The Arts of Antioch

Art Historical and Scientific Approaches to Roman Mosaics and a Catalogue of the Worcester Art Museum Antioch Collection

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Worcester Art Museum
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Ever since their installation in the Worcester Art Museum’s Renaissance Court in 1936, the mosaics from ancient Antioch have been a highlight of the Museum’s permanent collection. Located near the main entrance, they have captured the attention and imagination of Museum visitors for generations. During the past decade, the Museum generated renewed interest in its Antioch holdings through a variety of related projects. As some of the finest treasures from one of the Roman world’s largest and most cosmopolitan cities, the Antioch material was a natural focus for the Museum’s Art of Discovery project, begun in 1994 to expand and diversify the Museum’s audience. Supported by a major grant from the Lila Wallace–Reader’s Digest Fund, this project was the catalyst for hiring Christine Kondoleon for more effective interpretation of the Museum’s ancient Greek and Roman collections. Soon thereafter the Museum hired its first full-time objects conservator, Lawrence Becker, a specialist in the conservation of ancient art, who had recently treated a major Antioch mosaic at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond.

Having the appropriate curatorial and conservation expertise, the Museum undertook a reinstallation of its ancient Greek and Roman collections while introducing a number of objects from storage. When it was also decided to work toward a major exhibition of the art and culture of Antioch, one of the first steps was to resurrect the rest of the Museum’s mosaics collection, many of which had been in storage since the 1930s, including the border fragments from the Worcester Hunt. Extensive conservation work on the mosaics followed, including the treatment of two border fragments for the exhibition. At this time the Museum’s Antioch collection was enhanced by a gift of over one hundred Antioch coins from Emily Townsend Vermeule and Cornelius Vermeule in memory of Francis Henry Taylor, the director responsible for Worcester’s participation in the Antioch dig. The Museum also took the opportunity to purchase several other related objects, including one of the few available small bronze Tyches of Antioch.

The exhibition *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, which included loans from both American and European museums, opened in the fall of 2000. The interdisciplinary exhibition and catalogue, which focused on the life and art of ancient Antioch, had contributions from over 20 scholars. After attracting a record number of visitors at Worcester, the show traveled to Cleveland and Baltimore where it proved equally popular.

As part of the Lila Wallace–Reader’s Digest grant, the Museum created the Discovery Gallery adjacent to its Renaissance Court to house additional Antioch material and serve as an introduction to the Antioch collection. As a related project, the Museum also engaged over a thousand local citizens to create a 13.7 meter-long community mosaic representing the diversity of Worcester. The popular work, mounted on an exterior wall on the Lancaster Street side of the Museum, was unveiled at a large public gathering as a preamble to the Antioch show.

**Foreword**
Following the close of the Antioch exhibition, the Museum began an extensive conservation treatment of the Worcester Hunt, including the addition of the remaining border fragments, a project made possible by funding from the Florence Gould Foundation. With Centennial Campaign funds, the Museum also made several improvements to the Renaissance Court to create a better environment for viewing the mosaics, including the reintroduction of natural light, which had been eliminated two decades earlier due to leaks in the skylight, and the addition of focused lighting for evening viewing as well as air-conditioning to offset the summer heat.

During its showing of Antioch: The Lost Ancient City, the Worcester Art Museum was awarded a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to continue research on the objects brought together for the show and to publish the results. This publication also serves to catalogue the Museum's entire holdings of Antioch material, which is, in effect, a microcosm of the Museum’s landmark exhibition.

With the publication of this volume, the Museum concludes a decade of intensive work on its Antioch holdings. We are grateful to many individuals and organizations for the realization of this ambitious undertaking. I would like to begin by thanking the staff of the Worcester Art Museum whose talent, high standards and hard work have upheld the Museum’s long tradition of excellence. I would like to particularly acknowledge Christine Kondoleon and Lawrence Becker whose expertise and teamwork were a driving force in accomplishing our various Antioch projects, including this publication. Special thanks also to Paula Artal-Isbrand for her excellent conservation work and her role as project coordinator for this volume. We are grateful to the many other scholars who have contributed to both our Antioch publications.

We appreciate the generous funding provided by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which supported much of the conservation work on our Antioch collection and made this publication possible. We are also indebted to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation for its support of both conservation work and the present volume; Cornelius and Emily Townsend Vermeule for their gift toward the publication; and the J. Paul Getty Trust Grant Program for its award of a Curatorial Research Fellowship to Christine Kondoleon.

We are pleased to publish the research conducted by curators, conservators, and scientists in conjunction with the Antioch exhibition, and hope that this publication will provide a foundation of scientific and art historical collaboration upon which future studies can build.

James A. Welu
Director
The present publication grew out of the Worcester Art Museum exhibition *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* organized by the Worcester Art Museum and the accompanying catalogue edited by Christine Kondoleon. Like its predecessor, *The Arts of Antioch* owes much to the cooperation and generosity of our colleagues and the museums they represent.

Firstly, we are greatly indebted to Catherine Metzger of the Musée du Louvre who from the beginning provided unwavering support and encouragement for our research, along with invaluable counsel, observations and insights. We also owe much to our colleagues at Princeton University, organizer of the 1930s excavation. Michael Padgett of the Art Museum, a steadfast friend of the project, gave many hours of his time to provide access to Antioch objects in the galleries and to the trove of study material brought by the excavators to Princeton. Shari Kenfield of the Department of Art and Archaeology was our dedicated guide through the labyrinth of the Antioch Expedition Archives. Without her organizational prowess and knowledge of the material, it is doubtful we would have uncovered many of the field notes, drawings, photographs, and other records that enrich this volume.

The reassembly, study, analysis and conservation of the Atrium House *triclinium* pavement was realized only because Catherine Metzger and Michael Padgett, along with Sona Johnston and Mary Sebera of the Baltimore Museum of Art, and Susan Taylor and John Rossetti of the Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, kindly gave consent for mosaics in their care to be reunited with the Worcester Art Museum panel. They also generously permitted the sampling and analyses of glass and stone tesserae from the *triclinium* and other mosaics, which were essential to the technical studies in this volume.

We are also indebted to John J. Herrmann of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Carlos A. Picón and Christopher S. Lightfoot of The Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Margaret Ellen Mayo of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts for the inclusion of mosaics from their collections in this publication. Further, we would like to thank: Mei-An Tsu of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for photography and sampling of the Marine Mosaic; Jennifer Mass of the Winterthur Museum/University of Delaware for her part in the analyses of glass tesserae from mosaics at the Worcester Art Museum and the Casa della Fontana Piccola at Pompeii; and Robert H. Tykot of the Laboratory for Archaeological Science at the University of South Florida and Marie Archambeault, formerly of the University of South Florida, for the stable isotope analyses that contributed greatly to the Triclinium essay.

Others who generously shared their time and knowledge include Susan A. Boyd and Stephen R. Zwirn at the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Eric Morvillez of the Université d’Avignon et des Pays de Vaucluse, Guy Métraux of York University, Toronto, Pauline Donceel-Voûte of the Université Catholique de Louvain, and John J. Dobbins of the University of Virginia.
The research leading up to this publication took place while the editors were at the Worcester Art Museum, and we owe much to the Museum’s Director, James A. Welu, who championed the Antioch project from the beginning and has actively participated in every phase of this publication. We would also like to thank Philippe de Montebello, Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Malcolm Rogers, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for allowing us the time to continue our research and writing.

Many staff members at the Worcester Art Museum were loyal friends of this project. Steve Briggs photographed most of the objects included in the book. We thank Deborah Diemente, Nancy Swallow, and Selina Bartlett of the Registrar’s Department, Kathleen Corcoran of the Development Department, and Janet Manahan of the Director’s Office for advancing the preparation of this volume. We also thank Chester Brummel for consulting on the photography of the Drinking Contest.

The support of Chief Conservator Rita Albertson and others in the Conservation Department played a vital role. Philip Klausmeyer, Sylvia Schweri, and Corine Norman of the Department devoted innumerable hours to the painstaking digital photography of the triclinium pavement and the organization and integration of the images. We also thank Philip for his analyses of metal objects in the catalogue section and Louise Groll for compiling the photo credits. Many conservators, interns, and volunteers participated in the conservation of the Worcester mosaics. A full roster of names can be found in the essay The Mosaic Conservation Campaign; their contribution to the study and appreciation of these objects cannot be overstated. In addition to the leading role played by Paula Artal-Isbrand, four conservators deserve special mention: Sarah Nunberg, Diane Fullick, Alisa Vignalo, and Judith Jungels.

This book would not have been possible without funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. We are deeply grateful to Angelica Zander Rudenstine of the Foundation for making reality out of the opportunity the Antioch exhibition provided for scholars from different disciplines to investigate mosaics that may never be reunited. In many ways the direction of this project was shaped through our discussions with her. We would also like to single out for appreciation Julie Douglass of the Mellon Foundation.

Additional funding was provided by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the J. Paul Getty Trust Grant Program in the form of a curatorial research fellowship for Christine Kondoleon. At the Kress Foundation we are very grateful to Lisa M. Ackerman for her longstanding support, which extends back to the initial conservation work on the mosaics in 1995. The superb collection of Antioch coins published for the first time in this catalogue was generously given to the Worcester Art Museum by Cornelius and Emily Townsend Vermeule, who also provided funds for their photography and publication.
The present volume draws on the maps and plans created for *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* by Victoria I, along with Jim Stanton-Abbott, Mary Todd and Wes Chilton. Several new ground plans and drawings developed by Victoria I and this same team were adapted for this volume. Their contribution to helping us visualize the context of these mosaics was outstanding.

Our appreciation goes to Katrina Avery for editing the volume and also to Rosemary Simpson for providing the index. We thank Karen Jones and Hanne Winarsky of the Princeton University Press and Nancy Grubb, formerly of the Princeton University Press, for their guidance in publishing and distribution. Adam Freedman and everyone at Meridian Printing did an outstanding job in the printing of the book.

Unquestionably, the greatest measure of gratitude, however, is due our designer, Jon Albertson. We are indebted to Jon not only for the beautiful design and layout of the book and for the innumerable visual details and graphic cues that enhance the text, but in many ways he is responsible for the existence of the volume itself. Without his talent for organizing every facet of the publication, his consummate professionalism, sure judgment, infinite patience and his dedication to producing the best book possible, this volume would never have come to fruition. It has been a delight to work with him.

Lastly to our families—Frederic and Lucas, Jane and Nathan—thank you so much for being there.

This book is dedicated to the late Ernst Kitzinger, a maverick in mosaic studies who inspired our research and especially admired the Worcester mosaics.

Lawrence Becker
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Shorter catalogue entries are initialed by author:

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Chronology

323 B.C.E.
Death of Alexander the Great

300 B.C.E.
Seleukos I founds Antioch as capital of Seleucid empire; Eutychides creates Tyche of Antioch

246–244 B.C.E.
Brief occupation by Egyptians

188 B.C.E.
Seleucid empire pays tribute to Rome after military defeat

175–164 B.C.E.
Antiochos IV Epiphanes expands and beautifies the city

166 B.C.E.
Introduction of gladiatorial games

96–83 B.C.E.
Political instability: six kings in twelve years

83–69 B.C.E.
Antioch occupied by Tigranes II of Armenia

64 B.C.E.
Antioch becomes capital of Roman province of Syria; only nominal autonomy is preserved

47 B.C.E.
Julius Caesar visits and beautifies city; basilica, amphitheater, and theater are built

40–39 B.C.E.
Parthian occupation

31–30 and 20 B.C.E.
Augustus visits the city and continues building projects

37–36 B.C.E.
Antony and Cleopatra wed in Antioch (?)

37 B.C.E.–37 C.E.
Herod and Tiberius build the Great Colonnaded Street

34 or 36 C.E.
Beginning of Christian mission in the city

41–54 C.E.
Foundation of local Olympic Games

about 47 C.E.
Antioch is base for Saint Paul’s missionary journeys
66/67 C.E.
Outbreak of violence against Antiochene Jews

70–80 C.E.
Theater built at Daphne with spoils of Jewish wars

c. 80–90 C.E.
Gospel of Matthew written at Antioch (?)

98 C.E.
Antioch becomes headquarters for war against Parthia

115–16 C.E.
Major earthquake; Emperor Trajan is slightly injured

117–38 C.E.
Hadrian improves water supply system

161–65 C.E.
Co-emperor Lucius Verus resides at Daphne

192 C.E.
Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria, with support of Antiochenes, challenges imperial authority of Septimius Severus; city is punished and Olympic Games suspended

212 C.E.
Caracalla returns imperial favors to city and restores Olympic Games

215–17 C.E.
Caracalla and his mother, Julia Domna, rule from Antioch; she starves herself shortly after his death in 217

256 and 260 (?) C.E.
Antioch sacked by Persian troops

266–72 C.E.
Queen Zenobia of Palmyra takes over Antioch

272 C.E.
Aurelian defeats Zenobia and recaptures Antioch

306–37 C.E.
Emperor Constantine converts to Christianity and commissions the building of the Great Church on the city’s island

338 C.E.
Constantius in Antioch as emperor of the East. City continues to be used as headquarters in the war against Persia

341 C.E.
Great Church completed

361–63 C.E.
Pagan revival under Julian II based in Antioch

379–95 C.E.
Reign of Theodosius I; Libanius and John Chrysostom active

387 C.E.
Tax riots; imperial portraits and statues destroyed

438 C.E.
Empress Eudocia has city walls enlarged

458 C.E.
Major earthquake destroys nearly all buildings on the island

459 C.E.
Death of Symeon the Stylite; relics brought to Antioch

484 C.E.
Pretender emperor Leontius reigns from Antioch; ousted by Zeno

507 C.E.
Circus riots; the synagogue at Daphne is burned

525 C.E.
Great fire

526 C.E.
May 29, major earthquake destroys almost entire city, leaves 250,000 dead

528 C.E.
Nov. 29, major earthquake leaves 5,000 dead. Antioch is renamed Theopolis (City of God)

540 C.E.
Antioch captured and sacked by the Persians. City destroyed and depopulated. Bubonic plague begins two years later

540–65 C.E.
Major rebuilding effort under Justinian, focusing on defenses and infrastructure

573 and 610 C.E.
Persians sack the city

637/38 C.E.
Capture by the Arabs
Antioch and Surrounding Region

[Map showing geographical locations including Antioch, Seleucia, Beroea, Apamea, and others, with markers for ancient sites like the Monastery Church of St. Simeon Stylites and Seleucia (Samandag).]
Ancient City of Antioch

Plan adapted from Downey 1961, fig. 11. Locations of mosaics noted in this book are from the archaeological grid plan reproduced in Levi 1947, vol. II, plans I-III.
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The Atrium House Triclinium

Archaeology, Iconography, Technique and Style

Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon

THE ATRIUM HOUSE triclinium pavement (figs. 1, 2) was excavated in 1932, during the initial field season of the Antioch Expedition. Hailed from the time of its discovery as one of the great finds of the excavation, the floor was lifted in sections and the figural panels divided among the excavation sponsors: Princeton University, the Worcester Art Museum, Musées Nationaux de France, and the Baltimore Museum of Art. A small border section was allocated to Wellesley College in recognition of William Campbell’s contributions to the excavation. Only a few sections of geometric pavement were lifted from the area reserved for the dining couches (kline); they are now stored in the Hatay Archaeological Museum in Antakya.

In the fall of 2000, for the first time since their excavation, the figural panels of the triclinium and their surrounding borders were rejoined for the exhibition Antioch: The Lost Ancient City, organized by the Worcester Art Museum (figs. 3–5). A mosaic pavement in a museum is separated from its archaeological context, depriving investigators of firsthand access to critical contextual information. On the other hand, a museum environment allows detailed examination and material analyses to be carried out under optimal conditions rarely, if ever, found in the field. The reassembly of the Atrium House triclinium pavement for the Antioch exhibition and the attendant international symposia provided an unprecedented opportunity for mosaic scholars, curators, archaeologists, conservators, and materials scientists to study the triclinium. This essay grows out of their collaboration.

Our objective is to examine the pavement from related perspectives with the aim of identifying stages in the laying of the floor and different hands involved in the mosaic work. There is little by way of ancient documents to guide our inquiry into mosaic workshops and the principal sources of information are the pavements themselves. For the most part, mosaic scholars have been concerned with the description and interpretation of mosaics, while evidence of mosaic fabrication is less prominent in their writings. Workshop identifications,
when made, are generally based on the classification of common motifs and compositions rather than on similarities of material or technique, so that methodologies for identifying and comparing mosaic fabrication techniques are relatively undeveloped. The reassembly of the Atrium House pavement provided a catalyst for refining questions and proposing sounder methods for future investigation.

Direct observation of the physical evidence made possible by the exhibition and a close reading of the field notes, drawings, and photographs available in the Princeton University Antioch Archives suggest some new avenues for approaching mosaic workshops and practices.

The first part of this essay presents a description of the floor and its relation to other pavements produced by Eastern mosaic workshops and an interpretation of the scenes depicted. The second part focuses on the original excavation reports and photographs found in the archives of Princeton University. When the panels came together again, we were able to measure dimensions, including the proportions of the figures within each panel, to gather data on the varying densities, shapes, and orientations of tesserae, and to make careful notes about palette changes and variations in technique. These observations form the third part of the essay.

The fourth part of the essay presents the results of the optical examination and compositional analysis of the materials used in the pavement. Permission from the lending institutions enabled us to take samples from various areas of the mosaic for study of the glass and stone tesserae. To date, analysis of mosaic materials has focused primarily on identification, methods of processing, and sources. Material studies are well advanced for glass tesserae because they provide a plentiful source of samples with which to trace the development of vitreous technology. The essay on glassmaking technology below expands this field of study with our data from Antioch, which must have been a significant glass-production center. The present essay, however, seeks primarily to apply the analytical findings to questions about the fabrication of the pavement. Also examined is the relationship between mosaicists and those who provided their materials.

Ideally, there should be continuity between the field study of mosaic production and work done in the laboratory. In this case, we are handicapped by the lifting of the mosaics and the back filling of the excavation site, not to mention the almost seventy-year gap between excavation and material analyses. Nonetheless, this detailed analytical investigation of a single room is a pioneering effort that we hope will lead to new lines of inquiry in the field and encourage analysis of materials from sites where field evidence is still accessible for reference.

Initially called the Roman Villa (found under House A; see fig. 6) by the excavator Clarence S. Fisher, the structure containing the triclinium was designated the Atrium House by Doro Levi in his 1947 publication of the mosaics.1
fig. 3. Mosaic floor of the triclinium. Composite of 72 digital photographs of the figural panels and border elements reunited for the Antioch exhibition in 2000.
Part of this structure was found beneath a larger building known as Bath B and part beneath a series of ruined houses. Fisher identified three periods of construction in the Atrium House. Levi follows Fisher’s conclusion that the earliest construction dates from the Augustan period. Fisher assigns the building of the triclinium to the years immediately following the earthquake of 94 C.E. According to Fisher, the room was damaged in the earthquake of 115 and our pavement was laid between 115 and 150. To support his conclusion that the mosaic was not originally part of the room, Fisher reports evidence of an earlier floor indicated by a layer of surviving plaster or stucco. Levi agrees with Fisher’s sequence of events, but not necessarily with the dating. He argues that the restoration of the building may not be tied to earthquake damage, but if there is a relationship, construction could just as easily have followed the earthquake in Caligula’s reign. If so, the Atrium House triclinium would date between 37 and 115.

The evidence for dating the first phase of the building relies on Fisher’s observation that the limestone masonry had the “characteristic dressed edges of the Augustan era.” The finds beneath the mosaic obviously would provide a terminus post quem, and Fisher notes that the “debris” below the mosaic contained terra sigillata sherds. Unfortunately, these are not published or catalogued in the field notebooks. If we accept a general date of late first or early second century for the lamps with the busts of Serapis and Isis found in the eastern part of the peristyle (fig. 6, area 83 of plan), then their presence in the debris in the peristyle would be consistent with a collapse of the building in 115.

As for the physical space of the dining room, we can turn to Vitruvius for ancient specifications; he indicates that the length of a triclinium should be twice its width. The Atrium House pavement measures approximately 7.2 meters × 4.8 meters. While not conforming to Vitruvius’s standard, these dimensions are closer to his ideal than two other Antiochene triclinia cited
by Morvillez in his recent study of dining spaces: the *triclinia* of the House of the Boat of the Psyches (5.5 × 5.5 m) and the House of the Drinking Contest (7 × 8 m). If we consider the size of excavated couches—those from Pompeii, for example, measure from 2.25 to 2.80 m in length—then we can suggest possible furnishings for the Atrium House dining room. The room would have been able to hold five couches, each with a pair of reclining guests. The longer sides of the room could each accommodate two couches with one couch across the rear. Three-legged tables were probably set in front of the couches at regular intervals."
When the guests arrived for festivities at the Atrium House, they were led into the triclinium. Once over the threshold, they proceeded toward dining couches arranged in a U around the figural panels. A polychrome diamond-shaped lattice against a white background marks the area where the couches were set (fig. 7). The figural panels were arranged in the traditional T, the crossbar containing three panels, the Drinking Contest in the center and a dancing satyr and maenad on either side, with the vertical shaft formed by the Judgment of Paris and the Aphrodite and Adonis (see figs. 3–5, 9–12, 14). The last two panels were oriented toward the rear of the room for viewing by the diners on their couches, while the Drinking Contest faced the guests as they entered. The five figural panels are united by a series of shared borders (fig. 8). Working from the perimeter inward, they are: a band of wave crests (red on white), a meander (black on yellow),13 and a narrow band of stepped triangles (red on white). The entire pavement is surrounded by a white band with a black border. The multiplication of borders enhances the effect of framed stone paintings.

The mythological scenes represented in each panel reinforce the impression of individual paintings. Three panels form an ensemble at the entrance area; at the center is the Drinking Contest Between Herakles and Dionysos flanked by a dancing satyr on the left and a dancing maenad at the right (figs. 9–11). The satyr, of reddish brown complexion, can be identified as a Dionysiac follower by the spotted animal skin tied around his neck and his hips, as well as by his vine wreath. As a celebrant, he holds the pan pipes in one hand while lifting the other in the air. He turns in toward the central panel as he rises onto his toes in the midst of a dance. The maenad, of paler skin, plays the cymbals (cymbalistria) as she turns and looks back over her shoulder toward the central panel. Her blue chiton and brown mantle swirl with the motion of her dance.

The Drinking Contest Between Herakles and Dionysos, rarely depicted in ancient art, represents the god of wine turning over his empty cup to show he is the victor. Dionysos reclines upon a long green cushion and rests his
elbow on a tall white cushion. Herakles, in contrast, seems tipsy as he leans backward on his knees, grabs at the drapery around his legs, and lifts the wine cup to his lips. At the left side of the scene, complementing the flanking satyr and maenad, a female plays the double flute into Herakles’ ear. Eros rushes with outstretched hands toward Dionysos as if to applaud the winner. Silenos with white hair and beard sits behind Dionysos and raises his right arm in a triumphant gesture.

The most elaborate of the scenes, at the center of the room, depicts the Judgment of Paris (fig. 12). The scene illustrates the mythological origins of the Trojan War, when Paris is called upon by Zeus to give the Golden Apple of Discord to the most beautiful of the three goddesses who claimed that title. Although tempted by the seductions of Hera and Athena, he chooses Aphrodite, who offers him the most beautiful mortal, Helen. Within a lush sylvan landscape we see the three goddesses elevated on a hillock on the right side and Paris conferring with Hermes in the left foreground. Paris, dressed in Phrygian garb, watches over a flock of oxen, sheep and goats. The winged Psyche with her lighted torch stands high on a rock behind Hermes and looks across to Eros perched even higher on a pedestal. At the center of the panel is a column with a golden vessel in front of a large green tree.

One of the outstanding pictorial features of the triclinium pavement is the lush vegetal borders against a black background that frame the Judgment of Paris and the Aphrodite and Adonis figural scenes. These foliate scrolls, imaginary conflations of several varieties of plants, were extremely popular during the first and second centuries of our era. Such scrollwork was carved on public buildings throughout the Empire (most notably the Ara Pacis in Rome); it covered the cinerary urns of private citizens and worked its way onto the mosaic floors and frescoed walls of private houses. Typically, the rich vines spring from acanthus plants and unfurl at regular intervals to envelop a variety of motifs drawn from
nature. Because the foliage is lush and laden with grapes and flowers in full bloom, these scrolls imply eternal abundance and spring everlasting—the message of a golden age. Although such inhabited scrolls continue to appear into the late Roman period, the type represented in the Atrium House at Antioch is closer to those of the early Imperial period. These scrolls reflect the naturalism characteristic of Hellenistic examples from Pergamon, the early houses of Pompeii, and some of the marble reliefs from early Imperial Rome (Augustan to Flavian periods). For mosaic parallels, the acanthus volutes filled with birds, insects, snails, roses and mice from a room in the Villa at Dar Buc Ammera in Zliten (Libya) seem to be an early precursor, probably of the late first century, to the Atrium House scrolls. Levi took the greater number of creatures in the Judgment border as evidence of a more “realistic” hand, one he associated with the Flavian age.

A green vine scroll inhabited with various birds and garden creatures surrounds the Judgment of Paris. Entwined in the leafy border are the head of a bearded male at the base of the panel and one of a female at the top. The filling elements, moving clockwise from the top of the panel at the right of the female head, are: a cluster of white grapes, a cricket or grasshopper, a cluster of red grapes, a red-legged partridge, another cluster of red grapes, a warbler with a rounded tail, a lizard and bird (damaged) nibbling at a cluster of red grapes, a thrush, a bearded male mask, a swallow, another lizard and a bird with a long, colorful tail pecking at a cluster of red grapes, a peacock striding toward a thrush about to peck at a white butterfly, at the corner a bird (damaged) turning to gaze at the grasshopper (long white antennae), and a bird nibbling at white grapes to the right of the female face. (See Appendix: Identification of the Birds in the Judgment of Paris for further identifications of birds depicted in the mosaic.)

The two faces do not derive from the theatrical masks that were common in these foliate borders. Rather, they correspond more closely to those found in the Dionysiac repertoire; the female might be the bust of a maenad, the bearded male, the bust of Silenos. Dionysiac heads appear as decorative motives in the mosaics of the Roman East. For example, in the so-called Villa of Dionysos at Knossos, Crete is a room with a pavement decorated with Dionysos and eight busts of his attendants. Because the Cretan mosaic is dated by its pottery and the style of its capitals to the early decades of the second century C.E., it offers an especially appropriate comparison for the Atrium House borders. Two female busts mark the center points of two sides of a rich acanthus scroll framing a complex Dionysiac mosaic from Sepphoris in Galilee dated to the first half of the third century (fig. 13). The foliage unfurls in even convolutions against a darkened background, and while the coloration and style of the animals and hunters differ, the Atrium House foliate borders seem to be direct antecedents to those in the house in Galilee. For example, the acanthus border of the Sepphoris mosaic and that around the Aphrodite and Adonis panel at Antioch share the demarcation of the acanthus leaves with a white dotted line. Indeed, the excavators have concluded that an Antiochene workshop was either directly involved or enormously influential in producing the mosaics found throughout ancient Sepphoris.
The third picture panel, at the rear of the Atrium House dining room, shows two large seated figures who faced the diners—a draped Aphrodite on the left beside a nude Adonis (fig. 14). The long spear he holds and the hound in the foreground identify him as a hunter. Because the upper half of the figural scene was destroyed by the construction of a later wall, it is difficult to discern whether the gathering of drapery beside Aphrodite belongs to a standing figure now lost or to a curtain in the room. However, a photograph from the Princeton Archives of the panel in situ makes clear that there was an arm and hand (pale skinned, probably female) emerging from a cloak, seemingly offering something to Aphrodite (fig. 15). A female servant can be found on sarcophagus reliefs representing a similar scene in which the goddess sits beside her lover and tries to warn him of impending doom.20 The lovers are shown at a moment of languid repose before Adonis departs for the fateful hunt.

The foliate scroll surrounding Aphrodite and Adonis differs from the Judgment border. The tendrils unfurl in circles and are punctuated by pink flowers against a black ground.21 The tightness and crispness of line and general coloration recall the Hellenistic borders of the so-called Hephaistos mosaic from Pergamon now on display in Berlin (fig. 16).22 Although this mosaic is dated to the early decades of the second century B.C.E., it shares such refinements as the
Mosaic of Ktisis (Foundation)

Christine Kondoleon

From the House of Ge and the Seasons: upper level

- **Site:** Daphne DH24-P, Room 4, M78
- **Date:** late 5th century C.E.
- **Material:** Stone tesserae embedded in lime mortar
- **Dimensions:** 285.3 x 276.9 cm
- **Location:** Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1936.35

Like so many of the houses found during the 1930s expedition to Antioch, this house in Daphne was only partially excavated. The layout of the geometric and figured mosaics is shown reinserted into the plan (fig. 1). The house was named by the excavators “House of Earth and the Seasons” because of the themes in the large dining room (room 1 on the plan) and was dated by Doro Levi, largely on stylistic grounds, to the last decades of the fifth century. The size, theme, and location of room 1 in this house suggest that it was the main reception and dining room.

In order to contextualize the Worcester Ktisis mosaic, the decoration of the entire house requires our attention. At the center of room 1 is a female bust labeled GE, “Earth;” she is surrounded by four female busts labeled as the winter and summer solstices and the spring and fall equinoxes that today are on display in the Princeton University Art Museum. Immediately adjacent to this reception room was a corridor decorated with geometric mosaics (area 2). The part of this long hall that was excavated demonstrates a basic principle of Antiochene domestic design, namely the sequential arrangement of a main reception room, portico or corridor and a fountain. While a water feature was not uncovered in the House of Ge and the Seasons, surely one existed. This type of arrangement is well illustrated by the plan of the House of the Drinking Contest in Seleucia Pieria of the early third century (see pg. 59 above). In this earlier house, the bedding surfaces at the entrance to the dining room indicated that there was a large door framed by columns that opened onto the portico decorated with mosaics. While the remains of the House of Ge and the Seasons has no such door or column remains, one would assume a similar arrangement had existed. Two smaller rooms, possibly bedrooms, were found on the north side of the Seleucia house; the two smaller rooms toward the southeast end of the House of Ge and the Seasons, rooms 3 and 4 on our plan, echo the Seleucia arrangement. Room 3 contained another female bust at its center framed by birds and plants, today in the Hatay Archaeological Museum in Antakya. Room 4 also had a female bust at its center with the identifying Greek label Ktisis.
Ktisis Mosaic

The focus of the pavement is a female bust framed by an irregular octagon, outlined in black with an ochre filling and four white circles, that seems to simulate a jeweled frame with inlaid pearls (figs. 2, 3). This central medallion is surrounded by a dense polychrome design, “orthogonal pattern of tangent four-pointed stars, forming lozenges alternately recumbent and upright and creating the effect of intersecting octagons; here the stars bear a square inscribed at $45^\circ$ to the axes” (fig. 4). The lozenges are filled with a variety of patterns in graded shades (yellow/ocher, red/pink and gray/black); in addition there are four lozenges with looped circles (outlined in black with red/pink/white fill), four with perspective solids (red/pink/white against black ground), and four with what Levi calls “silver-plate motifs” (two in red on white, two in white on red). The impulse to vary the coloring and filling motifs essentially undermines the unity of the geometric design, so that the pavement reads as a series of colorful lozenges.

The central geometric design is framed by various birds and aquatic creatures (fig. 5). Although damaged on two sides, there is a sequence of three bushes of large lotus buds and lilies in between a series of aquatic fowl (ducks, geese, cranes). On the side above Ktisis one can make out a snake winding around a stalk with a toad or frog looking on. While they function as an ornamental border, these Nilotic motifs set Ktisis in a particular frame of reference that will be taken up below.
The female bust at the center of the pavement is dressed in a dark gray tunic and red mantle and has a diadem or crown with red and green stones (amethysts and emeralds?), each stone separated by a vertical row of pearls. She wears thick gold hoop earrings with triangular pendants. Her hairstyle, dress and jewelry identify her as an elite woman. The fact that the Code of Justinian (XI, 12) restricts the wearing of pearls, amethysts and emeralds to members of the imperial court suggests that imperial portraits inspired such representations. 6

The Greek inscription KTICIC is divided by her face in two parts; we are meant to read her title across her face and to understand her as a visual representative of that word. The Greek noun is feminine and can be translated as “Foundation.” It might refer to the construction of the building itself, analogous to the use of cornerstones today. Similar busts labeled Ktisis show a woman holding a Roman measuring device, specifically linking the bust to the notion of building. More than a century earlier, a female bust holding a Roman measure is identified as Ktisis in the border of a reception-room pavement in the Constantinian Villa near Daphne. 7 There she is accompanied by three other bejeweled females identified as Dynamis (power), Euandria (manliness) and Ananeosis (renewal). A mosaic from the period of Theodosius II (402–450) adorns an apsed hall in the Eustolios complex at Kourion, Cyprus; here Ktisis has long loose locks of hair and turns in profile to gaze up at her attribute, the measuring device (fig. 6). 8 The visitor to the fifth-century house in Daphne must have understood this bust literally as a personification of “Foundation.” This notion is reinforced by the occurrence of the title “ktistes” on Asia Minor inscriptions. For example, various members of the Vedii Antonini family were honored with the title “founders” on their statues in the Ephesian buildings they funded. 9

Personifications, human forms used to represent abstract ideas, were an established tradition in
ancient Greek and Roman rhetoric and imagery. If their frequency in the mosaic repertoire at Antioch (where they are for the most part female), is any indication, their popularity grew immensely during the late Roman and early Byzantine periods.

In the houses and public buildings, largely baths, at Antioch, personifications might signify states of being, such as “Enjoyment” or “Luxury,” aspects of nature, such as rivers or the earth itself, or aspects of time, such as the seasons or months. Most scholars accept, perhaps too readily, that the feminine gender of the abstract nouns accounts for the female sex of these representations. Tradition, it would seem, demands that these abstract qualities be represented in female form.

One of the most popular personifications was Tyche, the fortune of a city. The earliest documented Tyche for a city was the monumental bronze seated statue made around 300 B.C.E. for Seleucid Antioch. The Antioch Tyche was a seated woman with her foot upon the swimming Orontes River; she wore a turreted crown and held sheaves of grain. She became the model for Tyche/Fortuna produced in many media and sizes throughout the ancient world.

For an excellent example in the WAM collection see catalogue 10. Undoubtedly, the fame of their Tyche enhanced the interest of the Antiochenes in Roman female personifications. Certainly, the association of the famed statue with the good fortune of the city established a tradition of blessings and protection from such female images. The appearance of Tyche on Antioch’s coinage and on the reverses of many other city coinages confirms these associations, as does the use on imperial coinage of empresses and female personifications of Roman virtues such as Concordia.

Female imagery, in the form of bronze busts of Athena and of late Roman and early Byzantine empresses, was also used for the lead-filled bronze weights employed in daily commerce from the fourth to the seventh centuries. In this context, the female busts functioned as guarantors of fair trade, that is, abiding by official standards. In keeping with this association, statues of empresses were positioned at locations in Constantinople where state supplies of food were distributed. Although empresses may have already been linked to Roman virtues in the imperial period, these links became more intense during the Theodosian dynasty (379–455). In his funerary encomium for Aelia Flacilla (d. 387), Gregory of Nyssa refers to the departed empress as the “ornament of the Empire,” a “harmonious mixture of all the virtues.” Among these virtues he names “decoration” (of altars), “wealth” (of the needy), and “love of mankind” (philanthropia). Although Flacilla’s virtues are given an ecclesiastical slant, it should be noted that Gregory, as one of the Cappadocian Fathers, was educated in Antioch; the female busts adorned as imperial personages and representing “Decoration” and “Wealth” on the fourth- and fifth-century pavements of Antioch must be seen as part of the same cultural landscape. In terms of chronology, then, the increased popularity of these female personifications may be tied to the rising potency of the empresses as bearers of basileia (imperial dominion). The association between the empress and personifications such as that of “Earth” or “Ktisis” is revealed in the dedicatory inscriptions for the statues of Aelia Flaccilla from Ephesos and Aphrodisia. A rare gold bracelet in the Worcester Art Museum collection (2001.87) (fig. 7), one of a pair, indicates that these ideals as personified by female representations became fashionable for precious objects, as well as for monumental decoration.

The bust of a richly dressed woman be decked in ear-rings and necklace is identified in Greek as XAPIC, “grace” or “charm.” Her hairstyle and dress fit that
of the fifth- and sixth-century empresses. A vine scroll is incised on the hoop of this bracelet—here too, as in the Worcester Ktisis mosaic, nature reinforces the message of the label.

Furthermore, literary sources report that several portraits of Flacilla at Antioch were attacked during the tax riots of 387. We begin to reconstruct from texts and images an interesting web of imperial and secular imagery, one reinforcing the perception of the other, so that the Worcester Ktisis might well be understood as a contemporary, i.e. late Roman or early Byzantine, version of imperial virtue that offered protection and security.

Such images were more than apotropaic devices or good-luck symbols. A revealing example is the pavement fragment recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art that shows a bust holding a Roman measure identified by the Greek label as Ktisis (1999.99). Unusually for a Ktisis image, this bust was apparently flanked by two running male figures that hold cornucopia filled with fruit. Only one side is extant, bearing the word “KALOI”; it was probably complemented on the other side by a similar figure with the word “KAIROI” or “Good Times,” the Greek equivalent of the Latin FELICITAS TEMPORUM. Similar male figures accompany the inscription “KALOI KAIROI” in a mosaic from a later fifth-century or early sixth-century Christian basilica in Delphi, where they are offering seasonal fruits. Typically, the running figures with seasonal offerings allude to the earth’s abundance and accompany Earth herself. It would seem that in the Metropolitan mosaic Ktisis is a stand-in for GE or Earth. And the earth’s abundance is certainly alluded to in the border of the Worcester Ktisis.

The message of the Earth—its creation and abundance—is clear once the Worcester Ktisis is put into its original context, both in the room and within the house where it was found. Looking first within the room itself, the border of various Nilotic motifs (ducks, lotus buds and flowers, and water lilies) colorfully depicted (pale yellow, pink, and gray-green) contextualize the word Ktisis in a very particular way. The individual motifs and their style are closely replicated in another Antioch mosaic found on the property of Rassim Bey Adali at Daphne and dated to the last quarter of the fifth century. The figured panels, part of a larger floor, feature ducks and lotus buds and fish that clearly allude to the life along the Nile. The palette and bold expressive style of the Antiochene Nilotic motifs find their closest parallels in the transept floors of the church of the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes at Tabgha on the Sea of Galilee dated to the second half of the fifth century. The presentation of the Nilotic motifs within an early Byzantine church reflect a trend to introduce the observed world of nature and the topography of the built world of men. The appearance of these Nilotic motifs in Antiochene houses makes it clear that the artists appropriated domestic art for the ecclesiastical

![fig. 7. Bust of Charis, gold bracelet. WAM 2001.87.](image1)

![fig. 8. Details of Ktisis border: water fowl, a snake wrapped around a stalk, a frog or toad.](image2)
realm. The faithful probably viewed these images through the prism of their earlier domestic contexts. The label accompanying the Worcester Ktisis provides a vehicle for interpretation, namely that of “creation,” an alternate meaning for Ktisis and probably the reason why this very personification appears in several churches.

If we step outside the room and examine the mosaics in the three other rooms with figural mosaics, there are seven female busts that represent aspects of nature (Earth) and its cycles (Seasons), and “Creation,” as well as an unnamed female bust with a halo and surrounded by peacocks and other birds. Taken together, the mosaics of the House of Ge and the Seasons suggest that, just as the Earth renews itself through the changing of the Seasons as seen in the dining-room mosaic, so too man builds (Ktisis) and renews his cities and houses.

A Christian counterpart to this ensemble is found in the Justinianic basilica of Qasr-el-Lebia (c. 530) in Cyrenaica, where many of the same motifs appear—peacocks, Nilotic birds, fish, rural scenes, animals, and most importantly, female personifications including Ktisis, Kosmesis, and Ananeosis, are set into a grid of panels in the nave. Taken as a whole, the pavement is a visual gloss on a fifth-century commentary on Genesis written by Bishop Theodoret of Cyrus, a town near Antioch: “man imitates God who made him by building dwellings, walls, town, harbors, boats...countless other things.” The clear visual simile between God as creator and those who built and decorated the churches was dependent on an artistic vocabulary developed in the secular realm to represent the patron of a house as founder and benefactor. The recent discovery and publication of a large Nile mosaic at Sepphoris from a civic building of the early fifth century offers vivid testimony to the association of Nilotic motifs with abundance and prosperity in the secular realm.²¹

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²¹ PUBLISHED: Antioch II, 194, pl. 58 fig. 81; Merey 1937, 39, pl. 18; Levi 1947, 346–347, pl. 82, b; Çimok 2000, 281; Kondoleon 2000, 65, 67 with fig. 3.
1. Levi 1947, in the “Technique and Style” section of his monumental study of the Antioch mosaics, makes many comparisons between the geometric patterns and ornamental treatments in this house and the dated churches of Gerasa in Jordan, especially the Church of the Prophets dated to 464–5 C.E.; see 468, 475–476. Balty argues that Levi assigns a date between 450 and 475 to the House of Ge and the Seasons, upper level, without any archaeological evidence. She believes a later date is possible, see Balty 2001, 111, n. 57.

3. Dobbs 2000, fig. 1, 55.
4. Décor 1985, 288, pl. 184f. The Worcester Ktisis mosaic is used as an example for this variant of the star pattern in this handbook of mosaic designs.
5. Although for Levi 1947, 468, this curvilinear design recalls the outlines of Roman imperial silver plates, I would suggest an alternate and perhaps more closely related source, namely inlaid marble designs.
7. These busts are discussed extensively by Levi 1947, 251–255, esp. 255, pl. 61 a,b,c. For a recent discussion of Ktisis and how she relates to other images of “general and personal ambition” found in the mosaics of Antioch, see Küblerich 1998, 28–30. Küblerich proposes that Ktisis, which means either Possession or Foundation, taken together with the other busts on this floor, communicates a sense of prosperity and good luck.
10. For their appearance in Greek literature and art, see Stafford 2000, esp. 1–44, and Shapiro 1993.
11. About 80 personifications—50 of them are female and 30 present a young woman in bust format—occur in Levi’s catalogue of the Antioch mosaics.
12. See also Downey 1958, 349–355.
13. See Stafford 2000, 27–35, who points out the contrast between the lower status of women in classical society and their ready appropriation for positive values; adult males are used very rarely as personifications, and then they usually represent negative values.
15. For a recent discussion, see Gittings 2002, esp. 69–70; also Vikan and Nieder 1986, 22.
17. The role of the female members of the Theodosian dynasty in imperial dominion is extensively explored by Holm 1982, 22–47; however, he does not make the connection to the secular personifications found in art.
19. See Kalaruzou 2003, 251, cat. no. 143.
20. Here I agree with Campbell’s argument that personifications functioned as apotropaia in places like Antioch and Carthage: Campbell 1994, esp. 58.
22. Several examples of this inscription are found in fifth- and sixth-century pavements in Greece; see Spiro 1978, esp. Delphi, no. 85, 240–242, another from Old Corinth, no. 42, 97–98, pls. 95–97, and the lost apse mosaic of a Christian building in Tegae, no. 89–90, 182–183.
31. **Ring with Four Beads**  
Late Roman–Byzantine  

*Provenance:* Antioch, surface find, no inv. no.  

*Material:* Copper alloy with glass beads  

*Dimensions:* Diam. 2.2 cm  

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.335*

*Condition:* Fair. The metal is corroded. The glass beads have deteriorated and are fractured.

The ring is made of three copper wires braided together. Four ivory-colored melon-shaped glass beads are threaded onto the wires.

This is an unusual type of ring. A similar example found at Corinth is dated to the late Roman or Byzantine period.

Unpublished

1. Davidson 1952, 244, cat. 1943, pl. 106.

32. **Horse-Head Buckle**  
7th century C.E.  

*Provenance:* Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. C836-U802  

*Material:* Copper, brass (eyes), tin plating  

*Dimensions:* 2.8 × 2.4 × 0.9 cm (horse’s head), 2.9 × 2.3 × 0.9 cm (ring)  

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.327.1–2*

*Condition:* Good. Only traces of plating and eye inlay are extant.

The cast tin-plated copper buckle consists of a horse’s head, hooked at the neck, and an ogival ring. One side of the ring is a narrow band where the hook of the horse would have attached, the head forming the tongue of the buckle. The details of the head (eyes, mouth, and bridle) were created by incising the wax model. The eyes were inlaid with brass.

Published: Russell 1982, 152, n. 40.

1. Compare this type of ogival plate to Waldbaurn 1983, 121, no. 710 (from Sardis) and Davidson 1952, 270, cat. 2177, pl. 105 (from Corinth).  

33. **Buckle Plate**  
First half of the 7th century C.E.  

*Provenance:* Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. C305-U743  

*Material:* Copper with gilding  

*Dimensions:* 3.1 × 3.8 × 1.3 cm  

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.330*

*Condition:* Fair. The surface is worn and much of the original gilding is lost.

The cast shield-shaped plate has two projecting pierced lugs at the corners for hinge attachment to the buckle (not extant). The incised design of ivy leaves is surrounded by a broken linear incised border. The plate is framed with a bead border. The designs were incised in the wax model before casting. On the back are three more pierced lugs. The plate was originally gilded, and some of the gilding remains.

This buckle plate is one of a well-established corpus represented throughout the eastern Roman world in the seventh century C.E. Other examples come from Anemurium, Constantinople, and Sardis.

Published: Russell 1982, 152, n. 42.

1. Russell 1982, 139, no. 12, 142–43, fig. 7.24.D.  
Csallány 1954, 210, 145–46, pl. IV.3, 12 (type 6).  
Waldbaurn 1981, 120, cat. 700, pl. 44.
34. Crossbow Brooch
Mid 3rd–early 4th century C.E.

Provenance: Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. 298
Material: Brass with gilding
Dimensions: 6.4 × 5.1 × 2.6 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.338

Condition: Fragmentary. The brooch is missing its pin. The surface is corroded, and much of the gilding is lost.

The cast brooch has a straight foot, decorated in relief with lateral grooved ribs that are framed by two notched double-ax shapes. The curved bow would have terminated with a knob (not extant), similar to the knobs that terminate the bow’s arms. There is some gilding remaining, particularly on the bow. XRF detected mercury, indicating amalgam gilding.

On the basis of the proportions of the foot, bow, and arms, as well as the decoration, the brooch can be dated fairly accurately. The crossbow brooch is associated with Roman soldiery, and is often found in border areas of the Roman Empire. Other similar examples have been found in Britain and Greece.

Unpublished

1. Rostovtzeff 1949, 51.
2. Hattatt 1985, 132, cat. 503 (Britain); Davidson 1952, 270, cat. 2171 (Corinth).

Metalwork with Enamel

35. Tab for a Buckle
6th–7th century C.E.

Provenance: Excavated (?) at Antioch, no inv. no.
Material: Copper alloy, red enamel or inlay (?)
Dimensions: 2.0 × 6.0 × 1.1 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.331

Condition: Good. There are some accretions in the crevices of the design. At least three of the red inlays are missing.

The copper alloy tab is a long plaque that is rounded at one end. At the rounded end is a knob, while at the squared end two pierced lugs project from each corner. There are also two pierced lugs on the reverse side, set near the squared end. The main side of the decoration is divided into three distinct zones. A band of engraved diamonds with central dots, bordered by triangles, is placed near the squared end. The center of the tab has a rectangular area decorated with fantastic intertwined birds with large round eyes. At the rounded end is a circular pattern bordered with punched squares that also have central dots. Within the circle are two concentric squares, surrounded by enamel inlays.

The tab was made of two pieces. The front segment, perforated to hold the enamel or inlay, was attached to the main body of the tab with four copper alloy pins.

Dumbarton Oaks has a similar tab, also excavated at Antioch. Another tab, found in Damascus, still has its plate and tongue of the buckle.

Unpublished

36. Mandorla Brooch
2nd–3rd century C.E.

Provenance: excavated at Antioch, sector S-19-J, from under a mosaic in the south corridor of a building.
Material: Copper alloy with red and white (?) enamel
Dimensions: 2.7 × 3.8 × 1.0 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.337

Condition: Fair. The brooch is missing its pin. The surface is heavily incrusted and much of the enamel is missing. Two of the protruding lobes are broken off.

The cast brooch is of an unusual mandorla shape, surrounded by eight protruding decorative lobes. The lobes are punched with a concentric circle pattern, and the mandorla is bordered by two concentric rows of punched lines. The center section is inlaid with white enamel, within which is a cell of red enamel with a central metal circle, punched in the same manner as the lobes.

The mandorla shape has few comparisons, as most enameled disc brooches are circular or diamond-shaped. Several types of circular brooches have similar lobes, and two lobed mandorla-shaped brooches are cited in Hattatt’s catalogue, although they both have fewer lobes.

Unpublished

1. Results of the EDS analysis of the red enamel follow cat. 37.
37. Oval Brooch
2nd–3rd century C.E.

Provenance: Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. 350.6

Material: Bronze with gilding and white enamel

Dimensions: 2.4 × 3.4 × 1.8 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.339

Condition: Fair. The brooch lacks its pin. Much of the enamel is missing, and the surface of the metal is heavily corroded.

The cast brooch is oval, with a central knob of metal. Set around the knob is a pattern, originally gilded and inlaid with enamel, consisting of four arms terminating in pelta shapes. In between each arm are other peltae, this time in reversed position. The recessed areas for the enamel were carved into the wax model before casting.

Peltae were small, lightweight shields associated with Amazon warriors. The design, frequently seen in pierced ºbulae, is unusual in this enamelled form.

1. For xrf analysis see below.
2. Rostovtzeff 1949, 65–67, pls. XVI-XVII.

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Gold Jewelry

38. Pendant with Medallion
Roman period

Provenance: Antioch, surface find, inv. no. C66-138a

Material: Gold

Dimensions: 1.5 × 1.3 × 0.4 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.320

Condition: Good. The tip of the nose is dented in and there is a loss and a crack there. There are dirt and accretions on the reverse, in the deeper areas of repoussé.

The pendant is round, with a frontal head worked in low-relief repoussé. The design, frequently seen in pierced ºbulae, is unusual in this enamelled form.

The pendant is round, with a frontal head worked in low-relief repoussé. The head is surrounded by a border of raised dots. The suspension loop is made of a thin, ridged band of gold.

The gender of the face is uncertain, but the free-flowing hair and frontal three-quarter view suggest the sun god Helios, familiar to the ancient viewer from the coinage of Rhodes.

Published: Kondoleon 2000, 78, 85.

40. Nine Beads
Hellenistic–Roman period

Provenance: Antioch, surface find, inv. no. C68–J30 a–l
Material: Gold
Dimensions: each bead 0.5 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.322

Condition: Good. Four of the beads have surface discoloration. Some beads are dented.

The melon-shaped beads are worked in repoussé, and the central perforation is ringed at each end with a gold wire. They were part of a necklace.

Published: Kondoleon 2000, 78, 85.

41. Club-Shaped Beads
Hellenistic period

Provenance: Antioch, surface find, inv. no. C67 J29 a–d
Material: Gold
Dimensions: 1.6 × 0.4 cm (1940.323), 1.9 × 0.5 cm (1940.324)

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.323, 1940.324

Condition: Fragmentary. Each bead is broken off at the narrow end.

The two club-shaped beads are hollow, and decorated with triangular and diamond patterns of granulation and gold wire. The wider end of each is rounded, with a central hole for stringing the bead to a necklace.

These beads would have been terminal elements to a necklace.

Published: Kondoleon 2000, 78, 85.

42. Pendant
Hellenistic–Roman period

Provenance: Antioch, surface find, inv. no. C67 J29 a–d
Material: Gold
Dimensions: 1.5 × 1.5 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.326

Condition: Good. There is some discoloration of the surface.

The pendant is made from sheet gold rolled into a long, thin cone. At the wider end of the cone is an attachment loop made of a ridged band of gold.

Published: Kondoleon 2000, 78, 85.

43. Pendant
Hellenistic–Roman period

Provenance: Antioch, surface find, inv. no. C67 J29 a–d
Material: Gold
Dimensions: 1.5 × 1.3 cm

Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.327

Condition: Good. There are some accretions inside and around the loop.

The stirrup-shaped pendant has a ridged band of gold for a loop across its long side. The ends of the prongs and the center where the loop and stirrup join are decorated with gold beads.

The prongs of the stirrup might have held a sealstone or gem in place, or another gold ornament might have hung from the central bead.

Published: Kondoleon 2000, 78, 85.

1. Compare similar examples from Sardis (Densmore Curtis 1925, 25, cat. 47, pl. IV, 5a, 5b), Damascus (Higgins 1980, xxvi, 166, fig. 49a), and Kyrene in Arados (Marshall 1911, 227, cats. 2036–37 and 2038–39).

1. For comparison with the latter type, see Marshall 1931, 348, cat. 2030, pl. LXVIII, where the stirrup element supports another gold decoration worked in repoussé.
44.  
**Intaglio Gem**  
1st century C.E.  

*Provenance:* Antioch, inv. no. C599-S675  
*Material:* Agate (?)  
*Dimensions:* 1.5 × 1.1 × 0.3 cm  

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.328*  

*Condition:* Good. There are some small surface chips.  

The oval-shaped gem has an intaglio portrait of a female, facing right. Her hair is drawn back in a bun and she wears a *modius*. The style of carving is linear and somewhat rough.  

The portrait is perhaps of the goddess Fortuna. Depictions usually show her full-figure, holding a cornucopia. A bust is rare, but the *modius* she wears on her head is an identifying attribute.  

*Unpublished*

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45.  
**Pin with Face**  
*Roman period*  

*Provenance:* Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. C77-U699  
*Material:* Bone  
*Dimensions:* 2.2 × 7.8 × 0.9 cm  

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.329*  

*Condition:* Good. The pin is complete except for a large chip from the upper right edge of the face and a small chip from the nose. The pin was broken at the neck and repaired.  

The pin’s terminal decoration is a trapezoidal head with an abstract face consisting of large oval eyes, eyebrows, and a nose. Below the face are four incised horizontal lines. The pin itself is short (approximately the same length as the head) and roughly chiseled to a point.  

*Unpublished*

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46.  
**Pin**  
*Roman period*  

*Provenance:* Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. C418-B254  
*Material:* Bone  
*Dimensions:* large, 9.3 × 0.7 cm; small, 8.1 × 0.4 cm  

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.333*  

*Condition:* Good. The pin is undamaged.  

The pin is of simple shape, with a conical head that tapers to a sharp point.  

*Unpublished*

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47.  
**Pin**  
*Roman period*  

*Provenance:* Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. 350.6  
*Material:* Bone  
*Dimensions:* 10.5 cm  

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.334*  

*Condition:* Good. The pin is unbroken but has some surface abrasions and losses.  

The pin has a knobbled head, its shaft is narrow at the neck, then bulges toward the center before tapering to a point.  

*Unpublished*
48.

**Boss**

*Roman period*

*Provenance:* Excavated at Antioch, inv. no. C344-B260

*Material:* Bone

*Dimensions:* 2.7 Diam. × 1.0 cm

*Worcester Art Museum, Antioch Excavation, 1940.336*

*Condition:* Good. There are some cracks in the surface and some small losses along the edge.

The object is a convex disc with an incised ridge around the edge. Five incised circles with central dots are arranged near the circumference of the disc; at the center is another dot within two concentric incised circles.

Other bone counters with the same number of dots were discovered at Anemurium and Corinth.¹ These were perhaps game pieces.

*unpublished*

¹ Russell 1982, 137, fig. 4.28 (Anemurium), Davidson 1952, 220, cat. 1700, pl. 99 (Corinth).