

A MOSAIC FLOOR FROM A ROMAN VILLA AT ANAPLOGA

(PLATES 65-73)

EXPLORATION AND RESTORATION

A Roman villa was excavated in 1962-1964 in the district known as Anaploga, some 750 meters west and south of the Odeion of Ancient Corinth. Among its more prominent features was a room (Fig. 2, room 7) with a fine floor mosaic of still-life scenes surrounded by elaborate borders (Fig. 1, Pl. 65).¹ The mosaic is not contemporary with the construction of the villa but was laid during a second phase which also involved the shifting of a wall, as can be seen in Figure 3.² A *terminus post quem* for the mosaic is provided by pottery of the third quarter of the first century after Christ which was discovered in test trenches made through the bedding of the pavement and the fill just below.³ It is therefore reasonable to assume that the floor was created for the villa sometime in the last quarter of the first century of our era.⁴

The mosaic has suffered considerable damage both through a later remodelling

¹ The villa will be published by Professor Henry S. Robinson in a forthcoming article. Mr. Robinson directed its excavation and I am greatly indebted to him for permission to publish the mosaic of this house. The technical information concerning the discovery of the mosaic and its preservation and restoration are his. I am very grateful to Mr. Robinson, to C. K. Williams, and to S. G. Miller for discussion and help in various ways while working on the mosaic.

A brief report on the finding of the villa has appeared together with a photograph of the floor in *Δελτ.*, XVIII, *Χρον.* 1, 1963, p. 78, pl. 92, c; *B.C.H.*, LXXXVII, 1963, pp. 725-726, fig. 10.

I should like to express gratitude to Mr. Frederick C. Crawford who generously made possible the color plates which accompany this article. The color transparencies for Plates 71-73 are the work of Misses Ioannidou and Bartzioti; the color printing was executed in Athens by I. Makris, S. A.

² The south wall of Room 7 was moved toward the south. Cf. Phases I and II, Figure 3.

³ The chronology of the villa will be discussed in detail by Mr. Robinson in his forthcoming publication.

⁴ The mosaic is thus one of the few known examples in Greece dated to the first century after Christ. Others include: 1) At Corinth the athlete mosaic in the Agonotheteion dated to the second half of the first century (O. Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, *The South Stoa and its Roman Successors*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 107-109, pls. 30-31, henceforth cited as Broneer); 2) at Olympia the patterned mosaic from the Bath on the Kladeos dated to ca. A.D. 100 (E. Kunze and H. Schleif, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, IV, Berlin, 1944, pp. 94-95, pl. 28. Cf. a detail of this mosaic in Pl. 69, b); 3) at Philippi a mosaic reported in *Arch. Anz.*, L, 1935, p. 224 and *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, p. 287; 4) possibly a mosaic at Argos in section delta (*B.C.H.*, XCIV, 1970, p. 779, fig. 27).

For a discussion of mosaics of this period in Greece, I am indebted to Mrs. Elizabeth Ramsden Waywell of the British School of Archaeology at Athens and the University of London, who is preparing a corpus of Roman mosaics in Greece.

of the room and as a result of modern plowing. In Late Roman times (Phase III of the villa) an east-west wall was added just south of the southern figured panel of the mosaic with a footing trench dug 0.70 m. below the pavement (Fig. 3, Pl. 66).⁵ The mosaic nevertheless appears to have continued in use even after this alteration until the final destruction of the villa around the middle of the fourth century after Christ.⁶ The greatest amount of damage, however, has taken place in modern times as a result of plowing. When discovered, the mosaic lay as little as 0.40 m. below the ground level and was being progressively destroyed by the blades of the machine-drawn plows which are a common feature of Greek farming today. Plates 65 and 66 show the mosaic as it appeared when first discovered. Figure 1 is a reconstructed drawing of the whole floor⁷ and Plates 67, 71-73 show parts of the actual mosaic as it now hangs on a wall in the Corinth Museum after restoration.

The floor measures *ca.* 9.25 m. from north to south; from east to west it measures 5.14 m. at the north and 5.23 m. at the south. Because the walls of the room are not parallel the mosaicist necessarily encountered difficulties in laying the floor with its basic design of rectangles. His solution was to place the north-south lines of the mosaic parallel to the west wall, a solution which nevertheless resulted in seeming non-alignment of mosaic to room as can be seen in Figure 2.⁸

At the south end of the mosaic are three panels of interlocked circles which form a sort of lobby separated from the main rectangular part of the mosaic (Fig. 1, Pl. 66).⁹ Since neither the northern edge of this area nor the southern edge of the large rectangle is preserved, the reconstruction of this portion in Figure 1 is hypothetical. However, several features indicate that a separation must have existed between the main rectangle and the lobby with its three panels. In the first place, the east-west limits of the lobby panels are different from those of the main rectangle (Fig. 1). In the second place, the circles in the lobby panel are larger than those of the main rectangle. Also, if one assumes the circle border of the main rectangle to have had the same width at the south as it has at east and west, its southern end can be fixed. One can thereby determine the north limit of the lobby panels, for to restore another

⁵ The footing trench, almost 1.50 m. wide, had a fill dating to the fourth century after Christ.

⁶ Dated by pottery and coins of the second half of the fourth century after Christ in the fill above the mosaic. The coins included issues of Valentinian, Arcadius, and Theodosius I.

⁷ The reconstruction was made by the late Piet de Jong and Mrs. Iro Athanassiades-Trahanatzi. It shows all the extant remains, part of which could not be removed to the Museum, and sections of the border design restored schematically. Full details, such as the interior lines of the figured panels and the perspective aspect of the meander, however, are not given, as comparison with the photographs of Plates 65, 71-73 shows.

⁸ Mr. John Travlos, who drew the plans of the villa, suggested that Room 7 served as a dining room. Since standard-sized couches do not fit evenly end-to-end around the room, one must assume some less regular arrangement if the room is designated as the andron.

⁹ Portions of the east and west panels only are preserved. Nothing remains of the middle section which must be restored (see below).

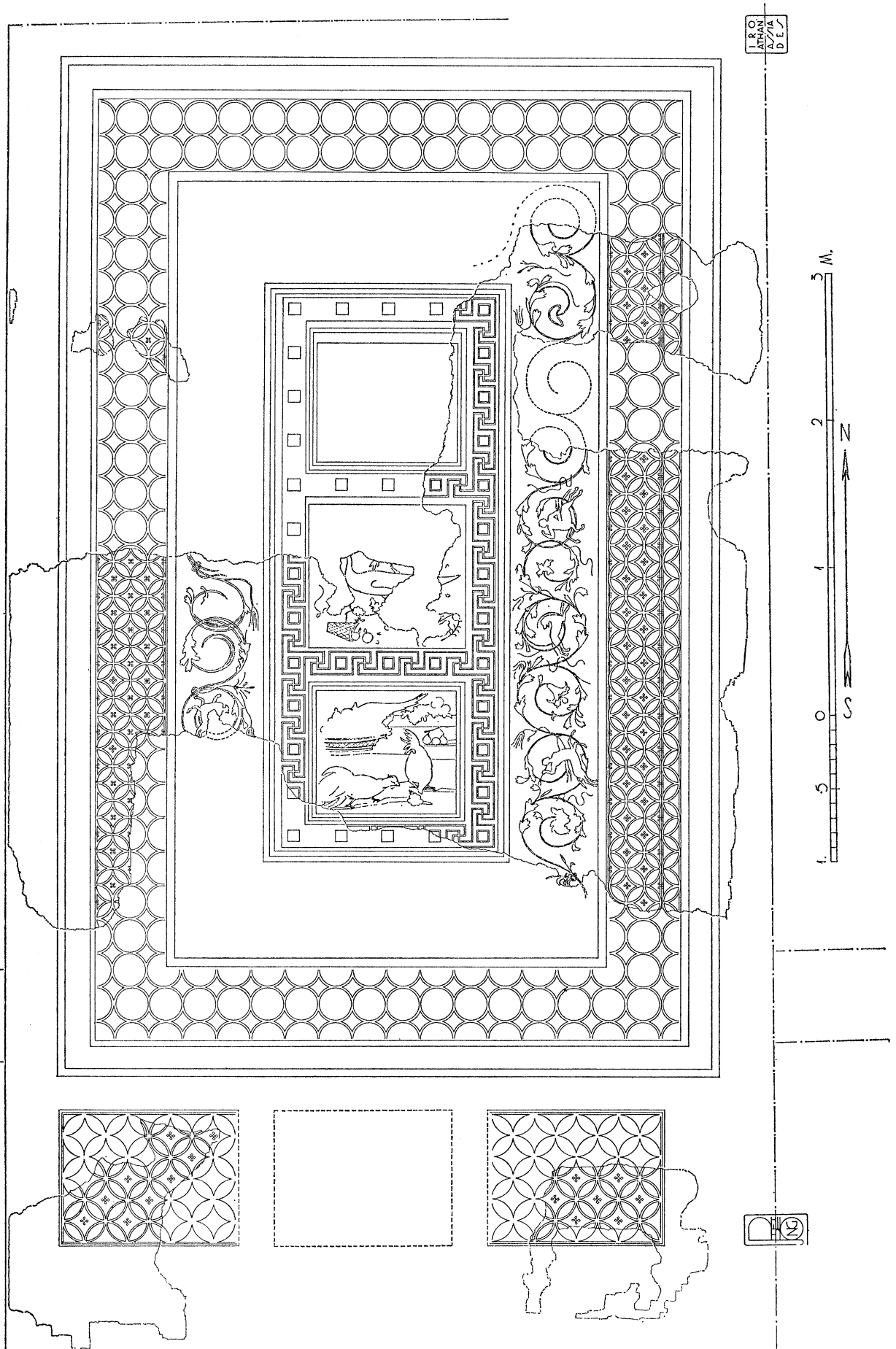


Fig. 1. Anaploga Mosaic Floor, Schematically Restored.

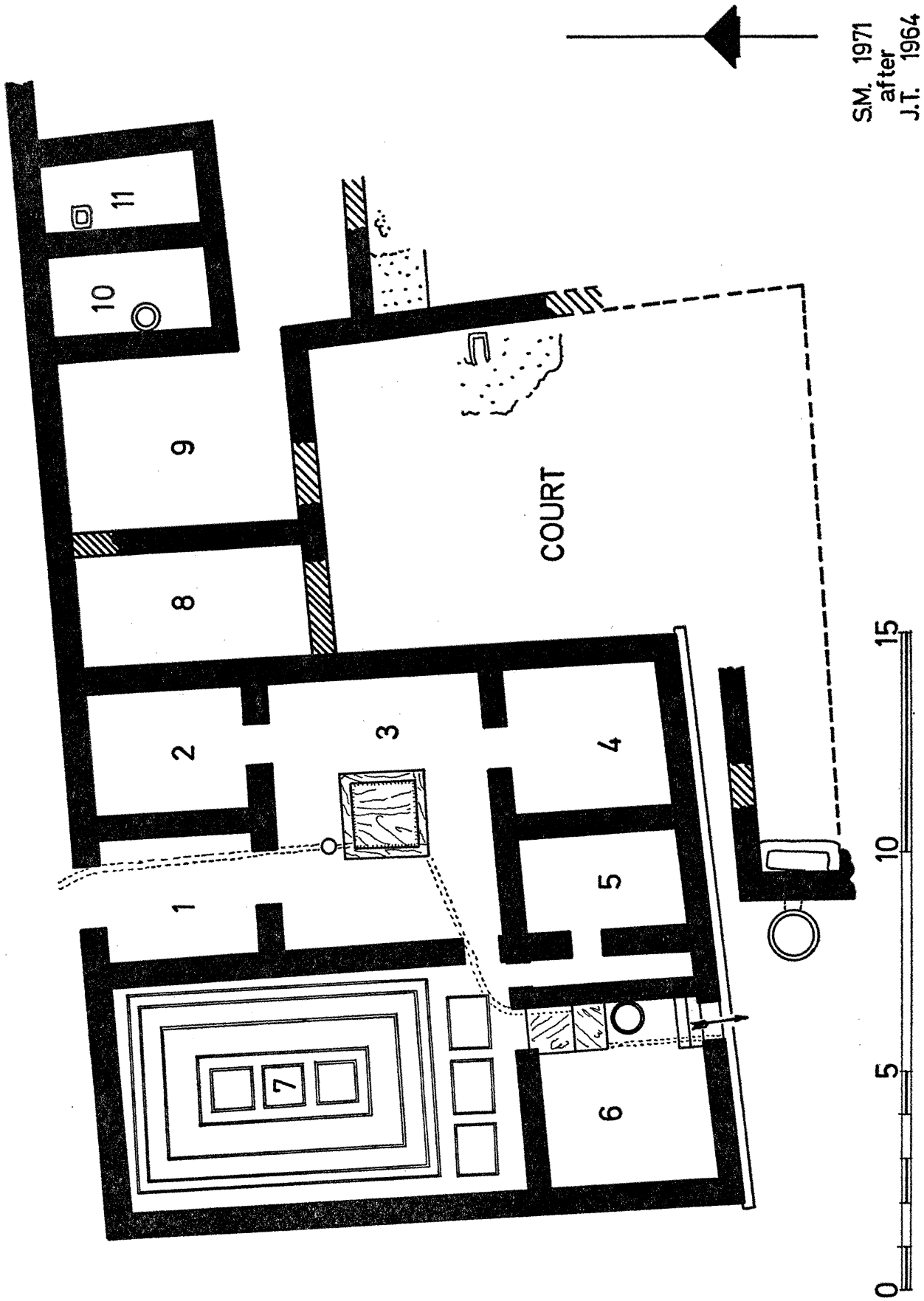


FIG. 2. Anaploga Villa, Plan of Phase II.

full circle to the north (i.e. with four circles north-south rather than three as on the restored drawing) would bring the panels into conflict with the outer linear border of the main rectangle. Furthermore, the spacing of the circles in the west and east lobby panels is such that the two patterns cannot be part of a continuous design in a single rectangular panel; there must have been an interruption in the middle which is best restored as a central panel. It can be seen on the plan, Figures 1 and 2, that the east panel is for some reason markedly set back from the east wall. A threshold has been restored at the east where an entrance to the room from the atrium, Room 3, might have been located (Fig. 2).¹⁰

After excavation and study in the field, the figured panels and large sections of the borders were removed to the Museum where some parts were subsequently restored.¹¹ The restoration was done in part with original tesserae from portions too badly damaged to be removed, but in some places new material was used.¹² Replacement was especially necessary for many of the glass cubes which disintegrated with handling and whose color had changed through contact with the elements. A check on the accuracy of restoration was kept, however, through photographs and water-color reproductions of the mosaic made while it was still in the ground.¹³

¹⁰ Such a threshold would thus be in the lobby area where the south drain of the impluvium passed through the foundations of the wall. Although the south wall is much destroyed, the position of the doorway to Room 6 restored in Figure 2 is indicated by the drain running under the line of the wall at this point and by the need of access to the marble-lined basin in Room 6.

¹¹ Despite careful bedding, the mosaic was in very poor condition when exposed. A solid packing of fist-sized pebbles, *ca.* 0.08 m. thick, had been prepared to receive the bedding of mortar, 0.04-0.05 m. thick, upon which the mosaic rested. Nevertheless, the surface level of the mosaic varied as much as 0.04-0.05 m. above and below the level of the central figured panel (*ca.* 103.10 m. above sea level). This condition was due in part to natural subsidence and also to the weight of architectural members fallen from above. Moisture also severely weakened the mortar bedding of the tesserae. Cleaning of the mosaic while *in situ* was thus extremely hazardous, since tesserae were loosened with every attempt.

¹² The Greek Archaeological Service generously offered the services of their chief mosaic technician, Demetrios Skordos, who supervised the removal of the two preserved central panels and large portions of the other three major sections; these were mounted on a new cement backing. Then Demetrios Skordos, with the assistance of Christos Skordos, undertook the restoration of the mosaic. Many of the glass tesserae had disintegrated; the color of other tesserae had changed in all but the core. The orange tesserae, for example, apparently contained copper which oxidized to a light greenish blue color, and the surfaces of some grayish white cubes had turned black. Wherever possible ancient tesserae from seriously damaged areas of the mosaic were used for the restoration of the better preserved parts; modern glass obtained from Italy was used in some cases to replace the damaged original material. Corinthian terracotta roof tiles were, however, also used to replace some of the original tesserae of opaque yellow glass. A comparison of Plates 65 and 71 will show that certain areas of the borders have been rather heavily restored, most notably the lower left corner of the meander and parts of the left half of the horizontal section of the same border.

¹³ Mrs. Trahanatzi made detailed watercolors based on tessera by tessera tracings. Unfortunately, some of the colors used in the drawing were seen to be inaccurate after cleaning of the mosaic and the discovery of the original colors preserved in some instances only at the core of the glass tesserae.

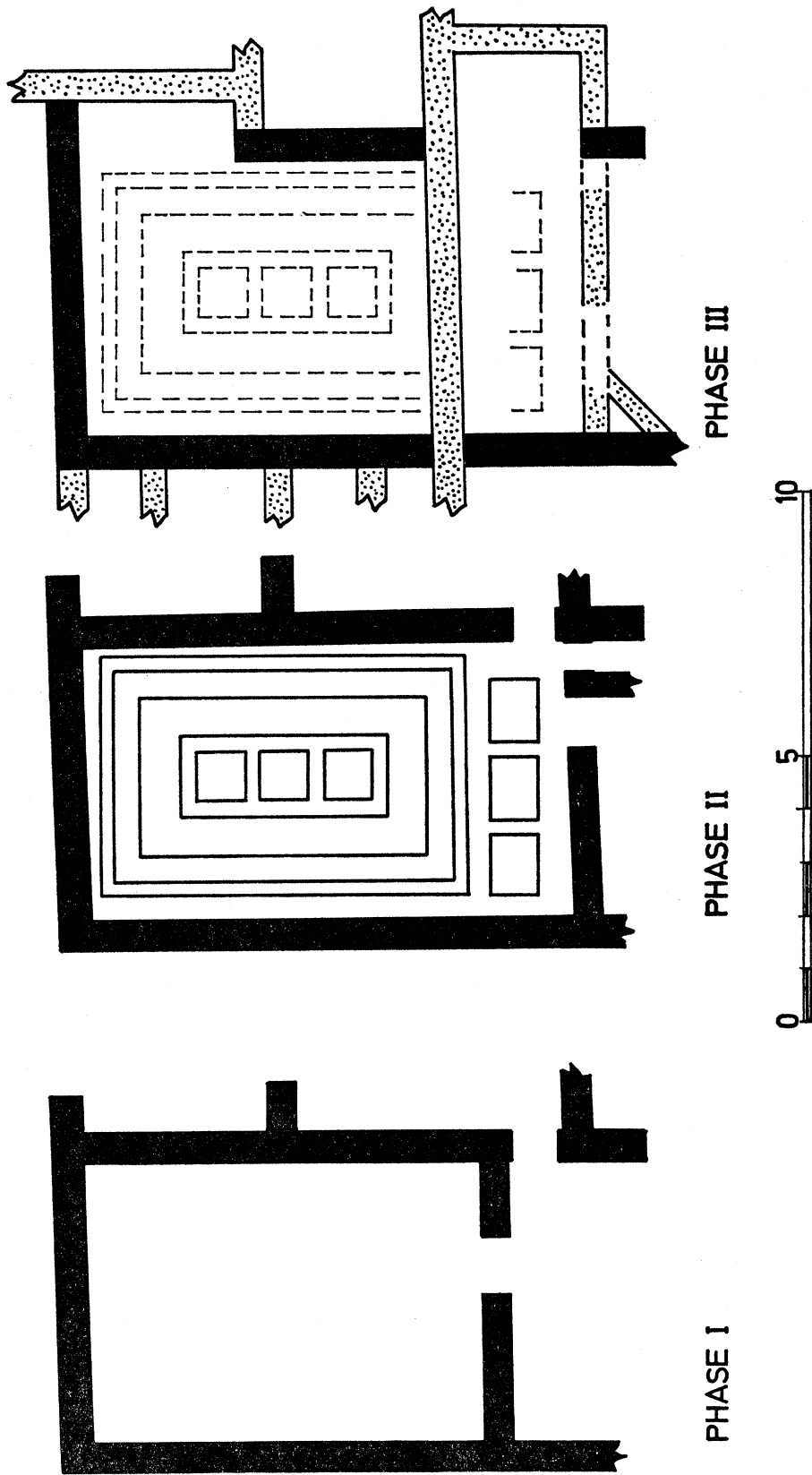


FIG. 3. Anaploga Villa, Plan of Room 7, Phases I, II, and III.

The mosaic consists of four major elements as can be seen in the restored drawing, Figure 1: 1) the interlocked circle motif in the three panels of the lobby at the south end and in the outermost framing border; 2) the rinceau border with its leaping wild animals, centaurs, and flowers inside the circle border; 3) the brightly colored meander in isometric treatment inside the rinceau border and surrounding the figured panels; and 4) the three panels arranged on a north-south axis with still-life representations.

Much of the interlocked circle motif has been destroyed. Preserved in the lobby area are only about one-third of the west panel, including the southwest corner and about one-fourth of the east panel, including its southeast corner. The central panel is entirely missing. Of the border surrounding the main rectangle, over one-half the east side is preserved in two sections and somewhat less than one-third of the west side. Nothing remains of the north and south sides or of any of the four corners of this border. Only about one-third of the rinceau border was preserved at the time of discovery. The preserved portions (most of which were removed and now hang in the Museum) are mainly along the east side with one section from the west. No corner sections remain.

On the other hand, a considerable amount of the meander border was found intact. It was preserved for the full length of the east side, including both corners, for nearly half the length of the west side, and for the full length of the horizontal section which separates the two preserved panels. Small areas of the other three horizontal sections also remained at the time of discovery.

The figured panels have suffered much damage. Of the northernmost panel nothing of the figured representation and only part of a framing border remained when uncovered. Nearly half the central panel is missing, including most of the upper half and a large section of the center. The southernmost panel, on the other hand, is almost complete; the greatest damage has occurred along its west side, to the fruit basket and the section below.

DESCRIPTION

The mosaic is composed of both stone and glass tesserae. The tesserae of the outermost white border with its red dividing strip and of the interlocked circle portion are all of stone, square or rectangular, whose surfaces measure 0.01-0.015 m. on a side. The rest of the pavement including the rinceau, the meander, and the figured panels are of both stone and glass cubes, on an average 0.005 to 0.007 m. square.

A comparison with Pompeian mosaics shows that although the workmanship of our mosaic is of good quality, it is coarser in terms of construction than the finest there. At Pompeii the finest animal mosaic scenes are composed of tesserae ranging on an average from 0.002 to 0.003 m. The borders of these pavements tend to be of somewhat larger tesserae, ranging from 0.002 to 0.010 m. but averaging from 0.004

to 0.005 m. on a side.¹⁴ Turning back to Corinth, it is interesting to note that the roughly contemporaneous (but stylistically unrelated) mosaic in the Agonotheteion¹⁵ is composed of tesserae close in range to those of the Anaploga mosaic.¹⁶ On the other hand, this correspondence may be of limited value since a broader study of ancient mosaics seems to reveal no necessary chronological significance in the size range of tesserae.¹⁷

A distinguishing feature of the mosaic is the extensive use of brilliant color throughout, as can be seen on Plates 71 to 73.¹⁸ The preserved areas retain their color either in the original tesserae or through the accurate replacement with new cubes which match the colors in the cores of the damaged tesserae.¹⁹ A wide range of color is evident in both materials employed in the mosaic, glass and stone. Stone tesserae were used in the following colors: white, yellow, orange, red, brown, and gray. Glass tesserae are of black, red, yellow, blue, turquoise, and green.

The main rectangle of the floor, excluding the lobby panels, is surrounded by a white border with a narrow black dividing strip three tesserae wide.²⁰ A second black band, also three tesserae wide, encloses the border of the interlocked circles (Pl. 65).

The background of the circle pattern is white and the overlapping sections of the circles are alternately brownish red and black (Pl. 73, b).

In the center of each circle are five black tesserae forming a cross. It will be noted that on the restored drawing, Figure 1, the arrangement of the circle pattern changes on the northern edge of the border; this is the only solution consistent with the dimensions of the room (Fig. 2). A further inconsistency (this one preserved) occurs on the east side of the pavement where an extra row of white tesserae bisects the outermost series of circles (Pls. 65, 73, b).

The rinceau border is separated from that of the interlocked circles by a black band four tesserae wide (Pls. 65, 73). The scrolls against a white background are of dark and light green and dark and light blue with abrupt changes occurring (seemingly arbitrarily) between the green and the blue (Pl. 73, a). The leaves about the rinceau consist of shades of blue, green, orange, and black. Leaping through the

¹⁴ E. Pernice, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, VI, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, Berlin, 1938, pp. 130-131, 149 ff., henceforth cited as Pernice.

¹⁵ Broneer, pp. 107-109, pls. 30-31.

¹⁶ The outermost border has tesserae 0.01-0.015 m. on a side. The bird panels and figured scenes have a tessera range of 0.005-0.008 m.

¹⁷ L. Foucher in *La Mosaïque Gréco-romaine, Actes du Colloque International sur "La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine"*, Paris, 1965, p. 216, henceforth cited as *Colloque*.

¹⁸ The accompanying color photographs give a faithful rendering of the mosaic's colors. It must be noted, however, that the piercing intensity of such colors as the turquoise and blue which are so startling on the floor are somewhat muted in the Plates; this quality unfortunately defies mechanical reproduction.

¹⁹ Above, note 12.

²⁰ The outer portion of the white band is preserved to a width of eleven tesserae on the east and to twenty on the west; the inner part of the white band is ten tesserae wide.

foliage are wild animals and centaurs mainly of bright dark blue with some light blue and possibly black (details, Pls. 69, a, 73, a). Contrast is provided by the flowers rendered in shades of light and dark red, orange, yellow, and green.

The extensive use of bright blue and green for the stems and tendrils of the rinceau is found also on several fine Hellenistic mosaics, most notably on the fish mosaic border of the House of the Faun at Pompeii²¹ and on the mosaic floor from the Hellenistic Palace V at Pergamon (Pl. 68, a).²² All three rinceaux have flowers predominantly of red and yellow.

Within the tendrils of our rinceau are a series of figures consisting, in the best preserved continuous sequence on the east, of a flower, a centaur, a flower, a wild animal, a flower, and a centaur. This series presumably repeated itself with variation throughout the border. That the chase itself did not unroll as a strictly continuous sequence through the scrolls is evident from those preserved sections where overlapping plain tendrils were included, presumably to even out the irregularities (Fig. 1, Pl. 65).

The meander is separated from the rinceau border surrounding it by a black band (three tesserae wide on the west, four on the east) and a white band four tesserae wide. The brilliantly colored meander border is carefully executed in isometric treatment with shades of dark red, brownish orange, dark and light green, turquoise, blue, and yellow with the meander outline in white. The color treatment of the meander can best be compared with that of the mosaic from the House of the Trident on Delos of which a detail from a watercolor rendering has been published by M. Bulard.²³ The colors employed on both floors are similar, although with different distribution.

The perspective of the meander is designed as if viewed from a somewhat elevated position in the lower left corner of the room, at the southwest. This perspective is consistent on all the preserved parts, vertical and horizontal, but, interestingly enough, the color scheme is not uniformly the same; that is, the two preserved vertical bands have the same color arrangement, but on the horizontal band the scheme is different as can most readily be seen by comparing the placement of the yellow element on Plate 71. The horizontal band also has a geometric inconsistency, moreover, in that certain elements are broader than they are high. In order to understand these anomalies it will be helpful to attempt a reconstruction of the mosaicist's work procedure.

A two-dimensional meander must have been sketched out on the floor bedding,²⁴

²¹ Pernice, color reproduction on pl. 52.

²² G. Kawerau and T. Wiegand, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, V, i, *Die Paläste der Hochburg*, Berlin, 1930, plate vol., pls. 17-18.

²³ M. Bulard, "Peintures Murales et Mosaïques de Délos," *Mon. Piot*, XIV, 1908, pl. 13.

²⁴ For such preliminary sketch lines preserved in the bedding of mosaics, see the Hellenistic mosaics at Pella (P. M. Petsas, *Colloque*, p. 44, figs. 12-13).

apparently first along the vertical sides, in carefully measured units consisting of one swastika and one cube, 0.30 m. long. This unit is divided into halves, 0.15 m. long, and quarters, 0.075 m. long, which account for the main internal divisions of the meander.²⁵ This module worked on the vertical sides but the width of the figured panels evidently made it necessary to expand the meander on the horizontal bands somewhat beyond an even division of the basic unit established for the vertical. The space on the horizontal border is filled with three complete units plus one swastika, a swastika being necessary at each end in order to hook into the vertical border at a cube. The expansion required by the given length of this side was made up to varying degrees in each unit by adding an extra row of tesserae here and there with the greatest increase amounting to 0.035 m. in the center unit.

Having laid out the basic design the mosaicist must at this point have sketched in the guide lines for the isometric effect throughout the border. Since the perspective lines remain the same on all sides, the diagonal perspective lines all run northeast-southwest. These lines will probably have been drawn first on the vertical bands where they all are even in length. On the horizontal sides the problem was different because the two-dimensional meander had been broadened but not proportionately heightened. We may examine the process of sketching the perspective sides by analyzing the results in terms of tesserae employed. On the vertical bands the four sides of the central cubes are composed each of three rows of tesserae (each side averaging 0.03 m.) with nearly square dark centers composed of four tesserae by four tesserae. On either side of the cubes the slightly narrower sides of the swastika consist of three rows of tesserae, 0.025 m. wide. On the horizontal bands, whereas the dark center in each perspective cube retains its original dimensions, the flanking sides of each cube and the flanking sides of most of the swastikas are increased in perspective height (i.e. in width as it appears in two-dimensional design) by amounts averaging from 0.005 to 0.01 m.; three of the surfaces, however, are increased by as much as 0.015 m. through the addition of an extra row of tesserae.

The resulting design is, of course, geometrically impossible since the adjacent sides of each perspective figure are of unequal height. From this it is clear that the meander unit of the *vertical* sides was the standard for the mosaic. Although the mosaicist had to draw some oddly slanting lines to fill in the perspective element on the preliminary sketch, it was not difficult to compensate in color afterwards. It is, after all, only on closest inspection that one becomes aware of the bulging lines and irregularly shaped tesserae which straighten out the problem on the horizontal band.

After finishing the preliminary sketch on vertical and horizontal bands, the mosaicist will presumably have laid out the two-dimensional meander in white stones

²⁵ Since the unit divides and subdivides into halves, the unit may of course be taken to start or end at any other two points. Allowing for slight variation this proportion applies to all vertical units.

according to the pattern sketched on the bedding. Next, he will have filled in the perspective sides with color. That he had a color guide for a series of units is suggested by the uniformity of the color pattern, which is similar on the opposite vertical sides, but it is also indicated by the treatment of color on the horizontal band. Here, the position of the colors is different from the scheme on the vertical (Pl. 71) although the relative sequence remains the same. The yellow (suggesting a light source?), which on the vertical bands appears on the north and south sides of the cubes, on the horizontal bands is placed on the east and west. What appears to have happened is simple enough: the mosaicist took a section of the vertical band pattern, turned it 90° and duplicated these colors in their new position on the horizontal.²⁶

We turn to the figured panels. Within the frame of the meander border, the southern panel (0.95 m. wide and 0.84 m. high) is framed by three narrow bands, successively blue, white, and blue-black. The background of the panel is white and the shaded areas are brown, except for the wide area below the basket which is gray (Pls. 71, 72). A pair of fowls pecking at grapes is executed in the following colors: dark and light green, dark red, orange, yellow, dark blue, and turquoise with bits of black and white. The tail of the bird on the right is particularly notable for its brilliant shades of green, blue, and turquoise (Pl. 72). This bird is doubtless to be identified as a cock on account of its fine tail feathers, even though there is no cockscomb. The one on the left is more difficult to identify because of its poorer state of preservation, but isolated tesserae of bright colors preserved in the tail area when the mosaic was first found suggest that it, too, had a conspicuous tail. Since this bird *has* a cockscomb, it seems reasonable to suppose that both birds are intended to represent cocks despite the differing color schemes: blues and greens predominate on the right bird, orange and yellow on the left. This difference in color may, however, only represent an attempt at variety.

The three fruits above the right bird are identifiable as two pears of bright dark and light green which flank a round fruit, probably a pomegranate of dark and light red and yellow (Pl. 72). The pears are attached by red stems to a red twig above. In the upper right corner of the panel is a large group of fruits, including a grape cluster of dark and light red and yellow with green leaves (poorly preserved) and two partially preserved round fruits, probably pomegranates, of dark red, orange, yellow, and white.

²⁶ Of the preserved sections we have, this would work by taking the west vertical band and turning it 90° clockwise or the east vertical band and turning it 90° counterclockwise. Most likely, the distribution of turquoise, blue, and dark red on the verticals repeated itself at regular intervals so that either vertical band could have been turned 90° in either direction and used as a color guide for the horizontal bands. We may note that the dark red preserved below the southeast corner of the southern panel from the lowest horizontal band (Pl. 71) indicates that the two lowest horizontal bands, at least, must have had the same distribution of colors.

A basket of dark and light red, yellow, and black, with crosshatching in yellow is in the upper left quarter of the field. In and above it are the rounded outlines of fruit of dark and light red and yellow with several dark green leaves. Isolated bits of dark and light red, orange, yellow, dark blue and black remain above the basket as well.

Also in the upper left area there is a much damaged third bird, facing left, whose head of dark and light red, green, and dark blue is partially preserved near the top of the fruit basket (Pls. 67, b, 71). Its long sweeping tail, of which fragments of green, blue, and dark red remain, extends across the field to join the large fruit cluster at the upper right.

The second panel (1.06 m. wide and 0.975 m. high) is enclosed by a single blue border two tesserae wide (Pls. 65, 67, a). The figured field is consequently larger than that of the more nearly complete southern panel. A large bright blue bird occupies the central area facing left. It is probably to be identified as a peacock although the gender is not certain. Its tail with indications of feather layers extends nearly to the eastern meander border and its body swings gracefully across nearly two-thirds of the field. The head and much of the central part of the body are missing. The lower part of the field is filled by a fruit basket and a small bird.

The peacock is composed mainly of dark and light blue tesserae. Above the bird's shoulder is hanging foliage of dark blue and green from a now missing plant above. Another piece of foliage curves above the back of the bird at the center of the field.

An overturned fruit basket of dark red with yellow crosshatching fills the lower left corner. The two large round pomegranates which spill out of it onto the ground are of dark and light red, orange, and yellow crossed with dark green and blue bands. Several smaller pieces of fruit of dark green, dark and light red, and yellow are also strewn on the ground. Above the basket is a flower in dark red and dark blue with a dark green vine curling horizontally at both ends. A curving yellow line of tesserae at the left edge of the panel is separated from the flower by a gap in the mosaic but probably continues the floral-tendrill motif.

In the lower right corner is a bright blue plant at which a partially preserved bird, facing right, is pecking. The head of this creature is dark and light red, yellow, and blue. Its body, now missing, extended halfway across the lower part of the field as is indicated by the bit of tail preserved at the center, of dark blue and dark and light red.

It will be evident from the description above and from the accompanying color plates to what extent the character of the mosaic is determined not only by the figured scenes but also by the very prominent decorative borders which surround them. It will therefore be profitable to examine these decorative motifs in terms of style before turning in more detail to the figured scenes.

THE DECORATIVE MOTIFS

THE INTERLOCKED CIRCLE BORDER

Little need be said about the simple geometric pattern of interlocked circles which is familiar from ancient floor mosaics everywhere. As an example one can cite its occurrence at Pompeii where it was employed regularly for borders such as ours or frequently for thresholds.²⁷ The design, however, spread over the whole Roman world and appears through late Roman times.²⁸

THE RINCEAU BORDER

The rinceau in its many variations is one of the most popular decorative devices in ancient mosaics and was used extensively in all periods. In contrast to the basically static interlocked circle motif, the rinceau changed and developed in the course of its history, an evolution which has been traced by Doro Levi in his publication of the Antioch mosaics.²⁹ For the purposes of ascertaining the position of the Anaploga mosaic in this evolution, we may briefly note two highly distinctive and pertinent phases with examples from the late Hellenistic period and from the first century after Christ.

In the Hellenistic period rinceau borders are distinguished by the fresh and spirited character of the foliage which is frequently enlivened by tiny creatures in and around the vegetation. The border of the mosaic from Palace V at Pergamon is a fine illustration of the type (Pl. 68, a). Pompeian pavements, particularly those of the Second Style, tend to preserve the Hellenistic type of rinceau, as can be seen for example in the border of the fish mosaic from the House of the Faun in that city.³⁰ The spirit of naturalism, however, tends to be lost in later times when border motifs through endless repetition often become rather lifeless and mechanical with little if any originality. The rinceau border on the mosaic from the Bath on the Kladeos at Olympia, significant to the present discussion both by its Greek provenience and by its date in the first century after Christ, will serve to illustrate this trend (Pl. 69, b).³¹

²⁷ Cf. Pernice, p. 137.

²⁸ M. E. Blake, "The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and Early Empire," *M.A.A.R.*, VIII, 1930, pp. 120 and 83, henceforth cited as Blake, *M.A.A.R.*, VIII.

²⁹ D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, pp. 489 ff., henceforth cited as Levi.

³⁰ Among the various other mosaics of Roman date which preserve the Hellenistic spirit a few may be noted: a mosaic from the Esquiline now in the Antiquarium in Rome, dated by Levi to the late first century or possibly early second century after Christ (Levi, pp. 492-493, fig. 180); a border from Quaderna, in the province of Bologna, dated by Aurigemma to the first century after Christ (S. Aurigemma, *Not. Sc.*, X, 1934, pp. 12-16 and Levi, pp. 491-493, fig. 179); and the rinceau border from Antioch which surrounds the Aphrodite and Adonis panel in the triclinium of the Atrium House and which is dated by Levi to the period between the earthquakes of A.D. 37 and 115 (Levi, p. 16, pl. 2, a).

³¹ Even more obvious examples of this tendency are a pavement in the Turin Museum dated

Here one finds little of the spontaneity of the typically Hellenistic rinceau; the scrolls merely form a rather conventional pattern placed between a stylized guilloche and a debased bead and reel border.

The rinceau of the Anaploga mosaic is quite clearly in spirit and execution an offshoot of the Hellenistic tradition (cf. Pls. 68, a and 69, a) but it differs from the Hellenistic borders by the animation of its scrolls with a chase of animals and centaurs. This feature appears to be a development of its own era in the first century after Christ as has been established by J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins in their study of peopled rinceaux.³² They showed that in the early stages of the rinceau's development down through the Second Style of Pompeian painting the creatures which are interspersed among the tendrils remain relatively unobtrusive in the lush vegetation. Excellent examples of this are the rinceau borders cited above, that from Palace V at Pergamon (Pl. 68, a) and the fish mosaic border from the House of the Faun at Pompeii. In these rinceaux the spiralling tendrils contain flowers, grape clusters, small putti, and insects,³³ but whatever creatures were added are all subordinate to the vegetation, acting merely as embellishment. They are indeed often only apparent upon close inspection.

On the Anaploga mosaic, by contrast, the figures are of at least equal importance with the scrolls and seem in fact to give motivation to the rinceau. By their relative scales, the animals and vegetation complement each other and the interplay of blues and green among the creatures and the scrolls helps achieve a balance. Moreover, although the creatures seem to leap almost independently through the scrolls, they are compositionally united with the foliage by means of the tendrils which pass in front of their bodies. This means of creating an interdependent relationship evolved in the peopled scrolls of the first century after Christ. The development can best be seen in Pompeian painting of the Second and Fourth Styles,³⁴ where the living creatures become more noticeable and demand equal attention with the foliage. It is clear

to the late first century after Christ (Blake, *M.A.A.R.*, VIII, p. 107, pl. 40, 1) and another from Pompeii from the threshold of the tablinum of the House of the Wild Boar, VIII, 3, 8 (*ibid.*, pl. 26, 3). These show highly conventionalized scrolls running in regular series of convolutions punctuated by stylized bits of vegetation. These are extreme examples of the trend, however, and it is not always so easy to categorize rinceaux as being clearly of Hellenistic or Roman tradition. Miss Blake comments that one must, in the end, rely heavily on instinct (*M.A.A.R.*, VIII, p. 108).

³² J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: a Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XVIII (new series V), 1950, pp. 1-43.

³³ Wall paintings show the same trend in design as can be seen, for example, on the rinceau frieze above the mystic scene of the Villa of the Mysteries where there are small running animals in addition to the other miniature figures (Pernice, p. 150, pl. 43, 2).

³⁴ A painted rinceau compositionally very similar to the Anaploga mosaic was found in the *cubiculum* of Pompeian house I, 3, 25 where alternate figures and flowers appear in the centers of successive scrolls (K. Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji*, Bern, 1962, pl. 90, 1). Animals and human figures alternating with flowers decorate the ornate IV Style painted scroll border in the house of P. Vedius Syricus, VII, 1, 25 (Schefold, *op. cit.*, pl. 100).

from the elaborate "hellenisticizing" Fourth Style frieze of the Isis Temple at Pompeii reproduced on Plate 68, b to what degree animals were gaining prominence in relation to floral ornament in this period; whole animals encircled by tendrils and leaping through simplified scrolls are equally balanced by large blossoms on either side.³⁵ A difference between this type of painted border and our mosaic rinceau, however, lies in the treatment of space. Artists of the first century after Christ became more and more interested in exploring spatial relationships and the living creatures tend to twist and turn in and around the scrolls in paintings of the period. Our mosaic rinceau gives no indication of such interest: although the scrolls are plastically rendered, all motion occurs in a single plane and there is no attempt at three-dimensionality in the relation of the living creatures and their background.

THE MEANDER BORDER

Meander borders enjoyed great popularity throughout antiquity. The treatment of the design in isometric fashion, however, is a product of the Hellenistic Age and is a manifestation of the great interest at that period in optical problems.³⁶ Furthermore, the great care expended in designing and executing elaborate mosaics is characteristic of Hellenistic workmanship. The striking and effective device retained its popularity through Early Imperial times and was particularly widespread in Southern Italy where it appears on vases and Roman funeral urns and sarcophagi, Roman wall paintings and frequently on mosaics.³⁷

We may briefly note some prominent mosaic examples which demonstrate the wide geographical and chronological diffusion of the motif down through the Pompeian Second Style: the border of the Morgantina mosaic of the Abduction of Ganymede dating to the third century,³⁸ several mosaics of the second century B.C., including one from Pergamon,³⁹ the border of the Sophilos mosaic from Thmuis of about the

³⁵ Cf. O. Elia, *Le Pitture del Tempio di Iside (Monumenti della Pittura Antica Scoperti in Italia, Sez. III, Pompei, fasc. 3/4)*, Rome, 1941, p. 6, fig. 5 (detail), pls. VI-VII (restored drawing of the whole frieze). The motif of a chase or hunt through scrolls achieved great popularity in later times. A mid-second century stucco ceiling in the tomb of the Pancratii in Rome shows centaurs pursuing wild beasts through tendrils in an abbreviated rinceau (F. Wirth, *Römische Wandmalerei*, Berlin, 1934, pl. 16). The most famous mosaic example is the still later Worcester Hunt mosaic (Levi, pl. 144, b and c).

³⁶ Besides the meander, reticulates and labyrinth designs in perspective treatment were very popular (cf. Blake, *M.A.A.R.*, VIII, pp. 71-73, 82-83).

³⁷ Listings of meanders can be found in the following: H. Fuhrmann, *Philoxenos von Eretria*, Göttingen, 1931, p. 308, note 101; R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum*, London, 1933, p. lviii; Pernice, pp. 126-127.

³⁸ K. M. Phillips, Jr., "Subject and Technique in Hellenistic-Roman Mosaics: a Ganymede Mosaic from Sicily," *Art Bull.*, XLII, 1960, pp. 243-262.

³⁹ House of the Consul Attalos, Room 38 (W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXII, 1907, pp. 167-189), dated to before 133 B.C. by Blake (*M.A.A.R.*, VIII, p. 37), to around 150 B.C. by Brown

same date as the Pergamene,⁴⁰ and several of the second to first centuries at Delos.⁴¹ Then a large group is known from the first century B.C., including some fourteen examples at Pompeii.⁴²

Perspective patterns in general appear to have gone out of vogue after the first century B.C., however, and in mosaics a simplified flat meander tends to replace the isometrically treated design. Miss Blake attributes the decline in perspective design to the striving in this period toward a "maximum of effect with a minimum of labor."⁴³ This development, then, seems to run parallel with the general decline in plasticity of mosaic rinceaux and is a product of the same attitude. However, just as there are occasional rinceaux of the first and second centuries after Christ harking back to the Hellenistic tradition, one also finds isolated examples of isometric meanders.⁴⁴ It is only in the second and third centuries after Christ, when there appears to have been a revival of earlier designs, that the perspective meander seems once again to become popular.⁴⁵

In summary, the borders of the Anaploga mosaic are designed in what we recognize as the Hellenistic spirit and continue that style known from early Pompeian pavements. The meander is one of the rare examples in the first century after Christ of a motif rendered in the Hellenistic fashion with perspective treatment. The rinceau similarly is designed in the fresh unrestrained Hellenistic manner although the embellishment of its scrolls with a prominent animal-centaur chase is considered a feature of its own age in the first century of our era. It will be seen that the figured panels are likewise heavily indebted to their Hellenistic heritage.

(following Dörpfeld: B. R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style*, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, p. 73) and to the first century B.C. by Pernice (pp. 31-32).

⁴⁰ Brown dates it to ca. 200 B.C., probably a bit before (*op. cit.*, p. 74, pl. 38). Cf. Phillips (*op. cit.*, p. 251) who places it close to the mosaic from the House of the Consul Attalos and cites Blake's pre-133 dating for that floor (above, note 39).

⁴¹ House of the Trident (J. Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, *Le Quartier du Théâtre*, Paris, 1924, pl. 50, b) and House of the Dolphins (*ibid.*, pl. 53).

⁴² Pernice, pp. 126-127. Cf. also Blake, *M.A.A.R.*, VIII, pp. 71-73.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁴⁴ Two such examples at this period (one of disputed date) are: 1) a mosaic from the Baths at Otricoli now in the Vatican Museum dating to the first or second century after Christ (B. Nogara, *I Mosaici Antichi Conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, Milan, 1910, pls. 39-47; Blake dates it to the first century after Christ [*M.A.A.R.*, VIII, p. 73], Hinks to the second [*op. cit.*, p. lviii, note 6]); 2) a mosaic from outside the Porta Portuense in Rome of the first century after Christ (Blake, *M.A.A.R.*, VIII, p. 73). A rare occurrence in painting is in the IV Style House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii which is considered by Wirth, however, to be anachronistic (F. Wirth, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLII, 1927, p. 58, Beilage 9, 1 and 2).

⁴⁵ V. von Gonzenbach (*Colloque*, pp. 252-253) speaks of a renaissance of Hellenistic motifs in mosaic design, such as the perspective meander and the reticulate, occurring in the late Antonine and Severan Age in the area of Italy, France, Germany and Spain (?). North Africa has also produced these motifs on mosaics from the end of the second century at Sousse (L. Foucher, *Inventaire des Mosaïques, Sousse*, Tunis, 1960, pl. 56, pp. 106-107; pl. 58, pp. 108-109).

THE FIGURED PANELS

THE SOUTHERN PANEL (Pls. 65, 67, b, 71, 72)

The figured panels of our mosaic show a type of genre scene well known from the repertory of paintings preserved at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The rather simple motifs of clustered birds and fruits occur with many variations among the numerous Campanian still-life paintings, particularly of the Second and Fourth Styles.⁴⁶ A comparison of our mosaic panels with Campanian wall paintings of this type suggests indeed that the mosaicist was influenced by the painting style in that area.

Before attempting to trace the antecedents of our figured scene, it will be useful to make several observations concerning the still-life genre. The term "still-life" although somewhat inept⁴⁷ has through common usage come to designate a recognized type of vignette painting. These still-life vignettes feature in some detail a limited group of inanimate or a mixture of animate and inanimate objects, always, however, excluding human beings. Still-lives thus typically feature such inanimate objects as vases, fruits, vegetables of all sorts, and/or non-human animals, dead or alive, usually set against a limited background. Constant variety is characteristic of this type of painting. Rather than copy single, important works, artists strove to highlight and vary details in different aspects with ever new combinations. However, since the motifs are drawn from a limited stock of objects of appropriate character, there is necessarily considerable similarity and repetition among paintings of this type.

A subcategory of still-lives termed *Xenia* has long been recognized by scholars. These are pictorial representations of guest gifts which were sent by wealthy hosts to their guests. According to Vitruvius these gifts consisted of "poultry, eggs, vegetables, and other country produce" (*de Arch.*, VI, 7, 4, Loeb translation). The same author informs us that painters "when they portrayed what was sent to guests called them guest gifts (*Xenia*)."⁴⁸ Detailed descriptions of the appearance of such painted *Xenia* are provided by Philostratos the Elder who knew them from a visit to Naples (*Imagines*, I, 31, II, 26). It is indeed fortunate that numerous examples of these scenes recognizable as such from the descriptions of Vitruvius and Philostratos have been preserved on the painted walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

Xenia representations in Campanian painting can be grouped according to the

⁴⁶ These genre representations have been the subject of several studies since Helbig's original ordering of Campanian wall paintings into categories including that of still-lives (W. Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 92 ff., 312 ff.). More recent studies include the following: H. G. Beyen, *Über Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum*, 'S-Gravenhag, 1928; F. Eckstein, *Untersuchungen über die Stilleben aus Pompeji und Herculaneum*, Berlin, 1957; J.-M. Croisille, *Les Natures Mortes Campaniennes* (*Coll. Latomus*, LXXVI), Brussels, 1965, henceforth cited as Croisille.

⁴⁷ For a discussion of the inadequacies of the term "still-life" see Croisille, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁸ "Ideo pictores ea, quae mittebantur hospitibus picturis imitantes xenia appellaverunt."

treatment of the composition. In one category, for example, there is no significant setting and the objects are simply spotlighted against a neutral background, as pictures of dead birds or fish hanging on a dark wall.⁴⁹ Another large group features objects against a background precisely divided into either two or three zones by means either of steps and blocks or of furniture and ledges.⁵⁰ This sharply divided sort of picture is the type which seems to lie behind the still-life representation in the southern panel of the Anaploga mosaic. The justification for such a claim lies in the nature of its background and in the relative placing of objects in the scene as will be shown below in detail.

The background of the southern panel of our mosaic is white but there are intermittent shaded areas of brown and gray. The position of these shaded areas in relation to the objects in the picture precludes their interpretation as shadow. Therefore, it seems not unreasonable to interpret them as vestiges of background supports in a prototype, perhaps a painting from which the mosaic panel is derived. Among the many still-lives in Campanian fresco painting⁵¹ that reproduced on Plate 70, a (Naples M.N. 8640) has been chosen for purposes of discussion, as a *type* of theme and composition which may be a source for the design of the southern panel of our Corinthian mosaic.

In this panel painting from Pompeii and in the many similar ones employing this type of setting, a shelf or step placed midway in its height extends over approximately three-quarters of its width. The shelf is intersected by a narrow vertical block at one edge of the field which fills in the remaining quarter of the panel's width and which extends about two-thirds of the way up the height of the picture.⁵² On the shelf may be a basket or other vessel filled with fruit or fish.⁵³ On the vertical block at the edge of the panel may appear a vessel, fruit,⁵⁴ or fruit overflowing the sides of a container.⁵⁵ On M.N. 8640, in the foreground below the level of the shelf appear two birds pecking at fruit, one placed horizontally, the other obliquely with its head down so that the heads of the birds are at right angles to each other.⁵⁶ Thematically,

⁴⁹ E.g. birds, M.N. 8594 (Croisille, pl. 45, no. 88). Fish appear elsewhere on the same painting, M.N. 8594 (Croisille, pl. 32, no. 62).

⁵⁰ Two zones, M.N. 8647, D (Croisille, pl. 78, no. 150); three zones, M.N. 8640 (Pl. 70, a).

⁵¹ As those cited by W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipzig, 1868, nos. 1661-1718; or by Croisille, *passim*.

⁵² As on M.N. 8640, Plate 70, a. Occasionally, one finds a three-quarters distance, as on M.N. 8638 (Croisille, pl. 42, no. 83).

⁵³ E.g. M.N. 8640, Plate 70, a where fruit appears in a basket; or M.N. 8634 (Croisille, pl. 69, no. 132) where fish lie on a large open vessel.

⁵⁴ M.N. 8613 (Croisille, pl. 55, no. 105).

⁵⁵ M.N. 8634 (Croisille, pl. 69, nos. 132-133).

⁵⁶ In the similar painting, M.N. 8634 (Croisille, pl. 69, no. 132) the two birds are dead partridges lying on their backs. Compositionally, however, they serve the same function as those in M.N. 8640, Plate 70, a.

then, this panel is close to our mosaic, but one finds many other similar scenes among painted panels of fowls and other birds pecking at various types of fruit (e.g. M.N. 9714, Plate 70, b).⁵⁷

There are also striking compositional similarities between the painted panel and the mosaic scene (Pls. 70, a and 71) although the positions of objects are reversed. In the painted panel the fruit basket rests on a shelf or step. The surface of such a shelf may be represented in our mosaic by the white area at the level of the basket; its lower edge divided the mosaic horizontally in the same manner as the shelf in the painted panel. In our mosaic the birds are mainly silhouetted against the gray area to the left which forms an awkward oblique connection between the birds' heads. This gray area may be a vestige of the vertical face of the shelf on which the basket rests in the painted panel. The oblique line of the right end of the gray area may result from the mosaicist's confusion concerning what originally would have been, in perspective, the receding edge of the side of the vertical block further to the right. The brown area on which the fruit cluster rests at the upper right might in the original have been the upper surface of a vertical block such as that seen at the left on the painted panel.⁵⁸ The lower edge of this brown area in the mosaic corresponds to the front edge of the block's bearing surface in the painted panel and is in approximately the same proportion to the height of the scene (1:3) as in the painting under discussion. The oblique edge of the brown area at the center of the field beside the basket finds its explanation also as a side edge of an upper surface seen in perspective. The wavy outline of the edge suggests uncertainty on the part of the mosaicist. In any case, the background on the right side with its uneven patches of color may perhaps best be understood as a misinterpretation of a prototype.

The three fruits against a light background below the grapes may mark an intrusion into the original design, if the argument for the nature of a panel prototype is accepted. What appears as the light section beneath the grapes on the mosaic may on the hypothetical prototype have been a part of the front vertical surface of the vertical block. If so, however, then one must either assume that the brown stripe further below the fruit, which otherwise finds no explanation, was also added together with the three pieces of fruit and shadow⁵⁹ or else that the prototype was more complicated than the panel under examination. In the former instance it will not be difficult to imagine the mosaicist filling in the space with this common motif⁶⁰ together

⁵⁷ M.N. 8735 (Croisille, pl. 61, no. 116); Pompeii I, 7, 5 (Croisille, pl. 60, no. 114); M.N. 8743 (Croisille, pl. 57, no. 109).

⁵⁸ Upper surfaces of such steps are often shown in perspective, as on M.N. 9177 (Croisille, pl. 64, no. 123) and a painting from the Pompeian House of the Cryptoporticus, I, 6, 2-4 (Croisille, pl. 70, no. 134).

⁵⁹ E.g. fruits with shadow, M.N. 8644c (Croisille, pl. 77, no. 148); M.N. 9819 (Croisille, pl. 107, no. 200).

⁶⁰ Cf. Herculaneum VI, 29? (Croisille, pl. 33, no. 66).

with the brown stripe below, either because he misunderstood the significance of the area in the prototype or else because the area appeared awkward to him.

A mistake in the scene which may be attributed to carelessness in copying occurred in the anatomy of the bird at the right. On the basis of the shape and coloring it is surely to be identified as a cock. It was already noted, however, that it lacks the comb which must surely have been in the original.⁶¹ This is indeed the sort of mistake one expects in a copyist's work.

As to compositional placement, there has been a shifting of the figures in the transposition from the postulated prototype. In the paintings of this type with tripartite division (as Pl. 70, a) the birds are usually of somewhat smaller scale and are placed beneath the basket as it appears to the viewer. It will be noted that on the mosaic these birds, relatively larger than those of the painted panel, are placed further to the right. Significant is the fact that a line drawn from beak to tail feathers through the body of the cock on the right corresponds to the 1:4 vertical division marked by the vertical edge of the block in the suggested prototype. This correspondence offers a reasonable motivation for the shifting of the fowls if we assume the sort of prototype under discussion. One can also speculate (although it is in no way demonstrable) that the mosaicist might have substituted larger and perhaps more colorful birds than those which one usually finds in this type of panel painting. The mosaicist laid great emphasis on color and he might have sought to brighten the panel which could otherwise have been dominated by the brilliant meander which surrounds it. Similarly, the large bright blue peacock may have been accorded the central position in the middle panel for the same reason. It was in any case the objects themselves rather than the setting which interested our mosaicist.

In summary, both the composition of the mosaic panel and the nature of its background suggest a prototype among the painted *Xenia* panels of Campania. The haziness of the background in the mosaic becomes comprehensible in comparison with the painted panels if we assume that the mosaicist was working from sketches of entire panels which reproduced the main objects in considerable detail but which only blocked-in the setting. The seemingly meaningless shaded areas ending in uncertain oblique lines in the mosaic would thus be simply the mosaicist's interpretation of sketchily drawn background supports. We will return to the subject of transmission of motifs further below.

THE CENTRAL PANEL (Pls. 65, 67, a)

The total composition of the central panel can unfortunately no longer be determined because of the extensive damage in this area. The general effect of the scene, however, may at least be suggested by the portions preserved in the lower half.

⁶¹ R. Rebuffat, *Colloque*, pp. 195-196, discusses a mistake in a mosaic clearly the result of an indistinct model.

The central panel lacks the inner framing border found around the southern and the otherwise destroyed northern panels (Pl. 65). It further differs from the southern panel by the less well defined areas of shading. Somewhat lighter tesserae form a border (two to three tesserae wide) around the scene and similar stones appear behind the peacock's neck and just over and right of the overturned basket. Elsewhere the tesserae of the background are slightly darker and form no discernible pattern. The various elements of the composition are separated by bits of vegetation, with no apparent cohesive composition. Although conclusions as to its total composition are necessarily tenuous with so much of the scene missing, it is possible that the panel may simply have consisted of a scattering of birds and plants.

Individual details of this scene are familiar from the painting medium. The brilliant blue peacock, considered a great delicacy by ancient gourmets,⁶² was surely fancied by artists for its colors. Both it⁶³ and the overturned fruit basket⁶⁴ figure frequently in *Xenia* representations. The small bird at the lower right together with the bit of plant rising from nowhere is a typical motif from many of the numerous garden scenes or from those vignettes of tiny birds and bits of vegetation which appear on frescoes.⁶⁵

If the panel was originally truly a scattering of motifs, it could be considered distantly related to the Hellenistic "unswept floor" mosaic by Sosos of Pergamon in which a floor was shown strewn with the debris of a banquet.⁶⁶ Scattered objects were also painted on a panel from Herculaneum, now in the Naples National Museum, in which figs and dates are spread out on steps.⁶⁷ The effect, however, was achieved by means of a well-organized disorder which has little to do with chance, and the objects, both in this painting and in the mosaic floor, have an internal relationship which gives a sort of thematic unity. A true scattering of unconnected motifs, often in varying scales with intermittent foliage, is a feature characteristic of later pavements dating to the second century after Christ and later. Typical of this development are two panels of the Seasons Mosaic at Zliten in the Villa di Dar Buc Ammèra⁶⁸ where animals, birds, baskets, and fruits in varying scales are loosely combined with scattered bits of foliage covering the whole field. There is no trace of natural or

⁶² As can be inferred from Pliny (*N.H.*, X, 45) who refers to peacocks served at a banquet and to the lucrative trade of fattening up these birds.

⁶³ E.g. as on a painting from the House of the Lovers at Pompeii, I, 10, 11 (Croisille, pl. 71, no. 137) or M.N. 8718 from Herculaneum (Croisille, pl. 68, no. 129).

⁶⁴ Such as paintings in the House of the Cryptoporticus, I, 6, 2-4 (Croisille, pl. 70, no. 134), M.N. 8638 (Croisille, pl. 42, no. 83), Pompeii I, 7, 7 (Croisille, pl. 1, no. 21), Pompeii I, 7, 5 (Croisille, pl. 11, no. 22).

⁶⁵ E.g. the House of Orpheus, VI, 14, 20 (Croisille, pl. 62, no. 119).

⁶⁶ The *asaroton oecon* of Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXVI, 184.

⁶⁷ M.N. 8643A (Croisille, pl. 91, no. 176).

⁶⁸ S. Aurigemma, *L'Italia in Africa. Tripolitania*, I, i, *I Mosaici*, Rome, 1960, pl. 128, the two top panels.

artificial setting, nor is there any compositional division of the panel. Because of the fragmentary state of our panel, one would hesitate to suggest direct relationship between it and the later "scatter mosaics." However, the divergencies in scale among the figures, with the large dominating peacock at the center and the small bird in the corner, may to some extent foreshadow the later development.

CONCLUSION

Whatever the compositional antecedents of the two panels may have been, the effect will have been similar in both cases: each scene consists of still-life motifs—birds, fruits, and small plants—executed in bright colors. The general viewer would surely not have been aware of any such prototype as that postulated for the southern panel and probably would never have noticed any particular ordering of the elements with regard to background shading.

In summary, one can conclude that the Anaploga mosaicist, working in the late first century of our era, was heavily influenced by western currents, specifically by the artistic style known from Campanian mosaics and paintings of a century or so earlier. The mosaic panel scene seems to echo Campanian still-lives and it was suggested that a complete *Xenion* lies behind the better preserved southern panel. The decorative devices of the borders, too, appear to be somewhat antiquated and can best be paralleled in Campania of the previous century. The treatment of the meander in isometric fashion is in imitation of those borders so very popular in the first century B.C. and before. The rinceau, on the other hand, belongs in spirit to this same earlier tradition, but incorporates compositional elements known from the painting medium of its own age.

A significant feature of the borders became evident with the analysis of the mosaic, namely that each element has certain inconsistencies of pattern. First, in the outermost border of interlocked circles an extra row of tesserae was added along the east side and the position of the pattern was changed along the north side. Second, in the rinceau border the pattern of fleeing and pursuing animals cannot have followed a regular sequence and spirals were overlapped at intervals to even out the irregularities. Finally, in the meander border the horizontal stretches of the motif were extended, thereby destroying geometric accuracy, and the color scheme was applied inconsistently in the same area. These factors all point toward the employment of standard design patterns whose units had to be expanded and contracted to fit the given dimensions of the room. Further evidence for the use of patterns originating elsewhere is found in the southern panel. It was suggested that its background shading is, as it stands, senseless and can be best understood as resulting from the mosaicist's misinterpretation of an indistinct model. Once the nature of the background is clarified, the total composition can be paralleled among examples of a certain type of Campanian painted panel.

All these factors suggest that the mosaicist created the floor with the aid of sketches and notes.⁶⁹ Such a sketch book must have included the composition of whole panel paintings such as the one postulated for the southern mosaic panel; the central motifs of these panels were presumably rendered in considerable detail with the background no more than sketched in, to judge from the mosaic rendering. Numerous isolated motifs derived from panel paintings and frescoes must have been illustrated from which our mosaicist could select for the central panel. Finally, one can assume that a variety of border designs were included of which the meander, rinceau, and interlocked circle motifs were utilized in the Anaploga mosaic. One further significant feature about the postulated copy book employed by the Anaploga mosaicist is that whatever else it may have contained, it at least included a certain number of earlier motifs and designs which are best known to us from Campania.

This leads to a consideration of the background of the Anaploga mosaicist. If we may judge from the few known mosaics dating to the first century after Christ, little work was being done in this medium in Greece at the time. Further excavations may, indeed, increase our corpus of mosaics of this period and provide a clearer view of mosaic art in general, but for the moment one cannot postulate mosaic workshops in Greece in the first century of our era; not even the two first century mosaics from the area of Corinth (our floor and that from the Agonotheteion⁷⁰) can be attributed to the same school. For this reason and in view of the proposed sources of subject and composition of the Anaploga mosaic, one might be tempted to think of its creator as a South Italian artisan imported by the owner of the villa; but one would expect an Italian to demonstrate greater familiarity with the contemporary western trends. It is commonly supposed that the center of influence in mosaic art in the first centuries of our era lay in the west,⁷¹ and it is perhaps most likely that the mosaicist was a highly skilled Greek whose own taste and/or sketch book tended to favor somewhat antiquated designs derived from Italian sources.

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⁶⁹ A discussion of copy books is too broad a topic for detailed consideration here. It was the subject of considerable interest to members of the International Congress on Greek and Roman Mosaics held at Paris and came up repeatedly in papers and in the discussions following papers read by participants. Cf. *Colloque*, pp. 93, 114, 115, 143, 185, 195-196, 251, 333.

⁷⁰ Broneer, *op. cit.*, pls. 30-31.

⁷¹ G.-Ch. Picard, *Colloque*, p. 351.



Anaploga Mosaic, *in situ*, from the South

STELLA GROBEL MILLER: A MOSAIC FLOOR FROM A ROMAN VILLA AT ANAPLOGA



a. *In situ*, from the South

Anaploga Mosaic

STELLA GROBEL MILLER: A MOSAIC FLOOR FROM A ROMAN VILLA AT ANAPLOGA



b. *In situ*, from the Northeast



c. *In situ*, from the Northeast



a. Center Panel, after Restoration



b. Detail of Southern Panel, after Restoration

Anaploga Mosaic

STELLA GROBEL MILLER: A MOSAIC FLOOR FROM A ROMAN VILLA AT ANAPLOGA

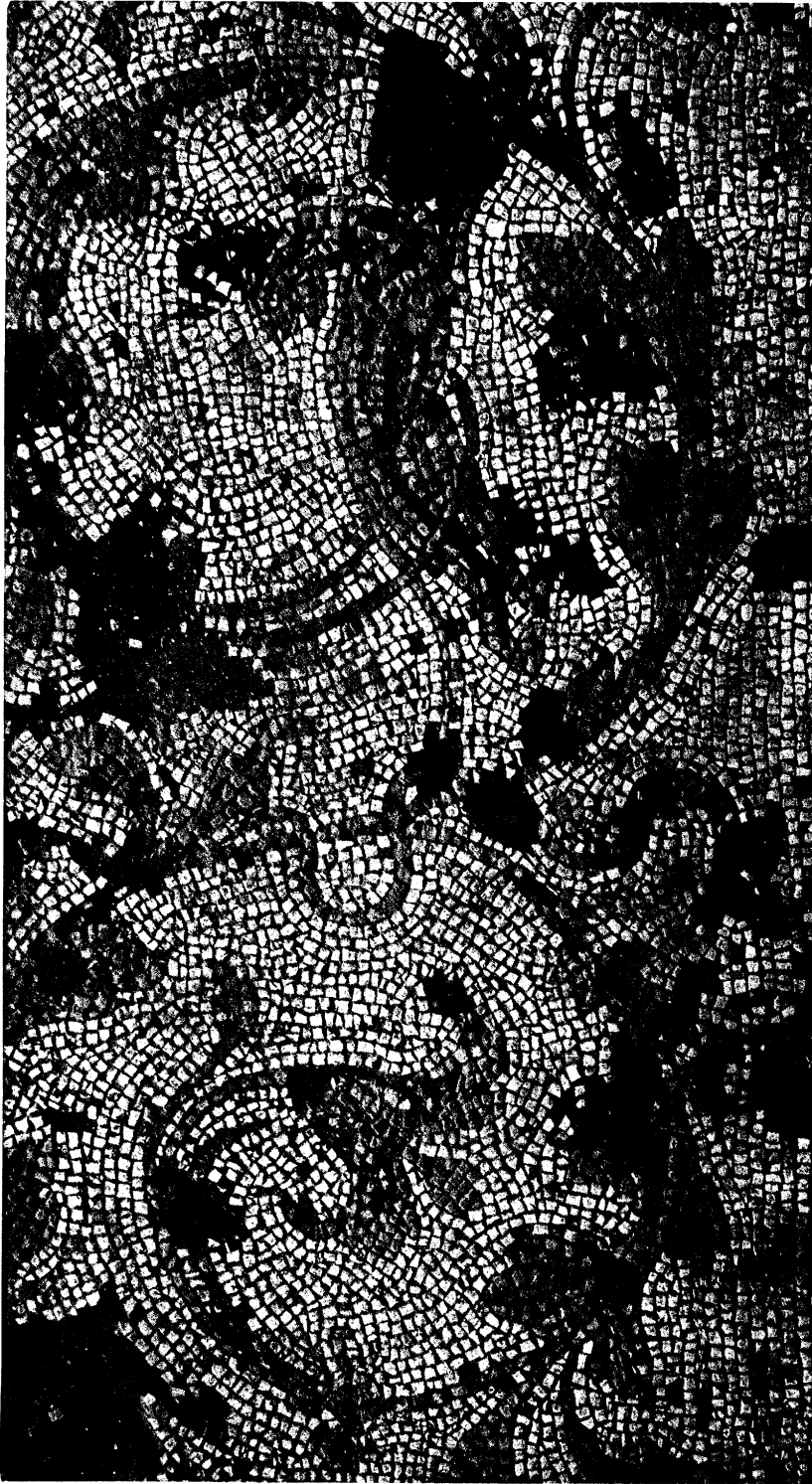


a. Pergamon Palace V, Detail of Rinceau Border (Photo, Staatl. Museen zu Berlin, Antiken Samml.)

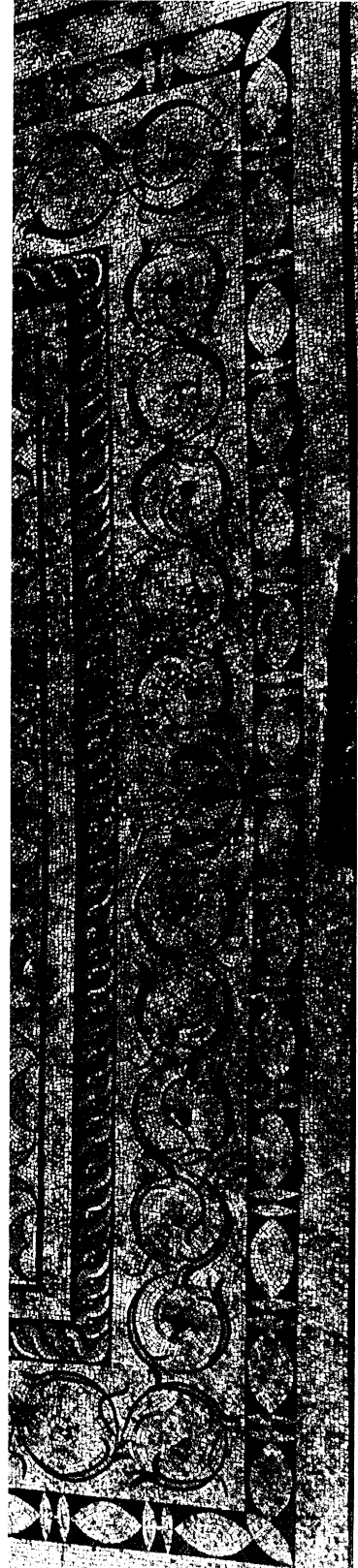


b. Pompeii, Detail of Frieze from Temple of Isis, VII, 8, 28 (Photo, Deut. Arch. Inst., Rome)

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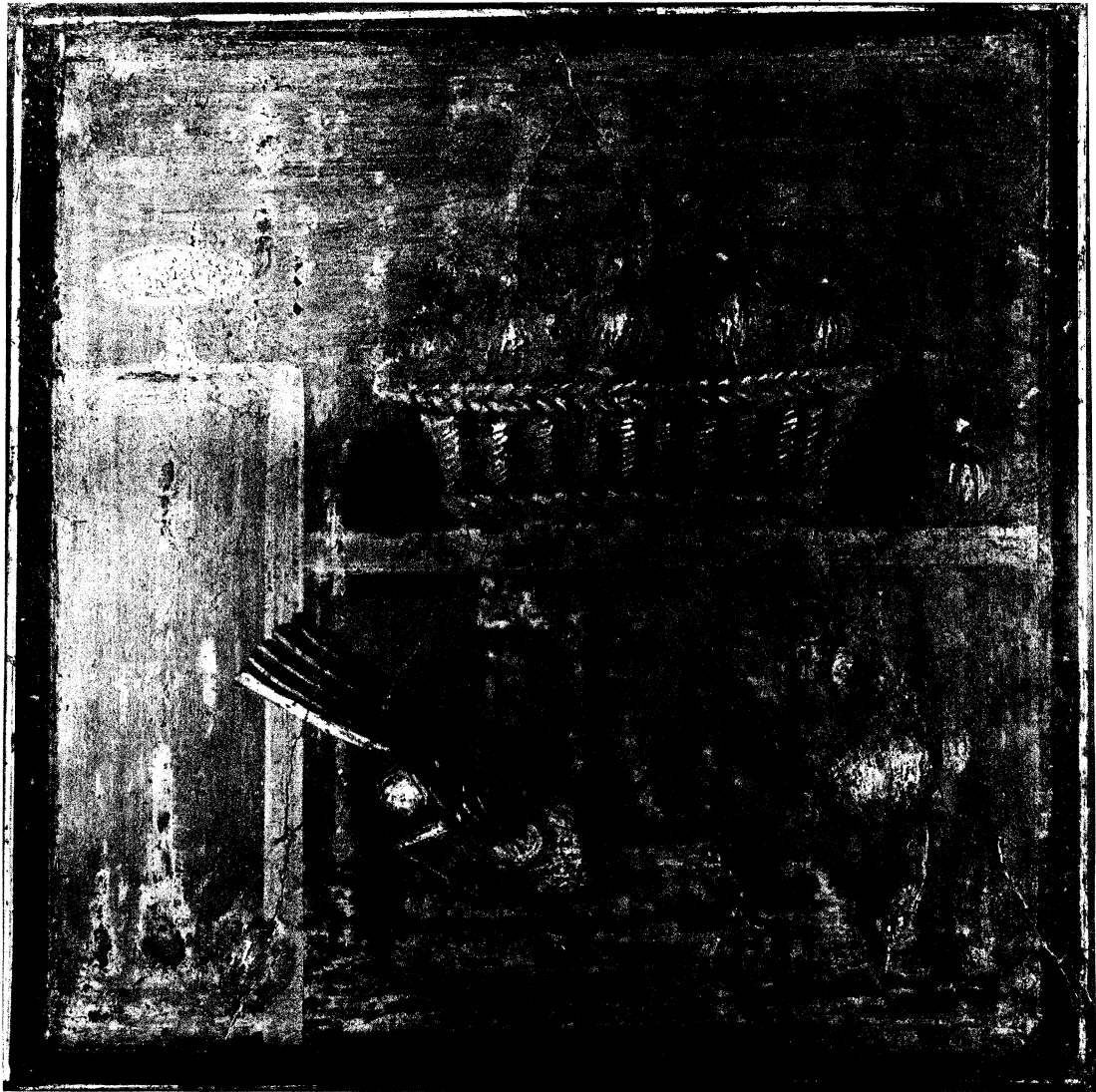


a. Anaploga Mosaic, Detail of Rinceau, before Restoration

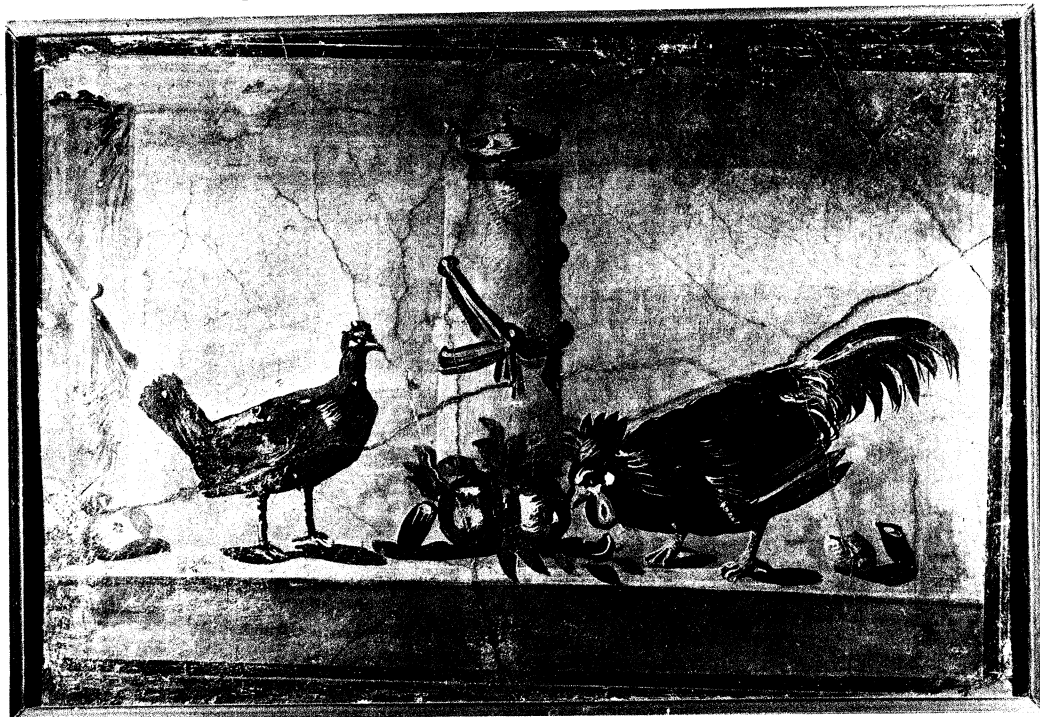


b. Olympia, Bath on the Kladeos, Detail of Rinceau Border (Photo, Deut. Arch. Inst., Athens)

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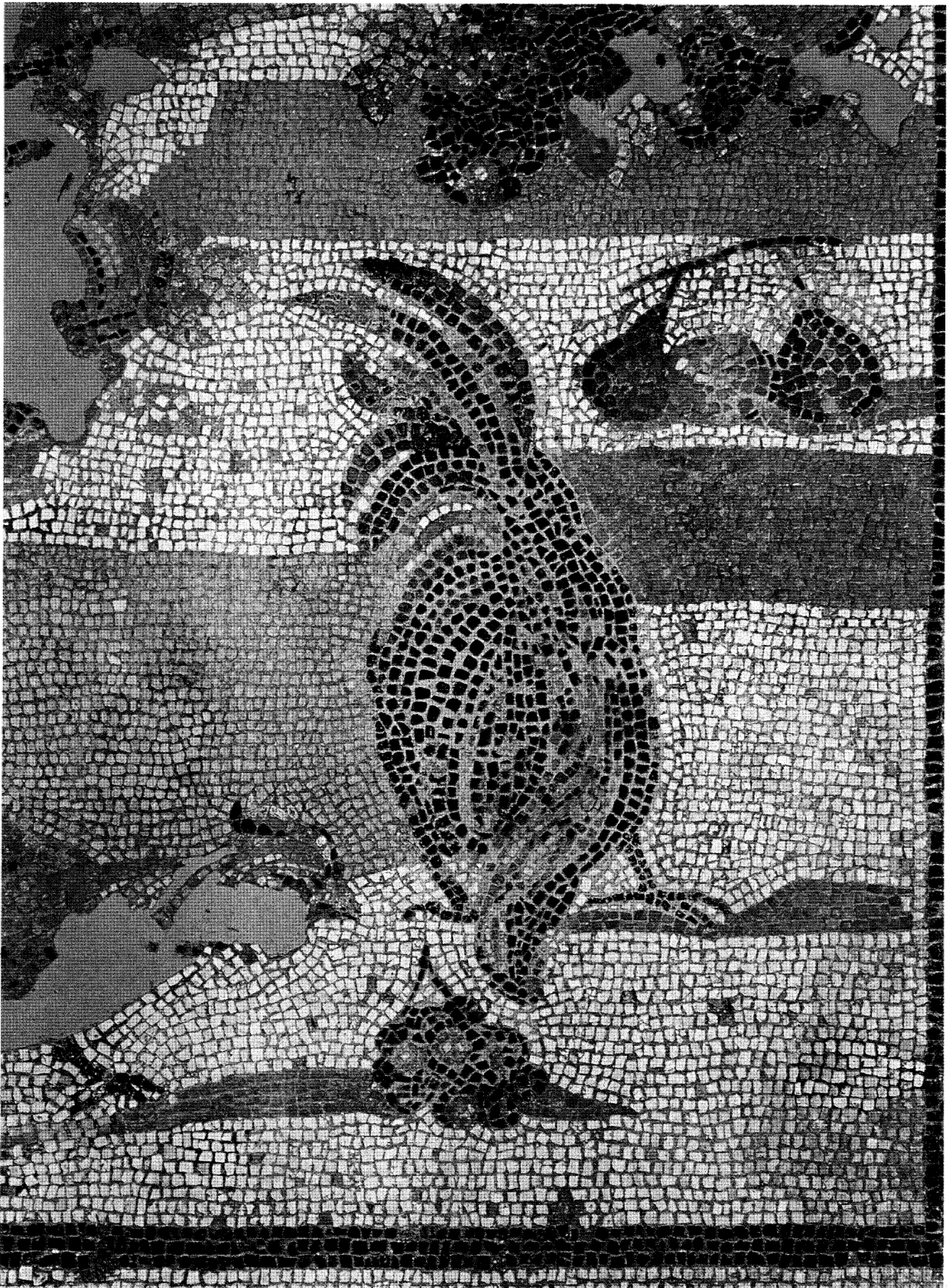
a. Naples, Museo Nazionale 8640 (Photo, Deut. Arch. Inst., Rome)



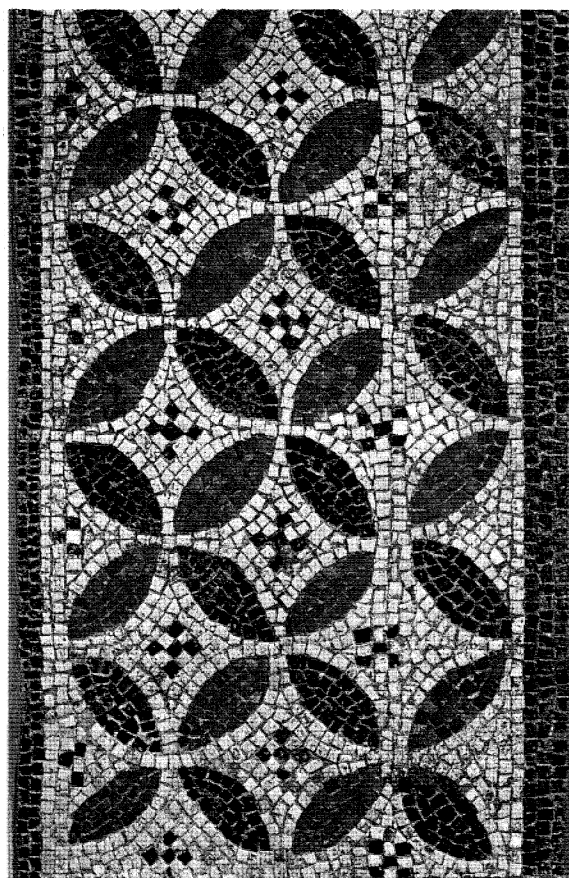
b. Naples, Museo Nazionale 9714 (Photo, Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Campania)



Anaploga Mosaic, Southern Panel, after Restoration
STELLA GROBEL MILLER: A MOSAIC FLOOR FROM A ROMAN VILLA AT ANAPLOGA



Anaploga Mosaic, Detail from Southern Panel, after Restoration
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Anaploga Mosaic, Details of Rincau Border and of Interlocked Circle Border, after Restoration
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