New Comedy.⁷⁴ The earliest known example of Comedy masks on mosaics come from the Altar Room of Palace V at Pergamon.⁷⁵ Some changes, however, take place in the Hellenistic period as the pierced eyes are gradually replaced with small circular openings which take the place of the iris and the pupil of the eye.⁷⁶ As we move into the imperial period there is a steady decline in the production of objects with clear theatrical representations. This is noticeable from the mid first century A.D. onward, when depictions of masks move away from their specific theatrical character to become a generalized, largely decorative motif, whose function is to evoke feelings of festivity and happiness.⁷⁷ Dionysiac masks fall largely under this category, as most of them are of a non-specific character. And while some maintain the open mouth, which connects them to stage practice, most are given normal features.

Mask representations on the Dionysiac mosaics in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor follow these trends fairly closely and therefore, we can divide them into two groups:

⁷³ Green (1994) 137.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 99ff.

⁷⁵ Salzmann (1991) 436-35; *MNC*³, v. 2, 120 no. 2DM 1.

⁷⁶ *MNC*³, v.1, 3.

⁷⁷ Green (1994) 147-48.

- a) Theatre Masks. These are masks that clearly reflect the actors of a specific type of drama (cat. nos. 3, 8, 11, 31, 35, 37).
- b) Dionysiac Masks. These are found alongside Dionysos and they are non-theatrical (cat. nos. 4, 16, 24, 26).

Theatre Masks

The first example to be examined in this group is a Hellenistic *emblema* from Rhodes (cat. 37, Fig. 171).⁷⁸ First it is necessary to clarify the identity of the character that is depicted. Konstantinopoulos initially believed that this was a mask of Silenos, an identification which he changed at a later date to that of a theatrical mask.⁷⁹ He does not state what type of a theatrical mask he believes this to be, but I think it is reasonable to assume that in this he follows Webster, who identified it as a mask of a fat-faced slave.⁸⁰ Guimier-Sorbets and Barbet, on the other hand, continue to believe that this is a Silenos mask.⁸¹ Indeed, the beautiful full wreath of ivy and the exceptional quality of the panel invite us to believe that this is a depiction of the leader of Dionysos' thiasos, instead of a fat slave. The existing iconography, however, does not support the Silenos image, who is traditionally shown with a long beard and the trademark of his satyr nature, the pointed ears. In the *emblema* from Rhodes the beard is short and stylized and the right ear appears to be normal. In fact, the tip of the ear is covered by a loose strand of hair, a mistake that an experienced mosaicist would not have made, if his intention was to depict a satyr. Moreover, the colour of the hair, seen clearly on the top of the head and on the strands that escape from

⁷⁸ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁹ G. Konstantinopoulos, *Αρχαία Ρόδος* (Athens 1986) 148.

⁸⁰ *MNC*² 299, YM 1; *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 4b.

⁸¹ *CMGR* IV, 26.

under the wreath, conforms to the description of slaves who, according to Pollux, had reddish hair.⁸² To this we should also add the archaeological evidence from the late Hellenistic period which indicates that one of the most popular mask-types is that of slaves.⁸³ Webster's identification therefore is the only one that applies to this mask and the one that I have adopted in this discussion.

Webster, and after him Green and Seeberg, catalogued the mask from Rhodes as an example of Pollux' comic slave mask no. 27: the Wavy-Haired Leading Slave.⁸⁴ As the name implies, common representations of this type have wavy or loose hair and sideburns. But the imagery is not always consistent. The Rhodes example is a variation of this type, in that it has no sideburns. And although the basic facial characteristics are the same as those of mask no. 27, Green and Seeberg have rightly pointed out that the Rhodes mask shows a younger, healthier, and more cheerful character.⁸⁵ The same characteristics appear on an almost identical example from Rome (Fig. 172)⁸⁶ dating to the same general period, and on two later mosaics, one from Ampurias and one from Centocelle.⁸⁷ Naturally, the similarity of these panels raises again the question of a common original and again reinforces our belief in the existence of copy books.

We see a different concept in the use of theatre masks in floor decoration at Delos, in the late Hellenistic period, where groups of New Comedy masks are placed in floral borders. The first example

⁸² Pollux, *Onomasticon* IV, 143-54. For a discussion on the colour of slaves' hair and slave masks in general, see D. Wiles, *The Masks of Menander* (Oxford 1991) 165-71.

⁸³ Green (1994) 139-40; *MNC*³, v.1, 60-61.

⁸⁴ *MNC*³, v. 1, 32-33. For a list of Pollux' New Comedy masks, see *MNC*³, v. 1, 6-51; Csapo & Slater, 400-401.

⁸⁵ *MNC*³, v. 1, 33.

⁸⁶ *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 4a; Bieber, Fig. 329.

⁸⁷ *MNC*³, v. 2, 4XM 1a&b.

comes from the *oikos* of the House of the Masks (cat. 11, Figs. 173-74).⁸⁸ Here at each end of the central geometric carpet a rectangular border contains five masks with a garland of ivy festooned around each image. Classification of these mask-types cannot be achieved as easily here as in the Rhodes *emblema*, because the iconography in some cases is unclear, the quality of the mosaic is inferior, and scholars' attempts to find an exact parallel for each mask in Pollux' list are often frustrated.⁸⁹ This has precipitated a number of interpretations for some of the masks and created confusion. However, the latest and most up-to-date evaluation of the masks⁹⁰ assigns them to the following types: on the right border is a Leading Slave (no. 27), a damaged mask that may be an older woman (no. 28), an old man (no. 7), a youth (no. 15), and another old man (no. 3). On the left border is a mature male (no. 4?), a youth (no. 11?), another mature male (no. 4?), a bald old man (no. 8), and a slave (no. 22).

When confronted with a group of masks such as we find in this house, the question arises whether the selection was haphazard, or whether there was an attempt to refer to a particular play through the depiction of its main characters that are embodied in the masks. Since in this case there is no inscription that can provide an easy identification, we have to look for evidence at the preserved texts of New Comedy. All of these, regardless of the playwright, appear to follow a general pattern, in that they all contain at least four of the five character groups, i.e. old men, young men, male servants, old women, and young women.⁹¹ Of these the least popular are old women, but no play can exist without a young female. The importance of young women in New Comedy is made very clear by the fourteen

⁸⁸ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, p. 42.

⁸⁹ For problems concerning Pollux as a source of evidence for theatre practices, see *MNC*³, v. 1, 6-8. Also *DFA*² 177ff; Csapo & Slater, 393.

⁹⁰ *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 5. For earlier interpretations, see *Delos XIV*, 26-32; *Delos XXIX*, 246-51. Also *MNC*² 20, DM 1.

⁹¹ For a discussion of the groups of characters used in New Comedy, see Wiles, *supra* n. 82, 74ff. Also J.M. Walton and P.D. Arnott, *Menander and the Making of Comedy* (Westport, Connecticut 1996) 97-117.

different types of masks used for their portrayal,⁹² compared to the second most popular type, that of young men who have only eleven masks.⁹³ When we compare the group of masks from each border in the House of the Masks with the general trend that governs the plot of the plays, we find that the assemblage does not conform to this trend. For apart from the difficulties in identifying clearly some types, the left border contains no female figures, while the right border may contain an elderly female, though the identification is not at all certain in view of the severe damage to the pavement in this section. As a result, any suggestion, however hypothetical, of a relation between these masks and a specific play is impossible.

On the second mosaic from Delos from the *oikos* of the Îlot des Bijoux (cat. 8, Figs. 176-80) masks are placed in a floral border that frames the entire pavement.⁹⁴ Parts of the border have been destroyed, but the preserved sections show an elaborate floral garland of oak and laurel leaves, loaded with acorns and tied with ribbons. *Bucrania*, placed diagonally on each corner, are also decorated with ribbons. As the pavement is rectangular, each of the long sides contains three masks placed at regular intervals, while the short sides have two masks each.⁹⁵ Of the ten masks, only five are completely preserved and two are partly preserved. The other masks are lost. As in the previous mosaic, here too there is uncertainty and dispute about the identification of some of the masks. Green and Seeberg agree with Bruneau on three occasions: mask number four (an old man), number seven (a slave, Fig. 178), and

⁹² *MNC*³, v. 1, p. 39-51 masks 31-44.

⁹³ *MNC*³, v. 1, p. 16-25 masks 10-20.

⁹⁴ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 43-44.

⁹⁵ Green and Seeberg (*MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 6) suggest that on one of the long sides which faced the entrance, the central mask may have been eliminated, therefore bringing their total number down to nine. Since this section of the pavement is destroyed, anything we may say is hypothetical. However, I find it unlikely that the artist would have worried about the guests stepping on a mask enough to break the symmetry of the border. I am therefore inclined to agree with Bruneau who believes that there were ten masks altogether: *Delos XXIX*, 160-65.

number eight (another old man, Fig. 177). And while mask number two is debatable, there is a total disagreement about the types of masks depicted with number one (Fig. 179), three, and six (Fig. 180).⁹⁶

Green and Seeberg, following Webster, suggest that mask number one may be that of a young man (Fig. 179).⁹⁷ Bruneau initially espoused this idea as well, but at a later date he changed his mind and suggested instead that the overall treatment of the facial characteristics indicates that this is a portrait and not a mask. Accordingly, he suggested that this may be the portrait of the playwright who leads a series of theatrical representations, in the same role that we find Menander's portrait in the Mytilene mosaic.⁹⁸ My observations of this image lead me to support Bruneau's theory, in so far as the rejection of the mask theory is concerned. The features of this youthful male with a dreamy look in his eyes are far too delicate to belong to a mask: the eyes are small and soft, the pupils appear natural, and the mouth is only slightly open to reveal a row of teeth. But the theory that this may be the image of the playwright, or Menander in particular, will have to be considered as possible but inconclusive.

The identification of mask number three is also very confusing, because the depiction is slightly damaged and not very clear. Bruneau suggests that this is a mask of a young man,⁹⁹ but Green and Seeberg suggest that it is an old man.¹⁰⁰ An even greater confusion surrounds mask number six (Fig. 180). This is a very interesting example of a youthful figure with a straight long nose and long black hair, partly concealed by a wreath of vine leaves and grapes. A fillet runs along the forehead with the ends

⁹⁶ In the numbering of the masks I follow Bruneau and Green who list the masks clockwise, starting at the left of the entrance. Today, as the mosaic is displayed on the wall of the Delos museum (Fig. 176), mask number one is seen on the top border of the mosaic.

⁹⁷ *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 6.1.

⁹⁸ *Delos XXIX*, 160, 163 & n. 2. This idea also finds support with Kahil and Ginouvés, who studied the Mytilene mosaic, and with P.G.P. Meyboom, "A Mosaic Portrait at Delos?" *BABesch* 54 (1979) 111-14, who suggests that this may actually be Menander.

⁹⁹ *Delos XXIX*, 163.

¹⁰⁰ *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 6.3.

hanging on either side of the face. Bruneau believes that this is a satyr mask, possibly on account of the wreath, which he describes as ivy.¹⁰¹ Webster, on the other hand, suggested that this may be an image of a *hetaira*, a suggestion that finds some support from Green and Seeberg, who alternatively suggest that it may be Dionysos.¹⁰² So clearly, nothing can be said with any real conviction. I would venture to suggest, however, that the long curly hair and possibly the earrings (?) point to a female figure, while the vine and the grapes of the wreath point to the world of Dionysos. Therefore, this may in fact be the image of a maenad.

This type of floral border with theatre masks was a popular form of floor and wall decoration and has parallels on the mosaics of Pompeii (Fig. 81),¹⁰³ and Palermo, Sicily,¹⁰⁴ and on wall paintings.¹⁰⁵ Green has theorized that this is an adaptation of a tradition from Classical Athens, where winning actors dedicated their masks in the sanctuary of Dionysos and celebrated their victory with a feast.¹⁰⁶ In that context, the masks hanging on the walls of the sanctuary became synonymous with festivity and happiness. By the late Hellenistic period this imagery found its way into the decorative scheme of the private symposia. The aim here was to evoke the sanctuary of Dionysos and therefore provide a proper setting for the symposium.¹⁰⁷ Seen in this context, then, we should not be surprised that the groups of masks in these mosaics do not appear to refer to a particular play. For the artist's preoccupation here was

¹⁰¹ *Delos XXIX*, 164.

¹⁰² *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 6.6.

¹⁰³ *MNC*³, v. 2, 3NM 2 a&b; 3NM 3. Also see Blake (1930) 129-31, 137-38.

¹⁰⁴ *MNC*³, v. 2, 4SM 1. Also see, D. von Boeselager, *Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien* (Rome 1983) 47 ff, pls. 11-13, Figs. 21-26.

¹⁰⁵ *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DP 1.

¹⁰⁶ Green (1994) 78-79, 81-82, 103; Green (1982) 237-48.

¹⁰⁷ For more on this, see Green (1994) 103.

not to evoke a real performance but rather to allude to one. This was all that was needed to create a festive setting.

One of the most impressive mosaics with theatrical masks comes from Pergamon (cat. 35, Fig. 181).¹⁰⁸ This dates to the end of the first - early second century A.D. and is considerably different from the Hellenistic examples, not only in composition, but in content as well. Here ten of the twelve masks of the pavement are theatrical and two are Dionysiac. Of the theatrical masks six are from comedy and depict a slave, an old man with white hair and beard, a cook, an old woman with a screwed-up face and wavy hair, a Papposilenos, and a young woman with dark hair parted in the middle.¹⁰⁹ The next four masks, all facing to the direction of the back wall, are from tragedy. They depict two males and two females. The one male is an old man with shallow cheeks, white hair and beard, but no *onkos*. The other male appears to be younger and also to have a beard. Above his forehead, a curious attachment that looks like a leopard face, is held in place by straps that are tied behind his head. The two females are both young, they both appear to have dark hair and, unlike the males, they both have a high *onkos*. The first girl has smooth hair, parted in the middle and locks of hair that frame the face. She wears a fillet. The second girl has wavy hair, which is also parted in the middle with hanging locks. Finally, the last two masks depict Pan and a maenad wearing an ivy wreath. These, in contrast to the other masks, appear to have normal eyes and mouth.

All these masks are placed around the perimeter of the mosaic and enclose four animal depictions: two felines, a tiger and a leopard, and two cocks. The felines are connected with Dionysos and therefore we can be sure that their depiction here was not accidental. On the contrary, it can be seen as an infusion of Dionysiac imagery, which combined with the masks of Pan, the maenad, and

¹⁰⁸ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁹ *MNC*³, v. 2, 5DM 2.

Papposilenos, evoke a strong feeling of Dionysism. And this is one of the major differences between this mosaic and the previous examples which contain virtually no Dionysiac imagery; their connection to the god is established only through the theatre's natural association to him. At Pergamon, however, the theatrical and Dionysiac elements receive equal attention and even though Dionysos is not shown in person, his image as god of the theatre is firmly established through his followers and his emblems.

An additional point of interest raised by the iconography of this mosaic is that of the rendering of the masks. Green has argued on several occasions that representations of masks in a wide range of media produced in the late Hellenistic and imperial times echo early Hellenistic types.¹¹⁰ But while in some cases the older tradition in theatrical costume is observed, in most cases the late Hellenistic and imperial renderings are updated versions of the earlier imagery. The degree of the change, however, varies from one item to the other. It can be intentional or unintentional and it can be an accurate rendition of contemporary practices or simply a partial infusion of contemporaneity to an old motif.¹¹¹ The Pergamon masks, Green claims, are "careful up-datings of early Hellenistic types and are evidence for a sophistication in theatre history and practice".¹¹² As such they are very valuable to our understanding of theatrical tradition and evolution. But they are also valuable because they indicate to us that the evolution of theatrical practices spread outside the theatre and permeated the iconographic repertory and the copy books of mosaicists.

In contradiction to almost everything said so far in this discussion stand two groups of four masks each, one from Chania (cat. 3, Fig. 175) and the other from Melos (cat. 31, Fig. 25). At Chania

¹¹⁰ Green (1994) 136ff.

¹¹¹ For a discussion of these aspects, see Green (1994), especially p. 164 ff. Also, Green (1985), where he clearly demonstrates the extent and accuracy in the transmission of motifs, using as examples Dioskourides' of Samos mosaics of the *Synaristosai* and the *Theophoroumene* and comparing them with the depiction of the plays from Mytilene.

¹¹² Green (1994) 165.

the masks are placed in the small triangular spaces created by the intersecting squares and the circle within which they are contained.¹¹³ They are clearly female and their open mouth and average size *onkos* assigns them to the world of the theatre. But no clear distinction can be made amongst them, nor can they be assigned to a particular character-type. In this case any implication of a specific theatrical content must be eliminated. Their function here is primarily decorative. The same applies to the masks in the mosaic of Melos which are placed on the corners of the second panel.¹¹⁴ Here the artist has made some effort to differentiate between character-types, but the final result is unclear. Furthermore, it is hindered by the damage and repairs to which the pavement has been subjected. When viewed within the context of the overall pavement, however, it should be acknowledged that, small as they are, these masks help us to formulate our ideas about the use and meaning of theatre masks in the decoration of domestic spaces. For although the decorative use of theatre masks cannot be disputed at any given period, in the Hellenistic and early imperial mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor the mask had a character of its own, which was meaningful to the viewer. By the third or early fourth century, when the Melos and Chania pavements were produced, this character was lost and with it its original meaning was lost too.

Dionysiac Masks

Dionysiac masks, as the name implies, refer exclusively to members of the Dionysiac cortege. Some of these, such as satyr masks, derived from satyr play for which they were initially produced. Occasionally satyr masks are found in a theatrical context, such as satyr play and comedy, and alongside actor-figures, as we saw in the Pergamon mosaic.¹¹⁵ But satyr masks are found more commonly in non-

¹¹³ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 73-74.

¹¹⁴ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 68-69.

¹¹⁵ *supra*, pp. 239-40.

dramatic contexts along with masks of other members of the thiasos and even Dionysos himself, and they are non-theatrical.

In the mosaics of Greece the vast majority of Dionysiac masks belong to satyrs. With their snub noses, slanted eyes, and pointed ears, these characters are very colourful and easy to identify. We usually find more than one in a pavement in a variety of compositions. At Knossos (cat. 24, Fig. 16) satyr masks decorate the triangular spaces in the corners.¹¹⁶ They are young, with satyr ears, closed mouth, and dishevelled hair, which captures their wild nature perfectly. But they are all the same. No major distinctions can be made from one to another. The same probably applies to the two satyr masks from the *triclinium* mosaic at Chania (cat. 4, Figs. 154, 184),¹¹⁷ although the damage that one of the masks has suffered does not allow a proper comparison. All that remains from this mask is the lower section, which reveals a long shaggy beard. The other mask, most of which is preserved, shows a satyr with the same shaggy beard, open mouth with red lips, a snub nose, arched eyebrows, and a bald head. The mask is placed on a slant, resting against a *tympanon*. The other mask is also shown in the same slanted position, but we cannot be sure what, if anything, stood behind it. The colour of the beard in both cases is dark, mixed with a few light grey strands. This and the baldness of the one mask point to the representation of a middle-aged satyr. But beyond this, nothing more can be said about them.

A better distinction can be made in the mosaic of Koroni (cat. 26, Fig. 189). Here masks are placed in the four lozenges that are formed between the central medallion and the surrounding curvilinear compartments.¹¹⁸ In this case the masks are not floating within their compartments; they are hanging from colourful ribbons. One of them is a maenad. The face is round, the mouth is closed, and the hair

¹¹⁶ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, p. 50.

¹¹⁷ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 72-73.

¹¹⁸ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, pp. 51-52.

is dishevelled. As it falls on either side of the face, it looks as if it is braided. The mask next to her and facing to the same direction shows Pan. The face is very elongated and the facial characteristics are very strong. The nose is long, the eyebrows are arched, the right ear is exaggerated, and the lips are full and closed. More interesting is the rendering of the hair and the beard. The hair is spiky. Mixed with it are bits of green spikes, alluding to a wreath of some sort, and two horns that grow over the forehead. The beard is also dark and hangs in corkscrew curls around the cheeks and under the chin. The same treatment can be seen in the beard of the satyr shown in the third lozenge on the opposite side. Here the curls are rendered more carefully and the colour of the hair is red. His facial characteristics are also very strong, but the nose is shorter and snubby, the ears are pointed, the mouth is closed, and the hair line is receding. He is wearing a thin wreath of ivy. The mask next to it is badly damaged and does not allow identification. The small section that is preserved, however, indicates that this figure too wore an ivy wreath and had a dark beard. Only bits of it can be seen, but it appears that it hung around the face in loose strands, so the rendering was most likely similar to that of the other two masks. The mouth is closed here too. The masks in the Koroni pavement serve the same purpose as those of the previous two pavements; they are simply decorative. But here each mask is individualized and is given strong expressive features.

The most expressive and the most impressive of all Dionysiac masks are those of the mosaic of Dion (cat. 16, Figs. 53, 55, 182-83). In this pavement a total of six masks are distributed along the two long sides of the central panel.¹¹⁹ In the bottom right corner, there is an old satyr mask (Fig. 183), shown in three-quarter view, with a *tympanon* behind it. The mask in the middle is almost certainly that of Dionysos (55, 182), for although it does not contain any of his main attributes, it closely resembles the effeminate face of the god. He has the same round face as the Dionysos of the central scene, the same

¹¹⁹ For the overall pavement, see *supra*, p. 55-56.

elongated nose and full lips. The hair is stylized, pulled away from the face in coils and tied on the top of the head, allowing two curly strands on each side to escape. The face is superbly rendered, but it looks remote and detached, devoid of any kind of emotion. Next to it, in the bottom left corner, there is a mask of a very unusual figure (Fig. 182). He looks wild, with a shaggy beard and shaggy hair that frame a lean bony face with a long straight nose and high cheek bones. As he looks out to the spectator, he is frowning. All these facial characteristics, along with the open mouth, create a very expressive but wild looking face. This wildness led Pandermalis to suggest that this may be a depiction of the king of Thrace, Lykourgos, whose madness often led artists to depict him as a wild man.¹²⁰ A close examination of this wild-looking figure, however, reveals that it is yet another satyr mask. His identity is revealed by the pointed ear that the artist has gone to considerable trouble to depict on the right side of the face. This satyr imagery is very unusual but not unique, for it has at least one close parallel, in the *oikos* mosaic in the Villa Dionysos at Knossos.¹²¹

A third depiction of a satyr decorates the right panel along the top of the central scene (Fig. 53). This panel is badly damaged, but it still allows us to see clearly enough that this satyr is young because he has no beard. Next to it, in the middle, there is a mirror image depiction of the mask seen in the middle of the opposite side. It has the same round face, same nose and lip structure, the same shape of eyes and the same coiffure. Only the strands of hair on each side of the face are curlier in this panel than the earlier one.¹²² Pandermalis describes this figure as having blue eyes and because of this he suggests that it may

¹²⁰ An excellent example of the wild-looking Lykourgos and a close parallel to the Dion wild man, is seen in the Silin mosaic, where Lykourgos is being strangled by the vine; see O. Al Mahjub, "I Mosaici della Villa Romana di Silin," *Il Mosaico Antico: III Colloquio Internazionale sul Mosaico Antico, Ravenna 1980* (Ravenna 1983) 299-306; *LIMC* IV (Lykourgos) 316 no. 76.

¹²¹ Waywell (1983) 11-12, Fig. 8.

¹²² This is another good example of the mirror-image reversal proposed by Csapo & Slater for the *Synaristosai* and *Theophoroumene* panels from the House of Menander in Mytilene: Csapo & Slater, 145-46, p. 75-76. On the same topic, see also Csapo (*supra* n. 68) 177-79; Green (1985).

be a depiction of Thetis.¹²³ The last panel on the top side of the central scene contains yet a fourth depiction of a satyr. This is entirely different from the other three, in that it shows an aged satyr with white coiffed hair, a long curly beard, full closed lips, pointed ears, and an unusually long nose. It is a beautiful depiction that gives the impression of a wise old man rather than a satyr. Like the wild-looking creature on the opposite side, this is also a very expressive and unusual satyr face, a psychological portrait of a kind.

Taking into consideration the old age of this satyr and the artist's preference toward unusual representations (witnessed both in the central panel and the masks) it may not be unreasonable to suggest that this satyr is no other than Papposilenos.¹²⁴ If so, then the pattern that would emerge would be very interesting, because the four satyr masks of Papposilenos, a grey-haired, a bearded, and a beardless satyr would conform with the four masks mentioned by Pollux (*Onom.* 4.142) for satyr play. Unfortunately, though, the closed mouth of the old satyr makes it impossible for us to suggest any real connection of these masks to the theatre. Yet it is possible that the Dion artist was influenced by satyr play masks, which he rendered in his own distinctive style.

More problematic are the masks in the middle of each side. Since they both have a closed mouth, they immediately invite suggestions that they may be pantomime masks. If so, we would have to place them within the style of masks that Jory describes as "young women with their hair piled up on the head"¹²⁵ and, even more specifically, to the type most commonly found on mosaics where curls or loose

¹²³ Pandermalis, *AEMT* 1, 183. Clearly Pandermalis is trying to establish a thematic unity for the entire figural representation of this mosaic. In suggesting that this may be Thetis and one of the masks on the other side may be Lykourgos, he is probably alluding to the well-known story of Lykourgos who chased Dionysos into the bottom of the sea, where he was received by Thetis: a connection which cannot be made since the so-called Lykourgos mask is not Lykourgos at all.

¹²⁴ For the "wise old man" or the so-called "humanized" image of Papposilenos, see *supra*, pp. 194-205.

¹²⁵ E.J. Jory, "The Drama of the Dance: Prolegomena to an Iconography of Imperial Pantomime," in W.J. Slater ed., *Roman Theater and Society* (Ann Arbor 1996) 18.

strands hang down from the carefully coiffed hair.¹²⁶ This classification, however, assumes a female identity, which I do not believe we can accept for one of the masks at Dion. In my view the middle mask along the bottom of the central scene is that of Dionysos and as such it can be described as effeminate, but not female. Moreover, Dionysos is often seen with strands of hair falling over his shoulders and, occasionally, also with the hair coiffed in a manner very similar to that of the mask.¹²⁷ To date, as Jory pointed out, scholars have only succeeded at identifying female characters with pantomime masks, while male characters are not yet recognizable.¹²⁸ Therefore, at the present level of our knowledge, any suggestion that ascribes this mask to pantomime cannot be supported. The mask on the opposite side, on the other hand, is much more ambiguous and difficult to interpret. The figure in this case appears to be a female (Ariadne?) and she may indeed belong to the category of pantomime masks described by Jory. However, given the fact that half of the masks in this pavement have a closed mouth and two of those are not female, I do not believe that we can pursue the pantomime theory any further at the present time.

The survey of theatrical representations in the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor reveals a number of interesting points. First of all the mosaics demonstrate a fairly strong overall theatrical content. This of course is not surprising, considering the long tradition of dramatic performances in Greece. It is also not surprising to find these representations, where the context is known, in dining rooms and related spaces.¹²⁹ For the practices of the symposium¹³⁰ make both theatre-

¹²⁶ Two distinctive examples cited by Jory come, one from Elis in Greece and the other from Piazza Armerina in Sicily: *ibid.*, 13-14, Figs. 9-10 a&b.

¹²⁷ *LIMC* III (Dionysos) 435 no. 122d, 436 no. 126b.

¹²⁸ Jory (*supra* n. 125) 19.

¹²⁹ *supra*, pp. 98-100.

¹³⁰ For dinner entertainment, see C.P. Jones, "Dinner Theater," in W.J. Slater ed., *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor 1991) 185-98.

specific and non-theatre specific (i.e. Dionysiac) representations suitable for the decoration of such spaces. The division of the evidence between theatre-specific and non-theatre specific motifs, however, indicates a preference for the former, although the margin between the two is not great. What is more interesting is the chronological distribution between the two. Theatre masks, which form the bulk of the theatre-specific representations, are used over a long period of time, from the second century B.C to the third century A.D. Dionysiac masks on the other hand, do not appear on Greek mosaics until approximately the middle of the second century A.D. and last only for approximately one century. A final observation that the survey of the Dionysiac mosaics allows, is that the vast majority of theatre-specific representations come from comedy. In this the iconography of these mosaics follows the trend observed in other media and regions around the Mediterranean.

3. Amphitheatre

Background to *venationes* and Dionysos

Along with dramatic performances, festivals in Rome included musical and gymnastic competitions, chariot races, gladiatorial combats, and *venationes*, wild beast hunts. During the republican period *venationes* were given to celebrate important events, such as a military victory. Numerous references by ancient authors describe the enormity, splendour, and carnage that followed these events, but they also provide valuable information about the spectacle, the audience, and the types of animals that were used. So from Livy's (39.22.1-10) description of the games that were staged by L. Scipio in 186 B.C. to celebrate his victories in Aetolia, we find out that the hunt included lions and panthers, whereas the *ludi circenses* given by the curule aediles of 169 B.C. (Livy 44.18.8) included bears and elephants, in addition to other African beasts. In the later years of the Republic the *venationes* had become a huge spectacle as the politically ambitious tried to outstage each other by increasing the

number and the variety of wild animals in the games. When Pompey dedicated his theatre, eighteen elephants and five hundred lions were slaughtered in the games that followed.¹³¹ The carnage was just as great in the games of Julius Caesar in 46 B.C., and it was greatly surpassed in the various *venationes bestiarum Africanarum* held by Augustus, during which he boasts to have killed about three and a half thousand animals.¹³² By the end of the first century B.C. the *venationes* had in fact increased so much in popularity that under Augustus they became part of a regular program and were held on the same day as the gladiatorial games and the public executions of criminals, who had been sentenced to die *ad bestias*. These spectacles drew huge crowds from all levels and became an institution of Roman society.¹³³

The popularity of *munera* soon spread outside Italy to all corners of the Mediterranean where kings, generals, local magistrates, and Roman emperors wished to display their munificence to the local populace by staging great spectacles. Livy (28.21) tells us of the great *munera* staged at Carthage in 206 B.C. by Scipio in honour of his father and uncle, and of the even greater, thirty-day spectacle of Antiochos Epiphanes (41.20) in 167 B.C. at Antioch. Historians believe that he aimed to surpass the one given by Aemilius Paullus only a year earlier at Amphipolis to celebrate his victory at Pydna.¹³⁴

Naturally, the magnitude of these events required a permanent public setting, large enough to accommodate the huge crowds and safe enough to protect the spectators from the ever increasing numbers of wild beasts that were used for the games. This gave rise to the amphitheatre, a building

¹³¹ Dio Cassius 39.38.1-5; Pliny *NH* 8.24.64.

¹³² *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 22.3 (eds. P.A. Brunt and J.M. Moore- Oxford 1967).

¹³³ For more on the amphitheatre games, see G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Manchester 1937) 60-98; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 16-31; R. Auguet, *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games* (London 1972) 81-106.

¹³⁴ Polyb., 30.26.1-3; Livy 45.32. 8 and 35.5. Also see T. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London and New York 1992) 42ff.

which was designed to accommodate these needs. Surprisingly enough the earliest amphitheatres in Italy were built outside the capital, as the amphitheatre of Pompeii, the earliest known in Italy (c. 80 B.C.), reveals. But in Rome itself *venationes* were held in the Circus Maximus, in temporary arenas set up in the Forum, in wooden amphitheatres, later in the Saepta Iulia, and even in the Diribitorium, until the construction of the Flavian Amphitheatre in A.D. 80.¹³⁵

The games at Amphipolis are the earliest known to have been staged by Romans in Greece and were Greek in nature. But historical, epigraphical,¹³⁶ and archaeological evidence demonstrates that, after c. 30 B.C. and throughout the years of Roman domination, *μονομαχίαι*, gladiatorial combats, and *θηριομαχίαι*, *venationes*, took place regularly on the Greek mainland as well as the islands along the coast of Asia Minor, especially between the first and third centuries A.D.¹³⁷ Their occurrence and popularity in Greece are further supported by diverse archaeological evidence. On a large scale, in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor there is evidence of amphitheatres built in Corinth,¹³⁸ the seat of the governor of the province of Achaia, at Dyrrachion, the capital of the province of Epiros, at Pergamon, and at Paphos. Archaeological evidence, however, also indicates that many stadia and major Hellenistic theatres were refurbished and equipped with a high wall, which offered protection to the spectators from the wild beasts.¹³⁹ On a smaller scale, funerary reliefs are a great source of pictorial evidence for

¹³⁵ J.C. Edmondson, "Dynamic Arenas: Gladiatorial Presentations in the City of Rome and the Construction of Roman Society during the Early Empire," in W.J. Slater ed., *Roman Theatre and Society* (Ann Arbor 1996) 69-112; J.-C. Golvin, *L' Amphithéâtre Romain* (Paris 1988) 18ff.

¹³⁶ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 13-74; *id.*, "Monuments de Gladiateurs dans l' Orient Grec," *Hellenica* 5 (1948) 98-99, pls. VII-XIV. Also, B. Allamane-Soure, "Μονομαχικά Μνημεία στο Μουσείο της Βέροιας," in M. Tiverios, S. Drougou and Ch. Saatsoglou-Paliadele eds., *ΑΜΗΤΟΣ*, v. 1 (Thessaloniki 1987) 33-55

¹³⁷ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, esp. chapter III.

¹³⁸ J.-C. Golvin and C. Landes, *Amphithéâtres et Gladiateurs* (Paris 1990) 204. Also see J.-C. Golvin, *L' Amphithéâtre Romain* (Paris 1988) 138.

¹³⁹ Golvin (*supra* n. 138) 237-49.

costumes and equipment used in the arena,¹⁴⁰ as well as small terracottas,¹⁴¹ and rare examples of luxury goods.¹⁴² But the most informative and richest representations, by far, are found on mosaics.

Monuments of gladiators and *venatores* are found in the cities on the coast of Asia Minor and the outlying islands, as well as on the Greek mainland. Five of the seven representations of *venationes* and gladiatorial games on mosaics from this region come from the Greek islands along the coast of Asia Minor. But in only one of the amphitheatre mosaics, the mosaic of Koroni (cat. 26) on the mainland, is Dionysos shown presiding over the activities of the arena. Three other representations, all from the island of Kos (cat. nos. 27-28, Figs. 185-88), are also found in a Dionysiac context, but here the connection between the god and the amphitheatre is much looser as Dionysos' presence is simply alluded to by the Dionysiac motifs found in each pavement.¹⁴³

Dionysos, in fact, is not found very often presiding over the events of the amphitheatre. Outside of Greece a substantial number of mosaics contain depictions of *venationes*. Several come from the north-western provinces, where scenes of the *venatio* and gladiatorial combats are usually found on the same mosaic, for instance on the mosaics of Nennig and Kreuznach in Germany (Fig. 192).¹⁴⁴ In North

¹⁴⁰ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, pls. I-XXV.

¹⁴¹ Wiedemann (supra n. 134) Figs. 3-4, 7, 12.

¹⁴² Wiedemann (supra n. 134) Fig. 8, depicting an ivory diptych commemorating the consular games of Areobindus in A.D. 506.

¹⁴³ It is quite possible, however, that the central panel of the pavement in the House of the Judgement of Paris (cat. 28) may have originally contained an image of Dionysos. At present, the only deduction that the panel's fragmentary state of preservation allows is that it contained Dionysiac motifs. In addition to the mosaics of Kos and Koroni, two more mosaics were found in Greece with gladiatorial scenes: a) at Kos (now in the archaeological museum in Istanbul): Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 234 no. 29, pl. 16b; Kankeleit, v.2, 134-35 no.68. b) at Patras: I. Papapostolou, "Monuments des combats des gladiateurs à Patras," *BCH* 113 (1989) 393-400, Figs. 35-42; Kankeleit, v.2, 250-53 no. 151. A third pavement with a scene of a *venatio* was found at Chios: A. Tsaravopoulos, "A mosaic floor in Chios," in J. Boardman and C.E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson eds., *Chios. A Conference at the Homereion in Chios, 1984* (Oxford 1986) 305-15, pls V-IX; Kankeleit, v. 2, 43-45 no. 25.

¹⁴⁴ K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959) 35-37, pls. 36-39; 88-89, pls. 88-91.

Africa, the same mixture of amphitheatre scenes is found on the mosaic of Zliten in Libya, but in most cases the depictions concentrate on the combats of *venatores* and wild beasts.¹⁴⁵ Of all known representations of *venationes* on mosaics, only two, both from Tunisia, show a close affinity with Dionysos. In the one example from Smirat (Fig. 190)¹⁴⁶ Dionysos and Diana are shown as the patron gods of the *venatio* scene that is unfolding in the pavement, thanks to the munificence of Magerius, presumably the owner of the house. On the other pavement from the House of Bacchus at El Djem Dionysos, who is standing in the midst of fighting beasts holding a gecko by a string, is thought "to act as a power against evil; and in this role he dominates the fighting beasts around him".¹⁴⁷ In both cases Dionysos' association with the amphitheatre cannot be disputed. When we look at the mosaics of Greece, this association is clear only on the mosaic of Koroni.

Venatores

Representations of combats between *venatores* and wild beasts are found in a variety of contexts and compositions in all Roman provinces. The simplest and most commonplace form of such representations records the combat of a single *venator* and a beast in a separate panel which is inserted into a larger pavement. In this form it can function in a number of ways. It can be the only decorative scene of the pavement, it can be found along with other figural panels, with which there is no direct thematic relationship, or it can be one of several like panels with like representations that aim to form a cohesive decorative scheme.

On the mosaic of Koroni (cat. 25, Fig. 189) depictions of *venatores* and wild beasts are placed

¹⁴⁵ Dunbabin (1978) 65-87.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 77.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, 67-68, 184.

in individual panels. Here four *venatio* scenes, each contained in a semi-circular compartment, are placed around a central medallion with a depiction of Dionysos. Only one of the four representations is complete, but the state of preservation of the other three panels is good enough to allow a clear understanding of each scene. Starting with the complete panel, we see on the left a *venator* dressed in a short, long-sleeved tunic, rendered in a rusty red colour with yellow highlights. It is unclear if he is wearing any other garment, but it looks as if he may have a scarf around his neck, the tail-end of which is flying behind his head. His shins, knees and lower thighs are protected by spiral leather straps, while a long shield provides protection for the rest of the body. In the right hand he is holding a dagger whose tip is red with the blood of the bull that is charging him. That the animal is already injured is also shown by the blood that is dripping from the side of the neck to the ground.

The *venator's* costume and equipment here are similar to those of a heavily armed gladiator, a *secutor*. The major difference is the omission of the helmet and the greave, which is normally worn by gladiators on the forward leg. It is unusual, however, that the *venator* here should confront the bull with a large shield and dagger instead of the long spear, which allowed him to kill the animal from a greater distance with possibly less risk to his life. This type of confrontation has at least one parallel on the mosaic from the House of the Judgement of Paris at Kos (cat. 28, Fig. 185), where the *venator* KOXΛAC, pursued by the bull AEPIC, has fallen to the ground. KOXΛAC is depicted holding a long rectangular shield and a dagger. But another bull fighter on the same mosaic, AIΘEPIC, is depicted killing a charging bull, ΣΤΑΔΙΑΡΧΗC, with a long spear. The long spear, without a shield, is also used by the bull hunter on a panel from the south portico of the peristyle of the House of Dionysos at Paphos (Fig. 197), whose costume is very similar to that of the Koroni *venator*.¹⁴⁸ Further variations are seen on the mosaic of Kos (cat. 28) where a *venator*, equipped only with a dagger, kills a wild boar, and on

¹⁴⁸ Kondoleon, 294, Fig. 188.

the mosaic of Vallon, where two *venatores* are about to attack a charging bull (Fig. 194).¹⁴⁹ Here one *venator* is depicted holding a small shield and an axe, while the other is holding spears. Finally, on a representation of the *venatio* on a marble relief in Rome one of the two *venatores* is depicted with a naked torso, a short skirt, a leather belt, calf-length boots, leather strips around his arms, a helmet, a long rectangular shield, and a dagger.¹⁵⁰

The next scene on the Koroni mosaic, moving clockwise, is partly damaged but we can see most of the main points. The upper body of the *venator*, who is shown again on the left, is almost completely missing, except for a small multi-colour patch which appears to belong to his tunic. His legs are bare, indicating that he wore either a loincloth or a short tunic. Spiral leather straps reach half way up the shins. He is using a spear, which he has already thrust into the chest of the leaping lion in front of him. Again, the artist has taken great care to show the inflicted wound and the blood that is pouring out of it.

The third panel is also damaged, but this time it is part of the body of the animal and the lower body of the *venator* that are missing. The *venator*, shown on the left, is young with full blond hair that reaches down to his shoulders. He is wearing a white short tunic, with long sleeves and a wide belt (?). Red horizontal stripes decorate the right sleeve at the height of the elbow and two vertical red stripes extend from the shoulders to the end of the rib cage. He is also using a spear, the tip of which has already penetrated the chest of the leaping tiger. A large section of the animal's body is missing and so the wound area cannot be seen here, but the bright red blood that is dripping from the animal indicates that this too has been mortally wounded.

The entire right-hand side of the last panel is missing and, therefore, we do not know the type

¹⁴⁹ S. Rebetez, "Les deux mosaïques figurées et le laraire de Vallon (Fribourg, Suisse)," *AntW* 23.1 (1992) 16-26, Figs. 44-46.

¹⁵⁰ On this relief architectural elements, such as the columns, the spectators sitting above the colonnade, as well as the statuary and the apparatus used to count the laps around the spina during chariot races, indicate that the *venatio* here is taking place in the circus: Auguet (supra n. 133) Fig. 11 a.

of beast that was shown in this case. Most of the *venator*'s figure on the left side, however, is preserved. He is young, with full dark hair that reaches down to his shoulders. He is wearing a white loincloth, a wide belt, and a white close-fitting shirt which has the same decorative stripes as that of the previous *venator*. His legs are bare, but as the area around his feet is destroyed, we cannot determine the nature of the footwear.

The four *venatio* scenes at Koroni have a number of points in common. In all four scenes the beasts are shown on the right, leaping over a crudely drawn ground line which is the only hint of landscape that we get here. The *venatores*, on the other hand, are always shown on the left side, in a forward position, with the left leg bent forward and the right stretched behind. This stance, apart from the fact that it seems natural as they move forward to attack the animals, is also well-suited to the semi-circular shape of the compartments. It is noteworthy that in each case the animal is wounded, the extent of its injury is graphically portrayed, and the *venator* is always victorious. Although we know from literary descriptions that many of the beasts ended their lives in the arena, we also hear (and it would be unrealistic to think otherwise) that many of the *venatores* were injured and even killed by the beasts. Yet mosaicists very seldom show a *venator* seriously threatened or injured by a beast. Rare depictions of this are found on the border of the mosaic in the House of the Judgement of Paris at Kos (cat. 28), where ΔΩΝΑΤΟC is lying on the ground and being mauled by a bear, and on the mosaic of Nennig (Fig. 195), where a *venator* is also trampled and mauled by a bear, while two other *venatores* are trying to drive the beast away.¹⁵¹

In most representations where the outcome of the combat is clearly depicted the *venator* is the winner. Similar scenes to those at Koroni can be seen on the two mosaics of Kos (cat. 27a-28), on the

¹⁵¹ Parlasca (supra n. 144) pl. 37.3.

mosaic of Kreuznach (Fig. 192),¹⁵² where in all four *venatio* scenes the animals are mortally wounded, on one of the octagon panels of the Nennig mosaic,¹⁵³ and on the mosaics of Smirat (Fig. 190) and Thelepte (Fig. 191) in North Africa.¹⁵⁴ However, the costume that the men are wearing differs in different regions. At Koroni the *venatores* are wearing either a short, long-sleeved tunic and a belt, or a loin cloth and a long-sleeved shirt and a belt. With small variations, the same types of costumes are worn by the *venatores* on all the mosaics of Greece, for instance, on the mosaic from the house of Judgement of Paris at Kos (cat. 28), the mosaic of Chios (Fig. 196),¹⁵⁵ and on two other panels from Kos, where in each case a young *venator* is depicted fighting a leopard.¹⁵⁶ Outside of Greece, the *venatores* on the late second century mosaic of Paphos (Fig. 197),¹⁵⁷ the early second century mosaic from Castel Porziano in Italy,¹⁵⁸ the mid third century (c. 240-250) mosaic of Smirat (Fig. 190), the mid to late third century mosaic of Thelepte (Fig. 191), as well as on a fresco from a Roman villa near Mérida in Spain dating to the third century,¹⁵⁹ are all depicted wearing a short tunic or a loin cloth. On the northern European mosaics of Vallon (194),¹⁶⁰ Nennig (Fig. 195), and Kreuznach (Fig. 192),¹⁶¹ however, the *venatores* wear a tight-

¹⁵² Parlasca (supra, n. 144) 88f, pls. 88.1, 90.1-4.

¹⁵³ *ibid.*, pl. 39.2.

¹⁵⁴ Dunbabin (1978) Smirat 1, p. 268, Fig. 53; Thelepte 1, p. 272, Fig. 55.

¹⁵⁵ Tsaravopoulos (supra n. 143) 313-14, pl. VIII b. He dates the Chios mosaic on the basis of the clothing of the hunters to the second half of the third or first half of the fourth century A.D.

¹⁵⁶ One of these panels is now in the Castello in Rhodes and is dated to the second half of the second century A.D.: Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 235 no. 32. The other panel is placed on the border of a mosaic found in the port excavation zone. It is in situ but its date is not known.

¹⁵⁷ Kondoleon, 294, Fig. 188.

¹⁵⁸ Rome, Nat. Mus. inv. no. 61649. Blake (1936) 156; I. Lavin, "Hunting mosaics of Antioch and their sources," *DOP* 17 (1963) 252, Fig. 117. For more examples from Italy, see Lavin, Figs. 120-121.

¹⁵⁹ Archaeological Museum in Mérida. Kondoleon, 306, Fig. 196.

¹⁶⁰ Rebetez (supra n. 149) Figs. 26-27, 33-35, 44-46. The exact date of the mosaic has not yet been determined, but it is generally placed in the third century A.D. on stylistic grounds.

¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, 192, Fig. 192.

fitting body suit with either short or long sleeves and a belt. Some of them have extra protection on their arms and all of them have leather strapping around their legs. This costume is very different from that worn by *venatores* on mosaics from the Mediterranean region and, therefore, it indicates that the northern European mosaicists were following different models.

To conclude, the observations of the iconography of the *venatio* on the mosaic of Koroni indicate that the depictions of the *venationes* on the mosaics of Greece belong to a Mediterranean *koiné* of imperial mosaics, whose origins lie in the west. They are primarily two-dimensional representations which are placed against a white background with only a minimal indication of landscape. Depictions of the events, the beasts, and the men, their costumes and equipment, are all shown in a variety of colours with great realism, which is sometimes enhanced by the inscribed names of men and beasts, as for example on the pavement from the House of Judgement of Paris and the gladiator panel in the House of Silenos at Kos. In all these aspects the mosaic of Koroni and the other amphitheatre mosaics found in Greece have close parallels on the mosaics of Italy, North Africa, Cyprus, and, to a large degree, the mosaics of northern Europe as well. It is clear, therefore, that from the point of view of both its iconography and its compartmental composition the mosaic of Koroni is placed firmly in the western tradition.

The mosaic of Koroni was found out of context, and, therefore, we cannot determine the significance of the imagery in relation to its architectural space. But it is possible that the patron who commissioned the mosaic may have had close ties to the amphitheatre or he may have financed a *venatio* and wished to transmit his involvement to posterity by decorating a room in his house with related imagery. Further speculation in this regard, however, will be pointless. More important would be to examine the *venatio* scenes on this pavement in connection with Dionysos and his world. For the god

¹⁶¹ Parlasca (supra n. 144) 35-37, pls. 36-39; 88-89, pls. 88-91. Both mosaics are dated to the third century.

here is seen presiding over the activities of the arena. As such, on the one hand, he is demonstrating his power over the wildest and most vicious beasts of nature. This power had manifested itself in art many centuries earlier when the leopard was adopted as Dionysos' favourite animal. His ability to dominate the wild nature of the leopard was then extended to include all wild beasts and consequently the activities of the amphitheatre. On the other hand, Dionysos on the mosaic of Koroni is also depicted as the god of the theatre, as the Dionysiac masks would indicate,¹⁶² or of spectacles in general. For the *venationes* were not only a popular and spectacular form of entertainment. They were also a reenactment of hunting animals in the wild. As an extension on to this, all the activities of the arena which aimed to entertain, including gladiatorial combats, can be perceived to have been performed under the auspices of Dionysos. And Dio Chrysostom (31, 121) indicates that they did, when he accuses the Athenians of setting up in the theatre of Dionysos the cult statue of the god, and then allowing men to be killed in gladiatorial combats in his presence. As these events took place during the Great Dionysia, it would appear that by the first century A.D. gladiatorial combats were part of the great celebrations in honour of Dionysos.

Seen in this context, we can also interpret the scenes from the House of Silenos (cat. 27) and the House of the Judgement of Paris at Kos (cat. 28) as depicting different types of entertainment which took place during a multi-day festival. For as Kondoleon argued, the mythological themes of the central representations at the House of the Judgement of Paris (cat. 28, Fig. 185), i.e. the Judgement of Paris, Orpheus and the beasts, and a partly preserved Dionysiac representation (Fig. 186), may evoke real theatrical performances that took place alongside gladiatorial combats and *venationes*.¹⁶³ The same can be argued for the mosaic from the House of Silenos (cat. 27, Figs. 187-88), where in addition to the depiction of Silenos riding on the donkey, there are two more panels: the one shows a young hunter

¹⁶² For a discussion of the masks, see *supra*, pp. 242-43.

¹⁶³ Kondoleon, 307ff.

killing a wild boar and the other, placed at the entrance to the courtyard, depicts two pairs of fighting gladiators and a referee.

These and other representations from different media are indicative of the popularity of the amphitheatre and its activities in the Greek world. What is not clear to us, however, from our sources of evidence, is the way that these activities were perceived by Greeks, who had a long tradition of their own in athletic and dramatic competitions. Nor is it clear whether the degree of Romanization in Greece extended beyond the level of adopting Roman spectacles as a form of entertainment to a complete integration into Roman culture. The representations on the Dionysiac mosaics in Greece give no indication of such integration. In fact, the overall iconography of these pavements appears to indicate that the performances of gladiators and *venatores* in Greece may have been incorporated into the existing structure of public festivals and celebrations as another form of competition. If so, both the competitions and their portrayals would have had a different meaning for Greeks than they had for Romans.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has catalogued all the known Dionysiac mosaics from Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, presented and analyzed their iconography and composition, and placed them within a broader spectrum by comparing them with Dionysiac iconography from other media and with mosaics from other regions in the ancient world. The objectives were to determine, through an iconographic and stylistic analysis, what elements the Greek mosaics have in common with Dionysiac mosaics from other regions, whether they display any regional characteristics, what is the continuity and development of the role and representation of Dionysos, as well as the extent to which the Dionysiac pavements reflect cultural influences from outside of Greece. Other important objectives were to determine the extent of the contribution that mosaic workshops in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor made to the overall mosaic tradition in the ancient world, and to examine the validity of the existing arguments relating to the style and composition of the mosaics of the imperial period in Greece, and the transmission of the motifs. The preceding analysis of the Dionysiac mosaics and their architectural context has led to a number of conclusions on these issues.

1. Architectural Context

The Dionysiac mosaics decorate the floors of luxurious houses, but are very seldom found in public or semi-public settings. The identity of the rooms that they decorate is often revealed by specific architectural elements, but the layout and the iconography of the mosaics seldom contribute to the identification of the room. Only a few rooms can be clearly identified by the layout of the pavement, a)

as a dining room, by the off-centre placement of the entrance panel at Olynthos (cat. 33), the T-shape arrangement of the panels at Dion (cat. 16) and Chania (cat. 4), and the marked setting of the *stibadium* at Argos (cat. 1), and b) as a *cubiculum*, by the placement of the rectangular panel between the wall and the Dionysiac scene at Knossos (cat 24).

Almost no help, however, can be gained from the iconography of the mosaics. Images of Dionysos, his followers, and his emblems are often used in the decoration of dining rooms, where Dionysiac imagery is appropriate. But the evidence shows that Dionysiac motifs are also used in *cubicula* (cat. 24), peristyles (cat. 13, 14), and *nymphaea* (cat. 34). Therefore, when the context of the room is not clear from architectural elements, it cannot be identified as a dining room simply on the basis of the Dionysiac theme of the mosaic, unless it contains iconographic elements which connect it directly to dining practices. Such elements are absent from the Greek Dionysiac mosaics. The evidence from the preceding iconographic analysis also allows us to make a similar deduction for buildings which contain more than one Dionysiac mosaic. The tendency for modern scholarship to assign specific, non-residential use for such buildings, as for example a cult centre for the villa Dionysos at Knossos, or a seat of the artists of Dionysos for the House of the Masks at Delos, cannot be based on the iconography of the mosaics alone, which is too generic to allow identification.

2. Iconography

The unique position that Dionysos occupies in the mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor is indicated by the prolonged popularity that he enjoyed in mosaic decoration. Representations depicting the god riding on a chariot (cat. 33) or on the back of a feline (cat. 34, 20), originated in the workshops of Classical and early Hellenistic Greece and continued, with variations, into the late Hellenistic and imperial periods to become two of the most popular iconographic themes in the ancient world.

The Dionysiac repertory was enriched in the later Hellenistic period by images of the theatre in the form of New Comedy masks, and by visual references to specific episodes of the god's life, such as the story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia (cat. 9). These themes too are traced to the mosaic workshops of the Greek world, as the earliest examples of New Comedy masks on mosaics come from Palace V at Pergamon,¹ while the earliest example of this version of the story of Lykourgos was found on Delos. It appears, therefore, that Dionysiac iconography on mosaics originated in the workshops of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and it spread from there to other regions. This evidence reinforces our view of the leading role that Greece played in the overall development of mosaics around the Mediterranean until the middle of the first century B.C.

In the early and high Empire, the Dionysiac repertory on the mosaics of Greece expanded considerably to include a number of new images. Previously known motifs that were well-embedded in the Classical and Hellenistic traditions, such as Dionysos riding on a chariot, the "feline rider", Lykourgos and Ambrosia, and theatre masks, remained popular in the imperial period and are found side-by-side with many new motifs, most of which have many parallels throughout the Roman world. Much of the new imagery consists of representations which are not connected to a specific story, such as protomes of Dionysos, the thiasos, and the Seasons, which aimed to create an overall feeling of festivity, happiness.

Alongside these appeared scenes of mythological narrative from Dionysos' childhood, and the discovery of his consort Ariadne, and real-life events of the arena and the theatre. Most of these motifs belonged to a Mediterranean artistic *koine* of the imperial period which is closely linked to the West. Some original subjects appeared on mosaics at this time, such as Dionysos' epiphany from the sea at Dion (cat. 16) and at Corinth (cat. 7), or Dionysos and Papposilenos at Sparta (cat. 40), which, at the

¹ According to Salzmann (1991) 436-37, the masks date to the period of the kings in the second century B.C., before 133 B.C.

present time, have no known parallels elsewhere. But original contributions such as these are minimal.

In terms of subject matter, therefore, the Greek Dionysiac mosaics of the early and high Empire display an interesting mixture of old and new motifs. These, in turn, display a mixture of cultural influences. Some subjects, such as the theatrical representations at Chania (cat. 3), remain faithful to traditional Greek culture, whereas scenes of *venatores* (cat. 26, 27, 28) and gladiators (cat. 27) exemplify Latin culture. The amphitheatre scenes on mosaics are particularly interesting because they provide an insight into the social practices in Greece at the time of the Empire. Unquestionably, the activities of the amphitheatre were deeply rooted in the social structure of Rome, from where they spread to different regions in the Roman provinces. The presence of pictorial representations of these activities in Greece, on mosaics and other media, combined with numerous inscriptions and literary references, leaves no doubt about the staging of *munera* in the Greek world and the adoption of Roman practices. And even though, as I have argued in chapter one,² the patterns of acculturation are complex and often difficult to establish, there can be no doubt that gladiatorial combats and *venationes*, the most Roman of sports, held a great appeal for the Greek population.

The number of Dionysiac mosaics produced in the late Empire and early Byzantine period diminished greatly. But even though only six pavements (cat. 1, 2, 18, 19, 29, 30) are known from this period, the fact that they were even produced at a time when the known world was going through a period of major religious readjustment, moving from paganism to Christianity, is indicative in itself of the importance of Dionysos and the adaptability of Dionysiac iconography. The imagery at this time was restricted to motifs which made no reference to any specific episode of Dionysos' life. It simply aimed to decorate the opulent rooms of the wealthy patrons and to evoke images of prosperity and happiness with depictions of the Seasons, sprawling vines, hunting Erotes, and the revelling thiasos.

² *supra*, pp. 26-27.

Very little changed in the depiction of the images. The bust form representation of Dionysos in the fifth century mosaics from Ephesos (cat. 18, 19) echoes closely those seen on the second century mosaics of Knossos (cat. 23, 24) or the third century mosaic of Melos (cat. 32). In all of these, a near identical image of the god is contained within a circular or square panel which is always the focal point of the pavement. In the same manner, the sixth century nude figure of Dionysos at Argos (cat. 1) shows a close resemblance to that of Dionysos on the second century mosaic of Koroni (cat. 26) and those of the mosaics of Dion (cat. 16), Corinth (cat. 7), Chania (cat. 3, 4), and Thessaloniki (cat. 42) from the intervening centuries. In each case, the body is generally well-proportioned, carefully rendered, and accentuated by a colourful mantle which covers one or both legs and drapes behind the back. Moreover, the god is always shown wearing a wreath and holding a thyrsos in one hand, while the other rests either on the shoulders of a satyr or on a column. As for the theme of the revelling thiasos, it has clearly come full circle from the fourth century B.C. mosaic of Olynthos (cat. 33) to the sixth century A.D. mosaic of Argos (cat. 1). Both the motif and the notion of the joy that the presence of the god brings have survived in the depiction of his joyful attendants who swirl and dance to the sound of the music. And even though in the sixth century A.D. they no longer tear live animals apart, their euphoric state is captured and depicted in very much the same manner as that of about nine centuries earlier. It appears, therefore, that like the multi-faceted nature of Dionysos, his iconography was rich and diverse enough to allow the individual a considerable degree of choice. To a very large extent, it was this choice and the flexibility that Dionysism afforded which ensured the popularity of Dionysos and his iconography in the Greek world over such a long period of time. Dionysos could represent different things to different people.

3. Transmission of Motifs

The iconographic analysis of the Dionysiac motifs on the mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, and the comparison with like motifs from other regions and media, make valuable

contributions to the major controversy that revolves around the transmission of motifs.³

The widespread popularity of most of the motifs, found on the mosaics in Greece and elsewhere in the ancient world, has often led scholars to search for prototypes which the mosaics are deemed to copy closely. When a mosaic contains a tableau-like composition, as for example at Dion (cat. 16), Corinth (cat. 7), Chania (cat. 3), and Thessaloniki (42), very often the assumption is made that the mosaic is a copy of a painting. This assumption is usually a hypothesis based on the large scale of both media, the polychromy, landscape elements, and the three-dimensional effects that mosaics usually have in common with paintings. While possible, this assumption cannot be made with any degree of certainty for the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece. The alleged prototypes are lost and, most of all, the wide geographical distribution of most motifs, their popularity in many media, and the variations that they present, discourage any notion of the use of a single original that could be copied exactly in each case.

The iconographic analysis of all the Dionysiac motifs that were examined in detail in chapters four and five indicates, that in all but the "feline rider" motif, the rendering and composition of the representation follows a basic scheme. This scheme appears, with variations, on the mosaics of Greece and other regions as well as on other media, and it is versatile enough to allow the artist to use it on its own or to incorporate it into a larger scene to accommodate spatial requirements. This results in such differences in composition as those observed in the "Discovery of Ariadne" motif (cat. 3, 42) or the "Lykourgos and Ambrosia" motif (cat. 9, 43), where subsidiary figures were added to each motif (cat. 42, 43) in order to decorate a larger space. These modifications were possible only because the scenes were not conceived as a whole. Rather, the analysis of the individual iconographic components of the larger compositions reveals that they were well-known, pre-existing motifs that were often found on their own in a variety of media, but were also often combined within a single composition. It is clear,

³ *supra*, p. 8.

therefore, that the artist composed the scene by combining a number of stock motifs which he could modify according to his needs or ability. Good examples of this are the *Plokion* scenes at Chania (cat. 3) and Mytilene,⁴ and the long border in the House of the Judgement of Paris at Kos (cat. 28), where a number of isolated scenes are placed next to one another to fill the requirements of the border.

The frequency with which these motifs appear all over the ancient world strongly suggests that they formed part of a series of compilations of drawings, of copy books of some sort, which circulated among workshops around the Mediterranean. A number of motifs are found from the Hellenistic period onward in different parts of the ancient world which show remarkable similarities. The slave mask from Rhodes (cat. 37) finds a close parallel at Rome; the floral border with the masks at Delos (cat. 8) finds close parallels at Pompeii and Sicily; and the scenes of the *venatio* (cat. 26, 28) find close parallels all over the Roman empire. These scenes, among several others, are so similar that they could only have been transmitted by copy books that were probably carried around by travelling artists. Two signatures on the Dionysiac mosaics of Greece (cat. 4, 14) reveal beyond doubt that mosaicists from Syria, for instance, practiced their craft in Greece at different periods.

Suggestions of transmission of the motifs from master to apprentice cannot altogether be rejected,⁵ but it seems very unlikely that the motifs would have been passed down through so many centuries and over a vast geographical area relying exclusively on memory without being diluted to a point beyond recognition. Nor can the close similarities that are observed in the basic schemata be justified, if we were to accept that each workshop created its own images, as Bruneau suggests,⁶ for this too would have resulted in considerably greater disparities than those observed at present. However,

⁴ *supra*, pp. 226-30.

⁵ C. Balmelle and J.-P. Darmon, "L'artisan-mosaïste dans l'antiquité tardive," in X. Barral I Altet ed., *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge I* (Paris 1986) 247.

⁶ Bruneau (1984) 272.

these suggestions can apply to mosaics that were produced in the same period and in relative proximity to one another, as, for example, at Sparta (cat. 40), where three mosaics with near identical representations decorated rooms in the same city.⁷

An even more interesting example is the iconography of the Dion (cat. 16) and Corinth (cat. 7) mosaics, where the motifs are almost identical and otherwise unparalleled. Here there can be no question that the Dion artist had the ability to draw on isolated motifs and create his own, individualized composition. The same, however, cannot be asserted of the Corinth mosaic, which displays none of the sophistication and quality in technique that we find at Dion. So clearly we are dealing with two different artists. The inferiority of the Corinth pavement prevents us from crediting its creator with the same initiative that we attribute to the Dion artist. And yet the two panels are so similar, right down to small details, that it raises questions about the transmission of the motif from one pavement to the other. On account of the relative proximity of the two cities and the date of the production of the two mosaics, which is approximately the same, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Corinth mosaicist may have been an apprentice to the Dion master, a theory which would support Balmelle and Darmon's argument for the transmission of motifs from master to apprentice.⁸ But even if this was the case and even if the Corinth artist had a photographic memory, it is unlikely that he would have been able to produce the scene so closely. Therefore, we must assume that he copied it, rather badly at that, from a copy book. Whether this copy book was in the sole possession of the Dion workshop, or whether it circulated in other workshops as well, there is no way of knowing. But one way or another, these two mosaics make a good argument in favour of copy books and they should help to convince those who have been very skeptical of their existence.

⁷ *supra*, p. 75 and n. 154.

⁸ *supra*, n. 5.

4. Style and Composition

The Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor allow an excellent overview of the development of technique, style, and composition of ancient mosaics. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods they form centralized compositions where a rectangular, circular, or square central panel is, in some cases, framed with successive borders of vegetal, geometric, or figural motifs (cat. 12, 14, 33, 39). In other cases, it is placed in the middle of a plain white field which, in turn, may be framed by geometric or floral borders (cat. 8, 10, 13, 34). Alongside these, in the later Hellenistic period, appear *emblemata* (cat. 37, 10, 13) and carpets or borders of geometric ornament where cubes (cat. 11) and meanders (cat. 14) are shown in perspective. The figures, always rendered light-on-dark, are initially made of pebbles and are depicted in two dimensions (cat. 33), with minimal internal detail and occasionally some additional colours. By the end of the Classical and the early Hellenistic period there is considerable use of foreshortening, achieved by careful gradation of the size and colour of the pebbles, a greater use of colour, as well as artificial materials, such as strips of lead to define anatomical details and contours, or occasionally shaped terracotta beads coated with malachite to render the green foliage (cat. 34). In the later Hellenistic period figures are shown in three dimensions and full colour, using tesserae of stone, glass, and occasionally faience. It is clear, therefore, that while the manner of composition and the light-on-dark rendering of the figures remained consistent from the Classical to the end of the Hellenistic period, mosaicists, experimenting with new techniques and materials, succeeded in creating three dimensional and illusionistic representations.

For about one and a half centuries after the sack of Delos in 69 B.C. by pirates, in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor there are very few mosaics of any sort and no evidence of any with Dionysiac motifs. When we find Dionysiac mosaics again, at the start of the second century A.D., they present an interesting mixture in both style and composition. The earliest mosaics at Pergamon, c. A.D. 100, show

on the one hand, a new type of composition where the surface of the pavement is broken-up into octagonal panels, each containing a single figure (cat. 35). This type of composition has no known antecedents in the East and is closely linked to the West, where the division of surfaces into a series of compartments had been devised initially for the decoration of ceilings in Italy. On the other hand, the mosaics of Pergamon display strong Hellenistic features also seen on the mosaics of Syria, such as three dimensional geometric motifs, light-on-dark representations, and a centralized composition containing an *emblema*-type panel (cat. 36).

This mixture of eastern and western elements is found on Dionysiac mosaics throughout the imperial period. Centralized compositions framed by multiple borders (cat. 5, 7, 16, 29, 40), light-on-dark renderings, as for example on the border of the mosaic at Dion (cat. 16), three dimensional geometric motifs (cat. 3, 16), and careful modelling and chiaroscuro (cat. 16, 42), echo closely practices of the Hellenistic period. For the most part, however, the Dionysiac mosaics display a closer affinity with the mosaics of the West. Pavements, covering the entire surface of the room, are broken up into several compartments of different shapes and sizes, and create a variety of compositions: a grid of square panels containing octagons (cat. 35), rectangular panels (cat. 4, 27), medallion-style compositions (cat. 23, 24, 26, 27), a radiating shield of triangles (cat. 6), hexagons inscribed in a circle (cat. 25), and large tripartite divisions (cat. 42), all of which have numerous parallels on the mosaics of the West.

The Hellenistic elements displayed on the Dionysiac and on other mosaics of the imperial period in Greece are the reason behind Bruneau's claim for an unbroken Hellenistic tradition on mosaics. But while the Hellenistic appearance of some mosaics, Dionysiac or otherwise, cannot be disputed, Bruneau's theory is not substantiated by the existing evidence. The major problem lies with the large gap that exists in our knowledge about the production of mosaics between 69 B.C., when Delos was destroyed by pirates, and the late first century A.D. A handful of mosaics whose production is often placed in the first century A.D. are not securely dated and, regrettably, the Dionysiac mosaics do not help us to fill this gap.

At present, the lack of evidence from this period leads to the assumption that the poverty and the political upheaval that Greece experienced at that time suppressed the production of mosaics. When production started again, over a hundred and fifty years had elapsed. This gap is too vast to allow us to postulate an unbroken Hellenistic tradition. Moreover, the vast majority of the early imperial mosaics in Greece are black and white compositions which depend directly on traditions seen in Italy at that time.

Perhaps more credible is the theory presented by Hellenkemper Salies who suggests that Greek mosaicists in the Antonine and Severan periods developed a style of their own which adopted the patterns and compositional forms of the western workshops, but at the same time implemented some Hellenistic features used by the workshops of Syria. She claims, however, that these features were not fully revived until the third century.⁹ Yet, the Dionysiac mosaics of Pergamon, which are securely dated to c. A.D. 100 or shortly after, provide clear evidence that both traditional Hellenistic features and new western traditions were already in use at that time. But whether these Hellenistic features reflect a revival or a continuation of an existing tradition, it is difficult to determine at the present time. For it is possible that in Asia Minor, which was never as impoverished as the mainland, Hellenistic traditions may have persisted.

The Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor, therefore, indicate that when mosaic production was resumed in Greece and the coast of Asia Minor at the end of the first century A.D., Greece had relinquished the leading role that it played in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Instead, mosaicists followed the traditions current in both East and West. With the spread of the Roman empire throughout the Mediterranean region, western traditions were easily transmitted and adopted in most regions. Greece, although generally considered to be part of the East, geographically, was ideally situated between East and West and was in an excellent position to maintain contact with both. Unlike

⁹ Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 281.

Syria, which for several centuries was impervious to western developments, Greece was receptive to the new trends in both composition and iconographic motifs that prevailed in the western Mediterranean. But at the same time, through contacts with Syria, the Greek mosaics show a resurgence of Hellenistic forms which may have taken place much earlier in the Greek world than it did in the West.

5. Chronology

The contribution of the Dionysiac mosaics to the overall problem of chronology that surrounds the mosaics of Greece is minimal, as very few mosaics are securely dated. By far, the best documented pavements are those of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Some of these are dated on stratigraphical evidence, but in most cases a relative chronology is established by historical events which serve as *termini post* and *ante quos*.

Such *termini* are generally absent from the Dionysiac mosaics of the imperial period and, with three exceptions (cat. 35-36, 23-25, 18-19), there is very little information available from archaeological finds that were discovered above or under each pavement. This restricts any attempts made to date the mosaics from this period to comparisons of the style of the figures. This method of dating, however, is ineffective, as the chronological parameters that the observations of the rendering of the human figure provide are too vague. More importantly, they can be very misleading, as mosaicists could follow older models, particularly when representing Dionysos for whom they could draw their inspirations from an extensive iconographic repertory. The study of the Dionysiac mosaics, therefore, is hindered by the same problems in chronology as the rest of the mosaics of Greece are.

The Dionysiac mosaics of Greece and the coast of Asia Minor do not provide all the answers we need to fill the gaps that exist in our knowledge of ancient mosaics. But they make a substantial contribution to our understanding of the iconography of Dionysos whose popularity in the Greek world

is clearly expressed through the continuity and rich repertory of the images found on the mosaics. Above all, they make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the overall developments, practices, and influences which prevailed over the production of mosaics in Greece and around the Mediterranean.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue contains forty-three Dionysiac mosaics from Greece and the coast of Asia Minor which are discussed in the text. It includes all known mosaics from the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman imperial period which have received varying degrees of publication. The mosaics are listed according to their site and the sites are listed in alphabetical order.

Each mosaic listed in the catalogue is assigned a reference number, which is used in the text and is cross-referenced with the illustrations at the back of the thesis. Wherever possible, the mosaic's original and present location is also indicated. The description of each mosaic is restricted to its iconographic motif and, when known, its size. The nature of the geometric ornament is discussed in detail in chapter two but is omitted from the catalogue.

The bibliographical references given are to the existing inventories and to the most important discussions of the mosaics. The dates given are those suggested by the excavators and other scholars who have re-examined the mosaics in the light of new evidence. As the vast majority of the mosaics can only be dated on stylistic grounds, scholars' opinions often vary considerably; this accounts for the disparities in chronology that are occasionally observed. The criteria used for the dating of each mosaic are discussed in chapter two.

ARGOS

1. Villa of the Falconer (Figs. 42-46, 48). *Stibadium*. Argos Museum.

- A wide geometric border frames a rectangular panel at the entrance of the *stibadium*, preserved size c. 3.59 x 1.71 m (including border). In the middle Dionysos is standing, nude, leaning on a column. On the right is a small Eros, two satyrs, and a maenad. On the left is a leopard and the lower part of a figure, possibly Papposilenos.

- **DATE:** Åkerström-Hougen, early 6th century A.D.; Spiro, c. second quarter of 6th century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* (Stockholm 1974) 34-36, 40, 110-16, figs. 30.2, 68, 70.2; pls. 7.1, VII; M. Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth/Sixth Centuries* (New York 1978) 144-47, pls. 146-47; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1987) 54 no. 6d, pls. 35-37.

2. Property of Bonori Brothers, 7b Tripoleos Street (Figs. 29-30).

- Rectangular panel framed with wide geometric border. In the corners, maenads stand on vine branches. Between the maenads on the long sides are birds, on one of the short sides is Pan and on the other Silenos (?). The central panel is largely destroyed.

- **DATE:** Kritzas, end of 4th - early 5th century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Ch. Kritzas, *ArchDelt* 29.2 (1973-74) chr. 235, 237, fig. 15e, pls. 159b, 160-61, 162a; Kankeleit, v. 2, 18-23 no. 9

CHANIA

3. House of Dionysos (Figs. 71, 95-98, 154-56, 166, 168-69, 175). Chania Museum.

- Preserved size, 6.30 x 6.25 m. On two sides, a border of geometric ornament and a frieze of alternating rectangular and square panels depicting members of the thiasos and scenes from New Comedy, frame a central square inscribed with a circle. Two interlaced squares within the circle form an octagonal panel depicting the Discovery of Ariadne. Ivy, birds, winged Erotes, animals, and masks fill the corners.

- **DATE:** Markoulaki (1990), mid 3rd century A.D.; Hellenkemper Salies (1986), late 3rd - early 4th century A.D.; Green (1994), 4th century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Tzedakis, *ArchDelt* 32 (1977) chr.² 326-29, pls. 197-98; Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 279; Markoulaki (1990) 451-59, pls. 58-61; Kankeleit, v. 2, 154-58 no. 84; Green (1994) 164; *MNC*³, v. 2, 6DM 3.

4. House of Dionysos (Figs. 71-75, 154, 184). *Triclinium*. Chania Museum.

- T-shaped mosaic framed with a row of poised squares. In the horizontal part of the "T" are four rectangular panels: in the middle two panels with comic masks and musical instruments; on the left a panel with figures of Dionysos, Pan, and a third figure largely destroyed; on the right the panel is almost completely destroyed. On the vertical part of the "T" a partly destroyed panel, c. 2.02 x 1.59 m, depicts Dionysos riding on a leopard and a satyr running alongside. It is framed with a plain black border where part of an inscription is preserved: ...ΔΑΦΝΗΝ ΕΠΙΟΙΕΙ.

- **DATE:** Markoulaki (1990), mid 3rd century A.D.; Hellenkemper Salies (1986), late 3rd -early 4th century A.D.; Donderer, 3rd century A.D.; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1993), mid 3rd century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Tzedakis, *ArchDelt* 32 (1977) chr.²326-29, pls. 195-96; Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 279; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (Erlangen 1989) 81 no. A 42; Markoulaki (1990) 459-62, pls. 62-65; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1993) 40-41; Kankeleit, v. 2, 154-58 no. 84.

CORINTH

5. Roman Villa (Figs. 37-38). Room B. In Situ.

- Rectangular panel, partly preserved, depicting Dionysos, standing, wearing an ivy wreath and holding a thyrsos. It is framed with panels of geometric ornament, simple fillets, and a border of guilloche.

- **DATE:** Shear, before 146 B.C.; Hellenkemper Salies (1986) and Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), 2nd century A.D.; Waywell (1979), Hadrianic or Antonine (?).

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Shear, 393; *Corinth* V, 19-26, pls. 1, 3-5, 7-10; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 228 no. 20β; Waywell (1979) 297 no. 17, pl. 47, fig. 16; Kankeleit, v. 2, 108-13 no. 59.

6. Roman Villa (Fig. 17). Room D. Corinth Museum.

- Panel, 2.10 m square, framed with borders of geometric ornament. In it is inscribed a circle, decorated with a radiating shield of polychrome triangles. A smaller circle in the centre, 0.33 m in diameter, contains the head of Dionysos. Vines grow out of *kantharoi* in the corners.

- **DATE:** Shear, before 146 B.C.; Hellenkemper Salies (1986) and Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), 2nd century A.D.; Waywell (1979), Hadrianic or Antonine (?).

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Shear, 394-95, figs. 11-12; *Corinth* V, 19-26, pls. 1, 3-5, 7-10; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 228 no. 20d; Waywell (1979) 297 no. 17, pl. 47, figs. 18-19; Kankeleit, v. 2, 108-13 no. 59.

7. Mosaic House (Fig. 58). North Room. In Situ.

- Borders of double guilloche frame a rectangular panel, c. 1 x 0.65 m, flanked on each side by two square panels with depictions of Erotes. In the central panel Dionysos and Papposilenos ride on a sea-chariot, drawn by sea-lions. On each side of the chariot, a sea-centaur is holding the reins and carries a large *krater*.
- **DATE:** Weinberg, end of 2nd - beginning of 3rd century A.D.; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) and Waywell (1979), c. A.D. 200 .
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Broneer 61, pl. 17.2; *Corinth* I.5, 113-22, pls. 53-57; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 229 no. 21a; Waywell (1979) 298 no. 20; Kankeleit, v. 2, 101 no 56.

DELOS

8. Îlot des Bijoux (Figs. 176-80). Room A1 - *Oikos*. Delos Museum.

- A floral border, 0.35 m wide, containing theatre masks and bucrania, frames a white field with a central rectangular panel, c. 1.83 x 1.37 m. It depicts Athena and Hermes standing on either side of a seated female figure, badly damaged and not allowing identification.
- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd-beginning of 1st century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Bruneau & Siebert; G. Siebert, "Sur la mosaïque de l' habitation de l' Îlot des Bijoux à Délos," *BCH* 95 (1971) 147-65; *Delos* XXIX, 156-69 no. 68, figs. 55-79, pl. A.3&4; Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1995) 538-47; N. Tolis, *BCH* 119 (1995) 548-52, pl. IIb-c; C. Fiori, "Pavement en mosaïque de l' Îlot des Bijoux: composition des échantillons en matière vitreuse," *BCH* 119 (1995) 553-57; *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 6.

9. Îlot des Bijoux (Figs. 117-18). Delos Museum.

- Six rows of terracotta tesserae frame a near-square panel, 0.69 x 0.73 m, from a room on the second floor. It depicts the story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia.
- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd-beginning of 1st century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Delos* XXIX, 169-72 no. 69, figs. 80-82; Bruneau & Vatin, 391-427, figs. 1-5; Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 617-18, 620. 626

10. House of the Masks (Figs. 66-70). Room E. In Situ.

- Concentric borders of geometric ornament and plain fillets frame a rectangular panel, 4.62 x 2,57 m. In the centre of a white field is an *emblema* in *opus vermiculatum*, depicting Dionysos riding

on a leopard. He is wearing a long-sleeved, floor length garment, a wreath of ivy, and boots. He is holding a thyrsos and a *τύμπανον*. On either side, a diamond-shaped panel depicts a centaur, one carrying a large *krater*, the other a torch. Floral motifs and wreaths of ivy and laurel decorate the spaces between the panels.

- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd-beginning of 1st century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Delos XIV*, pp. 11-26, figs 3-6; *Delos XXIX*, 240-45 no. 214, figs. 176-83; Matz, *Meisterwerk*, 19-21; Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 607-31; *ead.* (1995) 529-34, pl. I.

11. House of the Masks (Figs. 66-67, 173-74). Room G - *Oikos*. In Situ.

- Concentric borders of geometric ornament and plain fillets frame a large rectangle, c. 6.90 x 5.46 m. The field is decorated with black, white, and red cubes in perspective. A frieze on each short side contains five theatre masks from New Comedy connected with a garland of ivy.
- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd-beginning of 1st century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Delos XIV*, p. 28-32, fig. 7; *Delos XXIX*, 245-51 no. 215, figs. 184-95; *MNC*² 20, DM 1; *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 5.

12. House of the Masks (Figs. 66-67, 165). Room H. In Situ.

- Concentric borders of plain fillets and geometric and floral ornament frame a rectangular panel, c. 0.90 x 0.66 m, depicting a flautist playing the double pipes and Silenos dancing to the music.
- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd - beginning of 1st century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Delos XIV*, 33-36; *Delos XXIX*, 255-56 no. 216, fig. 203.

13. House of Dionysos (Figs. 76-80). Courtyard. In Situ.

- Concentric borders of plain fillets and geometric ornament frame a white field. In the centre, a rectangular panel in *opus vermiculatum*, 1.29 x 1.57 m, depicts a winged Dionysiac figure, riding on a tiger. He is wearing a short, long-sleeved garment, high boots, and a wreath of ivy. He is holding a thyrsos. A large *kantharos* is lying on the ground under the tiger's raised paw.
- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd - beginning of 1st century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Delos XXIX*, 289-93 no. 293, figs. 247-53, pl. C.1&2; Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1995) 533.

14. House of the Dolphins (Figs. 5-6). Courtyard. In situ.

- A geometric border frames a large square within which is inscribed a circle, c. 3.14 m in diameter. Concentric borders of geometric, floral, and animal figures frame a circular panel, 0.91 m in diameter, decorated with a vegetal motif. The mosaicist's signature is preserved on a white border: [Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀράδιος ἐποίησεν. In the corners Erotes, in *opus vermiculatum*, ride on pairs of dolphins, each carrying the emblem of a god: the thyrsos of Dionysos, the trident of Poseidon, and the *caduceus* of Hermes.

- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd - beginning of 1st century B.C.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Delos XXIX*, 253-39 no. 210, figs. 168-75, pl. B.1&2; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (Erlangen 1989) 56 no. A 6; Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1992) 612, 615-20, 626-27.

15. House B, Quartier de l' Inopos (Fig. 7). Fragment, Delos Museum, Inv. A.2455a.

- Fragment, c. 0.23 m, depicting the head and the front part of the body of a leopard. Part of a garland of ivy leaves and red berries are visible on the animal's back.

- **DATE:** Bruneau, end of 2nd - beginning of 1st century B.C.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Delos XXIX*, 216-17 no. 169, fig. 143; Guimier-Sorbets & Nenna (1995) 533.

DION

16. Villa Dionysos (Figs. 53-56, 182-83). Triclinium. In Situ.

- Concentric borders of geometric ornament frame a T-shape mosaic. In the horizontal part of the "T" are five panels of unequal width, decorated with geometric motifs. In the vertical part of the "T" a double guilloche and a wide border of acanthus frame a rectangular panel, divided into three sections. In the middle a large rectangular panel shows Dionysos with Papposilenos riding on a sea-chariot, drawn by sea-lions. On either side of the chariot is a sea-centaur, holding the reins, one carrying a large *krater*, the other a large *dinos*. Along the top and bottom of the central scene are two friezes, each one divided into three square panels with depictions of masks.

- **DATE:** Pandermalis, c. A.D. 200.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Pandermalis, *AEMT* 1, 181-88, figs. 2-4; *id.*, "ΔΙΟΝ," *ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ* 33 (December 1989) 40-45; Kankeleit, v. 2, 53-58 no. 30; S.P.M. Harrington, "Sanctuary of the Gods," *Archaeology* (March/April 1996) 28-35.

17. Villa Dionysos (Fig. 9). In Situ.

- Concentric borders of geometric ornament and plain fillets frame a large rectangular field, which is divided into seven horizontal rows of four squares each, decorated with geometric motifs. A rectangular panel in the middle, 1 x 1.30 m, framed with a simple guilloche, shows Dionysos seated on a throne, wearing an ivy wreath, a purple cloak, and holding a sceptre.
- **DATE:** Pandermalis, c. A.D. 200.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Pandermalis, *AEMT* 2, 147-52, fig. 2; Kankeleit, v.2, 53-58 no. 30.

EPHESOS

18. Insula II, apartment II (Figs. 18-20). Peristyle.

- Vault mosaic, 3.7 x 2 m. The busts of Ariadne and Dionysos are shown in a central medallion framed with two red fillets. Dionysos is wearing a long-sleeved garment and an ivy wreath. He is holding a thyrsos. On the right edge is a fragmentary depiction of a winged Eros(?), who is leading two leopards that pull a cart. A sprawling vine with clusters of grapes and birds fills the rest of the pavement.
- **DATE:** Strocka, Vettters, and Jobst, c. A.D. 400-410; Hellenkemper Salies (1980), first quarter of 5th century A.D.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V.M. Strocka, *Ephesos* 8.1, 76 ff; W. Jobst and H. Vettters, *Ephesos* 8.2, 65-67, pls. 110, 112-21; Hellenkemper Salies (1980).

19. Insula II, apartment III (Figs. 21-22). In situ.

- Concentric plain fillets frame a near-square field decorated with geometric motifs. In a smaller panel, c. 0.56 m square, placed off-centre, the bust of Dionysos is shown wearing an ivy wreath and holding a thyrsos.
- **DATE:** Strocka and Jobst, c. A.D. 440-50; Hellenkemper Salies (1980) suggests that it may be contemporary with the second layer of painting which Strocka places to c. 400-410.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** V.M. Strocka, *Ephesos* 8.1, 123, 125; W. Jobst and H. Vettters, *Ephesos* 8.2, 97, 99-101, pls. 173, 176, 180-83; Hellenkemper Salies (1980).

ERETRIA

20. Context Unknown (Fig. 65). Now lost.

- Black and white pebble mosaic. A square, placed diagonally within a larger square, 4.73 x 4.68 m, contains a circle framed with a wave pattern. In the circle Dionysos is shown riding on a leopard. In the corners are white doves.
- **DATE:** Salzmann (1982), 2nd quarter of 3rd century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Salzmann (1982) 32-33, 91 no. 39, fig. 49.1.

KASTELI KISAMOU

21. Health Centre Property, Section II (Fig. 35)

- Interlaced squares of guilloche enclose a medallion with a depiction of Dionysos standing, with the left arm resting on the shoulders of a satyr and the right on the shoulders of a maenad. In the corners are female heads, probably personifications of the Seasons. The mosaicist's signature is in the central medallion: Μερόπας ἐψηφοθέτησα.
- **DATE:** Markoulaki (1987), 3rd century A.D.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Markoulaki (1987) 562, pl. 326; Kankeleit, v.2, 160-62.

22. Health Centre Property, Section III (Fig. 36)

- Rectangular panel placed in the middle of a field of geometric ornament. Dionysos is shown standing in the middle, a small Papposilenos next to him, Pan, and a maenad to the right, a small satyr, a leaping leopard, and two maenads to the left.
- **DATE:** Markoulaki (1987), 3rd century A.D.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Markoulaki (1987) 562, pl. 327; Kankeleit, v.2, 160-62.

KNOSSOS

23. Villa Dionysos (Figs. 10-11, 13-14). *Oikos*. In Situ.

- The room is c. 9 m square. Concentric borders of geometric ornament frame a large square within which is inscribed an octagonal field. The bust of Dionysos is shown in a central medallion, framed with a band of laurel leaves. Protomes of members of the thiasos are in eight surrounding

trapezoidal panels. In the corners female figures spring out of acanthus leaves.

- **DATE:** Hayes, between the reign of Hadrian and c. A.D. 170-80; Sanders, Hellenkemper Salies (1986), and Waywell (1983), 2nd century A.D.; S. Paton, c. A.D. 160.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** J.-P. Michaud, *BCH* 96 (1972) figs. 485-86; I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982) 51, 69-70; J.W. Hayes, "The Villa Dionysos excavations, Knossos: The Pottery," *ABSA* 78 (1983) 97ff; Waywell (1983) 11-12, figs. 8-9; Kankeleit, v. 2, 170-75 no. 93; Blackman, 107, fig. 103; S. Paton, "The Villa Dionysos at Knossos and its Predecessors," *Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete* (forthcoming).

24. Villa Dionysos (Figs. 10,16). Room N2. In Situ.

- Room size, c. 6 x 3.2 m. The pavement is rectangular and is framed with borders of geometric ornament. One quarter of the pavement, on the north side, is decorated with peltae. Two friezes with animal figures are placed to the north and south of a large square panel which contains a central medallion with a bust of Dionysos, semicircles with birds, and tangents with flowers. In the corners are masks.

- **DATE:** Hayes, between the reign of Hadrian and A.D. 170-80; Sanders, Hellenkemper Salies (1986) and Waywell (1983), 2nd century A.D.; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), beginning of 2nd century A.D.; S. Paton, c. A.D. 160.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H.G.G. Payne, *JHS* 55 (1935) 164, pl. XI.2; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 226 no. 17a; I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982) 51-52, 69-70, pl. 13; J.W. Hayes, "The Villa Dionysos Excavations, Knossos: The Pottery," *ABSA* 78 (1983) 97ff; Waywell (1983) 12; Kankeleit, v.2, 170-75 no. 93; Blackman, 106; S. Paton, "The Villa Dionysos at Knossos and its Predecessors," *Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete* (forthcoming).

25. Villa Dionysos (Figs. 10, 15). Room N1. In Situ.

- Room size, c. 6.5 x 6 m. A near-square pavement, inscribed with a circle, is framed with concentric borders of geometric and floral ornament. This is divided into seven hexagons, each containing a bust of a Dionysiac figure. Three of the corners between the circle and the square have birds and the fourth has fish.

- **DATE:** Hayes, between the reign of Hadrian and c. A.D. 170-80; Sanders, Hellenkemper Salies (1986) and Waywell (1983), 2nd century A.D.; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), beginning of 2nd century A.D.; S. Paton, c. A.D. 160.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** H.G.G. Payne, *JHS* 55 (1935) 164, pl. XI.1; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 226 no. 17c; I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982) 51, 69-70, pl. 14; J.W. Hayes, "The Villa Dionysos Excavations, Knossos: The Pottery," *ABSA* 78 (1983) 97ff; Waywell (1983) 12, fig. 11; Kankeleit, v. 2, 170-75 no. 93; Blackman, 106-107, fig. 102; S. Paton, "The Villa Dionysos at Knossos

and its Predecessors," Colloquium on Post Minoan Crete (forthcoming).

KORONI

26. Hagia Triada, near Koroni (Figs. 189). Kalamata Museum.

- Square panel, 3.13 x 3.13 m, framed with guilloche. In a central medallion Dionysos is shown standing, with the left arm resting on the shoulders of a satyr. He is wearing a wreath, the nebris, and boots, and holding a thyrsos. In four adjacent semicircles *venatores* fight wild beasts and theatre masks are hanging in the tangents. Two of the corners are decorated with *kantharoi* and the third has a leaping panther. The fourth corner is destroyed.

- **DATE:** Valmin, Trajanic times; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), Hadrianic period; Waywell (1979) and Pochmarski, mid 2nd century A.D.; Parlasca, c. A.D. 175-200; Hellenkemper Salies (1986), late 2nd century.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M.N. Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (Lund 1938) 469-75, pl. V; K. Parlasca, *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959) 116; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 231-31 no. 22, pl. 13a; Waywell (1979) 299 no. 30, pl. 49, fig. 27; Pochmarski, 90; Kankeleit, v. 2, 120-22 no. 62.

KOS

27. The House of the Mosaic of Silenos (Figs. 187-88). Courtyard. In Situ.

- Concentric borders of plain fillets and geometric and floral ornament frame a rectangular field which contains two figural panels. One depicts a *venator* attacking a boar, the other Silenos riding on the back of a donkey. At the entrance a rectangular panel depicts two pairs of fighting gladiators and a referee. Three gladiators are identified by inscriptions as ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ, ΥΛΑΣ, and ΑΙΓΙΑΛΟΣ.

- **DATE:** Morricone, after the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), late 2nd - early 3rd century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** L. Morricone, "Cronaca d' Arte. Scavi e Ricerche a Coa (1935-1943), Relazione preliminare," *BdA* 35 (1950) 240-41, figs. 75-76; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 36-37, 191 no. 191a B; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 232-33 no. 25 a & b, pl. 15b; Kankeleit, v. 2, 144-46 no. 76.

28. House of the Judgement of Paris (Figs. 185-86). Western Public Baths Area. In situ.

- A large rectangular pavement, 13.8 x 6.55 m, contains three large panels. The left panel is well preserved and depicts "The Judgement of Paris" in the centre and five smaller rectangular panels along

the top and bottom with depictions of Orpheus and the nine Muses. The central panel is for the most part destroyed, but preserved fragments show in a central medallion part of a centaur's body, carrying a lyre, and below this a figure holding a cluster of grapes. In an adjacent compartment another figure is depicted, possibly a satyr. The panel on the right is completely destroyed. Around the entire pavement and between each panel, is a border with depictions of *venatores* chasing and killing wild beasts, all identified by inscriptions.

- **DATE:** Morricone, de Matteis, and Kondoleon, end of 2nd - 3rd century A.D.; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), end of 2nd century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** L. Morricone, "Scavi e ricerche a Coo (1935-1943), relazione preliminare," *BdA* 35 (1950) 227, figs. 37-40; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 231-32 no.23, pl. 13b; L. de Matteis, "Il bordo con *venationes* del mosaico del 'Giudizio di Paride' di Coo," *Corso di Cultura sull' Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* XL (1993) 111-24, figs. 1-4; Kondoleon, 307-309, figs. 198-99; Kankeleit, v. 2, 139-43 no. 74.

LARISA

29. Property of Katsigra, 3 Papakyriaze Street (Figs. 147-50).

- Pavement, c. 40 m², framed with borders of geometric ornament, plain fillets, and squares with representations of Erotes hunting wild beasts. In the corners are depictions of the Seasons identified by inscriptions. In a square panel in the centre Dionysos is shown standing in front of an altar wearing a short garment, the nebris, and boots. A leopard is sitting by his feet, a small satyr is standing on a column, a theatre mask hanging above the altar, Pan is cutting grapes from a tall vine, and two other figures, one male and one female, are standing behind Dionysos.

- **DATE:** Sdrolia, end of 5th - early 6th century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** L. Deriziotes, *ArchDelt* 31 (1976) chr. 187-88, pls. 136a-c, 137a-b; S. Sdrolia, *Θεσσαλικά Ψηφιδωτά* (Athens 1991) 19-21.

30. Building on Augustus and Papadiamanti Street (Figs. 151-53).

- Rectangular geometric panel inscribed with a smaller rectangle framed by a border of guilloche. Inner rectangle consists of four panels with *xenia* on each of the short sides and a central square inscribed with a circle. It is decorated with a radiating shield of triangles and contains a medallion with a bust of Dionysos. In the corners are busts of the Seasons.

- **DATE:** Tziafalias, c. end of 4th century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Tziafalias, *ArchDelt* 46 (1991) chr.¹ 219-20, fig. 1, pls. 88-89a,c.

MELOS

31. So-called Baccheion (Figs. 25, 28). Hall of the *Mystae*. In Situ.

- Rectangular panel, 5.35 m wide and preserved to a length of 19.2 m. Concentric borders of geometric ornament and a border of acanthus growing out of *kantharoi* enclose five panels of equal width, 2.67 m, but of unequal length. The first panel is decorated with an elaborate sprawling vine pattern. The second panel is square and is inscribed with a circle depicting a fisherman in a boat and fish of different varieties and size; an inscription reads: ΜΟΝΟΝ ΜΗ ΥΔΩΠ. The corners are filled with masks. The third and fifth panels are decorated with geometric patterns; the fourth is destroyed.

- **DATE:** Bosanquet, early decades of 3rd century A.D.; Moormann, beginning of 3rd century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** R.C. Bosanquet, "Excavations of the British School at Melos," *JHS* 18 (1898) 64-73, fig. 4, pls. 1-3; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 238-39 no. 41; E.M. Moormann, "Imperial Roman Mosaics at Leiden," *OMRO* 71 (1991) 99-100; Kankeleit, v. 2, 185-89 no. 106.

32. Context uncertain, possibly from the so-called Baccheion (Figs. 23-24). Museum of Leiden, Inv. no. RO. III. 60a.

- Rectangular panel, c. 0.90 x 0.69 m, thought to have decorated the centre of a larger panel with multiple compartments. It is framed with concentric borders of simple fillets and geometric ornament, and shows the bust of Dionysos wearing a blue *chiton* and a wreath of large vine leaves. He is holding a thyrsos.

- **DATE:** Moormann, beginning of 3rd century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** E.M. Moormann, "Imperial Roman Mosaics at Leiden," *OMRO* 71 (1991) 97-103, pls. 2.1, 3.2; Kankeleit, v. 2, 185 no. 105.

OLYNTHOS

33. Villa of Good Fortune (Figs. 50-52). *Andron*. In Situ.

- Rectangular pebble mosaic, 3.90 x 3.20 m, framed with concentric borders of geometric and floral ornament and a figural frieze depicting members of the thiasos. In the central panel Dionysos is shown on a chariot drawn by leopards, led by Pan; a winged Eros is flying overhead. At the entrance, a rectangular panel, 6.25 x 3 m, is framed with geometric and floral ornament, and depicts two Pans standing on either side of a large *krater*.

- **DATE:** Robinson, last quarter of 5th century B.C.; Robertson, well on in the 4th century B.C.; Salzmann (1982), first half of 4th century B.C. (370-60).

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** *Olynthos* XII, 341-59, pls I-II; Robinson (1934) 506-508, figs. 1, 3; C.M. Robertson, "Greek Mosaics," *JHS* 85 (1965) *passim*; Salzmänn (1982) 102 no. 87, pl. 14.2, 15.1.

PELLA

34. House no. 1, Section I (Figs. 62-64). Room B. *Andron*. Pella Museum.

- Near-square pebble mosaic, 2.70 x 2.65 m, framed with four rows of white pebbles and depicting Dionysos riding on a leopard. He is nude, wears a wreath of vine leaves, and holds a thyrsos.
- **DATE:** Robertson, during the reign of Cassander (316-297 B.C.) or the reign of Antigonos Gonatas (277 B.C.); Touratsoglou, after 316 B.C.; Makaronas & Giouri, last quarter of 4th century B.C.; Salzmänn (1982), last third of the 4th century B.C. (340/30-320/10)
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Ch. Makaronas, "Ανασκαφαί Πέλλης," *ArchDelt* 16 (1960) 73-75, pls. 37, 40-47; Petsas (1958) 251, figs. p. 252; Petsas (1964) 79, fig. 7; Ph. Petsas, "Mosaics from Pella," *CMGR* I, 45-46, fig. 2; C.M. Robertson, "Greek Mosaics," *JHS* 85 (1965) esp. 76-77; I. Touratsoglou, "Μεταλεξάνδρεια Πέλλα," *ArchDelt* 30 (1975) 165-84; Makaronas & Giouri, pp. 133-36, 167, pl. 24, plan nos. 1 & 7; Salzmänn (1982) 104-105 no. 96, pl. 34.1-3.

PERGAMON

35. Building "Z", Room of the Masks (Figs. 134, 181). In Situ.

- Room measures c. 7.5 x 7.5 m. Concentric borders of geometric ornament and plain fillets frame a square panel containing sixteen octagonal panels. Twelve of the panels contain masks. The other four have animal figures.
- **DATE:** Radt (1993), c. A.D. 100 or shortly after.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Salzmänn (1991) 449-52, figs. 18-23; *id.*, (1993) 389-92, figs. 1-2; W. Radt, "Pergamon 1991," *AA* (1992) 349-55, figs. 8-11; *id.*, *AA* (1993) 359-64; *id.*, *AA* (1994) 408-26; *MNC*³, v. 2, 5DM 2.

36. Building "Z", Room of Silenos (Figs. 134-36). In Situ.

- Room measures c. 8 x 6 m. Concentric borders of geometric ornament and simple fillets frame a rectangular panel paved with cubes in perspective. In the centre of the field is a square panel, 1 x 1 m, framed with an egg-and-dart border, depicting Papposilenos holding the child Dionysos.
- **DATE:** Radt (1993), c. A.D. 100 or shortly after.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Salzmann (1993) 392-94, figs. 3, 5-7; W. Radt, "Pergamon 1991," *AA* (1992) 357-61, figs. 21-23; *id.*, *AA* (1993) 359-65; *id.*, *AA* (1994) 408-26; *id.*, *AA* (1994) 408-26.

RHODES

37. From a house at Kos (Fig. 171). Castello Museum.

- Square panel framed with a floral border. In the centre of the white field, an *emblema in opus vermiculatum*, 0.60 x 0.60 m, is framed with an egg-and-dart border and depicts a theatre mask.
- **DATE:** Konstantinopoulos, mid. Hellenistic period; Guimier-Sorbets and Barbet, 2nd century B.C.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Konstantinopoulos, *Ἀρχαία Ρόδος* (Athens 1986) 147-49, pl. XXVII; *MNC*³, v. 2, 3DM 4b; A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets and A. Barbet, "Le motif de caissons dans la mosaïque du IV^e siècle avant J.-C. à la fin de la République romaine: ses rapports avec l' architecture, le stuc et la peinture," *CMGR* IV, 26, pl. II.1.

38. Hypostyle of a Nymphaeum, 5 Pavlou Mela Street (Fig. 41). In Situ.

- Multiple plain fillets frame a near-rectangular panel, 4.60-5 x 3 m. It is divided into three sections: two rectangular side sections with geometric and floral motifs and a central square where Dionysos is depicted standing, nude, holding a *kantharos* and a thyrsos.
- **DATE:** Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), 2nd century A.D.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G. Konstantinopoulos, *ArchDelt* 24 (1969) chr.² 464, pl. 467a, 468b; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 246-47 no. 59; Bruneau (1981) 331, 337, pl. V.1; Kankeleit, v.2, 289 no. 177.

SPARTA

39. Triton mosaic, Psychogios property (Fig. 8). Part in the Museum of Sparta, part at Mourabas property.

- Square chip/tessellated mosaic, 7 x 6.5 m, framed with five concentric borders of geometric and floral ornament, a frieze of dolphins and other sea creatures, and a wide Dionysiac frieze depicting satyrs, centaurs, and Pan. In the centre a square panel, 1.065 x 1.065 m, depicts a Triton.
- **DATE:** Oikonomos, end of the Hellenistic or beginning of Roman period; Bruneau, 3rd-2nd century B.C.; Salzmann (1982), second half of 3rd century B.C.; Loukas (1986), second half - end of 2nd century B.C.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** G.P. Oikonomos, *ArchDelt* 4 (1918) 171-76; Bruneau (1969) 308-22; K.M.D. Dunbabin, *AJA* 83 (1979) 270-71, pl.38, figs. 8-9; Salzmänn (1982), 125 no. 169, pl. 82.1-3; I. Loukas, *Mosaïque hellénistique de Sparte à scènes dionysiaques* (Diss. University of Brussels, 1983); I. Loukas, "Ελληνιστικό Μωσαϊκό Σπάρτης με Διονυσιακές Σκηνές," *Λακωνικά Σπουδαί* 8 (1986) 217-65.

40. Paraskevopoulou property, House to the South of the Ancient Theatre (Fig. 32-34). Room Δ. In Situ.

- Room measures 4.20 x 4 m. A wide geometric border encloses a square field of labyrinth meander. In a small panel, 0.80 x 0.80 m, in the centre of the field Dionysos is depicted sitting on a throne, dressed in a long garment. Silenos is standing in front of him drinking out of a bowl (?).
- **DATE:** Demakopoulou, Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) and Waywell (1979), second half of 3rd century A.D.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A. Demakopoulou, *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) chr.¹ 172, pl. 154b; G. Daux, *BCH* 92 (1968) chr. 812, figs. 4-5; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 248 no. 62b; Waywell (1979) 302 no. 47d; Kankeleit, v.2, 301-303 no. 190.

41. Alexopoulou property. House on St. Nikonos Street (Fig. 31). Sparta Museum.

- Rectangular panel, 2.10 x 1.10 m, depicting two panthers standing on either side of a *krater*.
- **DATE:** Waywell (1979), late 3rd century A.D.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Ch. Christou, *ArchDelt* 19 (1964) chr.¹ 137-38, pl. 137b; G. Daux, *BCH* 90 (1966) 796, fig. 6; Waywell (1979) 302-303 no. 48a; Kankeleit, v. 2, 294-95 no.184.

THESSALONIKI

42. 45 Socratous Street (Figs. 99-101). Thessaloniki Museum.

- Tripartite pavement, 4.20 x 4.40 m, framed with concentric borders of geometric ornament. The largest panel, 2.40 x 1.20 m, depicts the story of the Discovery of Ariadne.
- **DATE:** Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973), end of 2nd century A.D.; Waywell (1979) late 2nd - early 3rd century A.D.; Hellenkemper Salies (1986), early 4th century A.D.; Pochmarski, second half of 3rd century A.D.
- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** M. Karamanoli-Siganidou, *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) chr.² 410, pls. 459-60; G. Daux, *BCH* 92 (1968) 903, pl. 26; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 223 no. 11, pl. 7a; Waywell (1979) 303-304 no. 53, pl. 52, fig. 45; Hellenkemper Salies (1986) 279 n. 213; Pochmarski, 89, 382;

Kankeleit, v. 2, 321-22, no. 209.

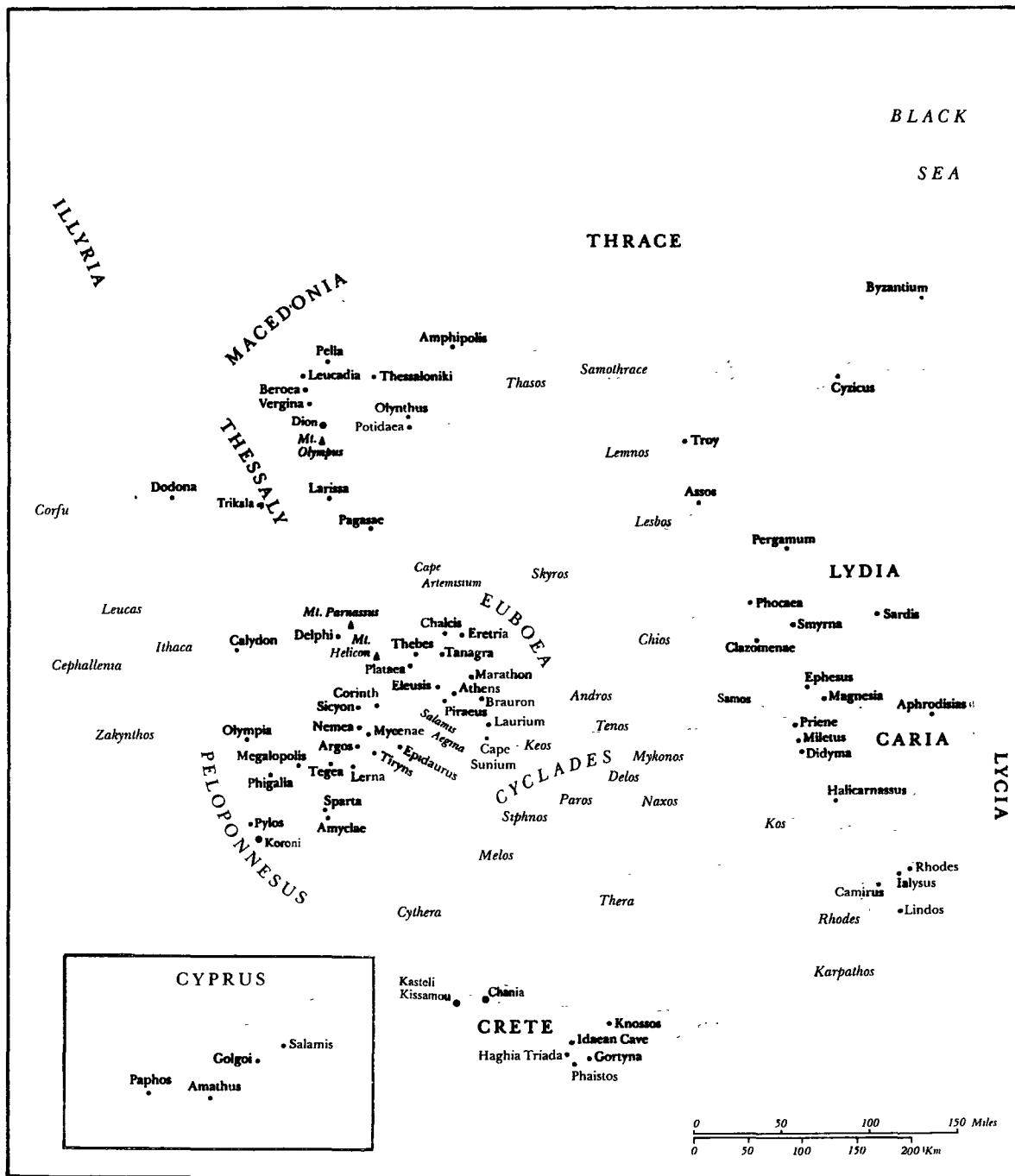
TRIKALA

43. Asklepieion (Figs. 119-120). Trikala Museum.

- Rectangular panel, c. 4 x 2 m, framed with a geometric border and depicting the story of Lykourgos and Ambrosia. The scene consists of four figures, one of which is identified by an inscription as ΘΠΑΚΗ. On the top left corner another inscription gives the names of the mosaicists (with supplements of Bruneau): [Τ][ι][τ]ος Φλάβιος Ἑρμῆς καὶ [Βά]σσοϛ, Ἑρμοῦ [υἱ]οί, ἐαυτοῖς τῶν γῆραφομένων ψη]φοθέτ[αι].

- **DATE:** Theocharis, c. 2nd century A.D.; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) and (1993), 3rd century A.D.; Waywell (1979) late 2nd-early 3rd century A.D; Bruneau (1984), 3rd or 4th century A.D.; Tziafalias, second quarter of 3rd century A.D.; Donderer, 2nd century A.D.

- **BIBLIOGRAPHY:** D. Theocharis, *ArchDelt* 20 (1965) chr.² 313-15, pls. 371-72; A.H.S. Megaw, *AR* 1965-66, 14-15, fig. 25; Bruneau & Vatin, 409 no. 8; Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (1973) 250-51 no. 66b; *ead.*, (1993) 45-46; Waywell (1979) 304 no. 54, pl. 52, fig 48; Bruneau (1984) 261-63; M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (Erlangen 1989) 129-30 no. C 8, pl. 58.2; A. Tziafalias, "Asklepieion," *ArchDelt* 44 (1989) chr.¹, 235-36, fig. 4; Kankeleit, v. 2, 324-27 no. 211.



Greece and the coast of Asia Minor



Fig. 1 Eretria, House of the Mosaics, *andron* and anteroom



Fig. 2 Pella, House 5, Stag Hunt by Gnosis



Fig. 3 Isthmia, Baths, Marine Thiasos



Fig. 4 Corinth, Roman Villa at Anaploga, details of pavement in Room 7

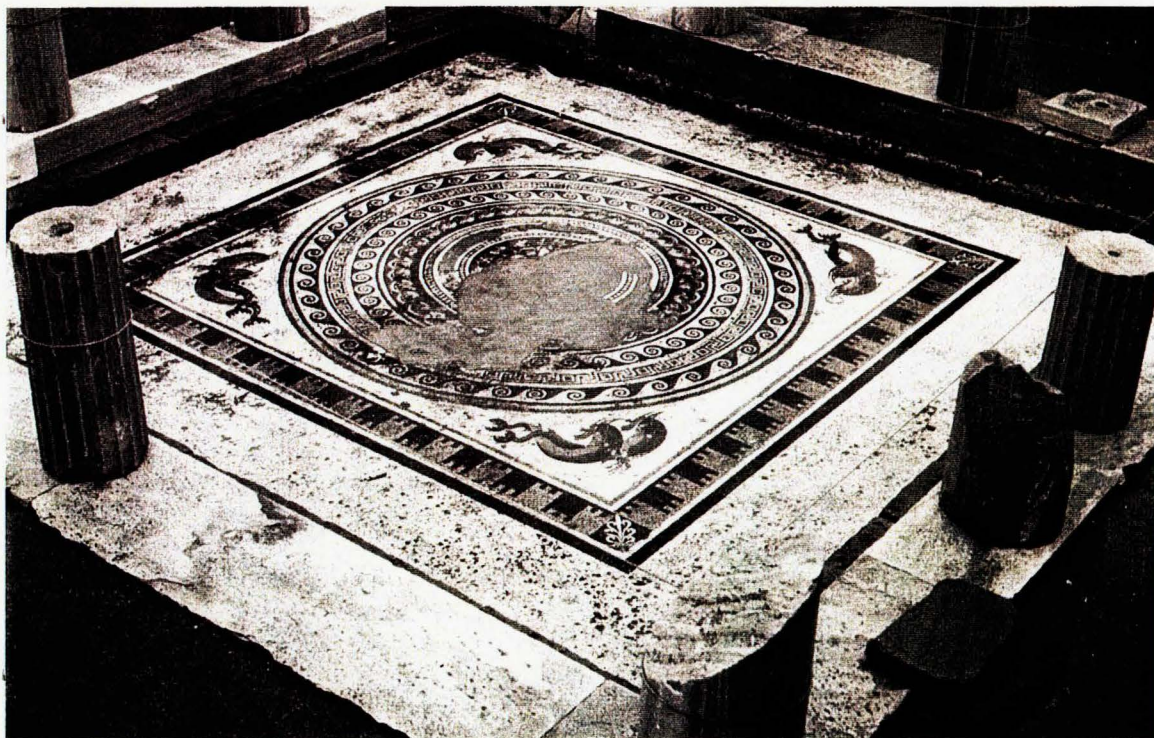


Fig. 5 Delos, House of the Dolphins, peristyle (cat. 14)



Fig. 6 Delos, House of the Dolphins, peristyle, Bacchic Eros, detail



Fig. 7 Delos, Quartier de l' Inopos, House B, fragment (cat. 15)



Fig. 8 Sparta, Psychogios property, Triton mosaic, (cat. 39)

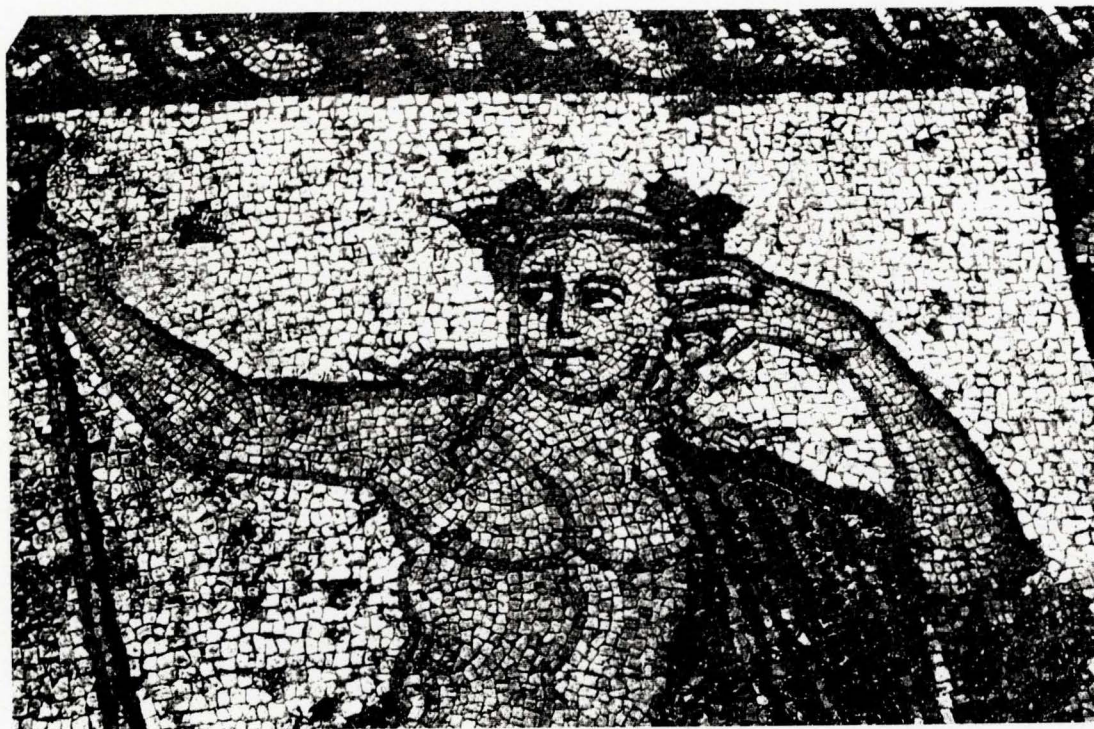


Fig. 9 Dion, Villa Dionysos, Dionysos enthroned, detail (cat. 17)

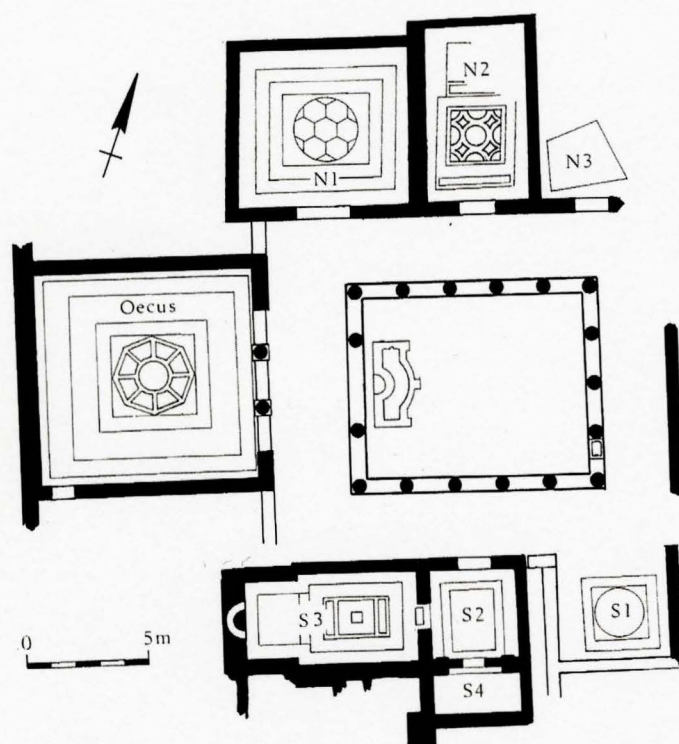


Fig. 10 Knossos, Villa Dionysos, plan (cat. 23-25)



Fig. 11 Knossos, Villa Dionysos, *oikos* (cat. 23)



Fig. 12 Knossos, Villa Dionysos, Room S3



Fig. 13 Knossos, Villa Dionysos, *oikos*, Dionysos in central medallion



Fig. 14 Knossos, Villa Dionysos, *oikos*, Papposilenos, detail



Fig. 15 Knossos, Villa Dionysos, Room N1 (cat. 25)



Fig. 16 Knossos, Villa Dionysos, Room N2 (cat. 24)



Fig. 17 Corinth, Roman Villa, Room D (cat. 6)



Fig. 18 Ephesos, Insula II, Apt. II, provisional reconstruction of peristyle (cat. 18)

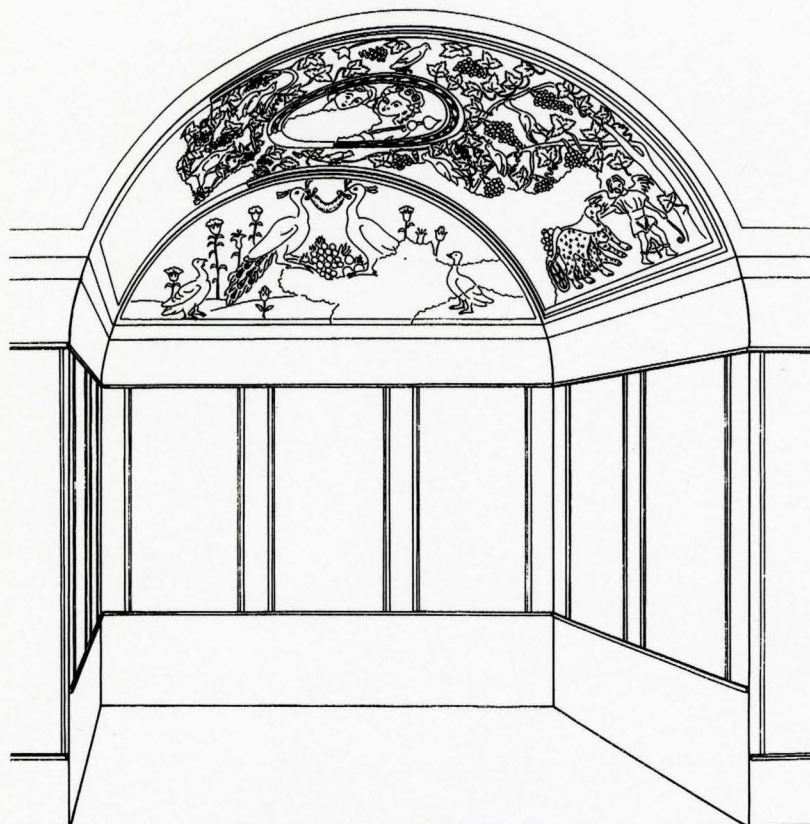


Fig. 19 Ephesos,
Insula II, Apt II,
drawing of niche with
wall mosaic



Fig. 20 Ephesos, Insula II, Apt. II, wall mosaic with Dionysos and Ariadne (cat. 18)

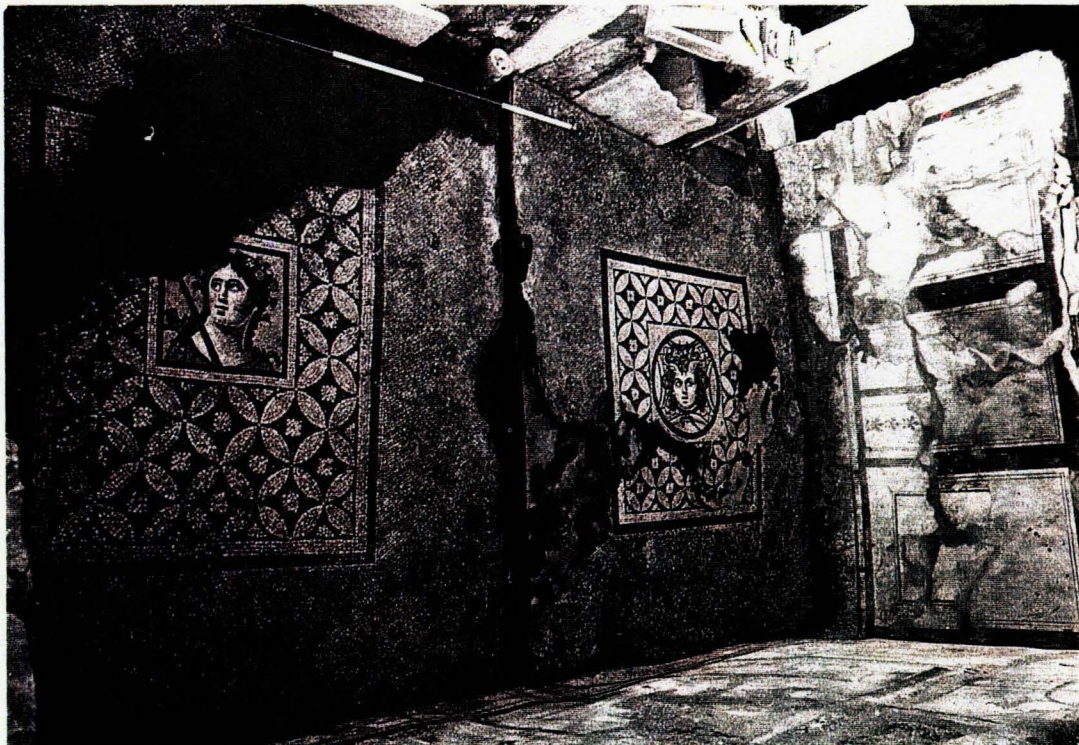


Fig. 21 Ephesos, Insula II, Apt. III, Room of Dionysos and Medusa (cat. 19)



Fig. 22 Ephesos, Insula II, Apt. III, Dionysos panel (cat. 19)

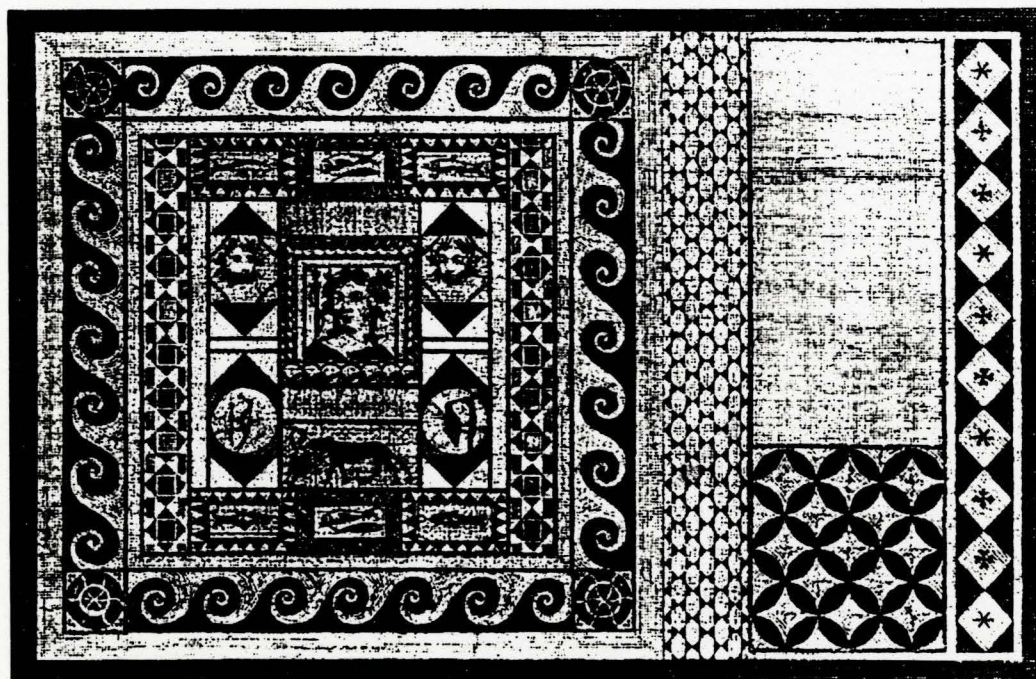


Fig. 23 Melos, Baccheion (?), drawing (cat. 32)



Fig. 24 Melos, Baccheion (?),
Dionysos panel (cat. 32)



Fig. 25 Melos, Baccheion (?), Hall of the *Mystae* (cat. 31)



Fig. 26 Lepti Minus (Tunisia), detail of fishermen



Fig. 27 Sousse (Tunisia), detail of fishermen

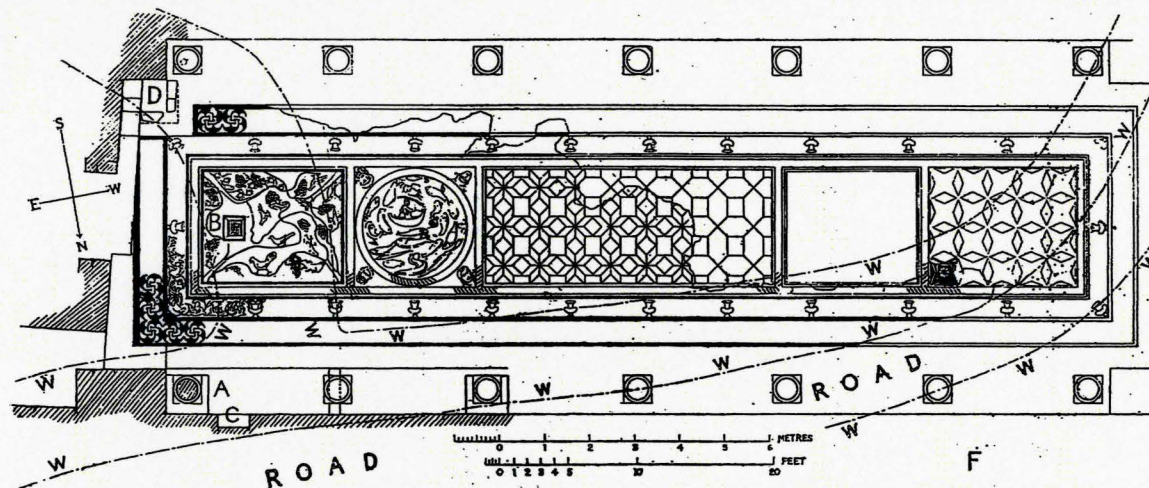


Fig. 28 Melos, Baccheion (?), plan of the Hall of the *Mystae* (cat. 31)

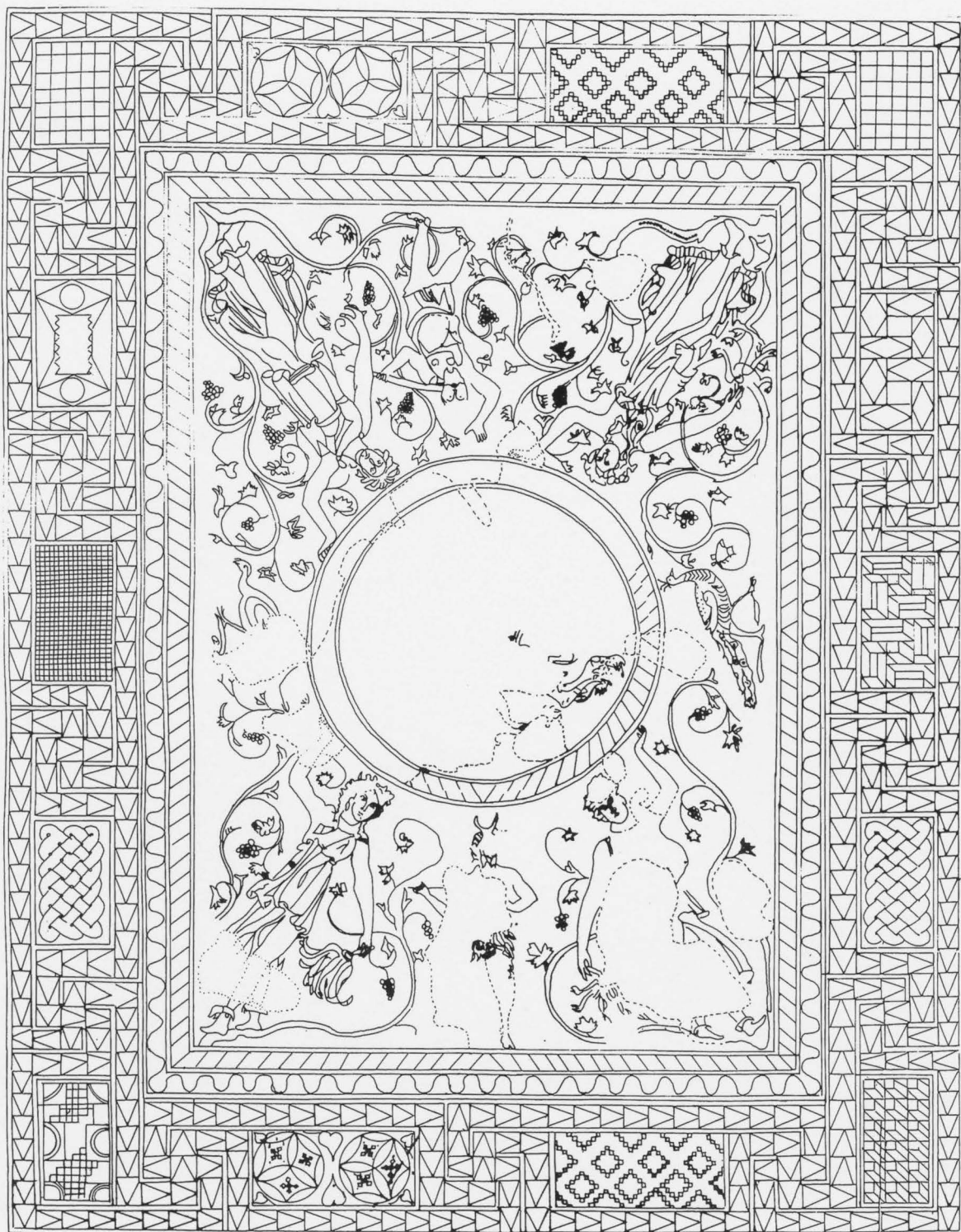


Fig. 29 Argos, Bonori Brothers property (cat. 2)



Fig. 30 Argos, Bonori Brothers property, details of maenads (cat. 2)



Fig. 31 Sparta, Alexopoulou property (cat. 41)

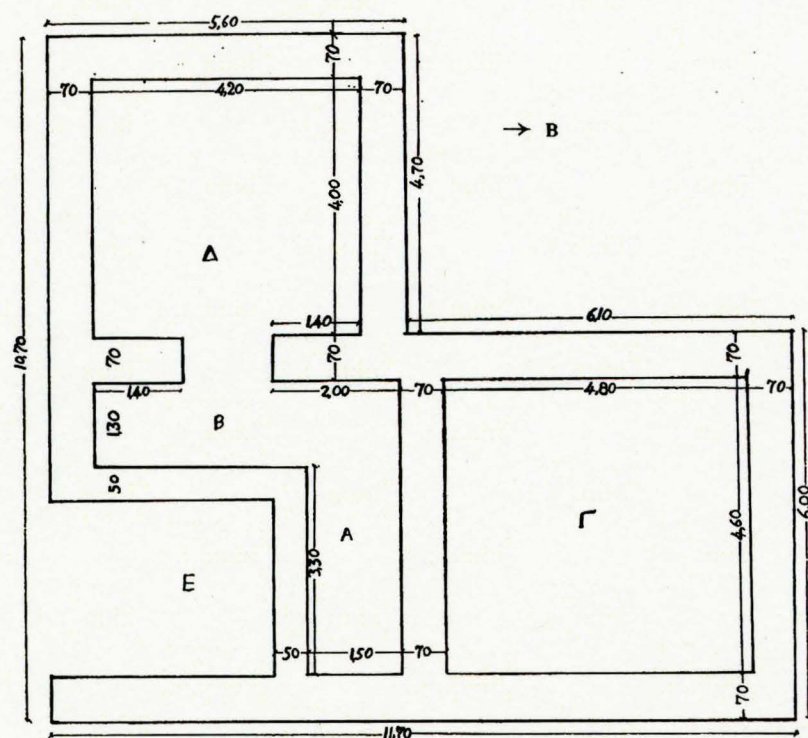


Fig. 32 Sparta, Paraskevopoulou property, plan (cat. 40)

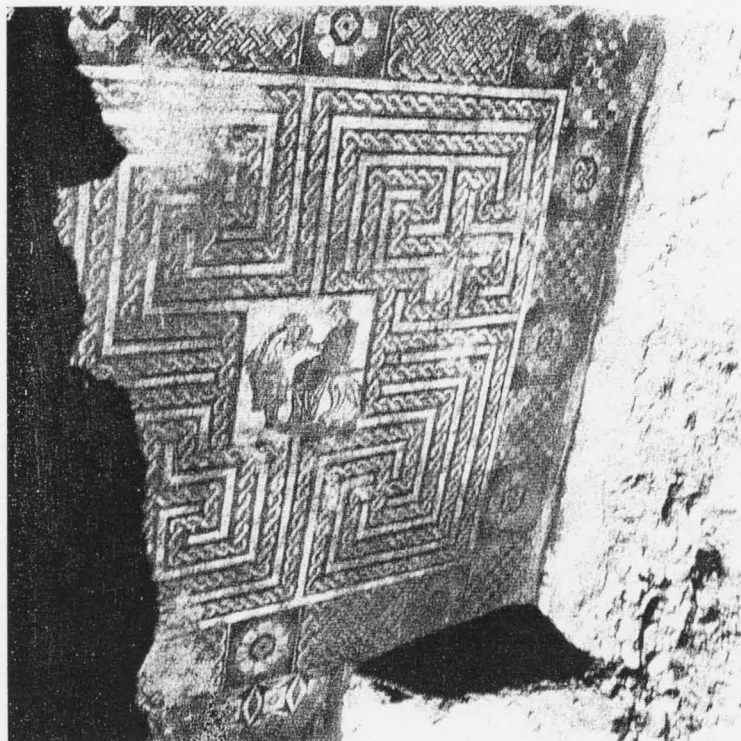


Fig. 33 Sparta, Paraskevopoulou property, Dionysos and Silenos (cat. 40)



Fig. 34 Sparta, Paraskevopoulou property, central panel (cat. 40)

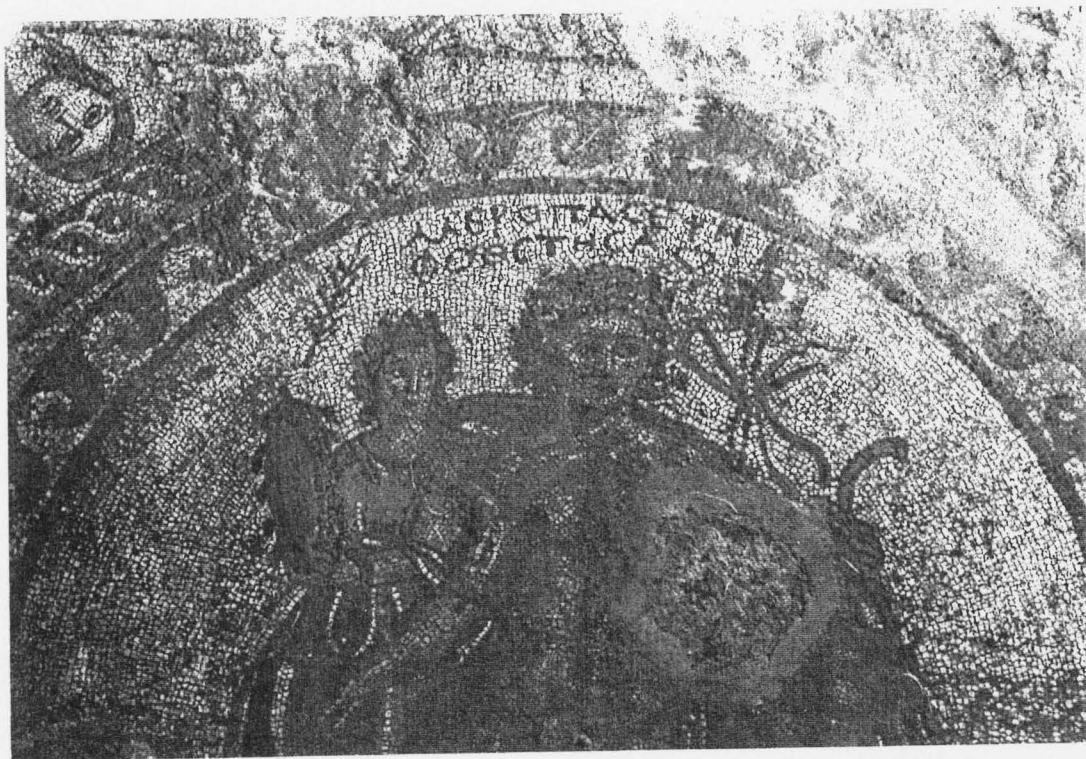


Fig. 35 Kasteli Kisamou (Crete), Health Centre, section II (cat. 21)

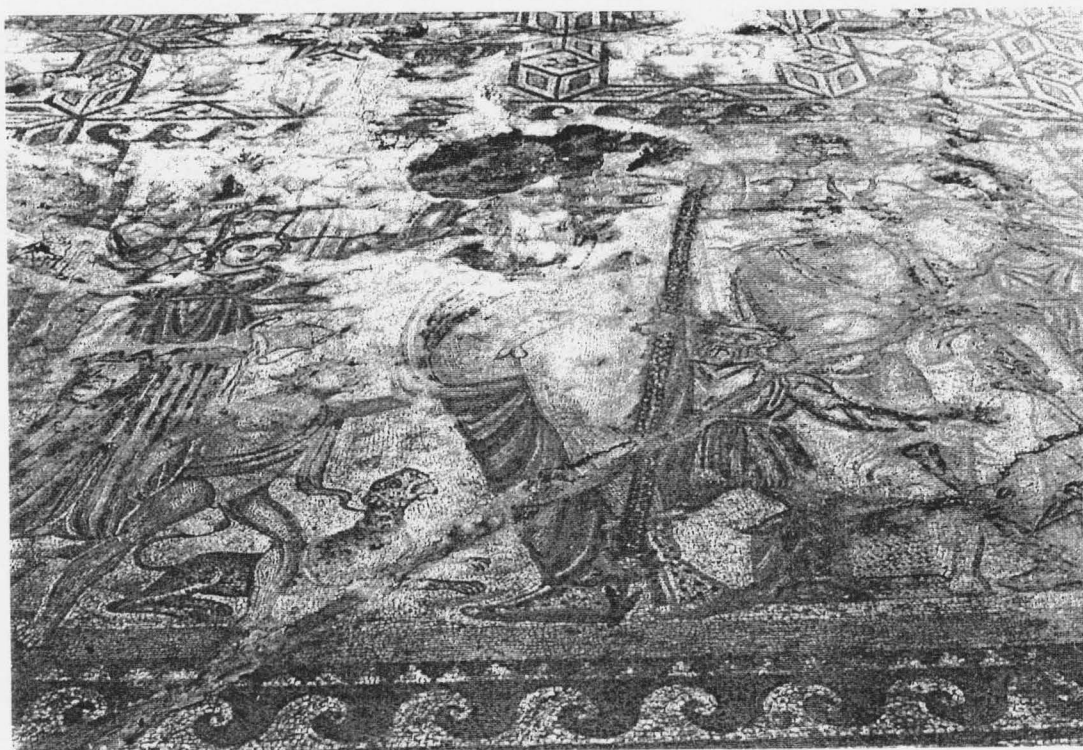


Fig. 36 Kasteli Kisamou (Crete), Health Centre, section III (cat. 22)

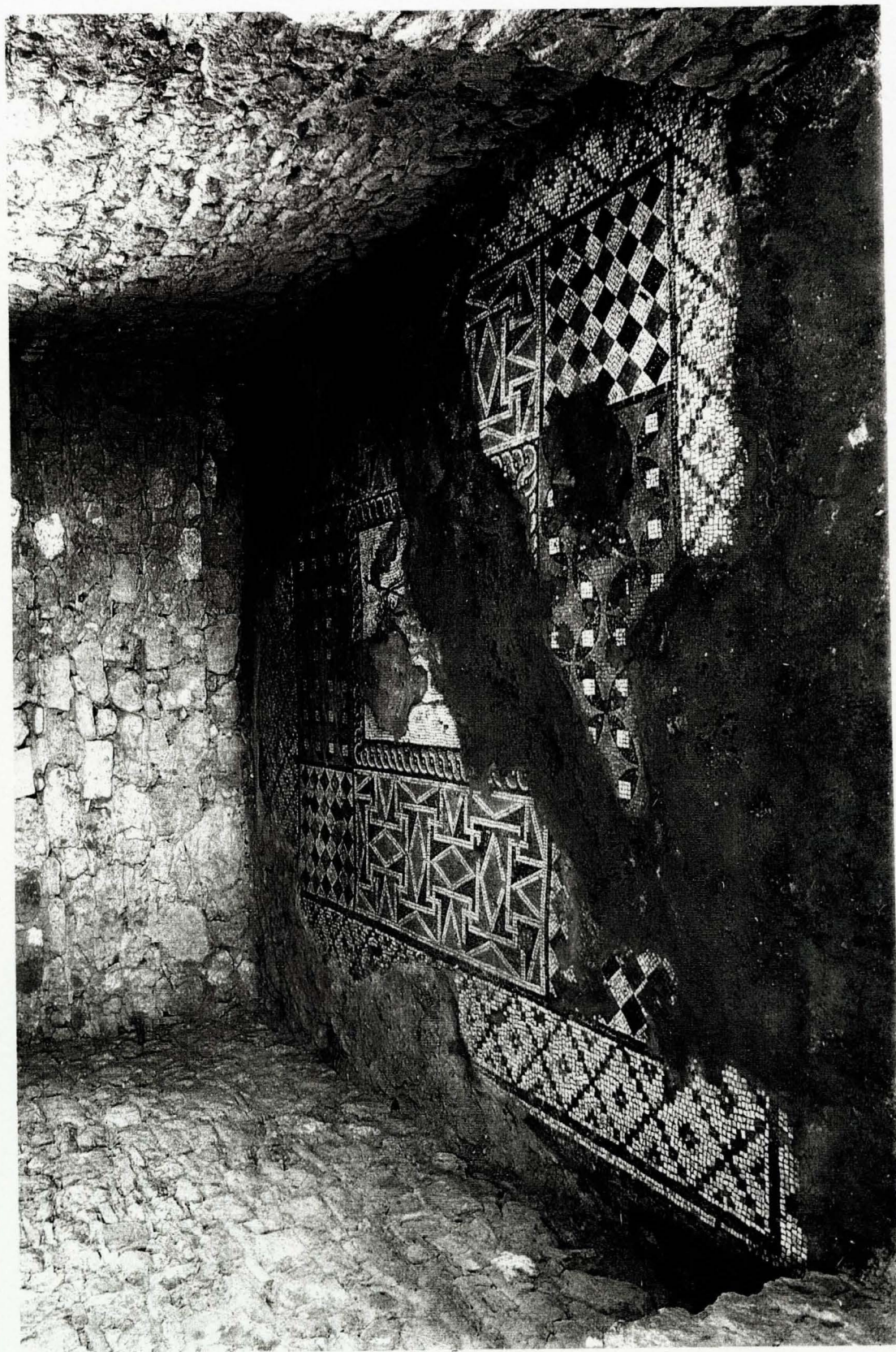


Fig. 37 Corinth, Roman Villa, Room B (cat. 5)

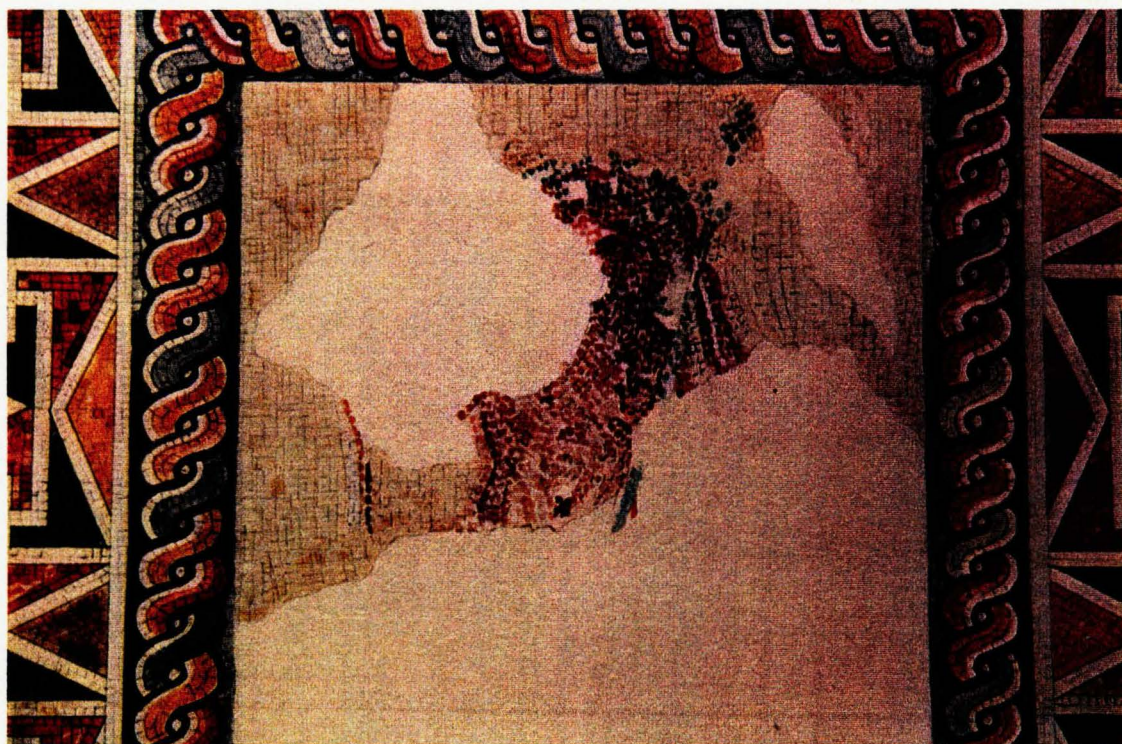


Fig. 38 Corinth, Roman Villa, Room B, detail (cat. 5)

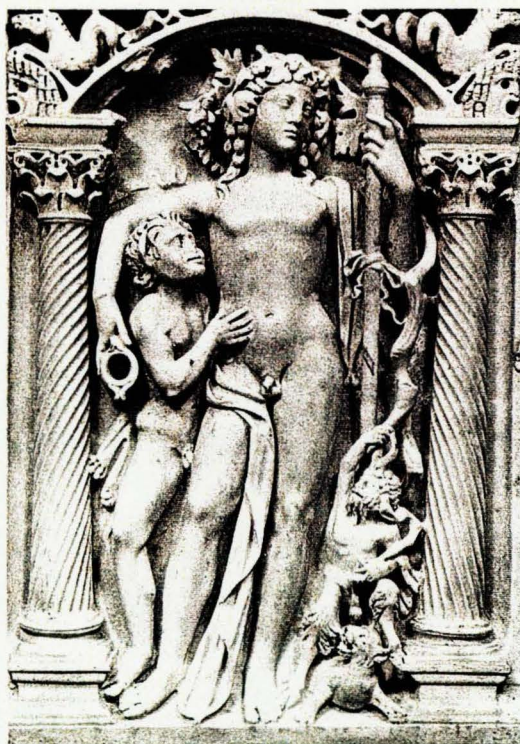


Fig. 39 Sarcophagus, "Stützmotiv"



Fig. 40 "Drunken Dionysos"



Fig. 41 Rhodes, *nymphæum*, hypostyle (cat. 38)

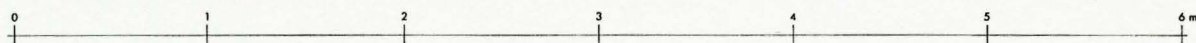


Fig. 42 Argos, Villa of the Falconer, *stibadium* (cat. 1)



Fig. 43 Argos, Villa of the Falconer, *stibadium*, Dionysiac panel (cat. 1)



Fig. 44 Argos, Villa of the Falconer, *stibadium*, Dionysiac panel, detail (cat. 1)



Fig. 45 Argos, Villa of the Falconer, *stibadium*, Dionysiac panel, detail (cat. 1)



Fig. 46 Argos, Villa of the Falconer, *stibadium*, Dionysiac panel, detail (cat. 1)

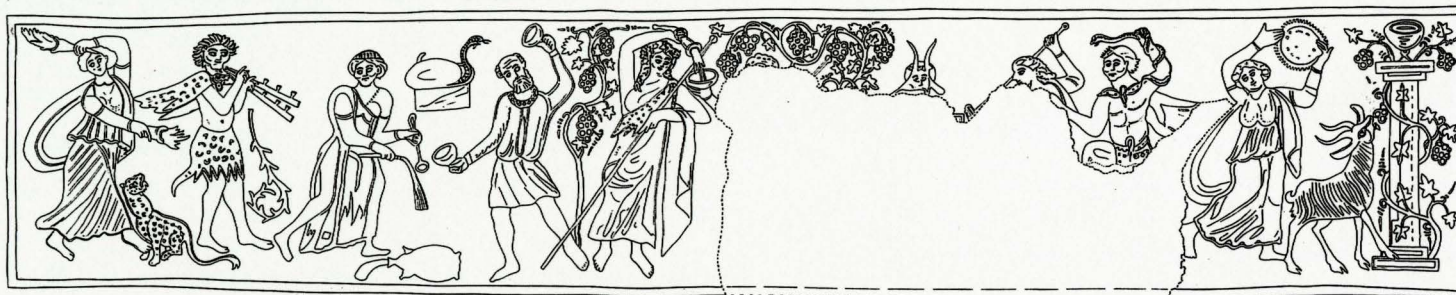


Fig. 47 Sarrîn (Osrhoène), Dionysos and thiasos, drawing

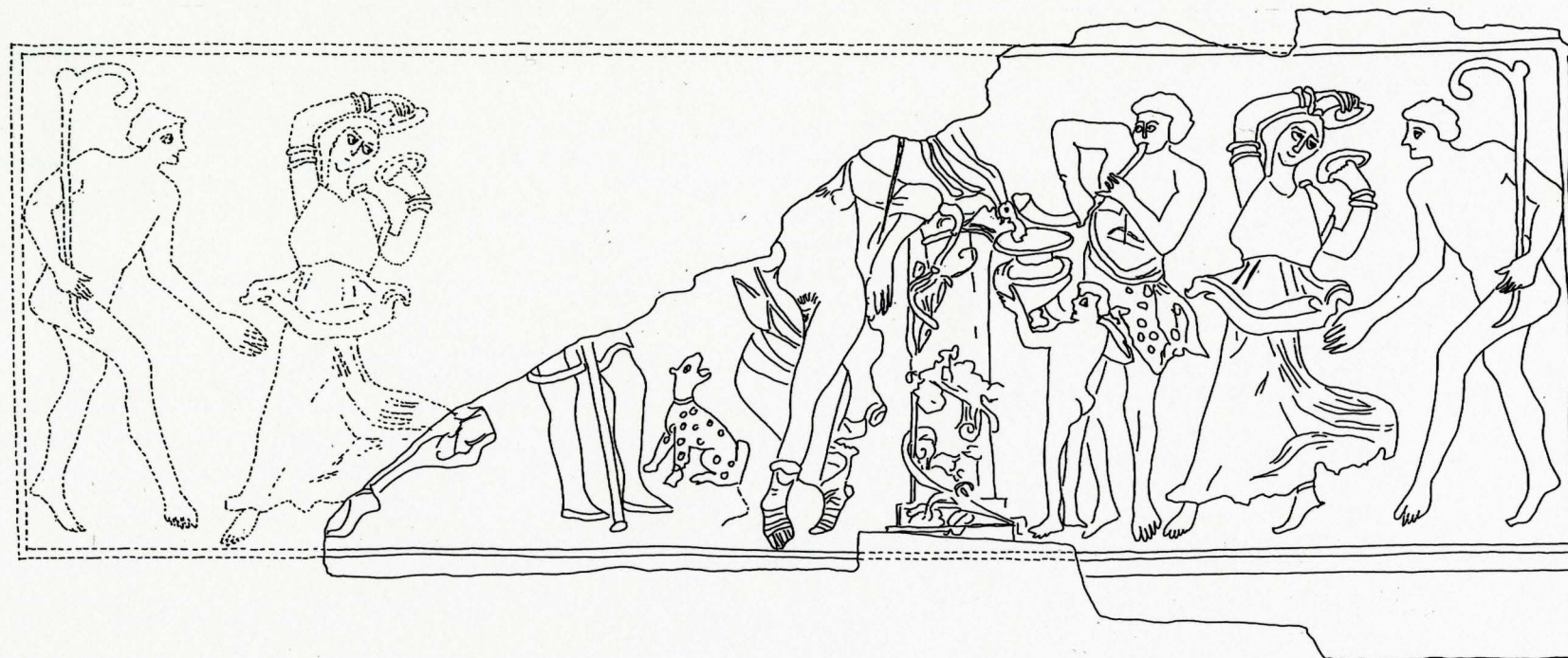


Fig. 48 Argos, Villa of the Falconer, *stibadium*, Dionysiac panel, reconstruction drawing (cat. 1)

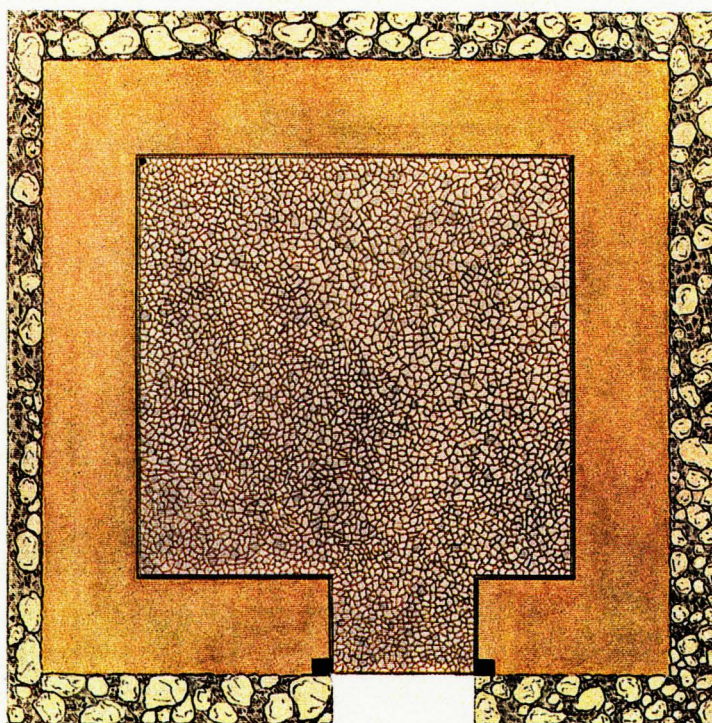


Fig. 49 Olynthos, floor plan of *andron*

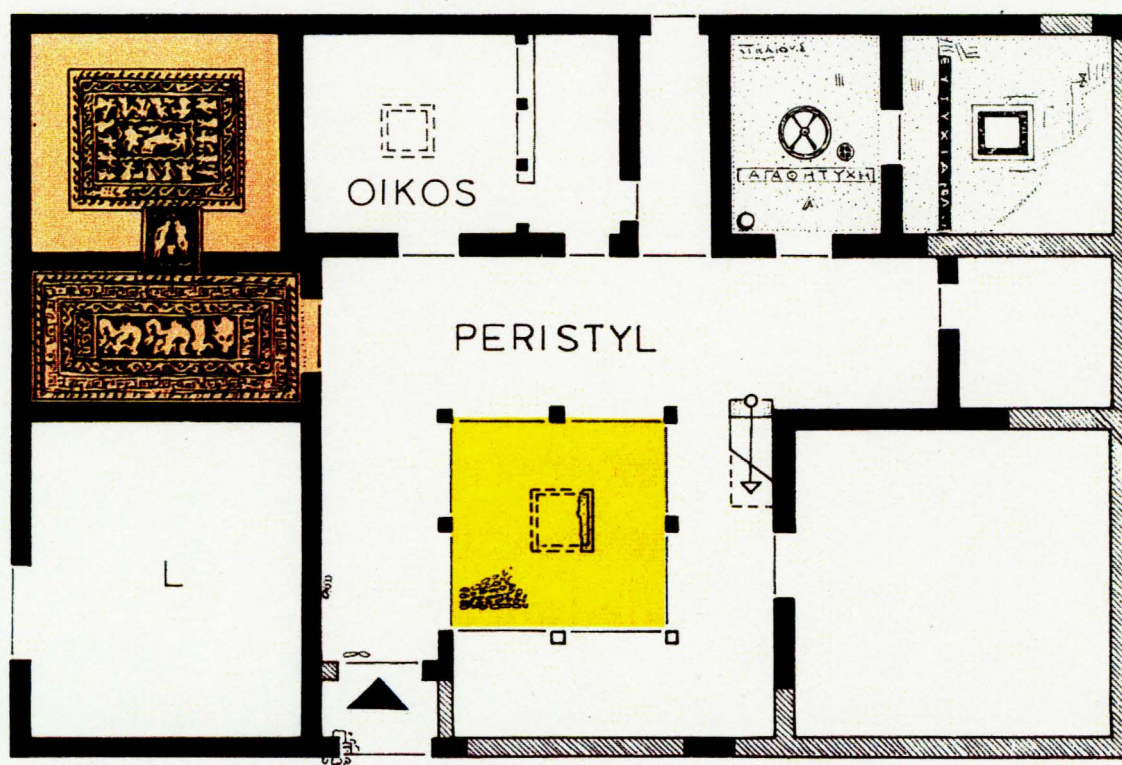


Fig. 50 Olynthos, plan of the Villa of Good Fortune (cat. 33)



Fig. 51 Olynthos, Villa of Good Fortune, *andron*, the chariot of Dionysos (cat. 33)



Fig. 52 Olynthos, Villa of Good Fortune, *andron*, entrance panel (cat. 33)

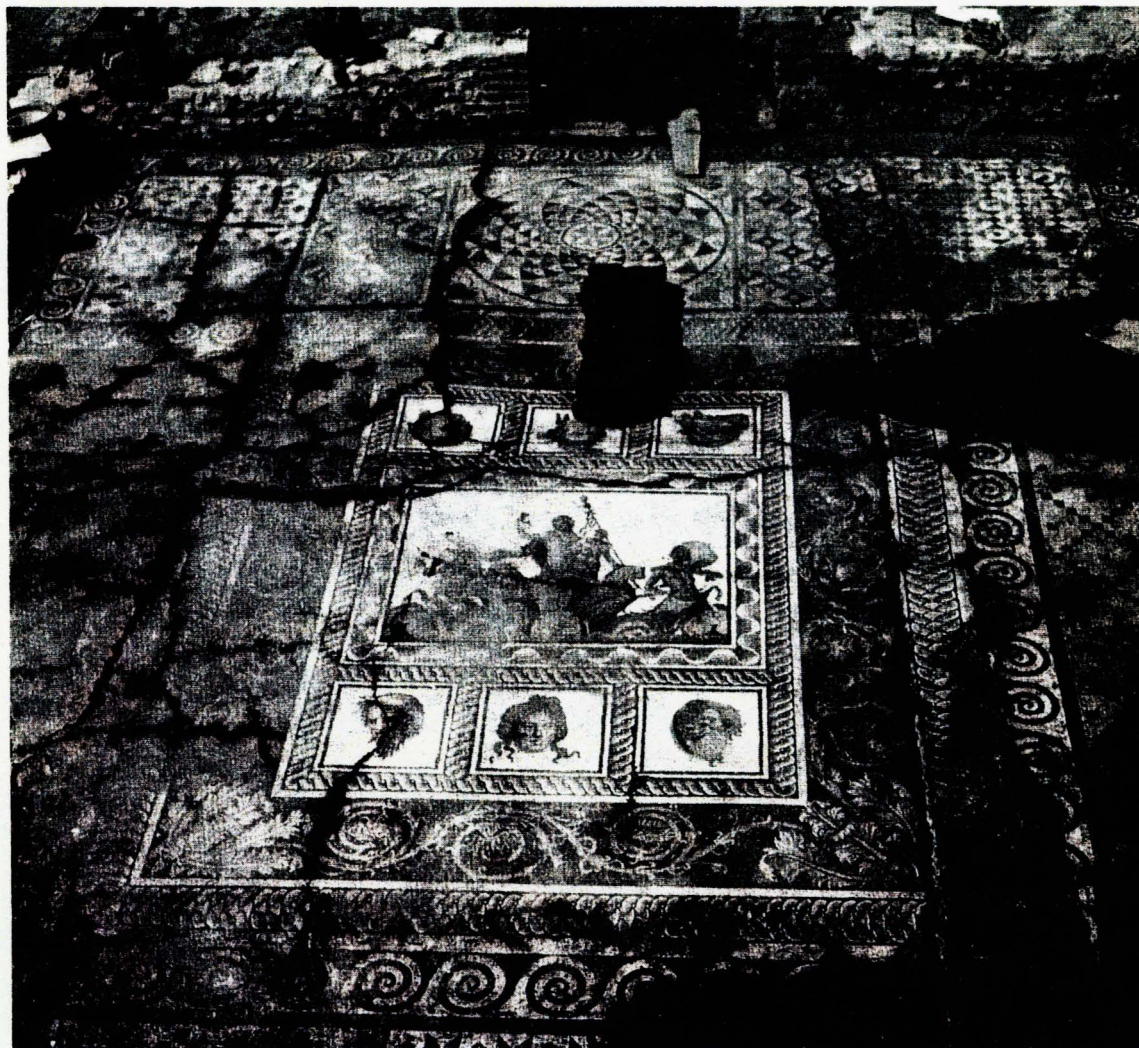


Fig. 53 Dion, Villa Dionysos, overall view of the *triclinium* (cat. 16)



Fig. 54 Dion, Villa Dionysos, *triclinium*, detail of border (cat. 16)



Fig. 55 Dion, Villa Dionysos, *triclinium*, the sea-chariot of Dionysos (cat. 16)



Fig. 56 Dion, Villa Dionysos, *triclinium*, detail of left centaur (cat. 16)



Fig. 57 La Chebba (Tunisia), Neptune and the Seasons

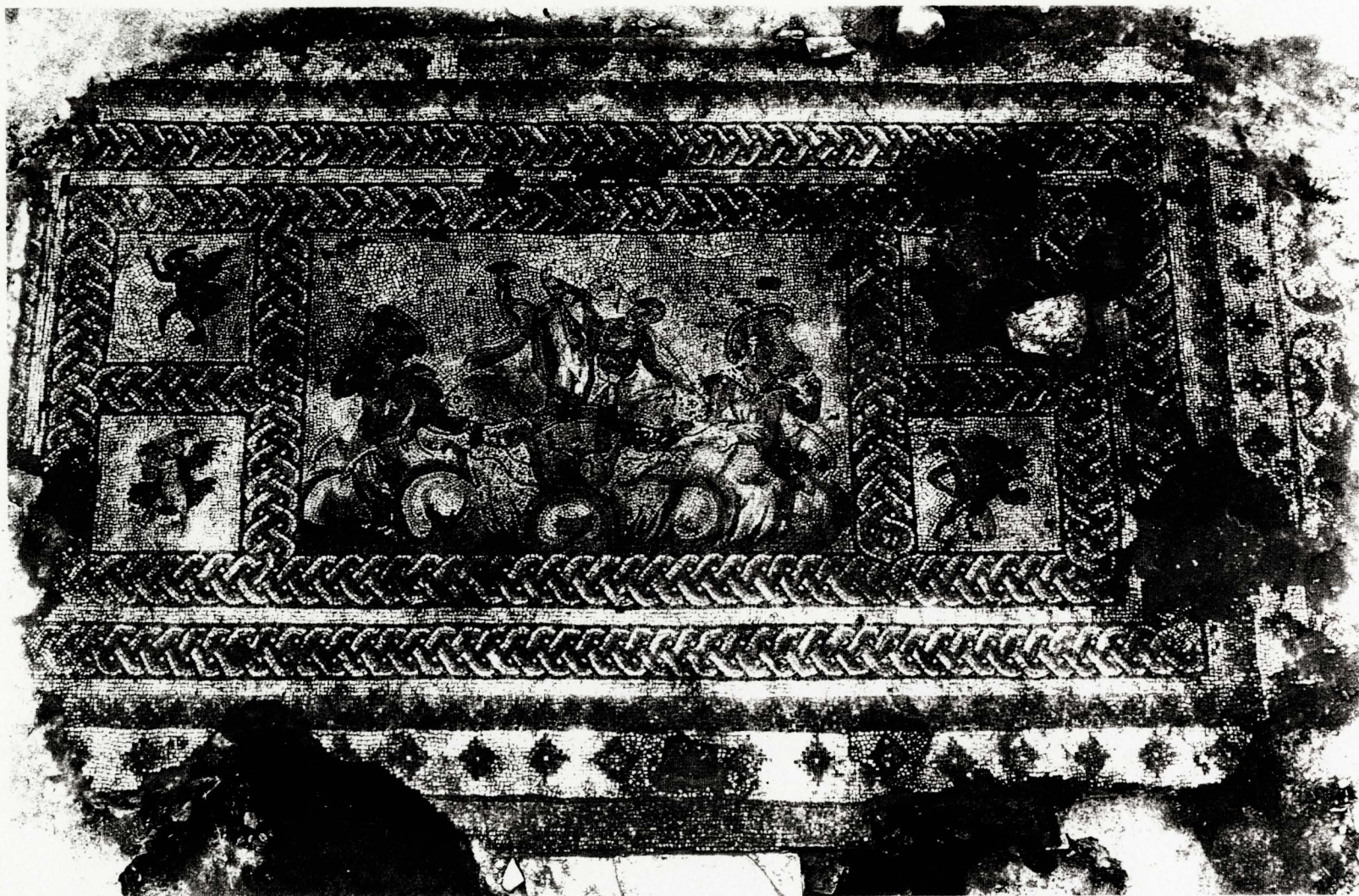


Fig. 58 Corinth, Mosaic House, North Room, the sea-chariot of Dionysos (cat. 7)



Fig. 59 Sousse (Tunisia), Maison du Virgile, Indian Triumph of Dionysos.

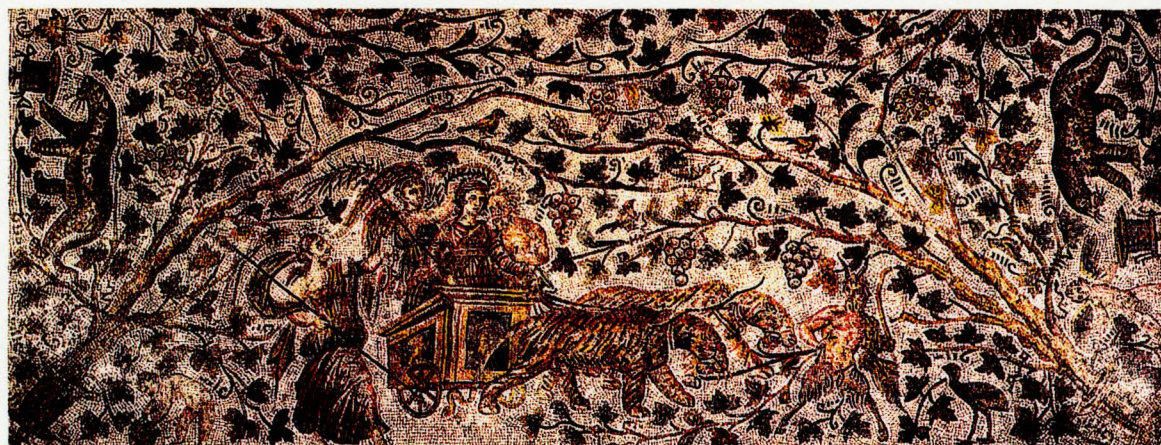


Fig. 60 El Djem (Tunisia), Maison de la Chasse à Courre, Indian Triumph of Dionysos



Fig. 61 Sarcophagus, Indian Triumph of Dionysos, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery



Fig. 62 Pella, Dionysos riding on a leopard (cat. 34)



Fig. 63 Pella, House I. 1, view of the *andron* and the anteroom (cat. 34)

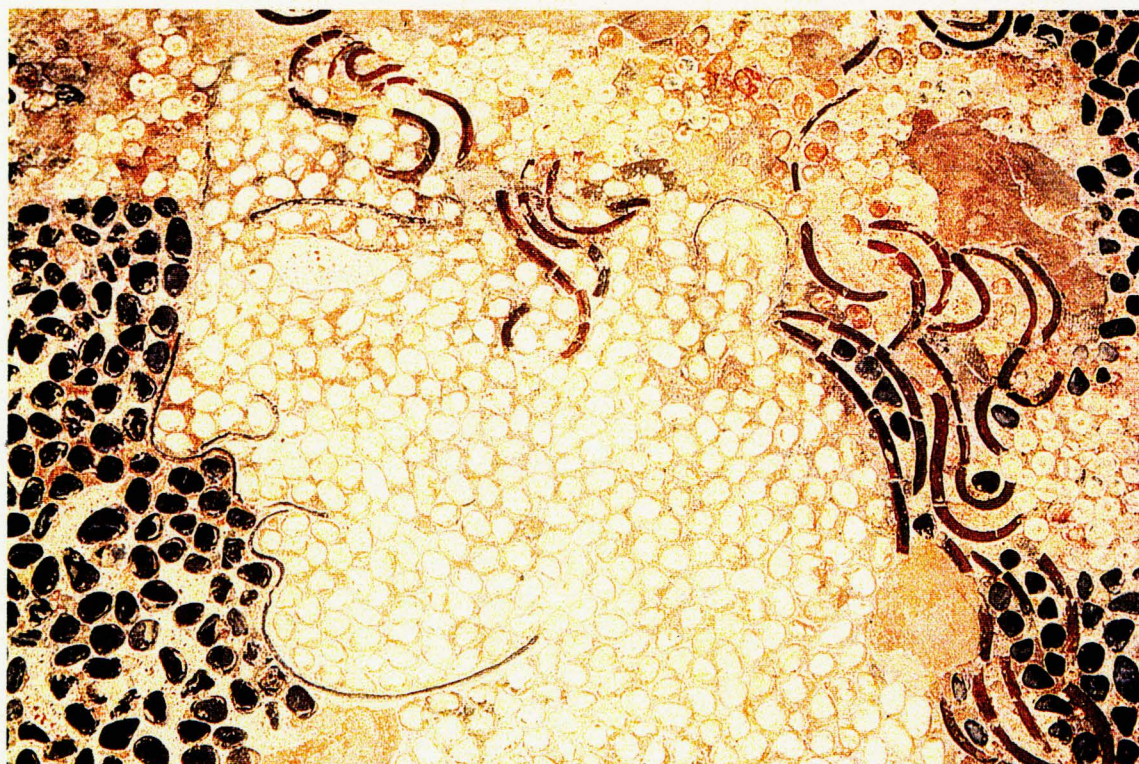


Fig. 64 Pella, detail of Dionysos showing technique (cat. 34)



Fig. 65 Eretria, Dionysos riding on a leopard (cat. 20)

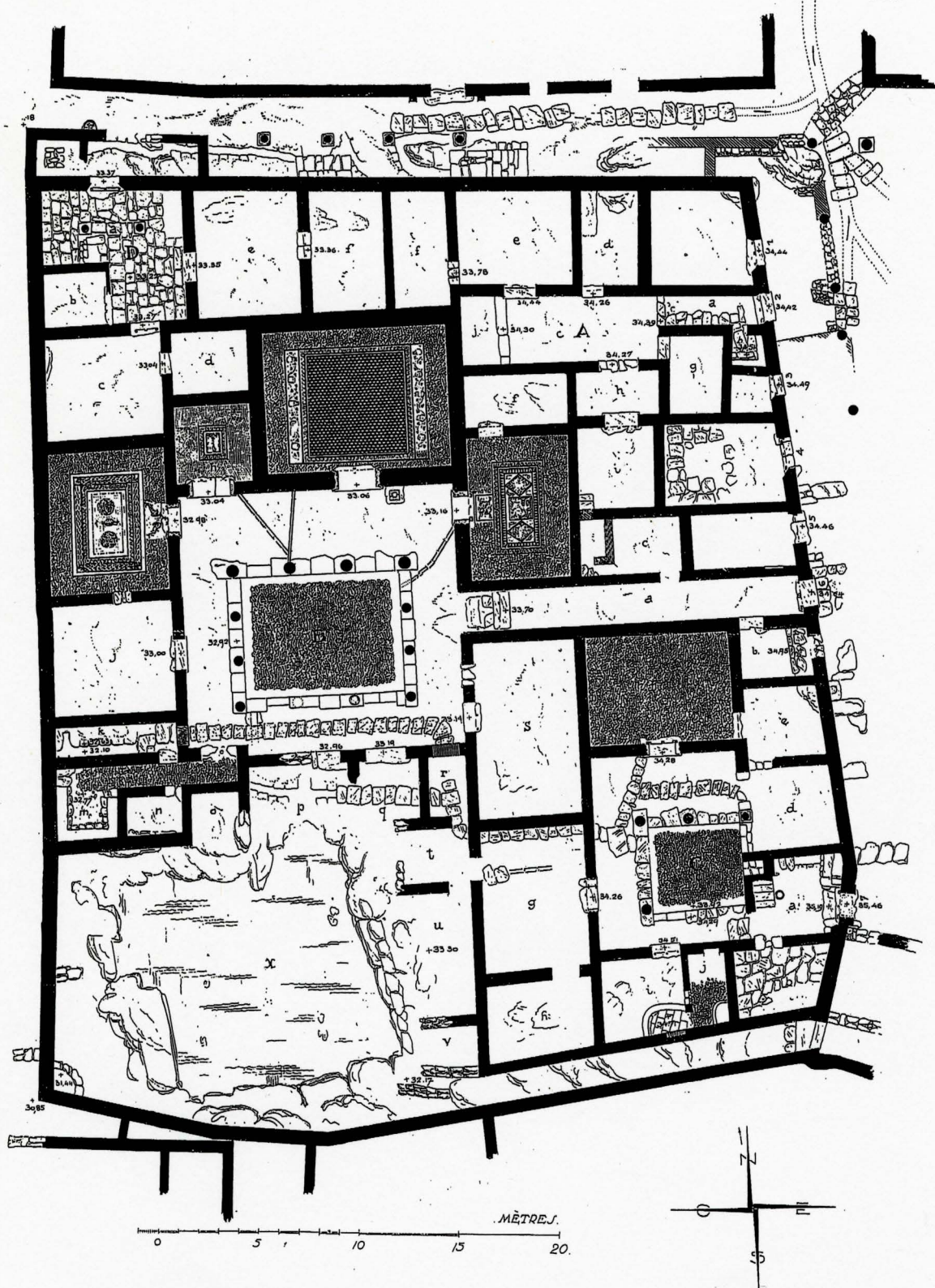


Fig. 66 Delos, plan of the House of the Masks (cat. 10, 11, 12)



Fig. 67 Delos, House of the Masks, Peristyle



Fig. 68 Delos, House of the Masks, Room E, overall view of pavement (cat. 10)



Fig. 69 Delos, House of the Masks, Room E, Dionysos riding on a leopard (cat. 10)



Fig. 70 Delos, House of the Masks, Room E, panels with centaurs (cat. 10)

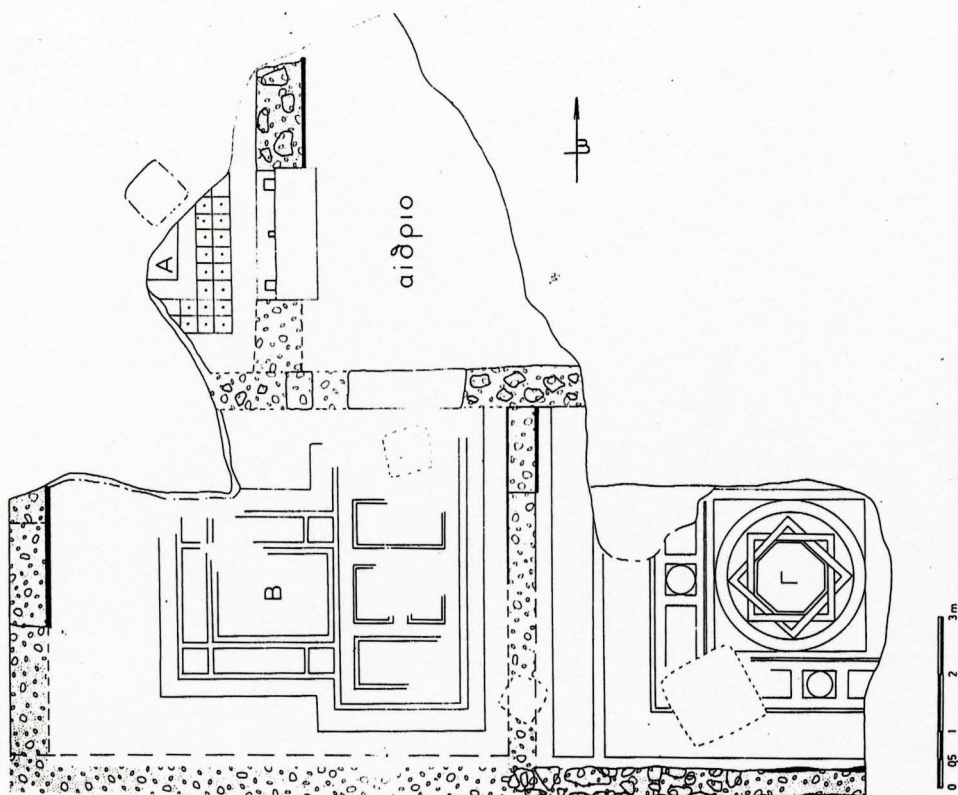


Fig. 71 Chania, plan of the House of Dionysos (cat. 3, 4)



Fig. 72 Chania, House of Dionysos, overall view of the *triclinium* pavement (cat. 4)



Fig. 73 Chania, House of Dionysos, *triclinium*, detail showing signature (cat. 4)



Fig. 74 Chania, House of Dionysos, *triclinium*, Dionysos riding on a leopard (cat. 4)



Fig. 75 Chania, House of Dionysos, *triclinium*, Dionysos and Pan (cat. 75)

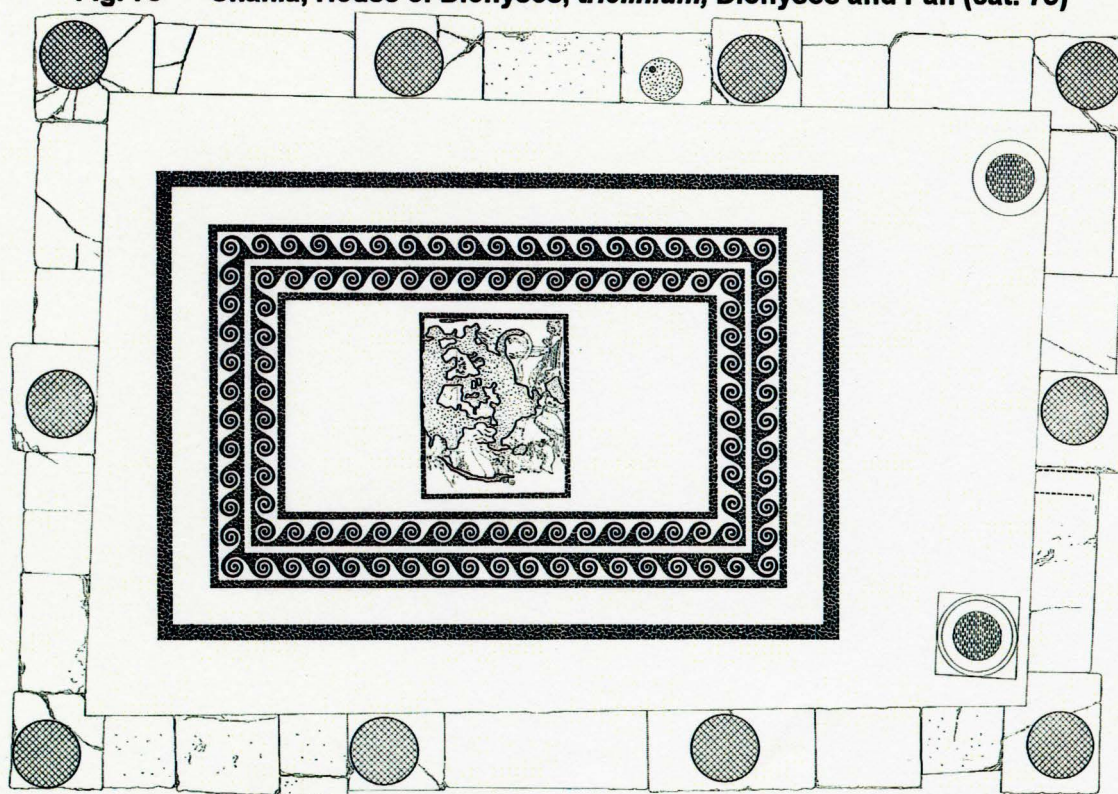


Fig. 76 Delos, House of Dionysos, plan of peristyle and layout of pavement (cat. 13)



Fig. 77 Delos, House of Dionysos, Dionysiac figure riding on a tiger (cat. 13)

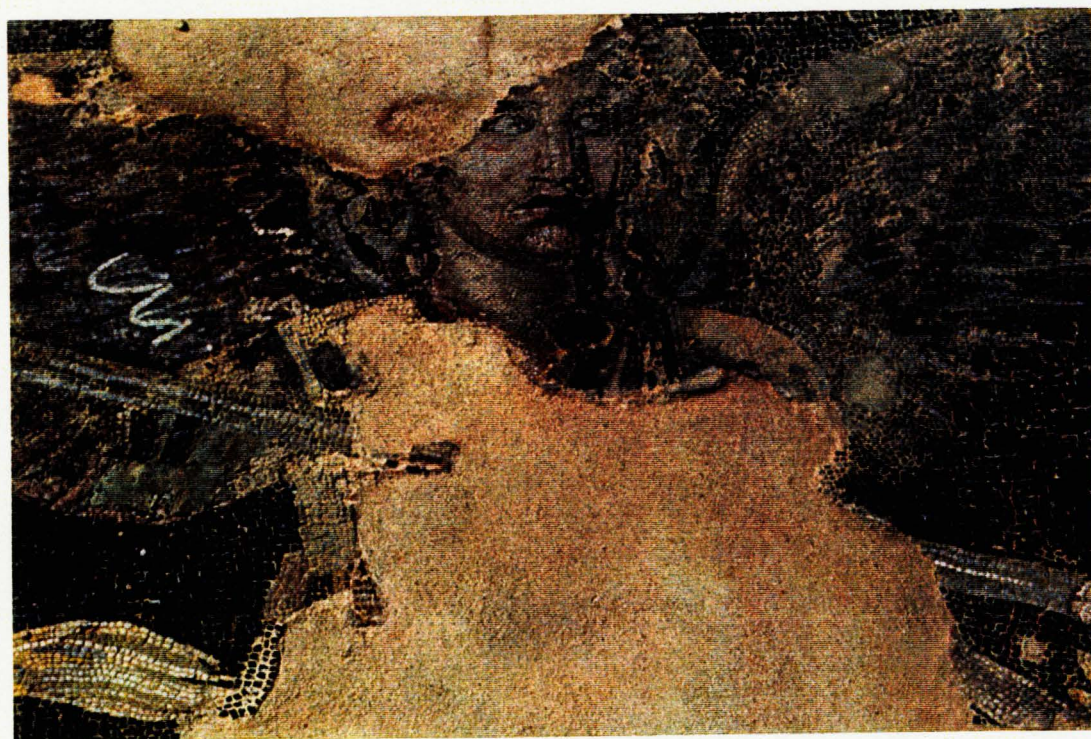


Fig. 78 Delos, House of Dionysos, detail of Dionysiac figure (cat. 13)



Fig. 79 Delos, House of Dionysos, detail of the tiger (cat. 13)



Fig. 80 Delos, House of Dionysos, detail of the tiger (cat. 13)



Fig. 81 Pompeii, House of the Faun, Dionysiac figure riding on a feline



Fig. 82 Dionysos on a feline

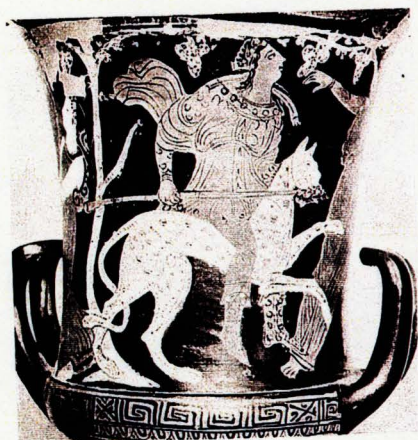


Fig. 84 Dionysos on a feline



Fig. 83 Dionysos on a feline



Fig. 85 Dionysos on a tiger



Fig. 86 Dionysos on a leopard

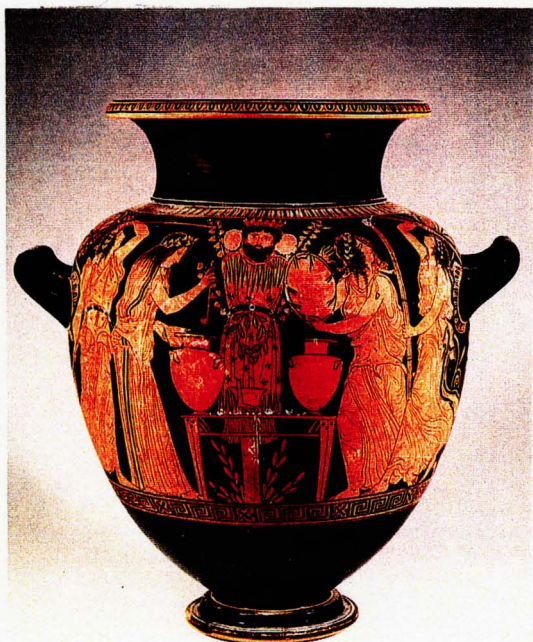


Fig. 87 Cult statue of Dionysos

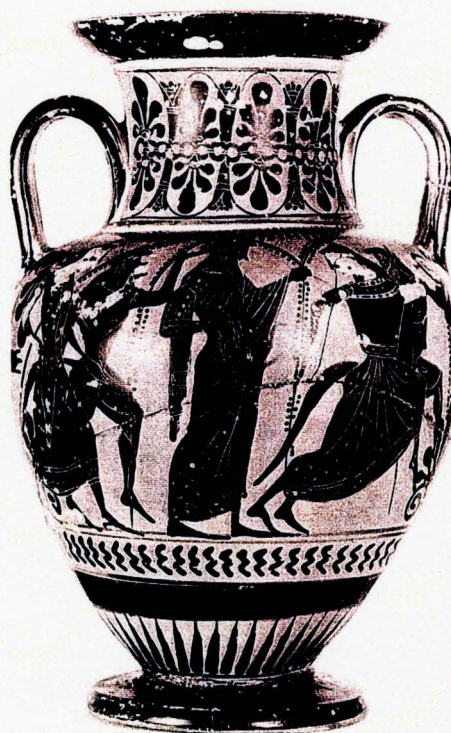


Fig. 88 Dionysos and thiasos



Fig. 89 Pronomos vase



Fig. 90 Maenad and piper



Fig. 91 Sousse, Triumph of Dionysos



Fig. 92 El Djem, Triumph of Dionysos



**Fig. 93 Zaragoza (Spain),
Triumph of Dionysos**



Fig. 94 Ptolemy II Philadelphos

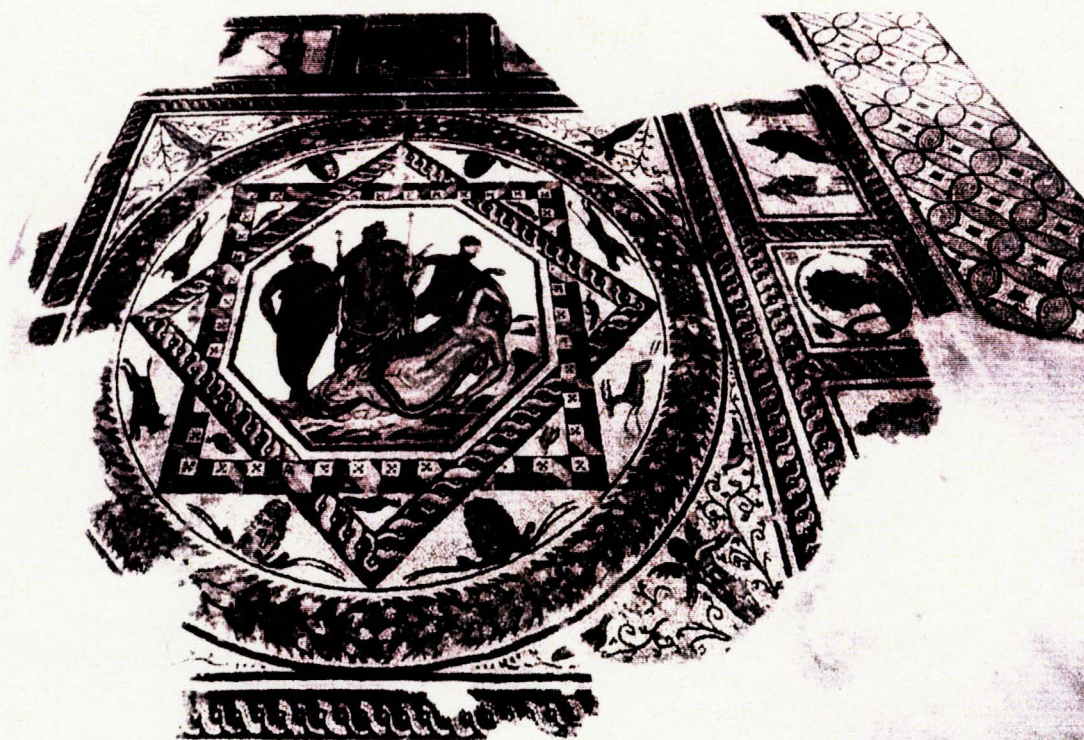


Fig. 95 Chania, House of Dionysos, the "Discovery of Ariadne" mosaic (cat. 3)



Fig. 96 Chania, House of Dionysos, the Discovery of Ariadne (cat. 3)

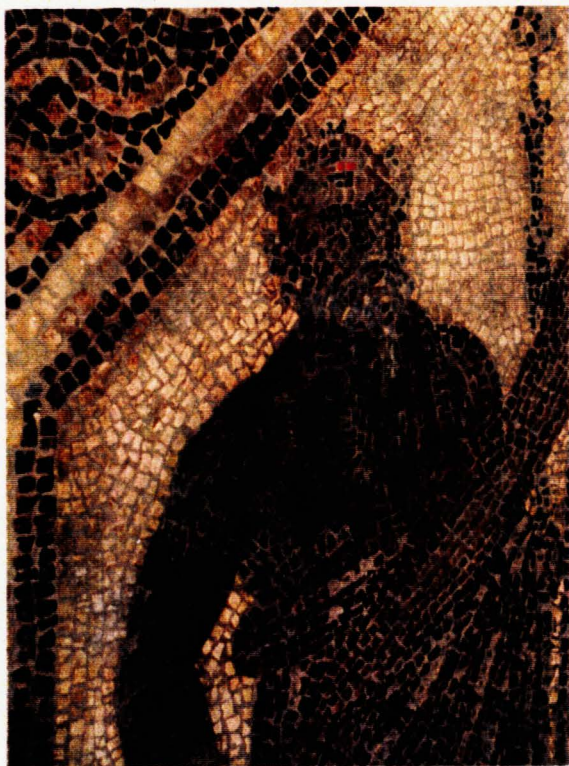


Fig. 97 Chania, House of Dionysos,
detail of Silenos (cat. 3)



Fig. 98 Chania, House of Dionysos,
detail of Ariadne (cat. 3)

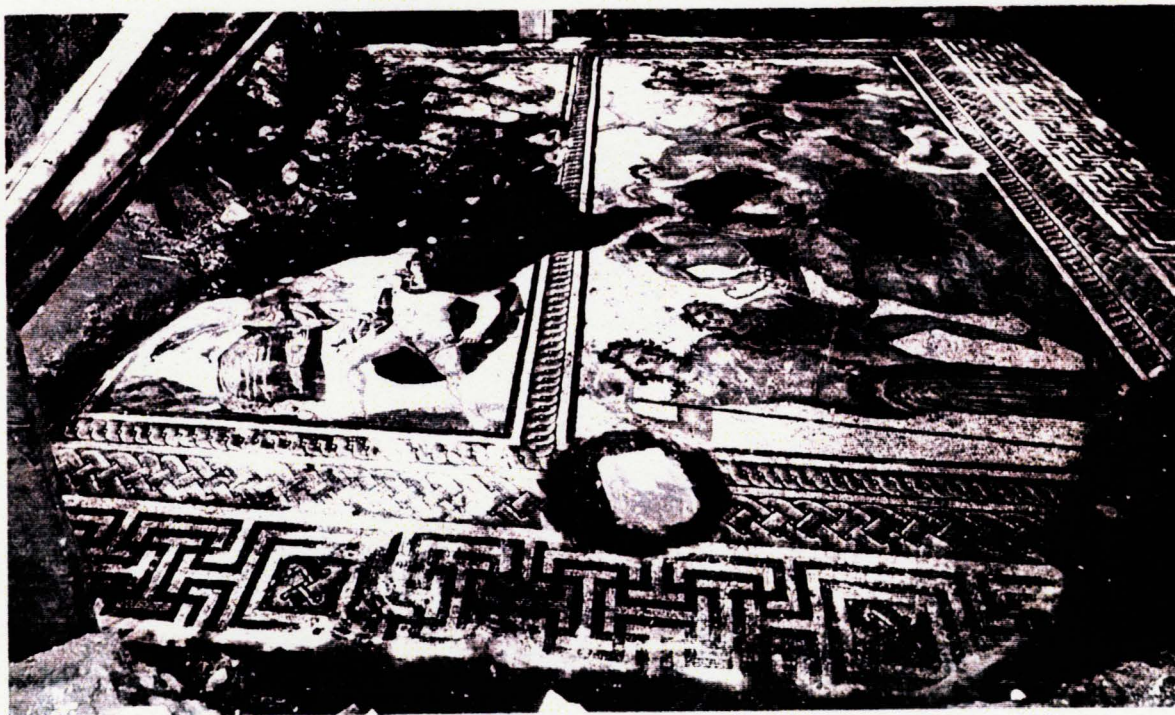


Fig. 99 Thessaloniki, Tripartite pavement with the Discovery of Ariadne (cat. 42)



Fig. 100 Thessaloniki, the Discovery of Ariadne (cat. 42)



Fig. 101 Thessaloniki, the Discovery of Ariadne, detail of Ariadne (cat. 42)



Fig. 102 Mérida (Spain), the Discovery of Ariadne



Fig. 103 Antioch, House of Dionysos and Ariadne, *triclinium*, the Discovery of Ariadne

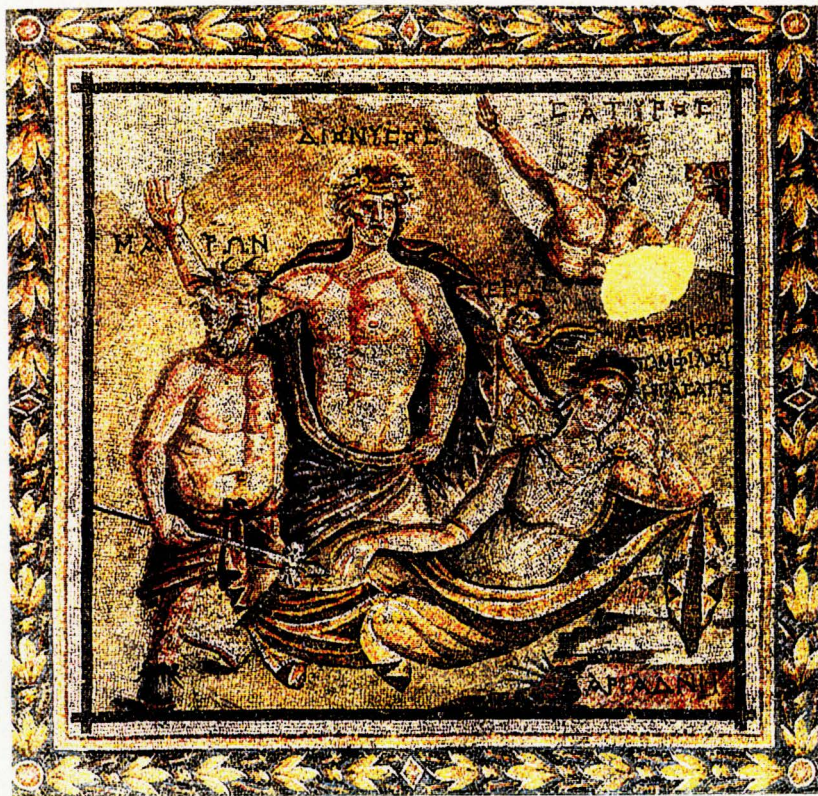


Fig. 104 Unknown provenance, the Discovery of Ariadne



Fig. 105 Nîmes (France), the Discovery of Ariadne

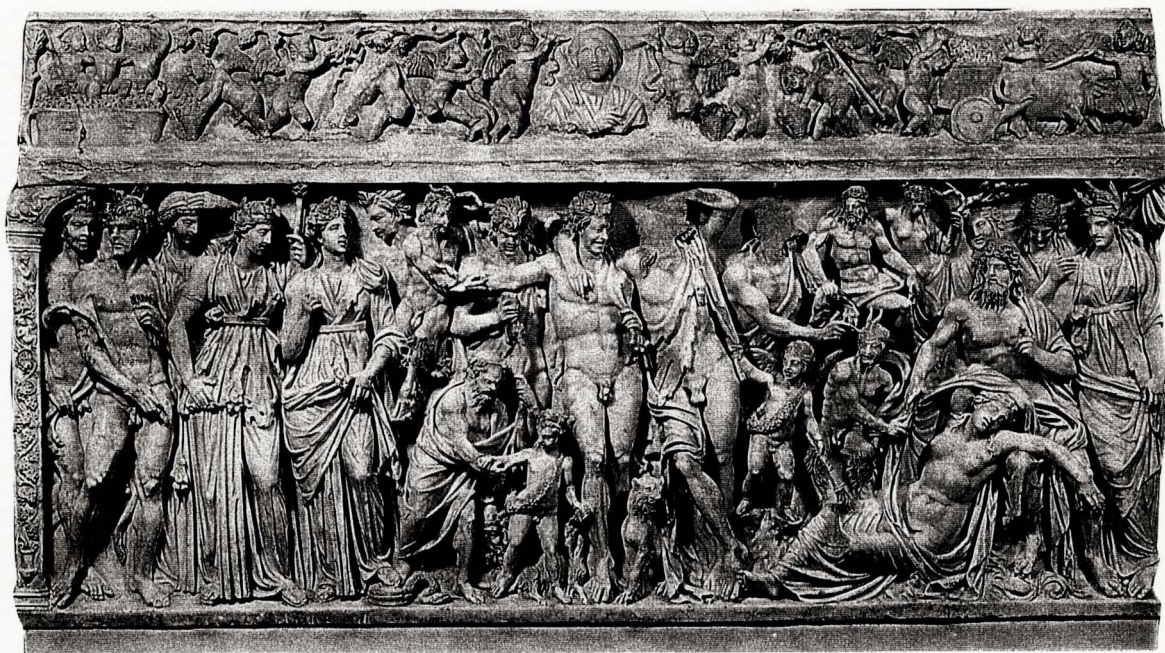


Fig. 106 Sarcophagus, the Discovery of Ariadne, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

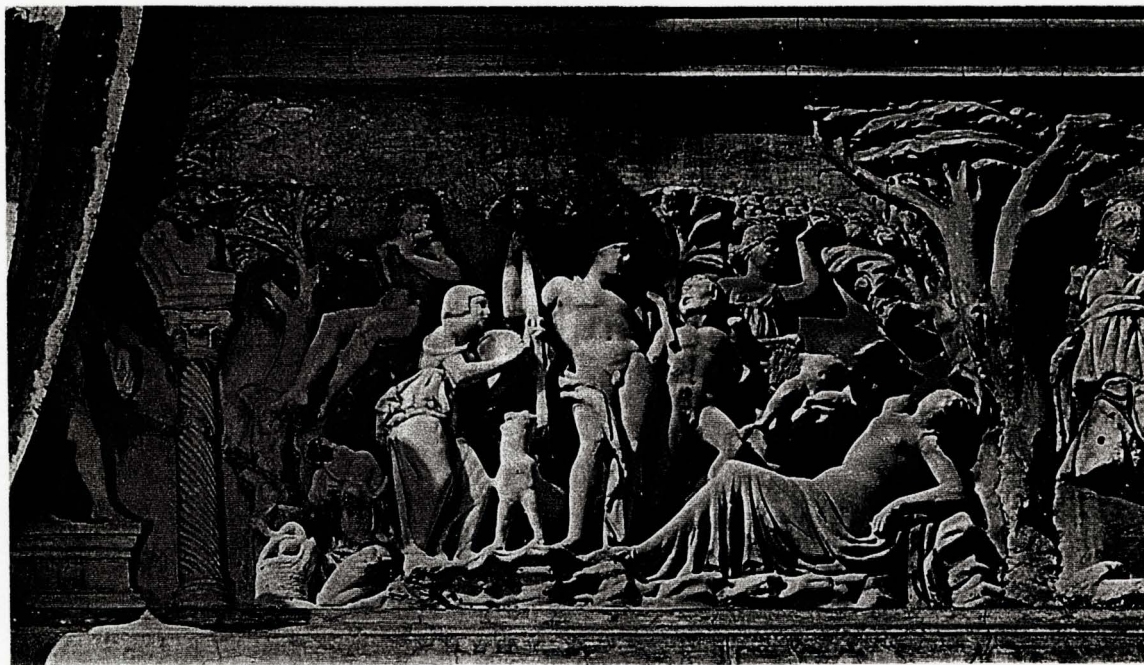


Fig. 107 Sarcophagus, the Discovery of Ariadne, Rome, Villa Medici



Fig. 108 Ariadne abandoned at Naxos



Fig. 109 Theseus abandons Ariadne



Fig. 110 The Discovery of Ariadne



Fig. 111 The Discovery of Ariadne



Fig. 112 The Discovery of Ariadne



Fig. 113 Ariadne at Naxos. Conflation of desertion and discovery scenes



Fig. 114 Athena commands Theseus to leave Ariadne



Fig. 115 Theseus abandons Ariadne

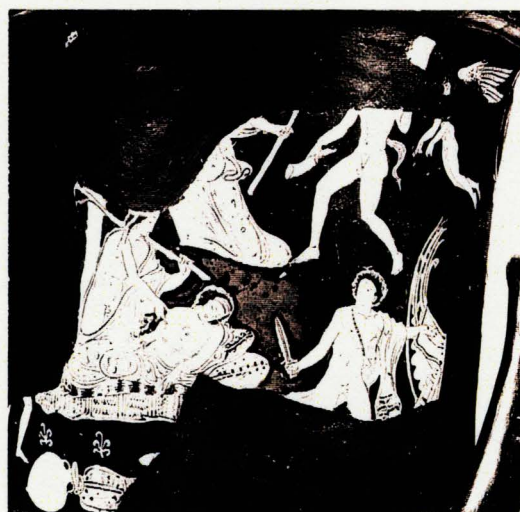


Fig. 116 Ariadne at Naxos. Conflation of desertion and discovery scenes



Fig. 117 Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, Lykourgos and Ambrosia (cat. 9)



Fig. 118 Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, detail of Ambrosia (cat. 8)



Fig. 119 Trikala, Asklepieion, detail of Lykourgos (cat. 43)



Fig. 120 Trikala, Asklepieion, Lykourgos and Ambrosia (cat. 43)



Fig. 121 Piazza Armerina (Sicily), Lykourgos and Ambrosia



Fig. 122 Herculaneum, Lykourgos, Ambrosia, and Dionysos



Fig. 123 Ostia, Lykourgos and Ambrosia



Fig. 124 Terracotta statuette
Lykourgos and the vine



Fig. 125 Taormina (Sicily),
Lykourgos and the vine



Fig. 126 The "Lykourgos" cup



Fig. 128 Ste. Colombe, Vienne, detail of Lykourgos

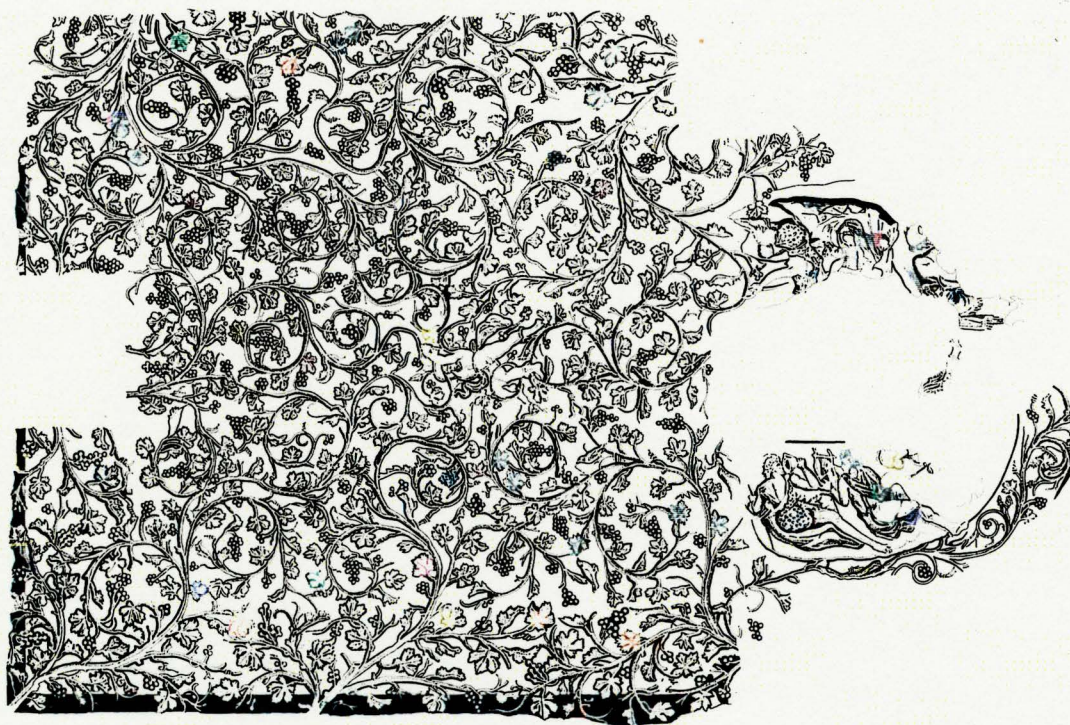


Fig. 127 Ste. Colombe, Vienne, Lykourgos and the vine

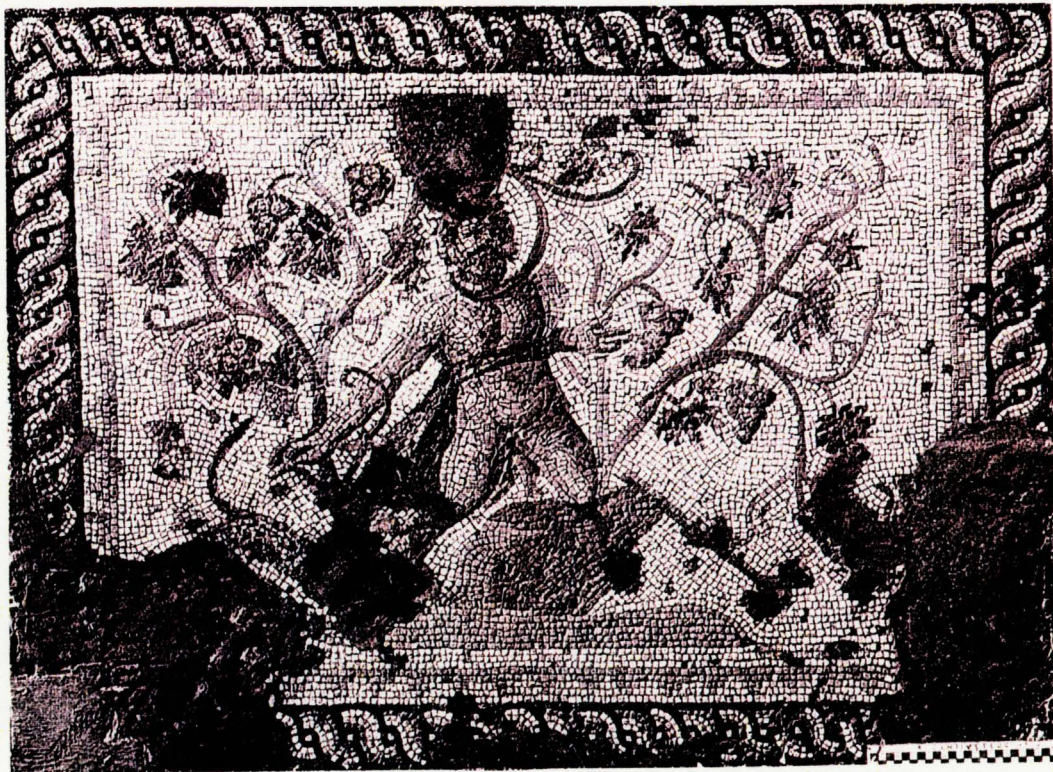


Fig. 129 Antioch, House of the Boat of Psyches, Lykourgos and the vine



Fig. 130 Silin (Libya), Lykourgos and the vine

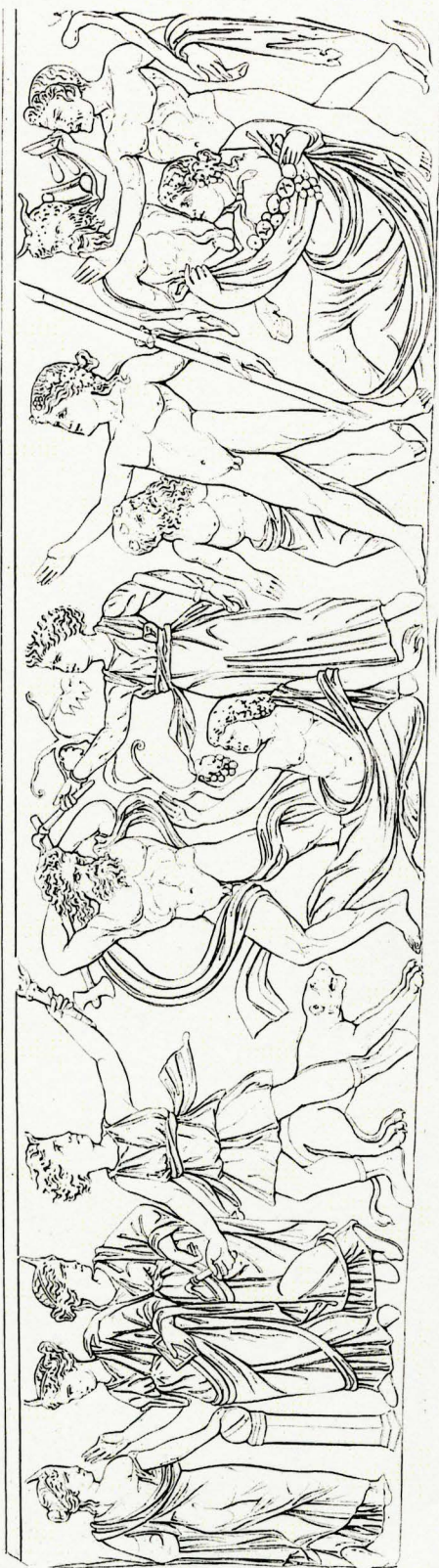


Fig. 131 Frascati (Italy), Villa Taverna, sarcophagus with Lykourgos and Ambrosia



Fig. 132 Lykourgos killing his wife and son



Fig. 133 Lykourgos killing his wife, Dionysos and Daimon

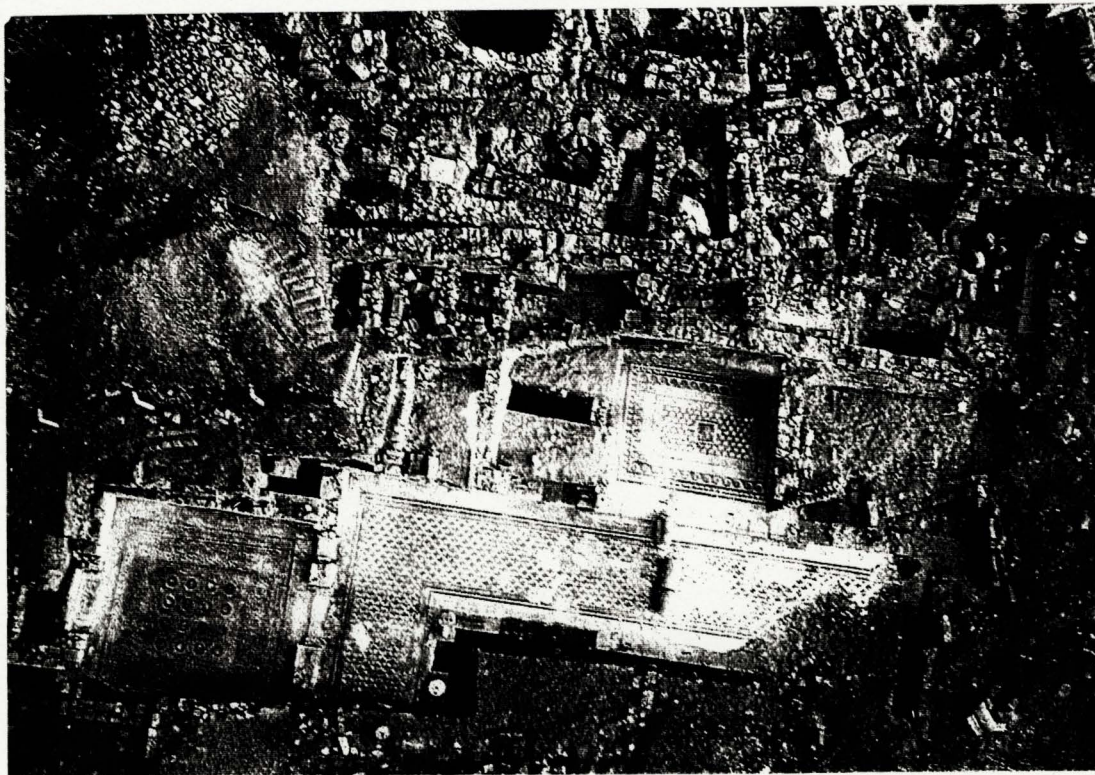


Fig. 134 Pergamon, Building "Z", overall view (cat. 35, 36)



Fig. 135 Pergamon, Building "Z", Silenos and Dionysos *Pais*, central panel (cat. 36)



Fig. 136 Pergamon, Building "Z", Silenos and Dionysos *Pais*, overall view (cat. 36)



Fig. 137 Textile from Egypt, Riggisberg (Switzerland), Silenos, initiant (?), maenad



Fig. 138 Nea Paphos (Cyprus), House of Aion, childhood of Dionysos

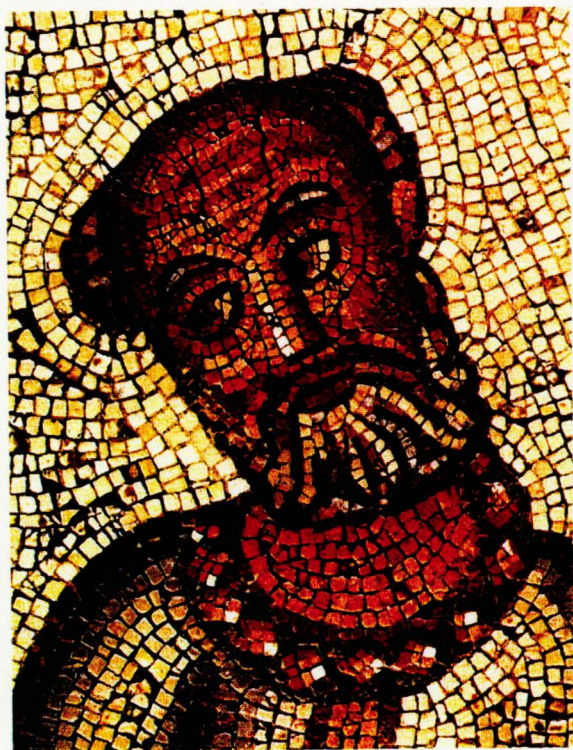


Fig. 139 Sarrîn (Osroène), Silenos



Fig. 140 Nea Paphos (Cyprus), Tropheus



Figs. 141, 142 Pompeii, Villa of the Mysteries, details of Silenos

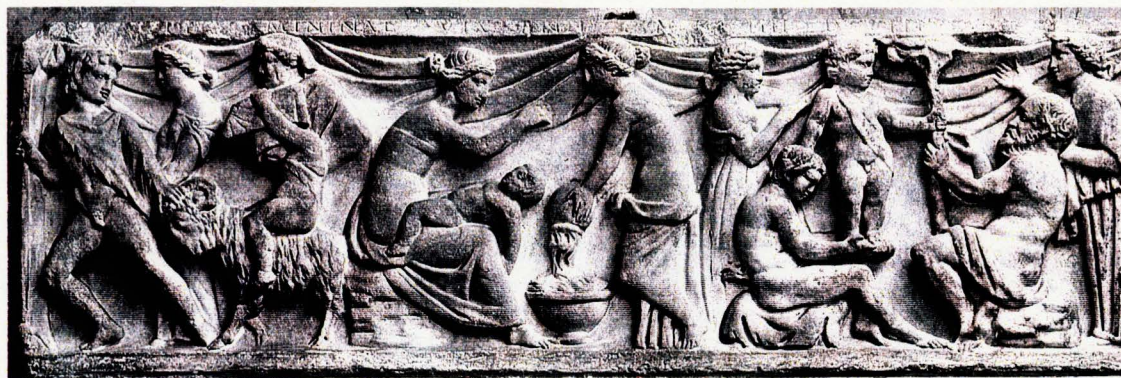


Fig. 143 Sarcophagus, Munich, Dionysos' purification bath and investiture

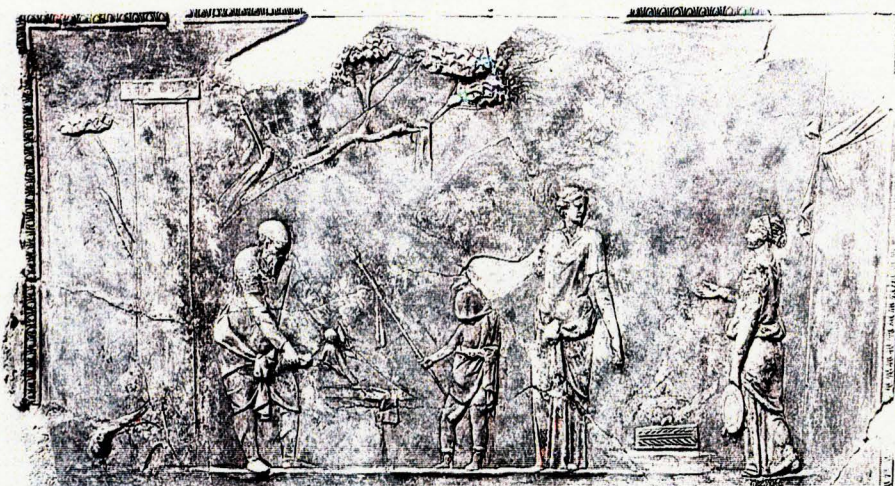


Fig. 144 Ceiling decoration, Rome, Villa Farnesina, Silenos performing initiation rites



Fig. 145 Hermes brings Dionysos to Silenos and the Nymphs

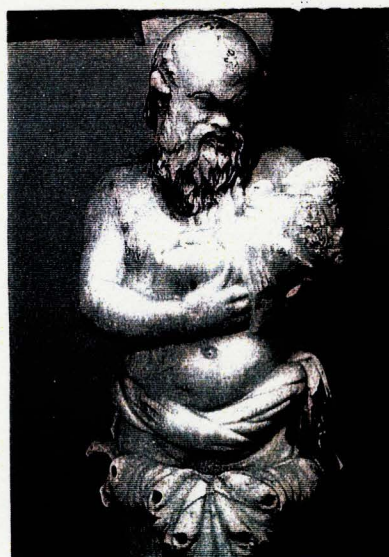


Fig. 146 Silenos and baby Dionysos

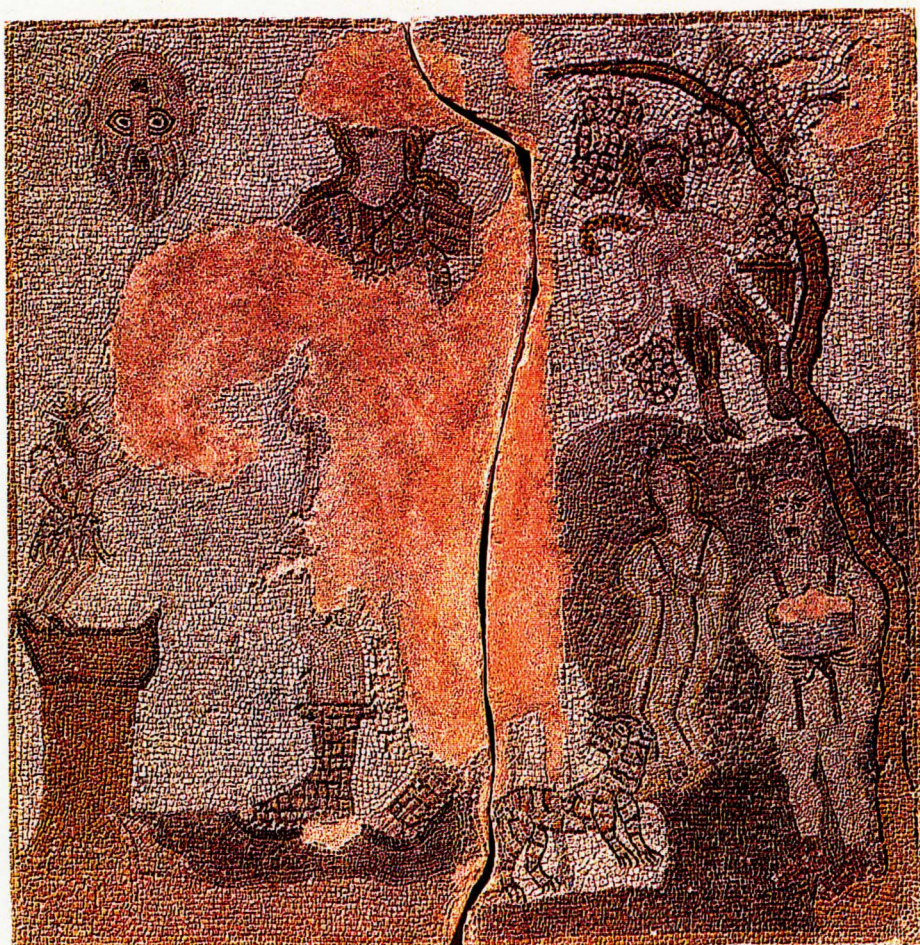


Fig. 147 Larisa, Katsigra property, Dionysos and the Seasons, central panel (cat. 29)

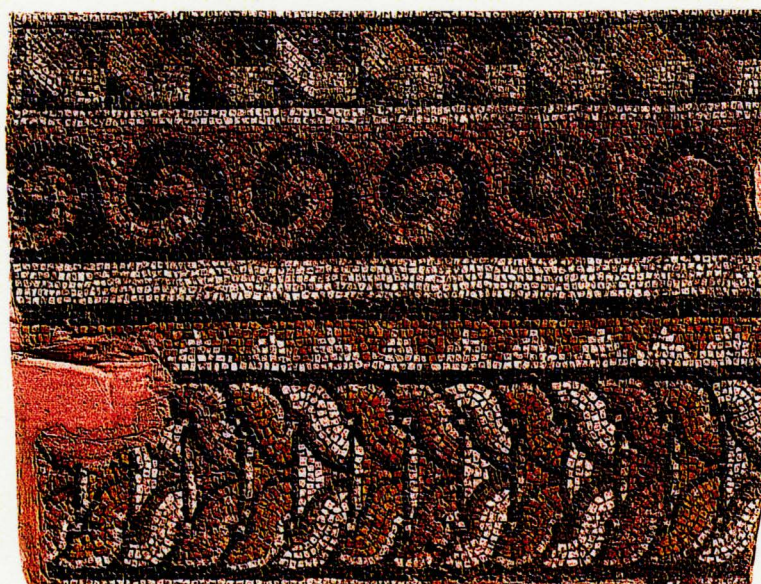


Fig. 148 Larisa, Katsigra property, detail of geometric borders (cat. 29)



Fig. 149 Larisa, detail of hunting Eros, from the border (cat. 29)



Fig. 150 Larisa, detail of Summer, from the border (cat. 29)

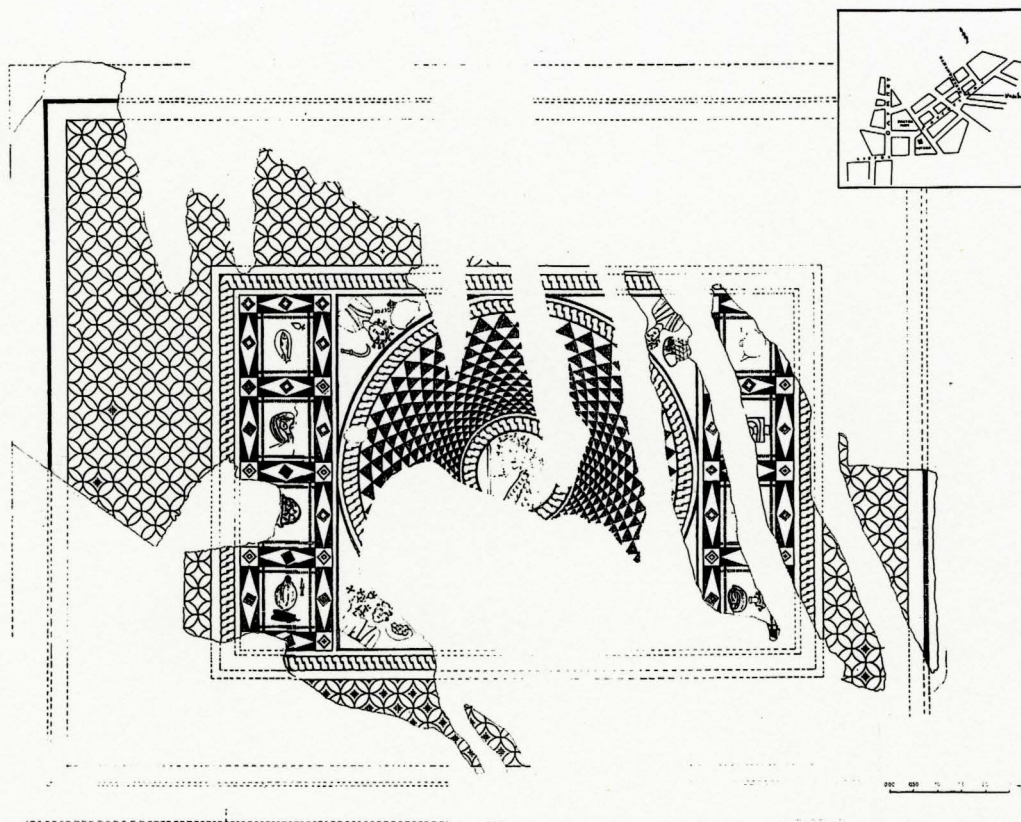
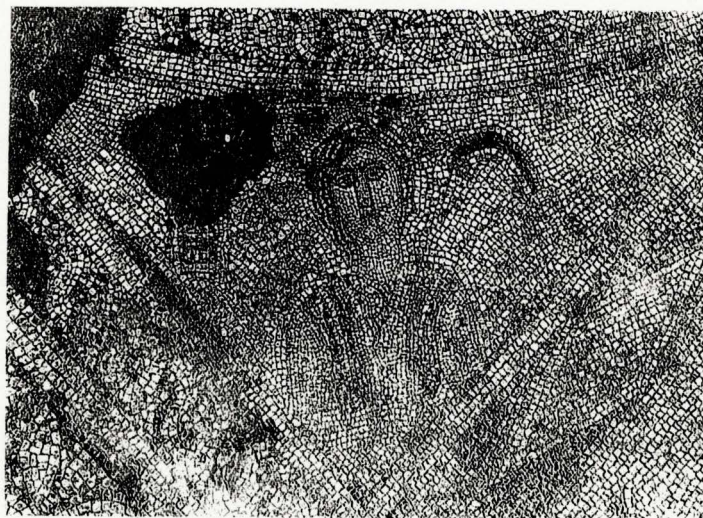


Fig. 151 Larisa, Dionysos and the Seasons, drawing (cat. 30)



Fig. 152 Larisa, Dionysos in central medallion (cat. 30)



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 153 Larisa, the Seasons a. Summer b. Spring c. Autumn

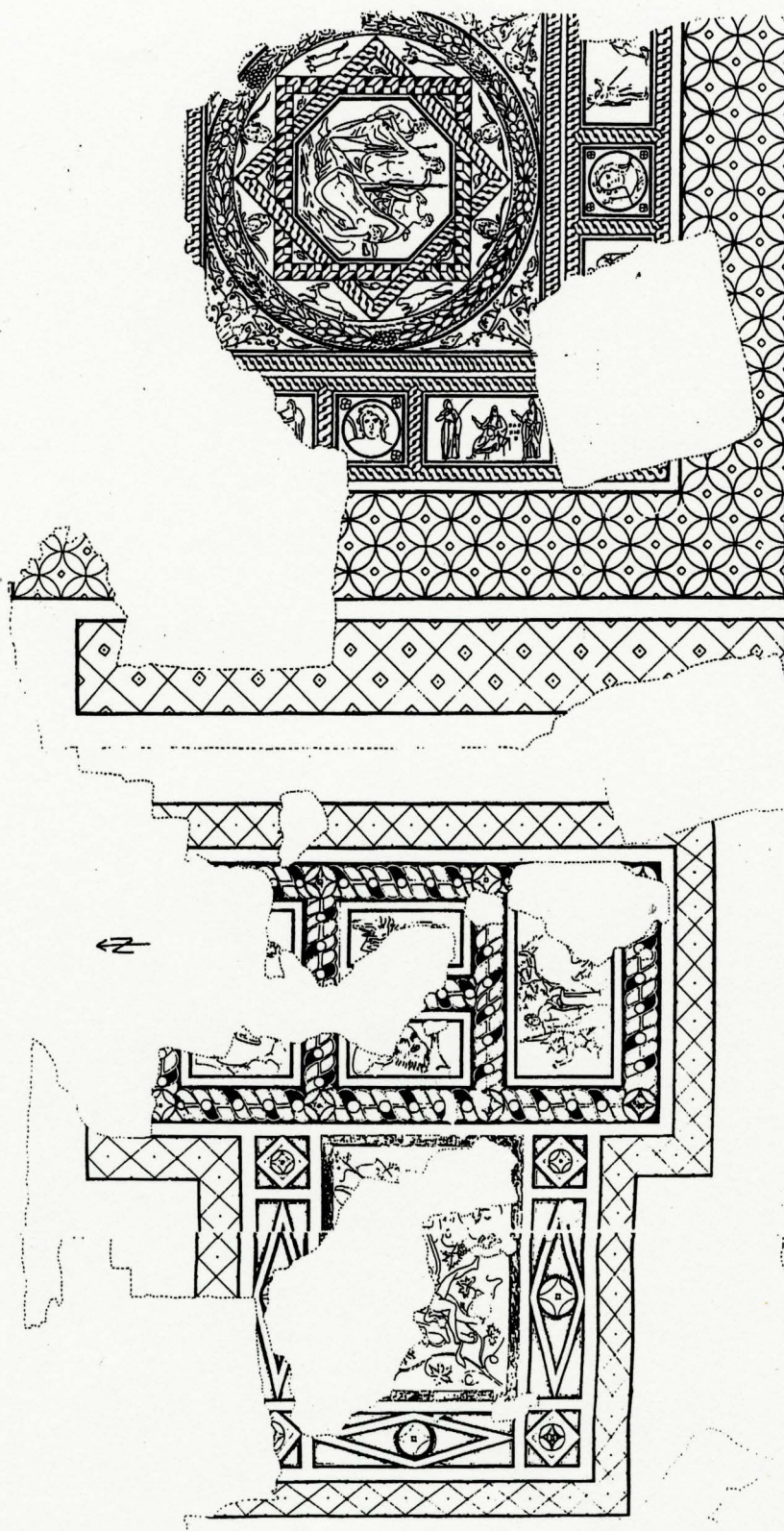


Fig. 154 Chania, House of Dionysos, Dionysiac mosaics (cat. 3, 4)



Fig. 155 Chania, House of Dionysos, satyr, detail from the border (cat. 3)



Fig. 156 Chania, House of Dionysos, maenad, detail from the border (cat. 3)

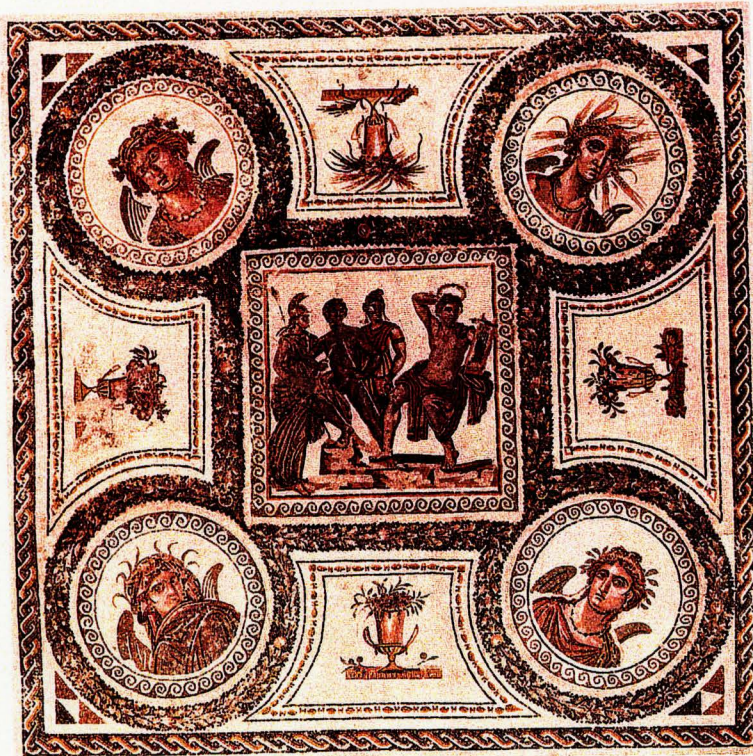


Fig. 157 El Djem (Tunisia), Apollo, Marsyas, the Seasons, and seasonal plants



Fig. 158 El Djem (Tunisia), Maison de la Procession Dionysiaque, Genius of the Year and the Seasons



Fig. 159 El Djem (Tunisia), Maison de la Procession Dionysiaque, *triclinium*, details of the Seasons: Winter, Autumn, Spring



Fig. 160 Sarcophagus, New York, Metropolitan Museum, Dionysos and the Seasons

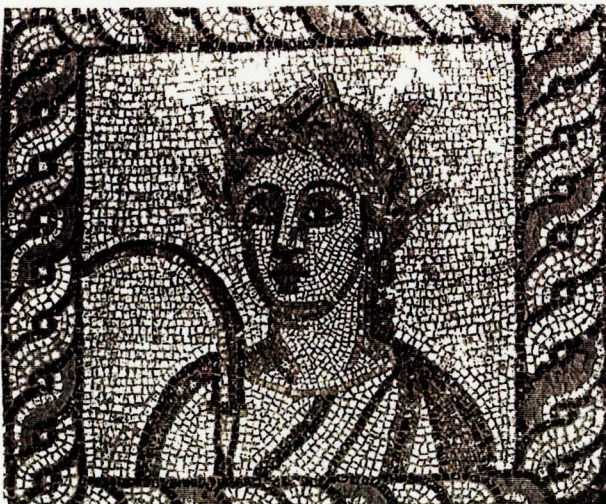


Fig. 161 Kasteli Kisamou (Crete), Summer



Fig. 162 El Djem (Tunisia), Autumn



Fig. 163 Hagios Taxiarchis (Argos), Winter



Fig. 164 Hagios Taxiarchis (Argos), Autumn



Fig. 165 Delos, House of the Masks, Room H, Dancing Silenos (cat. 12)



Fig. 166 Chania, House of Dionysos, scene from Menander's *Plokion* (cat. 3)



Fig. 167 Mytilene, House of Menander, scene from Menander's *Plokion*



Fig. 168 Chania, House of Dionysos, theatre scene, from the border (cat. 3)

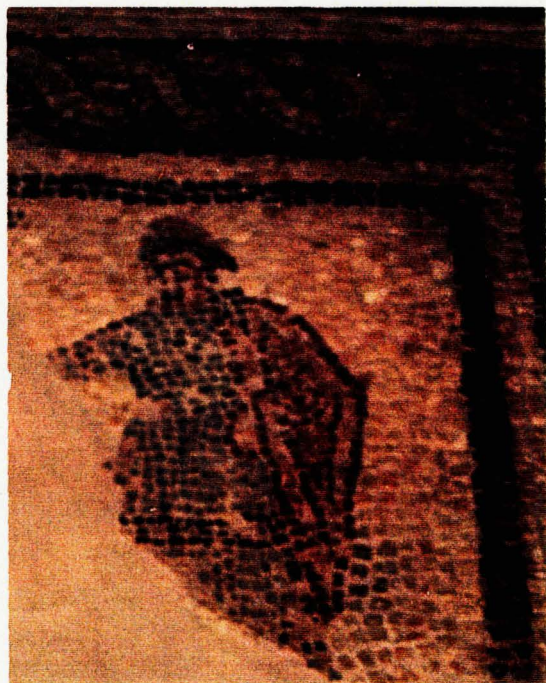


Fig. 169 Chania, House of Dionysos
Fragment of theatre scene, border



Fig. 170 Wall painting, Ephesos
Scene from Menander's *Sikyonioi*



Fig. 171 Rhodes, *emblema* with slave mask (cat. 37)



Fig. 172 Rome, theatre masks of a female and a slave

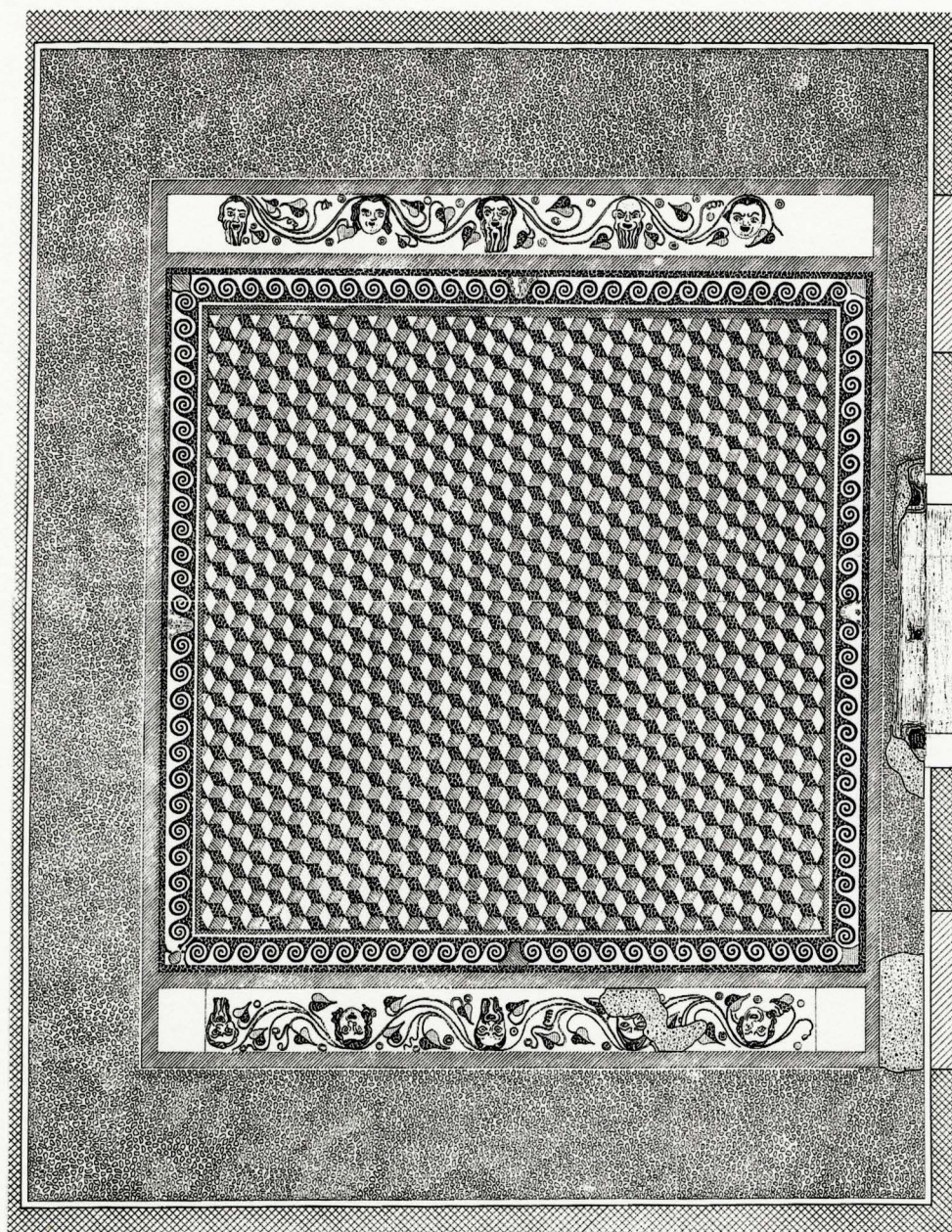


Fig. 173 Delos, House of the Masks, *oikos*, drawing of pavement (cat. 11)

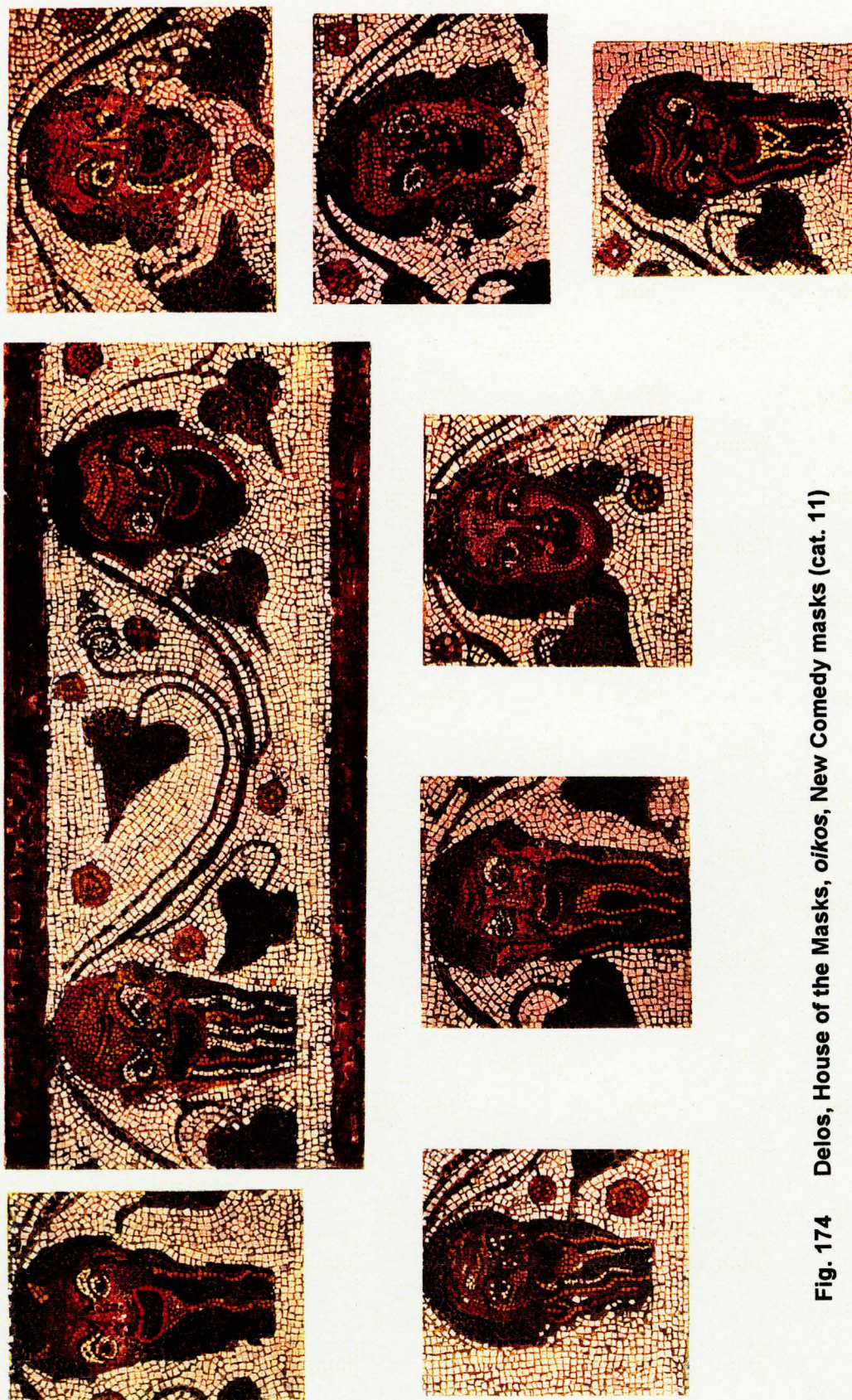


Fig. 174 Delos, House of the Masks, oikos, New Comedy masks (cat. 11)



Fig. 175 Chania, House of Dionysos, "Discovery of Ariadne" panel and masks (cat. 3)

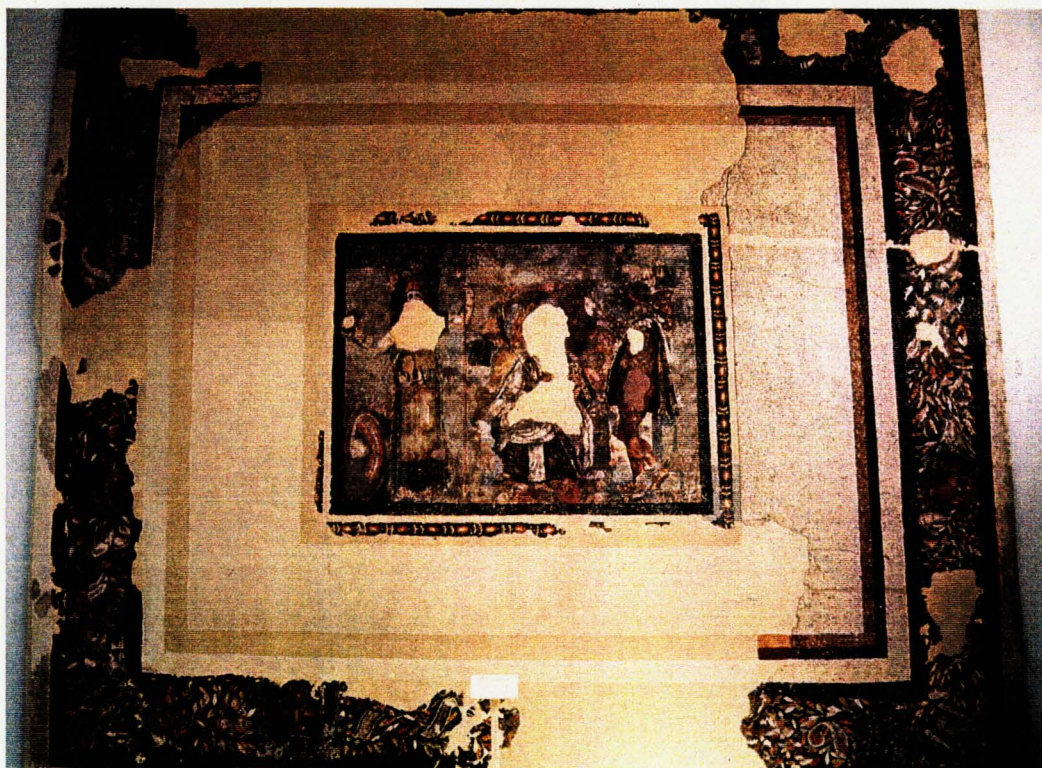


Fig. 176 Delos, Îlot des Bijoux, Hermes, Athena, and floral border with masks (cat. 8)



Fig. 177 Delos, mask no. 8, old man (cat. 8)

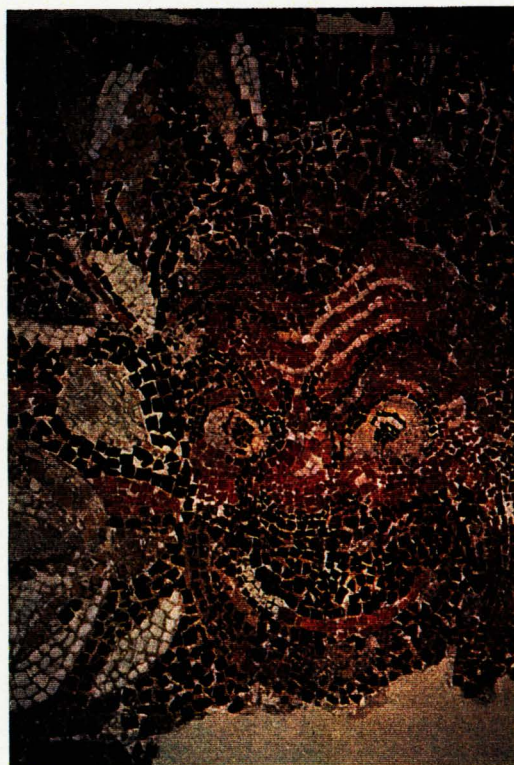


Fig. 178 Delos, mask no. 7, slave (cat. 8)



Fig. 179 Delos, portrait of a young male, playwright (?), (cat. 8)

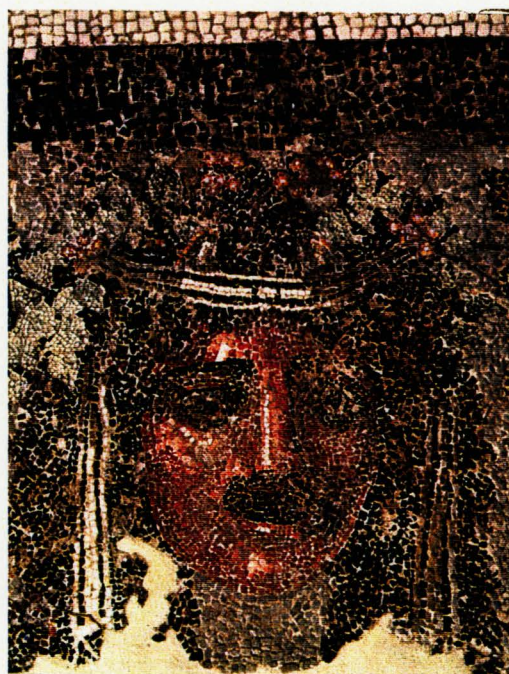


Fig. 180 Delos, mask, no. 6 (cat. 8)

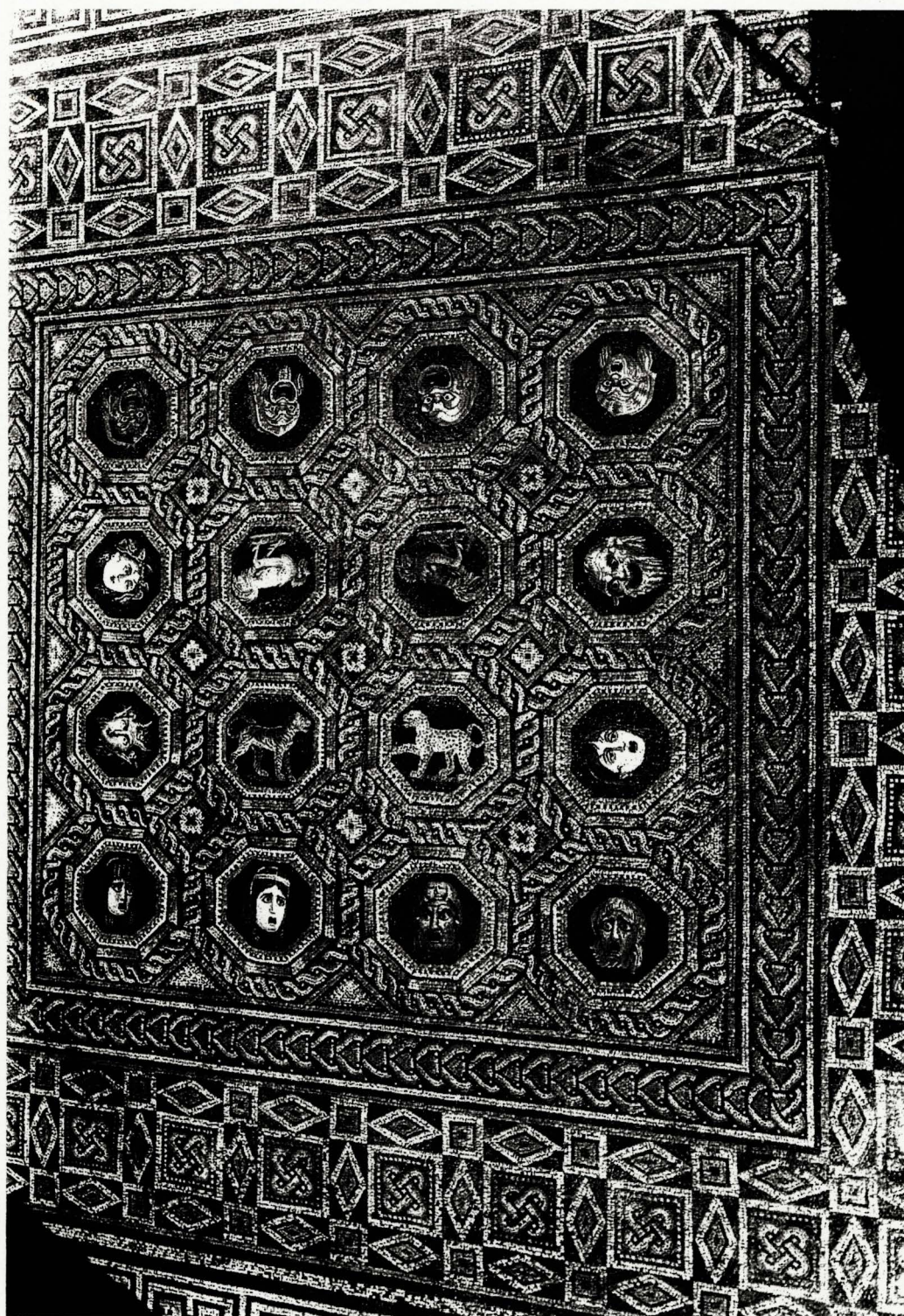


Fig. 181 Pergamon, Building "Z", Room of the masks (cat. 35)



Fig. 182 Dion, Villa Dionysos, *triclinium*, central panel and Dionysiac masks (cat. 16)



Fig. 183 Dion, Villa Dionysos, *triclinium*, mask of old satyr (cat. 16)

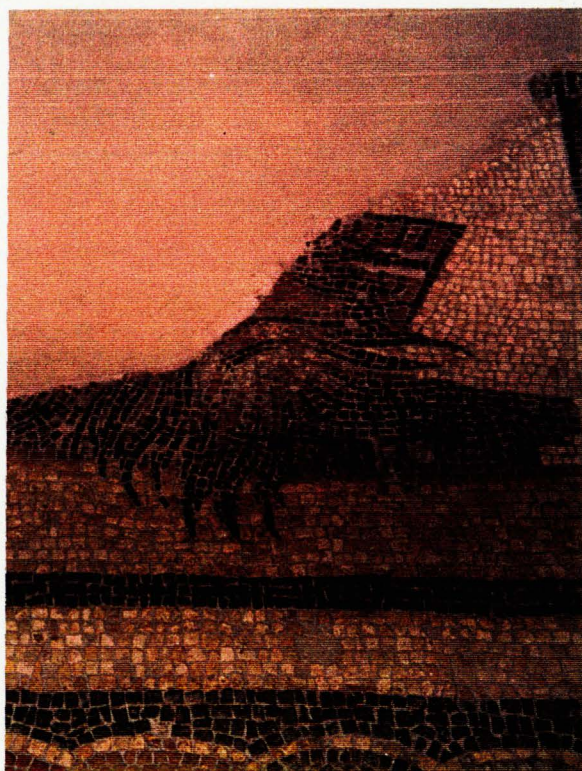


Fig. 184 Chania, House of Dionysos, *triclinium*, satyr masks (cat. 4)

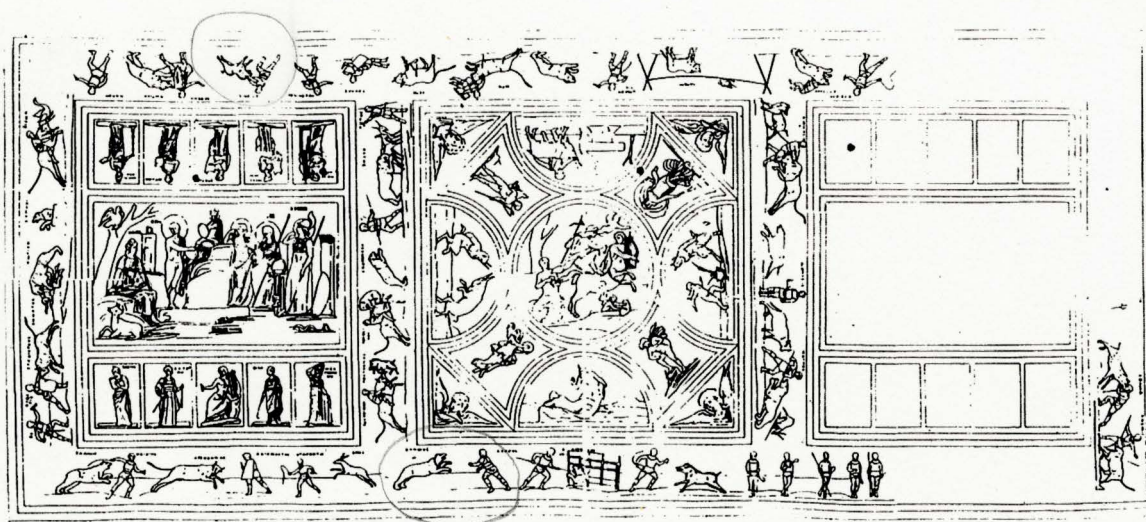


Fig. 185 Kos, House of the Judgement of Paris, drawing (cat. 28)



Fig. 186 Kos, House of the Judgement of Paris, details from central panel (cat. 28)



Fig. 187 Kos, House of Silenos, overall view (cat. 27)



Fig. 188
Kos, House of Silenos,
venator panel (cat. 27)



Fig. 189 Hagia Triada, Koroni, Dionysos and the amphitheatre (cat. 26)



Fig. 190 Smirat (Tunisia), mosaic of Magerius



Fig. 191 Thelepte (Tunisia), amphitheatre scene



Fig. 192 Kreuznach (Germany), *venatio* scenes



Fig. 193 Rhodes,
venator killing leopard



Fig. 194 Vallon (Switzerland),
hexagonal panels with *venatores*

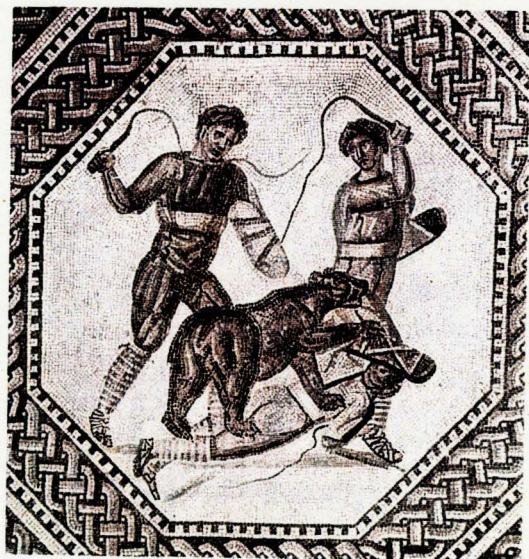


Fig. 195 Nennig (Germany),
venator trampled by bear

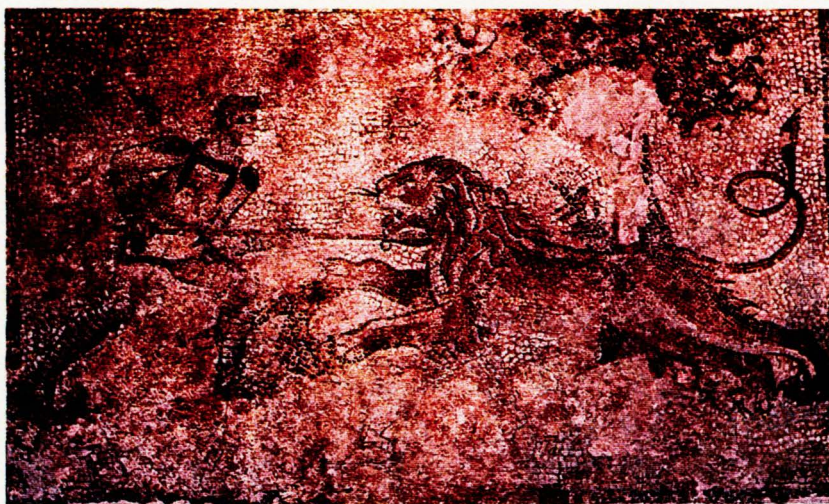


Fig. 196 Chios, *venator* killing lion



Fig. 197 Nea Paphos (Cyprus), House of Dionysos, *venatio* scene from the peristyle

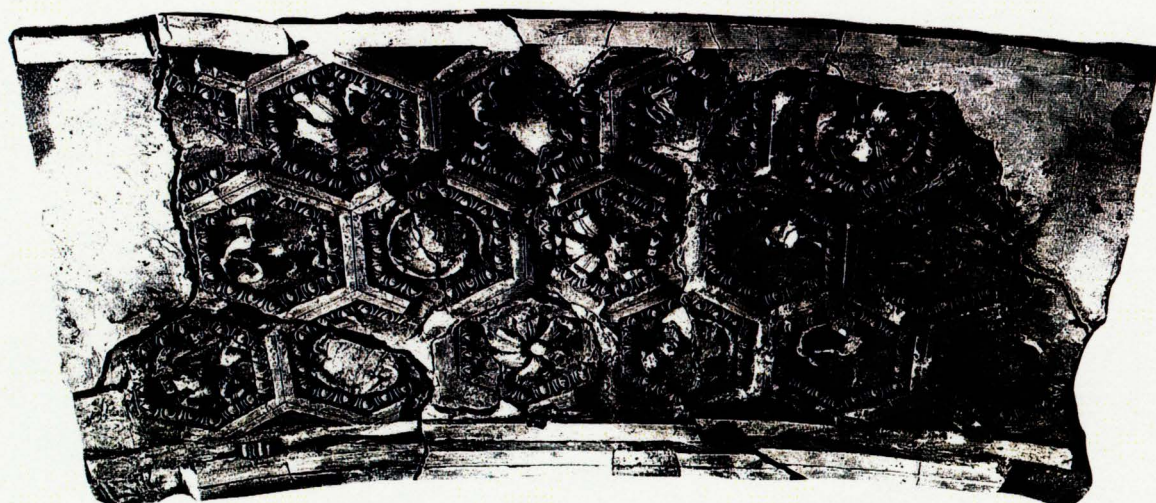


Fig. 198 Pompeii, Casa del Criptoportico, ceiling decoration