

SUPPLEMENTS TO LIBYA ANTIQUA — V

EXCAVATIONS AT SIDI KHREBISH
BENGAZI (BERENICE)

VOLUME IV

PART 1

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SUPPLEMENTS TO LIBYA ANTIQUA — V

**EXCAVATIONS AT SIDI KHREBISH
BENGHAZI (BERENICE)**

VOLUME IV.1

THE MOSAIC AND MARBLE FLOORS

by

DEMETRIOS MICHAELIDES

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SUPPLEMENTS TO LIBYA ANTIQUA — V

IN MEMORIAM

AWAD MUSTAPHA SADAWIYA

DONALD EMRYS STRONG

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Contents

Preface	v
Notes for the Reader	vii
Bibliographical Abbreviations	ix
List of Illustrations	xii
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE MOSAICS OF BERENICE IN THEIR CYRENAICAN CONTEXT	4
III. CATALOGUE OF MOSAICS FOUND AT SIDI KHREBISH	8
Insula I: House H	8
Mosaic no. 1	8
Mosaic no. 2	9
Mosaic no. 3	9
Mosaic no. 4	15
Insula II: Building L 3	16
Mosaic no. 5	16
Insula IV: House R 3	19
Mosaic no. 6	19
Mosaic no. 7	20
Mosaic no. 8	24
Insula IV: House S 1	27
Mosaic no. 9	27
Mosaic no. 10	27
Mosaic no. 11	29
Insula IV: House S 2	31
Mosaic no. 12	31
Insula V: House P 1	32
Mosaic no. 13	32
Mosaic no. 14	33
Mosaic no. 15	33
Mosaic no. 16	36
Mosaic no. 17	42
Mosaic no. 18	43
Insula V: House P 3	44
Mosaic no. 19	44
Mosaic no. 20	45
Mosaic no. 21	47
Insula VI: Building W	51
Mosaic no. 22	52

	Mosaic no. 23	55
	Mosaic no. 24	61
	Room with entries nos 25, 26, 27	62
	<i>Opus sectile</i> floor no. 25	63
	Mosaic no. 26	70
	<i>Emblema</i> no. 27	72
IV.	MOSAICS FOUND SPORADICALLY BEFORE WORLD WAR II	115
	House by the Customs Offices	116
	Mosaic(s?) no. 28n	
	Pavements found under the Baladiya	116
	Mosaics nos 29n	
	‘Casa di Leone’	117
	Mosaic no. 30	117
	Mosaic no. 31	121
	Mosaic no. 32	123
	Mosaic from near the Lighthouse: no. 33	124
	Mosaic from Shara Omar Mukhtar: no. 34	124
V.	GENERAL DISCUSSION	130
	Table 1. The known mosaics of Berenice	143
	Table 2. Chronological Table	144
	Table 3. Size and material of tesserae	145
	Table 4. Linear motifs	146
	Table 5. Single elements and fillers	149
	Table 6. Varieties of the diamond motif	150
	Table 7. Surface compositions	151
	Table 8. Methods of laying the surround	153
	Colour Plates	155
	Figures	159

Preface

This study has been under preparation for a very long time and, over the years, many friends and colleagues have helped me or facilitated my work in a variety of ways. To all I extend my sincerest thanks. Special thanks are due to a number of people that I would like to mention separately. The idea of joining the team excavating Sidi Khrebish was first suggested to me by the late Professor Donald E. Strong in 1971. It was also Donald Strong who later encouraged me to undertake the study of the mosaics and frescoes found during the excavations, and it is to him that I would like to dedicate this study, with fond memories of a wonderful man and an inspiring teacher.

The excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi, took place between 1971 and 1975 under the auspices of the Libyan Department of Antiquities and the Society for Libyan Studies, London. During this period I visited and worked at Benghazi several times thanks to the financial assistance of the Society for Libyan Studies. Since then this same organization has given me constant support and encouragement. Thanks are due to its successive chairpersons, the late Prof. Donald E. Strong, Mr Denys E.L. Haynes, Prof. J.A. Allan, Mr Charles Daniels, Prof. G.D.B. Jones, Prof. G.W.W. Barker, and Dr Susan Walker. Above all, I am grateful to Dr J.A. Lloyd, Field Director for the Libya Society at Sidi Khrebish from September 1972, who over the years has been a constant source of encouragement and advice. In Libya, I extend my thanks to Dr Salaheddin Hassan, then Director General of Antiquities, for facilitating my visits to museums and sites. Special thanks go to Ess. Ali Salem Letrik for his generous hospitality and assistance in my work, as well as to Ess. Abdulhamid Abdussaid, Ess. Masaoud Shaglouf and the staff of the Department of Antiquities in Benghazi. I would also like to thank Haj Breyik Attiya for granting me permission to work in the photographic archive of the Department of Antiquities at Cyrene and for providing me with photographs of the now lost mosaics found in Benghazi before World War II.

The basis of the study presented here is my doctoral thesis which was submitted to the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, in 1981. My successive supervisors were the late D.E. Strong and M.W.C. Hassall, and my examiners S.E. Waywell and R. Reece, all of whom I would like to thank for constructive advice and corrections. I prepared my thesis at the British School at Rome where the Librarian at that time, Luciana Valentini, and her staff made everything possible to facilitate my work. Further research for the preparation for this publication was carried out mostly at the *École Française d'Athènes* during several visits to Athens. More concentrated work was made possible in 1992, through a scholarship from the *École Française d'Athènes*, for a two-month stay in Athens. To Prof. O. Picard and Dr J.-Y. Empereur, then Director and Secretary General of the School respectively, as well as to Dr M.-D. Nenna, then Librarian, I express my heartfelt thanks for all their help and hospitality. A second, shorter stay at the *École Française d'Athènes* was made possible through the offices of Prof. A.-M. Guimier Sorbets ('Groupe de Recherche sur la Mosaïque en Grèce'), the kindness of its Director, Dr R. Étienne, and funding from the Libyan Society. My sincere thanks go to all of them and to the School's Librarian Mr Guy Cobolet. Similar thanks go to the present Director of the *École Française d'Athènes*, Dr Roland Étienne, and its Librarian Mr Guy Cobolet and his most obliging staff who always make working in their Library such a pleasant experience. Equally helpful was a scholarship from the *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut* in 1993 that enabled me to stay for one month in Berlin and work in the Library there. For this my debt goes to the President of the Institute, Prof. H. Kyrieleis, and the Director, Dr A. Hoffmann. The Librarian, Dr A. Peschlow Bindokat, took every care to make my work as easy and comfortable as possible. To her and the staff of the Institut, in

particular Dr A. Krug, Dr Th.G. Schattner and Dr J. Burow, I express my gratitude for a most pleasant and profitable stay.

I am indebted to Pamela Davenport and especially to Carolyn Elliott for reading my text, making useful suggestions and saving me from many linguistic mistakes. All that remain are my own responsibility. I am also indebted to Dr Costas Xenophontos of the Geological Survey Department in Nicosia for analysing some of the tesserae for me.

The majority of the photographs were taken by myself. Others were taken by members of the excavation team and are kept in the archive of the Society for Libyan Studies, London. When the authorship of a photograph is known, it is given in the List of Illustrations. The photographs published as Figs 43 and 54 were taken by R.G. Goodchild in 1962 and 1965 and are now kept, respectively, in the collection of the Society for Libyan Studies, London and the Department of Antiquities, Cyrene. Figs 99, 101, 103, 105 and 107, on the other hand, are from pre-Second World War glass negatives in the archives of the Department of Antiquities, Cyrene. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Haj Breyik Attiya once again for providing me with the photographs and for permission to publish them.

Measurements for the drawings were taken by myself but the actual drawings were prepared by my wife Sarah Lee, to whom I express my deep-felt gratitude, not only for the drawings but for her patience and support through the long period of preparation and successful completion of this study. I would also like to thank Vicki Lloyd for helping to prepare this volume for the press.

The present study was completed in 1994 but every attempt has been made to take into account some of the major relevant publications that have appeared since.

University of Cyprus, Nicosia
May 1997

Notes for the Reader

When reading the text the following points should be kept in mind:

1. The order in which the buildings and their mosaics are discussed follows that used in *Berenice I*. The same applies to the names of the houses and the numbering of the rooms.

2. Each Catalogue entry follows the same pattern:

HOUSE: Brief description and history.

MOSAIC NUMBER AND ROOM: Number, size and alterations to the room, if any.

MOSAIC:

Date of excavation

State of preservation at the time of discovery

Dimensions

Present location

Bibliography. Few of the mosaics are published in any detail, but a complete list of references, however brief, is given.

Analytical description of each component of the mosaic. The descriptions always start from the outside and progress towards the centre. For each pattern and whenever possible, reference is made to *Le Décor* 1985. The description in *Le Décor* 1985 is quoted in full if different from the one offered here. References to the *Répertoire* 1973 are given whenever a design is not found in *Le Décor* 1985.

Technical data:

Materials and colours

Dimensions

Density

Setting

Foundation

Comments and Discussion. Under Comments, the main features of the mosaic and the quality of its execution are discussed. Whenever possible the relation the mosaic has to the room and its function is also examined. The Discussion examines the geometric patterns comprising the mosaic within a Cyrenaican as well as a wider Roman context. In the case of figured mosaics, iconographic discussions are also included here.

Parallels at Benghazi

Date

3. The letter 'n' after an entry indicates that the available information implies that more than one floor is presumed or was found in a particular area.

4. Under the entry 'Materials', the word stone is normally used to describe the material out of which the tesserae are made. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to make a petrographical analysis of a comprehensive sample of tesserae. Several loose black and white tesserae have been analyzed, however, and these show that in the case of white tesserae what in the text is described as 'soft, porous' or 'hard, compact' stone is chalk and off-white, fine-grained crystalline limestone respectively. The soft black tesserae are of grey, fine-grained igneous rock (microdiorite) and the hard ones are of very dark, fine-grained limestone. It was also possible to analyze a very small number of loose tesserae from the figured panels. These are the following:

Nereid mosaic **no. 7** in House R 3:

- One off-white tessera = Crystalline limestone.
- One pink tessera = Fine-grained impure limestone.
- One grey tessera = Fine-grained sandstone.

Eros and Psyche(?) mosaic **no. 16** in House P 1:

- Two red tesserae = Fine-grained limestone.
- Two off-white tesserae = Fine-grained crystalline limestone.

Dionysiac masks mosaic **no. 23** in Building W:

- One off-white tesserae = Fine-grained crystalline limestone.
- Two grey tesserae = Fine-grained, grey microdiorite.
- Two red tesserae = Fine-grained limestone.

I am grateful to Dr C. Xenophontos of the Geological Survey Department in Nicosia for carrying out these analyses.

5. For the sake of convenience the word 'black' is used for tesserae which are often grey or bluish grey.
6. The descriptions of the foundation layers were made and measurements taken from the *lacunae* in the floors. Unfortunately, it was not possible to take more accurate measurements during the lifting of some of the mosaics.
7. Abbreviations follow *American Journal of Archaeology* 95, 1, 1991, 1–14. Other abbreviations are listed on pp. ix–xi.
8. For the mosaics which are mentioned in the discussion and which have appeared in a corpus or a detailed study, reference to these publications is given with no additional bibliography.
9. All dates are AD unless otherwise stated.
10. The haste with which the early excavations were carried out (see *Berenice I*, 12f.) and the lack of adequate equipment and personnel meant that no professional photographs of the mosaics were taken. To remedy the lack of good photographs all mosaics have been drawn to a scale of 1:10. Minor irregularities are not depicted in the drawings. The reconstruction drawings of lost mosaics are very approximate as far as dimensions are concerned since they are based on old photographs without a scale. Inked in areas indicate those parts of the floor which were preserved at the time of discovery, the rest is reconstruction.
11. Some of the floors found at Benghazi over the years were left *in situ* and have since deteriorated or disappeared altogether, while others were damaged during lifting. It was decided, therefore, to give as complete a description as possible of both the designs and colours of all the floors.
12. It has not been possible to verify the condition of the mosaics that still survive, so all descriptions are of the mosaics as they were in 1976.
13. Notes appear in the form of endnotes after the text in each chapter.

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List of Illustrations

Figures

1. Sketch map of Benghazi showing place and date of mosaic finds (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 3)
2. Plan of Roman buildings of Sidi Khrebish showing location of mosaics (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 54)
3. Plan of House H (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 17)
4. Drawing of mosaic 3 (late 1st/early 2nd century), House H (S.L.)
5. House H, looking west from lighthouse (S.L.S.)
6. Mosaic 3 (late 1st/early 2nd century), House H, looking south (D.M.)
7. Mosaic 3, House H, looking south-west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
8. Mosaic 3, House H. North-eastern corner looking west (D.M.)
9. Mosaic 3, House H. Southern panel looking west (D.M.)
10. Plan of buildings in area L (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 21)
11. Drawing of mosaic 5 (first half 3rd century), House L 3 (S.L.)
12. Mosaic 5 (first half 3rd century), House L 3, looking south-west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
13. Plan of buildings in area R (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 25)
14. Drawing of mosaic 6 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (S.L.)
15. Mosaic 6 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
16. Drawing of mosaic 7 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (S.L.)
17. Mosaic 7 (first half 3rd century), House R 3, looking north (1 metre scale) (D.M.)
18. Mosaic 7, House R 3. Detail of central panel taken at the time of discovery in 1971 (50 cm scale) (S.L.S.)
19. Mosaic 7, House R 3. Detail of central panel photographed in 1972 (D.M.)
20. Reconstruction drawing of central panel of mosaic 7, House R 3 (S.L.)
21. Drawing of mosaic 8 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (S.L.)
22. Mosaic 8 (first half 3rd century), House R 3, looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
23. Mosaic 8, House R 3. Detail of field (D.M.)
24. Plan of Houses S1 and S2 (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 27)
25. Drawing of mosaic 10 (first half 3rd century), House S 1 (S.L.)
26. Mosaic 10 (first half 3rd century), House S 1, looking north-west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
27. Mosaic 10, House S 1. Detail of frame and field (D.M.)
28. Drawing of mosaic 11 (first half 3rd century), House S 1 (S.L.)
29. Mosaic 11 (first half 3rd century), House S 1, looking north-west with mosaic 10 beyond (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
30. Mosaic 11, House S 1. Detail of frame and field (D.M.)
31. Plan of Houses P 1, P 2 and P 3 (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 48)
32. Drawing of mosaic 13 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)
33. Mosaic 13 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (D.M.)
34. Drawing of mosaic 15 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)
35. Mosaic 15 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1. North-eastern corner looking north (1 metre scale) (D.M.)
36. Mosaic 15, House P 1. South-eastern corner looking north (1 metre scale) (D.M.)
37. Mosaic 15, House P 1. Central fragment looking west (1 metre scale) (D.M.)
38. Mosaic 15, House P 1. Westernmost fragment looking west (1 metre scale) (D.M.)
39. Drawing of mosaic 16, House P 1, made at the time of its first discovery in 1962 (Dept. of Antiquities, Cyrenaica)
40. Drawing of mosaic 16 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)

41. Mosaics 16–17, House P 1, looking north (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
42. Mosaic 16 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1, looking east (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
43. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Central panel photographed in 1962 (R.G. Goodchild)
44. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Central panel photographed in 1972 (D.M.)
45. Reconstruction drawing of central panel of mosaic 16, House P 1. (S.L.)
46. Drawing of mosaic 17 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)
47. Mosaic 17 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1, looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
48. Mosaic 17, House P 1. Detail of frame and pattern (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
49. Drawing of mosaic 19 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3 (S.L.)
50. Mosaic 19 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3 (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
51. Drawing of mosaics 20–21, House P 3, made at the time of discovery in 1965 (Dept. of Antiquities, Cyrenaica)
52. Drawing of mosaic 20 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3 (S.L.)
53. Mosaic 20, House P 3. Fragment in Tokra Museum (10 cm scale) (D.M.)
54. Mosaics 20–21, House P 3, looking south in 1965 (R.G. Goodchild, Dept. of Antiquities, Cyrenaica, no. F 4456).
55. Drawing of mosaic 21 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3 (S.L.)
56. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment of geometric field in Tokra Museum (D.M.)
57. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment of central medallion in Tokra Museum (10 cm scale) (D.M.)
58. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment with south-eastern *kantharos* in Tokra Museum (D.M.)
59. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment with south-western *kantharos* in Tokra Museum (D.M.)
60. Plan of Building W (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 49)
61. Drawing of mosaic 22 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)
62. Mosaics 22, 25–26, Building W. Eastern end of mosaic 22 looking south-east (D.M.)
63. Mosaic 22, Building W. Central section looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
64. Drawing of Mosaic 23 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)
65. Mosaic 23, Building W. Central section looking west (S.L.S.)
66. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of framing bands and patterns (D.M.)
67. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of framing pattern (D.M.)
68. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of framing pattern (D.M.)
69. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of meander of guilloche (D.M.)
70. Mosaic 23, Building W. Central panel (S.L.S.)
71. Mosaics 23–24, Building W, looking south (D.M.)
72. Drawing of mosaic 24 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)
73. Mosaic 24 (first half of 3rd century), Building W, looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
74. Mosaic 24, Building W. Detail of frame and geometric pattern (D.M.)
75. Drawing of Room 7, Building W, with *opus sectile* 25, mosaic 26 and *emblema* 27 (S.L.)
76. Drawing of *opus sectile* 25 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)
77. *Opus sectile* 25 and mosaic 26, Building W, looking north (D.M.)
78. Drawing of panel distribution in *opus sectile* 25, Building W (S.L.)
79. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 3 (D.M.)
80. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 4 (D.M.)
81. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 6 (D.M.)
82. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 7 (D.M.)
83. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 8 (D.M.)
84. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 9 (D.M.)
85. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 10 (D.M.)
86. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 14 (D.M.)
87. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 15 (D.M.)

88. Drawing of mosaic 26 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)
89. Mosaic 26 and *opus sectile* 25, Building W, looking south (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
90. Mosaic 26 with *emblema* 27 *in situ*, Building W, looking south (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)
91. Mosaic 26, Building W. Geometric field and foundation layers looking east (D.M.)
92. Mosaic 26, Building W. North-western corner of geometric field (D.M.)
93. Mosaic 26, Building W. Surround looking west (D.M.)
94. Drawing of *Emblema* 27 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)
95. *Emblema* 27 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (20 cm scale) (S.L.S.)
96. *Emblema* 27, Building W. Detail with moray and cuttlefish (S.L.S.)
97. *Emblema* 27, Building W. Detail with cuttlefish, alga and smooth serranus (S.L.S.)
98. *Emblema* 27, Building W. Detail with Norway lobster, cuttlefish, alga and dusky serranus(?) (S.L.S.)
99. Mosaics 30–32, ‘Casa di Leone’, photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1724)
100. Drawing of mosaic 30 (first half of 3rd century), ‘Casa di Leone’ (S.L.)
101. Mosaic 30 (and 31) (first half of 3rd century), ‘Casa di Leone’, photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1727)
102. Drawing of mosaic 31 (first half of 3rd century), ‘Casa di Leone’ (S.L.)
103. Mosaic 31 (and 30) (first half of 3rd century), ‘Casa di Leone’, photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1729)
104. Drawing of mosaic 32 (first half of 3rd century), ‘Casa di Leone’(?) (S.L.)
105. Mosaic 32 (first half of 3rd century), ‘Casa di Leone’(?), photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1730).
106. Drawing of mosaic 34 (late 2nd/early 3rd century) from Shara Omar Mukhtar (S.L.)
107. Mosaic 34 (late 2nd/early 3rd century) from Shara Omar Mukhtar (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. F 4928)
108. Diagram showing position of rediscovered fragments A, B and C of mosaic 34 from Shara Omar Mukhtar (S.L.)
109. Mosaic 34 from Shara Omar Mukhtar. Fragments B (and A) in Cyrene Museum (D.M.)
110. Mosaic 34 from Shara Omar Mukhtar. Fragment C in Cyrene Museum (10 cm scale) (D.M.)

Colour Plates

- I. Mosaic 3, House H. South-eastern *kantharos* (D.M.)
- II. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Eastern and south-eastern panels looking south (D.M.)
- III. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Northern and north-eastern panels looking south (D.M.)
- IV. Mosaic 23, Building W, looking west (S.L.S.)
- V. Mosaic 23, Building W. South-western panel (D.M.)
- VI. Mosaic 23, Building W. North-western panel (D.M.)
- VII. Mosaic 23, Building W. North-eastern panel (D.M.)
- VIII. Mosaic 23, Building W. South-eastern panel (D.M.)
- IX. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W, looking north (D.M.)
- X. South section of *Opus sectile* 25, Building W, looking east (D.M.)
- XI. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 1 (D.M.)
- XII. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 2 (D.M.)
- XIII. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 11 (D.M.)
- XIV. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 12 (D.M.)
- XV. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 13 (D.M.)
- XVI. *Emblema* 27, Building W (D.M.)

D.M. = Demetrios Michaelides

S.L. = Sarah Lee

S.L.S. = Society for Libyan Studies, London

I. INTRODUCTION

Notes to Chapter I can be found starting on page 3.

Of the cities constituting the Libyan Pentapolis (Berenice, Tauchira, Ptolemais, Cyrene and Apollonia) the least well known used to be Berenice. Buried under modern Benghazi, the ancient remains were mostly inaccessible and the ancient city did not enjoy the early scientific excavations carried out, mostly by the Italians, at the other cities of the Pentapolis. The lack of archaeological investigation was made worse by the paucity of information that could be culled from ancient literary sources, although occasional chance discoveries bore witness to the importance of the remains of the ancient city.¹ The situation changed dramatically in 1971 when the chance for a more systematic exploration was offered after the Municipality of Benghazi had decided to level and develop the site of the disused Turkish cemetery of Sidi Khrebish, on the west side of Sebkha Ain es-Selmani, near the heart of the modern city. The discovery of important ancient remains led first to a series of short rescue excavations, and then to excavations on a more long-term basis. The investigations lasted, with several interruptions, from 1971 to 1975, and were organized by the Department of Antiquities of the Libyan Arab Republic in collaboration with the Society for Libyan Studies, London.² The cemetery of Sidi Khrebish occupied an area of about 10 hectares (25 acres), which represents only a small part of the ancient city that measured, at the zenith of its growth, over 1 × 0.5 km (Fig. 1). Nonetheless, even the partial excavation of this area has added enormously to what was known of the city of Berenice and of Cyrenaica as a whole.

It is well established that around the mid 3rd century BC the inhabitants of Euesperides moved about 2.5 km to the south-west to found the new city of Berenice which became the westernmost Hellenistic centre of the region.³ The site of Sidi Khrebish was clearly far from the centre of this newly founded city and no signs of significant occupation prior to the mid 2nd century BC have been found there. Soon after this date, an increasing number of constructions began to appear, but it was only in the Flavian period that the whole of this area was occupied. The early houses were of Greek type with rooms arranged around an open courtyard. They had simple floors of beaten earth and very little decoration. After the end of the first century AD, however, houses began to be decorated with frescoes, mosaic floors and marble veneering.

Not surprisingly for what must have been a peripheral district, no large monuments or rich mansions have been discovered — with the single exception of Building W. Of the 23 structures that have come to light, 17 are more or less humble houses. This is in marked contrast to other sites in Cyrenaica where exploration has concentrated predominantly on public buildings and the homes of their richer inhabitants.

The mosaics found at Benghazi fall into three groups covering a period of about 150 years, from the very end of the 1st to about the mid 3rd century AD. No evidence for mosaics made before or after this period has been found at Benghazi so far. The development seen in these mosaics is in accordance with what is known of the urban development of this part of the city, but it also reflects the major historical events which affected Cyrenaica as a whole.

The earlier group is represented by one mosaic from House H of the last years of the 1st or, more likely, the beginning of the 2nd century. The Jewish Revolt of AD 115 does not seem to have directly affected this or the other houses of the period at Berenice, but part of an Hadrianic inscription could tenuously be taken as an indication of Imperial assistance for rebuilding in the city.⁴ Even if there had been destruction, recovery must have been extremely rapid, and, in any case, Hadrian throughout his reign gave continuous support to

the development of Cyrenaica.⁵ The re-establishment of peace and prosperity is reflected by a second, more numerous group of mosaics dating from after the mid 2nd century. This was a period of great wealth. The largest number of portrait statues found in the city, as well as the largest number of burials found in the necropolis, date to this period. The same prosperity and the importance of the city as a whole are reflected in an Antonine inscription from Cyrene, which bears witness to an attempt by Berenice to have the proconsular assizes transferred from Cyrene to herself, something that would have made her the effective capital of the province. The appeal was never granted, but clearly only a really important city could have held such ambitions.⁶

The prosperity of this period increased further during the Severan era. Many houses and one civic building (Building W) were either built or redecorated. Several mosaics survive from this period and form the third and largest group of pavements at Berenice.

This affluence came to a sudden end. In the first half of the 3rd century one of the cisterns of the wealthy House H was used for interring a considerable number of humans. Another wealthy House, P 3, was abandoned, and House P 1 was turned into a small factory. The causes of this decline are still not clear. The troubles following the death of Alexander Severus in AD 235 must have played a role, but, as J.A. Lloyd suggests, local factors must have contributed too: 'At Berenice plague may have substantially reduced the population, and to the east of the province, if not throughout Cyrenaica, an uprising of the Marmaric tribes had to be contended with and was not suppressed until AD 268'.⁷ Seismic disturbances are also likely to have played an important role in the decline of Cyrenaica in the 3rd century.⁸ Whatever the reasons may have been, the excavations of Sidi Khrebish have shown that by the mid 3rd century this area of the city had been almost completely abandoned by its occupants.

The abandonment of the area involved the demolition of the buildings, after their cisterns had been filled with rubbish and their valuables removed. This was followed almost immediately by stone looting. The city never recovered. The new city wall, built probably in the mid 3rd century AD, may have reduced it to about a quarter of its former extent, and the area of Sidi Khrebish remained outside the wall circuit. Nothing of any consequence was built there until the early 6th century when a Christian basilica rose in the area previously occupied by Buildings W and T. The poor remains of the basilica do not, unfortunately, include any mosaics.

Notes to Chapter I

1. See *Berenice* I, 9f.
2. See excavation reports by various authors in *LibSt* 2, 1970-1971, 9; 3, 1971-1972, 7-12, pls I-III; 4, 1972-1973, 11-20, pls I-IV; 6, 1974-1975, 5-17.
On the results of the excavations, see *Berenice* I-III.
3. For a fuller account of the city, its harbour and its development, see *Berenice* I, 17ff.; *Berenice* III/1, 2f.; J. Lloyd, 'Some aspects of urban development at Euhesperides/Berenice', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 49ff.; and J. Reynolds, 'Berenice', in *EAA*, 2^o *supplemento*, Roma 1994, 671-74.
4. J.M. Reynolds, 'Inscriptions', in *Berenice* I, 240, no. 9. The same lack of evidence for large scale destruction or decline as a consequence of the Jewish Revolt has been observed at Apollonia: A. Laronde, 'Apollonia de Cyrenaïque. Archéologie et Histoire', *JSav* 1996/1, 40.
5. For the evidence of Hadrianic rebuilding after the Jewish Revolt, at Cyrene and elsewhere in Cyrenaica, see A. Laronde, 'La Cyrénaïque romaine, des origines à la fin des Sévères (96 av. J.-C.-235 ap. J.-C.)', in *ANRW* II/10: 1, 1988, 1049ff.
6. J. Reynolds, 'Inscriptions', in *Berenice* I, 233; *eadem*, 'Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and the Cyrenaican Cities', *JRS* 68, 1978, 111-21.
7. *Berenice* I, 32.
8. For an analysis of the evidence, see J.A. Lloyd, 'The cities of Cyrenaica in the third century AD', in *Giornata Lincea sulla Archeologia Cirenaica. Roma, 3 novembre 1987 (Atti dei Convegni Lincei 87)*, Roma 1990, 41-53.

II. THE MOSAICS OF BERENICE IN THEIR CYRENAICAN CONTEXT (FIGS 1–2)

Notes to Chapter II can be found starting on page 6.

The excavations at Sidi Khrebish have brought to light evidence for 25 tessellated floors (**nos 1–24** and **26**), one *emblema* (**no. 27**) and at least one *opus sectile* floor (**no. 25**). As one would expect in a large city of Roman North Africa, loose mosaic tesserae have been found throughout the site. Such tesserae, as well as a few loose *crustae*, have not been included in the Catalogue unless they were found in large concentrations in well-defined areas and seem likely to have come from a single pavement. These cases, together with the remnants of a few mortar foundations and a couple of fragments of *tessellatum* comprise seven of the Catalogue entries (**nos 1–2, 4, 9, 12, 14, 18**). This leaves 18 more or less well-preserved tessellated pavements (**nos 3, 5–8, 10–11, 13, 15–17, 19–24, 26**), one *emblema* (**no. 27**) and one *opus sectile* floor (**no. 25**). Two of these tessellated floors (**nos 20** and **21**) of Sidi Khrebish had already been exposed in 1965. They were lifted soon after excavation and were rediscovered in 1975 in the Archaeological Museum of Tokra. Two other mosaics found at the same time (**nos 16** and **17**) had been left *in situ* and were re-excavated between 1971 and 1972.

As so little is known about the mosaics of Cyrenaica, and even less about those of Benghazi, it was decided to try to trace all the evidence relating to mosaic discoveries made within the city in the past. There seem to be no accounts of such finds made during the period of Turkish Administration (1638–1911) and the earliest notice appears to be that in the first issue of the colonial *Notiziario Archeologico* published in 1915, referring to a recent discovery (**no. 28n**).¹ After this date mosaics did not turn up any more frequently, and there is mention of only another six such finds made in the period up to the Second World War (**nos 29n–34**). These mosaics have been destroyed, the only exception being mosaic **no. 34**, fragments of which have been rediscovered in the Archaeological Museum of Cyrene. All these mosaics are included in the Catalogue despite the fact that in some cases there is only a mention of their discovery, without any description. In other cases a few old photographs in the archives of the Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, give an idea of what these floors looked like.

These chance discoveries bring the number of decorated pavements known so far from Berenice to 34 tessellated floors, one *emblema*, and at least one *opus sectile* floor.² Of the tessellated floors, only 19 are more or less well preserved, but there are also photographs of another three, now lost, pavements. Most of these floors come from private houses built to a standard type, with the rooms grouped around a central open court (with or without a peristyle) supplied with a cistern. The mosaic decorated rooms often had further lavish decoration and were clearly intended to show off to the visitor the wealth of the owners. It is only rarely, however, that the floor design or layout helps to identify the precise function of the rooms.

As already mentioned, the earliest-known mosaic from Benghazi dates to the very end of the 1st or, more likely, the beginning of the 2nd century AD. It would appear then that for a period of about 350 years, from the foundation of Berenice around the mid 3rd century BC, no mosaics were made in the city. Generally speaking, early Imperial mosaics are poorly attested in the Greek East, so in this respect the situation at Berenice is not very different from that of other areas in the East.³ Two things should be borne in mind, however. First, there is the evidence of a decree put up by the Jews of Berenice in honour of Decimus Valerius Maximus who ἐκονίασεν του ἀμφιθεάτρου/τὸ ἔδρα]φος καὶ τ[οὺς τ]οίχους

ἐζωγράφησεν some time during the last three decades before Christ. Since Ph. Bruneau has convincingly demonstrated that *κονίτις* in this sense means pavement and not stucco, it would appear that at the end of the 1st century BC the 'amphitheatre' of Berenice was given a pavement. On the evidence of other uses of this term, this pavement may have been decorated.⁴ Secondly, there is no doubt that the art of mosaic was already known locally during the Hellenistic period, both at nearby Euhesperides, which Berenice succeeded,⁵ and at Cyrene, which must have always exerted an influence on Berenice throughout her history.⁶

It is often assumed that Roman Cyrenaica, unlike other North African regions, never showed great love for mosaic decoration. This assumption is not incorrect in some ways, but the whole question needs to be reconsidered, putting all the available information into perspective. To do this one has to take into account other factors, such as geography, water supply and population density, the role of which must have been just as important as a love of, or fashion for, mosaic decoration. One should not forget that although Roman Cyrenaica was a fairly large province only a narrow coastal strip (the *sahel*), together with the adjoining limestone plateau (the *Jebel Akhdar* or Green Mountain) between Benghazi and Derna (ancient Darnis) were suitable for settlement. This region was bounded on the west by the Syrtic and on the east by the Marmaric Deserts, both of which stretched up to the Mediterranean coast, while the Calanshu Sand Sea blocked it on the south.⁷ Even this more fertile zone was not very densely populated. Water was not plentiful everywhere, and since the region had little direct connection with the African continent and its riches to the south, it acted simply as the southern end of the Mediterranean world, extremely useful for navigation and for military purposes but lacking the promises of the sub-Saharan and Central African regions enjoyed by its neighbours, Egypt, Africa Proconsularis and Numidia. The coastal strip was very fertile, famed mostly for its grain and *silphium*, although the province remained relatively poor and conservative throughout its history.⁸ Consequently, the sites that might have produced mosaics are considerably fewer than in other North African regions. This, however, does not necessarily imply that the art form was unpopular in the cities, albeit few in number, of Cyrenaica. Also, one has to bear in mind that few Cyrenaican mosaics have seen the light of publication. If the handful of mosaics found randomly at sites of lesser importance and briefly mentioned in various reports are excepted, then the published Cyrenaican mosaics of the Roman period are seen to come from a handful of sites which, not surprisingly, are the cities of the Pentapolis: Cyrene,⁹ Apollonia,¹⁰ Ptolemais¹¹ and now Berenice.¹² Even in these cases, however, the published mosaics are a fraction of those actually found there. A visit to these sites makes it clear that earlier excavations must have unearthed a considerable number of mosaics which have since disintegrated, often beyond recognition, without their presence ever having been reported in print.

The mosaics of Cyrenaica may not exhibit the richness, variety and inventiveness, or the surprising quantity of figured representations, of the mosaics from other North African regions, but they are certainly not uncommon. The mere fact that at Sidi Khrebish 27 floors were found in a small, badly preserved area which lay far from the centre, in what was clearly not the most prosperous part of the city, surely reflects the real situation.

The published information on Cyrenaican mosaics is at best minimal. Apart from the few Hellenistic floors that have been discussed in some detail,¹³ and the work of E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum on the floors of the early Byzantine churches,¹⁴ few other publications deal with Cyrenaican mosaics at any length. With the exception of a few sporadic mentions here and there,¹⁵ there are only two works that deal specifically with Cyrenaican mosaics of the Roman period: Mowry and Kraeling (1962) on the mosaics of Ptolemais and Mingazzini (1966) on the mosaics from the house of Jason Magnus at Cyrene. In this context, mention must also be made of Pesce (1950) which contains an extremely useful although problematic treatment of the mosaics from the Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais.

In the 'Discussion' section included in each entry of the following Catalogue, comparisons will be made with mosaics from these and other Cyrenaican sites which offer, as is to be expected, the closest parallels for the Berenice mosaics. Owing to the dearth of such material, however, comparisons will be extended to other parts of the Roman Empire with the aim of establishing the artistic milieu in which the mosaics of Berenice were produced.

Notes to Chapter II

1. E. Ghislanzoni, 'Notizie Archeologiche sulla Cirenaica', *Notiziario Archeologico* I, 1915, 73.
2. The mosaics from Berenice's predecessor, Euesperides, are not included in this discussion.
3. For a similar situation in Greece, see G. Hellenkemper Salies, 'Römische Mosaiken in Griechenland', *BJb* 1986, 281; Waywell 1979, 194. For Cyprus, see D. Michaelides, *Cypriot Mosaics*, Nicosia 1992, 4.
4. On the inscription, see J. and G. Roux, 'Un décret du politeuma des Juifs de Bérénikè en Cyrenaïque au Musée Lapidaire de Carpentras', *REG* 62, 1949, 281–96, and J.M. Reynolds, The inscriptions, in *Berenice* I, 233–54. On the interpretation of the word 'κονίζμα' as pavement, see Ph. Bruneau, 'La mosaïque de l'Iseion d'Érétrie', *AntK* 12, 1969, 80–2; idem, *Les mosaïques (Exploration Archéologique de Délos XXIX)*, Paris 1972, 119–20; idem, *Le sanctuaire et le culte des divinités égyptiennes à Érétrie (EPRO 45)*, Leiden 1975, 77.
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III. CATALOGUE OF THE MOSAICS FOUND AT SIDI KHREBISH

Notes to Chapter III can be found starting on page 81.

Insula I

HOUSE H (FIG. 3). MOSAIC Nos 1–4

This house, situated in the south-east corner of Insula I, was one of the most luxurious of those excavated at Sidi Khrebish. Its western side was destroyed by the bulldozer but what remains shows that it was of rectangular plan with a central peristyle courtyard surrounded by rooms. The public rooms were on the south and several of them seem to have been decorated with painted wall plaster, marble veneer and mosaics. At the time of excavation Rooms 5 and 7, as well as producing a very large number of loose fresco fragments, also preserved traces of painted decoration still adhering to their walls. Room 7 also preserved its mosaic floor (**no. 3**) *in situ*, but it is impossible to know whether the loose tesserae and mosaic fragments found in other rooms formed part of the original decoration or whether they were dumped there at a later period. They are included here for the sake of convenience.

The pottery indicates that the house was constructed in the 3rd quarter of the 1st century AD. After some alterations, believed to have taken place in the 2nd century, the house was turned into an inn or an hotel. The building was eventually abandoned in the early 3rd century, when cistern 2 was filled with rubbish and a large number of skeletons, mostly of infants.¹

No. 1. Tesserae from Room 4 (4.65 × 4.50 m), East Wing of House H

Numerous black and white tesserae were found in the demolition level. They may have come from a mosaic that once decorated this room, but as no trace of it or of its foundation was found, they probably formed part of the dump fill of the room.

Excavated in 1971. Stored in the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 90.

Technical Data

Materials

Black and white tesserae of two types each: soft, porous and hard, compact stone.

Tesserae

Two types: 0.5–1 cm² and 1–1.5 cm².

Date

Unknown.

No. 2. Fragments from Room 5 (7.10 × 5.20 m), South Wing of House H

Numerous loose black and white tesserae, as well as several small and three large fragments of floor mosaic, were found in the demolition level of this room. The tesserae were spread evenly through the fill but the large fragments were resting 40 cm above the floor. As the room itself was paved with a rough, pale grey concrete floor, it would appear that these fragments had been dumped there during the clearance work which was perhaps associated with the latest occupation phase of the house. A very large number of loose fragments and a few small areas of painted wallplaster still in place show that the walls of this room were once richly decorated with figured frescoes.

The mosaic fragments consist mostly of plaster bedding with a few tesserae still adhering here and there. The three large fragments measure 30 × 15 cm, 18 × 13 cm and 15 × 13 cm. There is no pattern but some of the tesserae seem to have been laid in parallel rows.

Excavated in 1971. Stored in the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 90f., 100.

Technical Data

Materials

Both soft, porous and hard, compact black and white stone tesserae.

Tesserae

Two types: 0.5–1 cm² and 1–1.5 cm². The fragments consist entirely of the latter type.

Foundation

Nucleus: Soft white plaster (c. 1 cm). *Rudus*: Hard reddish mortar (max. 10 cm).

Date

Deposit 62, sealed beneath the concrete floor, dates the construction of the house to the third quarter of the 1st century AD,² but this does not necessarily apply to the mosaic fragments.

No. 3. Shield of Curvilinear Triangles from Room 7 (c. 7.50 × 4.70 m)³, South Wing of House H (Figs 4–9, Col. Pl. I)

The mosaic was excavated in late 1971 after its western side (comprising most of the surround, the frame and the north-west *kantharos*) had been destroyed by the bulldozer. Most of the northern surround seems to have been destroyed in antiquity. At the time of discovery, the green glass tesserae of the *kantharoi* were already in a fairly decayed state.

The decorated area of the floor measures c. 6.30 × 3.90 m.

Left *in situ*.⁴

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Michaelides 1988, 358, 360, 367–8, pl. I:1–2.

Description

Rectangular pavement decorated with a large square panel enclosing a shield of triangles and *kantharoi* in the corners. On one side (south) there is a large rectangular geometric field, while on the opposite side (north) there is a narrow band with a row of smaller square panels of geometric motifs. All the designs are black and white except for the *kantharoi* which are polychrome.

Surround

On the north, south and east the surround survived up to the walls. Average W.: 43 cm on the north, 45 cm on the south and 40 cm on the east where it incorporates part of a threshold made of Pentelic marble (c. 90 × 21 cm). On the west it survives to a maximum of 39 cm.

It consists of oblique rows of white tesserae set in a regular, anti-clockwise fashion. The long side of the threshold and the border of the mosaic, however, are edged by a double white fillet running parallel to the design. The oblique setting of the tesserae is ideal for accommodating a series of

diamonds (Table 6, type 1) set with their sides parallel to the border. They are placed along the middle of the surround and are set c. 30 cm apart. The one completely preserved side on the east has 22 diamonds.

Common Border

Four rows of black tesserae (c. 5.5 cm) frame as well as separate the main components of the mosaic which comprise the Northern Rectangular Band, the Central Square Panel and the Southern Rectangular Panel.

Northern Rectangular Band

It is made of eight square panels (42 cm² each) of two different alternating types. The first has a border of a double white fillet (2 cm), and is decorated with a white Solomon knot against a black background. The Solomon knot is outlined by a black fillet and has a centre of a single white tessera. The knots are rather irregular with fat bodies and thin turns. The second type of panel has a border (3 cm) consisting of a double white and a single black fillet, framing a checkerboard of diagonally arranged, right-angled, isosceles triangles (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 197a: 'Chessboard-pattern of right-angled isosceles triangles').

Central Square Panel (3.80 m²)

It has its own border consisting of a triple white fillet, a band of guilloche, a triple white and a triple black fillet, with a total W. of 25.5 cm. The guilloche is two-stranded and is rendered in the same manner as the Solomon knots above.

The square field is decorated with a large shield (diam. 3.28 m) (*Répertoire* 1973, no. 531: 'Bouclier de triangles') bordered by a double black fillet (1–2 cm). This border is never closer than 1.5 cm to the square frame and thus the shield appears to be floating against the white background.

The shield consists of 16 concentric bands of diminishing, alternating black and white curvilinear triangles, the black triangles pointing towards the outside. In the centre of the shield there is a border (8 cm) of a double white, a triple black and another double white fillet framing a large circular slab of slate (diam. 81 cm).

Each of the spandrels formed between the square frame and the shield is occupied by a stylized *kantharos*. The *kantharoi* are disposed diagonally with their bases towards the outside. The remaining space is filled with tendrils spirals issuing from the stems of the *kantharoi*.

The north-east *kantharos* (H. 52 cm) has a triangular base and a stem made of a small round and a large oval element. The body is almost heart-shaped and gadrooned, with a very wide neck. The neck is decorated with a stepped line (fraction of a simple meander) and is topped by an out-splaying rim shown in three-quarter view.

The handles are S-shaped with two short transverse lines in the middle. They have a small curve/tendrill at each end, which makes them look like the decorative spirals in the surrounding space. These spirals issue from either side of the point of junction between the stem and the body of the vessel, and occupy the whole spandrel.

The tendrils, the handles of the *kantharos* and the outline of its body and rim are traced in one line of black tesserae. The base and stem are completely black but the body is brownish mauve and is decorated with six coloured spatulate forms that represent gadrooning. The neck and mouth are also polychrome. One of the central gadroons is light brown, the other purple. They are flanked by green gadroons of *cipollino* outlined in blue glass, and, further out, there are plain green glass gadroons.⁵ The neck is pink and decorated with a stepped line of blue glass. The mouth has a central line of blue glass surrounded first by a purple and then by a mauvish oval of limestone.

The south-east *kantharos* is similar except that the triangular base is smaller and the two central gadroons have their colours reversed. The tendrils form a different pattern.

The south-west *kantharos* is also similar and it too has a small triangular base. The central gadroons are like those of the north-east *kantharos* (thus balancing the design diagonally), but the lateral ones are different. The pattern formed by the tendrils is also different. The first pair of gadroons is green, but these are made of glass rather than *cipollino*, outlined by a line of blue glass. The ones further out are light brown.

The north-east *kantharos* does not survive but the ends of the tendrils show that here too they formed a different design. The colours, one presumes, counterbalanced those of the south-west *kantharos*.

Southern Rectangular Panel (3.82 × 1.83 m)

The border (W. 6.5 cm on the north and south; 14.5 cm on the east and west) is composed of a triple white, a double black and a single white fillet. On the east and west the last two fillets enclose a band of crow-step (Table 4, type 1).

The field is decorated with a network of diagonal, alternating rows of squares and pairs of chevrons (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 118a: 'Orthogonal pattern of tangent crosses of four chevrons, the colours counterchanged (creating the effect of a grid of rows of tangent poised squares)').

Technical Data

Materials

All the tesserae are of black and white stones, except those of the *kantharoi* which also include several types of coloured stone (pink, light brown, brownish mauve and purple), *cipollino* (greenish white) and glass tesserae (blue and two(?) shades of green).

Tesserae

The majority measure 1–1.5 cm², the white ones being generally the largest. The coloured tesserae are often under 1 cm², while the glass ones are rarely above 0.5 cm². They are rather irregular (especially the coloured ones) but are often cut so as to fit the design (e.g. triangles).

Density

About 72 per 10 cm² in the geometric design.

Setting

Not particularly regular but neat. Throughout, the design appears to have been laid out in black first. The white (background) was filled in later, with at least one line of tesserae following the contours fairly accurately.

Foundation

About 14 cm thick. *Nucleus*: Fine soft white mortar (1–1.5 cm). *Rudus*: Hard reddish mortar (c. 3 cm). *Statumen*: Obliquely set, rough pieces of sandstone mixed with soil (c. 9 cm). A thin layer (c. 1 cm) of whitish mortar separates the *statumen* from the soil.

Comments and Discussion

Despite the poor state in which the room was found, its mosaic floor and a large number of fresco fragments (some still adhering to its walls) show that this was one of the most richly decorated in the house.

The mosaic is well thought-out and carefully executed, the optical effect of the central shield being completely successful. It is worth noting that the mouths of the *kantharoi* are shown in three-quarter view thus exposing their contents — the colour would imply wine — and also accentuating the bulging out effect of the shield. The very sparing use of colour makes this floor all the more striking.

It could be argued that the slate tondo had replaced a damaged, or served as a substitute for, a central mosaic medallion. On the other hand, the dark grey colour of the slate is in keeping with the general taste for plain monochromatic effects exhibited by the mosaics of Benghazi, and it might even be connected with the function of the room. Although not in the centre of the room, the tondo is directly opposite the marble threshold of the entrance. Its position and the division of the floor into three different fields may have something to do with the way the room functioned — something which is unfortunately not known. There are many mosaic floors with a marble slab or an *opus sectile* panel in the centre. Amongst many examples, mention can be made of three that, like the Benghazi mosaic, have a tondo in the centre. In the House of Paquius Proculus or Cuspius Pansa (I,7,1) at Pompeii the tondo is made of alabaster,⁶ in room 5 of the much later Baths at Contrada Saraceno it is made of slate,⁷ while in an example from the Domus del Portico at Ostia it is made of white marble.⁸

The patterns used in this floor are fairly common and belong to the general repertory of Roman mosaics. Their choice, however, betrays a strong predilection for simple but effective geometric designs. The shield of curvilinear triangles, the checkerboard of triangles and the network of alternating rows of squares and chevrons are all patterns that rely largely for their effect on the repetitive interplay of black and white units.

The small diamonds of the surround and the crow-step of the rectangular panel are found (together with their variants) all over the Roman world,⁹ and identical examples can be seen at nearby Ptolemais.¹⁰

The guilloche and Solomon knot are also common.¹¹ This is the only instance at Benghazi where they are treated in a linear bichrome manner. This, however, is not unusual, since such a treatment (at least for the guilloche) is quite common at Ostia from the 2nd century BC.¹² The Solomon knot is a less ancient motif. It made its first appearance in Italian mosaics in the 1st century AD (or perhaps a little earlier) when it was used rather sparingly. In the following century its popularity increased so as to make it 'without exception, the most common single motive'.¹³ At Ostia the plain Solomon knot seems to appear for the first time and to concentrate in the second quarter of the 2nd century AD.¹⁴

The checkerboard of alternating light and dark triangles is common, and it is found again at Benghazi covering a very large area of a floor in Building W (mosaic no. 22). Inspired, perhaps, by marble-tiled floor such as that in House VI,xii,2 at Pompeii (where it is also found in *tessellatum*),¹⁵ the pattern spread throughout the ancient world. Its popularity grew even further when it was adopted as one of the motifs commonly used in the mosaics 'à décor multiple' of Gaul.¹⁶ D. Levi has already given a long list of examples which show how diffused the pattern was throughout the Roman period,¹⁷ so there is no need to add more. Suffice to say that the popularity of the pattern continued and spread into Byzantine Greece¹⁸ and Medieval Italy.¹⁹

The network of alternating rows of black squares and pairs of chevrons decorating the southern panel is a different matter. It is one of a large group of similar patterns that enjoyed great favour during the late 1st and the first half of the 2nd centuries AD.²⁰ These patterns are plentiful at Ostia²¹ and at Rome where there are several examples at the Market of Trajan, as well as at the so-called Ponte di Caligola and the *Via Nova* on the Palatine Hill, the former built under Domitian and the latter at least started during his reign.²² Despite their 'Italianness', one must not forget that these patterns were not unknown in Greece.²³

There are at least five Italian floors which are decorated with a pattern identical to the one under discussion. The best parallel comes from Room H of the Caseggiato (III,ii,8) at Ostia, securely dated to c. AD 110–120.²⁴ The second parallel, probably of a similar date, comes from a room on the *Via Nova* on the Palatine,²⁵ while the third comes from the tomb of Marcus Clodius Hermes under the Church of San Sebastiano on the Via Appia.²⁶ The pattern is again identical but here it also incorporates a small panel with a bird. The date of this floor is not certain. G. Mancini, who first published the excavations, dated the initial building of the *columbarium* to the very beginning of the 2nd century AD. According to him, it was adapted for inhumations in the second half of the century and its structure was considerably altered. L. Quilici and M. Petrassi,²⁷ however, date the original structure to the mid 2nd century, and R. Krautheimer and S. Corbett²⁸ date the masonry of the façade and the stuccoes to soon after the middle of the same century. It is generally agreed that the frescoes decorating the tomb belong to the second half of the 2nd century, and G. Mancini rightly asserted that they were painted after the rebuilding of the sepulchre. Nothing, however, is said about the floor. Considering that the latter ill fits the room in its present form and that some of the side burials (inhumations) are dug into it, one can assume that the mosaic is contemporary with the original building of the sepulchre.

A fourth parallel also comes from Rome. It is in one of the rooms under the Church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.²⁹ In their publication of this part of the building, M.M. Breccia Frata, S. Ricci and B.M. Sarlo³⁰ pointed out the general similarity of this mosaic to those from the Ponte di Caligola and the Market of Trajan and rightly assigned it to the period between the end of the 1st and the middle of the 2nd century.³¹

The fifth and final example comes from the excavation of a *domus* under the Church of Santa Croce in Ravenna.³² It decorates the main part of an apsed room, and has been attributed to the 2nd century. It is worth observing that this rather uncommon pattern also appears as one of the motifs of a mosaic 'à décor multiple' from Sainte Colombe in France.³³

The main feature of the mosaic in House H is the shield of curvilinear triangles occupying the largest, central part of the room. The shield of triangles is found already fully developed, with a Medusa head decorating its centre, in Pompeii,³⁴ but its origins remain obscure. The bulging-out effect of the pattern and the fact that, in the earlier examples, it is frequently associated with a central Medusa head rather than any other figure, prompted Aurigemma³⁵ and Blake³⁶ to attribute its origin to similar decorations on shields. This theory has been contested by Parlasca who sees the pattern with a Medusa head as the reflection of a scheme of decoration used for domes.³⁷ One has to agree with Parlasca that Medusa heads do appear in the centre of painted ceilings, and that some of the other central motifs used in shield mosaics (such as the flying Pegasus, the eagle of Zeus and various other birds) do suggest the idea of a dome opening onto the sky. Becatti's proposition, however, is much more convincing.³⁸ He interprets the shield of curvilinear triangles as a schematization of the shield of scales, a Hellenistic creation undoubtedly connected with Medusa heads and certainly not deriving from dome decoration. Moreover, as he points out, the shield of triangles is fully evolved in Pompeii,³⁹ at a period prior to the monumental development of the dome.

The central rotary sense created by the design in black and white, and the even more dazzling effect given to it by the use of colour, already current in the 1st century AD (see below), was obviously meant to enhance the sense of giddiness produced by the Medusa head itself.⁴⁰ This does not mean, of course, that the design, once it lost its original associations, could not be used and reinterpreted in different ways - even as a dome with a central *oculus*.

A detailed study of the shield design and its development has not yet been attempted. A synthesis by J.M. Luzón Nogué is a first step, useful in many ways but suffering from the small number of

examples analyzed (only 26, when the mosaics 'à décor multiple', which are different and need to be treated separately, are excluded).⁴¹ In an effort to put this and a second shield mosaic (no. 21) from Benghazi into perspective, an attempt is made below at a discussion based on a much larger number of examples. Approximately 115 examples have been collected — a number that, although not in any way claimed to be complete, is large enough to allow some conclusions to be drawn.⁴² Only shields made of rings of roughly isosceles, curvilinear triangles, the axis of which shifts from one ring to the next, have been taken into consideration. Shields where the isosceles triangles are set on the same axis and shields of reduced size filling the compartments of mosaics 'à décor multiple' are omitted. Large or small shields in *opus sectile* are also excluded, as are shields made of differently shaped triangles, ogives and other shapes (scales, squares, etc.). What can be deduced from the examples collected here is that the zone richest in shield mosaics is Italy, followed very closely by Greece, especially in the Christian period when the fashion in Italy had died out. Other zones in the Mediterranean (e.g. Spain and Syria) also made frequent use of the design and it was not unknown in the northern provinces. There, however, most examples come from floors 'à décor multiple' which belong to a different development of the pattern.⁴³ Rather surprisingly, North Africa is extremely poor in shield mosaics.

The earliest examples so far found come from Pompeii and, as has already been mentioned, one of them shows that the idea of combining the design with a Medusa head was already fully developed there.⁴⁴ The design was particularly popular during the 1st century AD in Italy, especially in the northern part of the peninsula.⁴⁵ It was also used by this early date in Spain⁴⁶ and France⁴⁷ and had made a rare appearance in Cyrenaica,⁴⁸ but its alleged presence in 1st-century Greece seems unlikely on the hitherto available evidence.⁴⁹

It is, however, in the 2nd and, almost to the same degree, in the 3rd century that the design was at its most popular — again mostly in Italy⁵⁰ but now also Greece.⁵¹ This is, in fact, the period during which the shield design had its widest distribution, and it is found not only in Spain (and Portugal)⁵² and France,⁵³ but also, sporadically, in Germany,⁵⁴ Austria,⁵⁵ Switzerland,⁵⁶ Hungary⁵⁷ and Albania.⁵⁸ It also appears further east, e.g. at Pergamon⁵⁹ and Antioch,⁶⁰ and also occasionally in North Africa, where there are examples in Egypt,⁶¹ the two examples from Berenice published here (nos 3 and 21), Tripolitania,⁶² Tunisia⁶³ and Algeria.⁶⁴

In the 4th century the fashion changed. The design was less frequently used in Italy⁶⁵ and most other places, but there are, from then on, a few examples from such areas as Asia Minor,⁶⁶ and even Albania⁶⁷ and Tripolitania.⁶⁸ By contrast, the situation in Greece⁶⁹ and the East⁷⁰ is very different, since the pattern was adopted for church decoration, something that gave it a new lease of life. The design was also adopted by the Umayyads as the splendid, multicoloured example from the baths at Khirbat al-Mafjar, near Jericho, dating to the second quarter of the 8th century, shows.⁷¹

As has already been said, the above survey is not complete. It is, however, useful in showing the dispersal of the design in the period from the 1st to the 6th century AD. Moreover, by looking at these examples as one large group, one can arrive at the following general conclusions. The largest number of shield mosaics are in black and white. The use of bright colours in rendering the triangles, as has been observed, was probably originally exploited in order to enhance the sense of giddiness produced by the central Medusa head. This, of course, is found abundantly from then on, even when a central Medusa head is not present. The use of colour is again no indication of any specific trend or date, as it appears side by side with the black and white version throughout the period under examination. It has to be admitted, however, that Italy and regions like Spain, which were under her direct influence, adhered more closely to the black and white Italian tradition (with colour sometimes used for the medallions and the corner motifs only), while Greece and the East continued the Hellenistic tradition of polychromy (without, as with so many other patterns, excluding the use of the black and white version).⁷²

An examination of the above examples has shown that in the vast majority of cases the black (or dark, in the case of polychrome floors) triangles point towards the outside, while only a small percentage have them pointing inwards.⁷³ Since the mosaics comprising this last group come from a variety of sites and are of different dates, this change in the direction of the triangles cannot be an indication of a different intention or date — although it should be mentioned that the phenomenon seems to be more common during the Early Christian period.

When the triangular spaces formed between the shield and the framing square are examined, it is found that from the beginning the commonest way of decorating them was with stylized vegetal or floral designs. The next most common motif is that of a vessel from which issue tendrils that fill the tapering edges of the triangles. Although tendrils are seen in early examples, it is only during the 2nd century (and the early 3rd) that they became closely associated with craters and *kantharoi*,⁷⁴ a tradition that carried on later in Christian examples.⁷⁵ Human figures are not used for decorating these spandrels except in two examples, one with winged busts of the four Seasons, in the Villa Dionysos in Knossos,⁷⁶ and another, again with busts of the Seasons, from Carmona.⁷⁷ Marine fauna, real or

fantastic, is, on the other hand, common: at Ptolemais there is a stylized octopus,⁷⁸ at Ampurias, a dolphin (and a steer),⁷⁹ at Badalona, dolphins and a squid,⁸⁰ and at Mytilene, sea monsters and Tritons.⁸¹ Parrots decorate the mosaic from the house named after them in Athens,⁸² and birds in foliage the large house from Via Emanuele Filiberto in Rome.⁸³ Amongst inanimate objects, the cornucopia is used at Alexandria,⁸⁴ while the pelta is found, either stylized, as in the mosaics from Cividale del Friuli (Piazza Giulio Cesare),⁸⁵ Argos (where it is associated with foliage),⁸⁶ Fano⁸⁷ and Szombathely,⁸⁸ or rendered realistically, as in the mosaic from Patrai, where it is paired with *pelekeis*.⁸⁹ It is the stylized vegetal decoration, however, that predominated throughout the six centuries under examination.

A survey of the motifs filling the central medallions leads to some further interesting conclusions. Unfortunately, the central medallions of many examples are destroyed, but even with those that remain it is immediately apparent that the vast majority are decorated with a rosette of one form or another.⁹⁰

Other single geometric motifs are used indiscriminately, as for example the Solomon knot at Delphi and Mérida (Prolongación Pedro Ma. Plano);⁹¹ the octagonal star at Mérida (Solar de los Blancos) and the two examples from Reims;⁹² the pelta in the mosaics from near Piazza Giulio Cesare at Cividale del Friuli and Narbonne;⁹³ the concave square at Argos;⁹⁴ the inscribed square in Basilica C of Nea Anchialos;⁹⁵ and the umbrella motif at Settecami.⁹⁶ Plain centres are also known from, amongst other places, Alexandria, Badalona, Apamea and Demetrias (Basilica B).⁹⁷

The examination of the medallions with figured decoration leads to more interesting observations. Not surprisingly the commonest theme is that of the Medusa head, of which there are several examples, mostly early and mainly from Italy, Greece and Asia Minor.⁹⁸ Other subjects include a bust with Dionysiac attributes that allegedly decorated the now destroyed medallion of the shield from the House of the Parrots' mosaic in Athens;⁹⁹ a Dionysiac bust (Dionysos or Nereid) in a mosaic from the *Cellae vinariae Nova et Arruntiana* in Rome;¹⁰⁰ the bust of Sol at Póvoa de Cós;¹⁰¹ the full figure of Sol at Benghazi (no. 21); the personification of Africa in an example from Catania;¹⁰² the galloping Pegasus from Gubbio;¹⁰³ the eagle and the thunderbolt of Zeus at Constantine;¹⁰⁴ an eagle and a laurel wreath at Flavia Solva;¹⁰⁵ a bird in a cage at Carthage;¹⁰⁶ and a lyre, framed by consoles in perspective supporting swans flapping their wings, at Piacenza.¹⁰⁷ Finally, the medallion of the Basilica at Klapsi and the half medallion at Baláca are decorated with ordinary birds.¹⁰⁸

As has already been said, although several of these subjects might support the idea of a cupola with its *oculus* opening onto the sky, against which the Pegasus, an eagle, Sol etc. can be seen flying, this is no proof that the design derives from the decoration of domes. Besides, if that were the case, one would expect to find more depictions of mythological scenes, involving one or more figures, taking place in mid-air. Instead, one finds rather emblem-like themes of a type that would more fittingly decorate the boss of a shield.

Summing up, it can be said that the design of the shield of curvilinear triangles made its first appearance in Italy. During the 1st century AD it remained popular there but was not commonly used elsewhere. The 2nd and, to a lesser extent, the 3rd centuries made great use of the design, and it was during these centuries that it spread over a much wider area. This is the period to which the largest known examples of shield mosaics date, as well as most shield mosaics with a figured central medallion.

With regard to the decoration of the central medallion, it can be said that the Medusa head appears in one of the earliest surviving examples,¹⁰⁹ and was used regularly through to the late 2nd/3rd century.¹¹⁰ The fashion for shield mosaics decorated with a central figured scene appears to have first developed in Italy where all the known 1st-century examples are found.¹¹¹ In the 2nd century figured central medallions became more popular and occur not only in Italy¹¹² but also in Greece,¹¹³ Asia Minor,¹¹⁴ Syria¹¹⁵ and Algeria.¹¹⁶ All these medallions, incidentally, are polychrome except for three from Italy.¹¹⁷ It seems that the fashion for figured medallions virtually died away in the 3rd century, although there are occasional, much later examples, like the 6th-century one at Klapsi decorated with a bird.¹¹⁸

Returning to the mosaic from Benghazi, it is to be noted that the suggested late 1st/early 2nd century date is in accordance with the observations made above. The large number of rings of triangles (sixteen) is not unusual in this period,¹¹⁹ nor is the use of *kantharoi* with stylized vegetal decoration in the spandrels.¹²⁰

No other shield mosaic with a central stone or marble tondo instead of a mosaic medallion has been found, but it has already been observed that stone slabs did form the focal point of floors of different designs, and also that plain, undecorated central medallions were not unknown in the late 1st/early 2nd century AD.¹²¹

Parallels at Benghazi

For the checkerboard of black and white triangles, see mosaic **no. 22** in Building W. For black and white *kantharoi*, see mosaic **no. 21** from House P 3; and for another shield of curvilinear triangles, see mosaic **no. 21** from House P 3.

Date

Comparisons with mosaics both from other sites and from Benghazi itself (see below), show that the choice of patterns and the mode of their employment, as well as the general style of the mosaic, point to a date in the late 1st, or, more likely, the early 2nd century AD.

Deposit 62 from Room 5 dated the construction of the house to the third quarter of the 1st century, while Deposit 82 from the fill of cistern 2 dated its abandonment to the early 3rd century.¹²² It is also known that in the 2nd century¹²³ the house ceased to be a purely domestic establishment and part of it was opened to the public as a sort of 'hotel'. It was during this short-lived period that its frescoes were defaced by numerous *graffiti*. It would appear that the wall decoration was executed at some point between the late 1st century and the first half of the 2nd century AD. The freshness of the frescoes implies that they were painted only a short time before the change of function of the building. The fact that the wall plaster fragments surviving *in situ* continued downwards below the level of the mosaic, shows that the floor was laid later. It is impossible to know exactly when this happened but it seems unlikely that the mosaic decoration was added after the house was converted.

No. 4: Tesserae from Room 8 (5.60 × 10.20 m), North Wing of House H

Quantities of loose tesserae found in the south-east corner of the room indicate that it may once have had a mosaic floor. Had such a floor existed, its traces were obliterated by a later stone floor and a stone-built structure.

Excavated in 1971. Stored in the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice 1, 92.

Technical Data*Materials*

Both soft porous and hard compact black and white stone tesserae.

Tesserae

Two types: 0.5–1 cm² and 1–1.5 cm².

Date

Unknown.

Insula II

BUILDING L 3 (Fig. 10). Mosaic no. 5

Little is known about this building as its northern and eastern parts were completely erased by the bulldozer. It would appear that originally this was a house of the courtyard type common at Benghazi, where a single range of rooms was arranged around a courtyard with a cistern. In the early 3rd century it was rebuilt and probably two separate buildings were made out of it. At this time the cistern was filled with earth, and its capstones and surrounding area were covered by a thin layer of soil onto which the mosaic was laid. The fact that a newly constructed wall bounded this area along the south indicates that it was now a room and not an open courtyard as it had been in the earlier building. A pre-existing, reused wall defines the western limit of the room.

The new building was short-lived as all occupation in the area had ceased by the mid 3rd century AD.¹²⁴

No. 5. Geometric Mosaic in the Northern Room (dimensions unknown but well over 9 × 4.15 m) of Building L 3 (Figs 10–12)

Excavated between February and May 1972.

At the time of discovery the eastern and northern limits of the mosaic as well as a roundish patch and most of the edge along the west were already destroyed. It is, therefore, impossible to estimate the original size of the mosaic. The maximum dimensions of the preserved area are c. 9 × 4.15 m, including the surrounds. The width of the decorated area alone is c. 3.67 m, but it is likely that it was originally c. 4.44 m (see below). The surface of the floor as a whole was rather distorted towards the north-west. This was probably due to the shifting of the capstones of the underlying cistern.

Lifted onto large concrete slabs in 1974 by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi and stored in Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 112f.

Description

Uniform black and white field of quatrefoils separating circles with inscribed squares.

Surround

Only a small part of the western and a larger part of the southern surrounds survive. The former measures 25 cm from mosaic frame to wall. At the south, always measuring from frame to wall, it starts at 44 cm on its western and widens to 56 cm at its eastern limit. This indicates that the mosaic frame did not run parallel to the walls, or more likely that the shape of the room was irregular so that the surround had to compensate for it.

The surround consists of rows of white tesserae set parallel to the mosaic border. At the only preserved corner (on the south-west) these rows cross at right angles.

Border (total W. 16 cm)

It consists of a triple black fillet (5 cm), six rows of white tesserae (8 cm), and a double black fillet (3 cm). A row of white tesserae (1.5 cm) that may be interpreted as another single fillet separates this border from the pattern within the field.

Field

It consists of a uniform pattern of black quatrefoils separating black circles with inscribed white squares (30 × 20 cm) — a pattern not included in *Le Décor* 1985. There are fifteen circles running east-west and six running north-south, the latter, however, were probably seven in origin (see below). The squares and the spaces between them (hexagons with concave sides) are decorated with small black and white diamonds of varying sizes (6–9 cm) and types (Table 6, types 1–5). In the squares, the diamonds are set with their points towards the middle of the sides of the squares, while outside (i.e. in the curvilinear hexagons) their sides run parallel to those of the squares.

At the time of discovery, towards the west end of the field, c. 1.75 m from the southern border and 2.10 m from the western one, there were the remnants of the frame of a small panel. The corner of the frame survived, traced in a double black fillet (3 cm), but the panel itself was completely destroyed in antiquity. If one presumes that this was inserted regularly in the field pattern, then the panel can be reconstructed as having been almost square and measuring c. 65 × 75 cm.

Considering that, at the time of discovery, the area where this panel once stood was occupied by a shallow pit,¹²⁵ and that this is the only *lacuna* on the central part of the mosaic, it would, perhaps, not be too hazardous to assume that the mosaic was purposely destroyed, either to remove an *emblema* or to erase a figurative scene or an inscription.

Had such a panel existed it would have almost certainly been situated along the east-west axis of the floor. If so, the width of the decorated part of the room could reach c. 4.44 m.

Technical Data*Materials*

Black and white stone tesserae mostly of the soft variety, but with the occasional hard one.

Tesserae

1.5–2 cm², the white ones generally being the largest. They are not very regularly cut, although some were made to fit the points of the segments and the quatrefoils.

Density

About 42 per 10 cm².

Setting

Very erratic, especially as regards the circles, but on the whole the visual effect is successful.

Foundation

About 21 cm deep. *Nucleus*: White mortar mixed with small stones (c. 7 cm). *Rudus*: Fine brown earth mixed with fragments of mortar, wall plaster and pottery. These layers sit for the most part on a thin layer of soil directly on the large capstones (up to 22 cm thick) of the underlying cistern.

Comments and Discussion

All the elements of the design are outlined by one row of tesserae. The squares are then filled with parallel rows, while the curvilinear hexagons are filled with curving diagonal rows. This difference in the laying of tesserae must have been intentional as it facilitates the setting of the differently orientated diamonds in the centre of each unit.

The only irregularity on the whole mosaic expanse is a line of tesserae, definitely not part of the design, running north-south across the pattern (but not the border) and coinciding with the eastern side of the eleventh row of squares (from the west). The line is hardly perceptible since it is created by the slightly different setting of the tesserae with which it is made. Since it roughly corresponds to the underlying eastern wall of the disused cistern, it could be interpreted as marking the limit of a repair (or an extension?) of the floor. It could, however, just as easily be interpreted as the point where two different groups of mosaicists, working from either end towards the centre, met.

It has not proved possible to find exact parallels for this geometric pattern. It is not included in *Le Décor* 1985, although patterns like nos 143d and 143f are certainly related. One floor, albeit of the 4th century, has a pattern which is in many ways similar to this one. It comes from the Domus delle Colonne at Ostia and shows quatrefoils separating circles containing concave squares.¹²⁶ Three later examples are also somewhat related. They all come from Greece: one from the Basilica at Anthedon, another from Basilica D of Nea Anchialos and the third from the Basilica of Trikala.¹²⁷ All three date from the middle or the second half of the 5th century. Although very ornate and colourful, the basic, underlying structure of the pattern of quatrefoils separating circles is easily discernible. Nevertheless, these floors are quite removed from the Benghazi example and are mentioned here only because no better parallels have been found.

Parallels at Benghazi

Diamond motifs are very common at Benghazi (see Table 6). It should be noted, however, that types 2 and 5 are unique to this floor.

Date

The mosaic belongs to the second phase of Building L 3. The pottery found in the disused cistern sealed underneath it (Deposit 86) provides a *terminus post quem* in the early 3rd century AD for the laying of the mosaic.¹²⁸ The fact that the building was completely abandoned in the mid 3rd century excludes the possibility of a later date.

Insula IV

HOUSE R 3 (FIG. 13). Mosaics Nos 6–8

The plan of the house is incomplete since only its north-east corner was investigated. It would appear to have been a fairly luxurious house consisting of a central peristyle court with a number of rooms grouped around it. It was decorated with painted wall plaster, and the portico of the peristyle, as well as two rooms on the north side, had mosaic floors.

The building in its present form dates to the early 3rd century, although its initial layout may go back to the early 1st century AD. Unlike the neighbouring buildings, it was occupied, having undergone several repairs and alterations, until the mid 4th, and perhaps even into the 5th century AD. The long period of use is born out by the worn state of the mosaics.¹²⁹

No. 6. Geometric Mosaic in the Portico of House R 3 (Figs 13–15)

Excavated in 1973.

Only a small part of the mosaic of the eastern Portico survives. It shows part of the field with its western border. Beyond the border there is an area of white which, because of the way the tesserae are laid, can be identified as the surround. Therefore, the short length of black fillet surviving in the northernmost part of the fragment, at a point further west than this surround, cannot belong to this panel but is, almost certainly, the eastern frame of another panel, probably with the same or a similar geometric pattern, that once decorated the northern Portico. The portico was 2 m wide on the east, and 2.50 m on the north. The surviving mosaic fragment measures approximately 5.50 × 1.20 m.

Lifted during the summer of 1974 by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi and stored in Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 133f.

Michaelides 1988, 365, pl. VII:2.

Description

Black and white field of a uniform pattern of octagons separated by squares.

Surround

Only part of the surround on the west survives. It shows two rows of white, set parallel to the frame. The rest are set at right angles to it.

Border

Double black fillet (3 cm).

Field

A simple pattern of large octagons separated by small squares traced out in a double black fillet (3 cm) (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 163a: 'Outlined orthogonal pattern of adjacent octagons (forming squares)'). Each octagon has a simple diamond (Table 6, type 1) in its centre, the squares are plain.

Technical Data

Materials

Soft porous black and white stone tesserae.

Tesserae

1.5–2 cm². Rather crudely cut.

Density

36 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

Even though the tesserae are not particularly well cut, they are set rather carefully. The pattern is of extreme simplicity.

Foundation

Measurements were not taken at the time of lifting. *Nucleus*: Pinkish plaster. *Rudus*: Reddish mortar mixed with small stones. *Statumen*: Rough stones mixed with mortar.

Comments and Discussion

A straightforward design of an obvious utilitarian function. Its simple structure lends itself to a variety of interpretations and embellishments. At Pompeii (Houses IX,viii,6 and VIII,ii,1)¹³⁰ and on a fragment from the region of the Atrium Vestae in Rome,¹³¹ there are variants of the pattern. Floral elements are introduced into it in many different ways throughout the Roman Empire. In Italy it is found at Ostia,¹³² in France at Reims, Soissons¹³³ and Anthée,¹³⁴ in Spain at Mérida,¹³⁵ in Libya itself at Cyrene.¹³⁶ The pattern is at times so expanded and developed as to include not only complicated borders but also figurative scenes, as at Oberweis and Trier in Germany.¹³⁷ A fairly plain version is found in the Kladeos Baths at Olympia,¹³⁸ and a squashed version of the plain variety is found in the *Insula del Bacco Fanciullo* of c. AD 128–138 at Ostia.¹³⁹ More significantly, in Cyrenaica an example is found in the *Insula* of Jason Magnus at Cyrene,¹⁴⁰ while no less than three examples of the plain variety similar to the Benghazi version are known from Ptolemais: the mosaic decorating the north Portico of the Villa is identical except that the half-octagons there are decorated, while the Benghazi ones are plain.¹⁴¹ The fact that at Ptolemais too the pattern decorates a portico is no mere coincidence. The utilitarian nature of the pattern is proven by its reappearance on the outside field of the banquet hall in the same villa.¹⁴² The third example from Ptolemais comes from the 'Public Building', where the pattern is even simpler and the octagons are completely plain.¹⁴³ Considering how similar in this and other respects these examples are to the Benghazi floors, it is surprising that they have been dated to the 1st century AD.

Parallels at Benghazi

None.

Date

A fragment of an Ostia VI amphora¹⁴⁴ from below the floor suggests a date similar to that of Rooms 5 and 6 (see below) which can be more securely dated to the early 3rd century AD.

No. 7. Nereid Mosaic from Room 5 (c. 6.70 × 5.50 m) of House R 3 (Figs 16–20)

Excavated between May and July 1971.

When brought to light, the mosaic was found to be in a rather poor state of preservation, the central panel having already been practically destroyed. It later suffered more damage before and during lifting. In many areas the tesserae were loose and the surface was generally very uneven, especially where there were underlying earlier walls. The mosaic must have been in use for a fairly long period since it underwent at least two ancient restorations. In one instance, small areas of the geometric design were remade in tesserae of a different tonality. In the other, large areas were crudely patched with mortar. Much of this has now been obscured by modern concrete. The surface had several pit-holes and areas stained from burning. The edges of the mosaic were destroyed all around, clearly as a result of stone looting.

The decorated surface measures c. 6.30 × 5.00 m.

Lifted during the summer of 1974 by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi and stored in Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 128 and n. 1, 134, pl. Xb.
 Michaelides 1988, 360f., pl. IIIb.

Description

Black and white geometric mosaic with a central multicoloured *pseudo-emblema* depicting a Nereid riding a sea creature.

Surround

Nothing is preserved on the northern and southern sides. Only a maximum of 5 cm (three rows) survives on the east, and 12 cm (eight rows) on the west, but neither could have been much wider. The surround is white with the rows of tesserae set parallel to the frame.

Border (total W. 15 cm)

A triple black fillet (5 cm), five rows of white (7 cm) and a double black fillet frame the field.

Field

Uniform grid of double rows of small black tangent poised squares crossing at every fourth pair. The resulting spaces are filled with larger squares outlined in black and decorated by a small central black square (*Le Décor* 1985, variation of no. 133c: 'Grid of rows of tangent poised squares...forming stepped compartments, containing a large inscribed poised square, forming T's'). There are four rows of large squares on the north and west, three on the south, and five on the east. This, of course, means that the rectangular panel is off-centre and closer to the south-west corner, something that may have been conditioned by the position of the entrance into the room.

Panel Frames

There is a rather elaborate set of frames, 24.5 cm wide, made of the following seven components: a) a double black fillet (2.5 cm); b) a band of black and white crow-step (7 cm) (Table 4, type 2); c) a double white fillet (2.5 cm); d) a single black fillet (1.5 cm); e) a band of black ogives (6 cm) (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 49h: (Bichrome) row of juxtaposed tangent ogives, forming thorns (the colours counter-changed)); f) a double white fillet (2.5 cm); and g) a double black fillet (2.5 cm).

The Central Panel (approx. 1.48 × 0.99 m)

Unfortunately this is the worst preserved part of the mosaic. At the time of discovery (Fig. 18) it was in a slightly better condition than when examined by the author a short while later (Fig. 19). By this time it was reduced to six unconnected fragments. Close examination of these fragments before the lifting of the mosaic, aided by the photograph taken at the time of discovery, has led to the identification of the subject represented: a Nereid seated on the back of a whiskered beast riding the waves (see tentative reconstruction in Fig. 20). The six fragments are:

- Fragment a (north-east corner). Plain white background (max. 14 × 10 cm).
- Fragment b (northern edge). Plain white background (20 × 3.5 cm).
- Fragment c (southern edge). Plain white background (3.5 × 6.5 cm) — but note that the photograph shows that it used to join both fragment d and fragment e.
- Fragment d (south-east corner). Plain white background (17 × 11 cm) with one grey and one green tessera towards the centre (see fragment e) below.
- Fragment e (western side). This is the largest and most informative fragment. It is preserved for the whole of the height of the panel along the western side (99 cm) and at its narrowest measures 19 cm; at its widest it reaches 60 cm. It shows a plain white background set in straight vertical and horizontal rows (vertical above and horizontal below the figure). Against this, in the lower left-hand corner a small part of the chest and the two front legs of a galloping animal can be made out. Both legs have two flapping ribbon-like fins just above the hoof. The space between the legs is filled with schematized zigzag waves. The waves stand in mid-air and extend only as far as is necessary to form a background to the legs. The legs are practically destroyed (especially the lower one) but what survives indicates that they were both rendered in ochre yellow and very pale yellowish white. They are outlined in orange brown (glass) and both hooves and fins are salmon orange. The surviving part of the chest is made of tesserae of *cipollino* and grey veined marble, with the occasional dot of salmon pink. It is outlined by one row of black and there is an intermediary zone of salmon orange. On the photograph taken at the time of discovery (Fig. 18) the colours in this small area seem to form circular patches like the markings of a leopard. The waves are of grey veined marble tesserae, with a few of *cipollino*, especially near the legs. They have highlighted crests of black tesserae. The waves are depicted as zigzag lines against the plain white background which here,

instead of being laid in regular lines, follows the outlines of the waves. The photograph shows these waves continuing on fragment c and there is little doubt that the two coloured tesserae (the photograph shows more) surviving in fragment d are the easternmost tip of these lines of waves. In the upper part of the same fragment there is an upward pointing, horn-like projection made of two lines of tesserae, a black one, and a slightly longer one of salmon orange (glass). There is a much smaller projection (in the same colours) to its left, and a few tesserae (one maroon and two ochre yellow) to its right. In the zone between the 'horn' and the upper leg, there are three pointed black projections (Fig. 18 shows that more were once preserved), this time pointing downwards.

- Fragment f (lower centre). In the restored panel this fragment (24 × 25 cm) floats near the lower centre. However, Fig. 18 shows that its original position was slightly lower. Its largest area is made of wavy rows of white tesserae dotted here and there with black. A tongue-like shape projecting from under this area is much more richly coloured. It has both horizontal and vertical lines of black tesserae, one vertical line of white and dispersed tesserae of turquoise (glass), salmon pink and reddish maroon (glass). Considering the various elements preserved on the other surviving fragments, and the position of this particular one, what is represented can be interpreted as the lower part of a Nereid riding side-saddle on the beast. She is wearing a white dress sprinkled with black dots. The brightly coloured group of tesserae lower down must no doubt be her foot, while a small, similarly coloured area (now destroyed), higher up and immediately to the right of this fragment, must have been her other foot. It should be noted that some of the coloured tesserae may indicate that the Nereid wore sandals. The beast was obviously a member of the marine *thiasos* and probably had a fairly long fish tail of which nothing survives. The reconstruction drawing (Fig. 20) shows the beast with an animal head but a human head cannot be excluded. In the latter case it would be turning to the right, i.e. towards the centre of the panel, and the projections surviving on the left would be his long horn and whiskers.

Technical Data

Materials

The tesserae of the surround and all the geometric elements are of hard black and white stones. In the panel, the white, salmon pink, orange brown, maroon and ochre yellow are also of stone, while the light greys and greens are of grey veined (probably Proconnesian) marble and *cipollino* respectively. The turquoise, salmon orange and reddish maroon tesserae are made of glass. For the results of the analyses of a few tesserae, see 'Notes for the Reader' no. 4.

Tesserae

The black and white tesserae from the surround down to the last frame of the panel measure 1–1.5 cm², the white ones being slightly larger. Within the panel the white tesserae of the background measure 0.5–1 cm. The coloured ones are usually smaller but often reach 1.5 cm².

Density

About 70 per 10 cm² in the geometric design, c. 143 per 10 cm² in the panel background. No fragment of the figured composition was sufficiently large to allow the tessera density to be measured.

Setting

The rectilinear geometric pattern was laid in straightforward parallel rows of tesserae running obliquely to the frame. Within the panel it seems that one or two rows of white tesserae outlined part of the figure, while the rest of the ground was set in regular horizontal and vertical rows.

Foundation

Not examined at the time of lifting.

Comments and Discussion

Despite the elaborate figurative panel, the geometric pattern of this mosaic appears to have been rather untidily executed. However, a great deal of this effect is certainly to be attributed to the poor condition in which the mosaic survives, as well as to the careless ancient restorations.

The panel was oriented towards the south, which might imply an entrance off the northern Portico. Its relation to such an entrance might also have something to do with the fact that it is not situated in the centre of the room but is closer to the south-west corner. A miscalculation on the part of the mosaicist should not be excluded, however, especially since the panel is awkwardly inserted in the field, and has a double row of black squares on the west but only a single one on the east.

The function of this room is definitely associated with that of the adjacent room, decorated with a much plainer mosaic (no. 8). For a discussion of the coupling of a room with figured panels with one with plain geometric decoration, see Chapter V.

The grid of paired rows of small squares is not included in *Le Décor* 1985, and it has proved impossible to find another floor with the same design. There can be little doubt, however, that this is a simple variation of the grid formed by single rows of squares (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 133c), and that the history of the two must be related.¹⁴⁵ This pattern appears to have originated in Italy around the Augustan period, but outside Italy it does not seem to have established itself until the 2nd century AD. During the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, the pattern was used extensively in many different parts of the Roman world, while during the 4th century it seems to have fallen out of favour. It is surprising that although the pattern was used very widely, the variety of motifs decorating the squares inside the grid remained more or less standard throughout. Two examples at Pompeii¹⁴⁶ already contain motifs representing practically the full repertory, to which little was added in later times. The most common motif was the Solomon knot, followed closely by the diagonally inscribed, curvilinear square and the quatrefoil. Plain versions are known too,¹⁴⁷ and there is also one example where a smaller square is enclosed, which is quite similar to the Benghazi mosaic.¹⁴⁸

The band of ogives of the type found in Benghazi is a pattern that, surprisingly, had a rather limited circulation. According to Blake (speaking of bands of triangles in the 2nd century), 'Towards the end of the century these motives also become curvilinear in two sides, but with a convex rather than a concave curve'.¹⁴⁹ Her two examples are a mosaic from a tomb on the Via Portuensis and another found near the Church of S. Stefano Rotondo in Rome.¹⁵⁰ With Becatti's dating of the Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna to AD 120-130, however, the appearance of the motif may have to be shifted to a little earlier in the century.¹⁵¹

The similarity between a band of ogives formed by triangles with two convex sides and a band of intersecting semicircles forming ogives separated by small wedge-shaped elements or thorns has led to a lot of confusion. Blake, although never actually stating it, had in fact noticed the difference between the two. This is evident from the fact that in the above-mentioned passage she attributes the 'invention' of the ogive to the end of the 2nd century, while on the previous page she dates the controversial mosaic from Stabiae (known from a drawing by Gell),¹⁵² to the 1st century. The latter mosaic has a decorated border of what has often been called a band of ogives. It is, however, a band of intersecting semicircles which form a design that, although very similar to the Benghazi pattern, is of a different origin and has a different tradition. It is in fact found in much earlier examples, such as the Fountain of the Casa dell'Orso at Pompeii.¹⁵³ It had a fairly wide distribution and was used in many variations, some very ornate and polychrome, in different parts of the Roman Empire. Its popularity reached its zenith in the 2nd and 3rd centuries (especially in North Africa), and many adaptations, both chromatic and linear, were devised at that period.

When one turns to the Benghazi version of the band of ogives (the one formed by convex-sided triangles), one finds a very different situation. The earliest examples again come from Italy, like the mosaic from the Caseggiato di Bacco e Arianna at Ostia, of c. AD 120-130.¹⁵⁴ There are also at least two 2nd-century examples in Rome,¹⁵⁵ but the only other Italian example found is much later (late 3rd/early 4th century) and comes from the Edificio degli Augustali at Ostia.¹⁵⁶ The pattern is also poorly represented in the rest of Europe. With the exception of Switzerland, which has four late 2nd/early 3rd century examples,¹⁵⁷ few but widely distributed representatives (all of the 3rd century) have been found in Germany,¹⁵⁸ Hungary,¹⁵⁹ Albania¹⁶⁰ and Spain which closes the series with a late 3rd/early 4th century example.¹⁶¹ Interestingly, the Villa Dionysos at Knossos, the mosaics of which have many similarities with those of Benghazi, offers an early 2nd-century example, identical to that framing the Nereid mosaic at Sidi Khrebish, except that the colours there are reversed.¹⁶² In North Africa, where the bands of ogives formed by intersecting circles were abundantly used, the Benghazi type of ogive is poorly represented. Examples outside Tunisia¹⁶³ have not been found, but this may depend on the fact that Tunisian mosaics are more widely published than those of other North African regions.

In summary, the band of ogives formed by convex triangles never enjoyed the popularity of the band of ogives formed by intersecting circles. It would appear that this type made its first appearance in Italy in the early part of the 2nd century, and in Africa later in the same century. The probably late Antonine example from Knossos, though, is perhaps a warning that further study of the Greek examples may give a different picture. During the course of the 3rd century it remained in use in Europe and to a much lesser degree in North Africa. The European versions remained more or less of the standard black and white type, as first seen at Ostia, while the African ones became much more elaborate both in design and colour. In this respect the mosaic of Benghazi, which dates from the early 3rd century, fits the pattern, and is particularly interesting in showing that Cyrenaica, unlike the rest of North Africa, kept closer contacts with trends in Italy and the European provinces.

Unfortunately the most interesting part of the floor, the central panel, is almost completely ruined. Nereids riding sea monsters were one of the most common representations in ancient art and were particularly favoured by mosaicists.¹⁶⁴ The clearest feature of the Benghazi panel, as it now survives,

is the rendering of the sea in continuous zigzag lines, and the differentiation of the sky area from the sea by differently laid tesserae. It would seem that the mere fact that the sea is represented at all would exclude a date prior to the early 2nd century.¹⁶⁵ Not enough is known, however, of the different ways of representing the sea to enable one to arrive at a closer date.

The monster represented is not identifiable since the face does not survive. The fins just above the beast's hooves are a common feature of hippocamps and other members of the marine *thiasos*.¹⁶⁶ The spotted chest and whiskers might indicate a sea-leopard, a fairly common member of this group.¹⁶⁷ The front legs with their hooves, however, are certainly not those of a feline. They do not appear to be those of a bovine either, something that excludes this from being a depiction of Europa and the Bull — a scene that has many elements in common with Nereid representations. The hooves are in fact equine and the beast must have had a horse's forequarters, very much like the hippocamps from Cos¹⁶⁸ and Ephesos,¹⁶⁹ and above all from the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene, where the beast's whiskers/horns are very similar to what survives on the Benghazi fragment.¹⁷⁰ On the other hand, as already mentioned, one cannot exclude that the monster may have had a human head. In this case it would have been a sea centaur, a figure frequently represented in ancient art.¹⁷¹

Of the figure of the Nereid hardly anything survives save the lower part of her dress and probably her feet, which appear to be sandalled. Sandals might appear out of place in a scene that takes place in the sea, but their presence is attested on other representations,¹⁷² best of all on mosaic **no. 34** from Benghazi itself.

The two similar representations from the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene¹⁷³ cannot, unfortunately, help further with the reconstruction of this panel. Fig. 20 is based primarily on the surviving fragment. Some parts have been reintegrated from what is visible on the early photograph (Fig. 18), the rest is conjecture.

Parallels at Benghazi

Another panel with a Nereid riding a sea monster features in the centre of mosaic **no. 34**.

For the crow-step, see Table 4.

Date

The preceding stylistic analysis leads to the following conclusions. The complexity of the reticulate of squares would indicate a possible 3rd-century date. The simplicity of the band of ogives, seen in the context of Italy and Europe, also indicates an early 3rd-century date, a period during which the pattern was at its most popular there.

The study of the stratified material related to this floor is much more conclusive. The pottery and lamps from Deposit 88, sealed underneath the mosaic, date it to the early 3rd century AD.¹⁷⁴

No. 8. Geometric Mosaic from Room 6 (c. 6.70 × max. surv. c. 3 m) of House R 3 (Figs 21–23)

Excavated between May and July 1971.

The mosaic lies immediately north of mosaic **no. 7**. When discovered it was in an extremely poor condition and considerable parts of it had been extensively patched with mortar in antiquity. Unlike its neighbour it had not been restored with tesserae, and the mortar patching here was much more extensive. The long northern side of the mosaic was already completely destroyed by a large pit dug almost entirely through the mortar patching. The width of the room cannot be established, but it seems to have been greater than the surviving c. 3 m extent of the mosaic.

Lifted in August 1974 by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi and stored in Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 128 and n. 1, 134.

Michaelides 1988, 365, pl. VIII.

Description

A field of a uniform black and white pattern of meanders separating small squares.

Surround

On the south only two rows (4 cm) of white tesserae survive, while on the east and west there are ten (14.5 cm) and twelve rows (18 cm) respectively. What survives shows that the tesserae were laid in regular rows parallel to the frame of the panel.

Border (total W. 13.5 cm)

Triple black fillet (4.5 cm), four rows of white (6 cm) and a double black fillet (3 cm).

Field

Uniform pattern of meanders forming swastikas separating square frames decorated with a tiny central square (*Le Décor* 1985, variation of no. 190a: 'Orthogonal pattern of spaced swastika-meander with single returns in double fillets, the spaces staggered and containing a square'). All the decorative elements and the gaps between them are traced in double fillets (3 cm wide), and the small central squares measure 3 cm².

Technical Data*Materials*

Black and white stone tesserae.

Tesserae

They all measure 1.5–2 cm² and are rather irregularly cut.

Density

About 45 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

The tesserae are rather irregularly laid but the pattern is undemanding and the desired effect is fully achieved.

Foundation

Not examined at the time of lifting.

Comments and Discussion

A straightforward rectilinear pattern not much affected by the irregularity of the tesserae. The meander is one of the oldest and most durable patterns of the classical repertory. Its nature is such that it can form a vast variety of designs, from the simplest to the most complex, the majority of which appear right at the beginning of the history of floor mosaics.¹⁷⁵ In its early manifestations it is employed mostly as a border, and by the late 2nd/early 1st centuries BC is found at Delos.¹⁷⁶ There it is used in a variety of ways including one that was always to remain popular: rows of meanders separating squares.¹⁷⁷ This particular form, in which the squares could be filled with different motifs, was extensively used at Pompeii¹⁷⁸ and Rome.¹⁷⁹ The meander separating squares is also used early on as an all-over design. At Morgantina, for example, the pattern is found treated both three-dimensionally and linearly, the former in *tessellatum*, the latter in *cocciopesto*.¹⁸⁰ It is in this last form that the design enjoyed a fair degree of popularity. Examples in *cocciopesto*, where the squares are decorated with a central dot, include that from the Casa Republicana under the south façade of the Domus Augustana on the Palatine, of the 2nd century BC,¹⁸¹ and a similar one from the Casette Republicane under the Caseggiato a Pianta Basilicale at Ostia.¹⁸² But although the simple meander separating squares continued to be popular as a framing device for tessellated mosaics throughout the Roman period, its equivalent all-over pattern was hardly used — other, more complex forms of meander decoration (i.e. the latchkey varieties) being more popular. There are, however, a few examples, the earliest of which date to the 2nd century AD. They include floors from the Horrea Epagathiana and Epaphroditiana at Ostia,¹⁸³ and the Baths at Baia.¹⁸⁴ Later examples can be found in a number of places such as Bath C,¹⁸⁵ and the Kaoussie Church at Antioch.¹⁸⁶ The latter has the design diagonally set within the frame, a device found in another late mosaic from Albania.¹⁸⁷

Cyrenaica, not surprisingly, offers the closest parallels for the Benghazi mosaic, but there this type of meander is again used mostly as a frame. The simplified meander with blank squares is used twice as a border in the Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais, of the early Imperial period.¹⁸⁸ Another similar frame comes from the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene, of a late Antonine/Severan date.¹⁸⁹ This type of meander separated by 'dotted' squares is also used as an all-over pattern in the Villa at Ptolemais.¹⁹⁰ However, it must be emphasized that all, and even this last example from Ptolemais, although very similar, differ from the meander of the Benghazi floor. They are made with meanders with simple returns, which means that the swastikas turn always in the same direction. By contrast, the Benghazi

meander has staggered returns which result in each row of swastikas turning in a different direction. It has not proved possible to find an exact parallel for this meander.

For a discussion of the association of a geometric floor with a figurative one (here **no. 7**), see Chapter V.

Parallels at Benghazi

For other uses of the meander see Tables 4 and 7. The square frame decorated with a central dot is of course the same as the one that fills the reticulate of the adjacent mosaic (**no. 7**) in House R 3.

Date

As has been observed, the use of the simplified meander, employed mostly as a frame, was particularly popular in the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD.

A date after the early 3rd century is confirmed by Deposit 89, sealed beneath the mosaic.¹⁹¹ For later (5th century) accumulations on top of the mosaic see Deposit 128.¹⁹²

Insula IV

HOUSE S 1 (FIG. 24). Mosaic Nos 9–11

Only part of this building was excavated. It comprises a courtyard with a cistern, with two rooms on its north side and traces of another room on its east. The two northern rooms were decorated with mosaic floors and painted wall plaster. They probably communicated with each other and almost certainly opened onto the courtyard.

An earlier building, dating to the third quarter of the 1st century AD once stood on the site. This was completely refashioned in the early 3rd century, and it was at this time that the pavements were laid.

In 1972 a number of white tesserae and two large mosaic fragments (**nos 9a-b**) could be seen in the section under the mosaic floor of Room 1 (the westerly of the two northern rooms). It is not known whether these belonged to the earlier building or were simply part of the fill for the later floor.

It appears that this building, like its neighbours, was abandoned around AD 250.¹⁹³

Nos 9a and b: Mosaic Fragments under the Floor of Room 1. House S 1, Phase 1(?)

The two fragments projected c. 12 cm from the section. One was 34 cm and the other 23 cm long. They were both lying upside down and had a pronounced curve, probably due to the weight of the overlying soil. Only a small part of their surface could be examined. This showed parallel rows of plain white tesserae.

The section was excavated in 1972. The fragments were broken up before any further examination was possible when the overlying mosaic was lifted by the Department of Antiquities in the summer of 1974.

Technical Data

Materials

Both the loose tesserae and those of the two fragments were of hard white limestone.

Tesserae

1–1.5 cm²

Foundation

Only part of it survived. *Nucleus*: Soft white plaster (c. 1 cm). *Rudus*: Very powdery grey mortar containing sand, grit and mudbrick speckles (max. 5 cm).

Comments

The large tesserae, of the type used in the geometric floors, show that although curved these fragments do not come from a vaulted ceiling or arch.

Date

Earlier than the beginning of the 3rd century AD?

No. 10. Geometric Mosaic from Room 1 (c. 6.70 × 4.70 m) of House S 1, Phase 2 (Figs 25–27)

Excavated during June and July 1972.

The mosaic was in excellent condition except for its western side which was destroyed by the roots of a tree and the foundations of a modern building. Some Turkish graves rested directly on the mosaic surface but had not damaged it.

The decorated area of the floor is c. 3.60 m wide. Its length survives up to c. 4.20 m, but could be about 1 m longer.

Lifted in 1974 by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi and stored in Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 135ff., pl. Xc (top left corner).
Michaelides 1988, 360, pl. II:2.

Description

A field decorated with black running peltae against a white background.

Surround

The masonry of all four walls of the room was robbed in antiquity. This means that the full extent of the surround is not known. On the north there survive eighteen rows of white tesserae (26 cm), on the south 24 rows (36 cm) and on the east 33 rows (59 cm). Nothing survives on the west.

The tesserae are laid in straight regular rows running parallel to the sides of the field. The one surviving corner shows them meeting at right angles along a diagonal line. This surround and that of the neighbouring mosaic (**no. 11**) were set with unusual care.

Border (total width: 13.4 cm)

It consists of a triple black fillet (4 cm), a band of five rows of white tesserae (7 cm) and a double black fillet (c. 2.5 cm).

Field

Uniform pattern of black running peltae against a white background (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 222d: 'Orthogonal pattern of tangent peltae in alternating upright and recumbent confronted pairs ('running-pelta pattern'), the colour counterchanged, forming cordiform interspaces'). The tips of every four peltae touch a different side of a single white tessera.

Technical Data*Materials*

Ordinary black and white stone tesserae. A few black ones are of a paler variety.

Tesserae

They all measure 1–1.5 cm² and are rather well cut. Small pointed tesserae are used for the tips of the peltae.

Density

About 49 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

The tesserae are carefully set. It appears that each pelta was set in outline first and then filled in with regular curved rows of tesserae. The white background follows the outline with one row and the rest is again filled with regular curved rows.

Foundation

Not examined at the time of lifting.

Discussion

The pelta, the Scythian shield characteristic of Amazon representations, first appears as a decorative element in mosaics of the time of Augustus when, according to Blake, it became instantly ubiquitous.¹⁹⁴ Initially peltae were used, paired in different ways, to form elongated strips of design used for thresholds or borders of pavements,¹⁹⁵ but by the end of the 1st century the full potentialities of the pattern were realized. The arrangement of four peltae, paired and alternated, in order to fill oblong spaces seems to have been developed in the 1st century¹⁹⁶ and continued in the 2nd.¹⁹⁷ A natural development of this arrangement was its expansion into an all-over pattern. In the late 1st century it is already used in this way in a rather elaborate version in the Kladeos Baths at Olympia.¹⁹⁸ Another fairly early example of a field of peltae, this time in black and white as in Benghazi, is found at Este.¹⁹⁹ The popularity of the pelta, used in this or many other ways, was at its highest during the 2nd and 3rd centuries, after which it suffered a decline. It continued, however, to be widely used right through the Middle Ages.²⁰⁰ A field of peltae identical to the floor under discussion is found in the Public Building at Ptolemais where it is dated to the 1st century AD.²⁰¹ As will be seen, however, the dating of this and other mosaics at Ptolemais is almost certainly too early (Chapter V).

Parallels at Benghazi

Alternating pairs of peltae fill the border of the *triclinium* pavement of House P 1 (mosaic **no. 16**), and a probable *triclinium* pavement, mosaic **no. 21** in House P 3, has a field of peltae identical to the one under examination here.

Date

Deposit 64 from below mosaic **no. 10** produced nothing later than the third quarter of the 1st century AD.²⁰² There is no doubt, however, that the mosaic is contemporary to its neighbour (**no. 11**), since they resemble each other both in design and materials and both overlay the Period 1 remains. The early 3rd century material from under mosaic **no. 11** then must apply to both floors. Such a date coincides with the period during which the use of peltae was most popular. In any case, the house was probably abandoned c. AD 250.

No. 11. Geometric Mosaic from Room 2 (c. 5.20 × 4.70 m) of House S 1, Phase 2 (Figs 28–30).

Excavated during June and July 1972.

The floor was found in a very good condition. Except for a large *lacuna* on the south-west side (c. 1.80 × 1.25 m) caused by a Turkish pit, the mosaic was practically intact.

The decorated area of the floor measures c. 3.70 × 3.30 m.

Lifted during the summer of 1974 by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi and stored in Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice 1, 135ff., pl. Xc.

Michaelides 1988, 360, pl. II:2.

Description

A black and white field of octagons separated by four-pointed stars.

Surround

The full extent of the surround cannot be determined because all four walls of the room have been robbed. It appears to have been fairly wide, however. On the north 36 rows of tesserae survive (45 cm), on the south 29 (36 cm), on the east 53 (66 cm) and on the west there are 33 rows (41 cm).

This is one of the best preserved surrounds amongst the Benghazi mosaics. It is clear that a lot of care was taken when the surround was laid, so that the line along which two sides meet is alternately vertical and diagonal to the field. As already mentioned, the surround of mosaic **no. 10** was probably similar to this one.

Border (c. 15 cm)

It consists of a triple black fillet (4.5 cm), a band of five rows of white tesserae (7.5 cm) and a double black fillet (3 cm).

Field

Uniform pattern of white octagons separated by four-pointed stars (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 183a: 'Orthogonal pattern of tangent, poised octagons, forming four-pointed stars'). Black triangles form the points of the stars and a plain white square occupies their centre. All the octagons are decorated with small diamonds of identical type (Table 6, type 4), except for three that are different (Table 6, type 1) — an anomaly that can be attributed to the carelessness of the mosaicist.

Technical Data*Materials*

Black and white stone tesserae, with a frequency of paler hues among the black ones.

Tesserae

They measure 1–1.5 cm². They are not particularly well cut, but nonetheless shaped tesserae are used for the tips of the triangles.

Density

About 49 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

The rather random cutting of the tesserae is remedied by very careful setting. The small diamonds in the octagons are often off-centre but this remains unnoticed in the overall effect of the design. It is difficult to determine whether the black or the white elements were laid first. Both of them are outlined by one row of tesserae and are filled with regular parallel rows. This setting is congenial to the design and ideal for the setting of the small diamonds.

Foundation

Not examined at the time of lifting.

Discussion

The four-pointed star appears in Pompeii in the early 1st century AD.²⁰³ but, despite its simplicity, it was never particularly popular in Italy. One of the all-over patterns created by this motif is that of four-pointed stars separated by lozenges, which was fairly common throughout antiquity.²⁰⁴ Another pattern created by this element, that of contiguous four-pointed stars separated by plain octagons, however, had a different history.²⁰⁵ According to G. Salies,²⁰⁶ the design is unknown in Italy before the 3rd century AD, although it is known in North Africa by the 2nd century. This led her to ascribe an African origin to the pattern. However, the small selection of examples she offers, none too securely dated, is not really enough to prove the point, and in fact the African origin as well as the dating have already been disputed by Jobst.²⁰⁷ The design was in any case widely popular in the 3rd and 4th centuries when, almost always, the octagons, if not every single component of the design, were decorated with varied motifs.²⁰⁸ The completely plain form, without any decoration whatever, is found by the 1st century in, for example, the *triclinium* of the Casa 'Del Colonnato Tuscanico' at Herculaneum.²⁰⁹ It has to be admitted, however, that the straightforward black and white pattern, with or without a simple diamond in the octagon, is rather uncommon and very few examples have been found which are directly comparable to the Benghazi example. One comes from Ephesos²¹⁰ and another from the Church of Monastero in the north of Italy,²¹¹ both of which are too late for comparisons here. There is, however, an entirely plain example from Niketas street in Patras, very similar to the floor in Benghazi.²¹² As usual the closest parallels come from the Villa at Ptolemais where there are two floors identical in every respect to the one in Benghazi.²¹³

The floor under discussion, as will be seen, is dated to the early 3rd century and thus does not help with clarifying the question of where and when the pattern first appeared. It does show, however, how differently it was used in this region by contrast to almost everywhere else.

Parallels at Benghazi

There is no other example of this simple form of the design. Its further development, with the addition of an inscribed four-pointed star, will be examined under mosaic **no. 30**. For the diamond varieties see Table 6.

Date

Since the only relevant parallels to this mosaic are from Ptolemais, it is not possible to date it stylistically.

The mosaic was lifted in 1974 and Deposit 90 was recovered from underneath it.²¹⁴ This gives a *terminus post quem* in the early 3rd century AD for the laying of the mosaic. The house was probably abandoned in the mid 3rd century.

Insula IV**HOUSE S 2 (FIG. 24). Mosaic 12**

Not much is known about this building but it appears that its plan was similar to that of House S 1. There were three rooms on the north, along the street front, and at least one of these was decorated with a mosaic floor. Behind the rooms lay a courtyard with a cistern.

According to the excavators, the house seems to have had a history similar to that of House S 1, that is to say, a life span from the early 3rd century to c. AD 250.²¹⁵

No. 12. Destroyed Mosaic from Room 1 (c. 5 × 3 m) of House S 2

Nothing of the mosaic survives apart from the remnants of its mortar bedding and a large number of loose tesserae.

Excavated during June and July 1972. The tesserae are stored in the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 137 *passim*.

Technical Data*Materials*

Soft porous and hard compact stone tesserae.

Tesserae

1–1.5 cm².

Foundation

Rough reddish bed of mortar, presumably the *rudus*. Its thickness was not established.

Date

Presumably early to mid 3rd century AD.

Insula V

HOUSE P 1 (FIG. 31). Mosaic Nos 13–18

This is a large and richly decorated house occupying the north-west corner of Insula V. The construction of the insula and thus the first phase of this building has been dated to the later 1st century AD. The house was substantially refurbished in the 2nd or early 3rd century and it was at this time that it received its floor mosaic and wall plaster decoration. It had a peristyle with a cistern, and at least fourteen rooms. The area south of the peristyle has not been fully excavated so it is not possible to establish how many rooms existed on this side. In the excavated area, six rooms received mosaic floors in what appears to have been a large-scale decorative programme. In this respect the house is unusual and probably reflects the wealth of the owners, since, in this part of Berenice at least, houses normally had fewer mosaic floors.

The building was heavily disturbed and its walls robbed in antiquity, but it appears that the most important rooms were on its eastern and western sides. Shortly after the refurbishment the function of the house changed from domestic to light industrial. It was abandoned in the mid 3rd century, but activity in and around the house continued up to the 7th century AD.²¹⁶

No. 13. Remains of a Floor Mosaic in Room 1 (c. 8.50 × 5.50 m),²¹⁷ West Wing of House P 1 (Figs 32–33)

The area was excavated between December 1971 and July 1972.

The mosaic was destroyed when a set of twelve large vats was dug into it at some time during the late history of the building. Only a small strip of the border of the mosaic was visible during excavations but it is doubtful whether much more had survived. The fragment comes from near the north-east corner of the room, and measures c. 1.40 × 0.41 m.

Left *in situ* and reburied by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 142.

Description

Fragment of a border decorated with a stylized scroll in black and white.

Surround

Nothing appears to have survived (see below).

Border

All that escaped destruction was a band of five rows of black tesserae (6 cm). On its outside there are remnants of two rows of white tesserae which are probably part of another element of the border. It is unlikely that they are the beginning of the surround as all such surrounds at Benghazi are made of secondary quality (yellowish) white stone, while here the tesserae are of the standard hard, bright white quality.

Decorated Band (maximum surviving width: 34 cm)

It shows a scroll enclosing a large stylized leaf in each of its curves. Of the two leaves surviving, one is heart-shaped and the other trilobed with a pointed end (variation of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 64d). Small lance-shaped leaves issue at regular intervals on either side of the stem.

Technical Data*Materials*

Black and white stone tesserae.

Tesserae

1–1.5 cm², and rather carelessly cut.

Density

About 64 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

The white background is set in more or less parallel rows. The leaves, however, are outlined by one row of white, and further allowances are made in order to accommodate the curves of the scroll.

Foundation

Nucleus: Fine soft white mortar (1–1.5 cm). *Rudus*: Hard reddish mortar (c. 3 cm). *Statumen*: Obliquely set, rough pieces of sandstone mixed with soil and mortar.

Discussion

The stylized vegetal border is common in mosaic art especially during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.²¹⁸ It is, however, a rather rare feature amongst the surviving mosaics of Benghazi. The particular version used here is very unusual in that each large curve of the stem is divided into two smaller curves which meet at the point of issue of the large leaves. A somewhat similar rendering of the scroll is found in a late example from the basilica of Scandarion on the island of Cos.²¹⁹ There, however, the leaves are attached directly to the stem, while at Benghazi they are set away from it.

Parallels at Benghazi

Another stylized vegetal border decorates mosaic **no. 34**.

Date

The dating of the mosaics of this house is somewhat problematic. It is more than likely that this mosaic was laid as part of the same scheme of decoration that involved mosaics **nos 14–18**. These were not contemporary with the original building (third quarter of the 1st century AD) but were laid probably after the early 2nd century. The fact that the building was converted once more (insertion of vats) before it was abandoned in the mid 3rd century, would indicate that the mosaics were laid during the period between the mid 2nd and the early 3rd century. What little survives of the present mosaic does not contradict such a date.

No. 14. Destroyed Mosaic in Room 2 (c. 8.20 × 6 m) of House P 1.

The room was excavated in 1972. A small area of bedding along its eastern end indicates that it once had a mosaic floor. This probably belonged to the same decorative phase as the mosaic from Room 1 (**no. 13**) and, like it, was destroyed when, some time before the mid 3rd century AD, vats (six this time) were sunk into the floor.

Date

Second half of the 2nd/early 3rd century AD?

No. 15. Fragments of a Geometric Mosaic in Room 3 (c. 4.50 × 4 m)²²⁰ of House P 1 (Figs 34–38)

Excavated in 1972, and found in a very damaged state. There were seven, mostly small fragments still *in situ*, but the tesserae were either very loose or already detached from the bedding. Several areas preserved remains of ancient patching with mortar.

The smallest fragment measured 0.13 × 0.12 m, and the largest 2.20 × 1.10 m (the latter unfortunately consisting mostly of the surround). By chance, most of the surviving fragments preserved a vital part of the design, a fact that has made possible a fairly accurate reconstruction of the floor. The north-south extent of the decorated area was calculated to be c. 3.72 m, with 2.85 m of this taken up by the main field and its borders. As no border had survived on the west, however, the east–west extent could not be determined. A small fragment with

the main decorative pattern was found *in situ* about 2.80 m from the eastern border, which indicates that the main design measured *c.* (north–south) $2.85 \times$ (east–west) at least 2.80 m. These measurements, however, are incompatible with the size of the room (*c.* 4.50×4 m) as given in *Berenice I*. The north–south extent of the decorated area (including the frames) measures *c.* 3.72 m. Adding to this the 50 cm surround surviving on the south side, one arrives at 4.22 cm. This leaves a space of *c.* 28 cm for the northern surround which is acceptable. The east–west extent, however, is problematic. The surviving decorated area measures *c.* 3.20 m. Adding to this the 45 cm wide surround surviving on the east, one arrives at 3.65 m, which leaves only 35 cm, which is too narrow to accommodate the series of borders that run around all the other sides and which measure *c.* 52 cm (not to mention an eventual surround). Three explanations can be offered for this discrepancy: (a) the floor had no borders (or surround) on the west — something rather unlikely;²²¹ (b) the plotting of the dividing wall between Rooms 3 and 4 in *Berenice I*, fig. 48, has been wrongly calculated and should be shifted more to the east to allow enough room for the mosaic; or (c) the dividing wall between Rooms 3 and 4 was part of a later rearrangement which divided the mosaic in two. This last possibility seems the most likely since the mosaic showed clear signs of wear from long use, and ancient mortar patching.

Left *in situ* and reburied by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 142.

Description

A field of a uniform black and white pattern of intersecting circles and squares forming quatrefoils and Maltese crosses.

Surround

Nothing survived on the north and west, while on the south it was at least 50 cm wide. On the east it was preserved up to 45 cm to the edge of the robber trench.

The tesserae were set in straight lines running parallel to the design and meeting at right angles along a diagonal in the corner (only the south-east corner survived). The tesserae of this surround, like those of the surrounds of all the mosaics of House P 1, were made of the soft yellowish white variety of stone.

Decorative Frame (30 cm)

A row of black squares (21 cm^2) set tip to tip, and framed by a triple black fillet (4 cm) on either side (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 15a: 'Row of tangent poised squares (forming hourglasses) the colours counterchanged').

Panel Borders (17 cm)

Five rows of white (6.5 cm), then a triple black (4 cm) and a double white (2.5 cm) fillet. There is, moreover, a single black fillet (1–1.5 cm) which separates the white elements of the field pattern from the borders.

Field

Uniform pattern of intersecting circles and squares forming Maltese crosses and small squares separated by larger squares (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 239a: 'Bichrome orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, forming saltires of quasi-tangent spindles, with an inscribed poised small square, and concave squares with an inscribed poised large square'). The crosses and small squares are black, while everything else is white. Small four-stepped diamonds (Table 6, type 6) decorate the large squares.

Technical Data

Materials

Soft yellowish white stone tesserae were used for the surround. The rest was made of the usual hard black and white stone tesserae.

Tesserae

1–2.5 cm^2 for the surround; 1–1.5 cm^2 for the decorated area, the black ones tending to be larger.

Density

Around 30 per 10 cm² in the surround, and c. 60 per 10 cm² in the rest.

Setting

It would appear that individual elements were outlined with one line of tesserae and the rest filled in with regular series of either straight or curving rows of tesserae, depending on the design.

Foundation

Nucleus: Fine soft white mortar (1–1.5 cm). *Rudus*: Hard reddish mortar (c. 3 cm). *Statumen*: Obliquely set, rough pieces of sandstone mixed with soil and mortar (c. 9 cm).

Comments and Discussion

The two surviving surrounds are unusually wide: at least 45 cm on the east and 50 cm on the west. These surrounds and the rather wide sequence of borders may indicate a special use for the room, which involved furniture around the walls.

The dull white tesserae used for the surround underline the separation between it and the decorated part of the mosaic where bright white tesserae are used. This enhances the effectiveness of the design, and shows that the mosaicists, even those working on ordinary geometric floors, were aware of such nuances. This must also be an indication that the duller white tesserae were less prized than the bright white ones.

This is the only instance where the frame of squares arranged tip to tip is used at Benghazi. It is a straightforward design that makes its appearance, in a variety of forms, early in mosaic art.²²² Bands quite similar to this one are found on mosaics from the Hospitalia of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli,²²³ and a practically identical late 2nd/early 3rd century example comes from Autun.²²⁴

By contrast, the pattern of quatrefoils and Maltese crosses is a latecomer to the repertory. It is, however, almost certainly a development of the well-known pattern of intersecting circles which was well established at the beginning of the Roman Empire. This pattern lends itself easily to elaboration, and already at Pompeii squares and other motifs are found decorating the spaces between the quatrefoils.²²⁵ This is clearly the line of development that, at a later time, led to the formation of the pattern used here. A particularly elaborate version of the pattern, lacking the structural unity of the geometric elements composing it, is encountered in several early Byzantine examples in the East and Greece,²²⁶ and during this period similar patterns are used in Italy too.²²⁷

There are very few examples, however, which date from an earlier period. One of the earliest comes from the House of the Red Pavement at Antioch dating to the Hadrianic/Antonine period.²²⁸ It is possible that another floor from the area south-west of the Atrium House at Antioch employed an even plainer version. In the published photograph (the only evidence for this mosaic), however, it is not clear whether it belongs to this family or to that of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils separated by squares.²²⁹ A good parallel is offered by one of the mosaics of the Colonnade on the east side of the Odeum Court in Corinth, dated to the late 2nd century AD.²³⁰ Another relatively early example comes from Eleusis,²³¹ but many of these floors show a marked tendency towards the structural decomposition of the pattern into a rich interplay of small, multicoloured units.

The floor under discussion and another one from Benghazi (**no. 34**), as well as the example from Corinth, are alone in being in black and white with minimal secondary decoration. The design here is much plainer and easier to read, and must be closer to the structural prototype from which the later, more ornate floors developed.

Parallels at Benghazi

An identical pattern forms the field framing the figured panel of mosaic **no. 34**, but with the colours reversed. For similar diamonds, see Table 6.

Date

The date of this floor is problematic. Stylistically, the few parallels found would indicate the mid/late 2nd century. The mosaic was not lifted, so no archaeological material was collected from underneath it. It will be seen that other mosaics from this building should date to the mid 2nd century, and it is known that the house was abandoned in the mid 3rd. It is also known that before this date the house, or part of it, was converted into an industrial establishment. This involved the destruction of mosaics **nos 13 and 14**, but it seems that the present floor was spared — although, as has been seen, a wall may have divided it in two. It was probably at this time that the mosaic was roughly patched with mortar. The laying of the mosaic should date to the second half of the 2nd/early 3rd century AD.

**No. 16. Figured Mosaic in Room 11 (*Triclinium*, c. 6 × 4.50 m) of House P 1
(Figs 39–45, Col. Pls II–III)**

The mosaic was discovered by chance in 1965 and was subsequently reburied and forgotten. It was re-excavated between December 1971 and July 1972.

The decorated area measures approximately 3.90 × 3.46 m. Photographs taken by R.G. Goodchild at the time of its first discovery (including Fig. 43 here) show that large areas around the centre and the western side of the floor were already destroyed.²³² When the area was re-excavated it was found that the entire mosaic, the central panel in particular, had deteriorated considerably and some important details had been lost (compare Figs 43 and 44).

Lifted by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi in summer 1974 and stored in Benghazi.

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M.J. Vickers, 'Cyrenaica, 1962-1972', *ArchRep* 1971-1972, 42, fig. 19.

Berenice I, 140f., pl. IXb.

Michaelides 1988, 360, 362, pl. V:2.

Description

A field of swastika meanders enclosing small panels decorated with a mask, birds and marble imitation. In the centre there is a *pseudo-emblema* probably depicting a scene from the legend of Eros and Psyche. The geometric designs are in black and white, the panels are polychrome.

Surround

On the north it is preserved to a maximum of 84.5 cm. The eastern surround measures c. 91 cm at its southern end. This tapers down to 59 cm toward the north, clearly compensating for the irregular shape of the room. On the west, near the eastern end, it is preserved up to a maximum of 49 cm.

The southern surround is made of better quality tesserae and is, relatively speaking, very narrow. It survives up to a maximum of 9.5 cm but there is enough space for up to 25 cm.

The surround is laid in straight rows of tesserae running parallel to the sides of the field. Those forming the eastern and western surrounds stretch the full north-south extent of the floor, while those on the north and south stretch only across the decorated part of the mosaic.

Border

It frames the whole design and consists of five rows of black tesserae.

U-shaped Band

A triple fillet separates a U-shaped band that occupies three sides of the central field. The band is 45 cm wide on the east and west, and 53 cm on the north. It is decorated with part of a running pelta design (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 57f.: 'Row of quasi-tangent pairs of backed peltae, alternately upright and recumbent, in counterchanged colours'). The peltae are black and separated from each other and the framing fillet by one white tessera.

Field (c. 2.82 m²)

It consists of a sequence of frames (a), around a field of meanders (b), enclosing small panels (c) and a larger central *pseudo-emblema* (d).

(a) Frame sequence. It is 23 cm wide and consists of a triple white fillet (4 cm), a band with a black, seven-stepped crow-step (10 cm) (Table 4, type 4), a double black fillet (4 cm), a triple white fillet (4 cm) and another double black fillet (2.5 cm).

(b) Within the above frame there is a band (c. 72 cm wide) decorated with black swastika meanders. The pattern is traced by a double black fillet and its elements are separated from each other by three rows of white tesserae. The meanders develop so as to contain a series of eight square panels arranged in a star-like fashion around a larger central panel (Variation of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 190b: 'Orthogonal pattern of spaced swastika-meander with double returns, the spaces staggered and containing a square'). It is worth observing that the area between the panels (i.e. the field of meanders) is itself in the form of a meander.

(c) Of the eight small panels, the south-west one is partly, and the north-west and western ones completely destroyed. The other five panels are fully preserved. They measure on average *c.* 36 cm² and are all bordered by a double black fillet (2.5 cm).

Northern panel. A round honeycomb-like tondo is formed by irregular, yellowish-orange patches outlined in maroon. This is set, without an outline, against a background of plain maroon. It is no doubt intended as an imitation of an *opus sectile* panel, where a breccia-type tondo is inserted in a square slab of unveined marble.

North-east panel. It is decorated with a polychrome Solomon knot set on a black background. The panel has an extra frame of a single white fillet in order to separate the black frame from its black background.

The links of the Solomon knot are outlined in black. They consist of (starting from the outside): one line of pale brown, two of orange and one of white tesserae.

Eastern panel. This is decorated with a grimacing satyr mask against a white background. The mask turns slightly towards the centre with a rather grotesque expression. The face is rounded, with a gaping mouth showing three widely spaced teeth. On the forehead, slightly off-centre, there are two short blunt horns. The hair is short and upright except for two longer tufts that hang on either side of the face. A single goat-like ear shows through the hair.

The face is dark creamy brown with light creamy brown highlights. These are applied in rather regularly shaped patches, especially on the cheeks and chin. The same light creamy brown is used for the horns and the ear. The outline of the face, especially near the ear, is in various shades of salmon brown, while that of the mouth is maroon. The same colour is used for the outline of the eyes and nose, and for the hair. The teeth are white.

South-east panel. It shows a partridge in profile, walking towards the centre. It stands against a white background and has no ground line.

The beak, lower outline, feet and tail are maroon. The upper outline, wing outline and striations are in black and two shades of blue (glass), while the body itself is white.

Southern panel. This is another panel with an *opus sectile* imitation and forms a pendant to the one on the north side. Here a breccia-type tondo (smaller than that of the other panel) is set in a square slab of a similar stone.

The square is yellow with a network of pale brown veins. The tondo is outlined in maroon, while the breccia itself is in pale brown with greyish brown highlights.

South-west panel. Only about half survives, but it is enough to show that this panel was decorated with a partridge walking towards the centre, counter-balancing the south-east panel. Only the feet, the lower part of the body and wing, and the tip of the beak survive. These are rendered in the same way as in the south-east panel, except that here the feet are better drawn.

Western and north-west panels. They do not survive, but, since the other panels are in symmetrically arranged pairs, one would expect another mask in the western, and a geometric motif in the north-west panel.

(d) Central panel. It was probably *c.* 93 cm² including the double black fillet (2.5 cm) that frames all the panels. On the north (top), the fillet merges with the black background of the panel. Unfortunately the panel has suffered enormously, not only in antiquity but also since it was first discovered in 1965. Its centre and the left-hand side are now destroyed, and it is impossible to reconstruct the scene that was once represented here with any degree of certainty. However, with the help of the photographs taken at the time of discovery and a few coloured tesserae still in place in 1972, it is perhaps possible to understand the general nature of the subject represented.²³³

The panel is orientated so as to be viewed by those entering the room from the south. It has a dark grey background throughout, except at the top where the black frame seems to bulge into a wide curve towards the centre. The action takes place on a self-standing, terracotta-coloured ground. This ends in a regular triangular point on the right, an indication, perhaps, that the scene was foreshortened, with the action moving towards the left.

Against this ground can be seen the curved outline of an object and, almost attached to it, the edge of something else. Unfortunately, these features do not link up with what survives in the upper part of the panel. Here, below a large *lacuna*, there are the remnants of what, with little doubt, must be a pair of butterfly wings. The lower of the two is outlined by a double row of white tesserae so as to stand out of the dark grey background against which it is shown. The upper wing is shown against a white background and so has no need of an outline. The surviving parts of the wings show rich colouring, slightly simplified in the upper one which is the smaller of the two. They were veined and have eyespots (one of which partly survives on the lower wing). The white background against which the wings stand cannot be interpreted. Against this white area, and immediately to the left of the smaller butterfly wing, there is the tip of a feathered wing. This points toward the upper right corner,

and, although rendered in white, it is clearly delineated because of the smaller size of its tesserae and the way they are set.

Immediately to the left of the feathered wing and practically in the centre of the panel, there is a curved outline of white tesserae (also against the white background). This does not look like an object, but more like the background 'outlining' something round, probably a head.²³⁴

In the top right-hand corner there are the remnants of something which cannot be identified. It appears to be bowl-shaped and greyish brown with a white highlighted area on the right. There is also a thin white line at the top, and it seems that it stood at the end of a pole?/stem? of similar grey brown projecting obliquely from behind the left butterfly wing.

Some other features visible near the centre of Goodchild's photograph are impossible to interpret. The bird wings and the butterfly wings, however, seem to suggest that these are the last remains of a panel depicting a story involving Eros and Psyche.

The background is made of dark grey and the ground of terracotta brown tesserae. The curved feature on the ground has a semicircle of very light brown on the outside, then a thin line of black and then a larger area of light blue (glass).

The butterfly wings have a maroon outline inside which there is a sequence of thin black and wider light grey lines. Goodchild's photograph helps to interpret these as veins which spread gradually to form a mottled area in which there are the eyespots. The surviving part of the eyespot of the lower wing shows that at least the outline was of light blue (glass) tesserae.

Technical Data

Materials

Tesserae of soft yellowish white stone (interspersed with a few of the better, harder quality stone) were used for the surround on the north, east and west. The narrow southern surround and all the black and white patterns are made of excellent quality black and white stone.

The panels include tesserae of many different types of coloured stone. The commonest colour is maroon and there is a strong predilection for browns. Apart from these the most frequently used are: yellowish orange, orange, ochre yellow and brown, salmon brown, several shades of creamy and grey brown, terracotta brown and maroon. There are also tesserae of light and dark blue glass. For the results of the analyses of some of the tesserae, see 'Notes for the Reader' no. 4.

Tesserae

Northern, eastern and western surround: 1–2.5 cm². The southern surround, the geometric patterns and the black and white background of the panel: 0.5–1.5 cm². In the panels all the coloured stone tesserae measure c. 0.5–0.75 cm². The only exceptions are the light grey (stone) and dark blue (glass) tesserae which are mostly under 0.5 cm². All the tesserae are well cut.

Density

Surround on the north, east and west: 48 tesserae per 10 cm². Figured panels: about 225 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

The tesserae are, on the whole, very well laid and care was taken for the accurate rendering of the geometric designs. The peltae were first set out by two lines of black, and then filled with regular curving rows of tesserae. On the outside they were outlined by two rows of white following the contours. The rest of the background was filled with regular straight or curving rows of tesserae.

The same was attempted in the backgrounds of the panels. The results here are less effective because of the irregularity of the shapes that had to be outlined.

Foundation

Nucleus: Fine, soft white mortar (1–1.5 cm). *Rudus*: Hard, reddish mortar (c. 3 cm). *Statumen*: Obliquely set, rough pieces of sandstone mixed with soil and mortar (9–10 cm).

Comments and Discussion

This must be the *triclinium* of the house situated in the middle of the East Wing along the main east–west axis. One entered it from the south, and all the figural elements are orientated so as to be seen from this side. Moreover, all converge towards the centre. The main part of the floor is off-centre and closer to the entrance because it is bordered on three sides by a U-shaped band of peltae. The band is absent from the south side which, moreover, has a minimal surround. The surround on this side is of good quality tesserae in contrast to those on the other three which, since they would be concealed by the *klinai*, are made of poorer quality stone.²³⁵ As in the case of other *triclinia* or rooms with figured decoration at Benghazi, there is an adjacent room decorated with a geometric pattern. On this feature, see Chapter V.

The pelta used as an all-over pattern has been met already at Benghazi (mosaic **no. 10**). Running peltae arranged in strips were used as thresholds or borders at the time of Augustus. An arrangement similar to the present one is found at Pompeii,²³⁶ and an even closer one at the Palazzo delle Colonne of Ptolemais.²³⁷ It is in fact an arrangement that remained in common use throughout ancient art.

The meander is another familiar pattern (mosaic **no. 8**) and one that recurs in several different forms at Benghazi. Already by the 1st century BC the meander is used to form more or less intricate patterns for filling large spaces. This fashion enjoyed great popularity in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD but began to decline thereafter.²³⁸ One form of the pattern which survived well into the Christian era consists of an intricate play of meanders used for dividing a field into small panels (containing geometric, vegetal or figural decoration), a form already inherent in a design such as that from the Domus Holconii at Pompeii.²³⁹ As will be seen, the most common way of using this form of the design was that where the elements of the meander were traced out by a variety of linear motifs, such as the guilloche, the cable, and others.²⁴⁰ The examples where, as in Benghazi, a linear meander is used are very rare. In fact, it has not proved possible to find a parallel for a similar arrangement of small panels within a field of linear meanders. A late 2nd-century floor in the Rome Antiquarium has a meander surrounding a central panel with a deity and panels with the Four Seasons arranged in a quincunx in the corners.²⁴¹ Unlike the Benghazi floor, however, there are no panels on the sides of the *pseudo-emblema*, and there is only one swastika (not three) on each of its sides. Panels with two swastikas per side are not unknown,²⁴² but none has been found with three, arranged as in the Benghazi panel. It seems that no floor with a similar design, including figured representations, can be dated to before the 2nd century AD.

The imitation of marble veneer or inlay is a well known feature of ancient painting.²⁴³ Similar imitations in mosaic are less common but much more numerous than is usually assumed. Since I have already discussed this kind of decoration elsewhere,²⁴⁴ here I will simply give a résumé of the results of my research. First, a few more cases may be added to the list, bringing the published examples of marble imitation in mosaic known to me to around 50. Not surprisingly, all the new additions come from Africa (mainly Proconsularis) and Italy. The African examples are: two from Sabratha,²⁴⁵ two from Bulla Regia (which has already given several examples);²⁴⁶ two from Thurburbo Majus (which has also given other examples);²⁴⁷ one from Carthage;²⁴⁸ one from Le Kef (Sicca)²⁴⁹ and two from Sétif.²⁵⁰ The new Italian examples come from a villa at Terracina,²⁵¹ a building on the Via Tuscolana,²⁵² and there is a possible later example from San Vitale in Ravenna.²⁵³ All seven new examples fit perfectly into the pattern already established, but do not, unfortunately, provide any new information on the geographical or chronological distribution of the genre, nor on the types of marble imitated — small panels of *giallo antico* and large slabs of *cipollino* being always the protagonists. However, two examples from Thurburbo Majus and Sétif are important in that they show that marble imitation in mosaic was also used for wall decoration.²⁵⁴

The conclusions drawn from all these examples, old and new, are that the trend of imitating marble in mosaic started in the 2nd century AD, reached its zenith in the 4th, and gradually died away during the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Such imitations were first devised and subsequently widely used in North Africa. At the beginning of the series there is a substantial number of examples from Cyrenaica, but it is Africa Proconsularis that has by far the largest number of such mosaics. Non-African examples of all periods are very few and, with the one and hitherto unexplainable exception from Ste Colombe in France,²⁵⁵ all come from Italy, where, as one would expect, Sicily and Sardinia take the lion's share. This kind of decoration was mainly used for houses and baths, in rooms like *frigidaria* where one would normally find real marble decoration.

As to why such decoration was devised in the first place there is still no simple answer. At the beginning at least, one of the reasons must have been economic — an imitation being cheaper than real slabs of marble. Thus one can understand why such decoration was employed in 2nd century Cyrene, since the region has no native marble and was always rather poor even in imported marbles. The Cyrene building in which these marble imitations are found, however, namely the Insula of Jason Magnus, is lavishly decorated in all kinds of media, including spectacular *opus sectile* floors.²⁵⁶ This is a phenomenon witnessed later in buildings such as the Winter Baths of Thurburbo Majus. This is a luxurious building where *cipollino*-imitating mosaics decorated the floors of rooms whose walls were veneered with real grey veined marble.²⁵⁷ Strangest of all is the Villa of Casale at Piazza Armerina where certainly no expense was spared; yet marble imitation is found in at least six different rooms.²⁵⁸ J.C. Fant is right in some ways in attributing the use of imitation *giallo antico* at Bulla Regia, only a few miles from the quarries of Chemtou, to the unavailability of the stone there: '...if the real thing was unavailable at Bulla, then it must simply have been kept off the market',²⁵⁹ and what kept it off the market must have been the monopoly of Rome.²⁶⁰ As far as Bulla Regia is concerned, this is probably true to a large extent. It does not explain, however, why people chose to have these imitations in their houses. Unlike imitations in wall painting, those in mosaic never looked like real

marble. Moreover, these imitations are usually found in places where their presence is totally unnecessary, since it does not in any way feature prominently, add prestige, or enhance the decoration. A good case in point is the floor of the Third Service Room at the Villa of Casale, where the floor has a complex and richly decorated geometric design forming a series of octagonal panels filled with a variety of geometric motifs. For no apparent reason, just one of these panels, and not even the central one, is filled with a very unrealistic imitation of *giallo antico*.²⁶¹ Even if, generally speaking, *giallo antico* may have been unavailable, the same does not apply to *cipollino*. This was one of the most widely used marbles in antiquity,²⁶² and also the second most commonly imitated marble in mosaic. These facts show that, at least in the late Roman period, marble imitation in mosaic was used as a conventional filler, just like any other motif, and that there was no conscious imitation of a prized material that was either unavailable or too expensive to buy.

The two panels with marble imitation from Benghazi are in accordance with the general observations already made. Both have *giallo antico* imitation which, as has been seen, is the commonest of all. One of the panels has two types of *giallo antico* imitation, but this too is not unusual as the same is found in the mosaics from Agrigento²⁶³ and the Mausoleum of Timgad.²⁶⁴ The late 2nd/early 3rd century date suggested by the archaeological evidence for the Benghazi mosaic is in agreement with the general trend of the fashion of marble imitations in mosaic. It does, however, put it at the beginning of the series.

Some other aspects of the mosaic will now be discussed. The grotesque face in the small side-panel looks very much like a comic mask. Such masks are commonly represented in mosaic and in great variety. One group that offers particularly good parallels comes from the Sollertiana Domus at El Djem.²⁶⁵ The horns and pointed ears can be seen on several representations of satyr masks which, however, are fairly realistic and do not have the gaping mouth of the Benghazi example.²⁶⁶ Close parallels for all the features of this mask can also be found in works in other media, especially terracottas.²⁶⁷

An interesting feature of the mosaic in Benghazi is the dark grey background of the central panel. Black grounds are, of course, common in pebble floors,²⁶⁸ but they are fairly rare in tessellated mosaics.²⁶⁹ Panels with black grounds against which stand figures of a lighter tonality are seen in early Campanian examples, such as the fish *emblema* from VII.iv.31 at Pompeii,²⁷⁰ and they are, of course, found at Delos.²⁷¹ Later on, however, they appear only sporadically in Italy, hardly ever in Greece, and occasionally here and there throughout the Roman world, well into late Roman times. Most scholars consider that such mosaics were strongly influenced by painted panels where the dark ground is understood to have been standard. D. Fernández-Galiano, in his analysis of the Penthesilea mosaic from Alcalá de Henares, gives a list of the most significant known examples of mosaic panels with a dark background and discusses their pictorial origin.²⁷² There is little to add to this list and discussion, except, perhaps, a panel from the Villa at Silin in Tripolitania.²⁷³ It depicts a *taurocatapsia* and is important not only for its dark background but also because such backgrounds are rare in North Africa.

No doubt more examples of mosaics with dark backgrounds exist but they were never very common. The one from Berenice is particularly interesting in being the only one known from Cyrenaica. The strong predominance of Severan-date examples noted by Fernández-Galiano is, as will be seen, in perfect agreement with the proposed dating of this mosaic.

The most interesting aspect of the central panel, however, is its subject matter. Although the panel is almost completely destroyed, it has been possible to identify tentatively two of its protagonists, Eros and Psyche. The two heroes were well loved by the ancients and were frequently represented (often in the minor arts), either in genre scenes or in various episodes from the legend of Eros and Psyche that probably derived from Apuleius' account of the story.²⁷⁴ Quite early on in its iconographic history the pairing of Eros and Psyche was imbued with funerary connotations, which it preserved right through into Christian art.²⁷⁵ Equally early, however, the couple was also understood not simply as a symbol of the soul after death, but also as representing the flight of the soul rapt in ecstasy.²⁷⁶ The context in which the mosaic at Benghazi was found leaves no doubt that it has nothing to do with funerary symbolism. It is, however, difficult to identify the scene represented. The feature on the lower right of the panel might very tentatively be interpreted as part of a wheel — even though some of the surviving blue glass tesserae seem somewhat extravagant for such an object. A fairly common representation (particularly in the minor arts) shows Psyche (or two Psyches), either as an insect or as a young girl with butterfly wings, harnessed by Eros standing on a cart.²⁷⁷ If this was the case here, however, the roles would have to be reversed, and Psyche would be riding the cart. This occurs extremely rarely, but Psyches riding carts drawn by animals or insects are not unknown, although a representation with Eros drawing the cart does not appear to exist.²⁷⁸ For this reason, this interpretation seems unlikely. There are also other scenes, known from gemstones, involving Erotes, Psyches and a cart, which, however, are rather uncommon and hitherto unknown in mosaic. One scene shows

Aphrodite and Adonis on a chariot drawn by Psyche accompanied by Erotes.²⁷⁹ Another, for which the satyr mask in the small panel would be an ideal accompaniment, shows a cart with Bacchus and Ariadne drawn by two Psyche, with Eros holding the reins and throwing a torch.²⁸⁰ If one has to give an interpretation of what little survives of this panel, then something like the latter kind of representation would account for most of the features which can be identified on it. This, however, remains extremely tentative.

If the interpretation is correct, the panel is important because, although the subject was common in other media (painting included), it was rather rare in mosaics. Only one example is known from the Hellenistic period, namely a late 3rd century BC mosaic (now lost) from Clazomenai illustrating the toils of Psyche.²⁸¹ In the Roman period Antioch has the best selection, with five examples including some of the earliest. One, from the House of the Atrium (AD 115–150), shows two small Psyche witnessing the scene of the Judgement of Paris.²⁸² Another, from the House of Trajan's Aqueduct, depicts one of the toils of Psyche (here represented with bird wings) involving the vase with the water of the Styx.²⁸³ A panel from the House of the Drinking Contest, from the end of the Severan period, shows Psyche stealing the sleeping Eros's weapons.²⁸⁴ A similar representation, with its pendant showing Eros turning his torch against Psyche, is found in the House of Menander, from the second half of the 3rd century.²⁸⁵ Finally, in the House of the Boat of Psyche, from the first half of the 3rd century, one of the most important representations of this group shows two swimming Psyche which form the carriage on which Eros rides.²⁸⁶

There are a few more, mostly late, representations from elsewhere. In a House of the late 2nd/early 3rd century at Byblos in the Lebanon, the scene of Eros turning against Psyche is again represented.²⁸⁷ In North Africa, a fragment of a mosaic from the Baths of Bir el Caïd at Sousse shows Psyche running towards the left in a field of flowering plants.²⁸⁸ An *emblema* from Utica shows a semi-reclining, embracing couple which has been identified as Eros and Psyche, even though the female figure is without any attributes.²⁸⁹ At Carthage there is a medallion containing Eros and Psyche and two inscriptions,²⁹⁰ and a 3rd-century mosaic of the Marine Venus, now in the Bardo, depicts Psyche in a boat.²⁹¹ There is a late 3rd/early 4th century double funerary mosaic from Thina, each panel of which shows the deceased reclining on a couch in a field of plants. The couches are flanked by a pair of Erotes carrying flowers and probably a Psyche playing a musical instrument.²⁹² At the Maison d'Éros et Psyché at Ain Doura (Dougga) in Tunisia there are two pairs of Erotes and Psyche on boats in a marine landscape, dated to the second half of the 4th century.²⁹³ In Italy there are the 3rd/4th century examples from the Villa at Desenzano, with seated Psyche plaiting garlands.²⁹⁴ At Aquileia, in the House of Calendio and Iovina of the second half of the 4th century, there is a depiction of Eros and Psyche with baskets in a field of flowers.²⁹⁵ Psyche are also seen in two, perhaps three Spanish mosaics. A mid 3rd-century floor from Córdoba depicts the flying Eros and Psyche embracing.²⁹⁶ Another at Fraga, of the second half of the 4th century, shows Psyche holding garlands and Eros holding a basket.²⁹⁷ A third Spanish floor, from Itálica, allegedly depicted Eros and Psyche, but the mosaic does not survive and the drawing does not show clearly exactly what is represented.²⁹⁸

The fact that the Benghazi panel — if it does indeed represent Eros and Psyche — is amongst the earliest in the series, together with the mosaic from Byblos and some from Antioch, perhaps indicates that such representations started in the East before being adopted in Italy, Spain and Tunisia, where, as noted above, the examples are later.

Parallels at Benghazi

Although the pelta is used elsewhere amongst the Benghazi mosaics, this is the only instance where it forms a frame. For other uses of the meander see Tables 4 and 7. Polychrome Solomon knots are also found on **no. 30**.

Date

The analysis of mosaics imitating marble has shown that the genre started some time during the first half of the 2nd century and became particularly popular in North Africa. The marbles imitated in the Benghazi mosaic and the way in which they are rendered are in perfect accordance with this trend in the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD. A similar date is also indicated by the use of a dark background in the main panel, since the revival of dark backgrounds seems to have started in earnest from the late 2nd century onwards.

The above observations are in agreement with the dating evidence drawn from under the mosaic (Deposit 77).²⁹⁹ The material retrieved shows that the mosaic post-dated the original construction of the house (late 1st century AD) and gives a *terminus post quem* in the 2nd (or early 3rd?) century. The house was, in any case, abandoned in the mid 3rd century and, before this date, at least part of it had been turned into an industrial establishment.

No. 17. Geometric Mosaic from Room 12 (c. 6 × 3.50 m) of House P 1 (Figs 46–48)

The recent history of this floor is the same as that of **no. 16**, having been first discovered in 1965, reburied, and then re-excavated in 1971–1972.

The decorated part of the floor originally measured c. 2.4 × 4.7 m. In 1972 it was in a very good state of preservation. Apart from a few small pits on its surface and a larger *lacuna* on the south (where the soil had subsided), only the western border was missing.

Lifted by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi, in the summer of 1974 and now stored in Benghazi.

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R.G. Goodchild, 'Archaeological News', *LibAnt* II, 1965, 139.

A. Al Sa'dawiyah, 'Archaeological News', *LibAnt* III–IV, 1966–1967, 253.

M. Vickers, 'Cyrenaica 1962–1972', *ArchRep* 1971–1972, 42, fig. 20.

Berenice I, 142.

Michaélides 1988, 360.

Description

Field of a uniform black and white pattern of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils.

Surround

It is unusually wide. On the north it follows the wall and reaches a width of up to 70 cm; on the south it survives up to 44 cm but there is room for much more; on the east it again reaches the wall and is 77 cm wide. Nothing survives on the west.

On the three surviving sides, three parallel rows of tesserae follow the border of the design. The rest is filled with regular rows set obliquely to the mosaic border in an anticlockwise fashion. This regularity, however, is lost in the north-east corner where there is total confusion. It has not been possible to establish whether this was caused by an ancient restoration.

Border

It is 21 cm wide and consists of five rows of black tesserae (6 cm), six rows of white (7.5 cm), four rows of black (5 cm) and a double white fillet (2.5 cm).

Frame (17 cm wide)

It consists of an outlined white three-strand guilloche on a black ground, developing in an anticlockwise manner (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 72b). The strands are made of three rows of white tesserae framed on either side by one line of black, which at times is indistinguishable from the black background of the frame.

Field (c. 1.70 × 3.96 m)

It consists of a uniform pattern of intersecting circles forming white quatrefoils separated by black curvilinear squares which have their centres decorated with a poised three-stepped diamond (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 237a: 'Orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, forming saltires of quasi-tangent solid spindles and concave squares, the colours counterchanged'). The diamond is black and has a white centre (Table 6, type 3). The half squares at the edges are plain and the design is always c. 1.5 cm away from the frame.

Technical Data*Materials*

Surround: Soft yellowish white stone tesserae with a few of better quality white mixed in. Field: Good quality white and black stones.

Tesserae

Surround: 1–2.5 cm². Field: 1–1.5 cm². They are rather irregularly cut, especially those used in the surround.

Density

Surround: 34 per 10 cm². Field: c. 81 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

The design (the guilloche in particular) is fairly accurately executed. The white background follows the elements with one row of tesserae and the rest is filled with more or less straight lines.

Foundation

Nucleus: Fine soft mortar (1–1.5 cm). *Rudus*: Hard reddish mortar (c. 3 cm). *Statumen*: Obliquely set, rough pieces of sandstone mixed with soil and mortar (9–10 cm).

Comments and Discussion

This is yet another case where a relatively plain geometric floor is paired with a much more complex floor with figured decoration (see **COMMENTS** under **no. 16** and Chapter V). It should be noted that mosaic **no. 20**, also found in association with a figured mosaic, is decorated with the identical design.

The geometric patterns employed in this floor are commonly found in Hellenistic and Roman mosaics. The three-strand guilloche,³⁰⁰ for example, was already in use at Pergamon³⁰¹ and was also fairly frequently used at Pompeii.³⁰²

The intersecting circles forming quatrefoils are also common in the Republican period at Pompeii.³⁰³ At first they were employed for filling small areas, and it was only in the 1st century AD that they became an all-over pattern.³⁰⁴ At this time too, they received extra decoration in the form of small black squares³⁰⁵ or diamonds³⁰⁶ between the quatrefoils. This design (and others based on intersecting circles) were especially exploited in the 2nd century AD, by which time its use had spread throughout the Roman Empire.

It is worth noting that the Villa at Ptolemais has a similar floor where, however, the design has no secondary decoration, in other words, the curvilinear squares are plain.³⁰⁷

Parallels at Benghazi

The composition of black and white intersecting circles forming quatrefoils is also found in mosaic **no. 20**, used in identical fashion except that there the colours are reversed.

Date

The material retrieved from underneath the floor (Deposit 78)³⁰⁸ shows that this mosaic, like the previous one, post-dated the original construction of the house, and must belong to the 2nd (or early 3rd) century AD.

No. 18. Tesserae from the South-east Corner of Room 4 of House P 1

In 1971 a small trench excavated in the south-east corner of Room 4 produced a large number of loose black and white tesserae. Unfortunately the South Wing of the house was not excavated further.

The tesserae are stored in the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 143.

Technical Data*Materials*

Bright white and black stone tesserae.

Tesserae

1–1.5 cm².

Date

Unknown.

Insula V

HOUSE P 3 (FIG. 31). Mosaic Nos 19–21

This was another large and richly decorated house which stood in the central area of Insula V, adjacent to House P 1. It had a central courtyard with a cistern, like house P 1, but no peristyle. There were about fourteen rooms grouped around the courtyard and those on the south and east appear to have been the most important. The early history of the building is obscure, but it is known that the house took its final shape during the 2nd century AD, and that it was abandoned at about the middle of the 3rd century.

At least three of the rooms had mosaic floors: Room 7 in the middle of the South Wing, and Rooms 10 and 11 occupying most of the East Wing. These last two rooms were also decorated with polychrome wall plaster, fragments of which were found on top of the mosaics.³⁰⁹

No. 19. Geometric Mosaic of Room 7 (4 × 4.5 m) in the South Wing of House P 3 (FIGS 49–50)

Excavated in 1972 and found to be in an excellent state of preservation (only the surround was slightly damaged). The decorated area measures *c.* 3.25 × 3.72 m.

Lifted in large blocks by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi, in the summer of 1974, and now stored in Benghazi.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 140, 144f.

Michaelides 1988, 360, 367, pl. II:1.

Description

A uniform black and white pattern formed by a latchkey-meander of swastikas with single returns, separated by small square panels filled with a quatrefoil.

Surround

The maximum widths preserved are the following: 26 cm on the north; 38 cm on the south; 40 cm on the east and *c.* 22 cm on the west.³¹⁰ On all the sides, the surround is laid in straight rows, parallel to the frame, meeting at right angles in the corners.

Border

Total width 12 cm consisting of a triple black fillet (4 cm), four rows of white (5.5 cm) and a double black fillet (2.5 cm).

Field

A uniform pattern in which large latchkeys are intersected by meanders so as to form groups of four swastikas. Each group of swastikas is separated from the next by square panels which have a simple frame and contain one quatrefoil each. The exact design, in the way the meanders and the latchkeys cross, is illustrated by *Le Décor* 1985: no. 195b. This is described as a polychrome version of no. 195a which, however, is quite different in this respect and is defined as an 'Orthogonal pattern of spaced latchkey-meander of swastikas with simple returns, the spaces staggered and containing a square'. In the Benghazi floor all the elements except the quatrefoils are traced by a double black fillet (*c.* 2.5 cm), and there is a gap of three rows of white between them and the surrounding frame. There is a single white tessera between the tips of the quatrefoils, and between the quatrefoils and the frame.

Technical Data

Materials

All the tesserae are of good quality black and white stones.

Tesserae

They all measure 1–1.5 cm² and are rather carefully cut.

Density

About 81 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

The rectilinear design is straightforward, but a lot of care was taken with the background to the quatrefoils. These are first outlined by one row of tesserae, the rest being filled with regularly curving rows.

Foundation

It is reported that the foundation, examined at the time of lifting, was similar to that of mosaic nos 16–17.

Comments and Discussion

This is one of the most neatly and accurately executed mosaics at Benghazi. The origin and development of the meander pattern, as well as the great favour this enjoyed in the 2nd century, have already been discussed under mosaic no. 8. The developed form of this motif, forming a kind of all-over latchkey pattern, is found towards the middle of the 1st century AD at Pompeii.³¹¹ The even more evolved form which, as in the Benghazi example, contains small square panels developed relatively early. It is found in two floors that have been attributed to the 1st century but probably belong to the 2nd century. The first comes from Fondo Beneficio Rizzi at Aquileia, and its squares are filled with smaller, diagonally inscribed squares.³¹² Another allegedly 1st-century example, with the squares containing a variety of complex motifs, was excavated at Fishbourne in England,³¹³ but, as A.-M. Guimier Sorbets has already observed, it is very unlikely that this pattern would be found at such a distant place at this time, when it is practically unknown elsewhere.³¹⁴ Attributed to the 3rd century but more likely to be of the 2nd is the Hercules mosaic from Vienne, where one of the compartments of the field is filled with this pattern.³¹⁵ It is in fact the 2nd century that witnessed the great popularity of the latchkey meander. Ostia offers a good selection although none of the examples is identical to the one from Benghazi.³¹⁶ The linear rendering of the pattern³¹⁷ lasted into the early Byzantine period, used not only as an all-over pattern³¹⁸ but also as a frame.³¹⁹

Parallels at Benghazi

Exactly the same unusual rendering of the pattern is found in mosaic no. 24 from Building W. There, however, the squares are filled with double latchkeys rather than quatrefoils.

Date

The material from below this floor (Deposit 80)³²⁰ shows that the mosaic was laid after the first half of the 2nd century AD. The cistern fill (Deposit 81)³²¹ suggests a date in the second half of that century for the abandonment of the house — rather earlier than most of the buildings in this quarter of the city. A late 2nd-century date is also favoured by the type of meander used. This short period of use may explain the excellent condition in which the mosaic was found.

No. 20. Geometric Mosaic from Room 10 (c. 4.50 × 6.50 m) in the South Wing of House P 3 (Figs 51–54).

This mosaic, like its neighbour (no. 21), was discovered in 1965 and lifted onto large concrete slabs almost immediately. In 1975 some of these were found stored in the garden of the Archaeological Museum of Tokra.³²² The rooms were re-excavated in 1975 in order to establish their dimensions and the plan of the house.

No measurements were taken at the time of discovery and it has not been possible to establish the exact dimensions of what was found in 1965. There is, however, the incomplete and rather inaccurate plan (Fig. 51) drawn in 1965 at a scale of 1:50, from which the approximate extent of the floor can be calculated. With this and a photograph taken at the same time, where this mosaic is just visible (Fig. 54),³²³ together with the measurements taken from one fragment available for study in 1975 (Fig. 53), it has been possible to reconstruct part of the floor fairly accurately (Fig. 52 — see also **Description** of the field). The decorated part of the section of the floor surviving in 1965 must have measured c. 0.95 × 5.70 m.

In 1976 at least one of the concrete slabs onto which the mosaic was lifted was in the Archaeological Museum of Tokra.

Bibliography

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A. Al Sa'dawiyah, 'Archaeological News', *LibAnt* III–IV, 1966–1967, 253.

G.D.B. Jones and J.H. Little, 'Coastal settlement in Cyrenaica', *JRS* 1971, 79.
Berenice I, 145.
 Michaelides 1988, 360.

Description

The floor is decorated with a uniform black and white pattern of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils that appears to have covered the whole surface.

Surround

In the fragment examined the surround is 72 cm wide and the tesserae are set in rows parallel to the border. As can be worked out from the photograph, this was the northern side of the floor.

Border

Total width 11.5 cm, consisting of a triple black fillet (4 cm), four rows of white (6 cm) and a single black fillet (1.5 cm) which blends with the black background of the design.

Field

It is difficult to be certain that the pattern of intersecting circles was the field proper or whether it was a decorated band going around another field. It is more likely, however, that this was a straightforward geometric mosaic since it is found next to a floor (**no. 21**) with a more complicated design involving a figured representation (see **Comments** below). The pattern is identical to that of a similar room (mosaic **no. 17**) in House P 1 and consists of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils, except that here the colours are reversed (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 237a: 'Orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, forming saltires of quasi-tangent solid spindles and concave squares, the colours counterchanged'). The black curvilinear squares are decorated with small, poised, three-stepped white diamonds with a black dot in the centre (Table 6, type 3). Along the sides, the half diamonds are not poised but set with their sides running in the same direction as those of the squares.

At least 19 circles running east–west, and three running north–south, can be seen on the photograph. As the diameter of the circles is *c.* 28 cm, it can be estimated that the decorated area visible on the photograph was *c.* 0.84 × 5.32 m.

Technical Data

Materials

The white tesserae (at least in the fragment examined) are of the poorer quality, yellowish stone, both in the surround and the geometric pattern. There are, however, many better quality tesserae mixed in with the rest.

Tesserae

0.5 – 1.5 cm², but they are rather erratically cut and there is considerable variation in size.

Density

About 56 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

On the whole, the setting compensates for the roughly cut tesserae.

Foundation

No record of it was made at the time of lifting.

Comments and Discussion

This seems to be another case of a geometric floor being found in direct association with a room decorated with a figural mosaic (**no. 21**). Other such arrangements are mosaic **nos 7** and **8** in House R 3, **nos 16** and **17** in House P 1, **nos 20** and **21** in House P 3, **nos 23** and **24** in Building W, and **nos 30** and **31** in the 'Casa di Leone' (Chapter V). As has been noted above, mosaic **no. 17** from House P 1, performing the same function as the one here, has an identical design.

The design has already been discussed and the fact that the colours are reversed here is of no consequence chronologically since such a reversal can already be observed at Pompeii.³²⁴

Parallels at Benghazi

Mosaic **no. 17**.

Date

No excavation was carried out when the mosaic was lifted in 1965, but it is known that the house, in its final form, was built during the 2nd century AD. Material from under mosaic **no. 19** (Deposit 80)³²⁵

indicates that that mosaic at least was laid after the first half of the 2nd century, while the cistern fill (Deposit 81)³²⁶ suggests that the house was abandoned soon after. In any case, the 1965 photograph and drawing of the mosaic *in situ* (Figs 54, 51) show that both this and mosaic no. 21 ran under the mid 3rd-century Roman city wall.

No. 21. Mosaic with a Representation of Sol from Room 11 (c. 6 × 6.5 m) of House P 3 (Figs 51, 54–59)

The floor was first discovered in 1965 and shared the same fate as its neighbour (no. 20).

Although detailed measurements of the floor *in situ* are lacking, it is fortunate that there is not only the rather inaccurate plan already mentioned (Fig. 51), but also a good selection of photographs taken at the time of discovery.³²⁷ With the information culled from these, and the measurements taken from the four fragments examined in the summer of 1975 (Figs 56–59), it is possible to estimate that the decorated area of the mosaic measured about 5 × 5.9 m.

In 1976 at least four of the concrete slabs onto which the mosaic was lifted were in the Archaeological Museum of Tokra.

Bibliography

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Berenice I, 145.

Michaelides 1988, 361–2, 368, pl. VI:1 (where it is wrongly numbered as mosaic no. 20).

Description

A square enclosing a shield of curvilinear triangles, with a central medallion, is set off-centre in a field of running peltae. The medallion was decorated with a polychrome representation of Sol, while the spandrels were decorated with apparently black and white stylized *kantharoi*. All the geometric motifs are in black and white.

Surround

The fragments examined in 1975 preserved eight rows of soft white tesserae (12 cm) set parallel to the border. The photographs, however, show that on the north, south and east there were once at least twice as many. This means that the width of the surround must have measured over 24 cm.

Border

Total width 11.5 cm. It consists of a triple black fillet (c. 4 cm), four rows of white tesserae (6 cm) and a single black fillet (1.5 cm).

Frame

Field of black running peltae on a white background (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 222d: 'Orthogonal pattern of tangent peltae in alternating upright and recumbent confronted pairs ('running-pelta pattern'), the colour counterchanged, forming cordiform interspaces'). As in mosaic no. 10, the tips of every four peltae touch a different side of a single white tessera, around which they radiate.

There are seven rows of pairs of peltae on the east, three on the north and south and two on the west. This sets the main panel off-centre and closer to the western side of the room.

Square Panel

It measured approximately 2.85 m² and consisted of the following: border 9.5 cm wide, made of a single black fillet (c. 1 cm), four rows of white tesserae (5 cm) and a triple black fillet (3.5 cm). This enclosed a shield design which does not quite touch the square border and is itself bordered by a triple black fillet and four rows of white tesserae.

The shield (diam. 1.63 m) consists of seven concentric bands of curvilinear black and white triangles. The black ones point towards the centre which is occupied by a medallion (c. 1 m diam.) framed by a triple black fillet (3.5 cm). The medallion was, unfortunately, almost completely destroyed in antiquity. It appears to have been decorated with a polychrome figured scene against a plain white background. It faced west and it almost certainly represented the frontal figure of Sol with his right hand raised, the palm turned towards the spectator. Only two small fragments of this medallion survive. One, from the lower right edge, shows nothing but ten concentric rows of plain white background tesserae. The second fragment is more informative. It shows ten rays issuing from the now

lost head of Sol. They are radially arranged inside a white halo, and made of two rows of tesserae each, one pink, the other ochre brown. At their base there are a few reddish brown tesserae which must be the remnants of Sol's hair. This fragment also preserves four fingers (the thumb is missing) of the raised right hand. Reddish brown is used for the shaded side, pink for the light side, and brown ochre at the point where the index and median fingers touch.

Each of the triangular spaces left in the corners between the square frame and the shield is filled with a *kantharos* and tendrils. Only two small fragments of two of these (probably parts of the north-west and south-west spandrels) were available for examination in 1975 (Figs 58–59). The old photographs do not show the spandrels very clearly; it would seem, however, that the *kantharoi* were very stylized and rendered in a linear, bichrome manner. The one in the south-west corner apparently had a small triangular foot, short stem, and a practically circular body decorated with wavy lines. The neck was tall and funnel-like, and decorated with straight vertical lines. The mouth had a double-dented rim and a simple black line indicated the contents. Two black, serpentine lines stood for the handles. One of the early photographs shows that the north-east *kantharos* had a similar body, but it is impossible to tell what the rest looked like. The north-west *kantharos* had a small triangular foot, a ball-like stem and a bell-like body decorated with a few black lines. The neck was again rather tall, and decorated with a band of vertical lines. The simple serpentine handles follow the contours of the body. Nothing at all is visible of the south-east *kantharos*.

Technical Data

Materials

The surround and all the geometric designs are of the second-rate porous black and white stone tesserae. The shield of triangles is made of the same stone but, mixed in with the rest, there are many good quality white tesserae. The background of the central medallion is of extremely good quality, hard, marble-like stone. The few remnants of the figure are of stone tesserae of three different colours: pink, reddish brown and brownish ochre.

Tesserae

The size and quality of the tesserae were carefully chosen. There are four types: those of the surround and of the field of peltae measure 1–1.5 cm²; those of the square field and the shield of triangles measure (0.5–)1 cm²; those of the background of the medallion are usually under 1 cm²; and those of the figure are c. 0.5–0.75 cm², but they vary considerably and some are long and narrow.

Density

About 64 tesserae per 10 cm² in the surround and field of peltae, c. 169 in the shield of triangles, and c. 260 in the background of the medallion. The tiny surviving fragments of the figure show that the density here was probably greater.

Setting

The tesserae are well cut and set with considerable care, especially within the square panel. In the medallion, the white halo around Sol's head, against which the rays emanating from his head project, was made to stand out by the radial setting of the white tesserae which contrasts with the setting of the white background. Many tesserae are cut to shape, especially those used in the curvilinear triangles. Those used for the fingers and the rays of Sol are especially long and narrow.

Foundation

No record of it was made at the time of lifting.

Comments and Discussion

The square panel was set on the east–west axis of the floor, closer to the west side of the large rectangle. This gives the floor the almost U-shaped layout of a *triclinium*. If that were the case, the central medallion would be facing those entering the room, an arrangement common to all the rooms interpreted as *triclinia* at Benghazi. Even if this was not a true *triclinium* the layout of the floor implies a particular use involving movable furnishings. Its relation to the adjacent geometric floor (no. 20) has been commented on under mosaic no. 16 and further remarks are found in Chapter V.

The all-over pattern of running peltae has already been examined under mosaic no. 10. It was seen there that the 2nd and, to a lesser extent, the 3rd centuries were the period during which the motif as a whole, and this arrangement in particular, enjoyed their greatest popularity.

The discussion of the shields of curvilinear triangles (mosaic no. 3) has led to practically the same conclusions and all the comments made there apply to this mosaic too. As mentioned there, the fact that the black triangles point towards the centre of the shield, even though a less common feature, is of no special significance.

The *kantharoi* and tendrils in the spandrels are commonly found in shields of curvilinear triangles but the decoration of the central medallion is unusual. The mere fact that the medallion has figured decoration is interesting since, as already noted, shield mosaics with such decoration are rather uncommon. The known examples are restricted mainly to Italy and Greece, with very few exceptions, especially where a human figure is involved, from elsewhere.³²⁸ The shield of curvilinear triangles as a whole was rare in North Africa, but it is not the first time that the mosaics of Berenice are seen to follow the trends of Italy and Greece rather than those of North Africa. The almost total destruction of the central panel of this mosaic is a great loss. What little remains is enough to show that, almost without a doubt, the medallion was decorated with a rather unusual and, because of its cultural/historical implications, extremely important representation. It depicted the standing(?) figure of Sol with a raised right hand. It is not possible to reconstruct the scene any further, since only the rayed nimbus and four fingers of the right hand survive, but the small size of the surviving elements in relation to the size of the medallion excludes the possibility of just the head or bust of Sol being depicted.³²⁹ The theme is unusual but it may not be the first time that Sol is found associated with a shield of triangles. A bust in the centre of a shield from Póvoa de Cós, of the late 2nd/early 3rd century, has been interpreted as that of Sol, although some believe that it is not Sol but Oceanus that is represented there.³³⁰ The commonest figured subject in the centres of shields of triangles is the Medusa head. On the whole, the choice of decoration is restricted to simple, emblem-like subjects appropriate for the decoration of shields. The subject of the Benghazi mosaic is certainly not in this class, and together with the Helios/Oceanus from Póvoa de Cós, the Pegasus from Gubbio,³³¹ the eagle and thunderbolt from Constantine³³² and the eagle and wreath from Leibnitz,³³³ form a group which is directly related to the sky. The idea of the shield design deriving from decorations used for domes has already been abandoned. There is no denying, however, that the subjects in this group make more sense seen as actions taking place in mid-air and glimpsed through the *oculus* of a dome, and there can be little doubt that this idea was at the back of the mind of the mosaicist.³³⁴ This apparent anomaly is easy to explain. The original design was inspired by shields, and its origins are betrayed by the frequent use of the Medusa head in its centre. Once the design came into regular use, its obvious resemblance to a dome, structurally realistic or imaginary, was as apparent to the mosaicists as it is to us today, and the design was soon exploited in new ways. In these designs subjects such as Sol, already current in ceiling decorations, were easily adopted.

Generally speaking, representations of Sol are not infrequent in ancient art,³³⁵ especially in association with Apollo³³⁶ or the cult of Mithras.³³⁷ Renderings in mosaic, however, are rather uncommon. Of these the vast majority are associated with other personifications or symbols (e.g. Luna and the gods of the days of the week, the months, the symbols of the Zodiac, the Seasons, the Winds, etc.), and usually form part of a much larger composition imbued with cosmic concepts. Such representations often lend themselves to Orphic, Dionysiac or Mithraic interpretations, and have, at times, led scholars to explain the buildings they are found in as basilicas or meeting places of one cult or another.³³⁸ Some cosmic ideas do, no doubt, lie behind some of these mosaics but one does not need to interpret all of them as having religious significance. As K.M.D. Dunbabin says, 'I know of no certain examples anywhere of the representation in mosaic on a floor of the principal deity to whom a shrine was dedicated. On the other hand, figures of gods form part of the general traditional repertory, and occur in a wide variety of settings, of which some can certainly be identified as secular'.³³⁹ She was prompted to make this remark by, among other things, R. Eisler's interpretation of the decoration of the Maison de Laberii at Oudna, in an Orphic Dionysiac key, which led him to claim that the house was the meeting place of the cult.³⁴⁰ In this house an *emblema*-type panel with the bust of Sol decorates an otherwise plain white mosaic floor, and it is one of the rare cases where Sol is found alone, without any other related personifications.³⁴¹ This, however, does not need to be an indication of some special significance. Sol, like any other figure of the traditional repertory, could be represented by himself. This seems to be the case in the Benghazi mosaic where, at least as far as one can judge from the surviving fragments, Sol was represented without any other personifications. There are no secondary panels and the spandrels, where one might have expected to find the Four Seasons or the Winds, are occupied by black and white *kantharoi*.

The Oudna mosaic shows the bust of Sol only. The head or the bust, rather than the full figure of the god, are the commonest ways of representing him (in mosaic) from about the mid 2nd century AD, especially in scenes involving the gods of the days of the week.³⁴² Much more rarely Sol is depicted standing and related to a Zodiac representation.³⁴³ More numerous, but considerably fewer than the bust type, are scenes where Sol is represented riding a four-horse chariot, often forming part of a more complex representation.³⁴⁴ Of particular interest in the present context is the type where Sol and his chariot are depicted alone, a scene represented on very few examples which fall into two groups. The first shows the scene evolving sideways (usually toward the god's right)³⁴⁵ and the other shows it frontally, advancing head-on.³⁴⁶ The representation of Helios with a radiate head, riding a chariot and

holding the reins and whip in his hand, was established at least from the 5th century BC.³⁴⁷ It was natural that the underlying concepts led the Romans to identify Sol with Helios. The beneficial powers of the sun soon associated Helios/Sol as ruler of the Seasons, the Zodiac and other cosmic phenomena. Such ideas spread widely when the cult of the sun, like other eastern cults, was disseminated throughout the Roman Empire in the 2nd and, mainly, the 3rd centuries AD. The representation of Sol as the celestial rider, holding a globe and whip in his left hand and with the right hand raised, the palm turned towards the spectator in an apotropaic or triumphant gesture, began to penetrate Roman art in the second half of the 2nd century.³⁴⁸ One of the reasons for the spreading of this new image was the process of identification, either partial or complete, of the emperor with Sol, and the adoption of the cult of *Sol Invictus*. This, of course, was a process that also led to the identification of Christ with the same figure, a concept reflected early on in the ceiling mosaic from the Tomb of the Giulii in the necropolis under St Peter's in the Vatican.³⁴⁹

Unfortunately too little remains of the Benghazi mosaic for any precise interpretation, but the following points can at least be established: the possibility of the building being a cult centre can be excluded, and the figure of Sol must be interpreted as a straightforward representation of a divinity without any theological undertones. It will never be known what other attributes this Sol had, or whether he was riding a frontally depicted quadriga, but it is certain that his right hand was raised in the 'magic' gesture of *Sol Invictus*. For obvious reasons the association with either the emperor cult or Christianity has to be excluded, and so one is left with a straightforward figure with a raised hand in the *Sol Invictus* gesture, which without doubt dates from the second half of the 2nd century AD, that is, from the time that the cult of *Sol Invictus* was becoming widespread. If the interpretation proposed here is correct, this is by far the earliest representation of Sol making this gesture amongst known mosaics.

Parallels at Benghazi

The field of peltae is found in mosaic **no. 10**. The shield is also found in House H mosaic **no. 3**, but there the centre is not decorated and the *kantharoi* in the corners are polychrome and differently shaped.

Date

This mosaic is dated to the second half of the 2nd century for the same reasons as mosaic **no. 20**.

Insula VI

BUILDING W (FIG. 60). Mosaic Nos 22–27.³⁵⁰

Building W occupied the most prominent position not only at Sidi Khrebish but at Berenice as a whole. Its floors were about 12 m above sea level and from its position it dominated the whole area. In its ultimate phase it occupied the full width of the northern third of *Insula VI*, the rest of which was originally occupied by Building T. It would seem that the first building to appear was Building T which was constructed during the Flavian period. In the first years of the early 3rd century AD, Building W was added onto Building T which itself was probably reconstructed. The area was only partially excavated, however, and there are many uncertainties about the plans of these buildings. Moreover, a later church (Building G) destroyed the crucial relationship between the two structures, and left only a very fragmentary plan of Building W.

As first designed, it was a large peristyle building with porticoes on all four sides. Wings were found on the south, east and west. There were more structures belonging to it on the south but the church has robbed them of any significance. At a slightly later period, the South Portico was converted into a long narrow hall (Room 1), and the East and West Porticoes were blocked off.

Building W was constructed during the Severan period, probably under Septimius or Alexander Severus, but within about 30 years the whole area was abandoned. The building as originally planned had five rooms in the West Wing. Of these, those at the south end (Rooms 2 and 3) must have had a special function and were decorated with mosaic floors and richly painted and moulded wall plaster imitating marble veneering.³⁵¹ By contrast, the other three rooms in this wing (Rooms 4–6) were plain and almost certainly acted as service rooms. Room 2 had a very elaborate polychrome mosaic floor and was entered from the large Hall (Room 1) on the south, an approach that afforded the best view of its pavement. Room 2 itself gave access, via double doors, to Room 3 which was larger and also richly decorated with a black and white mosaic and polychrome wall plaster. The tone and relative simplicity of its decoration indicates that it was subsidiary to the previous room.

Only one room (Room 7) survived in the East Wing, and although found in a ruinous state, enough was preserved to show that it was one of the most important, if not the most important room in the building. It, too, was entered from the long Hall (Room 1). It was divided into two parts by a low, marble-veneered step flanked by fluted columns or pilasters with Corinthian capitals made of stucco. A vast number of fragments of painted wall and ceiling plaster were found spread uniformly in both compartments of the room. Most of these imitated marble veneering, and there were also many fragments of stucco decoration. Several other features link the two compartments of Room 7, and there is no doubt that their function was related. The layout of their floors is unusual and both were provided with areas for masonry benches or movable furniture. The Southern Compartment was at a lower level and its floor was divided longitudinally into three areas. The larger, central area was paved with an *opus sectile* floor (no. 25). Along each of its long sides this was flanked by an area about 1.5 m wide, with an uneven but firm bedding of large pebbles and stones set in stiff mortar. Presumably these rough surfaces were originally covered by something, probably movable furniture(?), especially since the walls at this point were lined with a marble dado.³⁵² From here, and via the marble-lined, column-flanked step, one went up into the Northern Compartment which, judging by the outline of its mosaic floor, was apsed at its north end.

The mosaic floor had an unusually wide surround which, however, did not extend to the walls of the room. At the time of discovery, the edge of the mosaic and its bedding were still delineated on the west and north-west by a thin layer of plaster,³⁵³ presumably facing something that once stood here. This was certainly not a wall, since there are no wall foundations. What survived was a 50 cm wide foundation of packed stone and mud, having the appearance of a foundation for a low bench that ran around the curved, northern end of the mosaic. Within the very wide surround of the mosaic floor there was a rectangle with a rather plain, black and white geometric design (no. 26). Inserted more or less in the centre of the rectangle was an *emblema* in *opus vermiculatum* depicting a variety of fish (no. 27). The floor divisions of the two compartments of Room 7 show that it was probably used as a dining room-cum-reception hall.³⁵⁴ The apsed Northern Compartment could, in fact, be interpreted as a *stibadium*, a type of dining room common in late Roman times but already known in the Severan age.³⁵⁵ This would explain the plain wide surround between the bench and the decorated part of the floor, and the fact that this was made of large, poor quality tesserae, in contrast to the narrow surround in front of the marble step into the room on the south which was made of small, finely cut tesserae. In fact, were it not for the evidence of a built bench or seat, the width of the surround and the large tesserae with which it is made would have been interpreted themselves as the area on which a movable bench might have been placed. The central *emblema* was orientated so as to be enjoyed by those seated inside the apsed room, an orientation that differs from that in the *triclinia* of Benghazi but which was not unusual in *stibadia* (and *triclinia*) elsewhere.

Further interpretation of this part of the building is difficult because it is very badly preserved. There is some evidence, however, that the room may have extended beyond the apse to the north.³⁵⁶ It is not clear how far this extension went but it is perhaps worth noting that what survives is reminiscent (in plan only) of the later addition to the *stibadium* of the House of the Buffet Supper at Antioch, where the apsed end of the room, while preserving its shape, had a rectangular extension added onto it.³⁵⁷

When the South Portico was converted into a long and narrow hall it was floored with a single, very long geometric mosaic (no. 22) which in places covers the earlier walls of the portico. It was designed as the focal point of the building and it acted as a major reception point giving access to the important rooms on the east and west. It has not been possible to establish whether access to it was from the north or the south. The conversion of the hall must have taken place soon after the building was constructed, as the material sealed under the mosaic (Deposit 97) would date it to soon after the second quarter of the 3rd century.³⁵⁸ The building was abandoned in the mid 3rd century when the whole area was evacuated.³⁵⁹

Building W occupied a whole *insula* and the most prominent position of the site.³⁶⁰ Its size as a whole and especially that of its great hall (Room 1) would indicate that it is not domestic in character. Moreover, the richly decorated room on the east (Room 7) might be interpreted as a small audience chamber and/or apsed dining room, while that on the west (Room 2) was almost equally richly decorated — all features that would seem to betray an important civic building. For these reasons, the excavators have interpreted Building W as part of a palatial residence in which government business was also carried out.³⁶¹

No. 22. Geometric Mosaic Decorating the Large Hall (Room 1, c. 33 × 5.8 m) in the South Wing of Building W (Figs 61–63)

Excavated in the summer of 1973.

This is by far the largest mosaic at Benghazi and an extremely long mosaic by any standards. When last examined, the pavement had not been completely cleared. Moreover, the bad state of preservation of certain areas as well as the unevenness of others did not allow precise measurements to be taken. The decorated field, however, must have measured approximately 32 × 4.8 m.

In 1976 the mosaic was still *in situ*.

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 M. Abou-Hamed, M. Shaglouf and B. Ateya, 'Archaeological News 1972-1974', *LibAnt* 11-12, 1974-1975. In Arabic with a summary in English, 297-304, figs 7-8.
 J.A. Lloyd, 'Sidi Khrebish excavations, Benghazi, 1974 and 1975', *LibSt* 6, 1975, 5.
Berenice I, 155, pl. XVII.
 Michaelides 1988, 360, pl. V:1.

Description

Uniform trellis pattern formed by black quatrefoils on a white ground. In the centre of the field there is a large square panel of a black and white checkerboard of diagonally arranged triangles.

Surround

Not much of this could be seen when the mosaic was examined since large parts of it were still unexcavated. It appears that on the north it measured about 33 cm, although it often extended further in order to fill the gaps between the stylobate blocks. On the south it measured about 24 cm. In some areas, where the mosaic had been destroyed, the foundation blocks of the portico as originally constructed could be seen. There was a surround of about 68 cm on the east and another of about 36 cm on the west. The surround was laid in parallel rows of tesserae running the full east-west extent of the floor. That of the two shorter sides extends only as far as the mosaic border and meets the others at right angles.

Border

It is 15 cm wide and consists of a double black fillet (c. 3 cm), five rows of white (c. 9 cm) and another similar double black fillet.

Field

A large central square panel is surrounded by a trellis formed by quatrefoils set tip to tip (Variation of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 131a: 'Grid of rows of tangent recumbent spindles'). Each of the concave-sided octagons formed between them is decorated with a small diamond. The diamonds are of several different types (Table 6, types 1, 3-4, 6-7) chosen at random. The gaps between the quatrefoils vary from 2.5 to 6 cm.

Central Square Panel (c. 2.61 × 2.56 m)

Frame. It is c. 15 cm wide and consists of a double black fillet (c. 3 cm) and a band (c. 9 cm) of crowstep (Table 4, type 3). On the south and west there is a double white fillet (c. 3 cm), while on the north and east there is, instead, a single white and a single black fillet (in order to separate the design from the frames — see below).

Field. Large checkerboard formed by diagonal, alternating rows of black and white right-angled isosceles triangles (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 197a: 'Chessboard-pattern of right-angled isosceles triangles'). On the east the pattern ends in what amounts to a continuous white edge. In order to separate this from the white fillet around it, the latter has been divided into two single fillets, one black (next to the pattern) and one white.

Technical Data*Materials*

Made entirely of soft white and greyish black stone tesserae.

Tesserae

1-1.5 cm² for the central square panel and its frames. 1.5-2 cm² for the rest of the floor. Rather crudely cut.

Density

About 84 tesserae per 10 cm² in the square panel; c. 62 tesserae per 10 cm² in the rest of the floor.

Setting

The mosaic is carefully executed, especially the central panel. It is difficult to tell whether the black or the white elements of the square panel were laid first since they are both outlined by one row of tesserae, and the rest is filled regularly with parallel rows of tesserae. The remaining geometric field is less carefully laid. The black spindles are outlined by a continuous serpent-like row of white tesserae which curves around from one to the other, keeping each element clear of its neighbour. The rest is filled with parallel rows of white ideal for accommodating the diamonds that decorate each element. The way the tesserae are laid is not always very accurate but the floor has a sense of lightness, and the

general effect is spectacular. Part of this lightness is due to the aforementioned serpentine line of white tesserae that keeps the spindles away from each other.

Foundation

Nucleus: Fine light reddish brown mortar c. 1.5cm. *Rudus*: Reddish brown mortar mixed with coarse grey sand, measuring up to 4 cm. *Statumen*: Gritty mortar mixed with either largish pieces of sandstone laid flatly, or (especially near the central panel) with a great deal of wasters, flakes and larger chunks of the black and white stones used for making the tesserae. Some pottery sherds are also mixed in. The thickness of the foundation varies considerably. It is usually about 3 cm but goes up to 6 cm in the area where the larger stones are concentrated.

Comments and Discussion

This rather straightforward and undemanding pattern, because of its lightness, creates a splendid effect over such a large area. The pattern had a limited distribution (see below), which is surprising considering its simplicity, effectiveness and suitability for decorating large spaces.

This is the only instance at Benghazi that such a large amount of tessera debris has been found directly under a mosaic. Not much can be deduced from this but since most of the stones were concentrated under the central square, one may suggest that this panel received its decoration after the rest of the design (quatrefoils) was completed.

The checkerboard of triangles has already been seen in mosaic **no. 3**. The use of the quatrefoil for forming a trellis pattern has also been noted in mosaic **no. 17**, but there the quatrefoils were the direct result of intersecting circles, and each foil (spindle) formed part of two different quatrefoils. In the present mosaic, however, the quatrefoils are self-standing and set tip to tip, so that the spaces they create between them are not concave squares but concave octagons. Unlike the first type which was popular throughout most of the ancient world, this pattern belongs to a group that was only in favour during a rather short period and never had a wide distribution. Unfortunately, the differences between the two patterns, as well as those of this pattern found in combination with others, have not been stressed enough and this has often led to misinterpretations.³⁶²

The use of this and other closely related patterns seems to have concentrated in the 3rd century AD, although there is an example from Villa Adriana at Tivoli where the quatrefoils are separated by an extra foil, which is clearly earlier,³⁶³ and another apparently 2nd-century example from Sulmona.³⁶⁴ A whole group of mosaics where this design is used in combination with other motifs is found in Italy in the Severan period.³⁶⁵ Examples with a design identical to the one used at Benghazi are not very forthcoming, but those that have been found fall within precise time limits. Such examples come from the Insula dell'Aquila at Ostia which dates to about the mid 3rd century,³⁶⁶ and Hanghaus 2 at Ephesos which dates to the first quarter of the 3rd century (and where the colour scheme is reversed).³⁶⁷ One example from Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo, dated to the first half of the 3rd century,³⁶⁸ is particularly close to the Benghazi floor. It is Cyrenaica, however, that offers the closest parallels. There are examples in the Salone degli Ortostati in the Insula of Jason Magnus of a late Antonine/Severan date³⁶⁹ and, even closer to Benghazi, there are three examples from Ptolemais — two from the Villa and another from the Public Building.³⁷⁰ It must be stated again that the 1st-century date proposed for the Ptolemais mosaics is unacceptable. The same applies to an identical floor from Uxama (Osma) in Spain which has been dated, erroneously I think, to the 2nd century.³⁷¹ For the sake of completeness one should mention an apparently 2nd-century floor from Regio VI in Sabratha where, however, the curvilinear octagons are filled with large secondary motifs that give the floor a different aspect.³⁷² Finally, to this short list can be added the Dirce mosaic from Aquincum, where the outermost border is decorated with this design cut in half — a rare occurrence of the pattern from the northern provinces.³⁷³

There must be more mosaics where the design is used in its simple black and white form, but there can be no doubt that it was never particularly popular. From the available evidence it would appear that the pattern was used in the very late 2nd or more likely the early 3rd century AD and went into decline after the middle of the same century. The skeleton of the pattern, however, buried under secondary decorative motifs, survived longer. Such versions, used as frames, had probably existed already in the 2nd century, as can be seen in the already mentioned example from Sabratha. In the 3rd century it is found in the Casa del Anfiteatro in Mérida in alternating colours, enclosing circles decorated with a fleurette,³⁷⁴ while a further development of this version, where each octagon is occupied by two peltae set back to back, can be seen in the mid 3rd-century Roman Peristyle Building at Miletus.³⁷⁵ Even later examples can be found in 5th-century Greece, in the Basilica Extra Muros of Philippi where the circles in the octagons are decorated with birds and geometric designs,³⁷⁶ and at the Villa of Phtelia where the design is very similar to that from Miletus.³⁷⁷

The simple black and white pattern does not seem to have been used after the mid 3rd century. The fact that a pattern with such a limited distribution occurs in several examples from Cyrenaica is again indicative of the local predilection for straightforward monochromatic patterns.

Parallels at Benghazi

The checkerboard of diagonally arranged triangles is also found (on a much smaller scale) in one of the small panels in the northern decorative field of mosaic **no. 3**. For the diamonds and crow-step see Tables 6 and 4, and for a different variety of quatrefoils see mosaic **no. 17**.

Date

The mosaic occupies the whole of what was once the South Portico of Building W. Its limits follow the line of the walls that cut off the lateral porticoes when the building was converted. More proof that the mosaic was laid after the conversion lies in the fact that, as mentioned above, in some places the mosaic lies over the foundations of the first period building. This first phase has been dated to the early 3rd century. The mosaic floor was laid not long after, as Deposit 97, from underneath it, seems to bring its date up to the second quarter of the century.³⁷⁸ The building was abandoned very soon after, around the mid 3rd century.

No. 23. Dionysiac Mosaic from Room 2 (c. 5.50 × 6 m), in the West Wing of Building W (Figs 64–71, Col. Pls IV–VIII)

The mosaic was excavated in the summer of 1973, when it was found virtually intact except for the central panel and an area in its upper left corner which were destroyed. There was also a large *lacuna* in the lower left of the geometric field and two smaller ones higher up. The glass tesserae were in an advanced stage of decomposition and the whole surface showed traces of burning. The decorated area of the floor measures c. 5.02 × 4.26 m.

It is unlikely that the central panel was purposely destroyed or removed in antiquity, and its destruction must have been caused by the weakening and collapse of the bedding underneath it. Soon after the mosaic was discovered a heavy rainstorm caused two more small areas (one near the upper right and the other near the bottom left) to collapse in a similar manner.

In 1976 the floor was still *in situ*, but was later lifted by the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi, and is now stored in Benghazi.

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Berenice I, 155f., pl. XIIa.
 Michaelides 1988, 360f., 364, 368, pl. III:2.
 J. Reynolds, 'Berenice', in *EAA*, 2^o supplemento, Roma 1994, 673, fig. 736.

Description

A meander made of a polychrome guilloche divides a large square into five small panels decorated with Dionysiac masks, arranged in a quincunx. The large square field is framed by a band of bead and reel and one of crow-step. The whole is set in a field with a pattern formed by circles intersecting a grid of squares and rectangles. This field and the crow-step are in black and white, while all the remainder is polychrome.

Surround

There are 28 rows of white tesserae to the north (c. 50.5 cm), 45 rows to the south (c. 83.5 cm), seven to the east (c. 11.5 cm) and 50 to the west (c. 88.5 cm). It would appear that these rows met each other at right angles along a diagonal at the corners. These very wide bands on all but the east side, which is closer to the entrance, may be indicative of the function of the room (see Comments).

Border

It is c. 16.5 cm wide and consists of a triple black fillet (4.5 cm), seven rows of white (7.5 cm), a double black fillet (3 cm) and a single white fillet (1.5 cm) which separates the border from the geometric field.

Field

As well as the description given at the beginning of this section, the pattern decorating the field can be described, as in *Le Décor* 1985, no. 144e: 'Grid of bands with a square at the intersections, with the compartments inscribed in tangent circles, creating the effect of bobbins'. The large, central white squares are decorated with a black swastika, and the small black ones, at the intersections, with a white diamond (Table 6 type 3). There is one row of these compartments on the sides (north and south), and two at the top and bottom (east and west).

Central Square Field (3.27 m²)

It has two distinct sets of framing borders: a) A black and white border of a total width of c. 36 cm, consisting of one white fillet (1.5 cm), a double black fillet (3 cm), a band of crowstep (9 cm) (Table 4, type 4), and a triple white fillet (4.5 cm). This frames a square area 2.55 m², which can be considered as a separate component of the mosaic (see Comments); b) The square area within this black and white border has its own coloured border: a band of large bead and reel (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 23k). It is 20 cm wide on the south, east and west, but on the north side it starts at 19 cm on the east and goes up to 23 cm on the west. On every other side there are five beads, but on this one there are only four, although much larger ones. This irregularity is difficult to explain. The background is black and the reels (which are joined to each other by a single white tessera) are white. The beads are polychrome and, starting on the outside, have the following colour sequence: two rows of white, one row of pale yellow ochre, two rows burnt sienna and a black central fill. In the four corners there were large diamonds (Table 6, type 9) with a similar but reversed colour sequence: two rows of burnt sienna, two rows of pale yellow ochre, two rows of white and one central black tessera.³⁷⁹

The Square Field measures 2.16 m on the north side, and 2.19 m on the three other sides — an irregularity that is conditioned by the previous band of bead and reel (or vice versa?). It is decorated with guilloche meanders forming swastikas round five square *emblema*-like panels arranged in a quincunx (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 191d: 'Orthogonal pattern of spaced swastika-meander with single returns, the spaces staggered and containing a square panel, in simple guilloche'). A border of three rows of white tesserae (4.5 cm) separates the pattern from the frame, the elements of the meander and the enclosed panels. The meander is formed by two bands of a simple polychrome guilloche (13 cm wide), set against a black background.

The colours of each strand of the guilloche, starting from the outside, are as follows: Strand A: one row of black, one white, one pale yellow ochre, one burnt sienna, one black. Strand B: one row of black, one white, two blue, one black.

Small Panels

All the panels have a white background and a simple black frame of a double fillet (c. 3 cm wide). The four corner panels are decorated with heads turning towards the centre, and have attributes identifying them as members of the Dionysiac *thiasos*. As they are all to be viewed from the east, they will be described starting with the top left (south-west) panel.

South-west panel (46 cm²): Satyr

Head of a young man, turned slightly to the right, identified as a satyr by his goat-like ear and the dewlaps under his chin. Four tufts of green project upwards from his curly hair. The head is badly centred in the frame (see Comments). The general tonality is pink enlivened by the brightly coloured tufts in the hair which must represent leaves.

The features and hair are outlined in maroon. The face is basically pink, with the lighter areas picked out in pale and grey pink (with the occasional white tessera), and the darker ones in brown. The goat-like ear is made of one row of brown tesserae, one white and one pink. The eyes and eyebrows are maroon with one tessera marking the white of each eye. The nose is outlined in maroon and lined with one row of brown tesserae. It is filled in like the face, while a few white tesserae are used for the nostrils. The mouth is made of two lines of maroon tesserae and there are three orange ones just under the upper lip. The dewlaps are outlined in maroon and contain one white tessera. Maroon is employed for most of the curly hair, mixed with dark olive green for the shaded areas and the occasional brown dot for the highlights. The four leaves projecting from the hair are of emerald green glass tesserae.

Most of the background is filled with parallel rows of white tesserae following the frame of the panel. Near the head the white background follows the outline, but in the lower part of the panel, under the chin, something seems to have gone seriously wrong. All regularity is lost and the even rows of the background are interrupted by strange loops — made of exactly the same white tesserae as the rest of the background (see Comments).

North-west panel (44 × 46 cm): Nymph or Maenad.

Head of a young woman, turned slightly to the left, her hair arranged in bulging curls with a parting in the centre and long locks hanging on either side behind the ears. On top of the hair there is a garland or crown of flowers made of a curved green band decorated with bunches of leaves at either end, and orange and maroon buds at the top. There are three buds, one in the centre above the parting and one next to each bunch of leaves. The ends of a green fillet can be seen hanging on either side of the locks of hair. The fillet and the rather rounded face identify this as a mask.

The face is, on the whole, of lighter tonality than the previous one, but it is again outlined in maroon. The basic colour is pink with greyish pink for the highlights (such as the cheeks), and a few white tesserae for the shiny spots on the cheeks and forehead. The shaded right-hand side of the face is rendered in dark brownish pink. The eyes and eyebrows are made entirely of maroon. One tessera is used for the whites of the eyes and a curved row of white for the sockets. The rudimentary left ear, only just visible through the hair, is brownish pink. The mouth is made of two parallel lines of maroon, shaded on one side by pink, with one row of white tesserae between them. The nose is outlined in maroon, the bridge is accentuated by one row of white, and the rest is pink. Maroon outlines the lower part of the hair as well as many locks. These are sometimes filled and sometimes outlined by shades of dark olive green and brown. The top end of the parting is accentuated by one white tessera intended to represent the gap between the top of the head and the wreath that sits just above. The band and leaves of the wreath are of emerald green glass. The buds are outlined in maroon and filled with orange, and the fillet is of green glass.

The white background here is much more regular than in the previous panel. Most of the head is outlined by one row of white tesserae, and the rest is more or less regularly filled with parallel lines following the frame of the panel.

North-east panel (44 × 46 cm): Pan.

Head of a mature male looking towards the centre of the floor.³⁸⁰ It has the unmistakable features of Pan: pointed goat-like ears (only one shows), longish unkempt hair, a forked and hooked beard, and two pointed horns. The general tonality is brown.

Most of the face is outlined in maroon and filled with dark pink. The cheeks and the area below the nose are lightened with pale brownish pink, and highlighted by the occasional white tessera. The nose itself is outlined in maroon. Its bridge is made of a row of mixed pale brownish pink and white tesserae, and the rest is filled with darker pink. The same sequence (except for the white tesserae) is found in the goat-like ear. The eyes and eyebrows, as in the other panels, are outlined in maroon, and a white tessera marks the whites of the eyes. The surrounding area, however, is lighter than the rest of the panel and many white tesserae are used. This was in order to differentiate the eyes from the similarly coloured hair, moustache and beard. The mouth and moustache are each rendered by a single row of maroon, but the former also has two white tesserae. The hair and beard have locks of maroon mixed with brown. A few orange tesserae are also used in the hair. The horns are made of three rows of tesserae, one maroon, one dark pink, and a third, much shorter one of pale pink near the root.

The horns and part of the hair are carefully outlined with one row of white tesserae. The rest of the background is filled with parallel lines which follow the frame, although, under the chin and ear, one can just distinguish a few tesserae which seem to be set differently and look like hanging strands.

South-east panel (46 × 45 cm): Silenus.

This is the head of an elderly man. He is half bald, with grey bushy eyebrows, hair and beard, and wreathed with a band of ivy leaves and corymbs. This head, like that of the Satyr, is poorly centred within the panel (see Comments). The general tonality is grey.

The whole face (except the ivy wreath) is outlined in maroon. The face and especially the bald head are pink, while the rest of it is pale brownish pink. The shiny forehead and eyebrows are basically maroon except that the latter are now serrated and the spaces between them are filled with dark pink tesserae. The whites of the eyes are made of one very bright white tessera each. The fat and squashed nose is outlined in maroon and filled with orange, with two longish white tesserae at its tip. The ear is outlined in maroon and filled with one row of pink and another of pale brownish pink. The drooping mouth is practically an oval of maroon filled with brownish pink, and has dark pink edges. The hair and beard are outlined and highlighted in maroon and filled with blue/grey tesserae. The ivy leaves and corymbs are in emerald green glass tesserae.

The bald head, ivy and most of the rest of the head are outlined with one row of white, but on the whole there is a fairly successful attempt to follow the straight lines of the frame. On either side of the

head, however, as in the first panel, some of the background tesserae are set in strange, hanging, fillet-like strands (see Comments).

Central panel (c. 45 × 46 cm).

Almost nothing remains of this panel except three small fragments. A tiny fragment, on the lower right, preserves nothing but the white background also seen on the other fragments. The second fragment, at the top, also preserves three emerald green glass tesserae, while the third and largest fragment, at the bottom left corner, has a few hanging strands of maroon and olive green, with pointed ends. These are the colours used for hair, and there can be little doubt that this panel too depicted a head, with long hair. One can also assume that the emerald green glass tesserae on the other fragment were part of something like a wreath that decorated its top.

Technical Data

Materials

As in other mosaics at Benghazi, two types of black and white stone tesserae were used, one, of inferior quality, for the surround and outside borders, and another, of better quality, for the central field and its frames. The tesserae here are: a) of porous yellowish white and greyish black stone for the surround and the geometric designs and borders; and b) of much finer, marble-like stone from the bead and reel frame inwards (where some of the geometric elements begin to be rendered in colour). The change from one quality of stone to the other is quite striking and highlights the central area of the floor. The bead and reel band is bordered on the outside by poor quality, and on the inside by good quality stone tesserae.

The colours used for the geometric borders are pale yellow ochre, dark red ochre and blue. Those used for the figures are more varied and include maroon, brown, many shades of pink (pale, dark greyish, dark brownish and light brownish), orange, dark olive green, emerald green and blue. All the tesserae are made of stone except for the blue ones which are made of marble, and the emerald green ones which are made of glass. The marble is similar to Proconnesian in appearance. For the results of the analyses of a few tesserae, see **Notes for the Reader** no. 4.

Tesserae

On the whole the tesserae are well cut. Those used for the surround and all the decorative motifs measure 1.5–2 cm². Those of the faces measure 0.2 cm and more, but never exceed 0.8 cm, and the larger ones are rather rare. However, since many of the tesserae, especially those used for the strands of hair, are cut into shape, they can reach a length of 2 cm (even though they remain very thin).

Density

About 56 tesserae per 10 cm² in the geometric designs; and about 121 per 10 cm² in the background to the panels. On the faces the density is even greater, but has not been recorded.

Setting

The tesserae are very carefully set, but there are some serious mistakes in the layout of the pattern and its decoration: a) the position of the heads in the two southern panels is badly judged (see Comments); b) the bead and reel border is very irregular; c) in all four crossings of the guilloche the colour sequence is confused.

Foundation

The following measurements were taken from the *lacunae*: *Nucleus*: Fine light reddish brown mortar, 1.5 cm. *Rudus*: Reddish brown mortar mixed with coarse grey sand, up to 4 cm. *Statumen*: Gritty mortar mixed with largish sandstone fragments and a few sherds, arranged flatly, c. 4 cm.

Comments and Discussion

Room 2 was one of the most important rooms in Building W. It was entered from the east through the long entrance Hall (Room 1), as well as through the subsidiary Room 3. The latter was also decorated with a mosaic floor and frescoes, while the other rooms of the same wing had plain *battuto* floors. The unusually wide surrounds of this mosaic, on all but the entrance side, are probably related to the function of the room, and imply that furniture was probably placed on these undecorated expanses of the floor. The orientation of the mosaic shows that it was meant to be seen by those entering the room — an arrangement already observed amongst the mosaics of Berenice. The association of a room decorated with a figured mosaic with one with a geometric floor (in this case **no. 24**) is commented on in Chapter V.

This is the richest and most carefully executed mosaic found in Benghazi so far. Indeed it is the only one (with the exception of the lost mosaic **no. 30**) to employ polychrome geometric decoration. Despite some mistakes in its layout, the mosaic is extremely well conceived and effective. This is in many ways due to the subtle use of colours of different brightness that highlight the main features of

the floor. The brightly coloured heads are set against a bright white background that stands out from the subdued colours of the geometric field. This in its turn contrasts with the large black and white geometric field, not simply because of its polychromy but more because the black and white stones used in the bichrome designs are of a duller quality.

The four Dionysiac heads in the corners may mean that the now lost central panel was occupied by the leader of the *thiasos*, Dionysos himself. Dionysiac busts or masks form part of the popular decorative repertory. They are very frequent in mosaic floors because of their decorative character as well as their allusion to well-being, a feature they share with many other Dionysiac subjects (but see below).

One aspect of this mosaic that merits special attention is the fact that the heads inside the two southern panels are positioned off-centre and close to the top. The south-west one in particular (Satyr) sits too high up in the field, leaving a large empty space underneath. In fact, both heads appear too small for their panels. Close examination of the white background here shows that it was laid in fairly regular lines parallel to the frame, except within those empty spaces where, next to the cheeks on either side of the head, some background tesserae are set in such a way as to form large and totally unnecessary loops. This is less obvious in the north-east panel (Pan), while it is absent from the north-west one (Maenad) which is the only one where the head is correctly placed in the field. This last fact must be the key to this irregularity. As has been seen, this head has long locks of hair hanging on either side, amongst which the ends of green fillets are depicted. This is one feature that characterizes the head as a mask. A glance at the strange loops in the setting of the background of the Satyr and the Silenos leaves no doubt that these are the outlines of similar fillets hanging on either side of the heads, and this is what would have filled the now empty-looking spaces. For some reason these fillets were suppressed. It is not known why and it is difficult to say when. The fact that the outline of the fillets shows on the background, however, indicates that they must have existed at some point. If this were not the case, one would have to imagine an assistant laying the background around a rough drawing of the head which was to be filled in later by a master mosaicist who, when the time came to do it, decided to suppress the fillets. This, however, is highly unlikely and the answer must lie elsewhere. Three possibilities are suggested: a) the mosaicist ran out of glass tesserae and for this reason eliminated the fillets from his design. Against this, one can argue that he could have made them of coloured stone tesserae instead; b) the fillets were originally made of glass tesserae (like the fillet of the north-west panel) which decomposed and were replaced with plain white tesserae, at a time when glass tesserae were unavailable. However, the building was in use for a relatively short period, not long enough for the glass to have deteriorated to such a degree;³⁸¹ c) the fillets were made with white tesserae that had been dyed or painted in the appropriate colour, all traces of which have disappeared. This last suggestion may sound unlikely but seems the most logical way of explaining the disappearance of the fillets. Also, one must not forget the scarcity of coloured stone tesserae, and an even greater dearth of glass tesserae amongst the known mosaics of Berenice.

The design of tangent circles and inscribed squares decorating all four sides of the central field is of particular interest. The motif was not rare but, at least in the Roman period, it was certainly not common. Its geographical distribution during that period, too, was significantly restricted, and (at least as far as the straight, undecorated design is concerned) Berti's claim that 'l'area di diffusione del motivo è vasta, e i confronti vanno dal II–III sec. al V',³⁸² seems rather oversimplified.

The motif seems to have appeared in the very late 2nd century in North Africa. There are early examples from Timgad,³⁸³ Themetra³⁸⁴ and Thina.³⁸⁵ In Cyrenaica, nearby Ptolemais has two examples, one from the Villa and the other from the House of the Triapsidal Hall.³⁸⁶ During the course of the century the pattern, with extremely rare occurrences in the North,³⁸⁷ spread to the eastern Mediterranean where it established itself for many centuries to come. In the 3rd century it is found at the House of the Boat of Psyche at Antioch,³⁸⁸ and a single unit of it even made an appearance in the House of Dionysos in Paphos on Cyprus.³⁸⁹ In the 4th century it is found in the Baths of Miletus,³⁹⁰ the Synagogue of Sardis, the Byzantine phase of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias,³⁹¹ and in the Basilica of Alypos Arkasas on Carpathos.³⁹² More basilicas in mainland Greece and the islands employ it in the 5th and 6th centuries.³⁹³ It is also found in the East, in the Yakto Complex in Antioch,³⁹⁴ and in North Africa, in the Basilica of Dermech at Carthage.³⁹⁵ It is during this period that the motif makes its appearance in northern Italy, at Ravenna,³⁹⁶ where it survives well into the Middle Ages.³⁹⁷

From the beginning of its history, the pattern lent itself to secondary decoration. Nearly all the above examples have a great variety of motifs, usually polychrome, decorating almost every element of the design. Significantly, the examples with the more subdued bichrome and plain decoration, like the present one from Benghazi, are those from the Villa and the House of the Triapsidal Hall at Ptolemais.

To summarize, the pattern appears for the first time in the late 2nd century in North Africa. In more ornate forms it had a modest distribution mostly in Early Christian Greece and Asia Minor, and

it later spread to 6th century Italy. The Benghazi floor is one of the early examples, and true to the local predilection for clear geometric patterns it uses the pattern in an unusually plain way favoured in 3rd-century Cyrenaica. It is of the simplest bichrome type, the only secondary motifs being a stepped diamond in the small squares and a swastika in the large squares. This last motif, the swastika, is already in use, either decoratively or prophylactically in the Augustan period³⁹⁸ and, in Ostia at least, it continues to be used decoratively throughout the 3rd century AD.³⁹⁹ Its presence here is simply decorative and without any special significance.

The old architectural motif of the bead and reel was introduced early in mosaic art for framing panels or *emblemata*⁴⁰⁰ — a function it preserved up to Byzantine times. During this long period it had a rather scattered but wide distribution, and although never one of the most popular framing motifs it was more frequently used than has been assumed in the past.⁴⁰¹ Its early representations were realistic and colour shading was used in order to create a three-dimensional effect. Relatively early, however, the stylized (flat) black and white version began to be used too.⁴⁰² The motif reached the zenith of its limited popularity in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, especially in Greece,⁴⁰³ eastern North Africa and the Mediterranean. It would seem that the coloured bead and reel was rarely used in the provinces before the 3rd century. As in other, previously mentioned cases, the popularity of the motif in Greece is reflected in Cyrenaica where the bead and reel band is well represented in both its three-dimensional and stylized forms, from the Flavian period to at least the early 5th century AD.⁴⁰⁴ The earliest example comes from the Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais. It is in black and white and a Flavian date seems to be the most acceptable.⁴⁰⁵ Another black and white example from Ptolemais comes from Building 1 of the North-East Quadrant.⁴⁰⁶ Yet another example, of c. AD 100, comes from the *frigidarium* of the Roman Public Baths of Apollonia,⁴⁰⁷ but it is Cyrene that has the largest number of examples. The earliest, such as those found in the Large Baths, and the Small Baths of the Sanctuary of Apollo, are in black and white.⁴⁰⁸ In the *Insula* of Jason Magnus, of (late Antonine or) Severan date, there are both the black and white and the polychrome versions.⁴⁰⁹ The latter is not dissimilar to the Benghazi example which, as this short account shows, is in perfect accordance with the trend in early 3rd-century Cyrenaica. Several floors show that in Cyrene the use of the bead and reel in mosaic continued into later times.⁴¹⁰

The meander has already been discussed under mosaic nos 8 and 16. As noted above, one particular form of the pattern that survived right through the Roman and Byzantine periods consists of an intricate play of meanders forming swastikas which divide a field into panels (usually five and arranged in a quincunx), containing geometric or figured decoration. An early example of this kind of field partition can be seen in the *Domus Holconii* in Pompeii, where a linear meander traces the design.⁴¹¹ The change from simple linear meanders to ones formed by bands decorated with other motifs is met with in the second half of the 1st century BC. What is of interest here is the translation of this pattern and its adaptation into another pattern where the meander elements lose their linearity and are filled with a variety of suitable motifs.⁴¹² In a mosaic from Horace's Villa at Licenza, instead of lines, there is a series of black triangles set base to tip on a white background.⁴¹³ Apart from strings of triangles, several other linear patterns, such as the cable and the guilloche, were used either combined or individually for drawing the meander or for filling the empty spaces between its elements.

The development of this design has been illustrated by several scholars in recent times, and there is no point in repeating the discussion in detail.⁴¹⁴ Their research shows that the design of meanders formed by bands of geometric motifs developed in Italy during the 1st and early 2nd centuries. It continued to evolve up to the early 3rd century in northern Italy where it survived until at least the 6th century. By the second half of the 2nd century it began to spread to the provinces. It was rather popular in Gaul, and can also be found in Switzerland and Spain. It was equally popular in North Africa and in the Christian East, especially in the 4th and 5th centuries, where even more complicated patterns were formed by interlacing cables, the guilloche, twisted ribbons, etc. The Cyrenaican sites do not offer any parallels for a quincunx arrangement formed by meanders of polychrome guilloche, but the guilloche with colours almost identical to the Benghazi mosaic was particularly popular in this period at Cyrene, where it was used for framing or dividing panels and forming complex geometric designs.⁴¹⁵ Not surprisingly, in the Room of the Four Seasons in the House of Jason Magnus at Cyrene it is used within a bead and reel border in a manner very similar to that at Benghazi.⁴¹⁶

As mentioned previously, the heads in the panels of the Benghazi mosaic can be seen as straightforward Dionysiac masks. Such representations were popular from the 2nd century onwards throughout the ancient world, especially in Greece and North Africa. The parallels are too numerous to mention; suffice to say that even the unusual dewlaps of the Satyr can be found on a number of floors.⁴¹⁷ Naturally, such masks are often associated with Dionysiac representations, like the splendid example from Dion⁴¹⁸ and a mosaic from Messenia which, the difference of style notwithstanding, bears an uncanny resemblance to the Benghazi mask mosaic.⁴¹⁹ Masks, like Dionysos himself, are also associated with depictions of the Four Seasons where they usually play a secondary role. For example, masks

decorated the long panels around the Triumph of Dionysos in the house of the same name at Antioch, and the square corner panels between them were occupied by busts of the Seasons (only Winter survives).⁴²⁰ In the mosaic of the Dionysiac Procession in the house of the same name at El Djem Dionysiac masks are found at the intersections of the geometric design which encloses busts of the Seasons, wildlife etc.⁴²¹ A pair of Dionysiac masks is found under each standing Season in a mosaic in the *Sollertiana Domus* at El Djem.⁴²² In the mosaic of the Zodiac from Hippo Regius, four masks play a prominent role, alternating with dancing figures, around a central medallion of Aion with flowers symbolic of the Four Seasons.⁴²³ Masks are also found in direct association with busts of the Four Seasons in a mosaic from Carthage,⁴²⁴ while at Tizirt (Algeria), the whole floor consists of small panels decorated with masks and Dionysiac objects, amongst which there were the busts of the Four Seasons (only Winter survives).⁴²⁵ In Crete, in the complex of the Villa of Dionysos at Knossos, of a probable late Antonine date, there are three floors with Dionysiac decoration involving such busts or heads. The one of most interest here is found in the main room on the north. A central medallion with the bust of Dionysos is surrounded by the flowers symbolic of the Four Seasons, birds and, in the four corners, Dionysiac heads which Atzaka has identified as human heads personifying the Seasons.⁴²⁶ In the same vein, but even more abstracted, is a Severan mosaic in the *Maison du Paon* at El Djem with nothing but four panels with baskets of seasonal fruit,⁴²⁷ and a 4th-century mosaic in the *Maison du Paon* at Carthage with horses and seasonal plants symbolizing the Four Seasons.⁴²⁸ In this manner then, one could very tentatively suggest that these four masks at Benghazi could be interpreted as representations of the Seasons. In such a case, starting from the top left and moving clockwise, the Satyr would be representing Summer; the Maenad with the crown of flowers, Spring; Pan with his association with the woods, Autumn; and grey, elderly Silenus, Winter. In this way there is a correct chronological sequence and, moreover, a progressive ageing of the masks — the Satyr being the youngest and Silenus the oldest. If these Dionysiac masks do, indeed, symbolize the Seasons, one would expect that the destroyed panel in the centre would have depicted Dionysos, who is associated both with masks of this kind and with the Four Seasons.

Parallels at Benghazi

For a linear meander dividing a field into small panels, see mosaic **no. 16**. For other examples of guilloche at Benghazi, which, however, are in black and white, see **nos 3** and **17**. For the diamonds and crow-step see Tables 6 and 4.

Date

The stylistic discussion above suggests a Severan date. Deposits 91–96 from under the floor of this room (Room 2) and those of Rooms 3, 7 and 8 give a *terminus post quem* in the first or second quarter of the 3rd century, but it should be noted that the dating evidence in these deposits is rather poor.⁴²⁹ Like most other buildings of the area, Building W was abandoned around the mid 3rd century. In this particular case, this is confirmed by Deposit 98 which consists of material trodden into the holes of the mosaic (but overlying its mortar bedding).⁴³⁰ Moreover, the building of the later Roman defences in c. AD 250 makes it highly unlikely that Building W would have remained standing.

No. 24. Geometric Mosaic from Room 3 (c. 6 × 6 m) of the West Wing of Building W (Figs 71–74)

Excavated in the summer of 1973, when it was found to have a large hole near its centre. Other smaller holes were scattered here and there but the rest of the mosaic was in very good condition. The decorated area of the floor measures 4.7 × 4.7 m.

In 1976 the floor was still *in situ*.

Bibliography

M. Abou-Hamed, M. Shaglouf and B. Ateya, 'Archaeological News 1972–1974', *LibAnt* 11–12, 1974–1975. In Arabic with a summary in English, 297–302, fig. 9.
Berenice I, 154ff.

Description

Field of latchkey-meander separating square panels decorated with smaller latchkeys.

Surround

This is plain white. There are 33 rows (26 cm) on the north, and 45 (c. 36 cm) on the south. In both cases this is probably the original full width reaching the walls of the room. On the east 35 rows survive (c. 28 cm) and on the west only 27 rows (c. 21 cm). The rows on the north and south occupy

the whole extent of the side in straight lines running parallel to the border, while those of the other two sides meet them at right angles along a straight line (extending only within the north and south borders).

Border (15 cm)

Triple black fillet (4.5 cm), five rows of white (7.5 cm) and a double black fillet (3 cm).

Field

Uniform pattern in which large latchkey elements are intersected by meanders so as to form groups of four swastikas (variation of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 195a: 'Outlined orthogonal pattern of spaced latchkey-meander of swastikas with single returns, the spaces staggered and containing a square'). The groups of four swastikas are separated from one another by square panels filled with single smaller latchkeys. All parts of the design are traced in a double black fillet (3 cm) and are separated from each other by a triple white fillet (4.5 cm).

Technical Data

Materials

All the tesserae are of the normal black and white, rather porous quality of stone.

Tesserae

They measure on average 1–1.5 cm², but as they are not terribly well cut, some vary from 0.5–2 cm².

Density

About 53 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

Exceptionally precise.

Foundation

Nucleus: Fine light reddish brown mortar c. 1.5 cm. *Rudus*: Reddish brown mortar mixed with coarse grey sand, up to 4 cm thick. *Statumen*: Flatly arranged, largish sandstone fragments and tesserae chips, mixed with coarse gritty mortar, not less than 4 cm thick.

Comments and Discussion

As in mosaic **no. 22** from Room 1 of this building, a large number of tesserae chips were found in the bedding of the floor. The room is subsidiary to and entered from Room 2, where hardly any tesserae chips were found under the mosaic. This might mean that floor **no. 23** was laid first, and that the chips are the debris of the stones used for its tesserae.

The latchkey-meander separating square panels has been discussed under mosaic **no. 19**, where an identical pattern is found. The only difference between the two mosaics (apart from size) is that the squares in **no. 19** are decorated with a quatrefoil while those of **no. 24** are decorated with small latchkeys. Although it probably has no significance whatsoever, it is, perhaps, worth pointing out that these latchkeys are not all orientated in the same direction. The first two rows on the south, i.e. in front of the door into Room 2, are orientated in one direction, while all the others that survive (four in the centre have been lost) are orientated in a different direction — with one single exception in the outermost row on the east.

Parallels at Benghazi

Mosaic **no. 19**.

Date

Little datable material was retrieved from under this mosaic, but its date is no doubt the same as that of mosaic **no. 23** from Room 2. It must, therefore, date from the first decades of the 3rd century AD.

Nos 25, 26 and 27 from Room 7 (c. 9 × 6 m) in the East Wing of Building W (Figs. 62, 75)

As mentioned in the introduction to Building W, Room 7 was situated to the east of the large Hall (Room 1), through which it was entered. The room was divided by a low step into two, a division emphasized by pilasters or columns on either side of the step. The columns were made of stucco, painted to imitate marble veneering, and were crowned by Corinthian

capitals, also of stucco. The lower Southern Compartment was decorated with an *opus sectile* floor (no. 25), and the higher Northern one with a black and white geometric mosaic (no. 26) surrounding an *emblema* (no. 27) inserted approximately in its centre. The low step (H. 10 cm) was faced with marble, most of which still survives on the south face. It is 2.5 cm thick and is attached with a 5 cm-thick layer of mortar. The top surface, which was 28 cm wide, has lost all its marble veneer.⁴³¹

No. 25. *Opus sectile* floor in the Southern Compartment (4 × 6 m) of Room 7 of Building W (Figs 62, 75–87, 89; Col. Pls IX–XV)

The room was excavated in the summer of 1973.

At the time of discovery two out of the fifteen panels of the pavement were already destroyed and three were badly damaged. During the rudimentary restoration carried out soon after, it was found that several of the *crustae* were recut revetment slabs or mouldings. It is clear, however, that most of the *crustae* come from an earlier *opus sectile* floor and that they were used here in a rather haphazard way.

In 1976 the floor was still *in situ*.

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Berenice I, 156–8, pl. XIIIb.
 Michaelides 1988, 360.

Description

The room is divided longitudinally into three rectangles of equal length. The rectangle (c. 4 × 2.60 m) in the middle is much wider than the other two (c. 4 × 1.70 m) and is decorated with an *opus sectile* floor. The rectangles on either side have a rough and uneven surface composed of large pebbles and rough sandstone fragments set in a stiff mud mortar. The roughness of their surface implies that these parts of the floor were not normally visible and were presumably covered by movable furniture.⁴³²

The *opus sectile* pavement consisted of fifteen panels arranged in five rows of three. Of the thirteen surviving panels, one has a central large square, three have a circular design, and nine have an inscribed poised square. The panels are framed by c. 25 cm wide bands of marble — most of which have been lost — which also form the frame to the whole *opus sectile* floor. The surviving bands are made of grey veined marble and *marmo scritto* with a few fragments of *pavonazetto* here and there.

All the panels are framed by a set of bands and fillets. The outermost is plain and, with a few variations, is standard to all. It is usually made of *marmo scritto* (panels 1–4, 6, 8–9, 14–15 — panels 9 and 15 have an extra piece of grey *africano*). As panels 5 and 7 are destroyed, it can be said that the only exceptions are panels 11–13. No. 11 has small *rosso antico* and *breccia corallina* squares in the corners, and instead of being only of *marmo scritto* it also includes bits of white Phrygian, grey veined marble, *cipollino*, white veined and Proconnesian marble. The frame of panel 12 is made entirely of green *africano*; the frame of panel 13 is made of white Phrygian (with one small fragment of *marmo scritto*). The rich variety of marbles in these three frames cannot be a coincidence since they enclose the three circular and most complicated designs of the floor.⁴³³

The description begins with the panel in the north-west corner.

Panel 1 (60 × 60 cm), Col. Pl. XI

Square panel containing a poised square framed by fillets.

The whole is framed by the wide band of *marmo scritto* and a narrow fillet of *rosso antico*. The poised square is of *pavonazetto* framed by three fillets of *bigio antico*, white Phrygian and *bigio antico*. The resulting triangles contain squares of *verde antico*, the triangles are of white veined marble and *pavonazetto*.

It is clear that a large enough tile of *pavonazetto* was not available so the corners of the square were filled with small triangles of Proconnesian marble. The small *verde antico* squares are of different dimensions. The two southernmost triangles are made up of differently shaped, recut *crustae*.

Panel 2 (59 × 59 cm), Col. Pl. XII

Square panel with an inscribed poised square framed by a decorative band.

The panel is framed by the wide fillet of *marmo scritto* which is interrupted in the middle of each side by a triangle of *rosso antico*. These triangles are the projecting corners of the poised square. This poised square is of *rosso brecciato* (Carian marble) and has a wide decorative frame bordered by listels of white Phrygian or white veined marble (the outside one being wider than the one on the inside). This decorative band has squares of *verde antico* in the corners and two lozenges of white veined marble on each side — the triangles between them being made of *rosso antico*. The large triangles flanking the poised square are made of *cipollino*, and are framed by wide listels of *rosso antico*. This is a crudely executed panel, the central tile of *rosso brecciato* being made up of different pieces, and all but one of the triangles of *cipollino* in the corners being made of smaller, reused or recut *crustae*.

Panel 3 (c. 59 × 59 cm), Fig. 79

The northern third of the panel is destroyed but this does not affect one's understanding of the design. It consists of a square panel with a decorative frame enclosing a poised square.

On the inside of the standard wide framing band of *marmo scritto*, there is a wide frame with large squares of *verde antico* in the corners, and one smaller square of *cipollino* and triangles of *rosso antico* arranged tip to tip on each side (the resulting triangles being an assortment of white Phrygian and white veined marble). The poised square inside this band is made of *verde antico*, the resulting squares of *rosso antico*.

The panel is much better executed than panels 1 and 2. The lack of fillets may have contributed to this, as well as to the clarity of the design. The same design is used in panel 9.

Panel 4 (c. 59 × 59 cm), Fig. 80

Just under one third of the panel survives but the design is simple and there is no problem in reconstructing it. It consists of a square panel similar to panel 3 except that the frame is decorated differently.

Within the standard band of *marmo scritto*, there is a wide band made of squares of *verde antico* in the corners and rectangles of white Phrygian in the middle of each side. The resulting square spaces are divided diagonally into two differently coloured triangles, one of *bigio antico* and the other of grey marble. Within this band there is a poised square of *pavonazetto*, the resulting triangles in the corners being of dark grey veined marble.

There are no dividing fillets and the result is a very clear design. The same design is used in panel 6 where it is better preserved.

Panel 5

Only part of the bedding of this panel survives.

Panel 6 (60 × 60 cm), Fig. 81

The south-west third and a small part of the north-east corner of the panel are destroyed. The design, as well as the play of light and dark surfaces, is the same as in panel 4, except that different marbles are employed.

Within the band of *marmo scritto* the wide decorated frame has corner squares of *verde antico* and, at the centre of each side, rectangles of *breccia corallina*. The triangles occupying the squares in between are of *bigio antico* and white veined marble. The large poised square in the centre is of *breccia corallina* and the resulting triangles are of *bigio antico*.

The effect of this panel is quite striking, but close examination shows that it is a patchwork of reused pieces. For example, the square in the north-west corner is made of two different pieces of *verde antico*, and the rectangle in the northern band is composed of three different pieces of *breccia corallina*.

Panel 7 (presumably c. 60 × 60 cm), Fig. 82

Only the bedding of this panel survives. Two small broken triangles of *pavonazetto* in the south-east corner are not in their original position. At the time of discovery they were one above the other, forming something like a band on the lower right-hand side of the panel.

Panel 8 (59 × 59 cm), Fig. 83

Only the southern third of the panel survives, but the design is easily reconstructible. It consists of a wide decorated frame around a square enclosing an inscribed poised square.

After the standard narrow band of *marmo scritto* there is the wide decorated frame. A thin fillet of white Phrygian divides this into squares (in the corners) and rectangles (on the sides). The corner squares themselves contain a small poised square of *verde antico* and the resulting triangles are of *rosso antico*. The side bands have on the outside an additional wide fillet of *rosso antico* and are filled with small isosceles triangles arranged like saw teeth in contrasting light (*pavonazzetto* and pale *africano verde*) and dark (*bigio antico* and *africano verde*) colours. The square framed by this band encloses a poised square of *verde antico* bound by a fillet of white Phrygian, the resulting triangles being also of *verde antico*.

A more complex design than the previous ones, but rather haphazardly executed. It is inaccurate and the contrast of light and dark shades is not always clear — this, however, is partly due to bad restoration. The fillets are all made of reused fragments, including some which are curved and not appropriate for such a rectilinear design. There was a miscalculation in the arrangement of the triangles on the south side, where they do not fill the required space. Thus the leftmost end of the band is patched with a rectangular piece of *bigio antico* and a thin fillet of white Phrygian.

Panel 9 (60 × 60 cm), Fig. 84

The design is the same as in panel 3 but here it is rendered in different marbles.

The usual narrow band of *marmo scritto* frames a wide decorated band. This has squares of *rosso antico* in the corners and small squares of *cipollino* on the sides. The triangles touching the tips of the small squares are of *bigio antico*, and the resulting triangles are of white Phrygian and white veined marble. The central square tile is of *verde antico* and the triangles are of *rosso antico*.

The choice of well-cut *crustae* of the right shape, and the regular alternation of types of stone (i.e. colour), make this one of the most effective panels in the room. The only irregularity is in the small square of *rosso antico* in the lower left corner, which is composed of three different pieces. These, however, are fitted together very accurately.

Panel 10 (c. 59 × 58 cm), Fig. 85

Decorated frame enclosing a square panel with an inscribed poised square.

The standard band of *marmo scritto*, here including a piece of grey marble, contains a wide decorated band with a fillet of *rosso antico* on the outside, and one of *bigio antico* on the inside. The band is decorated with two lozenges on each side and squares in the corners. The lozenges on the north and south side are made of paired *cipollino* triangles, while those on the west and east are of single pieces of grey veined marble for the former, and *africano verde* for the latter. The resulting triangles are mostly of white Phrygian with a few pieces of Proconnesian and *marmo scritto*. Of the corner squares, the north-east and south-west ones are of *cipollino*, the north-west and south-east ones are composed of two triangles each, one of *rosso* and one of *verde antico*. The square inside this band has a framing fillet of white Phrygian (with a piece of Parian?), which is interrupted in the middle of each side by the tips of yet another poised inscribed square. Only the framing fillet of *rosso antico* survives.

One of the most untidily executed panels. The side lozenges fit badly in the frame, so their tips were cut off. The triangles around them are the worst of all, being made of fragments of different marbles.

Panel 11 (60 × 60 cm), Col. Pl. XIII

Square panel enclosing a large circle with an inscribed hexagonal field decorated with a pattern of stars of hexagons separated by lozenges (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 210a: 'Triaxial pattern of hexagons and upright lozenges tangent at the angles, forming six-pointed stars of equilateral triangles (and larger intersecting hexagons), the colours counterchanged').

The unusual framing band has already been described at the beginning of this section. Within this there is a narrow fillet of *rosso antico* and another of white Phrygian. These trace out a large square of *bigio antico*, the largest part of which is occupied by a circle outlined by a wide fillet of white Phrygian. This in turn encloses a hexagon outlined by a narrow fillet, again of white Phrygian. The resulting arcs are of *cipollino ondulato*, while the field inside the hexagon is decorated with tiny *crustae* forming a pattern of stars of hexagons separated by lozenges. There are seven hexagons (three of yellow *breccia*, one of *verde antico*, one of *pavonazzetto*, two of white Phrygian and one of grey veined marble) and 30 lozenges (fifteen of *breccia corallina*, ten of *pavonazzetto brecciato*, two of a yellow *breccia*, one of white Phrygian, one of *portasanta* and one of *africano*).

This is by far the most complicated design on this floor, and it is also the richest in the variety of marbles used. Its colourfulness makes it very effective even though it is rather inaccurately executed. The frame is made of fragments of different types of marble. The *bigio antico* of the background is made of reused fragments, but most disturbing is the placing of the hexagon off axis — something that was unnecessary and easy to correct.

Panel 12 (59 × 59 cm), Col. Pl. XIV

Square tile with a decorated frame and a small central tondo. The south-east corner of the panel is damaged.

Here the standard narrow band is unusual in that it is made of *africano verde*. Inside this there is a relatively narrow decorated band between two narrow fillets of white Phrygian on the outside and *rosso antico* on the inside. Similar fillets of white Phrygian define L-shaped forms ('angle pieces') in each corner of the band. These are made of one large and one small rectangle each: the former of *breccia corallina* in the north-east and south-west corners, and white veined marble in the north-west (the south-east corner is destroyed). The smaller rectangles are of white veined marble in the north-east, *breccia corallina* in the north-west and *cipollino* in the south-west corner. The sides of this band are decorated with three lozenges of *portasanta* each, and the resulting triangles are of *cipollino*, except for one of *verde antico* and another of grey veined marble (the difference being hardly perceptible since the colours are more or less the same). Inside this frame there is a large square of grey veined marble (except for a tiny triangle of *pavonazetto* in the north-west corner), which is decorated with a relatively small disc of *verde antico* in its centre.

With the exception of the tondo in the centre, almost everything else is made of bits and pieces. Nevertheless, the different reused fragments are very carefully fitted together.

Panel 13 (59 × 59 cm), Col. Pl. XV

Square field with an inscribed central tondo with an ornate ray-like frame. Part of the southern and western sides of the frame are destroyed.

The square panel is framed by the usual wide band which differs from the others because it is made of white Phrygian, except for a small fragment of *marmo scritto* in the south-east corner. Within this there is a fillet of *rosso antico* marking out a large square panel of white Phrygian (with a small triangle of very bright white limestone). This bears in its centre a large circular tondo of *pavonazetto brecciato* framed by a wide decorative band. This band has a narrow fillet of *cipollino* (with pieces of *verde antico*) on the outside, and one of greyish marble on the inside. The decorative band itself consists of two superimposed rows of triangles (resulting in large triangles with small lozenges between them), giving a sunflower-like appearance to the central tondo. The triangles are mainly of *portasanta* with a few of *breccia corallina* and a single one of yellow *breccia*. The small lozenges between them are all of *cipollino*. The small triangles of the 'background' are of white Phrygian.

This is second only to panel 11 for intricacy of design and variety of marbles used. Although it is a patchwork of reused pieces, these were well chosen and carefully fitted together. The only irregularities are those mentioned above.

Panel 14 (c. 59.5 × 59.5 cm), Fig. 86

Square panel with an inscribed poised square with a decorated frame.

Within the usual band of *marmo scritto*, a narrow fillet of *rosso antico* traces the poised square and the resulting triangles. The latter are of *cipollino* and decorated with a spindle of *pavonazetto*. The frame of the inscribed square has fillets of *rosso antico* on either side, and is decorated with squares of *cipollino* in the corners, and two lozenges of *bigio antico*, set against whitish *pavonazetto* triangles on each side. The central tile is of *pavonazetto*.

The usual irregularities aside, this is one of the most successful panels. Great care was taken to choose and match the marble colours so as to achieve the desired effect.

Panel 15 (59 × 59 cm), Fig. 87

Large square tile with a decorated frame. The south-east corner is destroyed.

Within the usual wide band of *marmo scritto* there is another decorative frame. It is bordered by a fillet of *rosso antico* on the outside, while fillets of *cipollino* frame it on the inside and also divide it into squares (corners) and rectangles (sides). The small corner squares are of *cipollino* with a fillet of *rosso antico* all around, and the rectangles are decorated with three lozenges each. The lozenges are of *cipollino*, while the resulting triangles are of *pavonazetto* and Proconnesian marble. The large

square in the centre has an extra fillet of yellow *breccia*, and was probably made of *pavonazzo*, but it is difficult to identify the stone, despite its size, because most of the veining has disintegrated.

Technical Data

Materials

The following types of marble are used (they are listed in order of frequency, the first being the commonest): *Marmo scritto*, Phrygian (both the white variety and the coloured one known as *pavonazzo*), *rosso antico*, *verde antico*, *bigio antico*, *cipollino*, white veined marble, *breccia corallina*, *africano*, Proconnesian, *rosso brecciato* (Carian), *portasanta*, *breccia gialla nuvolata della Tripolitania* and *breccia gialla dell' Asia Minore* (?).

Crustae. As the material is mostly in secondary use, the thickness of the *crustae* is extremely variable. Some are only 0.5 cm thick, while others reach 2.5 cm and more. Only a few loose ones were available for examination.

Foundation. This could be examined in panels 4, 6 and 7. It consisted of the following: the lowest layer was c. 8 cm deep and was made of sandstone and painted wall plaster fragments, covered with hard mortar mixed with small pieces of pottery and stones. On top of this there was a layer, c. 3.5 cm thick, of slightly finer mortar with tiny terracotta pieces, into which long fragments of terracotta pipes and amphorae (and, at least in the case of panel 7, some marble fragments too) were flatly embedded. These were arranged radially and were covered by a slightly finer paler layer of mortar c. 2 cm thick (but often a lot less) into which the *crustae* were set.

Comments and Discussion

For the relation of this floor to that of the Northern Compartment and the possible interpretation of Room 7 as a dining room-cum-reception hall, see Introduction to Building W (pp. 52f. above).

Although the effect of this floor is one of great variety, close examination reveals that the decoration of the panels is based on the different combinations of three basic patterns. These are: a) a square with an inscribed poised square; b) a square with an inscribed circle; and c) a square with an inscribed square, the sides parallel:

<i>Panels</i>	<i>Pattern</i>
1	a
2	a
3	a
4	a
5	?
6	a
7	?
8	a
9	a
10	a
11	b
12	b
13	b
14	a
15	c

Of the three basic designs in the surviving panels of this floor, that of a square with an inscribed poised square is by far the most common. There are just three examples of a square with an inscribed circle, and only a single example of a square with an inscribed square, the sides parallel. All the complex patterns (b and c) are found at the southern end of the floor, and these are the panels with some of the best marbles and certainly the richest frames. This cannot be a coincidence although no explanation for it can be found other than the fact that the room entrance was at this end of the room.

The elements that form or decorate these three basic designs are rather few, in fact only seven: the square, the rectangle, the triangle, the hexagon, the spindle, the half spindle and the circle.⁴³⁴ Of these the circle is used only as a large central tondo, while the only other curvilinear elements, the spindles and half spindles, appear only once each (panels 14 and 11 respectively). The hexagon, too, is used once only (panel 11), and the rectangle twice (panels 4 and 6). This means that the rest is made of just three primary shapes: the square, the lozenge and the triangle. Panel 11 is the only instance where several geometric elements are used to form an all-over pattern, namely stars of hexagons separated by lozenges.

Fillets of various widths aside, there are six types of frames for square shapes and one for the circular design. They are all made of various combinations of the square, the lozenge and the triangle and, in one case, the rectangle.

All this shows that the artist or artists who made this floor were not only happy to recycle *crustae* and other pieces of marble without bothering to cut them down to the required shapes, but also that they had a rather limited repertory. These features, as will be seen, are in sharp contrast with the other more or less contemporary examples of *opus sectile* from this geographic region.

The effect of the designs used here is based mostly on the contraposition of light and dark surfaces. In several panels the contrast is so strong that no dividing fillets are required (panels 3, 4, 6 and 9). Elsewhere, when neighbouring *crustae* are fairly similarly coloured, they are separated by one or more fillets of different tonality. Two adjacent elements are never made of the same marble, so the fillets are used only for underlining the structure of the design. There is only one exception to this. In panel 8, the diagonally inscribed square of *verde antico* in the centre is flanked by triangles, also of *verde antico*, so the presence here of a light-coloured fillet was indispensable. In the other cases the tonalities are well contrasted and there was no need to resort to this device. Contrast in colour tonality, in fact, was the main preoccupation of the artist. Two similar geometric elements in the same panel are frequently made of different marbles which, however, have practically the same colour. For example, white Phrygian and white veined marble are interchanged in almost all panels. *Africano verde* is mixed with *bigio antico* (e.g. in panels 8 and 9), *cipollino* with *verde antico* (e.g. in panels 12 and 13), etc. The artist was clearly not preoccupied by imperfectly matching marbles and patchwork *crustae* since the desired effect of a strong multicoloured interplay of light and dark was achieved just the same. To some extent his choice must have been restricted, since he was recycling material. The random use of marble, as well as the rather untidy but effective execution of the designs, must be attributed not to the inferiority of the artist but to an early manifestation of a fashion that prevailed throughout the late Roman period — and the 4th century in particular. The case of Ostia has been brilliantly illustrated by G. Becatti,⁴³⁵ but there is little doubt that this was a much more general phenomenon which began to manifest itself quite early on.

Before discussing the materials out of which the *crustae* are made three things have to be borne in mind: a) the word 'marble' is used very loosely to describe true marble, as well as other decorative stones, including limestones, that could take a high polish; b) the names used are those current in Italian marble-working tradition; and c) the identifications were made as long ago as 1973 and were based entirely on the visual characteristics of the stones, without scientific analysis. Some marbles can be safely identified in this way but others cannot. Amongst the most difficult are the white, grey and veined marbles, and this is the reason why no attempt is made at their precise identification here. One well-known, very common and easily distinguishable marble is that which comes from the islands of Proconnesos or Marmara near Constantinople and is known as Proconnesian. Both its whitish grey and striped varieties were abundantly used, and a lot of research has been carried out on the ancient quarries.⁴³⁶ Only panel 4 employs triangles of Proconnesian, while all the other times this marble appears it is used in small pieces, mainly to fill the gaps between *crustae* of similar colour. Less is known of other similar marbles but there is no doubt that the majority of grey, veined and black marbles were quarried in the Greek islands and Asia Minor.⁴³⁷ The name *bigio antico* is used here to describe a marble of unknown origin, quite distinct from the other grey and grey veined marbles in that it is of solid dark grey, almost black, colour.

More is known of the origin of coloured marbles, and an examination of those used in this floor leads to some interesting observations — despite the fact that some of the marbles, especially those cut into small pieces, are not identifiable.

By far the most common and clearly the least prized is the so-called *marmo scritto*, which is, strictly speaking, a white marble speckled with black/grey. The largest part of the wide bands that divide the floor into panels, as well as the first wide frame around almost all the panels, are made of this marble. There are many types of *marmo scritto* that clearly come from different quarries. Of these only those at Cap de Garde in Algeria have been properly identified.⁴³⁸ Although a probable Algerian origin for this stone at Benghazi cannot be excluded, judging from what is known of the marbles used in Cyrenaica and considering the lack of direct land and difficult sea links between Berenice and western North Africa, it is likely that the *marmo scritto* at Benghazi comes from the East.⁴³⁹

The next most common marble is Phrygian, of which two basic types are used: one is the typical purple-veined marble known as *pavonazzetto*, the other is white with honey-coloured patches. The latter is called white Phrygian here to differentiate it from true *pavonazzetto*. Both types were quarried near ancient Dokimeion and Synnada in Phrygia, in the upper Tembris Valley in Asia Minor, and were very common in antiquity.⁴⁴⁰ The white variety was used mostly for statues and sarcophagi and one can assume that the pieces here (mostly fillets and small *crustae*) are all recut or left-over material.

Rosso antico from Cape Tenaros in the Peloponnese⁴⁴¹ is also used mainly for fillets but also for square and triangular *crustae*. Another Greek marble, but this time used almost exclusively for the geometric *crustae*, is *verde antico*. It was quarried near Larissa in Thessaly and was a fairly sought after, if not rare, marble.⁴⁴² Its weakness and fragility may have been the reason it was not used for fillets. Another green stone, which also comes from Greece is *cipollino*. It was quarried at Carystos on the island of Euboea,⁴⁴³ and it is commonly used here for small geometric *crustae*.

Other types of marble appear less frequently on this floor, but they sometimes form rather important parts of the design. The infrequency with which they appear and their position in the design is indicative of their prestige (at Berenice at least). These are: *breccia corallina*, of which one ancient quarry is known at Vezirken in Bithynia;⁴⁴⁴ and *africano* (mostly of the green variety), the quarries of which have been discovered at Teos in Asia Minor.⁴⁴⁵ The others make only random appearances and include *rosso brecciato* from near Iasos in Caria,⁴⁴⁶ *portasanta* from Chios⁴⁴⁷ and two types of breccia. The one used in panel 11 is almost certainly the so-called *breccia gialla nuvolata della Tripolitania*. The other, used in panels 13 and 15 is probably the *breccia gialla dell'Asia Minore*.⁴⁴⁸

It is interesting to note that of the eleven central tiles that survive, five are of *pavonazzetto*, four of *verde antico*, one of *breccia corallina* and one (the only use of this stone here) of *rosso brecciato*. These numbers reflect the availability of *verde antico* and *pavonazzetto* on the one hand and the rarity of *rosso brecciato* on the other.

These marbles, with the possible exceptions of *marmo scritto* and the few pieces of *breccia gialla nuvolata* that might come from North Africa, all come from Greece and Asia Minor. Admittedly, these are the areas in which there is the largest concentration of ancient quarries but it is worth noting that no certain North African marbles are used in this floor. The study of several thousand marble fragments of wall veneering and floor slabs found during the excavations at Sidi Khrebish gives the same results, even though these also include fragments of African alabasters, granite and even a few pieces of *giallo antico* and red porphyry.⁴⁴⁹ The absence of *giallo antico* and porphyry from this floor is not unexpected, but it is surprising that the red granite of Aswan and the green porphyry from Laconia in Greece (quite plentiful elsewhere at Sidi Khrebish) are not present. This, however, may not have been a deliberate choice but depended on the material available for reuse.⁴⁵⁰

It is impossible to tell where the *spolia* came from. Although there are thousands of marble fragments from Sidi Khrebish, no other monument was found with any of its marble decoration *in situ*. Such decoration was in any case rare throughout Cyrenaica, since the area had no marble of its own. Despite the fact that imports from Greece and the East are widely attested from the 2nd century AD, marble decoration was never plentiful in Cyrenaica, even in the grand 6th-century basilicas.⁴⁵¹

Little has been published on the *opus sectile* of Cyrenaica, despite the fact that the region offers a variety of floors from different periods. A relatively early group uses fairly large rectilinear panels whose effect is achieved by carefully chosen marbles, as in the Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais⁴⁵² and the simple but exquisite floor from the Building of the Windswept Capitals at Cyrene;⁴⁵³ both are very different from the Benghazi floor. At a later period the style changed, and the floor was now partitioned into small independent panels with a variety of designs, joined together by wide bands of marble — a type best exemplified in the floors of the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene.⁴⁵⁴

Considering the large number of similarities observed between the Benghazi mosaics and the almost contemporary ones from the Insula of Jason Magnus, it is not surprising to find that their *opus sectile* floors also belong to the same general type, despite the fact that their treatment is rather different. In the large *triclinium* of the Insula,⁴⁵⁵ the way the rectangular space is divided into panels is the same as at Benghazi, although on a much larger scale (five by seven panels there, three by five at Benghazi). But there the similarities end. The designs in the Insula of Jason Magnus, both in the large and the small *triclinium*, are of a delicacy and intricacy undreamt of by the maker of the Benghazi floor. Although some of the elements in the Insula of Jason Magnus are made up of more than one piece of marble, the smaller *crustae* were specially cut for the floors, and the refinement and care with which they were fitted together set them apart from Building W. The same differences are apparent in the sophisticated way in which the marbles (of which there was a much richer assortment at Cyrene) were chosen and matched.

The same observations can be made when the Benghazi *opus sectile* is compared with some floors from Ptolemais.⁴⁵⁶ The decoration of the floor from the Villa⁴⁵⁷ is very close to those from the Insula of Jason Magnus, and they all belong to a particular tradition also seen in later Cyrenaican floors — in, for example, the Western Church of Apollonia⁴⁵⁸ and the Church at Ras el-Hilal.⁴⁵⁹ This tradition is not only characteristic of this region but also of the whole of the East, including Greece.⁴⁶⁰ It is a tradition that continued until the new fashion for floors made of small *crustae* forming intricate carpet patterns took over in the East, and to some degree in the West. The development of this new type of *opus sectile* decoration, of which innumerable examples exist, does not concern us here. Suffice to say that in the 4th century its repertory of patterns was already vast.⁴⁶¹ In Cyrenaica the change from one

tradition to the other can be observed in the floor of the House of Hesychius at Cyrene⁴⁶² which still retains some separate panels in the older tradition, and is halfway between the Benghazi floor and the full flourish of the new style as seen in the few surviving fragments from the 6th-century Basilica A at Latrun.⁴⁶³

There are, in fact, no direct parallels for the *opus sectile* floor from Building W in Cyrenaica. If the building had had a longer life one would ascribe this floor to a date after the Severan period, when it could have been made using material retrieved from earlier floors. However, as the building seems to have been abandoned around the mid 3rd century, it is to the first half of this century that the floor should be ascribed. In this context it is interesting to note that panel 11, with its cosmatesque-like hexagonal field, looks ahead to the new style of *opus sectile* decoration mentioned above.

Parallels at Benghazi

A small number of loose *crustae*, mostly of lozenges and triangles, have been found at Sidi Khrebish, but no other *opus sectile* floor is yet known.

Date

Although this floor has some late characteristics, it probably dates from before the mid 3rd century AD. Deposit 93 from underneath it, together with Deposits 91, 92, 94, 95 and 96, would point to a date in the second quarter of the 3rd century.⁴⁶⁴

No. 26. Geometric mosaic of the Northern Compartment of Room 7 (c. 4.80 × 6 m) of Building W (Figs 62, 75, 88–93)

Proceeding from the Southern Compartment, one went up one step into the north part of the room. The marble dressing of the top of the step has been lost but the mortar bedding survives. It shows that this slab lined the full width of the opening between the pilasters (or columns), which means that it followed and bordered the wide field of this mosaic rather than the much narrower one of the *opus sectile* in the lower compartment. Even though the room may have extended beyond the north limit of the mosaic (see Introduction to Building W, pp. 51f. above), there can be little doubt that the mosaic-paved area ended on the north in a semicircle of plain surround.

Discovered during the summer of 1973 in an appalling state of preservation, with only the central *emblema* (no. 27), the southern edge and part of the east end of the design surviving. A fair portion of the surrounds on the south, east and north was also preserved, and these are of the utmost importance for the interpretation of the function of the room.

The decorated area measured approximately 1.60 × 2.30 m. The *emblema* (no. 27) was lifted almost immediately after discovery.⁴⁶⁵ The rest was still *in situ* when last examined in the summer of 1976.

Bibliography

Berenice I, 157, pl. XIIb — mentioned in relation to the fish *emblema*.
Michaelides 1988, 364, pl. VI:2

Description

Trellis formed by squares set tip to tip, with a separate *emblema* in the centre.

Surround

It is white and decorated on the east and west by a series of diamonds (Table 6, type 7). On the north there are 128 rows of tesserae (c. 204 cm) at its maximum; on the south c. 23 rows of tesserae (c. 30 cm) but they are not all of the same size. On the east there is a maximum of 68 rows (c. 100 cm), and on the west c. 62 rows (c. 90 cm).

The surround along the north-west end was badly damaged by Turkish-period grave pits, and most of the east side was also destroyed. There is enough to show that the east side must have measured the same as the western one, and that it was also decorated with a series of black five-stepped diamonds. From the west side one can gather that there were six such diamonds placed along the middle of the surround, across an area corresponding to the decorated field.

The surround was set in regular rows of tesserae parallel to the frame of the mosaic. Those on the south and north seem to have occupied the whole east–west extent of the floor, while those on the east and west fitted between them at right angles (see Table 8).

Border

About 10.5 cm wide, consisting of a triple black fillet (4 cm), four rows of white tesserae (5.5 cm) and a single black fillet (c. 1 cm), the latter touching the design.

Field

Uniform trellis formed by diagonal strings of black squares set tip to tip, crossing at every fourth square. A similar black square is set in the centre of the large, empty, diamond-shaped spaces formed by the trellis (Variation of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 133a: 'Grid-pattern of tangent poised squares...').

It is not possible to know whether the entire floor surface was originally covered by this pattern, or whether the *emblema* (no. 27) decorated with sea creatures, occupied its centre from the start. As found, this *emblema* looks awkwardly inserted in the floor. It is slightly off-centre and its edges (at least those of the tile-box) are not exactly parallel to those of the surrounding geometric design. This, however, may have been remedied by a now lost series of frames around the *emblema*.

Technical Data*Materials*

All the tesserae are of the porous black and white varieties of stone.

Tesserae

They all measure 1–1.5 cm² except those of the southern surround which are made of smaller tesserae measuring 0.5–1 cm². The last four or five rows on the south, just before the marble step, are made of very large tesserae of up to 1.5–2 cm².

Density

49 tesserae per 10 cm² for all the mosaic except the southern surround which has 81 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

Fairly accurate, since the design is straightforward.

Foundation

The foundation here is rather different from those of the other mosaics, and is in some ways similar to that of the nearby *opus sectile*. The *statumen* is c. 8 cm thick and consists of the following: at the bottom there is a layer of largish stones set and practically covered by the next layer consisting of rough mortar. This is brown and contains very small crushed terracotta fragments and pebbles. On top of this there is a third layer of similar mortar which levels off the *statumen*. The *rudus* is c. 1 cm thick and is made of similar but finer mortar. The *nucleus* is quite fine and considerably whiter than the rest. It is only c. 0.5 cm thick.

Comments and Discussion

The relation of this floor to that of the Southern Compartment and the possible interpretation of Room 7 as a dining room-cum-reception hall, has already been discussed under the Introduction to Building W, pp. 51f. above. Here, only the geometric pattern will be discussed.

The rather rudimentary design of a trellis of squares is closely related to that of mosaic no. 7, also formed of small squares. This was found to have been popular (outside Italy) from the 2nd century. In a more general sense, this design belongs to that family of patterns formed by squares and chevrons which, as seen in mosaic no. 3, were particularly popular from the late 1st/early 2nd century AD.⁴⁶⁶ To my knowledge, the first direct parallels to this mosaic appear in the early 2nd century in the area of Rome. An early example, dated to the last years of the reign of Domitian, comes from Room A of the 'Ponte di Caligola' on the Palatine.⁴⁶⁷ The design is the same but the colours are reversed. A slightly later example, in all respects identical to the Benghazi example, comes from House III,ii,9 at Ostia and has been dated to c. AD 110–120.⁴⁶⁸ The design is, of course, rather elementary and easily lends itself to further elaboration. The straightforward pattern is rare after the 2nd century, while variations of it, either in black and white or polychromy, are quite frequent. To the former group belong mosaics such as those from San Nicholas at Hypate in Phthiotis, where the trellis is formed by lines of smaller black squares crossing at every fifth square,⁴⁶⁹ and those from the mid 5th-century Villa at Phtelia, where they meet at every sixth square.⁴⁷⁰ This tendency of making the design more open, by using strings of smaller squares crossing at larger intervals, is further exploited by polychromy, as can be seen in innumerable examples, e.g. that from the House of the Drinking Contest at Antioch.⁴⁷¹

Unfortunately it has proved impossible to find examples of the plain, simple pattern of a date closer to that suggested for the Benghazi floor. The only exception is again Ptolemais, where there are two identical floors, one in the West Portico, the other in Room 12 of the Villa.⁴⁷²

Parallels at Benghazi

None.

Date

There are no direct stylistic parallels that can help with the dating of this floor. The history of the building, however, and Deposit 94 from underneath it (together with Deposits 91–93, 95–96) point to a date in the second quarter of the 3rd century AD.⁴⁷³

No. 27. *Emblema* with a representation of sea creatures set in the floor of Room 7 of Building W (FIGS 75, 88, 90, 94–98, Col. Pl. XVI)

The *emblema* was situated more or less in the centre of the geometric field of mosaic no. 26. It appears to have been rather awkwardly inserted in the floor, but this impression is probably accentuated by the ruinous condition of the surrounding *tessellatum*.

The *emblema* is made of *opus vermiculatum* on a terracotta tray c. 59 × 59 cm. Only a small area, equivalent to about one third of the original, survives near its centre. It measures at its maximum c. 44 × 33 cm, and is itself fairly damaged, the glass tesserae in particular. Moreover, the tile has a diagonal crack.

It was discovered in the summer of 1973, and because of its precarious condition was lifted almost immediately afterwards. It is now stored in the Department of Antiquities, Benghazi.

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J.A. Lloyd, 'Sidi Khrebish Excavations, Benghazi, 1972–3', *LibSt* 4, 1973, 14, pl. III.

Berenice I, 157, pl. XIIb.

P.G.P. Meyboom, 'I mosaici pompeiani con figure di pesci', *Meded* XXXIX, n.s. 4, 1977, 62 n. 143.

Michaelides 1988, 364, 367, pls VI:2–VII:1.

Description

The *emblema* depicted a variety of sea creatures, nine of which survive, swimming against a plain white background. They cast no shadows. The surviving fragment shows that the representation was dominated by a brutal fight between a moray and a cuttlefish, occupying most of the upper half of the panel. Also represented around and below the fighting pair, but not participating in the fight, are a Norway lobster, a smooth serranus, a dusky serranus(?), a ray(?), an unidentifiable creature, and two sea algae(?). The fish seem generally lighter on the underside, as they are in nature. In fact all are depicted with the greatest care for realistic detail and, had they been better preserved, the identification of the species would have posed no problems.

Murena helena L., Moray, Morey or Murry Eel⁴⁷⁴

The body of the moray is twisted into an S-shape taking up almost the full width of the panel. Despite the fact that most of the dorsal zone and the whole of the tail are destroyed, and the head is also badly damaged, the fish can be easily identified as *Murena helena* L. If one takes for granted that all the creatures represented here are Mediterranean species, then there are two candidates: *Murena unicolor* De la Roche, and *Murena helena* L., the two morays commonly found in this sea. Of these the former can be excluded because of its distinctly different colouring.

As well as the body of the moray, the dorsal fin, anus, eye and teeth are, at least in part, preserved. The mouth area is damaged. Some white and black tesserae chips remaining in the bedding might be remnants of the teeth against the black mouth cavity. There can be no doubt, however, that the moray is biting the tentacles of the cuttlefish, which are wounded and bleeding. The central position of the crimson blood drops makes them the focal point of the whole composition.

The dorsal area is reddish black, fading gradually down the body, through several tones of brown, into a band of pale pinkish grey, marking the part of the body caught by the light. The colours then change less gradually into paler lines of brown. The dorsal fin is outlined in dark greenish grey, and filled with black and pinkish grey. The whole of the body is beautifully dotted with small, L-shaped elements, imitating the markings of the fish. The body and the markings are of the same colours (salmon orange, reds, green, yellows and blues), and are extremely well chosen so as to contrast with each other. The anus is represented by a circle of bright red glass tesserae. Four black tesserae, just above the lower jaw, seem to be all that remains of the eye. The teeth were probably white against a black mouth.

Sepia officinalis L., Cuttlefish⁴⁷⁵

As already described, a large cuttlefish is engaged in a bloody fight with the moray. Unfortunately the tail end, the point of junction of the head to the body, and a large part of the tentacles are destroyed. The exact position of the latter cannot be reconstructed.

It is very unusual to have a cuttlefish represented in this type of fight. The moray usually fights an octopus,⁴⁷⁶ and in one instance even a squid.⁴⁷⁷ Here, however, they both have to be excluded, the former because of the fins on the side of the body and the padded tips of the tentacles; the latter because of the shape of the body, and the fact that the lateral fins of the creature represented here reach up to the head.

The body catches most of the light and is rendered in shades of grey with a slight yellow tinge. The shaded areas use darker greys with bluish, pinkish and brownish tinges. The fins are of the same colours, the upper one being generally lighter. Darker hues of the same colours are used for the tentacles. The eyes are made very prominent by a reddish black outline. They consist of a circular black pupil surrounded by very pale yellow/green (glass). The grooves running from the eyes to the back of the head are made of maroon and reddish black tesserae.

Nephrops norvegicus L., Norway Lobster, Dublin Bay Prawn, Langoustine or Scampo⁴⁷⁸

At first sight, one might think that this is a spiny-lobster or langouste,⁴⁷⁹ the creature normally represented on this kind of mosaic. Since it is provided with pincers (*chelae*), however, it must be either a lobster (*Homarus gammarus* L. (= *vulgaris*)) or a Norway lobster (*Nephrops norvegicus* L.). The long and narrow pincers leave no doubt that the crustacean represented here is the latter and not the ordinary lobster, which has heavy, thick pincers. The animal is common in the eastern Atlantic but, according to Davidson, also abounds in the Adriatic and is more or less common in the western and central parts of the Mediterranean, becoming rare from Greece eastwards.⁴⁸⁰ The differences between this and the more common *Palinurus vulgaris* were already known and described by Aristotle.⁴⁸¹

The lobster occupies the lower right-hand side of the fragment, above and behind a dusky serranus which conceals its left pincer and antennae. Only part of the carapace with its pincers, antennae and other claws survives. The curved abdomen is destroyed, but the codal fins are preserved.

The carapace is outlined in black, reddish black and dark reddish brown. Its spiny surface is rendered in dark reddish brown lines against light green (glass). The rest is filled with salmon orange dotted with a few pink and grey tesserae. The eyes are made of one round black tessera, surrounded by white. They are outlined in reddish black and so is the stalk of the left eye which is otherwise dark reddish brown. The left claw has a pincer, the upper half of which is dark reddish brown and black, while the lower half is mostly of pale green glass tesserae. The spines appear on its upper side first as black projections. The colour of the claw then continues as dark brown, and through various shades of brown reaches a grey and salmon orange centre. It then becomes a dark lobster colour and turns through various shades of pinkish brown into salmon orange. The area beyond the eye becomes greyer and pinker with short stripes of yellow(?) (glass) and salmon tesserae. The point of junction of the pincer to the claw is shown with three transversal stripes, one dark grey, flanked by light grey. This is a prominent feature because the tesserae are set in a different direction to the rest of the claw. The upper right claw is similar except that the darker browns are now on the top side. The upper pincer is equipped with two triangular teeth, the area closer to the body is in salmon orange and the top outline is much more spiny. The antennae have a lower outline of dark reddish brown. Half the upper outline is of the same colour too. The rest is filled as in the claws above, although the antennae are on the whole lighter, and glass tesserae are used. The legs have a shaded lower side of dark reddish brown. Their upper side starts with the same colour at the tips and then turns increasingly lighter into a dark lobster and salmon orange colour. The filling in the upper part is a mixture of the above shades of brown. Next to the third leg there survives a tiny part of the abdomen. It shows as a dark reddish brown outline of an area of light pink, grey and different shades of brown. The codal fins are outlined and ribbed in yellowish brown. The filling is pinkish grey towards the tip, and as it advances towards the body it becomes first yellowish grey and then a darker grey.

Serranus cabrilla L.(?), Comber, Smooth Serranus⁴⁸²

This is one of the most colourful inhabitants of the panel even though only two thirds of it survive, just below the head of the moray. This fish should be visualized as swimming behind the fighting pair, since the tentacles of the cuttlefish stand in front of it. It has been identified as a *Serranus cabrilla* rather than a *Serranus scriba* because of the mainly reddish colouring and the large number of vertical striations (the former has seven to nine stripes, the latter only five to six), as well as the lack of a blue patch on the abdomen.⁴⁸³ Unfortunately, the head, which is the most distinguishing feature of the two species, is destroyed.

Its colours are difficult to describe as each one fades or darkens from one tessera to the next. On the whole the abdomen is the lightest in colour, followed by the fins and tail. The darkest parts are the dorsal fin and the vertical body stripes. The dorsal fin is of dark brown ochre and brownish greys, except the area between the cuttlefish's tentacles, which is black. It is distinguished from the body by a line of pale grey. Under this there is a dorsal line of very dark shades of grey from which all the vertical stripes start. These are black at the top but turn, first into dark reddish brown and then pale reddish brown towards the abdomen. The space between them also changes colours from top to bottom. It starts as dark reddish brown, then becomes mauvish brown, mauve, pink, greyish pink and grey until it meets the pale yellow(?) (glass) and grey lines of the abdomen. The anal fin is greenish and brownish grey, ribbed with brown ochres. The codal fin has the upper outline and some of the ribbing in very dark shades of grey tending towards brown. Then the colours become lighter in the same way as on the body. The lower outline is in pale grey and the rest of the ribbing is brown and brown ochre against pink and pinkish brown.

Epinephelus guaza L.(?) (= *Serranus gigas* = *Cerna gigas*), Grouper, Dusky Serranus, Rock-cod⁴⁸⁴
Only three small parts of this fish survive in the lower right-hand edge of the fragment. They indicate that the body was curved with the head pointing upwards towards the centre of the panel. The largest fragment shows the head with an open mouth and a set of ferocious teeth. The second fragment shows part of the dorsal fin and a tiny area of the body; and the third, the end of the dorsal fin towards the tail.

The mouth is of greenish black and the teeth are bright white. It is outlined by a single line of pale green glass tesserae. The eye has a similarly coloured pupil outlined in pale grey. The rest of the head is pale green and turquoise, the lighter tones predominating on the lower side. The tiny part of the body showing on the second fragment is again greenish black. The dorsal fin starts as greenish grey outlined in dark brown, and, when it reappears on the third fragment, it still has the same outline, but it is now reddish brown. An area of the bedding, under and between the second and third fragment, still contains chips of lobster-coloured tesserae.

Raja — (?), Ray⁴⁸⁵

Between the mouth of the *Epinephelus* (the chin of which it touches) and below the *Serranus*, there is part of the black outline of another creature. Its shape, dark colour and the fact that other members of the same family often appear on mosaics, indicate that this is probably a ray. The short, pointed, triangular head and the shape of the fins resemble those of *Raja clavata* L., *R. miraletus* L., or even *R. asterias* De la Roche,⁴⁸⁶ but none of these, to my knowledge, appears on mosaics.

The outline and a few tesserae near the triangular tip of the head are greenish black. The bedding within this outline has tiny fragments of similarly coloured tesserae mixed with others of glass paste of a similar, probably lighter colour.

Fish(?)

On the left, at the edge of the surviving fragment, below the moray and above the *Serranus*, there was another creature of which only three black tesserae survive. Chips in the bedding below show that there were more black and some grey tesserae.

Sea alga(?)

A small trapezoidal shape can be seen between the cuttlefish and the lobster. One could suggest that this and the creature described below were some kind of mollusc but their predominantly green colour points more to sea algae than anything else, and for this reason Aurigemma's identification of similar shapes in the mosaics of Zliten has been adopted.⁴⁸⁷ Moreover, if one considers how realistically everything else is represented, it is unlikely that the mosaicist would have turned to a more stylized type of depiction when it came to sea shells.

It is made entirely of glass tesserae that have deteriorated enormously, which means that their true original colour is not always recognizable. The only certain colour is a rectangular area of bottle green at the right end. A few parallel bluish green striations can be seen on the rest but the predominant colours are the various shades of pale green of the deteriorated glass tesserae.

Sea alga(?)

It is situated on the inside of the curve formed by the body of the moray. Its nature must be similar to the one just described.

The left-hand side end is a small rectangular area of dark greenish grey stone tesserae but all the rest is made of glass tesserae which are in an advanced stage of decomposition. There are a few lines which are definitely of bottle green but the rest is a pale greenish yellow powder.

Technical Data

Box-Tile

It measures *c.* 59 × 59 cm and is 2.5–3 cm thick. What is visible of its top surface shows that this was scratched and roughened, presumably in order to make the mortar bedding for the *vermiculatum* adhere better. Also, the edges of the upper side of the tile were chiselled away so that they slope downwards towards the outside. This was purposely done in order to remove the raised edge of the terracotta tray. One cannot be sure why this was done, since in similar *emblemata* the raised edge normally holds in the *vermiculatum*. It seems likely, however, that the edges were removed so that when the *emblema* was set into the floor the surrounding *opus tessellatum* could be brought right up to the tesserae of the *emblema*, without having the 'frame' of the tile in between. This lowering of the edges of the *emblema* would also allow a thicker layer of bedding for the larger tesserae of an *opus tessellatum* frame. This, in any case, is an unusual procedure since the raised edge of the box-tile is usually visible without this marring the effect of the *emblema*.⁴⁸⁸

The underside of the tile is flat and still has whitish mortar mixed with tiny pebbles adhering to it. The mortar is up to 4 cm deep but it can be considerably thinner in places, especially at the edges.

The terracotta tray sat in a squarish depression lined with small round stones, sandstone and terracotta fragments. A layer of slightly coarser mortar bound these to a layer of whitish mortar, the remains of which still adhere to the back of the tile.

Materials

The background is made of very good quality, marble-like, white stone. A vast variety of colours and shades of stone has been used for rendering the sea creatures as naturalistically as possible. Many glass paste tesserae were also used. Their colours are black, bright red, bottle green, bluish green, pale green, pale yellowish green, pale yellow and yellow. Details of the colours and the way they are used have already been mentioned under each creature separately.

Tesserae

They are absolutely minute and measure, on average, 0.2 cm², although some are smaller.

Density

About 250 tesserae per 10 cm².

Setting

As is to be expected in a work in *opus vermiculatum*, the setting of the tesserae was done with the greatest care, so as to achieve the desired naturalistic effect. In certain areas, the tesserae are placed transversely to the general flow of the setting so that certain details, such as the thorny carapace and antennae of the lobster and the suckers of the cuttlefish, can stand out.

Foundation

The tesserae are set inside the frame of the terracotta tray and attached to its roughened surface by means of a thin layer of very white chalky plaster, up to 0.51 cm thick.

Comments and Discussion

Representations of fish, either by themselves or as part of more complex compositions, are extremely common in Roman art.⁴⁸⁹ These often incredibly accurate renditions derive from a tradition already flourishing in the 4th century BC when for the first time the sea and the creatures that inhabit it were studied seriously and systematically. Aristotle was certainly the greatest exponent of the purely scientific approach to ichthyology, while his older contemporary, Arcestratos of Gela, studied fish equally attentively but with a less scientific approach, since his interests were purely culinary. A series of other writers were inspired by their examples and it was in this climate of scientific inquiry that naturalistic depictions of fish were developed.⁴⁹⁰ It is probable that such depictions were first employed in wall paintings,⁴⁹¹ but it is the mosaic medium that has preserved most examples. The genre reached its zenith in the 2nd century BC, with masterpieces like the *emblemata* from the House of the Faun and from House VIII.ii.16 in Pompeii, where the renderings are scientifically so accurate that the species of every fish represented can be determined.⁴⁹² Fish depictions, usually in *opus tessellatum* but also in the form of *emblemata*, remained popular in Roman times but became increasingly inaccurate and generic. It has already been demonstrated that the earliest surviving mosaics with fish representations were already amalgamations and adaptations of earlier, lost models.⁴⁹³ Different parts of a model or models became detached from their original context and were used in combination with elements

coming from totally different scenes, to create new compositions which sometimes, but certainly not always, preserved their original sea-life context. These various combinations and mutations led to scenes of immense complexity with regard to the original source of the various elements that compose them. The Benghazi panel is not of such complexity although, as will be seen, it does include one scene that, whatever its origin, was used frequently in depictions of this general type.

Fish mosaics of a naturalistic character, involving no other representations, mythological or genre, can roughly be divided into three groups: a) still lifes, where no water is represented and the fish are obviously dead, b) representations of fish ponds, and c) scenes of marine life.⁴⁹⁴ It is clear that the Benghazi mosaic, illustrating a fight, is more likely to be depicting a scene taking place in the sea rather than in a fish pond.

The deadly fight between an octopus, a lobster and a moray, frequently depicted in mosaics and frescoes, derives from an observation made from nature. The earliest extant description of such a fight is that of Aristotle:

The crayfishes even overcome the big fishes, and a sort of dramatic reversal befalls some of these animals. For the octopuses overcome the crayfishes, so that if the crayfishes even sense them near in the same net they die of fear. The crayfishes overcome the conger eels, which do not slip away from them because of their rough surface. But the conger eels eat the octopuses, which cannot deal with them because of their smoothness.

(*Historia Animalium* VII(VIII), 590b, 12–20⁴⁹⁵)

Oppian gives a much more detailed and vivid account of how the moray attacks and devours the octopus, how the moray itself is eaten by the crayfish, and how the latter is devoured by the octopus. It is, in fact, graphic descriptions such as these of Oppian that seem to be the ultimate source from which many fish *emblemata* derive:

Above all other the dashing Crayfish and the Muraena and the Poulpes have a bitter feud with each other and destroy one another with mutual slaughter. Always there is fishy war and strife between them, and one fills his maw with the other.

Oppian first describes how the raging moray approaches the octopus who at first tries to flee in terror but is too slow for the speedy moray that soon catches it and fixes it with her deadly teeth, and then, how the octopus:

albeit unwilling, fights under deadly compulsion and twines around her limbs, contriving all manner of twists, now this, now that, with his crooked whips, if haply, embracing her in his nooses, he may stay her onset. But for his evil plight there is no cure or escape. When the Poulpe enfolds her, the nimble Muraena with her slippery limbs easily escapes through his embrace like water. But the Poulpe twines now round her spotted back, now round her neck, now round her very tail, and anon rushes into the gates of her mouth and the recesses of her jaws...

The Crayfish again destroys the Muraena, savage though she be, overcome by her valour fatal to herself. He stands near the rock in which dwells the nimble Muraena and extends its two feelers and, breathing hostile breath, challenges the Muraena to battle: ... Even so the Crayfish whets the spirit of the Muraena, and no laggard for battle is the dusky fish, but rushing from her lair with arched neck and quivering with wrath she goes to meet him. Yet for all her terrible rage she hurts not the prickly Crayfish; vainly and idly she fixes in him her jaw and rages with her hard teeth, which in her jaws rebound as from a hard rock and grow weary and are blunted by their force. Greatly her fierce heart burns and is stirred, until the Crayfish rushes on her with his long claws and seizes her by the tendon in the midst of her throat, and clings and holds her firm as with brazen tongs, and lets her not go though eager to escape. She, distressed by his violence and vexed by pain, wheels every way her crooked body, and speedily she throws herself about the prickly back of the Crayfish and enfolds him and impales herself on the spine and sharp points of his shell, and, full of many wounds, perishes self-destroyed, dead by her own folly...

The Crayfish again, prickly though he be and swift, is devoured by the Poulpe, albeit he is weaker and sluggish in motion. For when the Poulpe remarks him under the rocks sitting all motionless, stealthily he springs upon his back and casts his various bonds about him, oppressing him with the long chains of his strong feet and with the ends of his tentacles withal he constricts and strangles the warm channel in the midst of his mouth and suffers not the airy breath to pass either out or in Ū7 but holds him in his embrace. And the Crayfish now swims, now halts, and again struggles, and anon dashes against the jutting crags. But the Poulpe relaxes not the contest of might, until life and strength forsake the other in death.

(*Halieutica* II, 253–407⁴⁹⁶)

Several other ancient writers, including Pliny, Aelian, Plutarch, Antigonus of Carystus, Manuel Philes and Horapollon, also describe these vicious fights,⁴⁹⁷ and the tradition survives to modern times as illustrated by the contemporary Italian expression: 'Il polpo mangia l'aragosta, l'aragosta mangia la murena, la murena mangia il polpo'.⁴⁹⁸

Such a fight, usually with an octopus attacking a spiny lobster, and a moray either observing or participating in the fight, or sometimes a moray attacking and biting an octopus, is found in a number of early mosaics and wall paintings, as well as a few later mosaics.⁴⁹⁹

In the case of the Benghazi *emblema*, however, the fight is between a moray and a cuttlefish, not an octopus, while a nearby lobster seems uninvolved in the fight. Blood is, in fact, dripping from the cuttlefish's tentacles bitten by the moray's sharp teeth. Cuttlefishes, as will be seen, are not uncommon on mosaics, but to my knowledge there are no other examples where a cuttlefish is involved in a fight, nor is blood represented in any other depiction of such underwater fights.

The lost mosaic originally published by Fuhrmann in *Archäologische Anzeiger* 1941, and thus known as mosaic AA-1941,⁵⁰⁰ declared as a fake by Parlasca,⁵⁰¹ but convincingly restored as an original by Meyboom,⁵⁰² seems to be the closest parallel to the Benghazi *emblema*. It is very different in that it shows a coastal landscape with buildings all around, and men fishing in a densely populated sea. In the lower right-hand side, however, one witnesses a fight between a moray and a cephalopod in a composition identical to that from Benghazi. Unfortunately, the cephalopod is mostly concealed by a rock and it is not clear if it was a squid (*Loligo vulgaris*) or a cuttlefish (*Sepia officinalis*) as in Benghazi.⁵⁰³ Otherwise the fighting pairs on the two mosaics are identical.

Another unusual feature of the Benghazi mosaic is the representation of a Norway lobster (*Nephrops norvegicus* L.). Depictions of this animal are not unknown in mosaic, like, for instance, the fine examples from Palestrina.⁵⁰⁴ The lobster on all the fish mosaics involving a fight⁵⁰⁵ that have been examined, however, is different. It has no pincers and is thus to be identified as spiny-lobster (*Palinurus vulgaris*).

The cuttlefish, as already mentioned, is not commonly depicted in these mosaics either. It appears that it is not found in the earlier examples, but it is by no means rare in more generic fish representations like that on an *emblema* from Aquileia,⁵⁰⁶ on a fragment of the Palestrina mosaic,⁵⁰⁷ and on the mosaics from the Maison de la Cascade at Utica.⁵⁰⁸ What is of more significance is that it is also found in one of the *emblemata* of the mosaic of the Amphitheatre scenes from the Villa of Dar Buc Ammera at Zliten.⁵⁰⁹ There it is represented swimming and not fighting, but the rendering is not dissimilar to, although much less fine than the Benghazi example. In descriptions of a now lost part of the large fish mosaic found in the 19th century near the Church of San Lorenzo in Panisperna in Rome, there is mention of a cuttlefish fighting a dolphin, but these descriptions, as a whole, seem to be rather confused.⁵¹⁰ The cuttlefish that can be seen on one of the surviving fragments of this mosaic is certainly not involved in a fight.⁵¹¹

The moray, whether involved in a fight or simply swimming, is a regular feature of these mosaics. It is found in the early examples from Pompeii, Tivoli, Ampurias⁵¹² and Solunto,⁵¹³ but in a rendering dissimilar to the Benghazi mosaic. However, a Flavian mosaic from Aquileia shows it involved in a fight with a lobster and an octopus, in a position very similar to that in Benghazi and the lost mosaic AA-1941.⁵¹⁴ In Tripolitania a different eel fighting an octopus is found on a mosaic from Gurgi.⁵¹⁵ At Zliten it is found on one of the *mandorle* of the large volute mosaic (i.e. in *tesselatum* and not in an *emblema*) in a different composition, but in a very fine rendering.⁵¹⁶ Morays appear in two different *emblemata* of the mosaic with the Amphitheatre scenes from Zliten. In both instances they are simply swimming, but in one case the shape of the body is identical to that in the Benghazi mosaic.⁵¹⁷ Even more striking is the fact that in this representation, as in the Benghazi *emblema*, a sea alga is represented in the curve of the body of the moray. Both the positions of the moray and the sea alga are seen again in another *emblema* from the room of the Four Seasons of the same villa.⁵¹⁸

The *Serranus cabrilla* found on the Benghazi mosaic, as well as its close relative *Serranus scriba*, were popular on all types of representations of sea life. They must owe their popularity to their bright colouring and decorative character. Both are found in Pompeian examples: a *S. cabrilla* in the *emblema* from the House of the Faun⁵¹⁹ and a *S. scriba* on another from House VII.vi.38,⁵²⁰ while both appear on the *emblema* from House VIII.ii.16.⁵²¹ The inaccuracies in the rendering of their striations make them more difficult to identify in later mosaics, but there seems to be a *S. scriba* on the Populonia(?) *emblema*,⁵²² while a fish on the much restored *emblema* from the Villa at Baccano could be tentatively identified as a *Serranus (scriba?)*.⁵²³ More *Serrani* of both species can be seen in the *emblemata* from Zliten: one in each panel of the Four Seasons mosaic,⁵²⁴ and one of each in two different *emblemata* of the mosaic with the Amphitheatre scenes.⁵²⁵

The only other fish on the Berenice *emblema* which preserves some recognizable features is the one tentatively identified as an *Epinephelus guaza* L. (= *Cernia gigas*). An *Epinephelus* with a similar

mouth is found in the centre of the Baccano *emblema*.⁵²⁶ Again the examples from Zliten offer more than one parallel. In the mosaic with the Amphitheatre scenes an *Epinephelus* appears in two *emblemata*,⁵²⁷ and it appears again in the *emblema* of the Seasons mosaic.⁵²⁸ The identification of this fragmentary fish is very tentative and no conclusive comparisons can really be made.

If the suggestion that a group of dark-coloured tesserae are the remains of a ray is correct, then no parallels can be found. There are, however, many representations of different species of *Torpedo*, both in early mosaics, such as the *emblema* from House VIII,ii,16 at Pompeii,⁵²⁹ and later, much more generic ones, like that from Utica now in the Louvre⁵³⁰ and those from the Maison de la Cascade also from Utica.⁵³¹

Surprisingly, the most telling features of the Benghazi mosaic are the two rather insignificant looking sea algae in the background. The possibility of these being representations of molluscs has already been rejected, and it does not seem likely that they could be a highly stylized rendering of the sea. The normal way of representing the sea in North African mosaics is with either straight or zigzag lines against a plain white background.⁵³² Taken in isolation, such lines⁵³³ are sometimes not too dissimilar to the Benghazi sea algae, but even so what is represented at Benghazi seems to be something different.

Whether sea algae or stylized waves are represented is of no great consequence but what does matter is the fact that similar objects are found on a very limited number of examples, all of which fall in one geographical region, namely Tripolitania, and all but one are *emblemata*. Unlike all other fish *emblemata*, these examples have a plain white background and there is no attempt to represent the sea by lines or colour. The white background outlines each creature with two to three rows of tesserae wherever possible, and the rest is set in regular, straight or curving lines. Such backgrounds, dotted with green sea algae, are found in all the fish *emblemata* from Tripolitania: the one from Gurgi,⁵³⁴ and all ten from Zliten — although it has to be admitted that the background of the panels from the room of the Amphitheatre mosaic is much less carefully executed than that of the Benghazi *emblema*.⁵³⁵ Exactly the same features are found in an *emblema*-like mosaic in the Fattoria di Orfeo at Leptis Magna.⁵³⁶

The only other example with a similar white background and sea algae is the fine *emblema* in the Museo Nazionale of Rome.⁵³⁷ This was already in the Kircher Museum in 1875, but its previous history and provenance are unknown. For reasons that will soon become clear, this *emblema* is considered here to be a member of this specific group of mosaics. The *emblema* from the Villa at Baccano, mentioned above, is close to this group in having a plain white background and fairly similar grey-green sea algae. Its general appearance, however, is different, something that may be due to excessive restoration.⁵³⁸ Another *emblema* of this general family comes from the Roman villa at Cecchignola. It was presented by Pope Gregory XVI to Sir Edward Thomason and is now in a private collection in Britain. It is a representation of living fish against a plain white background, but there are no sea algae, and the mosaic appears heavily restored.⁵³⁹

Emblemata were valued workshop products which, as at Benghazi, were usually set in a much larger tessellated floor.⁵⁴⁰ Being highly prized and easily transportable, they were often taken from one floor to be used in another. The removal of *emblemata* or even parts of ordinary mosaic floors for this purpose was fairly common practice in antiquity.⁵⁴¹ Examples, like the fish mosaic from the Villa at Gurgi,⁵⁴² a mosaic in Sfax Museum,⁵⁴³ and a floor from Thuburbo-Majus,⁵⁴⁴ abound. Further proof for this antiquarian taste of the Romans is provided by floors like that of the Villa of Baccano where 32 *emblemata* of different dates were arranged together in a new composition of the Severan period.⁵⁴⁵

Emblemata, therefore, are often found in secondary use, and their date is different from that of the floors they decorate. In the case of Benghazi, there can be no doubt that those who laid the *tessellatum* had nothing to do with whoever made the *emblema*. Unfortunately, the former is badly damaged and it is impossible to tell if the geometric pattern was laid around the *emblema*, or whether it was made first and was later cut out to receive its decorative centre. It is not possible to establish a precise date for the *emblema* but, as will be seen shortly, there are reasons for believing that its date is not far removed from that of the mosaic which dates to the early 3rd century AD.

It is not known exactly when *emblemata* were first made. Literary sources suggest that they were already in use in the 3rd century BC,⁵⁴⁶ but the oldest surviving securely-dated examples are later. Early *emblemata* were directly influenced, both in execution and subject matter, by large-scale paintings which they tried to imitate. The background plaster, for instance, was painted in order to achieve a better blending and gradation of colours between the tesserae. During the period from the 1st century BC to the 1st/2nd century AD, both the repertory and the technique of *emblemata* changed. The habit of painting the plaster, for example, was abandoned and *emblemata*, although continuing to repeat old formulas, gradually became more directly dependent on mainstream Roman art.

Research so far has not managed to locate where these *emblemata* were produced. Balil⁵⁴⁷ rightly pointed out that the largest concentration of such finds of a pre-Flavian date is fundamentally

Tyrhennian, and that it is only in the 2nd/3rd centuries AD that the genre became popular in the North African regions. One aspect that has not been emphasized enough, however, is the remarkable concentration of *emblemata* (many of them attributable to one period) in Tripolitania.⁵⁴⁸ Considering the relatively small number of known *emblemata*, it is surprising that 42 examples, and at least another 39 possible (but mostly certain) candidates, all come from a handful of sites in Tripolitania. Four (two with Tritons and Nereids, one with a *xenion* and one badly damaged) come from the House of the Tragic Actor at Sabratha.⁵⁴⁹ Three (with Theseus and the Minotaur, a *xenion* and a fishing scene), perhaps originally four, decorated a Villa at Gurgi near Tripoli.⁵⁵⁰ An *emblema* with a *xenion* comes from a building (a villa?) from the area of Forte della Vite in Tripoli, in which, according to Aurigemma, there was room for at least another fourteen such panels.⁵⁵¹ In a villa outside Porta Lebda near the Jewish cemetery of Homs, near Leptis Magna, there were eight *emblemata*.⁵⁵² These were found in groups of four in two different rooms of the building (those of one group depicted *xenia* with genre scenes, those of the other two showed Erotes hunting, one Mars and Venus, and the fourth was destroyed). It is interesting to note that one of these rooms is divided into two compartments, the inside one being higher than the other, and reached by means of two steps, the highest of which is flanked by half-columns. In other words, the arrangement there is quite similar to that at Benghazi.

There are another 26 *emblemata* from the Villa of Dar Buc Ammera at Zliten, although it is estimated that originally there were at least another 24.⁵⁵³ In one room there are five panels with agricultural and pastoral scenes, but originally there were nine. Another room has four panels with the Seasons separated by panels of *opus sectile*, and there were three extra panels on either side of the composition: two with Nilotic scenes, two with fishes and two with *xenia*. In another room, in a square area framed by a band with Amphitheatre scenes and another of *opus sectile* panels, there are eight *emblemata* with fish, alternating with the same number of *opus sectile* panels. Fragments of nine other recognizable *emblemata*, some with mythological scenes, were found where they had probably fallen from the upper storey; there are, moreover, at least another 40 unrecognizable fragments of *emblemata*.

All the above-mentioned Tripolitanian examples were made in terracotta trays of c. 60 × 60 cm, except some of those from Zliten which were slightly smaller. The fact that all these *emblemata* were made on the same kind of support appears significant.

It is a great misfortune that the date of the *emblemata* from Zliten, forming the largest of these groups, is one of the most debated problems of ancient art. The details of the numerous arguments that have led scholars to date the mosaics variously from the 1st to the early 4th century AD will not be discussed. A comprehensive summary is given in K.M.D. Dunbabin's contribution to the issue. To some extent, following some of Di Vita's arguments,⁵⁵⁴ she arrives at the following conclusions:

*Immigrant workmen from the eastern Mediterranean, trained in the emblema-technique of mosaic work, settled in Leptis during the first century AD. In the course of the late first or very early second century...they executed the main figured mosaics at the Villa at Zliten: the mosaics of the volutes, probably the agricultural scenes, and the amphitheatre scenes.... They also trained local pupils, who produced the Seasons at Zliten. The school they founded was still in evidence in Tripolitania in the second century, and is responsible for the greater popularity of emblemata there than in other parts of Africa. But in the course of the second century, Italian influence was also felt and a second group of ornamental mosaics at Zliten should be ascribed to a more Italianized current perhaps around 150.... Finally, a certain amount of restoration work etc. took place at Zliten at a considerably later date...but some of the other pavements of the villa may also have been restored or relayed at some stage, and some may even be later imitations of an earlier work.*⁵⁵⁵

For a direct reference to the fish *emblemata* of the villa, one has to turn to Di Vita who, arguing against a late 3rd/early 4th-century date suggested by Parlasca, based on the compositional scheme of the floor,⁵⁵⁶ states that,

*in effetti non esiste la prova strumentale che i bipedali con pesci, xenia e scene nilotiche e quelli con le Stagioni che compongono il pavimento nel suo insieme siano contemporanei alla bordura che li inquadra. A rigore nulla vieta quindi che essi, al pari dei quadretti con scene agricole...siano stati riutilizzati in un contesto diverso dall'originario.*⁵⁵⁷

Di Vita, however, agrees with G. Ville⁵⁵⁸ in considering the *emblemata* with the fish to be mediocre creations of local artists who were also responsible for the two other similar panels found in the room of the Seasons. Unfortunately, no precise date for the fish *emblemata* has been proposed by either scholar, although Di Vita does suggest that some of the *emblemata* at Zliten were produced in Tripolitania itself, probably in Leptis.⁵⁵⁹ D. Parrish, arguing on stylistic grounds, has convincingly attributed the figured mosaics, *tessellata* and *emblemata* at Zliten to the Severan period.⁵⁶⁰ While

accepting Dunbabin's ultimate origin of the workshop in the Eastern Mediterranean, further arguments can be brought forward in support of Parrish's suggested Severan date.

Other fish mosaics in the area support the suggestion that some of the Zliten *emblemata* were produced in Tripolitania itself. It has already been noted that the two groups of fish *emblemata* from Zliten are so similar that they must be products of the same workshop⁵⁶¹ and that the fish *emblema* from Gurgi has too many similarities with them to be of a different origin.⁵⁶² The same applies to the *emblema* at Benghazi, which must also be a product of the same workshop. A mosaic from the Fattoria di Orfeo at Leptis Magna also shows that both this kind of *emblema* and other types attributable to this workshop could also be imitated in the commoner *opus tessellatum medium*.⁵⁶³ What is especially surprising is the fact that the few published *emblemata* found in Cyrenaica clearly do not belong to this group. Two, from the Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais, one representing a still life with fish and the other poultry, are in a recognizable form, but only insignificant remains of others have survived.⁵⁶⁴ The two *emblemata*, now in the Museum of Ptolemais, are too fragmentary to provide their original dimensions, but the one with the fish is now 66.5 × 47 cm in size, indicating that originally it must have been considerably larger than the standard c. 60 × 60 size of the *emblemata* already examined. An even more serious difference is the fact that these *emblemata* are made on slabs of sandstone and not the usual tile-tray of the Tripolitanian and Benghazi examples.

All the above fish mosaics (except that from Ptolemais which is of a different nature anyway) have characteristics which distinguish them from others of this type and can therefore be attributed to one general period and a single workshop. As already noted, the most distinguishing feature of this group is the representation of sea algae against a white background. The particular way in which these sea algae are rendered is found again only in the afore-mentioned mosaic from the Kircher Collection in the Museo Nazionale in Rome.⁵⁶⁵ For this reason it is believed that it is related to the group, despite the fact that it measures 51 × 56 cm, instead of the standard c. 60 × 60 cm of the Tripolitanian examples. Its date remains very uncertain but the suggested 1st-century date seems improbable.⁵⁶⁶

Returning to the chronological context in which all the Tripolitanian *emblemata*, not just those depicting fish, have been found, those of Sabratha could be contemporary with the Severan floor in which they were inserted.⁵⁶⁷ Those with Theseus and the *xenion* from Gurgi were found in a geometric field datable to the late 2nd/early 3rd century.⁵⁶⁸ The third panel from Gurgi, the fish *emblema*, was probably contemporary to the other two but was found reused in a 3rd-century floor. Those from the Villa at Forte della Vite in Tripoli were found with tessellated floors of the late 2nd/early 3rd century,⁵⁶⁹ and those from the Villa near Homs formed part of a floor of the early Severan period.⁵⁷⁰ The Benghazi *emblema* was also found in an early 3rd-century context. It seems then likely that the tessellated floors in which the *emblemata* at Zliten were inserted were also made in the Severan period.

From the above it is clear that all the Tripolitanian *emblemata* (including probably those from Zliten) and the one example from Cyrenaica were inserted in floors of the late 2nd/early 3rd century. If the majority of the *emblemata* are earlier than the floors in which they were found, i.e. they were in secondary use, this would indicate that in Tripolitania in the late 2nd/early 3rd century there was a fashion for acquiring *emblemata* produced in the past by a local workshop or workshops and reusing them in newly made floors. This theory would be acceptable but for the fact that several of these *emblemata* must have been made at one and the same time. This would mean that whoever supplied them in the late 2nd/early 3rd century must have had a large stock of old *emblemata*, all dating from one particular period — something that seems rather unlikely. Only the fish *emblema* from Gurgi is a definite case of a reused *emblema*, but it is in a floor which is certainly later than those seen around the other *emblemata*.

A more likely proposition would be to consider these *emblemata* as Tripolitanian products, practically contemporary with the floors in which they were used, that is to say, to ascribe them to the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD. The question of how a Tripolitanian *emblema* found itself in a Cyrenaican floor is discussed in Chapter V.

Parallels at Benghazi

This is the only *emblema* known so far at Berenice.

Date

For the reasons given above, this *emblema* can be attributed to the late 2nd/early 3rd century.

Notes to Chapter III

1. For a more detailed description of the House, see *Berenice* I, 89–101.
2. *Berenice* I, 100, 297; *Berenice* III/1, 445.
3. If, as one would expect, the mosaic pattern was regular along the north-south axis, then the room would have been at least 4.70 m wide and not 4.50 m as given in *Berenice* I, 92.
4. When the mosaic was last examined, in the summer of 1976, many of the tesserae had become detached from the bedding, while trapped soil humidity had caused several areas of the mosaic to swell.
5. The green gadroons may have originally consisted of tesserae of two different shades, one yellowish, the other more clear. They are very decayed, however, and the colour is difficult to ascertain.
6. Pernice 1938, pl. 40:5; colour photograph in *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici I (Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale — Atlante sussidiario)*, Roma 1990, 511, fig. 44.
7. G. Castellana and B.E. McConnell, 'A rural settlement of Imperial and Byzantine date in Contrada Saraceno near Agrigento, Sicily', *AJA* 94, 1990, 28, fig. 4.
8. Becatti 1961, 210, no. 399, pl. LXIV.
9. For the early history of the crow-step motif, see Ovadiah 1980, 92f.
10. Diamonds in the South Portico, and crow-step in Room 1 of the Villa, see Mowry and Kraeling 1962, 240 and 247 respectively, and pl. LVIIc. Surprisingly, the crow-step is rather uncommon at Ostia (Becatti 1961, nos 296 and 389).
11. For their early history, see Ovadiah 1980, 110f. and 142 respectively.
12. Becatti 1961, no. 22; also nos 100, 226, 228, 236 and 263 for 2nd-century examples.
13. Blake 1936, 196.
14. Becatti 1961, nos 81, 228, 259, 266, 286, 421; and nos 43 and 421 for very late examples.
15. For the *opus sectile*, see Blake 1930, 39, pl. 6:3; for the *tessellatum*, see *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici II (Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale — Atlante sussidiario)*, Roma 1990, 116, fig. 141.
16. H. Lavagne, 'Dessin inédit d'une mosaïque de Vienne (Isère)', *Gallia* 37, 1979, 104–17, esp. 108.
17. Levi 1947, 411.
18. E.g. the late 4th/early 5th-century building at Tsiphliki near Lefkadia (Spiro 1978, 564ff., no. 196, pls 630f.); a late 5th-century floor from Basilica A at Nikopolis (*ibid.*, 484, no. 160, pl. 563); and a late 5th/early 6th-century floor from the Basilica of Theotokou in Thessaly (*ibid.*, 366f., no. 125, pl. 45).
19. E.g. the pavement in the Cathedral of Bari dated variously from the 6th to the 12th century. See P. Belli D'Elia (ed.), *Alle sorgenti del Romanico: Puglia XI secolo*, Bari 1975, 99f., photograph on p. 102.
20. Morricone 1970, 510, fig. 507 (the pattern on the Benghazi mosaic is Morricone's no. 7). For a rich variety of similar patterns, see *Le Décor* 1985, pls 116–19.
21. Becatti 1961, no. 195: Domus Fulminata (second half of the 1st century), fig. 39; nos 167, 169–170: III,ii,8, Caseggiato tipo (c. AD 110–120), figs 27–29; no. 184: Insula delle Volte Dipinte (c. AD 120), pl. XXXVI; no. 305: Palazzo Imperiale (c. AD 150), pl. XXXVI. A much later example is no. 325: Caupona del Pavone (mid 3rd century), pl. XXXVI.

22. Ponte di Caligola: Morricone Matini, *Palatium. Roma Reg. X (Mosaici Antichi in Italia)*, Roma 1967, 72, nos 8–73; Blake 1936, 78f.; Becatti 1961, 96. Examples from *Via Nova*: M.A. Tomei, 'Mosaici bianchi e neri dagli ambienti lungo la *Via Nova* sul Palatino', in I. Bragantini and F. Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del II Colloquio dell'AISCOM, Roma, 5–7 dicembre 1994*, Bordighera 1995, 425–32, figs 4–5.
23. Ph. Petsas, 'Αντακκλή Νζούσης', *ArchDelt* 1963, 18:II/2, 213–15, pls 252, 254–5.
24. Becatti 1961, 98, no. 173, fig. 31.
25. M.A. Tomei, *op. cit.* (note 22 above), 428, fig. 6.
26. G. Mancini, 'Scavi sotto la basilica di S. Sebastiano sull'Appia Antica', *Nsc* 1923, 51, 54f., 59ff.; F. Cremonesi, 'La risurrezione della Roma Imperiale', *Capitolium* 1, 1925, 402 and fig.; A. Von Gerkan, *Die christliche Anlagen unter San Sebastiano* (Sonderdruck aus Hans Lietzmann, *Petrus und Paulus im Rom 2. Anlage*), Bonn, 254f.; A. Ferrua, *San Sebastiano fuori le mura e la sua catacomba (Le Chiese di Roma Illustrate 99)*, Roma 1968, 9, 48, 56.
27. L. Quilici, *La Via Appia da Roma a Bovillae (Passeggiate nel Lazio)*, Roma 1977, 37; M. Petrassi, 'Testimonianze cristiane sotto l'Appia Antica', *Capitolium* 47/5–6, 1972, 25ff. and fig.
28. R. Krautheimer and S. Corbett, *Corpus Basilicarum Cristianorum Romae IV*, Città del Vaticano 1970, 114.
29. E. Nash, *Pictorial History of Ancient Rome I*, Tübingen 1961, no. 424.
30. 'Considerazioni su un nuovo ambiente sottostante la Basilica di S. Cecilia in Trastevere', *BdA*, ser. V, anno 61, 1976, 224, figs 9, 33.
31. Although they cite Becatti 1961, no. 184, pl. XXXVI, as a parallel (p. 224), they fail to mention the Ostian example (Caseggiato, Room H) which is not only identical but also more closely dated.
32. G. Pavan, 'I mosaici della Chiesa di S. Croce a Ravenna. Vecchi e nuovi ritrovamenti', *FelRav* 127–130, 1985, 352ff., figs 8–9.
33. Lancha 1977, pl. I; H. Lavagne, 'Dessin inédit d'une mosaïque de Vienne (Isère)', *Gallia* 37, 1979, 104–17, fig. 3.
34. A shield combined with a Medusa head was found in the 18th century in Pompeii, see *Gli Ornati delle Pareti ed i Pavimenti delle Stanze dell'Antica Pompei, incisi in rame II*, Napoli 1796, pl. 34 (of the copy in the collection of H.B. Van der Poel). This early example combining the Medusa head and the shield had obviously escaped D. Levi (1947, 385) when he asserted that such a pairing did not come about until the Hadrianic period.
On the representation of the Gorgoneion in the centre of shield designs, see C.H. McKeon, *Iconology of the Gorgon Medusa in Roman Mosaics*, diss. Univ. Michigan 1983 (1985), Appendix III, 170–7. On the Gorgoneion and the shield design in Greece, see A. Panagiotopoulou, 'Représentations de la Méduse dans les mosaïques de Grèce', in *Mosaico Antiquo VI* 1994, 369–78.
35. S. Aurigemma, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 1954, no. 56253.
36. Blake 1936, 82f.
37. Parlasca 1959, 106 n. 2.
38. Becatti 1961, 285; Becatti 1963, 18–19. See also Donderer 1986, 89ff.
39. For an example with a Medusa head, see note 34 above. For an example with a geometric motif in the centre, from House VI.xvi,7 (Casa degli Amorini Dorati), see Pernice 1938, 86, pl. 38; Blake

1930, 115f., pl. XXXVII:3; Luzón Nogué 1988, 234, fig. 11; *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici V (Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale — Atlante sussidiario)*, Roma 1994, 790, figs 139–41.

40. The effect of giddiness or spinning is sometimes accentuated further by what is represented in the central medallion, as in a mosaic from the rue des Colonnes at Vienne, which has a central 'Fleuron à quatre pétales tournoyants...autour d'un bouton central circulaire' (J. Lancha, *Les mosaïques de Vienne*, Lyon 1990, 51, fig. 22). For some interesting observations on the optical effects of the shield design, see G. Hellenkemper Salies, 'Irritations optiques dans l'ornementation pavimentale romaine', in *Mosaico Antiquo VI*, 1994, 423–30.

41. Luzón Nogué 1988. The development of the shield motif in Greece is included in the study that has been undertaken by the 'Groupe de recherche sur la mosaïque en Grèce' (see A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets in *BCH* 119, 1975/2, 791f.).

42. Another eight mosaics which might belong to the group under examination are excluded from the discussion since it has not been possible to consult the relevant publications or find any further information regarding them. These come from:

Fossombrone (L. Mercado, 'Rinvenimenti e notizie di mosaici nel Maceratese', *Studi Maceratesi* 13, 1979, 46);

Imola (Kiss 1973, 57);

Padua, Basilica of Santa Giustina (G. Pavan, *BMusPadova* 57, 1968, 72, fig. 2);

Emona/Ljubljana (W. Schmid, *Jh. Altertumskunde* 7, 1913, 133f., fig. 49);

Elche (R.R. Fernández, *La Ciudad romana de Illici*, 1975, 35f., fig. on p. 37);

Mataró (X. Barral I Altet, 'Mosaicos romanos de Mataró. La Villa de Can Llauder y el edificio de Can Xammar', in *XII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología Jaén, 1971*, Saragossa 1973, 735–46; *idem*, *Les mosaïques romaines et médiévales de la regio Laietana (Barcelona et ses environs)*, Universidad di Barcelona, *Publicaciones Eventuales* no. 29, 1978);

Torre-la-Cruz, Villa Romana (A. Espinosa Ruiz, 'Los mosaicos de la villa romana de Torre-la-Cruz (Villajoyosa, Alicante)', *Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología. Universidad autonoma, Madrid* 17, 1990, 219–53); and

Beit 'Enum, Church (Y. Magen, 'A Byzantine Church at Beit 'Enum (Beth 'Anoth) in the Hebron Hills', in G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and E. Alliata (eds), 'Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land. New Discoveries'. *Archaeological Essays in Honour of V.C. Corbo (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Collectio Major* 36), Jerusalem 1990, 275–86.

43. For such examples see Gonzenbach 1961, 89 n. 2; Donderer 1986, n. 853; and Luzón Nogué 1988, 239–41.

44. See notes 34 and 39 above.

45. Barcola (Trieste), Roman villa: G. Brusin, 'Aquilaia. Nuovi tessellati', *Nsc* 1947, 12, fig. 6; Blake 1936, 108, 110 n. 3, pl. 24; Donderer 1986, 89f., Barcola 29, pl. 31:4; F. Fontana, *La villa romana di Barcola. A proposito delle villae marittimae della Regio X (Studi e ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina* 4), Roma 1993, 98ff., no. 19, figs 14, 65.

Cividale del Friuli, mosaic from Piazza Gabrici now in the Civic Museum: G. Focolari, 'Cividale del Friuli', *Italia Artistica* 23, 1906, 27; T. Campanile in *Nsc* 1926, 3f.; Blake 1930, 115, pl. 38:4; Donderer 1986, 119f., Cividale 1, pl. 41:1; Luzón Nogué 1988, 236, no. 13, fig. 14.

Cividale del Friuli, same provenance: Donderer 1986, 119–20, Cividale 2, pl. 41:4.

Gubbio, mosaic from opposite the Church of S. Fransesco: G. Fiorelli in *Nsc* 1880, 461; Blake 1930, 116; E. Stefani in *Nsc* 1942, 371f., figs 40f.; Luzón Nogué 1988, 236, no. 15, fig. 16.

Piacenza, fragment in the Civic Museum: Blake 1930, 116, pl. 38:2; Luzón Nogué 1988, 235, no. 10, fig. 12.

Rome, lost mosaic from near S. Stefano Rotondo: P.S and F. Bartoli, *Le pitture antiche delle grotte di Roma I*, Roma 1706, pl. XXII; R. Paribeni, 'Nuovi monumenti del Museo Nazionale Romano', *BdA* 7, 1913, 164; Blake 1930, 116 — there is no proof, however, that this example belongs to the 1st century.

46. Ampurias, Casa Romana no. 1: M. Almagro, *Ampurias, History of the City and a Guide to the Excavation*, Barcelona 1951, fig. 34; M. Tarradell, *Arte Romano en España*, Barcelona 1969, figs 105,

108; A. Balil, *Casa y urbanismo en la España antigua* III (*SArch* 20), Valladolid 1973, 14ff., esp. 24; Luzón Nogué 1988, 237, no. 17.

Badalona, mosaic now in Barcelona Museum: H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'Art Byzantin*, Paris 1932, I, 58, pl. 68a (wrongly dated to c. AD 400); A. Balil, 'Mosaicos romanos de Bactulo', *Zephyrus* XV, 1964, 91, pl. V:1; Luzón Nogué 1988, 237, no. 18, fig. 19.

47. Avignon, lost mosaic from near the house of M. Molière: *Inventaire* I, 97; *Recueil* III/1, 41ff., pl. VI.

Orange, mosaic from the land of M. Sautel: *Inventaire* I, no. 113; *Recueil* III/1, no. 58, 68ff., pls XXf.

Another 1st-century French example comes from Narbonne: G. Barroul, 'Circonscription de Languedoc-Roussillon', *Gallia* 36, 1978, 435, fig. 6. This is a rather small example, however, and should perhaps be more correctly associated with mosaics 'à décor multiple'.

48. It appears twice in the 'Palazzo delle Colonne' at Ptolemais: Room 13 (Pesce 1950, 40, fig. 44) and Room 21 (*ibid.*, 47, pl. XVII).

49. The mosaics of the two Corinthian buildings below have been attributed to the 1st century by their excavators. This date is almost certainly wrong and the mosaics are more likely to belong to the late 2nd century. For the different dates proposed by different scholars for these two mosaics, see A. Kankleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken in Griechenland* (*Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde... Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zur Bonn*), München 1994, II, 109 and 114 respectively.

Corinth, Roman Villa: Th.S. Shear, 'Excavations in Corinth in 1925', *AJA* 29, 1925, 394f., figs 10–11; *idem*, *The Roman Villa* (Corinth V), Cambridge, Mass. 1930, 24, fig. 6, pl. X; Waywell 1979, no. 17, pl. 47, fig. 18; Luzón Nogué 1988, 233, no. 2, fig. 6.

Corinth, the Southeast Building: S.S. Weinberg, *The Southeast Building. The Twin Basilicas, the Mosaic House* (Corinth I/5), Princeton, New Jersey 1960, 21, fig. 15:1; Luzón Nogué 1988, 234, no. 7.

50. Aquileia, Casa del Cliepo: L. Bertacchi, 'Aquileia. Ritrovamenti archeologici in fondo ex Moro e in fondo ex Cassis', *BdA* 6, 1964, 262, fig. 15; Donderer 1986, 72, Aquileia 137, pl. 27:3; Luzón Nogué 1988, 235, no. 11.

Aquileia, Fondo Fogar: G. Brusin, 'Aquileia. Nuovi tessellati', *Nsc* 1947, 12, fig. 5; *FA* (1955) 1957, fig. 6; Becatti 1961, 225; Donderer 1986, 73, Aquileia 141, pl. 28:2.

Aquileia, mosaic in the Museum: G. Brusin, *op. cit.*, 13, fig. 7; Becatti 1961, 225.

Catania: Boeselager 1983, 109ff., pl. XXXV:68.

Cividale del Friuli, mosaic from near Piazza Giulio Cesare: T. Campanile in *Nsc* 1926, 3f., fig. 1; Blake 1930, 115, pl. 38:1; Donderer 1986, 126–7, Cividale 21, pl. 43:2; Luzón Nogué 1988, 235, no. 12, fig. 13.

Fano: L. Mercado, 'I mosaici romani di Fano', *Fano, Suppl. al no. 4*, 1970, 15ff., figs 8f.; *eadem*, 'Rinvenimenti e notizie di mosaici nel Maceratese', *Studi Maceratesi* 13, 1979, 46; F. Battistelli and A. Deli, *Immagine di Fano Romana*, Fano 1983, 102, fig. on p. 104.

Ostia, Domus di Apuleio: Becatti 1961, 89, 285, no. 153, pl. LXX; Luzón Nogué 1988, 237, no. 15, fig. 17.

Ostia, Domus V,vii,4: Becatti 1961, 225, no. 423, pls LXXf.

Rome, mosaic A from a domus on Via Emanuele Filiberto, in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome: A. Pasqui, 'Roma. Nuove scoperte nella città e nel suburbio', *Nsc* 1911, 338; R. Paribeni, 'Nuovi monumenti del Museo Nazionale Romano', *BdA* 7, 1913, 162ff., pl. I; Blake 1930, 16; Blake 1936, 82, pl. 14:2; C.H. McKeon, *Iconology of the Gorgon Medusa in Roman Mosaics I–III*, Diss. Michigan 1983 (1985), 238f., no. 22 with photograph; Luzón Nogué 1988, 236, no. 14, fig. 15; K. Werner, *Mosaiken aus Rom. Polychrome Mosaikpavimente und Emblemata aus Rom und Umgebung* I–II, Würzburg 1995, 135f., K52 with illustrations.

Rome, mosaic B from a domus on Via Emanuele Filiberto, considered lost (same bibliography as for previous mosaic) but identified by McKeon (*op. cit.*, 239ff., no. 23 with photograph) as the mosaic now in the Paul Getty Museum at Malibu. For this see C. Vermeule and N. Neuberger, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu 1973, no. 111, pp. 51f. and photograph; K. Werner, *op. cit.*, 136f., K53 with illustration.

Rome, mosaic in the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 128084), from the *Cellae vinariae Nova et Arruntiana*: M. Bertinetti, 'I mosaici del Museo Nazionale Romano. Progetti di restauro e predisposizione', in I. Bragantini and F. Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del II Colloquio dell'AISCOM. Roma, 5–6 dicembre 1994*, Bordighera 1995, 249–60, esp. 254, fig. 6.

San Severino, Marche: L. Mercado, 'Rinvenimenti e notizie di mosaici pavimentali nel Mace- ratese', *Studi Maceratesi* 13, 1979, 45, pl. 14:2.

Settecami on Via Tiburtina, mosaic now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome: S. Aurigemma, *The Baths of Diocletian and the Museo Nazionale Romano*, 7th ed., Rome 1974, 112, no. 28, pl. XLIII; Luzón Nogué 1988, 234, no. 6, fig. 10; K. Werner, *op. cit.*, 152ff., K61 with illustration.

Venafrum, mosaic from Via Carmine: L. Jacobelli, 'Venafrum: lo scavo in Via Carmine, i mosaici pavimentali', in S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds), *Sannium, archeologia del Molise*, Rome 1991, 218–21, fig. 8.

51. Athens, Baths of Olympian Zeus, Room 3: J. Travlos, 'Ανασκαφικὰ ἔργονα παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπεῖον', *Prakt* 1949, 23–35, and fig.; *idem.*, *Bildlexicon zur Topographie des antiken Athen*, Tübingen 1971, 183, fig. 238; Waywell 1979, no. 9.

Athens, House of the Parrots' Mosaic: H.A. Thompson, 'Activity in the Athenian Agora 1960–1965', *Hesperia* 35, 1966, 53, pl. 18; Waywell 1979, no. 7, pl. 46:7; Luzón Nogué 1988, 233, no. 3, fig. 7.

Corinth, Roman Villa: see note 49.

Corinth, Southeast Building: see note 49.

Cos, Gymnasium: L. Laurenzi, 'Nuovi contributi alla topografia storico-archeologica di Coò', *Historia Milano* 5, 1931, 612, fig. 2.

Cos, floor now in the Palace of the Grand Master in Rhodes: E. Kollias, *Οἱ ἱππότες τῆς Ρόδου. Το πλάτυ και η πόλη*, Athens 1991, figs 85–86.

Cos, floor now in the Palace of the Grand Master in Rhodes: E. Kollias, *op. cit.*, fig. 62. There are two examples, both of rather small dimensions, in this floor.

Delphi, East Baths: E. Bourguet, *Les ruines des Delphes*, Paris 1914, 286, fig. 96; R. Ginouvès, 'Sur un aspect de l'évolution des bains en Grèce vers le IV^e siècle de notre ère', *BCH* 74, 1955, 136–8, plan, fig. 1; Waywell 1979, no. 24; P. Amandry, 'Chronique Delphique. Thermes de l'Est', *BCH* 105, 1981, 724f., fig. 44e.

Dion, House of Dionysos, Banqueting Hall: D. Pantermalis, 'Η ανασκαφή τῆς αἴθουσας συμποσίων στο Δίον', in *Το Αρχαιολογικόν Ἔργον στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 1, 1987 (1988), 181–3, fig. 2.

Knossos, Crete, Villa Dionysos: H.G.G. Payne, 'Archaeology in Greece 1934–1935', *JHS* 55, 1935, 164, fig. 12; I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete*, Warminster 1982, 53.

Larissa, mosaic from Garibaldi and Olympos streets: S. Choulia in *ArchDelt* 40, 1985, 216f., pl. 84c.

Mytilene, Lesbos, Roman house from Potamone street: D. Hatzis in *ArchDelt* 27, 1972, B/2, 588–93, fig. 11 and pl. 535.

Palaiopolis, Corfu, Roman Baths: G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1961', *BCH* 86, 1962, 751ff., fig. 3; B. Kallipolites, 'Ανασκαφή Παλαιπόλεως Κέρκυρας', *Prakt* 1961, 120, pl. 72; Waywell 1979, no. 36.

Patrai, Roman house at the crossing of Karatza and Nikita streets: L. Papakosta in *ArchDelt* 35, 1980, B/1, 191, pl. 84a.

Patrai, mosaic from Panachaidos Athenas 8 and Mboukaouri streets: M. Stavropoulou-Gatsi in *ArchDelt* 42, 1987, B/1, 142, pl. 77b.

Peiraieus, mosaic now in the National Museum, Athens: A.T. Philadelphews, 'Τὸ Γοργόνειον ἐν τῷ ἐκ Πειραιῶς ψηφιδωτῷ', *ArchEph* 1894, cols 99–112, pl. 4; Waywell 1979, no. 42; Luzón Nogué 1988, 232, no. 1, fig. 5.

Salonica, Roman Baths under the Church of Acheiropoietos: Ch. Bakirtzis, 'Ρωμαϊκός λουτρόν και η Αχειροποίητος Θεσσαλονίκης', in *Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη Στυλιανού Πελεκανίδη (Makedonika 5)*, *Θεσσαλονίκη* 1983, 314–16, drawings 1–3, figs 1–2, 5.

Sami, Cefalonia, Baths: G. Daux, 'Chroniques des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1959', *BCH* 84, 1960, 729f., figs 2–3; Waywell 1979, no.43.

52. SPAIN:

Altafulla: M. Berges, 'Informe sobre "El Munts"', *Boletín Arqueológico de la Real Sociedad Arqueológica Tarraconense* LXIX–LXX, 1969–1970, 140–50, pl. XVI; A. Balil, 'Mosaicos Romanos de Baetulo', *Zephyrus* 15, 1964, 92 n. 42.

Carmona: Blázquez 1982, 31ff., no. 15, pls 11–12; A. Guichot y Sierra, *Los dos mejores mosaicos italicenses que existen en Sevilla*, Sevilla 1931, 118, fig. 24; Luzón Nogué 1988, 237, no. 20, fig. 21.

Carranque, Villa romana de Santa Maria de Abajo: P.L. Yague Hoyal, 'Trabajos de conservación activa realizados en los mosaicos de la Villa Romana de Santa Maria de Abajo, Carranque', in *'Mosaicos Romanos'. Actas de la I Mesa Redonda Hispano-Francesa sobre Mosaicos Romanos habida en Madrid en 1985. Manuel Fernández Galiano. In Memoriam*, Madrid 1989, pls 4–5 on pp. 283–5.

Castulo (now at Linares): Blázquez 1981, 66, no. 50, pl. 58.

Itálica, Manzana de la Casa del Laberinto: Luzón Nogué 1988, 237, no. 19, fig. 20.

Linares, Villa rustica: Luzón Nogué 1988, 237, no. 21, fig. 22.

Mérida, Basilica: *ibid.*, no. 46, pl. 81A.

Mérida, Prolongación Pedro Ma. Plano: Blanco Freijeiro 1978a, no. 54, pl. 86.

Mérida, Solar de los Blancos: Blanco Freijeiro 1978a, 27, no. 1, pl. 1.

PORTUGAL:

Póvoa de Cós: I. Nóbrega Moita, 'O mosaico luso-romano de Póvoa de Cós', *ArqPort* n.s. 1, 1951, 143f., fig. 1, pl. 1; A. Balil, 'Mosaicos Romanos de Baetulo', *Zephyrus* 15, 1964, 92 n. 43; M. Torres Carro, 'El mosaico de Póvoa de Cós, Leiria (Portugal)', in *Mosaicos Romanos. Actas de la I mesa...*, *op. cit.*, 145–58, with 3 ills.

53. Lyon, 'Mosaïque Cucherat': *Recueil* II/1, 83f., no. 101, pls LXIIIff.; Luzón Nogué 1988, 237, no. 23, fig. 23.

Reims, Rue de Mars: *Inventaire* I, no. 1081; *Recueil* I/1, no. 34, pl. X.

Saint-Germain-des-Camps, Roman villa: *Recueil* II/3, no. 456, pl. XLII.

Vienne, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, mosaic from rue des Colonnes: *Recueil* III/2, no. 415, fig. 22, pl. CLXXXI; J. Lancha, 'Les mosaïques de la rue des Colonnes', *MonPiot* 64, 1981, 119ff., figs 70, 74–83.

There are, moreover, another four French examples of this general period, for which a date has not been proposed:

Cavaillon, lost mosaic: *Recueil* III/1, 76, no. 71.

Nîmes: *Inventaire* I, no. 290 and col. pl.

Reims, the lost mosaic from the 'Orphelinat de Bethléem': *Recueil* II/1, 32, no. 32, pl. X.

Saint-Romain-le-Puy: *Recueil* II/2, 27f., no. 171, pl. IV.

54. Lost mosaic from the villa at Tacherting: Parlasca 1959, 106f., pl. 14B.

55. At Flavia Solva near Leibnitz: W. Jobst, *Antike Mosaikkunst in Österreich*, Wien 1985, 43f., pl. 3.

56. Mosaic from the Chatelard district: Gonzenbach 1961, 89, no. 26.1, pl. 41.

57. Mosaic from Szombathely, in the Museum of Savaria: Kiss 1973, 28f., no. 24, pl. XIII:1; Luzón Nogué 1988, 234, no. 5, fig. 9. A mosaic from Baláca may also be mentioned, where half the design, with a central semicircular panel, fills an apse: Kiss 1973, 23f., no. 23, pl. XI; Luzón Nogué 1988, 234, no. 8.

58. Roman house at Apollonia: M. Korkuti, *Shqiperia Arkeologjike*, Tirana 1971, pl. 78; S. Anamali and S. Adhami, *Mosaïques de l'Albanie*, Tirana 1974, frontispiece and figs on pp. 30–3.

59. D. Salzmann, 'Mosaiken und Pavimente in Pergamon. Vorbericht der Kampagnen 1989 und 1990', *AA* 1991, 455, fig. 27. Presumably this is the example referred to by Donderer (1986, n. 857).

60. House of the Red Pavement and House in DH 25-L: Levi 1947, 88, 384f., pls XIV and XCVIa, p. 56, fig. 20 respectively.

61. Floor from Kom el Dikka (Alexandria): K. Parlasca, 'Hellenistische und römische Mosaiken aus Ägypten', in *La Mosaïque* II, 1971, 366, fig. 27.

62. Roman Villa at Gurgi: R. Bartoccini, 'Villa Romana con mosaici a Gurgi', *AfrIt* II, 1929, 96, fig. 28.

Floor from Sabratha: H. Sichtermann, 'Archäologische Funde und Forschungen in Libyen', *AA* 1962, 524, fig. 81.

63. Mosaic from Carthage now in the Bardo Museum: G. Pradier, *Mosaïques de Tunisie*, Tunis 1976, col. pl. on p. 86.

Mention can also be made of an interesting semicircular example from the house on the land of Hadj Ferjani Kacem at Thysdrus: *ibid.*, col. pl. on p. 165; L. Foucher, *Découvertes Archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961 (Notes et Documents* n.s. V), Tunis n.d., pl. XXXVIb.

64. A splendid example from Sidi-M'Cid, Constantine: A. Berthier, 'Une mosaïque solaire trouvée à Constantine', in *Mélanges J. Carcopino*, Paris 1966, 113–24, fig. 1; G.-Ch. Picard, 'L'Âge d'or de la mosaïque romaine en Afrique du Nord', *Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 31, décembre 1978, 14f. and photograph.

65. An early Christian example is found in the basilica under the Church of Sta Giustina in Padova: P. Porta, 'Mosaici paleocristiani di Padova: note iconografiche e stilistiche', in *Ancient Mosaics V*, 1987, II, 231–44, esp. 238ff., figs 5–7.
66. Constantinople, Vilayet Building: R. Duyuran, 'Istanbul Vilayet Konagi Karsisindaki mozayikler' *IstArkMüzYill* 9, 1960, 18–21, pls 1–2; R.M. Harrison, G.R.J. Lawson, 'The Mosaics in front of the Vilayet Building in Istanbul', *IstArkMüzYill* 13–14, 1967, pl. LVII:3–4.
Didyma, Baths: R. Naumann, 'Die Ausgrabungen bei den Thermen in Didyma', *IstMitt* 30, 1980, 177–89, esp. 180, pl. 76.
Ephesos, Church of St. Mary: F. Knoll, *Die Marienkirche in Ephesos (Forschungen von Ephesos IV/1)*, Wien 1932, pl. II.
Sardis, Synagogue (two examples): Bay 2 and Bay 7: G.M.A. Hanfmann, 'The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966)', *BASOR* 187, 1967, 36, figs 47 and 51, and p. 44, fig. 56 respectively. See also, *idem*, 'Les nouvelles fouilles de Sardis', *CRAI* 1985, 497–518, esp. 515, fig. 15.
67. Mosaic from Tirana: S. Anamali, 'Architettura e decorazione Tardoantica in Albania', in *Seminario Internazionale di Studi su 'L'Albania del Tardoantico al Medioevo, aspetti e problemi di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte'*, in *XL Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna, 29 aprile–3 maggio 1993*, Ravenna 1993, 447–74, esp. 460, fig. 5.
68. Baths of En-Ngila near Tripoli: R. Bartoccini, 'Terme Romane in località En-Ngila', *AfrIt* II, 1929, 101–3, fig. 33; Aurigemma 1960, 38f.
69. Aigina, pavement found on Pavlos Aiginetes street: P. Lazarides, 'Βυζαντινά και Μεσοβυζαντινά Μνημεία Αθηνών-Αττικής', *ArchDelt* 24, 1969, *Chronika* B/1, 99f., fig. 2; Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 101, no. 76, pl. 69.
Antikyra, Basilica: Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 149–51, no. 87, pls 235–6.
Argos, House south-east of the Odeion (land of Hadjixenophon): 'Ecole française d'Athènes, "Argos"', *ArchDelt* 23, 1968, 144, pl. 91; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 48–50, no. 2, pls 3 and 5; Luzón Nogué 1988, 233, no. 4, fig. 8; *EA* XXI, 1970, no. 3211, fig. 13; G. Daux, 'Chronique des Fouilles et d'Archéologie en Grèce en 1987', *BCH* 92, 1968, 1040, fig. 3; Waywell 1979, no. 6.
Corinth, Peribolos of Apollo: R. Stillwell and H. Ess Askew, 'The Peribolos of Apollo', in *Architecture (Corinth I/2)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1941, 52ff., fig. 37; Waywell 1979, no. 22, pl. 48, fig. 20.
Demetrias, Basilica A: Spiro 1978, 84ff., 397ff., no. 137, pl. 438.
Demetrias, Basilica B: Spiro 1978, 405; H.W. Catling, 'Archaeology in Greece 1972–1973', *AR for 1972–1973*, 20, fig. 40.
Klaksi, Basilica of St. Leonides: Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 164ff., no. 105, pls 271–272, 279b.
Lamia, Basilica of Holy Apostles: Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 176–8, no. 113, pl. 301b.
Nea Anchialos, Basilica C, Room II: Spiro 1978, 314ff., esp. 323f., 329f., no. 106, pl. 366.
Nea Anchialos, Basilica C, Room VIII: Spiro 1978, 322f., 336f., no. 109, pl. 376.
Nea Anchialos, Basilica D, Room IX: Spiro 1978, 276f., 324f., no. 95.
Patrai, Roman House from Maisonos and Miaouli streets: I.A. Papapostolou in *ArchDelt* 27, 1972, 285f., pls 221:1–2, 223:2; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 82–3, no. 23, pl. 111a–b.
Platanidia, Basilica B (half a shield): A. Ntina in *ArchDelt* 40, 1985 (1990), 222, pl. 88:2.
Rhodes, Basilica at P. Mela and Cheimarras streets: Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 89–91, no. 59, pl. 55.
Stylis, Mosaic on 6, St. Demetrios street: P. Pantos in *ArchDelt* 43, 1988 (1993), 220f., fig. 11.
Thaumakos, Basilica: Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 176, no. 112, pl. 300.
70. Apamea, 'Cathédrale de l'Est': J.Ch. Balty, 'Nouvelles mosaïques du IV^e siècle sous la "Cathédrale de l'Est"', in J. and J.Ch. Balty (eds), *Apamée de Syrie, Actes du Colloque, tenue à Bruxelles en 15–18 avril 1972*, Brussels 1972, 163ff., pls LXIII–LXIV.
Bethlehem, Pre-Justinianic Basilica of the Nativity: E.T. Richmond, 'Basilica of the Nativity', *QDAP V*, 1936, 75–81, pl. XLIV; R. and A. Ovadia, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel (Biblioteca Archeologica 6)*, Roma 1987, 21f., no. 19, pl. XV: 2.
Gerasa, Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs: Biebel 1938, 337f., pl. LXXVIII.
Gerasa, Church of St. George: *ibid.*, 329f., pl. LXXXIb.
Gerasa, Church of Procopius: *ibid.*, 338f., pl. LXXXIIIc.
Zay al-Gharby, Ecclesiastical complex: M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*, Amman 1993, 324, figs 661, 680.

71. J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (eds), *Die Kunst des Islam* (= *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte IV*), Berlin 1990, 177ff., figs 51–52; E.P. de Loos-Dietz, 'Les mosaïques à Khirbat Al-Mafjar près de Jericho', *BABesch* 65, 1990, 123ff., fig. 4.

72. Luzón Nogué (1988) arrived at a more or less similar conclusion.

73. These include, amongst others, Benghazi mosaic **no. 21** and the mosaics from Piacenza (note 45), Ampurias (note 46), Orange (note 47), Aquileia: Fondo Fogar (note 50), Cavaillon (note 53), Corinth: Peribolos of Apollo (note 69), Ephesos (note 66), Demetrias: Basilicas A and B (note 69), Nea Anchialos: Basilicas A, B, C (note 69), Gerasa: Church of Procopius (note 70) and Bethlehem (note 70).

74. Examples include Barcola (note 45), Aquileia: Casa del Clipeo (note 50), the two mosaics from Via Emanuele Filiberto in Rome (one in the Paul Getty Museum) (note 50), Ostia: Domus V.vii,4 (note 50), Apollonia (note 58), Pergamon (note 59), etc.

75. As witnessed, for example, by the splendid floor from in front of the Vilayet Building in Constantinople (note 66).

76. Note 51.

77. Note 52.

78. Note 48.

79. Note 46.

80. Note 46.

81. Note 51.

82. Note 51.

83. Note 50.

84. Note 61.

85. Note 50.

86. Note 69.

87. Note 50.

88. Note 57.

89. Note 69.

90. E.g. Pompeii: Casa degli Amorini Dorati (note 39), Cividale del Friuli: mosaic in the Museum (note 50), Aquileia: Fondo Fogar (note 50), San Severino (note 50), Ostia: Domus V.vii,4 (note 50), Sami (note 51), etc. In the Roman example from the Acheiropoietos in Salonica (note 51) the stylized rosette is combined with peltae.

91. Notes 51 and 52 respectively.

92. Notes 52 and 53 respectively.

93. Notes 50 and 47 respectively.

94. Note 69.

95. Note 69.
96. Note 50.
97. Notes 61, 46, 70 and 69 respectively.
98. One from Pompeii (note 34), two from Via Emanuele Filiberto in Rome (note 50), two from Patrai (note 51), and one each from the Domus di Apuleio at Ostia (note 50), Carmona (note 52), Peiraieus (note 51), Knossos (note 51), the Roman villa at Corinth (note 49), Pergamon (note 59) and Antioch (note 60).
99. Note 51.
100. See note 50.
101. Note 52, but it should be noted that it has been argued that the bust is that of Oceanus rather than that of Sol (see I. Nóbrega Moita, 'O mosaico luso-romano de Póvoa de Cós', *ArqPort* n.s. 1, 1951, 146–7).
102. Note 50.
103. Note 45.
104. Note 64.
105. Note 55.
106. Note 64.
107. Note 45.
108. Notes 69 and 57 respectively.
109. Examples from Pompeii (note 34).
110. One of the latest in the series seems to be the mosaic from Rome now in the Paul Getty Museum (note 50).
111. The Campanian example just mentioned, and those from Gubbio and Piacenza (note 45).
112. E.g. the examples from Via Emanuele Filiberto in Rome, and the Domus di Apuleio in Ostia (note 50).
113. Mosaics from the House of the Parrots' Mosaic in Athens (note 51), the Villa at Corinth (note 49), and Peiraieus (note 51).
114. Pergamon (note 59).
115. Antioch (note 60).
116. Constantine (note 64).
117. Gubbio (note 45), Domus di Apuleio at Ostia (note 50), and the Pompeian mosaic found in the 18th century (note 34).
118. See note 69.
119. For example, in the 1st century, the mosaic from Ampurias has seventeen rings (note 46).
120. E.g. the 1st-century example from Barcola (note 45), and the 2nd-century ones from the Casa del Clipeo at Aquileia, the Domus V,vii,4 at Ostia (see note 50), and the 2nd-century example from Pergamon (see note 59).

121. E.g. the mosaic at Badalona of the late 1st century (note 46), and that at Alexandria of the mid 2nd century (note 61).
122. *Berenice* I, 100, 297; *Berenice* III/1, 445, and *Berenice* I, 100, 300; *Berenice* III/1, 457, respectively.
123. Probably in the second half of the century.
124. For a more detailed account of Building L 3, see *Berenice* I, 112f., plan fig. 21.
125. Maximum diam. c. 1.1 m.
126. Becatti 1961, 180, no. 329, pl. CCXXVI.
127. Spiro 1978, 222ff., nos 77–78, fig. 238; p. 359, no. 117, figs 403f.; and pp. 409f., no. 142, fig. 447.
128. *Berenice* I, 113, 301; *Berenice* III/1, 260.
129. For a more detailed account of the building, see *Berenice* I, 128, 133–4.
130. Blake 1930, 97f., pls 24:3 and 14:4 respectively.
131. Blake 1930, pl. 44:3.
132. Mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro of the second half of the 2nd century AD: Becatti 1961, no. 6, pl. XXI.
133. *Recueil* I/1, no. 7, pl. VI and no. 64a–b, pl. XIX respectively.
134. *Recueil* I/2, no. 156, pl. VII.
135. Casa Basilica: Blanco Freijeiro 1978a, 47, no. 51, pls 82a, 83a.
136. Insula of Jason Magnus: Mingazzini 1966, pl. XXII:1.
137. Parlasca 1959, pls 19 and 25 respectively.
138. H. Schleif, 'Die Badeanlage am Kladeos', in *Ausgrabungen in Olympia* IV, Berlin 1944, pls 25, 31 (top).
139. Becatti 1961, no. 15, pl. XXI.
140. Sala no. 42: Mingazzini 1966, pl. XXIX:2.
141. Mowry and Kraeling 1962, 238, fig. 63, pl. LVIIa.
142. *Ibid.*, 245, Room 6.
143. *Ibid.*, 251, Room 17, fig. 72.
144. Identified by J.A. Riley. See *Berenice* I, 134, 301 (Deposit 89).
145. Brief discussions of this pattern are found in Parlasca 1959, 118, and Di Vita 1966, 39ff.
146. Houses VII,xii,23 (Casa del Camillo) and VII,x,3 (Casa della Caccia Nuova): Blake 1930, pl. 30:4, and Pernice 1938, pl. 49:5 respectively.
147. Pompeii, House VII,ii,45 (Blake 1930, pl. 30:2); Gubbio (E. Stefanini in *Nsc* 1942, 371, fig. 40); and the Santuario Punico at Nora (G. Pesce, *Nora. Guida agli Scavi*, Bologna 1957, 40ff., fig. 58).
148. The example from Herculaneum published in *Real Museo Borbonico* VII, Napoli 1832, pl. LIX.

149. Blake 1936, 188. For a presumed textile origin of the pattern, see Gonzenbach 1961, 283.
150. Blake 1936, 84, pl. 17: 1 and 84, 188, pl. 39 respectively.
151. Becatti 1961, no. 294, pl. XLV.
152. Blake 1936, 187, pl. 25:2; also M. Ruggiero, *Degli scavi di Stabia*, Napoli 1881, 356, pl. xviii.
153. D. Joly, 'Quelques aspects de la mosaïque pariétale au I^{er} siècle de notre ère d'après trois documents Pompéiens', in *La Mosaïque I*, 1963, 57f., fig. 1.
154. Becatti 1961, no. 294, pl. XLV.
155. Floor from Villa A, under the Church of S. Sebastiano (unpublished, but see F. Tolotti, 'Memorie degli Apostoli in Catacumbas', in *Amici delle Catacombe XIX*, 1953, 54ff.). The other is the floor from the Via Portuensis (see note 150).
156. Becatti 1961, no. 420, pl. XLII.
157. 'Ganzmosaik' at Avenches (Gonzenbach 1961, 56f., no. 5.8, pl. 14); mosaic from Unterlunkhofen (*ibid.*, 220f., no. 127, pl. 21); Mosaic from Herzogenbuchsee (*ibid.*, 115f., no. 56, pl. 22); and another from Munzach (*ibid.*, 142, no. 81, pls 42, 82).
158. Westerhofen (Parlasca 1959, 104, pls 99: 1, 100).
159. The Capitolium at Savaria (Kiss 1973, no. 26, fig. 20).
160. Apollonia (M. Korkuti, *Shqiperia Arkeologjike*, Tirana 1971, 79): polychrome and developed so that the ogives contain smaller ogives.
161. Prol. de Calderón de la Barca in Mérida (Blanco Freijeiro 1978b, no. 13, pl. 24) also of the developed form, and also polychrome.
162. E. Waywell, 'A Roman Villa at Knossos, Crete', *Mosaic* 8, 1983, 11ff., fig. 8.
163. Thysdrus, Sollertiana Domus, where the ogives are polychrome (L. Foucher, *Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961 (Notes et Documents n.s. V)*, Tunis n.d., 16, pl. XIXa) of the late 2nd/early 3rd century. A slightly later example from Carthage: Mosaic of the Beasts at the Amphitheatre (Dunbabin 1978, 71, pl. 57) of the second half of the 3rd century, and an even later one from the Maison de la Nouvelle Chasse at Bulla Regia (A. Beschtaouch, R. Hanoune and Y. Thébert, *Les Ruines de Bulla Regia (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 28)*, Rome 1977, 64, fig. 54). In the last two mosaics the pattern is very richly coloured and its structure is broken so that the spaces between the ogives are turned into buds.
164. Reinach 1922, 39ff.; Blake 1940, 94f.; Levi 1947, 100ff., 269ff., 529ff.; Becatti 1961, 394: index; M. Albertocchi, 'Un mosaico con Nereide dalla Casa Romana di Cos', in R. Farioli Campanati (ed.), *Atti del I Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Ravenna, 29 aprile–3 maggio 1993*, Ravenna 1994, 13–31. For representations of Nereids in general, see N. Icard-Giannolo and A.-V. Szabados, 'Néréides', in *LIMC VI*, 785–824.
165. J. Lassus, 'Vénus Marine', in *La Mosaïque I*, 1963, 186ff.
166. Amongst many examples, both black and white and polychrome, see those in the Terme di Nettuno at Ostia (Becatti 1961, 48ff., no. 70, pls CXXIVff.), and in the Triumph of Dionysos mosaic from Hadrumetum now in Sousse (M.H. Fantar *et al.*, *La Mosaïque en Tunisie*, Paris-Tunis 1994, 203–204, in colour).
167. E.g. the mosaics from Lambaesis (J. Lassus, *op. cit.*, fig. 8; *LIMC VI*, no. 162*); Maison de Sorothus, Sousse (Foucher 1960, no. 57.050, pl. XIII; *LIMC VI*, 430a*).

168. M. Albertocchi, *op. cit.* figs 2–3.
169. W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I. Die Hanghäuser des Embolos (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/2)*, Wien 1977, figs 98, 103–7.
170. Mingazzini 1966, pl. XI:1; R.G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia*, Zürich 1971, fig. 19.
171. Examples in mosaic include floors from the Baths of Trajan at Acholla (*LIMC* VI, 127*, 128*, 449*); Ciciliano (*ibid.*, 465); Orbe (*ibid.*, 475) and others.
172. E.g. the relief on the back of a 2nd century sarcophagus from Kiphissia (*LIMC* VI, no. 131*).
173. Mingazzini 1966, 29ff., pls XI:1, XXXII:3.
174. *Berenice* I, 134, 301; *Berenice* III/1, 460f.
175. Blake 1930, 84f., 105, 109; Blake 1936, 188; Levi 1947, 373; Ph. Bruneau, *Les Mosaïques (Exploration Archéologique de Délos XXIX)*, Paris 1972, 54ff. Bruneau provides a list with bibliography of Hellenistic examples from Thmuis, Arsameia, Malta, Pergamon and Pheneos. To this list, J. Lancha (1977, 106, where she gives the early history of the pattern) adds examples from Pella, Morgantina, Palermo and Syracuse.
176. Ph. Bruneau, *op. cit.*, 54f.
177. *Ibid.*, figs 21–22 (Agora des Italiens); figs 221, 276, 278 (Maison du Trident).
178. Houses I,vii,5; VI,x,7; VI,xi,10; VII,ii,18; VII,iv,59; VIII,ii,16; IX,ii,27; IX,iii,2 : Blake 1930, pls 16, 20.
179. Sullan floor from Casa dei Griffi on the Palatine: L. Morricone Matini, *Palatium. Roma Reg. X (Mosaici Antichi in Italia)*, Roma 1967, no. 13, pl. III.
180. D. Salzmann, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken (Archäologische Forschungen 10)*, Berlin 1982, pl. 95.
181. L. Morricone Matini, *op. cit.*, no. 4, pl. I.
182. Becatti 1961, no. 23, pl. IV.
183. Becatti 1961, no. 18, pl. XIX.
184. A. Levi, 'Ruderi di Terme Romane trovati a Baja', *MonAnt* XXVIII/1, 1922, 130f., figs 8, 12; Blake 1936, 97, 188.
185. Of the 4th century, and with the colours reversed (Levi 1947, pl. CXVIIIg).
186. Of the 6th century (Levi 1947, pl. CXXXIX).
187. S.A.S. Anamali, *Mosaïques de l'Albanie*, Tirana 1974, fig. on p. 44.
188. Pesce 1950, 29, figs 20, 35, 37 (one is a curvilinear version).
189. Mingazzini 1966, Sala 16, p. 47, pl. XXV:1.
190. Mowry and Kraeling 1962, Room 14, p. 244, fig. 68, pl. LIXc.
191. *Berenice* I, 134, 301; *Berenice* III/1, 461.
192. *Berenice* I, 134, 305; *Berenice* III/1, 473.

193. For a more detailed description, see *Berenice* I, 135ff.
194. Blake 1930, 104; also Pernice 1938, 135; Becatti 1961, 265; Ovadiah 1980, 145.
195. Pompeii, VII,ix,2; VI,xiv,20 (Casa di Orfeo). See Blake 1930, pls 32:1 and 31:3 respectively.
196. E.g. Pompeii, Casa del Meleagro (VI,ix,2) (Blake 1930, pl. 32:1).
197. E.g. Ostia, Insula di Giove e Ganimede (Becatti 1961, no. 11, fig. 6).
198. Waywell 1979, 31, pl. 49, fig. 26.
199. A. Alfonsi, 'Este. Scoperte nell'area della città romana', *Nsc* 1918, 260. See Blake 1936, 102 n. 3 for other 2nd-century examples.
200. For the later history of the motif, see R.B. O'Connor, 'The medieval history of the double-axe motif', *AJA* 24, 1920, 151–72; T.D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to AD 900*, London 1938, 36ff.
201. Mowry and Kraeling 1962, 252, fig. 72, pl. LXc.
202. *Berenice* I, 138, 298; *Berenice* III/1, 446.
203. Blake 1930, 104f.; Levi 1947, 375.
204. This is pattern no. 184b of *Le Décor* 1985. For a list of examples, see W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I: Die Hanghäuser des Embolos (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/2)*, Wien 1977, 51 n. 138 — although in this he also includes examples of a similar but different pattern: *Le Décor* 1985, no. 186d.
205. This is a very plain version of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 183a; and the even more complex form, where a smaller four-pointed star is inscribed in the octagon, no. 186a.
206. 'Untersuchungen zu den geometrischen Gliederungsschemata römische Mosaiken', *BjB* 174, 1974, 12: 'Oktogonsystem V', fig. 3:42.
207. W. Jobst, op. cit., 45ff.
208. For a study of the pattern, see K. Dunbabin, 'Mosaic of Octagons', *CahEtAnc* X (*Carthage* III), 1979, 13–23.
209. G. Cerulli Irelli, *La Casa 'Del Colonnato Toscanico' ad Ercolano (Memorie dell'Accademia di Archeologia Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli VII)*, Napoli 1974, 51ff., fig. 26.
210. W. Jobst, op. cit., 81ff., figs 145, 147.
211. G. Brusin and P.L. Zovatto, *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado*, Udine 1957, fig. 125.
212. I.A. Papapostolou, 'Αρχιότητες και Μνημεία Αχχίνας', *ArchDelt* 34, 1979 (1987), 130, fig. 34a.
213. Room 12 and the South Portico: Mowry and Kraeling 1962, pl. LIXD and fig. 63, pl. LVIII respectively.
214. *Berenice* I, 138, 301; *Berenice* III/1, 461.
215. *Berenice* I, 137–9.
216. *Berenice* I, 140ff. On the house see also Stucchi 1975, 312.
217. The room may have been divided into two parts, in which case the dimensions of the mosaic would be a lot smaller. See *Berenice* I, 142.

218. For the development of scrolls, see Gonzenbach 1961, 277f.
219. Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 74, no. 32, pl. 45.
220. See below for the reasons why it is believed that the room was originally wider.
221. This is a small room and even if one suggests the U-shaped layout of a *triclinium*, its orientation would be wrong in relation to the entrance to the room and the rest of the house.
222. Ovadiah 1980, 97f., no. A15.
223. Morricone 1970, 517f., figs 510f.; M. De Franceschini, *Villa Adriana. Mosaici-Pavimenti-Edifici*, Roma 1991, 37, no. HS 4, p. 39, no. HS 5, p. 41, no. HS 7.
224. *Recueil*, II/3, 52ff., no. 204, pls XVII–XX.
225. Houses VII,xv,2 and I,vi,5 (Casa del Citarista): Pernice 1938, pls 27:5 and 36:7 respectively.
226. Basilica of St. Spyridon, Tremetousha, Cyprus, of the late 4th century (Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 142, pl. 126b); Basilica of Arkitsa of the late 4th/early 5th century (Spiro 1978, 269, no. 88, fig. 307); Basilica A, Demetrias, of a similar date (*ibid.*, 388f., no. 130, fig. 425); Basilica on the land of Mr Hadjiandreu, Rhodes, of probably the 5th century (Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 90, pl. 59a); Basilica of St. Anastasia Arkasas, Karpathos, of a late 5th/early 6th century date (*ibid.*, 58f., pl.18); and the Triconch Basilica of Klapsi, of the first half of the 6th century (Spiro 1978, 302f., no. 100, fig. 353).
227. See R. Farioli ('Mosaici pavimentali d'età Paleocristiana degli edifici di culto di Ravenna', in *Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* XII, 1965, 358ff.) for the development of the pattern and its presumed oriental origin. See also *eadem*, *Pavimenti Musivi di Ravenna Paleocristiana*, Ravenna 1975, 137f.
- The examples cited there belong to the 6th century: 'Palazzo di Teodorico', Portico A''' (Berti 1976, 74, no. 54, pl. XLIII); San Vitale (R. Farioli, *op. cit.*, 360, fig. 2); and San Severo di Classe (G. Bermond Montanari, *La chiesa di San Severo di Classe*, Bologna 1968, 53ff., fig. 31).
228. Levi 1947, 89, pl. CXVIe.
229. *Ibid.*, 16 n. 3, fig. 3.
230. O. Broneer, *The Odeum (Corinth X)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, 67f., fig. 41.
231. A. Speltz, *L'Ornement polychrome dans tous les styles historiques I: L'Antiquité*, Leipzig 1915, pl. 26:10.
232. The negatives of the five photographs taken by R.G. Goodchild in 1965 are held in the archives of the Society for Libyan Studies, London.
233. A drawing made at the time of the original discovery (Fig. 39) is of little use in this respect.
234. Similar background outlines can be seen around the mask's chin and the partridges in the side panels.
235. Similar U-shaped *triclinia* are found at nearby Ptolemais: Mowry and Kraeling 1962, figs 67, 69.
236. House VI,ix,2 (Blake 1930, pl. 32:1).
237. Pesce 1950, 30, fig. 35.
238. Becatti 1961, 280, 332.
239. VIII,iv,4 (Blake 1930, pl. 46:6).

240. See 'Discussion' under mosaic no. 23.
241. Blake 1936, 83, pl. 17:4.
242. E.g. floor from Herzogenbuchsee of the late 2nd/early 3rd century (Gonzenbach 1961, 118ff., no. 56, pl. 22:3).
243. Pompeii and Herculaneum offer some of the best early selections. See H. Eristoff, 'Un Algorithme appliqué à la classification des imitations de marbre dans la Peinture Pompéienne', *MEFRA* 88, 1976, 705–17; *eadem*, 'Corpus des Faux-marbres Peints de Pompéi', *MEFRA* 91, 1979, 693–771. For a comprehensive study of the Spanish material, see L. Abad Casal, 'Las imitaciones de Crustae en la pintura mural romana en España', *ArchEspArq* 50–51, 1977–1978, 189–208. For painted *opus sectile* imitations in general, see A. Barbet, R. Douaud and V. Lanièpce, *Imitations d'opus sectile et décors à réseau. Essai de Terminologie (Bulletin de Liaison 12, Centre d'Étude des Peintures Murales Romaines)*, Paris 1997.
244. D. Michaelides, 'Some aspects of marble imitation in mosaic', in P. Pensabene (ed.), *Marmi Antichi (Studi Miscellanei 1981–2)*, Roma 1985, 155–71.
The following bibliography is to be added to that given for some of the floors discussed there:
Note 14: Agrigento, Casa del Maestro Astrattista: Boeselager 1983, 140–1, fig. 91.
Note 39: Thuburbo Majus, Winter Baths: *CMT* II/2, 72ff., plan 14, pls XXVII, XXX, XXXII, LVII. Dated to the 5th century.
Note 40: Mactar, Grandes Thermes de l'Est: G. Picard, 'Séance du 4 janvier. Les fouilles de Mactar (Tunisie) 1970–1973', *CRAI* 1974, 22; *idem*, 'Séance du 15 mai 1972', *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* 8, fasc. B, 1975, 153; attributed to AD 199.
Note 49: Sabratha, Baths of Region VII: L. Brecciaroli Taborelli, 'Le terme della Regio VII a Sabratha', *LA* 11–12, 1974–1975, 133ff., pls XXXIIIc, XXXIVa.
Note 50: Villa at Piazza Armerina, Semicircular Portico (Room 40, no. 79): A. Carandini, A. Ricci, M. de Vos, *Filosofiana. The Villa of Piazza Armerina*, Palermo 1982, 249ff., pl. XXXVII.
Note 51: Villa at Piazza Armerina, Thermae: Biapsidal Hall (Room 3, no. 136): *ibid.*, 335ff., pls LVI–LVII.
Note 54: Villa at Piazza Armerina, Thermae: Octagonal *frigidarium* (Room 4, no. 139): *ibid.*, 358, pls LVIII–LIX.
Note 55: Villa at Piazza Armerina, Third Service Room (Room 25): *ibid.*, 164–5, pl. XX:47.
245. One of *giallo antico* from the second half of the 2nd century Seaside Villa (L. Alcock, 'A Seaside Villa in Tripolitania', *PBSR* 18, 1950, 98, pl. XXXI:2); and another from the Oceanus Baths (*ibid.*, 98).
246. Both from the Baths north-west of the Theatre, and dated to around the 4th century: R. Hanoune, A. Olivier, Y. Thébert, 'Les Thermes au Nord-Ouest du Théâtre', in *Recherches Archéologiques Franco-Tunisiennes à Bulla Regia I: Miscellanea 1 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome 28/1)*, Rome 1983; *Frigidarium*: 79f., figs 3–4, 22–23; and Salle J: 82, figs 3, 29–30.
247. One, of the second half of the 4th century, decorating the wall of Piscine 1, Cour I in the Secteur de Trifolium (*CMT* II:3, 36, no. 269, pl. XV); the other, a floor from the Maison du Char de Venus (*ibid.*, 69–70, no. 289, plan 7, pl. XXVII) with a *terminus post quem* of AD 317.
248. M. Blanchard-Lemée, M. Ennaifer, H. and L. Slim, *Sols de l'Afrique Romaine. Mosaiques de Tunisie*, Paris 1995, 271, 294, fig. 212.
249. Not seen, but see J.C. Fant, review of P. Pensabene (ed.), *Marmi Antichi* (note 244, above), in *JRS* 79, 1989, 223; and Boeselager 1983, 140.
250. Baths: Threshold of Room B and wall of northern pool of Room C (*frigidarium*). For Room B, see A. Mohamedi, A. Benmansour, A.A. Amamra, E. Fentress, 'Fouilles de Sétif (1977–1984)', *BAAlg*, supplement 5, 1991, 66ff., 81, fig. 15, pl. 48; E. Fentress, 'Sétif, les thermes du V^e siècle', in *Atti del VI Convegno di Studio su 'L'Africa Romana'*, Sassari, 16–18 Dicembre 1988, Sassari 1989, 325. For the *frigidarium*, see A. Mohamedi, A. Benmansour, A.A. Amamra, E. Fentress, *op. cit.*, 59, 77f., 81, fig. 17, pl. 46:4; E. Fentress, *op. cit.*, 325f.

251. M. Cancellieri, 'La media e bassa valle dell' Amaseno, la Via Appia a Terracina: materiali per una carta archeologica', *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Storia e d'Arte del Lazio Meridionale* 12, 1987, 53–6, figs 13–14.
252. Valle Resicoli, Tenuta Galli, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 125549. Unpublished but see K. Werner, *Mosaiken aus Rom. Polychrome Mosaikpavimente und Emblemata aus Rom und Umgebung*, Würzburg 1995, 259 n. 9.
253. K. Werner (*op. cit.*, 259, n. 11) identifies it as such, but R. Farioli (*Pavimenti musivi di Ravenna Paleocristiana*, Ravenna 1975, 133, figs 66–67) is right in interpreting it as simply 'festoni di foglie e frutta in modo molto schematico'. See also A.M. Iannucci, 'I mosaici pavimentali di S. Vitale. Cronotassi e criteri di restauro', *XXX^o Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 1983, 368ff., fig. 6.
254. See notes 247 and 250.
255. A.M.F. Artaud, *Histoire abrégée de la peinture en mosaïque suivi de la description des mosaïques de Lyon et du midi de la France*, Lyon 1835, 119, pl. LVII; *Inventaire* I, no. 206; *Recueil* III/2, 176–7, no. 341, pl. XCIVb. The mosaic was discovered in 1825 and does not survive, but Artaud's description ('Pavé dont l'arrangement des cubes imites des veines de marbre en couleur') and drawing (showing violet pink veins forming irregular grey ovals with blue shading or a pink centre) would indicate that the marble imitated was *pavonazzetto*.
256. See Mingazzini 1966, pls VIII:2, X:2, XII:3, XXII:1–2 for imitations in mosaic; and pls XIV:4, XV, XVI:1–2, XVII:2, XIX:4, XX, XXI for real *opus sectile*.
257. See note 244.
258. See note 244, and D. Michaelides, 'Some aspects of marble imitation in mosaic', in P. Pensabene (ed.), *Marmi Antichi (Studi Miscellanei 1981–2)*, Roma 1985, 160–1.
259. J.C. Fant, review of P. Pensabene (ed.), *op. cit.*, in *JRS* 79, 1990, 222–3.
260. J.C. Fant, 'Ideology, gift, and trade: a distribution model for the Roman imperial marbles', in W.V. Harris (ed.), *The Inscribed Economy. Production and distribution in the Roman empire in the light of instrumentum domesticum. The proceedings of a conference held at The American Academy in Rome on 10–11 January, 1992 (JRA Suppl. ser. 6)*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1993, 145ff., esp. 153–5.
261. See note 244.
262. J.C. Fant, 'Ideology, gift, and trade' (see note 260 above), 162 and n. 104.
263. See note 244.
264. S. Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad*, Paris 1969, 119, no. 179, pls LX and XC.
265. L. Foucher, *Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961 (Notes et Documents n.s. V)*, Tunis n.d., pls XXVf.
266. E.g. one of the masks on a floor from Pergamon (D. Salzmänn, 'Mosaiken und Pavimente in Pergamon. Vorbericht der Kampagnen 1989 und 1990', *AA* 1991, 448–52, fig. 18).
267. This is the type of the 'satirello sorridente', Group D of Stefani's division of Etruscan clay masks (G. Stefani, 'Maschere fittili Etrusche di età Ellenistica', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia di Perugia* XVII, 1979–1980, 279ff., pl. II:3–4). For a good parallel, see *eadem*, *Terrecotte Figurate (Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia VII)*, Roma 1984, pl. XLVa. Such masks have the little horns on the forehead, the pointed animal ears and the rather grotesque smile, with widely set teeth showing through the half-parted lips.
268. The majority of the figured mosaics in D. Salzmänn, *Antike Kieselmosaiken (Archäologische Forschungen 10)*, Berlin 1982, have black backgrounds.

269. Perhaps not as scarce, however, as implied by Blanco Freijeiro 1978a, 30.
270. Pernice 1938, pl. 54:1. For more Pompeian mosaics with a black or a uniformly dark background, especially *emblemata*, see, amongst others, the following: *ibid.*, pl. 54:1 (fish from VII,2,16), pl. 55 (fish from VII,6,38), pls 59, 64, 65:2 (tiger rider, doves on water basin and doves from the Casa del Fauno).
271. Ph. Bruneau, *Les Mosaïques (Exploration Archéologique de Délos XXIX)*, Paris 1972, fig. 80 (Îlot des bijoux: Lycurgos and Ambrosia); figs 88–89 (Maison des Tritons: Tritonesse); figs 177, 180ff. (Maison des Masques: Dionysos on Leopard); etc.
272. D. Fernández-Galiano, *Complutum II: Mosaicos (Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España)*, Madrid 1984, 87f., pl. XLVI.
273. O. Mahjiub, 'I mosaici della villa romana di Silin', in *Il Mosaico* III, 1980, vol. II, 299–306, pl. V, fig. 8; also published in *LibAnt* XV–XVII, 1978–1979, 69–74, pl. XXVI.
274. *Metamorphoseon Lib.* IV, 28–35; V, 1–31; VI, 1–24. On this vexed issue, see P. Wolters, 'Eros und Psyche', *AZ* 1884, 1–20; O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, Berlin 1847, 121–97; and Levi 1947, 34 and n. 1 for previous bibliography. For a rejection of a literary origin of the representations of Eros and Psyche in mosaic, see M.-H. Quet, 'Romans grecs, mosaïques romaines', in Ph. Hoffmann and M. Trede (eds), *'Le monde du roman grec'. Actes du Colloque international tenu à l'École Normale Supérieure, Paris 17–19 décembre 1987 (Études de littérature ancienne 4)*, Paris 1992, 124–60.
- For the general iconography, as well as the tradition of representing Psyche with butterfly wings, see Roscher, s.v. 'Eros' and 'Psyche'; DarSag, s.v. 'Psyché'; M. Collignon, *Essai sur les Monuments Grecs et Romains relatifs au Mythe de Psyché*, Paris 1877; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig 1909–1920, 435ff.; Reinach 1922, 90–95; W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der von Vesuvus verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Leipzig 1868, nos 757, 759–60, 768, 773–4, 776, 800, 802–3, 847–9, 851, 853–4; Levi 1947 34ff., 159ff., 176ff.; C.C. Schlam, *Cupid and Psyche. Apuleius and the Monuments*, The American Philological Association 1976; Icard-Gianolio 1994; M.Y. Aspris, *Statuarische Gruppen von Eros und Psyche (Inauguraldissertation, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn)*, Bonn 1996.
275. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains (Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 35)*, Paris 1942, esp. 109; DarSag, *loc. cit.*; J. Danielou, *Primitive Christian Symbols*, London 1964, 70ff.; R. Turcan, *Les sarcophages romains à représentations Dionysiaques (BÉFAR no. 210)*, Paris 1966; G. Bendinelli, 'Ipogei sepolcrali scoperti presso il km IX della Via Trionfale (Roma)', *Nsc* 1922, esp. 432, figs 3–4, pl. II; R. Massigli, *Le Musée de Sfax (Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie XVII)*, Paris 1912, 9, no. 24, pl. V:1.
276. K. Kerényi, 'Zu Verg. Aen. VI, Pindar, Platon und Dante', *PhilWoch* 1925, 283ff.; F. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 110.
277. The cart is sometimes omitted. For such scenes on gemstones, see A. Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium zu Berlin*, Berlin 1896, no. 3066, pl. 25; no. 6785, pl. 49; no. 7521, pl. 56; no. 7957, pl. 68 (which shows a cicada riding a cart drawn by two butterflies); F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Alterthums*, Leipzig 1889, pl. XXII:24–27; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen, Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*, Leipzig-Berlin 1900, I, pl. XXXIV, no. 47; M. Collignon, *op. cit.* (note 274 above), 73ff.; Levi 1947, 176f., pls XXXVIIa-b, CLVI, etc.
278. Reinach 1922, 347, 7: fresco from Herculaneum showing a butterfly riding a cart drawn by a griffin; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, I, Paris 1897–1910, 71: relief in the Louvre showing Psyche riding a dromedary; A. Furtwängler, *Königliche Museen...*, no. 5766, pl. 40, showing a peacock harnessed by a butterfly; and no. 8447, showing Psyche on a chariot drawn by swans.
279. Glass cameo of the mid 1st century bc in the British Museum: Icard-Gianolio 1994, 574, no. 70*.
280. Cameo in the Naples Museum (no. 25840): Icard-Gianolio 1994, 574, no. 71*. On this and other similar representations on gems, see M.-L. Vollenweider, *Deliciae Leonis*, Mainz am Rhein 1984, 65,

- no. 93; J. Boardman and M.-L. Vollenweider, *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Catalogue of the engraved gems and finger rings I: Greek and Etruscan*, Oxford 1978, 355, no. 354.
281. D. Salzmann, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken (Archäologische Forschungen 10)*, Berlin 1982, 76f., figs 93:2, 94:1; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 577, no. 99b*.
282. Levi 1947, 21, pl. I:2; F. Baratte, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1978, 87–92, no. 43, figs 84–85; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 572, no. 49*.
283. Dating from before AD 115: Levi 1947, 34ff., pl. Va; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 578, no. 111*.
284. Levi 1947, 159ff., pl. XXXb; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 576, no. 86a*.
285. Levi 1947, 159f., pl. XLVIa; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 576, no. 86b*.
286. Levi 1947, 176ff., pls XXXVII, CLVI; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 574, no. 69*.
287. M.H. Chéhab, 'Mosaïques du Liban', *BMusBey* 14–15, 1957–1959, 16, pl. VI; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 577, no. 103*.
288. The mosaic decorating the floor of the Baths has been dated to the late 2nd century, but this particular fragment probably belongs to a restoration of the 4th century: Foucher 1960, 106, no. 57.234b, pl. LVI; L. Foucher, *Thermes romaines aux environs de Hadrumetum*, Tunis 1958, 5–14, pl. III; Dunbabin 1978, 271; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 573, no. 59*.
289. *RMT I/iii*, 5, no. 265, pl. XI; F. Baratte, *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1978, 49ff., no. 13, fig. 36; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 581, no. 159*.
290. *Inventaire II*, no. 593 = DarSag, s.v. *Musivum*, 2117 and n. 3; R. Hanoune, 'CIL 25042 (Carthage) et le débat philosophique et religieux à l'époque d'Augustin', in *Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale. Spectacles, vie portuaire, religions. Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord, V^e Colloque international (115^e CNSS), Avignon 9–13 avril 1990*, Paris 1992, 173–7.
291. M. Yacoub, *Musée du Bardo*, Tunis 1982, 101; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 574, no. 64*.
292. R. Massigli, *Le Musée de Sfax*, Paris 1912, 9, no. 24, pl. VI:3, where the third figure, which has butterfly wings, is identified as an Eros; Dunbabin 1978, 139, identifies it correctly as Psyche. M.H. Fantar et al., *La Mosaïque en Tunisie*, Paris-Tunis 1994, 2–3, col. photograph.
293. M. Bouhlila, *Les Mosaïques des thermes d'Ain Doura (Dougga), Tunisie. Thèse de troisième cycle. Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, Novembre 1987* (not seen) = *BullAIEMA* 12, 1988–1989, no. 1823.
294. E. Ghislanzoni, *La Villa Romana in Desenzano*, Milano 1962, *Laconicum-Sala D*, 91ff., fig. 19, pl. X; M.T. Guaitoli and G. Sassatelli, *L'Alma Mater e l'antico. Scavi dell'Istituto di Archeologia: Mostra fotografica. Bologna: Biblioteca Comunale dell'Arciginnasio, Novembre 1991*, Bologna 1991, fig. 19.
295. L. Bertacchi, 'Nuovi mosaici figurati di Aquileia', *Aquileia Nostra* 34, 1963, 43f., fig. 20.
296. M.-N. Nicolini, 'Une scène de théâtre dans la mosaïque de Cordoue', in *'Mosaicos Romanos'. Actas de la I Mesa Redonda Hispano-Francesca sobre Mosaicos Romanos habida en Madrid en 1985. In Memoriam Manuel Fernández-Galiano*, Madrid 1989, 194, pl. IV:2; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 579, no. 125.
297. D. Fernandez-Galiano, 'Influencias orientales en la musivaria hispanica', in *Il Mosaico III*, 1980, vol. II, 421, fig. 3; Icard-Gianolio 1994, 581, no. 152.
298. M. Durán, *Iconografía de los Mosaicos Romanos en la Hispania alto-imperial*, Barcelona 1993, 380, fig. 57.
299. *Berenice I*, 144, 300; *Berenice III/1*, 454f.
300. For the origins of the design, see Ovadiah 1980, 113.

301. G. Kawerau and Th. Wiegand, *Die Paläste der Hochburg (Altertümer von Pergamon V/1)*, Berlin-Leipzig 1930, pls XXVf.
302. Blake 1930, 108, pls 14:2; 27:3, 30:4.
303. On the origin and development of this pattern, see Ovadiah 1980, 157; Blake 1930, 84; Levi 1947, 374; Becatti 1969, 194, no. 369; Di Vita 1966, 38 n. 109.
304. Blake 1930, pls 24:4; Pernice 1938, pls 18:2, 24:4. For the example in House V,2,1, see *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici III (Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale — Atlante sussidiario)*, Roma 1991, 754–5, figs 167, 170.
305. Blake 1930, pl. 27:5.
306. *Ibid.*, pl. 36:6.
307. Mowry and Kracling 1962, pl. LVIIIc.
308. *Berenice I*, 144, 300; *Berenice III/1*, 455.
309. For more details on the house, see *Berenice I*, 140, 144–6.
310. It should be noted that at least six rows of the southern surround were covered by a quarter-round moulding.
311. Houses IX,ii,5 and VIII,iii,8: Blake 1930, pl. 27.
312. *Le Arti* 1942, 377, fig. 7.
313. B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne, 1961–69 I (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London XXVI)*, London 1971, 147, pls LXXV, LXXXc.
314. A.-M. Guimier Sorbets, 'Le méandre à panetons de clefs', in *Mosaïque. Recueil d'hommages à Henri Stern*, Paris 1983, 195–213, where this (p. 204) and all related designs are analyzed.
315. *Recueil III/2*, 106ff., no. 306, pls XL, XLII.
316. In the Insula delle Muse of AD 130 it is used as a threshold (Becatti 1961, no. 240, pl. 225). In a mosaic from the Insula di Giove e Ganimede, of c. AD 128–138, it covers the whole surface of the floor (*ibid.*, no. 10, fig. 5); in another Hadrianic mosaic from the Domus presso il Serapeo it is used in a manner very similar to the Benghazi examples, with quatrefoil-filled squares, except that the latchkeys and the meanders cross differently (*ibid.*, no. 285, pl. XVIII).
317. For examples of the design traced by cables and other such motifs, see A.-M. Guimier Sorbets, *op. cit.*, 204 and table 3 on p. 205.
318. Basilica A of Chersonesos on Crete, of the late 5th/early 6th century (Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, pl. 82b).
319. Basilica of Alypos at Arkasa on Carpathos, of the 4th century (Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, pl. 10).
320. *Berenice I*, 145, 300; *Berenice III/1*, 456.
321. *Berenice I*, 145, 300; *Berenice III/1*, 456f.
322. These must be the mosaics referred to in G.D.B. Jones and J.H. Little, 'Coastal settlement in Cyrenaica', *JRS* 61, 1971, 79.

323. This is the only record there is of the mosaic *in situ*. The original is held in the archive of the Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, bearing no. F 4456, and will be discussed in relation to mosaic no. 21.
324. E.g. Pernice 1938, pl. 18:2.
325. *Berenice* I, 145, 300; *Berenice* III/1, 456.
326. *Berenice* I, 145, 300; *Berenice* III/1, 456f.
327. Nos F 4456 (Fig. 54 here)–F 4458 of the archive of the Department of Antiquities, Cyrene. Three photographs taken by R.G. Goodchild in 1965 are now in the collection of the Society for Libyan Studies, London.
328. See discussion on pp. 12ff.
329. The remnants of the hand also exclude the remote possibility of a Phoenix, also rayed and nimbed, being represented here as in the examples from Antioch (House of the Phoenix: Levi 1947, pl. LXXXIII) and Aquileia (G. Brusin and P.L. Zovatto, *Monumenti Paleocristiani di Aquileia a di Grado*, Udine 1957, 157, fig. 66). Similarly, the position of the hand would also exclude a representation of the Pharos of Alexandria, as seen in the mosaic from Qasr el-Lebia (E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches (Monografie di Archeologia Libica XIV)*, Roma 1980, pl. 17:1). There is the possibility that the figure depicted was Apollo with a radiate crown, but since this iconography is not known in mosaic art, this seems unlikely.
330. Póvoa de Cós: I. Nobrega Moita, 'O mosaico luso-romano de Póvoa de Cós', *ArqPort*, n.s. 1, 1951, 143f., fig. 1, pl. 1; A. Balil, 'Mosaicos Romanos de Baetulo', *Zephyrus* 15, 1964, 92 n. 43; M. Torres Carro, 'El mosaico de Póvoa de Cós, Leiria (Portugal)', in 'Mosaicos Romanos'. *Actas de la I Mesa Redonda Hispano-Francesa sobre Mosaicos Romanos en Madrid en 1985. Manuel Fernández Galiano. In Memoriam*, Madrid 1989, 145–58, with 3 ills.
331. G. Fiorelli in *Nsc* 1880, 461; Blake 1930, 116; E. Stefani in *Nsc* 1942, 371f., fig. 40f.; Luzón Nogué 1988, 236, no. 15, fig. 16.
332. A. Berthier, 'Une mosaïque solaire trouvée à Constantine', in *Mélanges J. Carcopino*, Paris 1966, 113–24, fig. 1; G.-Ch. Picard, 'L'Âge d'or de la mosaïque romain en Afrique du Nord', *Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 31, décembre 1978, 14f. and photograph.
333. W. Jobst, *Antike Mosaikkunst in Österreich*, Wien 1985, 43f., pl. 3.
334. The representation of Sol on ceiling decorations is well documented in antiquity. It is known, for example, that on the occasion of Tiridates' visit to Rome in AD 66, at a celebration in the theatre of Pompey 'the curtains stretched overhead to keep off the sun were of purple and in the centre of them was an embroidered figure of Nero driving a chariot, with golden stars gleaming all around him' (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* LXII, transl. by E. Cary, Loeb Classical Library, Vol. VIII, 145). The ceiling of the portico of the Roman market at Corinth had coffers richly carved with figures, amongst which there were busts of Sol and Luna (R.B. Richardson, 'A series of colossal statues at Corinth', *AJA* VI, 1902, 7ff., pl. V). Amongst the drawings of Bartoli in the Eton Collection there is one which shows an elaborate ceiling design (from the Villa Adriana?) in the centre of which there is the rayed head of Sol (Th. Ashby, 'Drawings of ancient paintings in English collections', *PBSR* 7, 1914, 33, Eton III no. 20). On the relation of Sol to ceiling decoration see also Parlasca 1959, 123.
335. E.g. the various examples in C. Letta, 'Helios/Sol', in *LIMC* IV, 1988, 592–625; N. Yialouris, 'Helios', in *LIMC* V, 1990, 1005–34; M. Gawlikowski, 'Helios (in peripheria orientali)', in *ibid.*, 1034–8. On Helios/Sol in general, see K. Schauenburg, *Helios*, Berlin 1955; G.H. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sun Invictus (EPRO 23)*, Leiden 1972.
336. On this association see E. Simon, 'Apollon/Apollo', in *LIMC* II, 1984, 420–2.

337. Fr. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments. Figures relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles 1895–8; M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, The Hague 1956, figs 5, 36, 64, 101–102, 126, 193, etc.
338. D. Levi, 'Mors Voluntaria', *Berytus* VII, 1942, 19ff., for example, interprets a similarly decorated building from Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo as an Orphic Basilica.
339. Dunbabin 1978, 145.
340. R. Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteringedanken in der christlichen Antike*, Leipzig/Berlin 1925, 187–91.
341. P. Gauckler, 'Le Domain des Laberii à Uthina', *Mon Piot* III, 1897, 177f., fig. 6.
342. Rome, lost ceiling mosaic (from the Villa Adriana?) known from a drawing of Bartoli in the Eton Collection (Th. Ashby, 'Drawings of ancient paintings in English collections', *PBSR* 7, 1914, 33, Eton III no. 20).
 La Maison de Laberii, Oudna (P. Gauckler, *op. cit.*, 199, fig. 6; C. Letta, *LIMC* IV, no. 26).
 Planet mosaic from Itálica, of the 2nd century (Blanco Freijeiro 1978b, 36f., no. 12, pls 31–33; J. Lancha, 'L'iconographie du dieu Sol dans la Péninsule Ibérique', *Museos* 2, 1984, 26f., fig.2).
 Mosaic from Itálica, now in the Lebrija Collection (A. Blanco, *Mosaicos romanos de Itálica I*, Madrid 1978, no. 12C, fig. 33; Lancha, *op. cit.*, 27, fig. 3).
 Edessa, 2nd-century funerary mosaic of Sol amongst figures of the deceased (K. Parlasca, 'Neues zu den Mosaiken von Edessa und Seleukia', in *Il Mosaico* III 1980, 229, fig. 3).
 Mosaic from Bir-Chana, of the late 2nd century (Dunbabin 1978, pl. 64; C. Letta, *LIMC* IV, no. 273).
 Mosaic from Piazza della Vittoria at Palermo, dating from after AD 200 (Boeselager 1983, 178, pl. LXI).
 Mosaic from Póvoa de Cós, of the late 2nd/early 3rd century (see note 330 above).
 Mosaic in Tomb N of the Necropolis under the Church of Santa Tecla in Rome, of the late 2nd/early 3rd century (V. Santa Maria Scrinari, 'Il Complesso Cimiteriale di Santa Tecla I. La Necropoli pagana', *RendAccIt* LV–LVI, 1982–1983, 1983–1984, 389–420, esp. 412–15, fig. 18).
 Maison de Silène at El Djem of c. AD 260–280 (L. Foucher, 'Découvertes Archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1960' (*Notes et Documents*, n.s. IV), Tunis n.d., 25f.; Dunbabin 1978, 160, pl. 159; C. Letta, *LIMC* IV, no. 400).
 Sparta, mosaic of the late 3rd/early 4th century from the land of A. Kakaris (Waywell 1979, 303, 318, no. 49; G. Daux, 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1965', *BCH* 90, 1966, 795, fig. 4; N. Yalouris *LIMC* V, no. 134).
 Sparta, another, late mosaic from the land of Alikakos (G. Steinhauer, 'Ἀρχαιότητες και Μνημεία Λακωνίας-Αρκαδίας', *ArchDel* 30, 1975 (1983), 76, fig. 1, pl. 45; G. Touchais, 'Chronique... en 1983', *BCH* 108, 184, 763, fig. 48; N. Yalouris, *LIMC* V, no. 290).
 Rome, lost mosaic of probable late 3rd/early 4th century date (Th. Ashby, *op. cit.*, 11, Eton I no. 31).
 Paphos, Judgement of the Nereids panel in the 4th-century House of Aion (W.A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser*, Mainz am Rhein 1985, 31–2, fig. 3, pls 2, 20).
 Astypalaia, mosaic from the 5th-century baths at 'Tallara' (Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, no. 3, pl. 4b).
 Beth-Shean, mosaic in the 6th-century Church of the Virgin (G.M. Fitzgerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth Shean (Skythopolis)*, Philadelphia 1939, pl. 6; M. Avi-Yonah, 'Mosaic pavements in Palestine', *QDAP* II, 1933, 143, no. 20; J.W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*, London 1941, pl. XIX).
 Two other examples can be mentioned in this context: a now lost mosaic from Corsaint which, however, could easily be a representation of the full figure (*Inventaire* I, no. 859); and an *opus sectile* panel of probable early 3rd-century date from the Mithraeum under the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome (M.J. Vermaseren and C.C. Van Essen, *The Excavations of the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden 1968, pls XXXV–XXXVII).
 Other, now lost mosaics which may have had this representation were found in a bath building at Lambaesis (*Inventaire* III, no. 184) and at Vienne (*Recueil* III/2, fig. 2bis). There is also a possible candidate from Itálica (A.M. Cantos, 'El Mosaico del nacimiento de Venus de Itálica', *Habis* VII, 1976, 293–338; Lancha, *op. cit.*, 27).

Two mosaics with alleged busts of Sol from Avenches (*Inventaire I*, nos 1395 and 1396) have been eliminated by Gonzenbach (1961, mosaics 5.5 and 5.51); while two others from Rome are probably fakes (C. Letta, *LIMC IV*, nos 466–7).

343. E.g. the mosaic from Bramdean in which Th. Morgan (*Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, 1886, 223) identifies the figure as Sol with radiate crown and whip. R.C. Hoare ('Observations upon four Mosaic Pavements in the County of Hants', *Archaeologia XXII*, 1829, 53) identified the figure, wrongly it would seem, as Aesculapius with his serpent.

The mosaic from Sentinum now in Munich (G.J. Kern, 'Das Jahreszeiten mosaik der Müncher Glyptothek und die Skenographie bei Vitruvius', *AA* 1938, 345ff., figs 1f.) — it should be noted, however, that this identification is by no means certain.

An unusual representation from Rottweil (Parlasca 1959, 97f., pl. 94f.) also shows a standing figure of Sol in a representation of the myth of Leucothoe.

344. On the sun and his quadriga in general, see G. Hafner, *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht*, Berlin 1938, 73f., 115; K. Schauenburg, *Helios. Archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengott*, Berlin 1955.

For Sol and his quadriga represented within a much more complex scene, see the panel from the Villa at Silin (O. Al Mahjub, 'I mosaici della Villa Romana di Silin', in *Il Mosaico III*, 1983, 302 and col. pl.); the cosmological mosaic from Mérida dating to the second half of the 2nd century (Blanco Freijeiro 1978a, no. 17, 35ff., fig. 1, pls 28–39, 100; M.-H. Quet, 'La mosaïque cosmologique. Propositions de lecture', part 1, *Conimbriga XVIII*, 1979, 5–103 and several plates in colour; Lancha, *op. cit.* (note 342 above), 28f., fig. 5; C. Letta, *LIMC IV*, no. 341*); and perhaps the mosaic from Castelgandolfo, although there are doubts as to its interpretation (A. Balland, 'Une Transportation de la Grotte de Tibère à Sperlonga; Le Ninfeo Bergantino de Castelgandolfo', *MEFRA* 79, 1967, 421–503, esp. 449f., figs 15–18; C. Letta, *LIMC IV*, no. 463).

345. Mosaic from Orbe, of c. AD 200–225 (Gonzenbach 1961, 184ff., pls 60–67; C. Letta, *LIMC IV*, no. 272).

The ceiling mosaic of the first half of the 3rd century from the Tomb of the Giulii in the necropolis under St. Peters in Rome (O. Perler, *Die Mosaiken der Juligruft im Vatican*, Freiburg 1953; J. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peters and the Vatican Excavations*, London 1956, 71, pl. 19).

The (late 3rd-early 4th century) Zodiac scene from the Synagogue of Hammath-Tiberias (M. Dothan, 'The representation of Helios in the mosaic of Hammath-Tiberias', in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale: Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo, la forma artistica del passaggio dall'Antichità al Medioevo*, Roma 1968, 99–104; G. Guidoni Guidi, 'La rappresentazione dello Zodiaco sui mosaici pavimentali del Vicino Oriente', in *Il Mosaico III*, 1980, 253–62, fig. 1; C. Letta, *LIMC IV*, no. 292).

For an apparently different but related type with the chariot shown almost in profile, see the example from Roufos street in Patrai (I.A. Papapostolou, 'Αρχαιότητες και Μνημεία Αρχαίας', *ArchDelt* 34, 1979 (1987), 130, pl. 33b; H. Catling, 'Archaeology in Greece 1987–1988', *ArchRep* 34, 1987–1988, 29, fig. 30). The early 3rd-century mosaic from Sens, although unique, is related because it shows Sol alone with his horses. Instead of riding the quadriga, however, he is shown mounted, trying to control his four bolting horses (J.P. Darmon, 'Sur deux mosaïques de l'Yonne', in *La Mosaïque II*, 1971, 307f., pl. CXXXIXf.; *idem*, 'Muta oratio: la mosaïque des chevaux du Soleil à Sens', *Recherches et Documents du Centre Thomas-More*, 2^e trimestre 1984; *Recueil II/3*, no. 415, pls XI–XXIII; C. Letta, *LIMC IV*, no. 171).

There are also several mosaics that sometimes appear in the literature as representing Sol but their iconography is either disputed, or has been shown to be different. They are mentioned here for the sake of completeness:

The much destroyed panel from Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo which D. Levi ('*Mors voluntaria*', *Berytus VII*, 1942, 38, pl. V) suggested might be the carriage of Helios or Poseidon, but which D. Boesclager (1983, 174, fig. 119) has shown to be that of Neptune).

A mosaic from Conimbriga (M. Bairrao Oleiro, 'Mosaïques romaines de Portugal', in *La Mosaïque I*, 1963, 257–64, figs 8–9; C. Letta, *LIMC IV*, no. 464). The charioteer bears no radiate crown, and K.M.D. Dunbabin ('The victorious charioteer', *AJA* 86, 1982, 84) discounts this identification, although J. Lancha (*op. cit.*, note 342 above, 29f., fig. 7) brings forward arguments to dispute her.

A mosaic from Córdoba, published by Blázquez (1981, no. 20) as Helios, but shown by J. Lancha (*op. cit.*, note 342 above, 26, fig. 1) to be that of a winged victory.

A mosaic from Fernán-Núñez, near Córdoba, with a figure interpreted by some as Sol (Blázquez 1981, no. 32; D. Fernandez-Galiano, 'Nuevas interpretaciones iconográficas sobre mosaicos hispa-

norromanos', *Museos* 1, 1982, 17–27), but which is more likely to be that of Phaethon (Lancha, *op. cit.*, note 342 above, 25f.).

346. E.g. the following examples, all associated with the Zodiac: a mid 3rd-century mosaic from Münster Sarmsheim in Germany (Parlaska 1959, 87f., pls 84ff.).

A 6th-century mosaic from the Synagogue at Beth Alpha (M. Avi-Yonah, 'Mosaic pavements in Palestine', *QDAP* II, 1933, 144, no. 22; G. Guidoni Guidi, 'La rappresentazione dello Zodiaco sui mosaici pavimentali del Vicino Oriente', in *Il Mosaico* III, 1980, fig. 4).

A 6th century mosaic from the Synagogue at 'Ain Doug/ Na'aran (Avi-Yonah, *op. cit.*, 155, no. 69; G. Guidoni Guidi, *op. cit.*, fig. 3).

One can mention that Sol can also be represented by one of his symbols only, e.g. the radiate crown, as in the mid 3rd-century Mithraeum of Felicissimus at Ostia (Becatti 1961, no. 428, pl. CXCIV).

347. DarSag, *s.v.* 'Helios'; Roscher, *s.v.* 'Helios', 2010; N. Yialouris, 'Helios', in *LIMC* V, 1990, 1033.

348. C. Letta in *LIMC* IV, 624f. See also H.P. L' Orange and A. Von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogen*, Berlin 1939, 164 n. 1; H.P. L' Orange, 'Sol Invictus Imperator. Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose', *SymbOslo* XIV, 1935, 86ff., esp. 89; H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354, étude sur son texte et ses illustrations*, Paris 1953, 181.

349. J. Toynbee and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peters and the Vatican Excavations*, London 1956, 71, pl. 19; J. Huskinson, 'Some Pagan Mythological figures and their significance in early Christian art', *PBSR* 42, 1974, 78ff; H. Rahner, *Greek Myths and Christian Mystery*, London 1963.

350. For more details on the building, see *Berenice* I, 154–60; Stucchi 1975, 454f. For a brief general reference to the building and its decoration, see J.A. Lloyd, in J.A. Humphrey, 'North African News Letter 2', *AJA* 84, 1980, 81.

351. Some fragments of real marble veneer may indicate a combination of the two media. On the marble fragments from the site, see D. Michaelides, 'Fragments of marble floor and wall veneering', in *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish (Berenice)* IV.2 (forthcoming). On the frescoes, see D. Michaelides and L. Pye, 'The Wall Paintings', *ibid.*

352. There was no sign of any permanent fittings embedded in the floor.

353. Illustrated on *Berenice* I, pl. XIb.

354. *Ibid.*, 159f. for interpretation and parallels.

355. The literary evidence, in fact, points to a much earlier period. On the subject, see K.M.D. Dunbabin, 'Triclinium and Stibadium', in W.J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1990, 120–48, esp. 128ff.

356. *Berenice* I, 157.

357. Levi 1947, 127–36, pls XXIII–XXIV, CLII–CLIII; Dunbabin, *op. cit.*

358. *Berenice* I, 158, 302; *Berenice* III/1, 462.

359. Stucchi (1975, 455 n. 1) disputes the abandonment of the building and thinks it remained active in conjunction with the church. The arguments offered by the excavators, however, are fully convincing.

360. *Berenice* I, 160.

361. An interpretation also accepted by Stucchi (1975, 455).

362. E.g. M.A. García Guinea, 'Prospecciones en la antigua Uxama (Osma)', *ArchEspArq* XXX, 1959, 122ff., esp. 128 n. 4; Mingazzini 1966, 21.

363. P. Cadet, 'Les mosaïques géométriques de la Villa Hadriana', in *Mosaïque. Recueil d'Homages à Henri Stern*, Paris 1983, 93–5, pl. LII:3.
364. R. Tuteri, 'Pavimenti antichi a Sulmona: relazione preliminare sulle nuove acquisizioni', in I. Bragantini and F. Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del II Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Roma, 5–7 dicembre 1994*, Bordighera 1995, 71–84, esp. 75ff., figs 4–5.
365. E.g. Quatrefoils combined with intersecting circles: Ostia, Schola di Traiano (Becatti 1961, no. 380, pl. XLI); quatrefoils forming concave octagons surrounded by discs and figure-of-eight elements: Rome, constructions of Septimius Severus on the Palatine (M.L. Morricone Matini, *Reg. X, Palatium (Mosaici Antichi in Italia)*, no. 84, fig. 43, pl. XVII).
366. Becatti 1961, no. 370, pl. XL.
367. W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I: Die Hanghäuser des Embolos (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/2)*, Wien 1977, 2, 57f., figs 92–96.
368. Boeselager 1983, 183f., pl. LXIII, fig. 126.
369. Mingazzini 1966, 21, pl. IX. For the date, see J.B. Ward-Perkins (*Gnomon XL*, 1968), who opts for an Antonine date rather than Mingazzini's Severan.
370. For the Villa, see Mowry and Kraeling 1922: Room 1: 246; Room 5: p. 245; Room 11: 240f., fig. 68, pl. LVIIIa. For the Public Building, see *ibid.*, Room 15: 251, fig. 72.
371. M.A. García Guinea, 'Prospecciones en la antigua Uxama (Osma)', *ArchEspArq* XXX, 1959, 122ff.
372. Di Vita 1966, pl. VIb.
373. Kiss 1973, 41f., no. 12, pl. IV. For a 5th-century example, with the quatrefoils outlined, see R. and A. Ovadia, *Mosaic Pavements in Israel (Biblioteca Archeologica 6)*, Rome 1987, pl. CVII.
374. Blanco Freijeiro 1978a, no. 29, pl. 55a. For a selection of late Spanish examples, some quite close to the Benghazi mosaic, see the discussion of the Bacchus mosaic from Complutum, in D. Fernandez-Galiano, *Complutum II: Mosaicos (Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España)*, Madrid 1984, 181ff.
375. H. Knackfuss, *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen (Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit Jahre 1899 I/7)*, Berlin 1924, 68, pl. VIII.
376. Spiro 1978, no. 225, pl. 716.
377. *Ibid.*, no. 175, pl. 597.
378. *Berenice I*, 158, 302; *Berenice III/1*, 462.
379. There is a further border of three rows of white tesserae between this and the central panel, but this is also an integral part of the latter and will be discussed with it.
380. A small area of the forehead is destroyed.
381. According to J.A. Lloyd (*Berenice I*, 154), Building W was abandoned within 30 years of its construction.
382. Berti 1976, 76.
383. Thermes des Filadelphus of the 2nd/3rd century: S. Germain, *Les mosaïques de Timgad*, Paris 1969, 75, no. 90, pl. XXXII.

384. Mosaic from the pre-3rd century level of the Baths of Themetra: L. Foucher, *Thermes romains des environs d'Hadrumète*, Tunis 1958, 18, pl. VIIa.
385. Public toilet probably of the second half of the 3rd century: M. Ennaifer, *La cité d'Althiburos et l'édifice des Asklepieia*, Tunis 1976, 106, pl. CXII.
386. For the Villa, see Mowry and Kraeling 1962, 238, pl. LVIIc (the 1st-century date is again unacceptable). The mosaic from the House of the Triapsidal Hall is unpublished: see photograph no. (6x9)11.961 at the British School at Rome. On the Building as a whole, see S.C. Gibson, J.H. Little and J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'Excavation Reports: Ptolemais 1978', *LibSt* IX, 1977–1978, 5ff.; and J. Little, 'Urban Change at Ptolemais', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 47.
387. In mosaics 'à décor multiple', such as that from La Pegne in France (*Recueil* III/1, 126ff., no. 170, pl. XLVIII f.), of the early 3rd century. The late 2nd/early 3rd century Mosaïque d'Hercule at Vienne (Lancha 1977, fig. 2bis; *Recueil* III/2, 106–16, no. 306 (panel 41), pl. XL) and another at Lyon (*Recueil* II/1, no. 53, pl. XXXVIII).
388. Levi 1947, 168, pl. XXVa.
389. Chr. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine. Roman mosaics in the House of Dionysos*, Ithaca and London 1995, figs 31, 37.
390. A. von Gerkan and F. Krischen, *Thermen und Palaestren (Milet I/9)*, Berlin 1928, pl. XLII:1.
391. S. Campbell, *The Mosaics of Aphrodisias in Caria (The Corpus of Mosaic Pavements of Turkey) (Subsidia Mediaevalia 18)*, Toronto, Ontario 1991, 8–9, pls 27 and 24 respectively. For the former, see also *eadem*, 'Roman mosaic workshops in Turkey', *AJA* 83, 1979, 290, pl. 44, fig. 15.
392. Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 51, no. 14:2, pl. 12.
393. E.g. Basilica of St. Andreas of Eressos on Lesbos, of the early 5th century (Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 127f., no. 116, pl. 104); a mosaic from Elis of the second half of the 5th century (Spiro 1978, 102f., no. 43, pl. 100); Basilica B of Chersonesos and the Basilica of Knossos on Crete (Pelekanides and Atzaka 1974, 111f., no. 88, pl. 83a, and 109f., no. 86, pl. 79 respectively); Basilica of Archistrategos on Cassos, of the 6th century (*ibid.*, 62f., no. 21, pl. 22b).
394. Of the 5th century: Levi 1947, pl. CXIIB.
395. P. Gauckler, *Les Basiliques Chrétiennes de Tunisie*, Paris 1913, pl. I.
396. 'Palazzo di Teodorico', Portico A'''' (Berti 1976, 75f., no. 56, pls IX:2,4, XLIII:2, XLIV) of the 7th century; and the church of San Vitale (R. Farioli, *Pavimenti musivi di Ravenna Paleocristiana*, Ravenna 1975, 161, fig. 83).
397. E.g. the 13th-century example of San Giovanni Evangelista in Ravenna (R. Farioli, *op. cit.*, 161f., fig. 84).
398. Blake 1936, 188.
399. Becatti 1961, 17, no. 18.
400. E.g. in the Maison des dauphins at Delos (Ph. Bruneau, *Les Mosaïques (Exploration Archéologique de Délos XXIX)*, Paris 1972, 232ff., figs 168, 175). For its origin and other early examples, see Ovadia 1980, 122, type B 20.
401. R.P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum*, London 1933, lix.
402. E.g. at Pompeii: Pernice 1938, pl. 50:1.

403. Waywell 1979, 309.
404. For an analysis and a list of examples of the bead and reel (astragalus) in the architecture and mosaics of Cyrenaica (including some previously unpublished photographs of mosaics), see M. Luni, 'Il Santuario rupestre libyo delle 'immagini' a Slonta (Cirenaica)', in *Cirene e i Libyi* (QAL 12), 1987, 442–3, figs 44–47.
405. Pesce 1950, 29, fig. 36 (only just visible). Pesce opts for a much earlier date.
406. J.H. Little, 'Excavation in the North-East Quadrant. 1st Interim Report', *LibSt* 11, 1979–1980, 40, pl. 1.
407. The building is dated between AD 75 and 125. R.G. Goodchild, 'The Roman Public Baths', in R.G. Goodchild, J.G. Pedley and D. White, *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene. Excavations by the University of Michigan, 1965–7* (Supplements to *LibAnt* IV), Tripoli 1976, pl. XXXVII. R. Rebuffat, J.C. Joulia, G. Monthel and E. Lenoir, 'Note préliminaire sur les grandes thermes d'Apollonia', *LA* XV–XVI, 1978, 263–77.
408. G. Oliverio, 'Campagna di Scavi a Cirene nell'estate del 1928', *AfrIt* III, 1930, fig. 2; and negative no. XXIX20 at the British School at Rome, respectively.
409. In the Salone degli Ortostati, and the Sala delle Quattro Stagioni: Mingazzini 1966, pls VIII:2, IX:2, and XXXff. respectively.
410. An early 5th-century example is found in House XIII of the Agora: S. Stucchi, *L'Agora di Cirene I* (*Monografie di Archeologia Libica* VII), Rome 1965, 331, pl. LX:5. For examples from the House of Hesychius, House XI of the Agora and the House of the Semicircular Kline, see M. Luni, 'Il Santuario Rupestre Libyo delle 'immagini' a Slonta (Cirenaica)', in *Cirene e i Libyi* (QAL 12), Roma 1987, figs 45–47.
411. House VIII.iv.4: Blake 1930, pl. 46:6.
412. For the patterns, see G. Salies, 'Untersuchungen zu den geometrischen Gliederungsschemata römischer Mosaiken', *BjB* 174, 1974, 3, 25f., 104f.
413. Blake 1930, pl. 24; Lancha 1977, fig. 57bis for a better photograph.
414. See for example, H. Stern, 'Ateliers de mosaïstes Rhodaniens d'époque Gallo-romaine', in *La Mosaïque* I, 1963, 238–40; *idem*, 'Mosaïques de la Région de Vienne', *Gallia* XXIX, 1971, 129; Lancha 1977, 107f.
415. Mingazzini 1966, pls X:2; XIII:1; XIX:3; XXX:1; etc.
416. *Ibid.*, pl. XXX.
417. E.g. Pergamon, Building Z (D. Salzmann, 'Mosaiken und Pavimente in Pergamon', *AA* 1991, fig. 18; J. Willeitner, 'Die Aktivitäten des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts während der letzten Grabungssaison (Teil II)', *Antike Welt* 26/2, 1995, 131f., figs 3, 4); from Melos (now in Leiden: E.M. Moormann, 'Mosaici da Melos a Leida', in *Mosaico Antiquo* VI, 1994, 161–6, fig. 5); from Oescus ('Römische Mosaiken aus *Colonia Ulpia Oescensium* (Heute Bulgarien)', in *La Mosaïque* IV, 1984, pl. LXXX:2); from Acholla (S. Gozlan, *La Maison du Triomphe de Neptune à Acholla-Botria — Tunisie I: Les mosaïques* (CÉFR 160), Rome 1992, pl. LXIII); as well as several examples from El Djem, one illustrated in M. Blanchard-Lemée, M. Ennaifer, H. and L. Slim, *Sols de l'Afrique Romaine. Mosaïques de Tunisie*, Paris 1995, 53, fig. 25.
418. D. Pantermalis, 'Η ανασκαφή μιας αΐθουσας συμποσίων στο Δίον', *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 1, 1987, 181–3, figs 2–4.
419. M. Natan Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (*Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* XXVI), Lund 1938, pl. V.

420. Levi 1947, pl. XVI:a,b.
421. L. Foucher, *La Maison de la Procession Dionysiaque à El Djem* (Publications de l'Université de Tunis XI), Paris 1963, 52f., pls XVI–XVII; D. Parrish, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, Rome 1984, 153–6, no. 28, pls 40–41.
422. L. Foucher, *Découvertes Archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961* (Notes et Documents n.s. V), Tunis n.d.; Parrish, *op. cit.*, 165–8, no. 32, pls 48b–49.
423. Dunbabin 1978, 158–9, 262, no. 2, pls 156–7; Parrish, *op. cit.*, 194–6, no. 46, pl. 62.
424. Dunbabin 1978, 291–2, no. 20; Parrish, *op. cit.*, 126–8, no. 15, pl. 24b.
425. Parrish, *op. cit.*, 259–60, no. 79, pl. 102b.
426. G. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, 'Πομπηϊκὰ ψηφιδωτὰ ἀπέδρα μὲ ἀνθρώπινας μορφές', *Ellenika* 26, 1973, 226; H.G.G. Payne, 'Archaeology in Greece, 1934–1935', *JHS* 55, 1935, 164, pl. XIb; E. Waywell, 'A Roman Villa at Knossos, Crete', *Mosaic* 8, 1983, 11ff.
- The other two Dionysiac mosaics in the Villa are found: a) in the northwest room, where each of the seven hexagonal panels arranged in honeycomb manner within a circle has a different bust of a member of the Dionysiac entourage (Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *op. cit.*, 226, pl. 10b; Payne, *op. cit.*, 164, pl. XIa); and b) in the *oecus*, where a central bust of Dionysus is surrounded by eight panels with different Dionysiac masks, many of which are very similar to those at Benghazi (M. Gough in *ArchDelt* 27, 1972, 627, pl. 587). See also Ph. Bruneau, 'Tendances de la mosaïque en Grèce à l'époque impériale', in *ANRW* II: 12/2, 323f.; J.F. Saunders, *Roman Crete*, Warminster 1982, 51ff., pls 13–14 and pp. 69f.; G. Hellenkemper Salies, 'Römische Mosaiken in Griechenland', *BjB* 174, 1974, 270f.
427. Parrish, *op. cit.*, 160–2, no. 30, pl. 45.
428. Dunbabin 1978, 104, 168–9, 252, pl. 92; Parrish, *op. cit.*, 108–10, no. 8, pl. 14.
429. *Berenice* I, 158, 302; *Berenice* III/1, 461f.
430. *Berenice* I, 159, 302; *Berenice* III/1, 462f.
431. For further details see Introduction to Building W, pp. 51–52. above.
432. For the function of this Compartment in association with the Northern Compartment, see Comments and Discussion under mosaic **no.26**.
433. For the use of the term 'marble', and the problems of identification, see Comments and Discussion below.
434. The chevron is not included amongst these basic designs because the one time it occurs (in the frame of panel 12) it is made of one large and one small rectangle and not of a single chevron-shaped *crusta*.
435. G. Becatti, *Case Ostiensi del Tardo Impero*, Rome 1949, *passim*, esp. 29.
436. See for example, D. Monna and P. Pensabene, *Marmi dell'Asia Minore*, Roma 1977, 146ff. and bibliography; N. Asgari, 'Roman and Early Byzantine marble quarries of Proconnesus', in *The Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Classical Archaeology. Ankara-Izmir 1973*, Ankara 1978, 467–80; S. Walker, 'The marble quarries of Proconnesos: Isotopic evidence for the age of the quarries and *Lenos*-sarcophagi carved in Rome', in P. Pensabene (ed.), *Marmi Antichi (Studi Miscelanei 1981–1982)*, Roma 1985, 57–69; Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 252.
437. Gnoli 1971, 152f. (*bigio antico*); 165f. (*marmi neri*).
438. P. Pensabene, 'Sull'impiego del marmo di Cap di Garde', *StMisc* 22, 1974–1975, 179–80; Gnoli 1971, 225 n. 1; and Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 237.

439. See further Chapter V.
440. *Marmor Synnadicum* or *Phrygium*, Phrygian marble: J. Röder, 'Marmor Phrygium. Die antiken Marmorbrüche von Iscehisar in Westanatolien' *Jdl* 86, 1971, 251–321; Gnoli 1971, 142ff., figs 126–7; D. Monna and P. Pensabene, *op. cit.*, 29ff.; M. Waelkens, 'Carrières de marbre en Phrygie (Turquie)', *BMusBrux* 53, 1982, 33–55. For further bibliography, see Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 252; J.C. Fant, *Cavum antrum Phrygiae: the organization and operations of the Roman imperial marble quarries in Phrygia* (BAR S482), Oxford 1989.
441. Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 288.
442. Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 292–3.
443. *Marmor Carystium*, Carystian marble: A. Lambraki, 'Le cipollin de la Karystie. Contribution à l'étude des marbres de la Grèce exploités aux époques romaine et paléochrétienne', *RA* n.s. 1, 1980; Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 202–3.
444. Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 166–7.
445. *Marmor Luculleum*, Lucullan marble: M.H. Ballance, 'The origins of 'Africano'', *PBSR* 34, 1966, 79ff., pl. XIX; Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 133–5; A. Dworakowska, 'Once again marmor Luculleum', in *Marble: art historical and scientific perspectives on ancient sculpture. Papers delivered... at the J. Paul Getty Museum, April 28–30, 1988*, Malibu 1990, 153–62.
446. Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 289.
447. *Marmor Chium*, Chian marble: Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 285–7.
448. Gnoli 1971, 211f., fig. 255 and p. 212, fig. 257 respectively. On *breccia gialla* in general see Gnoli, Marchei and Pettinau 1989, 174–7.
449. See D. Michaelides, 'Fragments of marble floor and wall veneer', in *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish (Berenice)* IV.2 (forthcoming).
450. The same frequency of *pavonazzetto* and *cipollino*, and rarity of *giallo antico*, red and green porphyry (as well as *verde antico* in this case) in later *opus sectile* floors in Cyrenaica was commented upon by R.M. Harrison ('The building materials of Churches in Cyrenaica', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 234).
451. Harrison, *op. cit.*, 231–4. See also Chapter V.
452. Pesce 1950, fig. 42, pl. XVII.
453. Of the first half of the 2nd century AD. See J.B. Ward-Perkins and S.C. Gibson, 'The market-theatre at Cyrene', *LibAnt* 13–14, 1976–1977, 347f., pl. CVIIIa; *idem*, 'The Market Theatre Complex and the associated structures, Cyrene', *LibSt* 18, 1987, 60–1, fig. 18.
454. Mingazzini 1966, small *triclinium*: pls XIV:4–XVI:2; large *triclinium*: pls XIX: 4–XXI.
455. Mingazzini 1966, pl. XIX:4.
456. Not included in this discussion is the extremely ornate and very different late Roman floor decorating both the apse and nave of the House of the Triapsidal Hall. This belongs to a totally different tradition, with a repeating pattern covering the whole field. For the House, see S.C. Gibson, J. H. Little and J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'Ptolemais 1978', *LibSt* 9, 1977–1978, 10; J.B. Ward-Perkins, J.H. Little and D.J. Mattingly, 'Town houses at Ptolemais, Cyrenaica: a summary report of survey and excavation work in 1971, 1978–1979', *LibSt* 17, 1986, 126–43. Photographs of this floor are found in the collection of the British School at Rome: negatives 6x9.11.852, 6X9.11.977-8.
457. Mowry and Kraeling 1962, fig. 74 and pl. LIXb.

458. W.M. Widrig and R.G. Goodchild, 'The Western Church at Apollonia in Cyrenaica', *PBSR* 28, 1960, 10–90, pl. XXXIIc. According to the excavators (p. 78), who contrast the crudeness of the frames with the finesse of the panels, 'the only conclusion is that fine panels were robbed from a Roman structure and set down here as best they could be by the local craftsmen'.
459. R.M. Harrison, 'A sixth-century Church at Ras el-Hilal in Cyrenaica', *PBSR* 32, 1964, 1–20, pl. VIIIc. For a good photograph, see N. Duval, 'Les monuments d'époque chrétienne en Cyrenaïque à la lumière des recherches récentes', in *Actes du XI^e Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne. Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aosta, 21–28 Septembre 1986* (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana* XLI = *CÉFR* 123), Roma 1989, III, 2744–96, fig. 13.
460. E.g. floors in the Octagon (M. Karamanoli-Siganidou, in *Chronika, ArchDelt* 1965, 409, fig. 1, pls 456–8) and the wall decoration of St. Demetrios in Salonica (Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Η τεχνική opus sectile στην εντοίχια διακόσμηση...* (*Βυζαντινά Μνημεία* 4), Salonica 1980, pls 42–3).
461. For a rich selection of patterns used in this type of floor, see E. Herzfeld and S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos, zwei Ruinenstätten des Rauhen Kilikiens* (*MAMA* II), Manchester 1930. On this type of *opus sectile* in general, see F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, *Pavimenti marmorei di Roma dal IV al IX secolo* (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana* XXXVI), Città del Vaticano 1983, 'Opus sectile geometrico a piccoli elementi': 262ff. and 'Conclusioni': 319–48.
462. R.G. Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia*, Zürich 1971, 89f., fig. 32.
463. W.H. Widrig, 'Two churches at Latrun in Cyrenaica', *PBSR* 45, 1978, 94–131, fig. on p. 128.
464. *Berenice* I, 158, 301f.; *Berenice* III/1, 461f.
465. The *emblema*, because of its different technique, portable nature and the possibility that it may not have formed part of the original floor, has been given a different Catalogue entry (**no. 27**) and is discussed separately.
466. For related patterns in Ostia, see Becatti 1961, pl. XXXVf.; Morricone 1970, 510, fig. 507. Pattern no. 11 on the last figure is the same as that at Benghazi.
467. Morricone Matini 1967, 73, no. 88, fig. 28, pl. XV.
468. Becatti 1961, 100, no. 178, fig. 35.
469. P. Lazarides, 'Βυζαντινά και Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεία Φθιωτίδος', *ArchDelt* 28, 1973, *Chronika* A, 321–2, pl. 275.
470. Spiro 1978, 173, fig. 591.
471. Levi 1947, pl. XXXIa.
472. Mowry and Kraeling 1962, fig. 63, pl. LVIId and fig. 68, pl. LIXd respectively.
473. *Berenice* I, 158, 301f.; *Berenice* III/1, 461f.
474. The identifications proposed here are based on Palombi and Santarelli 1969, De Puma 1980 and Davidson 1981. For the moray, see Palombi and Santarelli 1969, 212f.; De Puma 1980, 24–6; Davidson 1981, 54.
475. Palombi and Santarelli 1969, 303; De Puma 1980, I, 27–9; Davidson 1981, 209.
476. *Octopus vulgaris* Lamarck: Palombi and Santarelli 1969, 311.
477. *Loligo vulgaris* Lamarck: *ibid.*, 305.
478. *Ibid.*, 374f.; Davidson 1981, 179.

479. *Palinurus vulgaris* Latreille: Palombi and Santarelli 1969, 379f.; De Puma 1980, I, 23–4; Davidson 1981, 180.
480. *Ibid.*, 179.
481. *Historia Animalium*, 526a: 14, 31.
482. Palombi and Santarelli 1969, 49.
483. But see Davidson 1981, 73.
484. Palombi and Santarelli 1969, 47f.; Davidson 1981, 70. This is, of course, a very tentative identification, since the surviving part of the fish is so small. P.G.P. Meyboom, who examined a photograph of the mosaic in the mid 1970s, suggested that the fish in question might be a *Mycteroperca rubra*. For *M. rubra* see G. Bini, *Atlante dei pesci delle coste italiane*, Roma 1960–1970, IV, 75.
485. On rays in general, see De Puma 1980, I, 26–7.
486. Palombi and Santarelli 1969, 264, 270 and 268 respectively. See also Davidson 1981, 33–6.
487. S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, Milano 1926, 199 and n. 9. De Puma (1980, I, 97), discussing the Kircher Collection *emblema* (see below) which has similar representations, calls them ‘patches of sea weed’.
488. Amongst Tripolitanian examples, see Aurigemma 1960, pls 15–17, 64–67, etc.
489. Levi 1947, 596–603; G. Becatti *et al.*, *Baccano. La Villa Romana (Mosaici Antichi in Italia: Regione Settima)*, Roma 1970, 50ff.; C. Belz, *Marine Genre Mosaic Pavements of Roman North Africa* (Diss. University of California at Los Angeles, 1978), Ann Arbor, Michigan 1988; De Puma 1980.
490. For a survey of ancient writers dealing with fish, see De Puma 1980, I, 8–18.
491. For lists of wall paintings with depictions of fish, see De Puma 1980, I, 120–1, nn. 34 and 35. For fish depictions in other media, *ibid.*, 37–50.
492. *Ibid.*, II, 3, no. 3 and p. 5, no. 4 respectively, with bibliography.
493. E.g. Meyboom 1977, with a resumé of most previous work.
494. *Ibid.*, 49.
495. D.M. Balme, ed. and transl., Loeb, 1991.
496. A.W. Mair, transl., Loeb, 1927.
497. Pliny, *N.H.*, ix, 185; Aelian, ‘On Animals’, I, 32; Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*, 27; Antigonus of Carystus, *Mirab.*, 99; Manuel Philes, *De Animalium proprietate*, 30; Horapollon I, 106. For a discussion and translation of most of these works, see De Puma 1980, I, 23–4, n. 41.
498. See L. Bertacchi, ‘Nuovi mosaici di Aquileia’, *Aquileia Nostra* 34, 1963, 71.
499. Early mosaics: Pompeii: House of the Faun, House VI,ii, 16; mosaic from Populonia(?) in the Victoria and Albert Museum and now the British Museum in London; Via Panisperna, Rome; Palestrina; Solunto.
Frescoes: Herculaneum: cupola of the Baths; Pompeii: nymphaeum of the Casa del Centenario.
Later mosaics: Aquileia (*emblema*), Oudna, Sassari, Sousse, Gurgi, Ostia.
All these representations have been collected and discussed by Meyboom (1977, esp. 56–8). For a more detailed discussion, see De Puma 1980; and R.D. De Puma, ‘The octopus-eel-lobster motif on Hellenistic and Roman fish mosaics’ (resumé), *AJA* 74, 1970, 191–2. On the Populonia(?) mosaic see

more recently, B.F. Cook, 'Roman and Italian acquisitions in the British Museum 1980–92', *JRA* 8, 1995, 231, fig. 9.

500. Pp. 583–5, fig. 102.

501. K. Parlasca, 'Mosaikfälschungen', *RM* 65, 1958, 155ff., 174ff. De Puma (1980, I: 61–2; II: 9, no. 7, pl. VIII) seems to be of the same opinion.

502. Meyboom 1977, 61f., pl. 53.

503. Meyboom (1977, 62) identified the cephalopod on the lost mosaic as a *Loligo vulgaris*, but the fact that the fins on the side of the body reach almost up to the head of the creature, would indicate that it is, in fact, a *Sepia officinalis*.

504. G. Gullini, *I mosaici di Palestrina (Archeologia Classica, suppl. I)*, Roma 1956, pl. IX:2; De Puma 1980, II, 23–4, no. 15 with bibliography.

505. With the possible exception of the mosaic from Populonia(?) in London, see Meyboom 1977, fig. 5; De Puma 1980, II, 11, no. 8, with bibliography.

506. Meyboom 1977, fig. 6; De Puma 1980, II, 30, no. 20 with bibliography.

507. G. Gullini, *op. cit.*, pl. VI:2.

508. *CMT I/1*, no. 43, pls XVI, XVII and LXIII; and no. 51, pl. XXII.

509. Aurigemma 1960, pls 136, 139.

510. C. Visconti, 'Trovamenti di oggetti d'arte e di antichità figurata', *BullComm* 16, 1888, 263: 'un mostruoso polipo, il quale nelle sue branche tiene intricati diversi altri marini animali: un delfino che addenta una seppia'; but see G. Gatti, 'XV Roma: Scoperte di antichità in Roma e nel suburbio', *NSc* 1888, 437: 'un grande polipo che abbranca un'aragosta, la quale alla sua volta tiene afferrata una murena'. See also De Puma 1980, II, 18–21, no. 13, pls XII–XIV.

511. See K. Werner, *Mosaiken aus Rom. Polychrome Mosaikpavimente und Emblemata aus Rom und Umgebung*, Würzburg 1995, I, 37ff., no. C, with illustration.

512. Meyboom 1977, figs 1–2, 10–13.

513. Pernice 1938, pl. V:1.

514. Meyboom 1977, fig. 6; De Puma 1980, II, 30, no. 20, pl. XXV; colour photograph in *Mosaico, EAA, Suppl.*, 1970, s.v. *Aquileia* (L. Bertacchi).

515. Aurigemma 1960, pls 66–67.

516. Aurigemma 1960, pl. 174.

517. Aurigemma 1960, pls 137, 140.

518. Aurigemma 1960, pl. 128.

519. Meyboom 1977, fig. 1; De Puma 1980, II, 3–4, pls III–IV.

520. Meyboom 1977, fig. 4; De Puma 1980, II, 7, no. 5, pl. VI.

521. Meyboom 1977, fig. 2; De Puma 1980, II, 5, no. 4, pls V–Va.

522. Meyboom 1977, fig. 5; De Puma 1980, II, 11, no. 8.

523. G. Becatti *et al.*, *Baccano. La Villa Romana (Mosaici Antichi in Italia: Regione Settima)*, Roma 1970, no. 20, pl. XVII; M.R. Sanzi di Mino, 'Il mosaico con cassettonato policromo dalla Villa Romana di Baccano', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del III Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995*, Bordighera 1996, 501–14, esp. fig. 15.
524. Aurigemma 1926, figs 68–69; Aurigemma 1960, pl. 128.
525. Aurigemma 1926, figs 79, 80, panels D and H.
526. G. Becatti *et al.*, *op. cit.*, no. 20, pl. XVII; M.R. Sanzi di Mino, 'Il mosaico con cassettonato policromo dalla Villa Romana di Baccano', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del III Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995*, Bordighera 1996, 501–14, esp. fig. 15.
527. Aurigemma 1926, figs 79, 80; for a better illustration, see Aurigemma 1960, pl. 139.
528. *Ibid.*, pl. 128.
529. Meyboom 1977, fig. 2; De Puma 1980, II, 5, no. 4, pls V–Va.
530. *CMT* I/3, no. 293, pl. XV.
531. *CMT* I/1, nos 43, 60, col. pl. LXIII.
532. Out of a vast selection, see Dunbabin 1978, pl. H, figs 15ff., 94, 119ff., etc.
533. E.g. *CMT* I/1, pl. XXII.
534. Aurigemma 1960, pl. 66.
535. *Ibid.*, pls 107, 128, 137, 140.
536. *Ibid.*, pls 107, 109.
537. E. De Ruggiero, *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano* I, Roma 1878, 265, 267f. and n. 3; A. Balil, 'Emblema', (*Estudios sobre mosaicos romanos* IV = *StArch* 39), Valladolid 1976, pl. IIa; Rome, D.A.I. neg. 59.551.
538. G. Becatti *et al.*, *op. cit.*, no. 20, pl. XVII; M.R. Sanzi di Mino, 'Il mosaico con cassettonato policromo dalla Villa Romana di Baccano', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del III Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995*, Bordighera 1996, 501–14, esp. fig. 15.
539. T. Suthers, 'The 'fishes' emblema from Chichignola — a lost relative', *Mosaic* 3, Nov. 1980, 7–8; *Minerva* 1/2, February 1990, 43, col. photograph on p. 43 and back cover; P. Liverani, 'Villa Romana alla Cecchignola (Scavi 1828, 1939)', *RendPontAcc* LXII, 1989–1990 (1992), 173–83.
540. See amongst others: O. Elia, s.v. *emblema* in *EAA*; A. Balil, 'Emblema' (*Estudios sobre mosaicos romanos* IV = *StArch* 39), Valladolid 1976; Dunbabin 1978, 3–6.
541. On this subject, see D.E. Johnston, 'The prefabrication and removal of mosaics in Roman Britain', in *Il Mosaico* III, 1980, II, 525–30; and O. Wattel-de Croizant, 'La mosaïque de l'enlèvement d'Europe sur la pseudo-épave de Cannes (Sainte Marguerite) et le problème des 'emblemata voyageurs', *Archeonautica* 6, 1986, 199–215, who discounts most of Johnson's examples. For the general question of the transportability of *emblemata*, see W.A. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt I: Hellenistic and Early Roman Period (Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 3), Mainz am Rhein 1985, 16ff.
542. Aurigemma 1960, pl. 66.
543. R. Massigli, *Musée de Sfax (Musées de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie* XVII), Paris 1912, pl. VI:1.
544. M. Yacoub, *Le Musée de Bardo*, Tunis 1970, fig. 129. For a colour reproduction, see G. Fradier, *Mosaïques romaines de Tunisie*, Tunis 1982, pl. 100.

545. G. Becatti *et al.*, *op. cit.*, no. 20, pl. XVII; M.R. Sanzi di Mino, 'Il mosaico con cassettonato policromo dalla Villa Romana di Baccano', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del III Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995*, Bordighera 1996, 501–14, esp. fig. 15.
546. Cairo Zenon Papyrus No. 59665; marble inscription from Ephesos and Atheneus V, 206e–209e; XII, 154D. See J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*, Leipzig 1868, 375f., no. 1985; W.A. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt I: Hellenistic and Early Roman Period (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 3)*, Mainz am Rhein 1985, 6ff., 15ff., 23ff. with previous bibliography.
547. A. Balil, 'Emblema' (*Estudios sobre mosaicos romanos IV = Studia Archaeologica 39*), Valladolid 1976, 8.
548. The wealth of Tripolitanian *emblemata* has been pointed out by P. Romanelli ('Di alcuni nuovi mosaici Tripolitani', *RendPontAcc*, 3 ser., 6, 1927–1929, 86). For a general discussion of the Tripolitanian *emblemata* and their role in the development of the organization of the floor, see I. Lavin, 'The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and their Sources', *DOP* 17, 1963, 206–10.
549. Aurigemma 1960, 26f., pl. 15ff.
550. *Ibid.*, 41f., pls 64ff.; R. Bartoccini, 'Villa Romana con Mosaici a Gurgi', *AfrIt* II, 1929, 95–101.
551. P. Romanelli, 'Scavi e scoperte nella città di Tripoli', *Notiziario Archeologico del Ministero delle Colonie* II, 1916, esp. 341, 350, figs 24–29, pls III–IV; Aurigemma 1960, 31f., pl. 47ff. Some of these, however, as Aurigemma suggests, may have been *opus sectile* panels instead.
552. R. Bartoccini, 'Rinvenimenti di interesse archeologico in Tripolitania', *AfrIt* I, 1927, esp. 226–32; Aurigemma 1960, 50f., pls 98ff.
553. Aurigemma 1926, figs 21–22, 35–37, 45, 50–85, 147; for the lost or extremely fragmentary *emblemata*, see pp. 72, 85. See also Aurigemma 1960, pls 123ff.
554. Di Vita 1966, 53.
555. Dunbabin 1978, 235–7 esp. 257, with bibliography. W.A. Daszewski (*Corpus of the Mosaics from Egypt I: Hellenistic and Early Roman Period (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 3)*, Mainz am Rhein 1985, 183) agrees with Dunbabin's reconstruction of events but does not exclude the possibility that some of the *emblemata* were made in Alexandrian workshops for the export market, or that the migrant artists from the East, were, in fact, Alexandrian or Egyptian.
556. Parlasca 1959, 9, 122; *idem*, review of Levi 1947, in *Gnomon* XXVI, 1954, 111.
557. Di Vita 1966, 53.
558. Di Vita 1966, 53 n. 189; G. Ville, 'Essai de datation de la mosaïque des gladiateurs de Zliten', in *La Mosaïque* I, 1963, 148 n. 12.
559. Di Vita 1966, 54. For the lack of good clay for the fabrication of the *bipedali*, used by G. Guidi ('La Villa del Nilo', *AfrIt* V, 1933, 45ff.) as an argument against such a supposition, Di Vita rightly suggests that such materials could easily have been imported from elsewhere, as indeed they were imported for building purposes.
560. D. Parrish, 'The date of the mosaics from Zliten', *AntAfr* 21, 1985, 137–58.
561. Room of the Seasons and Room of the Amphitheatre scenes: Aurigemma 1960, pls 128 and 138ff. respectively.
562. *Ibid.*, pl. 67.
563. *Ibid.*, 107f.

564. Pesce 1950, 67f., 101. Both *emblemata* are illustrated in J.P. Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium* (Copenhagen 1828), repr. Verbania 1940, figs 25–26. The fish panel is also illustrated in H. Fuhrmann, 'Archäologische Grabungen und Funde in Italien und Libyen', *AA* 1941, 715f., fig. 166; and the panel with birds in G. Pesce, 'Tolemaide', in *EAA*.

565. The rendering of the algae in the *emblema* from Baccano are not really comparable to the Benghazi *emblema* (G. Becatti *et al.*, *Baccano. La Villa Romana (Mosaici Antichi in Italia: Regione Settima)*, Roma 1970, no. 20, pl. XVII; M.R. Sanzi di Mino, 'Il mosaico con cassettonato policromo dalla Villa Romana di Baccano', in F. Guidobaldi and A. Guiglia Guidobaldi (eds), *Atti del III Colloquio dell'AISCOM. Bordighera, 6–10 dicembre 1995*, Bordighera 1996, 501–14, esp. fig. 15.

566. A. Balil, 'Emblema' (*Estudios sobre mosaicos romanos IV = Studia Archaeologica* 39), Valladolid 1976, 51.

567. *Ibid.*, 20, 'Sabratha'.

568. *Ibid.*, 24; Di Vita 1966, 49 n. 172.

569. Balil, *op. cit.*, 23, 'Tripoli'.

570. Di Vita 1966, 49 n. 173.

IV. MOSAICS FOUND AT BENGHAZI SPORADICALLY BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Notes to Chapter IV can be found starting on page 127.

Several mosaics were unearthed in Benghazi before the Second World War. These are not many and all have been completely or (in one case) partly destroyed. Photographs and basic descriptions exist for some of these floors, but for others there is nothing more than a mention of their discovery. In the latter case there is no record of what the floors looked like, although the places where they were found are known, and this information is important for the better understanding of the topography of Berenice.¹ The mosaics will be discussed in the order in which they were found.

E. Ghislanzoni in 1915 is the first to mention a mosaic in Benghazi: '...lungo la costa, tra il castello turco, la Dogana e il Faro si vedono tracce di mosaici'.² Unfortunately no trace remains of these mosaics (**no. 28n**).

According to R.G. Goodchild: 'some pavements of uncertain character were found under the Baladya' in 1923.³ Nothing remains of these finds, and they have been included in the catalogue here (**no. 29n**) despite the fact that it is not even certain that these 'pavements' were made of mosaic.

The most substantial discoveries were made in 1932 when the old Muslim cemetery adjoining Shara Omar Mukhtar (ex Via Roma) was removed and 'many walls and several mosaic floors came to light'.⁴ The ruins were standing slightly above street level but they were completely erased when the 'Casa di Risparmio' was later built on the site. One of these mosaics, depicting a Dionysiac scene (**no. 30**), was illustrated in R.G. Goodchild's 1962 booklet on Benghazi.⁵ When the archives of the Department of Antiquities at Cyrene were examined in 1973, the glass negative of the photograph used by Goodchild was found, together with another taken from further away and showing the same mosaic with two adjacent geometric floors (**nos 31-32**). These, no doubt, are at least some of the 'several mosaic floors' mentioned by Goodchild. It has not proved possible to locate any surviving fragments of these mosaics.

The next mosaic (**no. 33**) came to light three years later. Nothing is known about it except that it was found in 1935 'when the lighthouse was being constructed'.⁶

Finally, around 1940, during the construction of the 'Insurance Buildings' on the opposite side of Shara Omar Mukhtar from where mosaics **nos 30-32** were discovered and at a depth of 1 m below the modern street level, 'an almost complete mosaic floor was found consisting of a central panel, depicting a Nereid on a sea-monster, surrounded by a geometric border'.⁷ A glass negative of a mosaic with this very subject, labelled 'ex Via Roma', was found in 1973 in the Cyrene photographic archives, and there can be no doubt that this is the mosaic described by Goodchild (**no. 34**). Several fragments of a mosaic with a geometric design, found in the garden and storeroom of the Archaeological Museum at Cyrene in 1973, definitely belong to this floor, despite the fact that Goodchild states that the mosaic was destroyed during the Second World War.

At a later date, Goodchild made further references to mosaics in Benghazi: '...only a few fragmentary mosaic floors...have been found from time to time on both sides of the Shara Omar Mukhtar, and under the old cemetery of Sidi Khrebish'.⁸ The former are clearly **nos 30-32, 34**, and the latter **nos 20-21** (from House P 3) excavated in 1965 and lifted soon after. As already mentioned, the rooms from which these pavements came were re-excavated in 1975, while some fragments of the mosaics were found in the Tocra Museum.⁹

No. 28n. Mosaic(s?) found before 1915 near the Customs Houses

Traces of mosaics were found near the then standing Turkish Castle, the Customs Offices and the Lighthouse. They may have come from houses which, according to Stucchi, were probably founded in the 1st century AD, and rebuilt at a later date.

Bibliography

E. Ghislanzoni, 'Notizie Archeologiche sulla Cirenaica', *Notiziario Archeologico* I, 1915, 73.
Stucchi 1975, 225.

No. 29n. Pavements found under the Baladya in 1923

In 1923 'some pavements of uncertain character were found under the Baladya'. As noted above, although nothing remains to show that these were actually mosaics, they are included here for the sake of completeness.

Bibliography

Goodchild 1962, 10.

'CASA DI LEONE'. Mosaics nos 30–31, and probably 32

In 1932, during the removal of the old Muslim cemetery adjoining Shara Omar Mukhtar, several structures and mosaic floors came to light in the area where the 'Casa di Risparmio' was later built. Nothing of them survives and it is not possible to understand clearly the nature of these buildings. S. Stucchi identified one of them as a house which he called 'Casa di Leone', because he interpreted ΛΕΟΝ [...], mentioned in the mosaic inscription, as the owner.¹⁰ Even though it is rather unlikely that ΛΕΟΝ [...], would stand for the name of the owner of the house, Stucchi's name, 'Casa di Leone' has been adopted to avoid confusion.

The ruins stood slightly higher than street level and were destroyed by modern building activity. Nothing is known of the house except what can be gathered from two photographs of the excavated area, which show two adjacent rooms paved with mosaic floors (nos 30–31). A third mosaic (no. 32) visible further away probably belongs to the same building, although this is not certain.¹¹

No. 30. Mosaic with a Dionysiac representation, 'Casa di Leone' (Figs 99–101, 103)

The mosaic was accidentally discovered in 1932 when, as the photographs show, a great part of it was already destroyed.¹² The destruction involved most of the right-hand side and the top of the geometric field, and about one third of the figured panel. Nevertheless the general lines of the geometric decoration are easily readable.

Destroyed (?)

Bibliography

Goodchild 1962, 10 and illustration opposite p. i.

R.G. Goodchild, 'Graeco-Roman Cyrenaica', in F.T. Barr (ed.), *Geology and Archaeology of Northern Cyrenaica, Libya*, Petroleum Exploration Society of Libya, Amsterdam 1968, 32.

M.M. Bazama, *Benghazi through History I*, Benghazi 1968, illustration.

Stucchi 1975, 496.

Berenice I, 10.

J.M. Reynolds, 'Inscriptions', in *Berenice I*, 242, no. 15.

SEG XXVIII, 1978, no. 1549.

Michaelides 1988, 360–1, 364, pl. IV.

REG 103, 1990, 'Bull. Epigr.', 591, no. 842 (M. Sève).

Description

A central panel with a Dionysiac representation is surrounded by a geometric field which was itself bordered on three sides by a second geometric field.

Surround

It was white and there were at least eight rows of tesserae below and 22 rows to the left, laid regularly, running parallel to the frame of the decorated field. Nothing survived on the other two sides.

Border

It had the fairly common sequence of a triple black fillet, four rows of white tesserae and an inside double black fillet.

First Decorated Field

This was decorated with an all-over pattern of four-pointed stars separated by octagons in which smaller four-pointed stars were diagonally inscribed (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 186b: 'Bichrome orthogonal pattern of poised tangent octagons forming four-pointed stars, with octagons bearing a four-pointed star and the stars bearing an axially inscribed square, the colours counterchanged, creating the effect of an orthogonal pattern'). All the stars were made of a plain white square and black triangular points. The lozenges between them were white and undecorated.

This pattern was preserved only on the left-hand side of the mosaic, but it is clear that no such pattern ever existed on the lower side of the panel. It more likely continued on top and to the right so as to form a U-shaped carpet, characteristic of *triclina*.

Second Decorated Field

It was bordered on both sides by a double black fillet which survived on the lower left and, partly, the right-hand side of the panel. A tiny fragment near the top left corner of the central panel shows that this frame ran on the fourth side too.

The field itself consisted of a checkerboard of dark and light squares decorated with alternating motifs — a Solomon knot for the dark ones, and a five-stepped diamond (Table 6, type 8) for the light ones (Variation, with poised squares instead of florets, of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 115d: 'Chess-board pattern, with the dark squares containing a polychrome knot, and the light squares a poised polychrome crossed floret'). The Solomon knots were outlined on both sides by one row of dark tesserae, and filled with two rows of light-coloured tesserae, seemingly of two different colours. The diamonds consisted of a sequence of four concentric diamonds of different colours, and a small central black(?) square. Enough of the pattern survived to show that there were at least two rows of squares per side.

Central panel

It was rectangular and framed on all four sides by the double black fillet mentioned above. The scene was depicted against a plain white background, but what exactly it represented cannot, unfortunately, be fully understood, because the upper right-hand corner and the centre of the panel were destroyed.

At the top, a four-line inscription in Greek capitals was divided into two by a central standing figure. All the surviving letters belong to the left half of the inscription:

ΤΩΕ[...
 ΚΙΝΝΑ[...
 ΕΥΤΥΚ[...
 ΛΕΟΝ[...¹³

Little of the central figure was preserved, but it is clear that it was the focal point of the composition. The main part of the body was destroyed but one can still discern some drapery from around the right shoulder, the right arm, and parts of both feet. The arm is naked and outstretched to the right, holding a vessel with liquid spilling from it. The figure's right foot is shown frontally wearing a sandal. Of the left foot, turned to the right in profile, only the sole of the sandal survived. Despite its fragmentary state, there can be little doubt that the standing figure is the god Dionysos, depicted in one of his most familiar poses.

Immediately below the god, in the lower centre, there is a leopard, the god's commonest attribute. The animal is half-seated with the tail curving upwards and the left leg raised. The animal's body is shown in profile facing towards the left, but the head is raised and turned back, looking towards the god in the centre of the composition.

On the left and immediately under the stream of wine there is a small figure of an elderly bearded man walking towards the centre of the panel on a little island of ground. He wears a long-sleeved shirt open at the lower front to expose something like a loincloth. He also seems to be wearing a cap, leggings and shoes. He is depicted in profile, supporting himself on a twisted stick held in his left hand, and holding a bowl in his outstretched right. Even though the bowl is not directly under the stream of wine, the way it is being held gives the impression that the old man was trying to catch the precious liquid. The gesture may, on the other hand, have something to do with what was depicted on the destroyed, right-hand side of the panel. Here, the naked legs (and some drapery?) and bare feet of another small figure can be seen in a position implying rapid or violent movement towards the right, with only one foot touching a strip of ground. Immediately to this figure's left, and between it and Dionysos, there is the lower part of a very large vessel. It has a drum-like base and a globular stem, and it too stands on an island of ground, or shadow. The shading of the vessel would seem to indicate that it was made of metal.

Technical Data*Materials*

From the photographs it seems that the surround and first geometric field were made of black and white tesserae, while the second (inside) geometric field and the figured panel were polychrome.

Tesserae

Even though the size is not known, it is clear that three different types were used: a) a larger size, used for everything but the central panel; b) a medium size for the white background to the figures; and c) a small size for the figures.

Setting

Usually one row of tesserae outlines the figures, and the rest of the background is filled with fairly regular horizontal rows, a notable exception being the lower left-hand corner where the rows are set vertically.

Comments and Discussion

The room was in all probability a *triclinium*. This is suggested by the way the outermost geometric field goes around three sides of the central panel only. It is also supported by the fact that it adjoins a room decorated with a geometric mosaic, a combination which, as has been seen, is found elsewhere in Berenice. If this is the case, the panel and the inscription would be read by those entering the room and not by those seated in it. In other words, it has exactly the same orientation as all the other mosaics with figured decoration in Benghazi.

The old man and the figure on the right stand on strips of ground extending like a shadow towards the right. Since both figures are advancing in that direction one may presume that this was meant to accentuate their rightward movement. By contrast, the large vessel which is stationary has a uniform ground on both sides. It is remarkable that neither Dionysos, perhaps because he is a god, nor his panther have ground lines — the latter, however, may be taken as sitting on the lower frame of the picture. The size of the panther is, in any case, proportionate to that of Dionysos, which is twice that of the other two figures.

When discussing mosaic **no. 11** it was noted that the plain, all-over pattern of octagons separated by four-pointed stars was already in use in Campania before the eruption of Vesuvius. Mosaic **no. 30** shows a variation of this pattern in which an extra four-pointed star is inscribed in the octagons, a variation which had a slightly different history. Single units of a four-pointed star inscribed in an octagon were commonly used at Pompeii.¹⁴ It is only in the 2nd century, however, that the design was used as an all-over pattern to fill the whole field. One, from the beginning of that century, comes from the House of the Evil Eye at Antioch where it is already rendered in polychromy.¹⁵ This was the habitual way of rendering the pattern, and the examples where it is in simple black and white are rather few. There is no way of knowing, of course, if the example here was really in black and white, but it appears to be so in the photographs. Other black and white examples all come from the East, and all are relatively late. There is one, of the first half of the 3rd century, in the Peristyle Building east of the Market at Miletus¹⁶ and another from the 4th-century Baths at Humeitepe, also at Miletus.¹⁷ Some early 5th-century examples come from Basilica A at Demetrias, and another from Basilica A at Dion in Greece.¹⁸ The examples where two or more colours are used are much more plentiful. One of the earliest comes from the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene which, as noted several times already, has many similarities with the Benghazi mosaics, and is dated to the late 2nd/early 3rd century.¹⁹ The following monuments show that the pattern was not abandoned in the following centuries: Hanghaus 2 at Ephesos, of the fourth quarter of the 4th century;²⁰ and Basilica C at Amphipolis, of the late 5th/early 6th century.²¹

On the whole the pattern seems to have been more popular in the East than in the West. The Benghazi mosaic cannot, of course, be dated by this pattern but, after what has just been said, a date much before the 3rd century would seem rather unlikely. The straightforward bichrome treatment of the pattern is in accordance with the predominant trend at Berenice.

The figured representation decorating this room is problematic. There is little doubt that it is a scene involving the inebriated Dionysos, but despite the inscription, its interpretation is full of uncertainties. The fragmentary inscription has been published by J.M. Reynolds as: ΤΩΕ[.../ΚΙΝΝΑ[.../ΕΥΤΥΧ[.../ΑΕΟΝv.[.... There is nothing to add to Reynolds' comments, which are quoted in full, except that close examination of the photograph shows that what follows the N of ΑΕΟΝ is not a gap but the arm of Dionysos:

L.1 starts with the definite article in dative case, so presumably contained a kind of dedication, 'To the ...' If L.2 gives the beginning of the word it is probably a name, ?Cinna or Cinnamus, neither of them Greek, which is surprising. L.3 has to do with good luck, but may give a name Eutyclus, an adverb *εὐτυχῶς* or part of the verb *εὐτυχεῖν*. L.4 is possibly part of another name, or from *λεοντόριον*, with reference to the panther, cf. Mitford/Nicholson, *Inscriptions from Salamis* (Cyprus, 1974) no. 30.²²

Significantly, this Salaminian parallel is the base of a statue of Dionysos with the panther, probably of the early 3rd century. Reynolds proposed a 2nd/3rd-century date for the Benghazi inscription on the basis of the shape of the omicron and omega. Stucchi's dating of the inscription and the whole house to about two centuries later cannot be accepted.²³

Stucchi's interpretation of the scene depicted cannot be accepted either. He sees it as a rendering of the myth of Iolaos and Hebe. Iolaos was the son of Iphikles, and nephew and companion of

Herakles. When Herakles was dead, and he himself old, Iolaos helped Herakles's children when Eurystheus tried to kill them. To do this he prayed to Zeus, Herakles and Hebe (Herakles's celestial wife) who restored his youth. Thus he led his forces to victory and captured or killed Eurystheus. In the battle, Herakles and Hebe were said to have ridden in the form of stars on the pole of Iolaos's chariot. The surviving part of the panel has little to warrant such an interpretation. The myth of Iolaos, in any case, did not enjoy any popularity amongst Roman artists.²⁴

What survives of the central figure of Dionysos shows that he was twice the size of the other figures in the panel, and stood in an attitude common to a large number of representations in all media.²⁵ In these, the inebriated god is usually, but not always, supported by a satyr or another member of his *thiasos*. His drunken state is underlined by the carelessly held *kantharos*, vessel or cup out of which wine is spilled. The panther is usually nearby and drinks the wine. The theme enjoyed great popularity, and it is interesting to observe that already in Hellenistic times Hero of Alexandria gives instructions on how to construct an *automaton* re-enacting this very scene. The mechanical figure of the god held a thyrsus in its left hand and a cup in its right, while a panther sat at his feet. When put into motion, the thyrsus would sprout, while the cup poured wine on the head of the panther.²⁶ In the Benghazi mosaic the panther is not quite in the right place, but there is little doubt that this is the scene represented. On the left-hand side of the panel there is the old man holding a small bowl. As he is not directly under the vessel, however, it is not clear whether he was meant to catch the spilling wine or not. This figure is much smaller than that of the god, and must represent a human. The shoes and stick give him the appearance of a wanderer. The stick is also associated with the generic philosopher type as seen on, for example, the fresco from the Villa at Boscoreale.²⁷ This type of philosopher figure is usually wrapped in abundant drapery. This is not the case with the figure on the mosaic, although there is no doubt that the posture of this man, his beard, stick and bowl bear an uncanny resemblance to philosopher types, like that of Diogenes the Cynic, as represented in several Roman statues.²⁸ However, it is not possible to explain the participation of Dionysos in a scene involving Diogenes the Cynic, and so a different interpretation has to be found.

A passage of Nonnos, describing the meeting of Dionysos and Icaros and his daughter Erigone, may throw some light on the scene:

Then Bacchos glad went to the house of Icaros, who excelled the other countrymen in planting new sorts of trees. The old gardener danced on his clownish feet when he saw Dionysos as his visitor, and entertained the lord of noble garden vines at his frugal board. Erigone went to draw and mingle milk of the goats, but Bacchos checked her, and handed to the kindly old man skins full of curetrouble liquor. He took in his right hand and offered Icaros a cup of sweet fragrant wine, as he greeted him in friendly words:

'Accept this gift, Sir, which Athens knows not...' Such were the words he spoke as he offered a handsome cup full of mindawakening wine to the hospitable old man. The old hardworking gardener drank, and drank again, with desire insatiable for the dewy trickling drops. His girl poured no more milk, but reached him cup after cup of wine until her father was drunken²⁹

The central figure on the Benghazi mosaic could then be interpreted as Dionysos giving wine to an elderly man (Icaros the gardener) in the presence of the latter's daughter. The large vase, next to the figure on the right, might be a different interpretation of the 'skins full of curetrouble liquor'.³⁰

It must also be mentioned that Nonnos describes another similar encounter in which the shepherd Brongos offered Dionysos hospitality and a frugal meal, and in return the god 'gave his gift of gratitude for the shepherd's table, the fine fruitage of grapes, the mother of wine, sorrow's comforter. And the lord taught him the flower-loving work of the vineyard...'.³¹ This, however, is a minor incident, and it is the Icaros meeting that is more likely to have been represented.

There are, in fact, three known mosaics that have been identified as illustrating this episode. The first, from the House of Dionysos in Nea Paphos, poses no problems as it is accompanied by inscriptions, but it illustrates a different incident of the story.³² The second comes from the Maison des Laberii at Oudna. This is datable to the second half of the 2nd century AD and is in many ways similar to the Benghazi mosaic.³³ The central figure of Dionysos is the same, with his right hand in a similar abandoned gesture spilling wine from a vessel. Just below this, however, there is a caprid, rather than a panther, drinking the wine. On the same side there is a standing figure, leaning on a crooked stick. He is bearded but his clothing is different from that of the figure on the Benghazi panel. The position of his right hand is the same, but here he is holding a bunch of grapes rather than a bowl. This figure has been interpreted by Gauckler (followed by Gondicas) as an attendant offering grapes to the figure on the right, the enthroned Icaros. Blanchard-Lemée, however, interprets the figure with the crooked stick as Icaros and the enthroned figure as a mythical king, perhaps Pandion.

The third Icaros mosaic was found at Vinon (Var) in the *triclinium* of a villa, and belongs to the late 4th/early 5th century.³⁴ It shows the standing Bacchus holding a thyrsus and a *kantharos*. On the right there is the figure of Icaros bending, one knee flexed, towards him. He wears a short tunic and booties, and carries a bunch of grapes and an ivy leaf, but no stick.

Despite the similarities, neither mosaic offers an entirely satisfactory interpretation of the figure on the Benghazi mosaic, especially one that would identify the second figure (legs only) on the right. In fact, the Benghazi scene is perhaps something much simpler, and depicts the inebriated Dionysos with two members of his traditional entourage. This would be a simplified version of a much larger composition such as that found in the 6th-century Villa of the Falconer at Argos.³⁵ There, in the centre of a large rectangular field stands the tipsy Dionysos holding a thyrsus, while around him there are dancing male and female figures. The mosaic is partly destroyed so it is not possible to tell if the god was holding a *kantharos* in his right hand. As in the Benghazi mosaic, there is a snarling panther which turns its head towards Dionysos and away from a man leaning on a staff. Unfortunately, only the lower part of this figure survives, showing a short *chiton*, leggings and shoes or some other sort of footwear. Åkerström-Hougen rightly identified this figure as Silenus who, amongst other things, was the educator of Dionysos.³⁶ In other words, this is a depiction of a visibly aged Silenos in his role as *paedagogos*. This interpretation brings one back to the figure on the Benghazi mosaic who, as has already been established, bears a very strong resemblance to the generic wanderer/philosopher type. However tempting the Icaros story may be, this must be the interpretation that should be applied to the mosaic from the 'Casa di Leone' — an interpretation that would also account for the metal vessel and for the pair of legs, which would belong to a dancing figure of a satyr or a maenad, both of whom form part of the traditional representations of Dionysiac *thiasoi*.

Parallels at Benghazi

The geometric design of four-pointed stars and octagons is found in plain form in mosaic **no. 11**, and in its present form, which includes another four-pointed star inscribed in the octagon, in mosaic **no. 32**. The Solomon knot, used as a single decorative element, is also found at Benghazi, both in black and white (mosaic **no. 3**) and polychrome (mosaic **no. 21**) rendering. For the (polychrome) diamond, see Table 6.

Date

The clearest indication for a date comes from epigraphy, which points to the late 2nd/early 3rd century. The geometric design of four-pointed stars and octagons does not contradict this date. The use of a black and white geometric design around a polychrome centre has already been observed in mosaic **no. 23** of the early 3rd century, which has the only other occurrence at Benghazi of polychrome geometric decoration. For these reasons an early 3rd-century date is proposed for this floor.

No. 31. Mosaic with polychrome geometric decoration from the 'Casa di Leone' (Figs 99, 101–103)

Like its neighbour (**no. 30**) this mosaic was accidentally discovered in 1932 near Shara Omar Mukhtar, and photographs show that it was already in a ruinous state. All the central area was lost and of the frame only large parts at the top and left-hand side, as well as a very small fragment at the bottom right, were preserved. The floor seems to have been square, although the possibility of it being rectangular cannot be excluded. It is impossible to tell how the centre was decorated and whether it involved a figured representation.³⁷

Destroyed(?).

Bibliography

Goodchild 1962, 10.

R.G. Goodchild, 'Graeco-Roman Cyrenaica', in F.T. Barr (ed.), *Geology and Archaeology of Northern Cyrenaica*, Petroleum Exploration Society of Libya, Amsterdam 1968, 32.

Stucchi 1975, 496.

Berenice 1, 10.

Michaelides 1988, 360.

Description

A band of latchkey-meander and squares frames a decorative band or field with a geometric pattern of eight-pointed stars forming octagons and lozenges.

Surround

It was white and, apart from three rows of tesserae running parallel to the frame, the rest was laid in a regular herringbone fashion. This developed on either side of a simple serrated (black?) fillet decorated with small diamonds at regular intervals (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 1e: 'serrated simple fillet'). The diamonds seem to have been of the ordinary three-stepped variety (Table 6, type 3). It may be worth pointing out that the three rows of white tesserae running parallel to the frame, at the top left corner, extend beyond the decorated area in a straight line up to the wall of the room. This is probably a separation marking two consecutive phases in the execution of the mosaic.

Border

Triple black fillet, six rows of white tesserae and double black fillet.

Decorative Band

It is decorated with a latchkey-meander of spaced upright double latchkeys with a square in each space (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 40e (monochrome)). The meander is traced by double black fillets which are three rows away from each other. The square panels have a similar black frame, a triple white fillet and a central dark square decorated with a white Solomon knot (outlined in black).

Field or Second Decorative Band

The pattern here is separated from the previous one by a double black fillet. It consists of eight-pointed stars of two intersecting squares, tangent at the angles, forming octagons and lozenges (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 178a).

The stars seem to be irregular. They have dark triangular points and white fields. In these are inscribed dark octagons, each containing a different central motif. The two that can be seen clearly in the photograph have a stylized rosette formed by two superimposed Solomon knots (*Répertoire* 1973, no. 70: 'noeud d'entrelacs à huit boucles'). A third seems to have a large polychrome diamond, and a fourth a circular concentric design. The lozenges and small octagons separating the above cannot be seen clearly in the photograph, but the half octagons by the frame seem to be decorated with half seven-stepped diamonds. These and the fillers of the octagons, at least, seem to have been polychrome.

Technical Data*Materials*

It would appear that while the surround, the band of meanders and its borders were of black and white tesserae, the field or secondary frame, further in, was polychrome.

Tesserae

They seem to be all of the same size as those used in the geometric parts of the adjacent mosaic **no. 30**.

Setting

See *Surround*.

Comments and Discussion

As in the case of Houses R 3, P 1, P 3 and Building W, it would appear that here too there is the standard arrangement of a floor with a geometric design adjoining a *triclinium* or a room decorated with a figured scene.

This mosaic looks different from the rest at Benghazi. The surround, although not alone in containing a decorative motif, is the only one laid in a herringbone fashion. The richness and intricacy of the motifs of the innermost field with the 'rainbow-like' colouring are all novel features.

The string-like motif breaking the surround, even though unusual, is known from several examples, at least from the 2nd century onwards.³⁸

The band of latchkey-meander is fairly common too. This particular type of meander, used for decorating a whole field, has already been met with in mosaic **nos 19** and **24** and there is no need to discuss it again. Suffice to say that this is the only time that this or any other type of meander is used as a frame at Benghazi. It is, however, found in an almost identical form at Cyrene, in Room 13 of the *Insula* of Jason Magnus.³⁹

Also at Cyrene there is an abundant use of rosettes formed by two overlapping Solomon knots.⁴⁰ Amongst others, there are many examples in the Eastern Corridor of the *Insula* of Jason Magnus of the late 2nd/early 3rd century,⁴¹ and similar but six-petalled rosettes are found in the late 2nd-century Temple E 6.⁴² Elsewhere the motif remains rather uncommon but it is found in different parts of the Empire after the middle of the 2nd century AD.⁴³

The pattern of eight-pointed stars forming octagons and lozenges of the particular type used here is not very common. Another form of the all-over pattern, where the outlines are usually traced by a guilloche and the various elements are filled with elaborate patterns or figures, appeared after the beginning of the 2nd century and thenceforth became very popular.⁴⁴ The design in its simpler linear form is rare, however. Only two parallels have been found, one in the late 2nd/early 3rd-century house at Huerta de Otero in Mérida,⁴⁵ and in an early Christian floor at Mone Loukou, near Astros in Greece.⁴⁶ It should be noted that next to the above-mentioned floor in Mérida there is another floor with a frame of a latchkey-meander and squares, as in Benghazi.

Parallels in Benghazi

The all-over pattern of latchkey-meander is found in mosaic **nos 19** and **24**. The Solomon knot in a small square panel is found, in black and white, in mosaic **no. 3**, and, polychrome, in **nos 16** and **30**.

Date

The few stylistic elements discussed above would indicate a late 2nd, or more probably early 3rd-century date. The proximity and direct association of this mosaic with **no. 30** would also support this date.

No. 32. Geometric mosaic (from the 'Casa di Leone'?) (Figs 99, 104–105)

The mosaic was found by chance, together with the last two floors, in 1932, just off Shara Omar Mukhtar and it appears to have been destroyed during the Second World War. The photographs taken at the time show that it was situated fairly close to **nos 30–31** and so may have belonged to the same house.⁴⁷

When found it was already very badly destroyed except for two fragments: a large one, showing one corner of the floor with the surround and the pattern, and a much smaller one with probably just a small area of the pattern (not much can be seen on the single photograph that includes this fragment). The room was clearly large, but it is uncertain whether it was originally square or rectangular in shape.

Destroyed(?)

Bibliography

Goodchild 1962, 10.

R.G. Goodchild, 'Graeco-Roman Cyrenaica', in F.T. Barr (ed.), *Geology and Archaeology of Northern Cyrenaica*, Petroleum Exploration Society of Libya, Amsterdam 1968, 32.

Stucchi 1975, 496.

Berenice I, 10.

Michaelides 1988, 360.

Description

Uniform field of four-pointed stars separated by octagons in which smaller four-pointed stars are diagonally inscribed.

Surround

One of the two sides visible in the photograph shows a maximum of 31 rows of white tesserae laid in straight lines parallel to the field. The other preserved a maximum of 33 rows. The two met at right angles along a diagonal in the corner.

Border

Four rows of black tesserae, five of white and a double black fillet.

Field

Uniform pattern of four-pointed stars separated by octagons which enclose similar but smaller diagonally inscribed stars (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 186b: 'Bichrome orthogonal pattern of poised tangent octagons forming four-pointed stars, with the octagons bearing a four-pointed star and the star having an axially inscribed square. The colours counterchanged, creating the effect of an orthogonal pattern'). All four-pointed stars had white square centres and black triangular points. The lozenges between them were plain white.

Technical data*Materials*

Apparently, black and white tesserae.

Tesserae

All of one size.

Discussion

The pattern has already been discussed under mosaic **no. 30**.

Parallels in Benghazi

The outer decorative frame of mosaic **no. 30** has the same pattern.

Date

The geometric design is typical of the late 2nd/early 3rd century, and was used in the nearby floor (**no. 30**) of a probable early 3rd-century date.

No. 33. Mosaic floor found in 1935 near the Lighthouse

According to S. Stucchi: 'Un mosaico fu trovato nel 1935, costruendo il faro (Notizia di G. Khouzan e Ing. G. Bassano)'. This is rather puzzling since the present lighthouse seems to be earlier, if indeed it is that which Goodchild mentions as having been built by the Turks in 1889⁴⁸. It would not be surprising, however, if Stucchi is referring to another lighthouse constructed in the area of the harbour in 1935. It has proved impossible to find any other information regarding either this lighthouse or the mosaic found near it.

Destroyed(?)

Bibliography

Stucchi 1975, 225 n. 5.

No. 34. Mosaic of a Nereid on a sea monster from Shara Omar Mukhtar (Figs 106–110)

Some time during or before 1940, on the side opposite where mosaic **nos 30–32** had been found along Shara Omar Mukhtar, another mosaic came to light. It lay 1 m below modern street level on the site where the new Insurance Buildings were erected in 1940. According to R. Goodchild, the mosaic consisted 'of a central panel depicting a Nereid on a sea-monster, surrounded by a geometric border', and was destroyed during the Second World War.⁴⁹

In 1973 a photograph of a mosaic which fitted this description was found in the Cyrene Archives. It had been printed from negative no. F 4929 labelled 'Benghazi', which is a copy of another now lost(?) negative, no. 8104/3285. In the old inventory of the Archives two other negatives, nos 8105/3286 and 8106/3287, came under the same heading, and were presumably of the same subject, but it has not been possible to find either the negatives or prints made from them.⁵⁰

The only surviving photograph (Fig. 107) shows the mosaic after it was lifted onto eight slabs of concrete. The mosaic was believed to have been destroyed during the Second World War but in 1973, with the help of this photograph, it was possible to identify three of these slabs, two in the garden and one in the storeroom of the Museum of Cyrene (Figs 108–110).

The description that follows is based on the old photograph and the measurements taken from these fragments. The mosaic must have paved a room measuring about 5 × 5 m, with the decorated area occupying 4.55 × 4.55 m. Unfortunately, no trace of the central panel has been found.

Bibliography

Goodchild 1962, 11.

Berenice I, 10.

Michaelides 1988, 361.

Description

Central panel with a Nereid on a sea monster, set in a geometric floor with a design of circles and squares forming Maltese crosses.

Surround

Nothing survived at the bottom of the mosaic and what remained at the top is illegible on the photograph. On both right and left there were more than ten rows of white tesserae (c. 12 cm) laid parallel to the border.

First Border

It was 17 cm wide and consisted of four rows of black tesserae, seven of white and a triple black fillet (5, 8 and 4 cm respectively).

Decorated Frame (c. 39.5 cm wide)

It is decorated with a very simplified and stylized black acanthus scroll. Two scrolls issue from a tuft at the centre below and go around the whole floor to meet at the centre of the frame at the top. The three preserved sides have ten volutes each, very stylized but rather fine. They issue from trumpets and have a triple spiral each. Except for one external leaf at their top, the volutes were decorated on the inside only, with about five short leaves each. Their centres were occupied by single ivy leaves alternating with either a pomegranate or a pair of round cherry-like fruits (stylized *Le Décor* 1985, no. 64e).

Second Border (c. 13.5 cm)

It consists of the following sequence of fillets: a triple black (4.5 cm), a triple white (4.5 cm), a double black (2.5 cm), a single white and a single black fillet (1 cm each). The latter touches and at times blends with the geometric field on the inside.

Decorated Field

Uniform pattern of intersecting circles and squares forming Maltese crosses and small squares separated by larger squares (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 239a: 'Bichrome orthogonal pattern of intersecting circles, forming saltires of quasi-tangent spindles (with an inscribed poised small square) and concave squares (with an inscribed poised large square containing [a stepped diamond]), the colours counterchanged (creating a pattern of staggered tangent Maltese crosses with concave arms)'. The crosses and small squares are black while everything else is white. Small three-stepped diamonds (Table 6 type 1) decorated the centre of each large square. A figured panel featured in the centre of this field.

Frame of Central Panel

Unfortunately, although there is adequate space to accommodate several borders, only part of a double(?) fillet seems to have survived on the left of the panel.

Central Figured Panel

It appears to have been rectangular and measured, with all its frames included, about 80 × 95 cm. It depicted a Nereid riding a sea monster swimming to the right. Of the monster, only the twisted fish tail rising high on the left, and part of the chest and front legs on the right can be seen. Of the Nereid, the legs and only the upper left-hand side survived. The legs show that she was seated side-saddle on the monster. She was dressed, wore sandals and held a large billowing veil above her head. The sea was stylized into broken horizontal lines. It is clear from the photograph that the panel was polychrome.

Technical Data*Materials*

Black and white tesserae were used for all the borders and the geometric designs. The central panel appears to have been polychrome.

Tesserae

The whole mosaic was made with tesserae c. 1–1.25 cm², except in the central panel where they were much smaller.

Density

Geometric motifs: c. 64 tesserae per 10 cm².

Comments and Discussion

Nereids were commonly represented in antiquity, and the fact that two mosaics with the same scene (this one and no. 7) were found at Benghazi is not surprising.

This is the second example of a mosaic with a scroll frame at Benghazi, the other being **no. 13**. The two differ considerably from each other and are far too stylized to be indicative of a precise date. The insertion of fruit or other elements in the centre of the volutes is common, and pomegranates appear at an early date, as in a 1st-century floor from Turin.⁵¹

The field pattern, formed by intersecting circles and squares, has been discussed under **no. 15** and this type was found to be datable to the second half of the 2nd or the early 3rd century AD.

The theme of the Nereid riding a sea monster has already been discussed under mosaic **no. 7**. Unfortunately, nothing survives of the central panel here and far too little shows in the photograph to allow further discussion. It is clear, however, that the Nereid is dressed and is wearing sandals, an unusual feature which corroborates the reconstruction of the other Nereid panel from Sidi Khrebish (**no. 7**). The canopy-like arched veil held above the head is quite a common feature and is found on mosaics of different dates in different parts of the Empire.⁵² The monster the Nereid is riding has a dolphin's tail, but neither the head nor the hooves are preserved, so it is not known what animal the front part represented — although what little is visible of the legs would exclude a feline. The rendering of the sea in short straight lines of colour is quite different from that of mosaic **no. 7**, and is perhaps indicative of a post-early 2nd-century date.⁵³

Parallels in Benghazi

Another type of scroll is found in **no. 13**. The all-over geometric pattern of intersecting circles and squares forming Maltese crosses is also used in **no. 15**. For another Nereid riding a sea monster, see **no. 7**.

Date

The geometric patterns would indicate a post-mid 2nd or early 3rd-century date; the representation of the sea surface would exclude an earlier date.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. A few of these discoveries are mentioned in *Berenice I*, 10.
2. 'Notizie archeologiche sulla Cirenaica', *Notiziario Archeologico* I, 1915, 73ff.
3. Goodchild 1962, 10.
4. *Ibid.*, 10f.
5. *Ibid.*, illustration opposite p. i.
6. Stucchi 1975, 225 n. 5.
7. Goodchild 1962, 11.
8. R.G. Goodchild, 'Graeco-Roman Cyrenaica', in F.T. Barr (ed.), *Geology and Archaeology of Northern Cyrenaica*, Petroleum Exploration Society of Libya, Amsterdam 1968, 32.
9. Pp. 45 and 47 above.
10. Stucchi 1975, 496.
11. Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. nos E 1723–4. Another four negatives (nos E 1725–6 and E 1729–30) show general views, presumably of the same excavations, although no mosaics are visible.
12. Cyrene, Photographic Archive of the Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. nos E 1723: General view of excavations with mosaics **nos 30–32**; E 1724: Similar to previous photograph (Fig. 99 here); E 1727: Closer view of mosaic **no 30** (and **31**) (Fig. 10i here); E 1728: Similar to the previous one; E 1729: View of mosaic **no. 31**, with lower edge of mosaic **no. 30** (Fig. 103 here).
13. On the reading of the inscription and the interpretation of the figures, see Comments and Discussion below.
14. Blake 1930, pl. 42.
15. Levi 1947, pl. XCIIIb.
16. H. Knackfuss, *Der Sudmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen (Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 I/7)*, Berlin 1924, 69, pl. VII.
17. A. von Gerkan and F. Krischen, *Thermen und Palaestren (Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 I/9)*, Berlin 1928, pl. XLII.
18. Spiro 1978, 136, no. 13, fig. 436 and p. 526, no. 178, fig. 601 respectively.
19. Mingazzini 1966, pls XXVIII–XXIX.
20. W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I: Die Hanghäuser des Embolos (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/2)*, Wien 1977, 50ff., fig. 88.
21. Room A: Spiro 1978, no. 219, pl. 687.
22. *Berenice I*, 242. The reference to the Cypriot inscription should be: T.B. Mitford and I.K. Nicolaou, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Salamis (Salamis 6)*, Nicosia 1974, 52, no. 30: Θ(εό)ν Διόνυσον καὶ τὸ Ἰνδικὸν λεο[ντ]ᾶριον Μ. Τίττιος? Παντίσχεινος Ἀθηνίων ὁ ἱακ[χά]τος ὁ τεχνάρχης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κατεσκεύασεν.
23. Stucchi 1975, 496.

24. Ovid *Met.* VIII, 310; IX, 399, 430; cf. Fr. Cumont *s.v.* *Iolaos* in *RE* IX, 1843; H.W. Stoll, in Roscher II/1, 185–9; M. Grant and J. Hazel, *Who's who in Classical Mythology*, London 1973; M. Pipilli, 'Iolaos', and 'Iolaos/Vile', in *LIMC* V.
- It has to be admitted that a scene on a bronze mirror from Belora, representing Turms (Hermes) between Heracle (Herakles) and Vile (Iolaos), with Herakles holding cup and club, does look similar to the mosaic representation (M. Pipilli, 'Iolaos/Vile', in *LIMC* V, no. 4*). The spilling wine and the panther of the mosaic, however, discount such an interpretation.
25. Amongst mosaics, see Levi 1947, 40ff; Parlasca 1959, 75, pls 66ff.; M.H. Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban* (= *BMusBey* 14–15), 1957–1959, 18, pl. IV; M. Natan Valmin, *The Swedish Messenia Expedition* (*Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* XXVI), Lund-London-Paris-Oxford-Leipzig 1938, 471–4.
- For representations in a variety of media, see C. Gasparri, 'Dionysos', nos 268*, 274*; Chr. Auge and P. Linant de Bellefonds, 'Dionysos (*in periphéria orientali*)', nos 3*–11*, 78*–85*; C. Gasparri, 'Dionysos/Bacchus', nos 1*, 13*, 17*, 20*, 70*–9*, etc., in *LIMC* III. On the type, see E. Pochmarski, *Dionysische Gruppen. Eine typologische Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Stutzmotifs* (*Herausgegeben vom Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut in Wien*, Sonderschriften XIX), Wien 1990.
26. Heron of Alexandria, *Περὶ Ἀὐτομαχοποιητικῆς* II–IV, XIII (ed. W. Schmidt, 1899).
27. B. Andreae and H. Kyrieleis, *Neue Forschungen in Pompeji*, Recklinghausen 1975, fig. 70 (in col.).
28. G.M.A. Richter, 'One or two statuettes of Diogenes?', *MMS* II/1, 1929, 29–39, figs 1ff.
29. *Dionysiaca*, XLVII, 34ff. (transl. W.H.D. Rouse, Loeb, 1940).
30. On the ancient sources referring to this episode, see R. Merkelbach, 'Die Erigone des Eratosthenes, Nacherzählung und Würdigung', in *Miscellanea di studi alessandrini in memoria di A. Rostagni*, Torino 1963, 496–526. On the iconography of the scene, see D. Gondicas, 'Ikarios', in *LIMC* V.
31. *Dionysiaca*, XVII, 67ff. (transl. W.H.D. Rouse, Loeb, 1940).
32. D. Michaelides, *Cypriot Mosaics*, Nicosia 1992, 37, no. 17; D. Gondicas, 'Icarios', in *LIMC* V, no. 3; Chr. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine. Roman mosaics in the House of Dionysos*, Ithaca and London 1995, 174ff., figs 111–112, 118.
33. *Inventaire* II, no. 376; P. Gauckler, 'Le Domaine des Laberii à Uthina', *Mon Piot* III, 1896–1898, 177ff., pl. XXI; large colour plate (unnumbered) in G. Fradier, *Mosaïques de Tunisie*, Tunis 1976. For the different interpretations, see M. Blanchard-Lemée, 'La scène de Sacrifice du buc dans la mosaïque Dionysiaque de Cuicul, étude iconographique', *AntAfr* 15, 1980, 169–82, esp. 174–6, fig. 4; J.-P. Darmon, 'Religions de Rome. Conférences 1984–1985, 1985–1986', *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes-Études V^e section*, 94, 1985–1986 (1986), 447–51; D. Gondigas, *op. cit.*, no. 2*.
34. D. Gondicas, 'Icarios', in *LIMC* V, no. 3*; H. Lavagne, 'Les Trois Graces et la visite de Dionysos chez Ikarios sur une mosaïque de Narbonnaise', in *Ancient Mosaics* V, 1987, 238–48.
35. G. Åkerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* (*SkrAth* 4^o, XXIII), Stockholm 1974, fig. 68, pls VII–VIII, col. pl. 7:1; Spiro 1978, no. 56, fig. 146; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka 1987, 53–4, figs 35–37.
36. Åkerström-Hougen, *op. cit.*, 13f. for several parallels from sarcophagi and the minor arts. In sarcophagi this is the figure of 'Silen am Wanderstab'. For examples, see Fr. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, Berlin 1968–1975, I: 58, type 99(95); II: pls 116:95, 124:99, 134:105, 160:139; III: pls 186(164A), 223(214), 232(218).
- For representations in other media, see S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques*, Paris 1899, 140:2; F. Staehlin, 'Die Thensa Capitolina', *RM* 21, 1906, 356, fig. 7.
37. Cyrene, Photographic Archives of the Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. nos E 1723: General view of the site with mosaic nos 30–32; E 1724: Similar to the previous photograph (Fig. 99

here); E 1727: General view with small part of the mosaic (Fig. 101 here); E 1728: As before; E 1729: View of mosaic **no. 31** (and **no. 30**) (Fig. 103 here).

38. Blake 1936, 108, pl. 32:3.

39. Mingazzini 1966, 41, pl. XVIII:3.

40. This is the eight-petalled rosette formed by two overlapping Solomon knots, not the very similar looking one formed by a continuous guilloche around a central disc.

41. Mingazzini 1966, 48, pl. XXII.

42. S. Stucchi, *L'Agora di Cirene (Monografie di Archeologia Libica VII)*, Roma 1965, 268, 274, pl. XLVI:4–5.

43. E.g. the Villa of Negrar di Valpolicella (T. Campanile in *Nsc* 1922, 359, fig. 9). There is also, according to Mingazzini (1966, 48), another example at Lambaesis (*Inventaire* III, no. 194) of the end of the 4th century.

44. See *Le Décor* 1985, pl. 178; also a large number of examples in Levi 1947, 39f.; E. Marec, *Monuments Chrétiens d'Hippone*, Paris 1958, 45; G. Salies, 'Untersuchungen zu den geometrischen Gliederungsschemata römischer Mosaiken' *BJ* 174, 1974, 'Oktogonsystem VIII': 13 and 154ff., table 3:48.

45. Blanco Freijeiro 1978a, 48, no. 55, pl. 87.

46. J.-P. Sodini, 'Mosaïques Paléochrétiennes de Grèce', *BCH* 95, 1971, 581–2, fig. 1.

47. Cyrene, Photographic Archives of the Department of Antiquities of Cyrenaica, neg. nos E 1723: General view of site with mosaic **nos 30–32**; E 1724: Similar to the previous photograph (Fig. 99 here); E 1730: View of mosaic **no. 32** (Fig. 105 here).

48. Goodchild 1962, 23. I am grateful to Dr John Lloyd for pointing out this inconsistency in the information.

49. Goodchild 1962, 11.

50. A photograph in the collection of the British School at Rome (no. 1628–8), labelled 'Cyrene Museum', seems to have been printed from no. F 4929 of the Cyrene Archives.

51. Blake 1930, pl. 40:1.

52. E.g. on the mosaics from Isthmia (Waywell 1979, fig. 25); from Cos (M. Albertocchi, 'Un mosaico con Nereide dalla Casa Romana di Cos', in R. Farioli Campanati (ed.), *Atti del I Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Ravenna, 29 aprile–3 maggio 1993*, Ravenna 1994, figs 2–3); from Ephesos (W. Jobst, *Römische Mosaiken aus Ephesos I. Die Hanghäuser des Embolos (Forschungen in Ephesos VIII/2)*, Wien 1977, figs 98, 103–7); and the mosaics from Cherchel and Djemilla (J. Lassus, 'Venus marine', in *La Mosaïque I*, 1963, 175ff., figs 8, 10).

53. See p. 21f. above.

V. GENERAL DISCUSSION

Notes to Chapter V can be found starting on page 139.

A mosaic corpus numbering only 34 entries is certainly not large. Nevertheless, the known mosaics of Berenice are representative enough to give an idea of the dominant artistic trends in the city, and at the same time reflect the general cultural climate of Cyrenaica as a whole during the period from around AD 100 to 250. More important than the number of surviving examples is the fact that 24 of these tessellated floors (as well as the *opus sectile* and the *emblema*) were found during the course of an excavation in well-stratified contexts through which they can, in most cases, be dated with a fair degree of accuracy. This is in marked contrast to many of the published mosaics of the region, the dating of which is more often than not problematic. Indeed, through some of these floors it is now possible to calibrate or even correct some of the accepted datings of other groups of mosaics in Roman Cyrenaica.

The following discussion will be articulated in three parts. In the first part, the mosaics of Berenice will be examined as a whole to see if they form a single coherent group. In the second, the floors will be examined in relation to other mosaics in Cyrenaica, in an attempt to establish whether some of the decorative patterns and more general trends observed at Benghazi are also found elsewhere in the region. In the final part, an attempt will be made to establish how these Cyrenaican mosaics fit into the wider artistic world of the Mediterranean and where the main sources of influence on them emanate from.

Most of the known mosaic floors at Berenice come from private houses, the only exception being Building W, a building which may also have had a civic function. As already mentioned, the area of Sidi Khrebish is far from the centre of the city and appears not to have been one of the most affluent quarters. In this sense the mosaics are perhaps more representative of the ordinary, standard way of decorating houses in Berenice, since above-average, wealthy houses sometimes have more out of the ordinary decoration. House P 1 is unusual in having at least six mosaic floors (nos 13–18), since the Sidi Khrebish houses on the whole had only a few of their rooms decorated in this way, the other rooms having simple *battuto* floors. One must not forget, however, that, with the exception of P 1 and P 3, the other houses are on the whole very fragmentary, and may originally have had more mosaic floors. The mosaic-decorated rooms, one assumes, were spaces of common use and open to visitors. One that can be identified as such was the portico of House R 3 (mosaic no. 6). However, since in most cases the plans of the houses were only partially retrieved, the function of the rooms can only rarely be established. In one case the unusual layout of the floor leaves no doubt that the room had a special function. This is Room 7 in Building W which is divided into two compartments: a lower, rectangular one with an *opus sectile* floor (no. 25), and a higher, apsed one with a fish *emblema* in the centre of a black and white tessellated floor (nos 26 and 27). This is the most costly floor decoration at Benghazi, and the room was further adorned with stucco and wall paintings imitating marble veneer. The fact that both compartments are provided with spaces for masonry or movable benches betrays the particular function of the room which has been interpreted as an official dining room-cum-reception hall. In another case (no. 16 in House P 1), the U-like layout of the geometric band around an area decorated with an intricate pattern enclosing small figured panels can be interpreted as a *triclinium*, and the same can be said about another floor (no. 30 from the 'Casa di Leone') where the U-like band borders three sides of a large figured panel. The floor layout of another two rooms with figured decoration (no. 7 in House R 3 and no. 21 in House P 3), if not exactly that of a typical *triclinium*, does suggest a particular

kind of use which involved the emplacement of movable furniture. What is remarkable is that five of the six known figural mosaics at Berenice — the exception being mosaic **no. 34** from Shara Omar Mukhtar, which is an isolated discovery — are found in rooms which are directly associated with another room decorated with a black and white geometric mosaic. This more simply decorated room seems to have functioned as a sort of antechamber: e.g. mosaic **nos 7 and 8** in House R 3; **nos 16 and 17** in House P 1; **nos 20 and 21** in House P 3; **nos 23 and 24** in Building W; and **nos 30 and 31** in the so-called 'Casa di Leone'.¹

What strikes one about the mosaics of Berenice is their remarkable uniformity. On the purely technical side, the way the bedding was prepared remained, with only two exceptions, basically the same throughout the period under examination. One of the exceptions is floor **no. 5** from Building L 3, which was laid on top of the capping stones of a cistern and consequently did not need the kind of solid support (*statumen*) found below the other mosaics. The second exception is mosaic **no. 26** of Building W, the foundation of which closely resembles that of the *opus sectile* floor in the adjacent compartment of the same room, and which was probably made at the same time.

The mosaics are generally black and white, with colour only rarely used and even then only sparingly. The black and white tesserae are each made of two types of stone. One is rather soft and porous (and in the case of the white, slightly yellow), the other is hard, compact and marble-like.² The mosaicists were clearly aware of the different overall appearance of these two qualities of stone and used them to good effect.³ Two geometric mosaics (**no. 20** from House P 3, **no. 24** from Building W) and floors of clearly utilitarian nature are made entirely of the softer, poorer quality of stone. This is the case with the corridor-like mosaic **no. 5** from Building L 3, the portico mosaic **no. 6** from House R 3, and the long corridor mosaic **no. 22** from Building W. When both types of stone are employed in the same floor, the poorer variety is used either for the surround only (**nos 15–17** from House P 1) or, when the mosaic includes figured decoration, for the surround and all the geometric borders (the Sol mosaic, **no. 21** from House P 3) or for the surround and the outermost geometric frames (mosaic with Dionysiac busts, **no. 23** from Building W). Interestingly, the surround on the three sides bordering the U-shaped band of the *triclinium* (**no. 16**) in House P 1, which would have been covered by the *klinai*, is made of poorer quality white limestone, while that of the fourth, narrow side at the entrance is made of good quality limestone. The white backgrounds of all the figurative panels are made of the good quality, marble-like limestone. In these figurative panels, all of which are polychrome, most of the tesserae are made of a rich variety of coloured stones.⁴ They are sometimes supplemented by glass (**nos 3, 7, 16, 21, 23, 27**) and on rarer occasions by marble tesserae (**nos 3, 7, 23, 27**).⁵ The supplementary colours are various shades of blue (both in glass and Proconnesian marble), green (both in glass and *cipollino* marble) and in one case (**no. 7**) salmon orange and bright maroon (glass) — these clearly being shades not found amongst the available stones. The sizes of the tesserae used in the different parts of the floor were more or less standard for the black and white but variable for the coloured ones throughout the period under examination. The same variation within mosaics of a given date is observed in the density of the laying of the tesserae. There is, however, a concentration of densities between 40 to 60 tesserae per 10 cm² amongst the Severan mosaics.

The uniformity observed on the technical side can also be seen on the aesthetic/stylistic side. If the *emblema* and the *opus sectile* are excluded, the same tastes and preferences occur throughout the period. The fashion was clearly for black and white geometric floors with only exceptional insertions of polychrome *emblema*-like figured panels. When colour was used in the geometric design, it was used sparingly. Here, however, some development and change in the fashion may be noted, since the three cases where polychrome geometric decoration is used (**no. 23** in Building W, and **nos 30–31** in the 'Casa di Leone') are later than the other floors and date to the first half of the 3rd century — this probably being a manifestation of the same enrichment of the colour palette observed in Greek mosaics from the second half of the 2nd century.⁶ That the preference for black and white floors was deep-rooted, and not something dictated by the non-availability of raw materials or lack of funds, is demonstrated by Building W which was lavishly decorated in all media, but its floors (which included the costly *opus sectile* and *emblema*) were for the most part of black and white *tessellatum*.

Colour was also used for the few insert motifs (the *kantharoi* of mosaic **no. 16** from House P 1). In fact, only the *kantharoi* of mosaic **no. 21** from House P 3 may have been rendered in black and white, although this is not altogether certain. It is important to stress, all the same, that despite the overall predominance of black and white the figured panels are all polychrome and there is not one that follows the Italian taste for black and white figured representations.

The organization of the floor amongst the mosaics of Benghazi is always centralized. This may be in the form of a large geometric field (which may take most of the surface) or a small figured panel framed by several fillets and decorative borders. To the former type belong mosaic **nos 3** (House H), **5** (Building L), **6** (House R 3), **10–11** (House S 1), **17** (House P 1), **19–20** (House P 3), **22** (Building W) and **31** ('Casa di Leone'), and to the latter **nos 7** (House R 3), **16** (House P 1), **21** (House P 3), **23** (Building W), **30** ('Casa di Leone') and **34** (mosaic from Shara Omar Mukhtar).

To cope with the irregularities in the shape of a room, the mosaicists first established a square or rectangle within which to start the design. They then laid out a plain white zone around the four sides of the room. This is the zone that has been called the 'surround' throughout this study. An examination of the surrounds at Berenice shows that there was no specific way of laying the rows of white tesserae at any given period (Table 8). The rows of tesserae were usually set parallel but sometimes also obliquely to the frame of the mosaic, the only exception being mosaic **no. 31** from the 'Casa di Leone' which is set in a herringbone fashion. The surrounds are all white and plain except those of mosaics **no. 3** from House H, **no. 26** from Building W and **no. 31** from the 'Casa di Leone'. The first two incorporate a small repeated decorative motif. This is not an unusual feature amongst Roman mosaics, and the difference from the norm here does not have a chronological significance since the two floors in question are at opposite ends of the time span covered by the mosaics of Berenice. The surround of mosaic **no. 31** from the 'Casa di Leone', however, is a different matter. The tesserae are laid in a regular herringbone with a 'spine' formed by a simple serrated fillet decorated with small diamonds at regular intervals. This could be considered as a later development, since the mosaics of the 'Casa di Leone' are amongst the latest so far known at Berenice.

The borders were fairly standardized, although there does not appear to have been a specific way of combining the different patterns used. The borders are made almost exclusively of sets of black and white fillets of differing widths used in various combinations. Even though there is a hint that the later borders are on the whole wider, the differences are minimal. Aside from fillets, the only other linear design used with any frequency is the crow-step, but again it appears identical in both early and late mosaics. Amongst the known mosaics of Berenice other decorative borders are used rarely, and never more than once: ogives (**no. 7** from House R 3), three-strand guilloche (**no. 17** from House P 1), bead and reel (**no. 23** from Building W), etc.

Despite the fact that the known figured panels from Benghazi are only six, and even then are either fragmentary or lost, they reflect a varied and occasionally adventurous choice of subject matter. As one would expect, there are representations from the standard repertory and, not surprisingly, two of these are of Dionysiac character: mosaic **no. 23** from Building W, where Dionysiac masks may be representations of the Four Seasons (the central bust is destroyed), and the lost mosaic **no. 30** from the 'Casa di Leone', where the god himself is the protagonist. Another theme from the standard repertory is that of the Nereid riding a sea creature, of which there are two examples at Berenice: mosaic **no. 7** from House R and **no. 34** from Shara Omar Mukhtar. The poor state of preservation of the other two figured mosaics makes their interpretation rather difficult. **No. 21** from House P 3, decorating the centre of a shield mosaic, is the least problematic. Although only a tiny fragment survives, there can be little doubt that it represented a rather uncommon theme in mosaic art, namely Sol with his right hand raised in the magic gesture. Even rarer is the scene in mosaic **no. 16** from House P 1 which seems to illustrate an episode from the myth of Psyche — but this identification is by no means certain.

It is, however, the repertory of geometric patterns that helps place the Benghazi mosaics in a wider cultural context. The discussion following each entry in the Catalogue has shown

that the closest parallels to these floors are found in Cyrenaica itself. There is in fact a great uniformity between the mosaics of Berenice, Ptolemais, Cyrene and Apollonia. The sobriety of the geometric decoration and the restricted use of colour is common to all. The choice of patterns is also similar. An analytical comparison has been made under each entry. Here a few of the most salient examples will be mentioned to illustrate the argument. Although the pattern of octagons separated by squares (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 163a) was popular more or less everywhere in the Roman world, it was always rendered overburdened with secondary embellishments. The way it is used in the portico of House R 3 (mosaic no. 6), i.e. reduced to its linear essentials, is very unusual but is found again in the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene, in the Villa (twice) and in the Public Building at Ptolemais. The simplified, plain meander used as an all-over design (variation of *Le Décor* 1985, 190a) is very uncommon. Mosaic no. 8 from House R 3 finds its closest parallels in floors from the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene, and the Palazzo delle Colonne and the Villa at Ptolemais. Unlike the intersecting circles forming quatrefoils popular throughout the Roman world, the uniform trellis of quatrefoils forming concave octagons (variation of *Le Décor* 1985, no. 131a), as seen in mosaic no. 22 of the long hall of Building W, never had a wide distribution. As has been seen, the parallels are few and geographically dispersed. The closest, however, come again from the Insula of Jason Magnus at Cyrene and the Villa and Public Building at Ptolemais. In the same way, the imitation of *opus sectile* in House P 1 (mosaic no. 16), although something of an oddity in this geographic region, belongs to the same tradition as those found at Cyrene, where there are at least seven examples (in the Baths of Trajan, the Temple of Jupiter and the Insula of Jason Magnus). Generally speaking, in the case of the mosaics of the Villa and Public Building at Ptolemais one should no longer speak of simple similarities. These floors are identical to those of Berenice in the materials used, the size of the tesserae, the width of the borders and the choice of geometric patterns, and there can be no doubt that they were created by the same workshop. Similarly, there can be no doubt that the mosaics of Ptolemais, as noted many times above, must be contemporary with those of Benghazi, and the 1st-century date hitherto attributed to them should be abandoned. The mosaics of the other Cyrenaican cities are also very similar. There are, however, enough differences between them to indicate that although they are products of the same artistic milieu they were not executed by a single workshop moving from place to place in Cyrenaica and serving different patrons at different times. What transpires from the study of these mosaics is a stable artistic environment which conditioned the products of different local workshops active in different parts of Cyrenaica at different periods. Their products were, perhaps, not always as imaginative or as inventive as those of other North African regions, but they certainly had their own identity and characteristics.

It has already been observed that although mosaic-making in Cyrenaica goes back to the Hellenistic period there is a large chronological gap between those products and the Benghazi mosaics. The lack of early Imperial mosaics is not a phenomenon exclusive to Cyrenaica,⁷ but unless more of the already excavated floors are published and more excavations are carried out in the region, there is no way of being absolutely certain that the art of mosaic had died out completely in the intervening period. For evidence of a floor, probably decorated, given to the amphitheatre of Berenice in the late 1st century BC, see p. 5 above. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the early 2nd century and even more in the late 2nd/early 3rd centuries there was a substantial demand for mosaic floors in Cyrenaica. In the present state of research it is not possible to know if at that time, given the new demand, local mosaicists suddenly multiplied or whether it was found necessary to bring individual mosaicists or whole mosaic workshops from abroad. It seems certain, however, that even if the latter were the case the foreign mosaicists must have established themselves in the region and, by teaching their art to local craftsmen, founded a new Cyrenaican tradition and style, reflected in all the known mosaics of the area.

What was the ultimate origin of this new tradition? Whether newly established or already existing, Cyrenaican mosaic art was obviously not practised in isolation from the rest of the world, and must certainly have been under the influence of larger centres. Examining first the evidence for influences that may have travelled to Cyrenaica overland, one may exclude

the possibility of anything coming from the south, not only because of the physical barrier of the Calanshu Sand Sea, but also because no such centres existed there.

The question of what may have come overland from the East, namely Egypt, is a lot more complicated. It has been suggested that Cyrenaica may have functioned as a bridge for the migration of Alexandrian workshops across to Tripolitania, and eventually to Byzacena and the rest of Africa Proconsularis.⁸ The theory is rather improbable, and moreover it is now becoming gradually clearer that the links between the mosaics of the western North African provinces and Italy were considerably closer than has hitherto been supposed.⁹ Even if one accepts an ultimately Hellenistic tradition in the mosaics of Africa Proconsularis, the theory of mosaicists crossing overland from Egypt across Cyrenaica and Tripolitania is rather unlikely and the stylistic analysis of the Benghazi mosaics does not offer any evidence to support it. Unfortunately it is still not clear what Alexandrian mosaic art of the Roman period was really like, so it is not possible to attribute specific influences emanating from it.¹⁰ Moreover, there is a more basic problem to consider. Travel from Alexandria or other Egyptian centres into Cyrenaica was extremely difficult since the desert between them runs to the sea. Even if Alexandrian workshops did somehow cross over into Cyrenaica, their progress towards Tripolitania and the West would have been discouraged by the Syrtic Desert that separates the two regions.¹¹ If one favours an Alexandrian influence in the earlier mosaics of Africa Proconsularis, then one would have to attribute it to mosaicists coming across by ship rather than overland — although, as will be seen, even this was by no means easy (although what has been published so far shows that the mosaics of Roman Egypt underwent the same development as those of Cyrenaica). Such an Egyptian influence is, in any case, not evident in the known mosaics of Cyrenaica.

Similarly, because of the natural barrier of *Syrtis maior*, it is rather difficult to imagine constant direct overland influences from the West (Tripolitania and, further away, Byzacena and Africa Proconsularis) on the mosaics of Cyrenaica. In any case, and as is clear from the discussion above, there is very little in the mosaics of Cyrenaica that links them directly to those of the western North African regions.

Having excluded direct overland routes from the east, west and south, one has to look at the contacts afforded by the sea. Here too, direct contact between Berenice and the other cities of Cyrenaica and their neighbours to the east and west does not seem to have been favoured, although evidence for sea traffic from Egypt to Cyrenaica, and from Cyrenaica across to Tripolitania, such as the ordering of corn from Lepcis Magna by Tocra in the 1st century BC (A. Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye Hellenistique*, Paris 1987, 472–78), is not lacking. M.G. Fulford's study of the prevailing winds and conditions in the area has shown that navigation along the north African coast was difficult in both directions. With relation to the Gulf of Syrte itself, although navigation across it was probably possible at most times of year, the terrible notoriety of the Gulf, with its sandbanks and rocky spits, and its inhospitable shore, would have dissuaded navigators.¹² Fulford's study has shown that the conditions prevailing off the coast of Tripolitania would have favoured traffic to and from the north or north-west rather than along the coast to the east. For similar reasons navigation to and from Cyrenaica would have favoured north–south rather than east–west routes. This meant that the sea routes linked, on the one hand, Tripolitania with the Tunisian coast, then Sicily and the West, and on the other hand, Cyrenaica with Crete, the Peloponnese and the East. This accords with Strabo (17.3.22) who mentions the relations that existed between the ports of Cyrene and Crete. This direct link with Crete, and the short period needed to cross from the island to Cyrene — Strabo (10.475) says that the journey lasted two days — also gives a logical explanation to why Augustus joined Crete and Cyrenaica into one province.¹³

Fulford's study is particularly useful because, by putting together the conclusions arrived at by different scholars working with different groups of artefacts or materials, he has shown that the pattern of the flow of imports into Cyrenaica and Tripolitania closely reflects the navigation routes suggested by the winds and currents prevailing off the coast of North Africa. For example, J. Riley's analysis of both the amphorae and the cooking and domestic wares from Sidi Khrebish shows that from Hellenistic to Byzantine times products from the Aegean and the north-east Mediterranean are by far the most numerous imports. Western wares were always present, especially in early Imperial times, but in a minority.¹⁴ Riley's work

on the coarse wares has also shown that after the early 2nd century AD, even amongst products of local manufacture, there is a typological affinity with the products of the Aegean rather than other regions of the east Mediterranean or North Africa. This leads him to suggest that, perhaps after the Jewish Revolt of AD 115–117, large numbers of settlers may have come from that region to settle in Cyrenaica. Riley also underlines the virtually total absence of ceramic imports from Egypt.¹⁵

By contrast, D. Bailey's study of the lamps and P.M. Kenrick's of the fine wares from Sidi Khrebish show a different pattern, with western and, from the 2nd century on, Tunisian and Tripolitanian products predominating.¹⁶ Although the wider implications of this are still not fully understood, Fulford convincingly interprets this apparent anomaly in the following way. Since it is generally accepted that lamps and fine wares were normally traded as extra cargo to the bulk of principal commodities, and since such commodities, coming from the West to Cyrenaica, are conspicuously absent, it can be assumed that luxury items were exported to Cyrenaica, not directly from their source of manufacture but through established networks in the Aegean area, together with the principal commodities.¹⁷

The discussion of the same types of ceramic products in Tripolitania (mainly Sabratha) shows that exactly the opposite was happening there. The details do not concern us; suffice to say, first, that the sources are mostly western and African and, secondly that exchange with Cyrenaica is effectively non-existent.¹⁸ Fulford's analysis of the coin evidence for the Roman period, based mainly on the work of A. Burnett *et al.* and R. Reece, has shown that again, 'even under a common political system the patterns of coin-loss in Apollonia/Berenice and Sabratha were quite different, reinforcing the idea that the two regions were linked into distinctly different economies'.¹⁹ Fulford also considers, admittedly very cautiously, the evidence of two more valuable traded commodities, namely marble and decorative stone, to arrive at more or less similar conclusions.²⁰ It has long been claimed that, at least at Cyrene, most marbles came from mainland Greece, the Cyclades and Asia Minor, especially from the time of the Hadrianic rebuildings onwards.²¹ Although this is true, two facts should be borne in mind when using its implications: a) most valued decorative stones did, in fact, come from the eastern Empire and their distribution was predominantly eastern, and b) many marbles did not travel directly from the quarries to their destination. Since most of the important quarries were imperially owned, Rome must have played an important role in the redistribution of their products.²² At Benghazi, as has been observed, the *opus sectile* floor (no. 25 from Building W) uses marbles which, with the possible exceptions of *marmo scritto* and the *breccia gialla nuvolata* that might come from North Africa, originated from Greece and Asia Minor. The study of thousands of fragments of wall veneering, floor slabs and fragments of simple architectural decoration found throughout the area of Sidi Khrebish gives the same results, although a fair number of the alabaster fragments amongst them could be of African origin. There are also several fragments of granite and a few pieces of *giallo antico* and red porphyry. Overall, however, the percentage of African stones is very low indeed.²³ Perhaps more indicative than the raw material are the objects made from it, especially when a specific workshop can be distinguished. A case in point is that of sarcophagi where, with the exception of an insignificant number of Proconnesian examples, all those found in Cyrenaica come from Attica.²⁴ By contrast, and this is of particular interest, in Egypt it is the Proconnesian sarcophagus which has the virtual monopoly, while Proconnesian marble was used extensively in the architectural decoration of Antonine and Severan Tripolitania. In a similar vein E. Fabbricotti has noted an Attic orientation in the cultural formation of Ptolemais after the Jewish Revolt, and has identified there a sculpture workshop active in the 2nd and 3rd centuries which initially functioned, very probably, under the guidance of artists from Attica.²⁵ This atelier worked in marble (usually Pentelic) and either produced new works or finished roughly worked imported sarcophagi and sculpture. Fabbricotti concludes: '...nonostante la profonda romanità della città e forse dei suoi abitanti, Tolemaide culturalmente è da considerare una provincia greca o per lo meno romano-orientale'.²⁶ The picture was certainly never clear-cut, although mainland and island Greek marbles seem always to have been the more numerous. Isotopic signature analysis, carried out on a sample of statues from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Cyrene, has shown that over half the marbles came from Greece

and the islands, with the remainder equally divided between Turkey and Italy (Carrara marble being often used in the 2nd/3rd centuries AD).²⁷ The paucity of Egyptian stones and finished works of art in Cyrenaica throughout Hellenistic and Roman times is again of note.²⁸

As regards architecture, the influence of Egypt on Cyrenaica was minimal, as was that of Tripolitania.²⁹ Cyrenaican architecture is, in fact, quite representative of what was happening generally in the region during the Roman period. The architectural vocabulary of Cyrenaica was, in the main, deep-rooted in Greek tradition, and Cyrene always retained a classicizing style. With the arrival of the Romans, some Italian influence began to manifest itself during the 1st century but became much more marked under Trajan and after the Jewish Revolt. The influence is reflected in private as well as public buildings, and there are hints of it even in funerary architecture.³⁰ According to S. Stucchi, this imported architecture was modified locally by a trend that sought to imitate not the Classical but the Hellenistic world, and was enriched with the insertion of Egyptian, Syrian and other oriental elements.³¹ Thus Cyrenaican architecture finds parallels on the one side in Greece herself and on the other in southern Asia Minor.

All the evidence shows overwhelmingly that the commercial, cultural and artistic links of Cyrenaica were with Greece and the East. This, as has been seen, was due in part to physical factors like deserts, sea currents and winds which either isolated or linked Cyrenaica with her neighbours. The links with Greece can also be attributed to a centuries-old cultural tradition which was given extra impetus in the 2nd century AD with Hadrian's foundation of the Panhellenion.³² Before one looks at the mosaic evidence, and since its role has been understated up to now, one has to acknowledge the constant presence of Romans in the region and obvious links with the Roman world. Throughout antiquity Cyrenaica remained Greek-speaking, a fact that always distinguished her from her Punic/Latin-speaking neighbour, Tripolitania. However, the evidence for the presence of Latin speakers in Cyrenaica, including some from House H at Berenice,³³ has been gathering over the years and has to be taken into consideration, especially since some of it, like a probable Julio-Claudian inscription from Cyrene, witnesses not simply transient Latin speakers but a Latin community resident in that city.³⁴ A. Laronde has gone so far as to argue that in view of new epigraphic evidence the traditional idea that the *Arae Philaenorum* acted as a kind of linguistic dividing line between the Greek- and Latin-speaking domains of Roman North Africa can no longer be accepted, and that the Romanization of Cyrenaica was already evident under the principate of Tiberius.³⁵ This must be true to a certain extent, and many of the clearly Italian elements in the Benghazi mosaics must have reached Cyrenaica through such channels. Whatever degree of Romanization one accepts, however, and some, like G. Paci,³⁶ would accept practically none, there is no doubt that the region remained Greek-speaking and Greek-orientated. All the evidence examined so far points to this, and this is what the mosaics also reveal.

The lack of similarities between the mosaics of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania has already been commented on. Admittedly, a probable Tripolitanian origin for the *emblema* (no. 27) from Building W has been suggested earlier. This, however, is an isolated case, and an *emblema*, being a small, portable object, could travel easily from Tripolitania or elsewhere, by land or sea. What is important to note about this *emblema*, however, is the way in which it is used. In Tripolitania the contemporary and related *emblemata*, with the exception of that from Gurgi,³⁷ are used in multiple series breaking down the unity and central focus of the floor.³⁸ By contrast, the single, centrally placed *emblema* at Berenice seems to harken back to more traditional, Hellenistic usage.³⁹ The imitation of *opus sectile* in mosaic no. 16 from House P 1 is more difficult to explain. Such imitations, as has been observed, belong to the tradition of western North Africa, where they were probably first used. It is not known how the idea reached Cyrenaica, but it is one case where there is an undisputed link with the African regions further west. Whatever other similarities may be noted, especially in the geometric designs, can be attributed to the general Roman artistic vocabulary, already diffused in North Africa by the mid 2nd century.

The preference for black and white patterns amongst the mosaics of Benghazi is striking, as is the equilibrium between *decor* and *utilitas*,⁴⁰ both features that immediately bring to mind the mosaics of Italy. It has to be emphasized, however, that all the figured panels are

polychrome, and the Italian tradition for black and white figured representations is, so far, totally absent from Cyrenaica. The Benghazi figured representations are, unfortunately, too poorly preserved to allow reliable stylistic comparisons. One can, however, repeat here the very strong resemblance that the mosaic with the Dionysiac masks, **no. 23**, from Building W, bears to the mosaics from the Villa Dionysos at Knossos, and the Dionysiac mosaic from Dion in Greece. Moreover, the fact that the figure of Silenos as *paedagogos* from the 'Casa di Leone' (**no. 30**) finds its only mosaic parallel, albeit much later, in a floor from Argos, is probably not without some significance.

When one looks at the repertory of geometric patterns, however, one finds several that are characteristically Italian. One such pattern is the network of diagonal alternating rows of squares and pairs of chevrons (*Le Décor* 1985, no. 118a) decorating the southern panel of mosaic **no. 3** from House H. This, it has been seen, can only be paralleled in Italy and belongs to a distinctly Italian family of patterns, despite the fact that a few examples of this general type are also found in Greece.⁴¹ Similarly, outside Cyrenaica, fields of latchkey-meander, as seen in mosaic **nos 19** and **24**, from House P 3 and Building W respectively, can best be matched in Italy where there is an almost exact parallel for the former in the *Domus presso il Serapeo* at Ostia.⁴²

A similar trend can be observed in Roman Egypt where the mosaics of the late 1st and early 2nd century, with their insistence on bichromy and their choice of geometric patterns are closely related to Italian mosaics.⁴³ Whether such ideas came directly from Italy or from Greece is impossible to say at present. The origins of Greek mosaic art of the Roman period is itself a very disputed question⁴⁴ and unfortunately publications of Roman mosaics in Greece are sadly deficient. It would appear that some Greek mosaics, especially of the earlier Empire, are indeed similar to Italian mosaics in their design and lack of polychromy. It has been suggested, moreover, that during the first and second centuries AD the black and white Italian style was exported to the East, as witnessed by the mosaics of Iasos,⁴⁵ those of the Bath at Isthmia⁴⁶ and Pergamon⁴⁷ amongst others.⁴⁸ The black and white mosaics in Greece, however, remain a minority, and in this respect, as well as in more general lines, it cannot yet be conclusively demonstrated that Italy influenced Greece or vice versa. The mosaics of Cyrenaica with their centralized compositions and floor divisions are unmistakably Greek or Eastern in character.⁴⁹ Even the unusual division of mosaic **no. 3** from House H, with a main panel and geometric '*rallonges*' on either side, finds parallels in Greece.⁵⁰ The fact that the Benghazi mosaics are predominantly in black and white should not make them appear alien to Greek mosaic art since, as already mentioned, an increasing number of such mosaics are becoming known from Greece. Moreover, now that more attention is being paid to geometric mosaics, several patterns, hitherto considered as characteristically Italian, are beginning to appear amongst Greek mosaics. Even the grid made of squares and chevrons, a type of pattern always characterized as Italian, is found in the Villa at Baltanedo, Naoussa.⁵¹ Just as some patterns are characteristically Italian, others enjoyed greater popularity in the Greek world. One such pattern is the bead and reel frame found at Benghazi in the Dionysiac mosaic, **no. 23**, from Building W. These frames were particularly popular in Greece⁵² and the East, and were widely used in Cyrenaica.⁵³ Even the shield pattern, in House H mosaic **no. 3** and House P 3 mosaic **no. 20**, although very popular in Italy and also used widely in other parts of the Roman world, fits in a Greek environment since it was especially popular in Greece.⁵⁴

Crete, both geographically and administratively close to Cyrenaica, would be the obvious part of Greece to use for direct comparisons. A detailed publication of the island's Roman mosaics is still lacking, but I. Sanders' short list and descriptions, although very summary, does bring out some interesting features.⁵⁵ The similarities between the Dionysiac masks of Benghazi mosaic **no. 23** from Building W and those from the Villa Dionysos at Knossos have already been pointed out.⁵⁶ Furthermore, it is noteworthy that most of the Cretan mosaics of the 2nd and 3rd centuries listed by Sanders are either black and white geometric, at least in their surviving parts (mosaics in the Odeion of Gortyna⁵⁷ and at a Bath(?) House at Vizari)⁵⁸ or black and white with a central polychrome panel (Apollinaris mosaic from Knossos,⁵⁹ mosaic from the Temple of Asklepios at Lissos,⁶⁰ and two examples from Kastelli).⁶¹ They exhibit, in other words, similar characteristics to the mosaics of Cyrenaica.

As a general conclusion, one can say that the known mosaics of Cyrenaica belong to a single tradition that is characteristic of the region. Their style and repertory include several elements that bring them close to Italian examples, something that is particularly noticeable in some of the earlier examples of the Benghazi series. In this respect they are in line with what goes on in contemporary Egypt and Greece. However, it is not yet possible to establish where the trend for black and white mosaics in the early Roman period originated from. In a much more general way the predominating characteristics and the general vocabulary of the Berenice floors, though, is essentially Greek or, more generally Eastern. This is in accordance with all the other available evidence on Cyrenaica and its relations, imports and exchanges with the Greek world. There is not yet a continuous line of development of Cyrenaican mosaics from Hellenistic to Early Christian times, but the beginning and the end of this period seem to reflect a common tradition and similar affiliations. Despite their peculiarities, there is no doubt that the Hellenistic mosaics of Cyrenaica belong to the wider Greek sphere of influence, and it is interesting to note that even for this period, I. Baldassare has characterized Cyrenean mosaic production as 'modesta, ma immediata e genuina', and has underlined the individuality they exhibit.⁶² At the other end of the time-scale, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum has shown that artists who originated from or worked in Greece came to Cyrenaica to start the new mosaic school evidenced in the Justinianic churches of the area.⁶³ The Benghazi mosaics come from the intervening period and, despite a few strong Italian elements, also show a fairly similar pattern of influence. J.A. Lloyd, speaking about Cyrenaican architecture, has stated that 'Cyrenaica's basic affinities remained throughout with Greece and the East',⁶⁴ a statement that is corroborated by the mosaics of Berenice.

Notes to Chapter V

1. Moreover, two of these geometric floors, **no. 17** in House P 1 and **no. 20** in House P 3, employ an identical decorative pattern (intersecting circles forming quatrefoils).
2. On the petrographical analyses of the black and white, and a few of the coloured tesserae, see 'Notes for the Reader' no. 4, p. vii.
3. The conscious use of two different qualities of white stone, already effectively exploited at Pompeii, was widely employed: see R. Hanoune, 'Mosaïques en noir et blanc de Bulla Regia (Tunisie)', in *Il Mosaico* III, 1980, 289 and n. 26.
4. Unfortunately, even in the case of the few tesserae that have been analyzed (see 'Notes for the Reader' no. 4, p. vii) it has not been possible to establish the source of these stones.
5. The relative quantities of marble and glass are, of course, only partly accurate, since large areas of the figured panels are destroyed.
6. G. Hellenkemper Salies, 'Römische Mosaiken in Griechenland', *BJb* 1986, 280.
7. For a similar situation in Greece, see G. Hellenkemper Salies, 'Römische Mosaiken in Griechenland', *BJb* 1986, 281; Waywell 1979, 194. For Cyprus, see D. Michaelides, *Cypriot Mosaics*, Nicosia 1992, 4.
8. L. Foucher, *La Maison de la Procession Dionysiaque à El Jem*, Paris 1963, 72 n. 37, p. 80; along similar lines *idem*, 'Sur les mosaïques de Zliten', *LibAnt* I, 1964, 11; and 'Les Mosaïques Nilotiques Africaines', in *La Mosaïque* I, 1963, 143. This suggestion has already been discounted by Di Vita (1966, 46, 59).
9. Di Vita 1966, 39 with several examples. See also K. Parlasca, 'Zu den italischen Beziehungen der frükaiserzeitlichen Mosaikkunst Nordafrikas', in *150-Jahr-feier Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Ansprachen und Vorträge. 4–7 Dezember 1979* (= *RM* 25), Mainz 1982, 196–201; R. Hanoune, 'Mosaïques en noir et blanc de Bulla Regia (Tunisie)', in *Il Mosaico* III, 1980, 287–90. K.M.D. Dunbabin, 'Early pavement types in the west and the invention of tessellatum', in *Ancient Mosaics* V, 1987, 26–40, is of relevance to some of the issues involved.
10. See further below. On the Roman mosaics of Egypt, see W.A. Daszewski, 'From Hellenistic Polychromy of Sculptures to Roman Mosaics', in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism. Papers delivered at a Symposium organized by the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Center for the History of Art, April 22–25, 1993*, 1996, 141–54.
11. There are several references to the crossing of the Syrtic Desert, most importantly by Cato's army in 47 bc on his march to join Metellus Scipio, and also by smugglers of silphium (Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 56; Strabo 17.3.20). However, these seem to be exceptional rather than normal events. I am most grateful to Dr John Lloyd for drawing my attention to these references. On the inhospitality of land and sea in the region see above, Chapter II note 7.
12. Fulford 1989, 171f.
13. See most recently, G. Harrison, 'The joining of Cyrenaica to Crete', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 365–73.
14. Riley in *Berenice* II, 112–236, 237–76; Fulford 1989, 174–6.
15. *Berenice* II, 414–6.
16. D. Bailey in *Berenice* III/2; P.M. Kenrick, *ibid.* and 'Patterns of trade in fine pottery at Berenice', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 249–57. For a discussion of the evidence, see Fulford 1989, 176–80.
17. Fulford 1989, 179f.

18. Fulford 1989, 180–5.
19. A. Burnett, K. Jenkins and P.M. Kenrick, 'Coins from the excavations', in P.M. Kenrick, *Excavations at Sabratha 1948–1951*, London 1986, 246–74. R. Reece, 'The coins', in *Berenice I*, 229–32. Fulford 1989, 186f.
20. Fulford 1989, 187f.
21. E. Paribeni, 'Cirene', in *EAA* II, 1959, 370; J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1981, 368.
22. Gnoli 1971; H. Dodge, 'Decorative stones for architecture in the Roman empire', *OJA* 7, 1988, 65–80.
23. See D. Michaelides, 'Fragments of marble floor and wall veneer', *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish (Berenice)* IV.2 (forthcoming).
24. A.L. Pietrogrande, 'Sarcophagi decorati della Cirenaica', *AfrIt* III, 1919, 107–40; J.B. Ward-Perkins, 'Nicomedia and the Marble Trade', *PBSR* 48, 1980, 45f. For more recent supporting evidence, see the sarcophagi and stelae from Apollonia, J.P. McAleer, *A Catalogue of Sculpture from Apollonia (Suppl. to LibAnt VI)*, Tripoli 1979, xix–xx, 78–99.
25. E. Fabbriotti, 'Influenza Attica a Tolemaide nel 2 sec. d.C.', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 219–29.
26. *Ibid.*, 228.
27. S. Kane, 'Sculpture from the Cyrene Demeter Sanctuary in its Mediterranean context', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 238ff.
28. The few Egyptian remains have been collected by M. von Habsburg, 'Egyptian Influence in Cyrenaica during the Ptolemaic Period', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 357–64.
29. S. Stucchi, *L'Agora di Cirene I (Monografie di Archeologia della Libia VII)*, Roma 1965, esp. chapters VIII–IX; see also A. Di Vita's review in *LibAnt* II, 1965, 146.
30. J.S. Dent, J.A. Lloyd and J.A. Riley, 'Some Hellenistic and Roman tombs from Benghazi', *LibSt* 13–14, 1976–1977, 207.
31. Stucchi 1975, 321f. See also, S. Stucchi, 'First outline for a history of Cyrenaican Architecture during the Roman period', in F.F. Gadallah (ed.), *Libya in History, University of Libya, Historical Conference, 16–23 March 1968*, Beirut 1968, 299.
32. S. Walker, 'The Architecture of Cyrene and the Panhellenion', in Barker, Lloyd and Reynolds 1985, 97–104. A.J. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The world of the Panhellenion, I', *JRS* 75, 1986, 88–105.
See A. Laronde, 'La Cyrénaïque romaine, des origines à la fin des Sévères (96 av. J.-C.-235 ap. J.-C.)', in *ANRW* II/10:1, 1059f., on the Panhellenion but also on some of the important families of Cyrene and their activities in Greece, including that of Jason Magnus of the homonymous *insula* in Cyrene.
33. J.M. Reynolds in *Berenice I*, 236–8.
34. *Eadem*, 'Twenty years of inscriptions', in Mattingly and Lloyd 1989, 120.
35. A. Laronde, *op. cit.* note 32, 1033f.
36. 'Le iscrizioni in lingua latina della Cirenaica', *LibSt* 25, 1994 (= J. Reynolds (ed.), *Cyrenaican Archaeology. An International Colloquium*), 251–7, esp. 256.
37. See Chapter III note 550.

38. For the *emblemata* from Sabratha see above, Chapter III note 549; for those from the Villa outside Porta Lebda at Homs, Chapter III note 552; and for those of Zliten, Chapter III note 553.
39. The unorthodox use of *emblemata* in unified designs in Tripolitania has already been discussed by I. Lavin, 'The hunting mosaics of Antioch and their sources', *DOP* 17, 1963, 208–10.
40. As described by Becatti (1963, 17) apropos of pre-4th century Italian mosaic production.
41. Ph. Petsas, 'Ανασκαφή Ναούσης', *ArchDelt* 1963, 18:II/2, 213–5, pls 252, 254–5.
42. Becatti 1961, 32f., no. 285, pl. XVIII.
43. See W.A. Daszewski, *op. cit.* (note 10 above).
44. See for example, H. Joyce, 'Form, function and technique in the pavements of Delos and Pompeii', *AJA* 83, 1979, 253–63; Ph. Bruneau, 'Tendances de la Mosaïque en Grèce à l'époque imperiale', in *ANRW* II:12/2, 1981, 320–46; G. Hellenkemper Salies, 'Römische Mosaiken in Griechenland', *BjB* 1986, 241–84; A. Kankleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken in Griechenland* (Inauguraldissertation...der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Bonn), München 1994, 100–95; all expressing different theories.
45. D. Levi, 'Le campagne di Scavo, 1969–1970', *ASAtene* 47–48, 1969–1970, 522–5; F. Berti, 'I mosaici di Iasos', in *Il Mosaico* III, 1980, 235–46; *eadem*, 'Nuovi tessellati a decoro geometrico dal Balik Pazari di Iasos di Caria', in R. Farioli Campanati (ed), *Atti del I Colloquio dell'AISSCOM. Ravenna, 29 aprile – 3 marzo 1993*, Ravenna 1994, 473–83.
46. P.M. Packard, 'A monochrome mosaic at Isthmia', *Hesperia* 49, 1980, 326–46.
47. D. Salzmann, 'Mosaiken und Pavimente in Pergamon. Vorbericht der Kampagnen 1989 und 1990', *AA* 1991, 434–56, esp. 455–6.
48. For a large number of examples, see G. Hellenkemper Salies, *op. cit.* For a list of black and white mosaics in Greece, see A. Kankleit, *op. cit.*, 139f. For some recently discovered black and white geometric mosaics from Dion, with patterns that are quite similar to those found in Cyrenaica, see D. Pantermalis, 'Η ανασκαφή μιας αίθουσας στο Δίον', *Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη* 1, 1987, 181–3, fig. 2.
49. On the ways Greek mosaic floors are compartmented, see Ph. Bruneau, *op. cit.*, 330ff.
50. *Ibid.*, 331.
51. See note 43 above.
52. See Waywell 1979, 309 for several examples, including one from Patras very similar to the Benghazi mosaic.
53. See discussion under mosaic **no. 23**. For the popularity of the motif in Cyrenaica, see M. Luni, 'Il Santuario Rupestre Libyo delle 'immagini' a Slonta (Cirenaica)', in *Cirene e i Libii* (*QAL* 12), Roma 1987, 442ff., figs 44–47.
54. See discussion and examples under mosaic **no. 3**; see also Waywell 1979, 305.
55. *Roman Crete*, Warminster 1982, 51–5.
56. See p. 61 above.
57. I. Sanders, *op. cit.*, 53.
58. *Ibid.*, 54; K. Kalokyres, 'Η ανασκαφή της Βασιλικής Σοβρίτου', *CretChr* 13, 1959, 33f., pls 13–14.

59. I. Sanders, *op. cit.*, 53.
60. *Ibid.*, 55, pl. 40.
61. *Ibid.*, 55; I. Tsedakis, 'Αντισκασφή Καστελλίου Κισσάμου', *ArchDelt* 23:2/2, 414–6, pls 377–380.
62. I. Baldassare, 'Il Mosaico dell'Apollonion di Cirene', *StMisc* 15, 1969–1970, 57–61; *eadem*, 'Mosaici Ellenistici a Cirene e a Delo: Rapporti e differenze', *QAL* 8, 1961, 193–221, esp. 214f.
63. E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum and J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches (Monografie di Archeologia Libica XIV)*, Rome 1980, 65ff. N. Duval has expressed doubts as to the Greek origin of the artists, and seems to favour a Syrian origin for them: 'Les monuments d'époque chrétienne en Cyrenaïque à la lumière des recherches récentes', *XI SCIAC* 3, 1986 (1989), 2744–96; see also *idem*, 'Influences byzantines sur la civilisation chrétienne de l'Afrique du Nord', *REG LXXXIV*, 1971, xxvi–xxx.
64. *Berenice I*, 30.

Table 1

THE KNOWN MOSAICS OF BERENICE

Site and Building	Lost No photograph	Lost Photograph	Existing
Sidi Khrebish			
House H	1		
	2		3
	4		
Building L 3			5
House R 3			6
			7*
			8
House S 1	9		10
			11
House S 2	12		
House P 1			13
	14		
			15
			16*
			17
House P 3	18		19
			20
Building W			21*
			22
			23*
			24
			25 <i>o.s.</i>
			26
			27* <i>embl.</i>
Chance discoveries			
Customs Offices	28n		
Baladya	29n		
'Casa di Leone'		30*	
		31	
		32	
'Lighthouse'	33		
Sh. Omar Mukhtar			34*

* = Mosaic with figural representation.

o.s. = *opus sectile*.

embl. = *emblema*.

Table 2

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE¹

Late 1st/early 2nd century	
House H	Mosaic no. 3
Late 2nd/early 3rd century	
House P 3	Mosaic no. 19 Mosaic no. 20 Mosaic no. 21
House P 1	Mosaic no. 13 Mosaic no. 15 Mosaic no. 16 Mosaic no. 17
Shara O. Mukhtar	Mosaic no. 34
First half of 3rd century	
Building L 3	Mosaic no. 5
House R 3	Mosaic no. 6 Mosaic no. 7 Mosaic no. 8
House S 1	Mosaic no. 10 Mosaic no. 11
Building W	<i>Emblema</i> no. 27 Mosaic no. 22 Mosaic no. 23 Mosaic no. 24 <i>Opus sectile</i> no. 25
'Casa di Leone'	Mosaic no. 26 Mosaic no. 30 Mosaic no. 31 Mosaic no. 32

Note: The table does not include Catalogue entries where only the bedding or loose tesserae survive.

Table 3

SIZE AND MATERIAL OF TESSERAE
Mosaics in chronological order. Only mosaics *in situ* are included.

cm ²	< 0.5	0.5–0.75	0.5–1	1	0.5–1.5	1–1.5	1.5–2	1–2.5
Mosaic								
3	G					Sa/Sd/M		
19						Sa		
20					Sa			
21		Sd	Sag	Sc		Sa		
13						Sa		
15						Sa		Sa
16	G/Sd	Sd			Sa/Sc			Sa
17						Sa		Sa
5							Sa	
6							Sa	
7			Sc		Sd/G/M	Sa		
8							Sa	
10						Sa		
11						Sa		
22				Sc		Sa		
23	Sd/G/M						Sa/Sb	
24						Sa		
26			Sa			Sa	(Sa)	
27	Sd/G							

Sa = Stone: black and white geometric design.

Sb = Stone: polychrome geometric design.

Sc = Stone: white background to figure panels.

Sd = Stone: polychrome figure panels.

G = Glass in figure panels.

M = Marble in figure panels.

Table 4

LINEAR MOTIFS

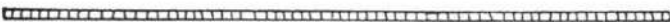
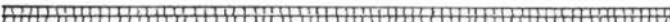
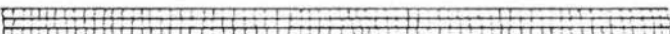
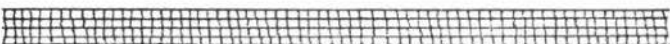
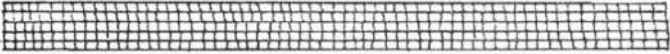

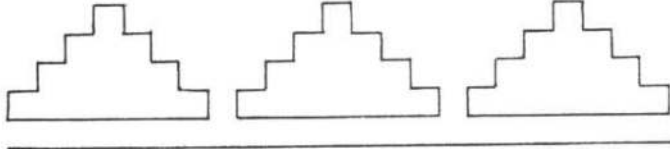
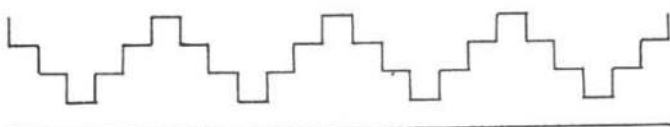
<u>Répertoire (1973)</u>	Mosaic nos.
No.137 	3,7,15,20,21,22, 26,34.
No.138 	3,5,6,7,8,10,11,16, 19,22,23,24,30, 31,32,34.
No.139 	3,5,7,8,10,11,15, 16,19,20,21,23, 24,26,30,31,34.
No.140 	3,17,32,34.
	15,16,17.
No.141 	31.
(No.162) Type 1 	3.
Type 2 	7.

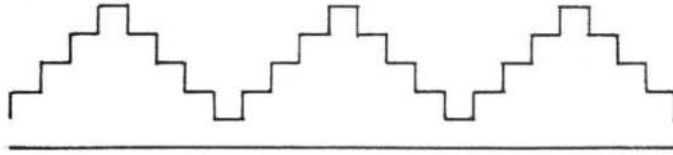
Table 4 *Continued*

LINEAR MOTIFS

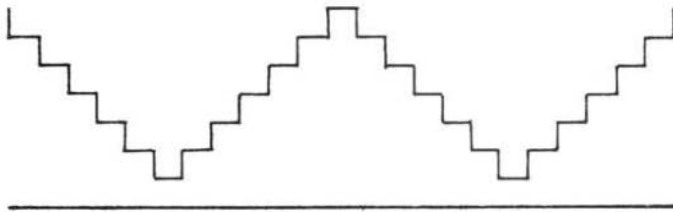
Répertoire (1973)

Mosaic nos.

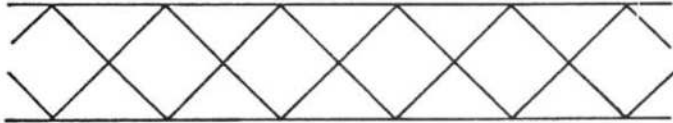
Type 3 _____ 22, 23.



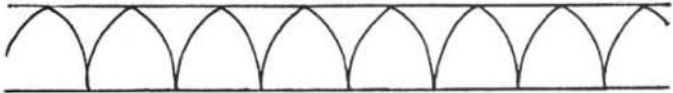
Type 4 _____ 16.



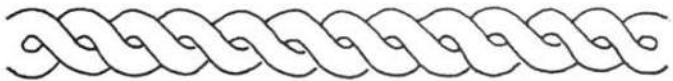
No.165 _____ 15.



No.182 _____ 3.



No.194 _____ 3, 23.



No.196 _____ 17.

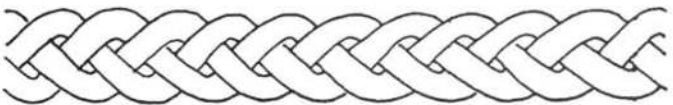


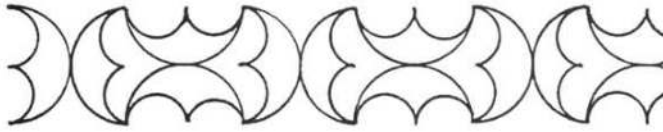
Table 4 *Continued*

LINEAR MOTIFS

Répertoire (1973)

Mosaic nos.

No. 235



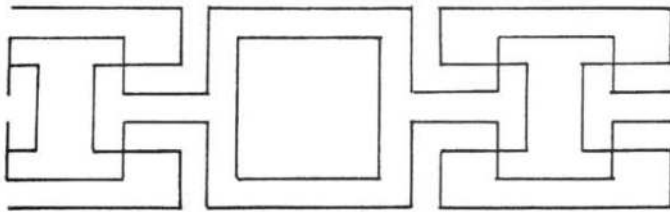
16

No. 239



3

(No. 267)



31

No. 300



23

(No. 301)



31

No. 302



34

Table 5

SINGLE ELEMENTS AND FILLERS

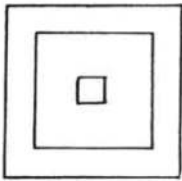
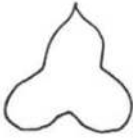
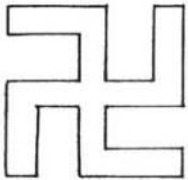





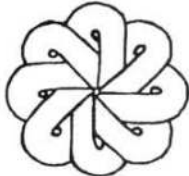
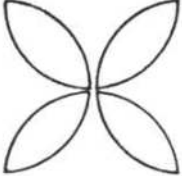
<u>Répertoire (1973)</u>	Mosaic nos	<u>Répertoire (1973)</u>	Mosaic nos
(No.18) 	7,8.	(No 101) 	13
No.38 	23.	(No 101) 	13,34.
No.54 	3,16,30,31.		34.
	24,31.		34.
No.70 	31.	No.106 see next page	
		No 109 	19.

Table 6

VARIETIES OF THE DIAMOND MOTIF

<u>Répertoire (1973)</u>	Mosaic nos.	<u>Répertoire (1973)</u>	Mosaic nos.
(No.106) Type 1	3,5,6,11,22,34.	Type 6	15,22.
Type 2	5.	Type 7	22, 26.
Type 3	5,17,20,22,23 31.	Type 8	30.
Type 4	5,11,22.	Type 9	23, (32?)
Type 5	5		

Table 7

SURFACE COMPOSITIONS

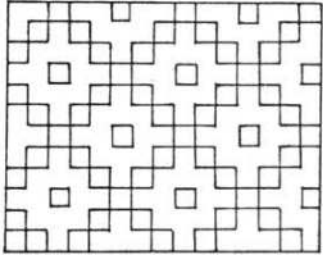
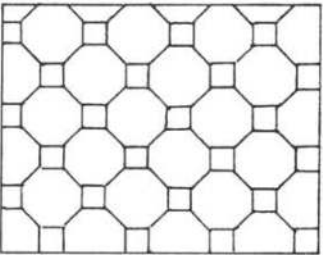
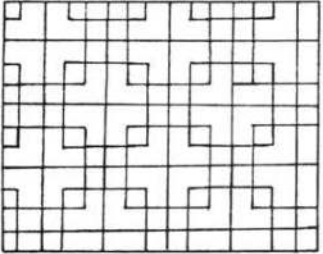
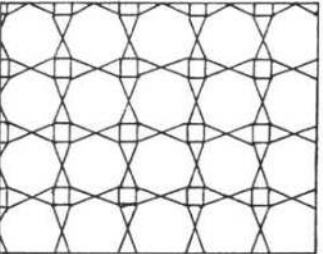
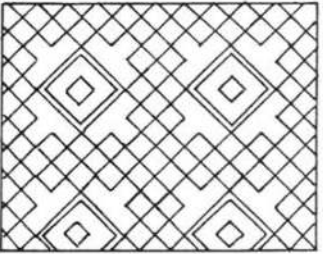
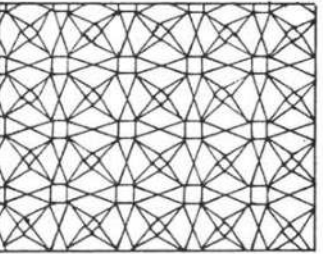
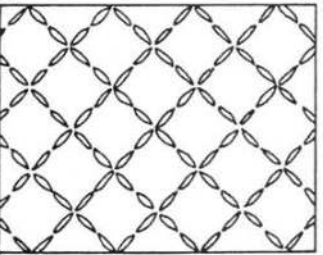
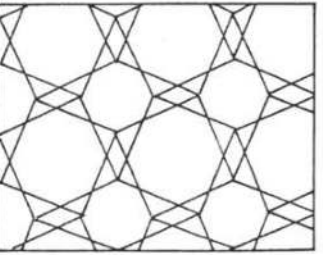
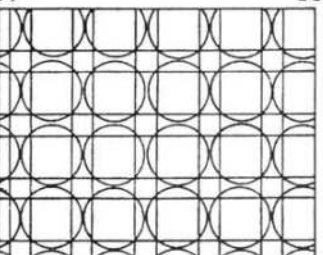
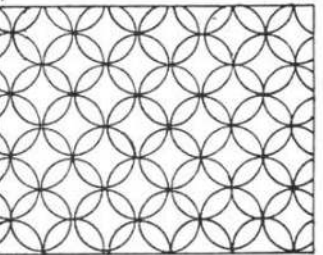
<u>Répertoire(1973)</u>	Mosaic nos.	<u>Répertoire(1973)</u>	Mosaic nos.
No.320	26	No.344	6
			
	3	No.363	11
			
No. 320	7	No.363	30, 32.
			
No.321	22	No.427	31
			
No.334	23	No. 437	20
			

Table 7 Continued

SURFACE COMPOSITIONS

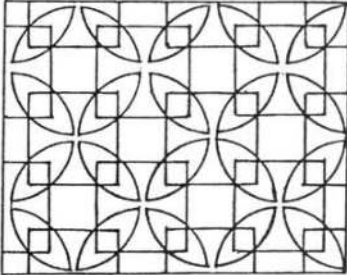
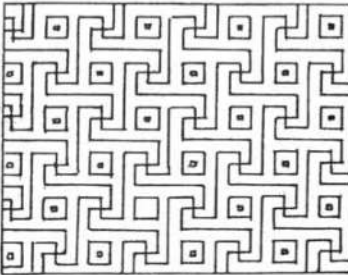
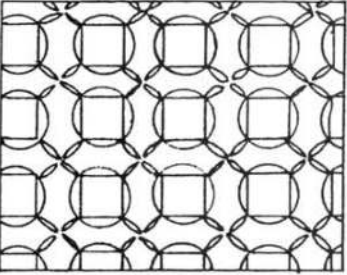
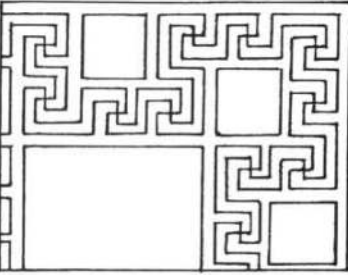
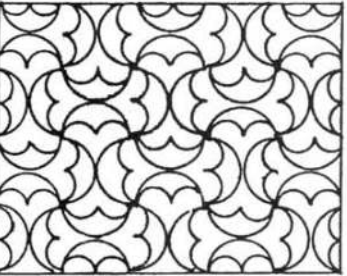
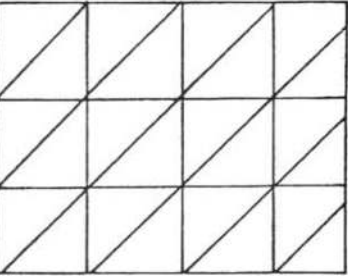
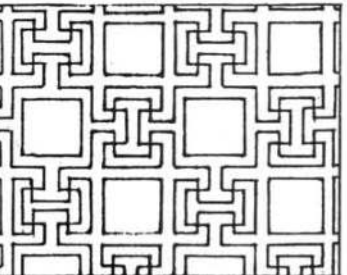
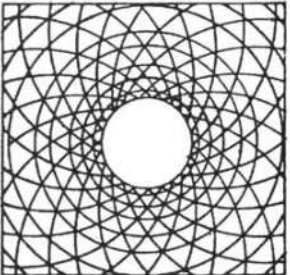
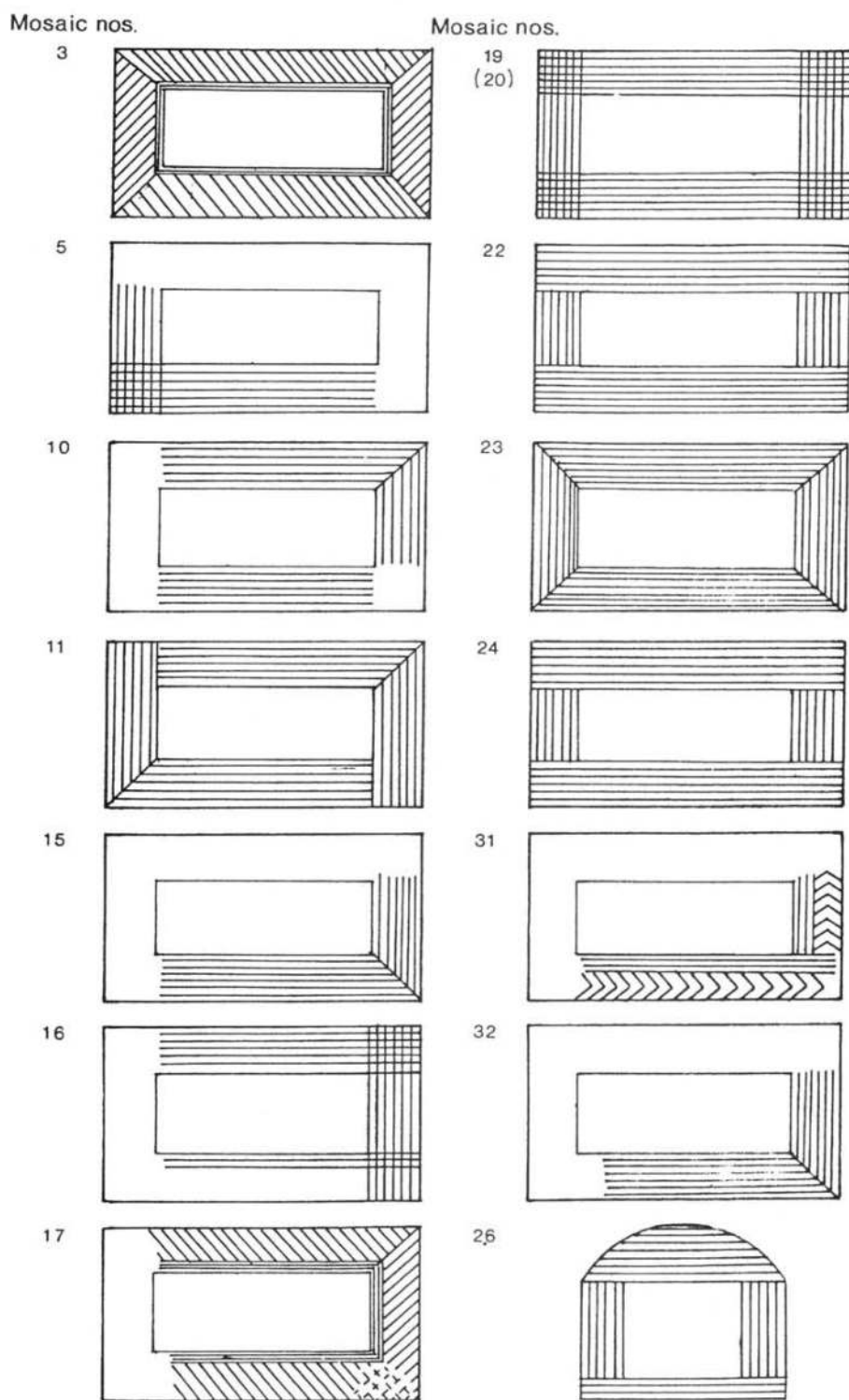
<u>Répertoire</u> (1973)	Mosaic nos.	<u>Répertoire</u> (1973)	Mosaic nos.
	15, 34.		No. 490 8.
	5.		No.(491) 16.
	No. 455 10, 21.		No. 505 3, 22.
	No.(488) 19, 24.		No. 531 3, 21.

Table 8

METHODS OF LAYING THE SURROUND





Col. Pl. I. Mosaic 3, House H. South-eastern *kantharos* (D.M.)



Col. Pl. II. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Eastern and south-eastern panels (D.M.)



Col. Pl. III. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Northern and north-eastern panels (D.M.)



Col. Pl. IV. Mosaic 23, Building W, looking west (S.L.S.)



Col. Pl. V. Mosaic 23, Building W. South-western panel (D.M.)



Col. Pl. VI. Mosaic 23, Building W. North-western panel (D.M.)



Col. Pl. VII. Mosaic 23, Building W. North-eastern panel (D.M.)



Col. Pl. VIII. Mosaic 23, Building W. South-eastern panel (D.M.)



Col. Pl. IX. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W, looking north (D.M.)



Col. Pl. X. South section of *Opus sectile* 25, Building W, looking east (D.M.)



Col. Pl. XI. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 1 (D.M.)



Col. Pl. XII. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 2 (D.M.)



Col. Pl. XIII. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 11 (D.M.)



Col. Pl. XIV. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 12 (D.M.)



Col. Pl. XV. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 13 (D.M.)



Col. Pl. XVI. *Emblema* 27, Building W (D.M.)

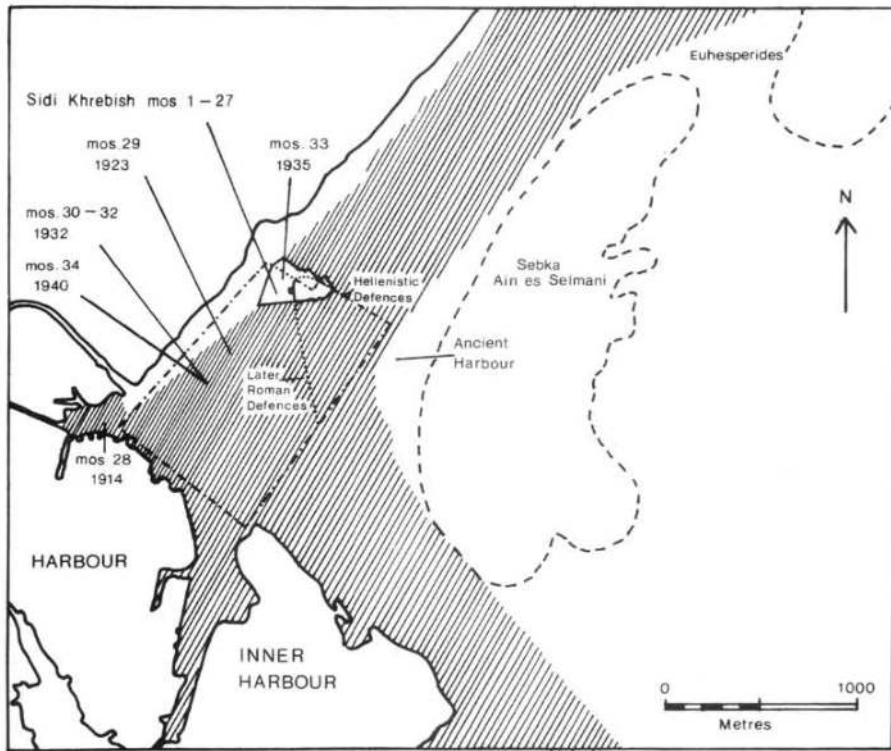


Fig. 1. Sketch map of Benghazi showing place and date of mosaic finds (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 3)

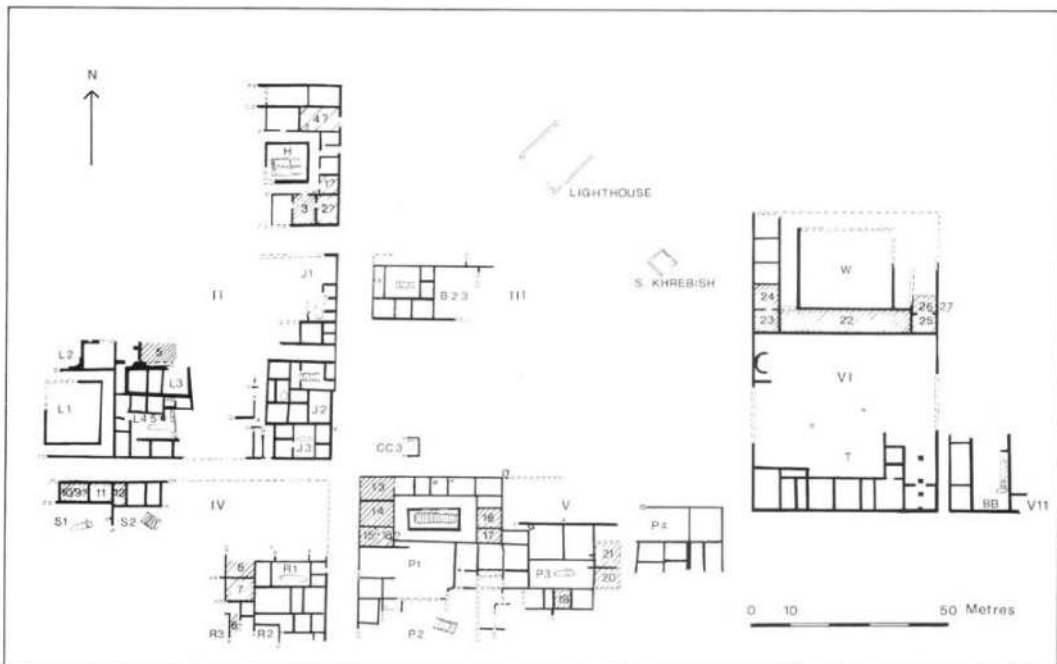


Fig. 2. Plan of Roman buildings of Sidi Khrebish showing location of mosaics (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 54)

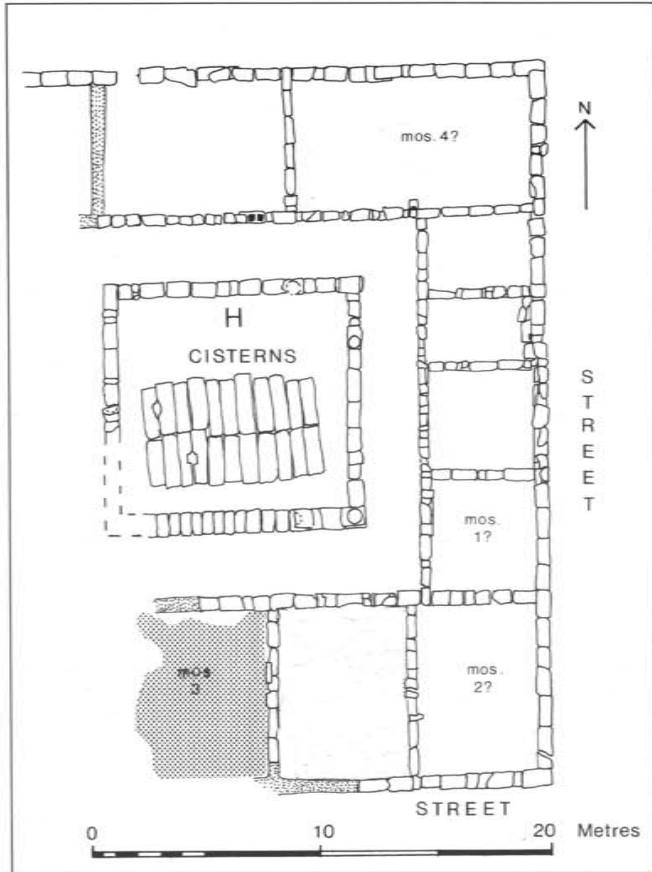


Fig. 3. Plan of House H (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 17)

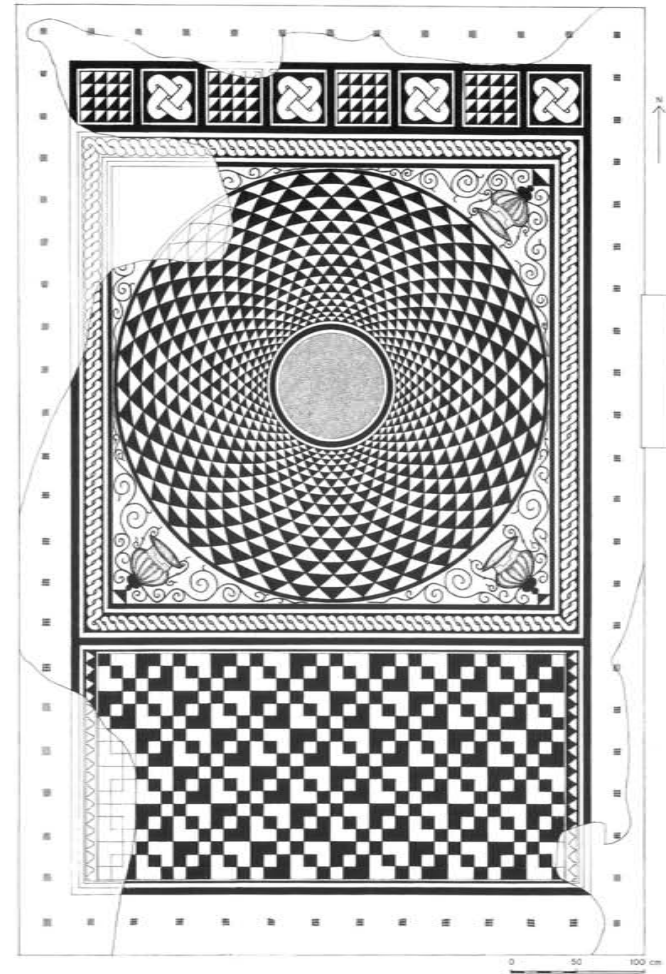


Fig. 4. Drawing of mosaic 3 (late 1st/early 2nd century), House H (S.L.)



Fig. 5. House H, looking west from lighthouse (S.L.S.)

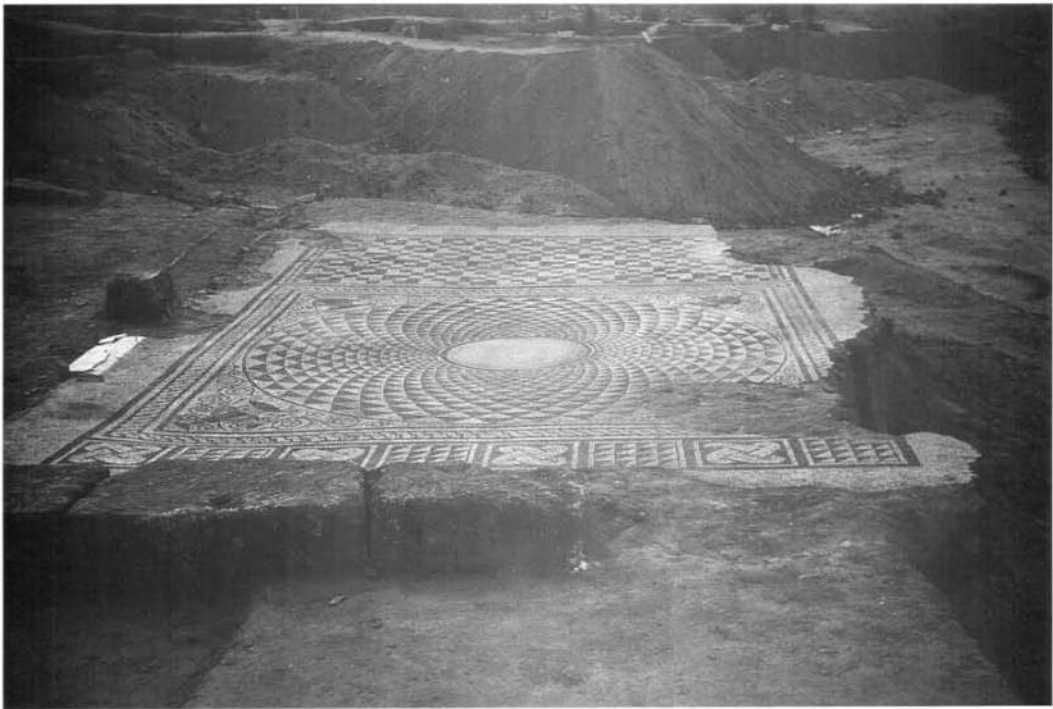


Fig. 6. Mosaic 3 (late 1st/early 2nd century). House H, looking south (D.M.)



Fig. 7. Mosaic 3, House H, looking south-west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

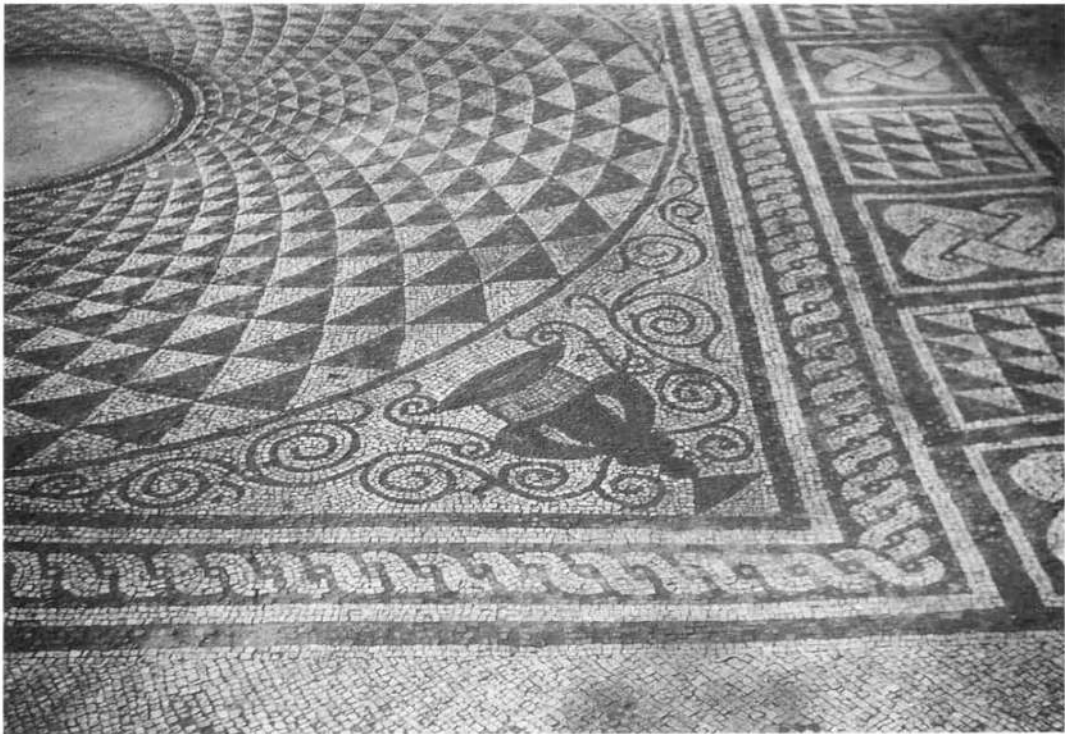


Fig. 8. Mosaic 3, House H. North-eastern corner looking west (D.M.)

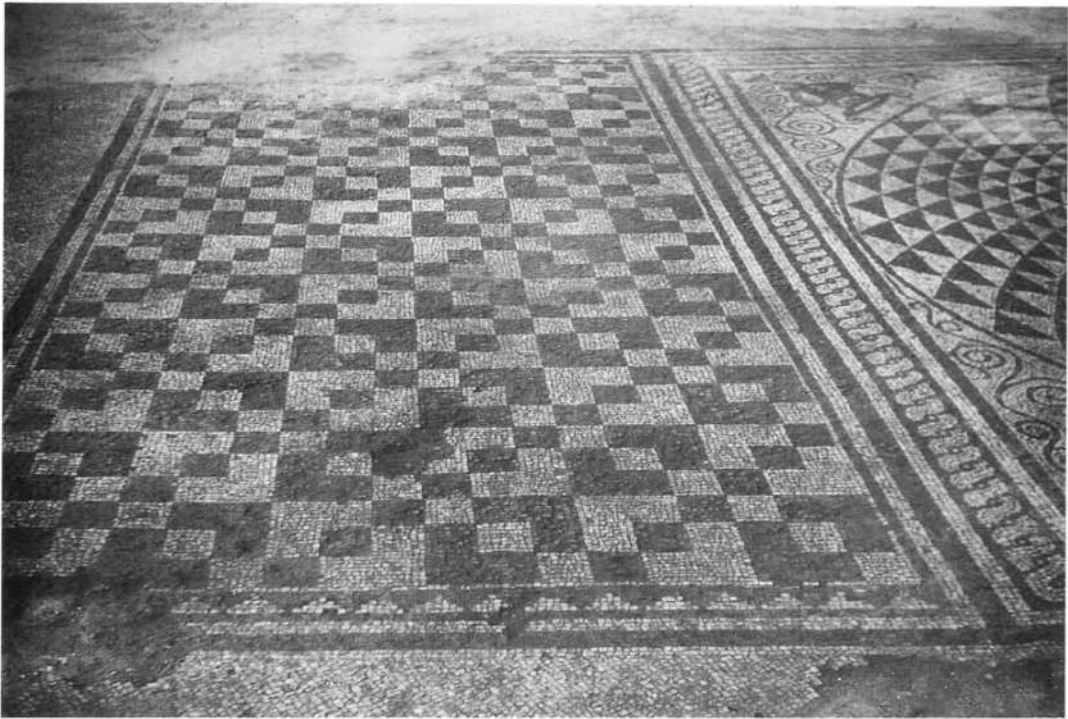


Fig. 9. Mosaic 3, House H. Southern panel looking west (D.M.)

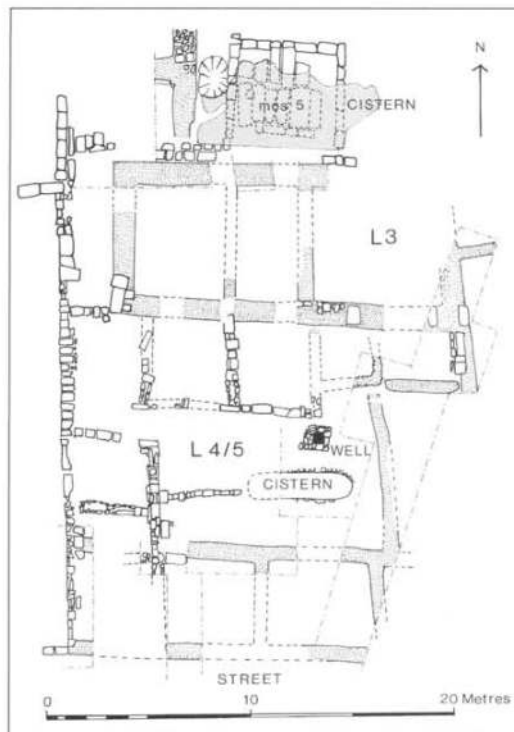


Fig. 10. Plan of buildings in area L (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 21)

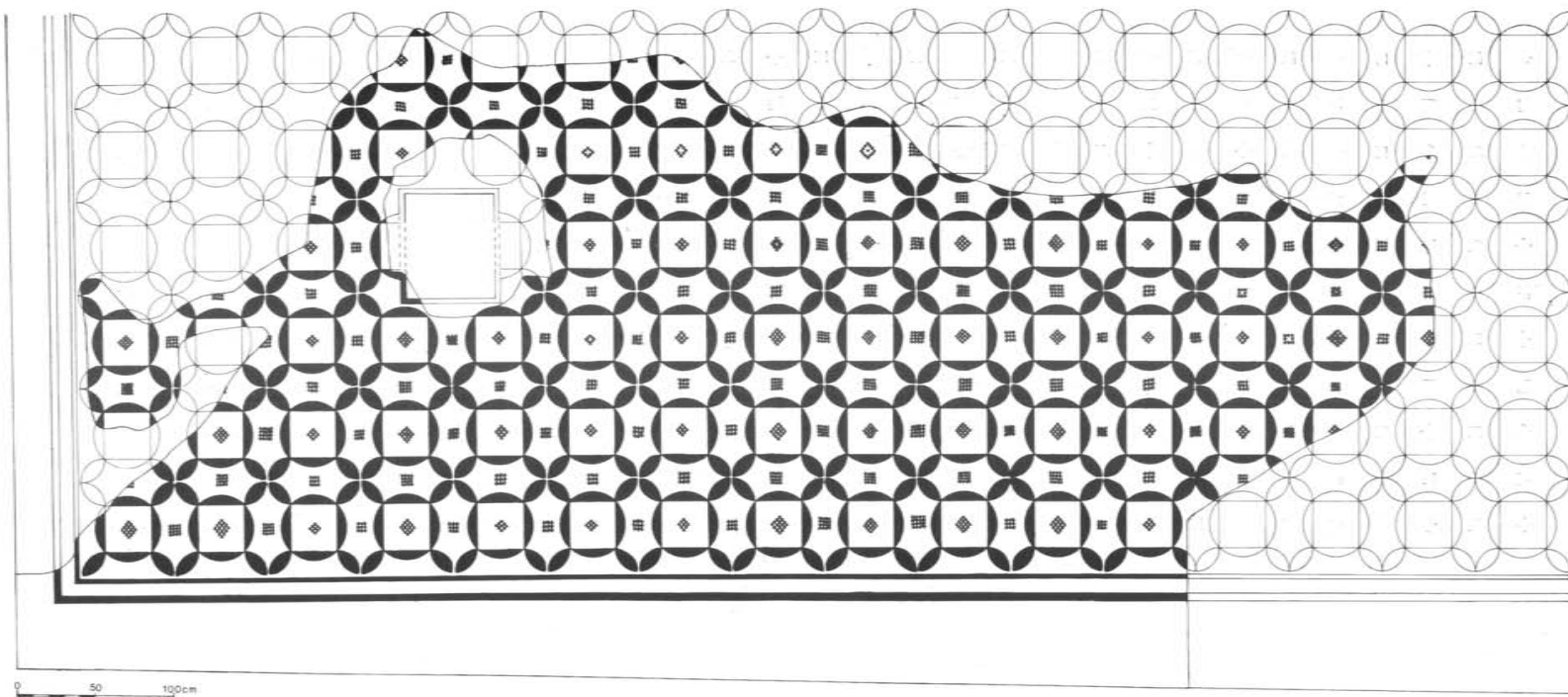


Fig. 11. Drawing of mosaic 5 (first half 3rd century), House L 3 (S.L.)

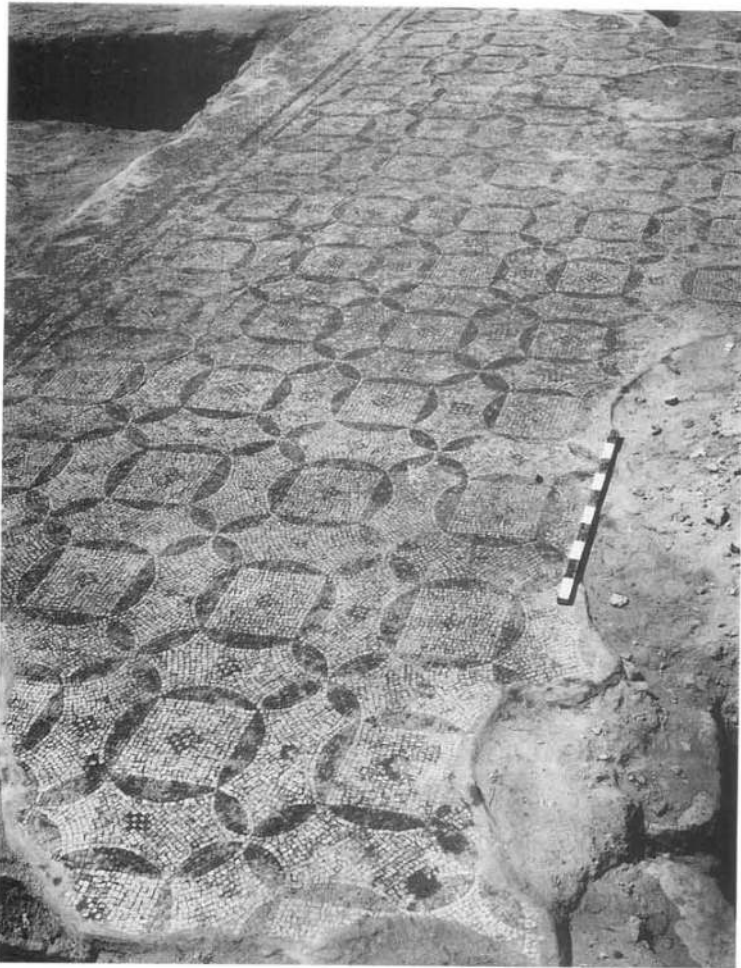


Fig. 12. Mosaic 5 (first half 3rd century), House L 3, looking south-west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

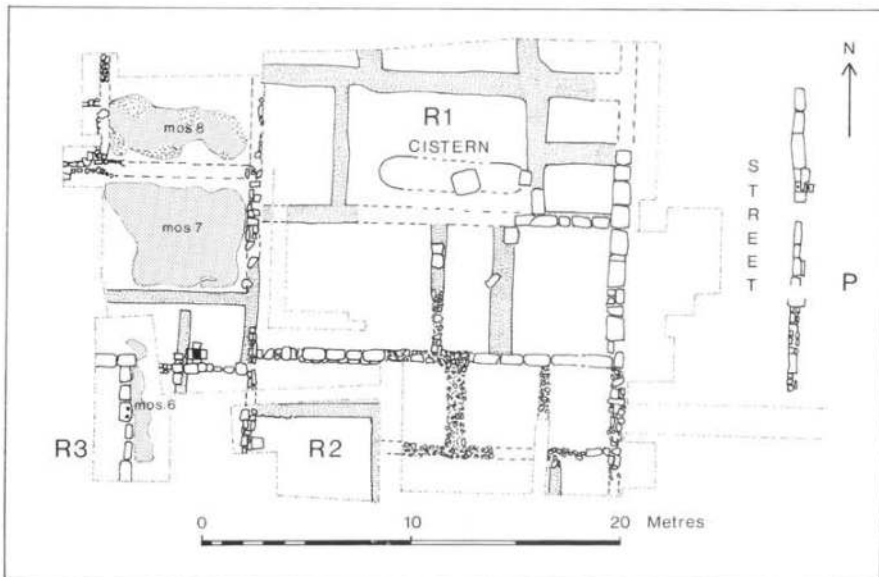


Fig. 13. Plan of buildings in area R (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 25)

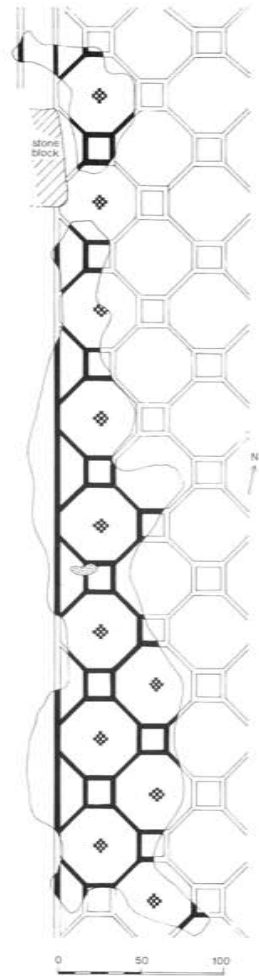


Fig. 14. Drawing of mosaic 6 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (S.L.)



Fig. 15. Mosaic 6 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

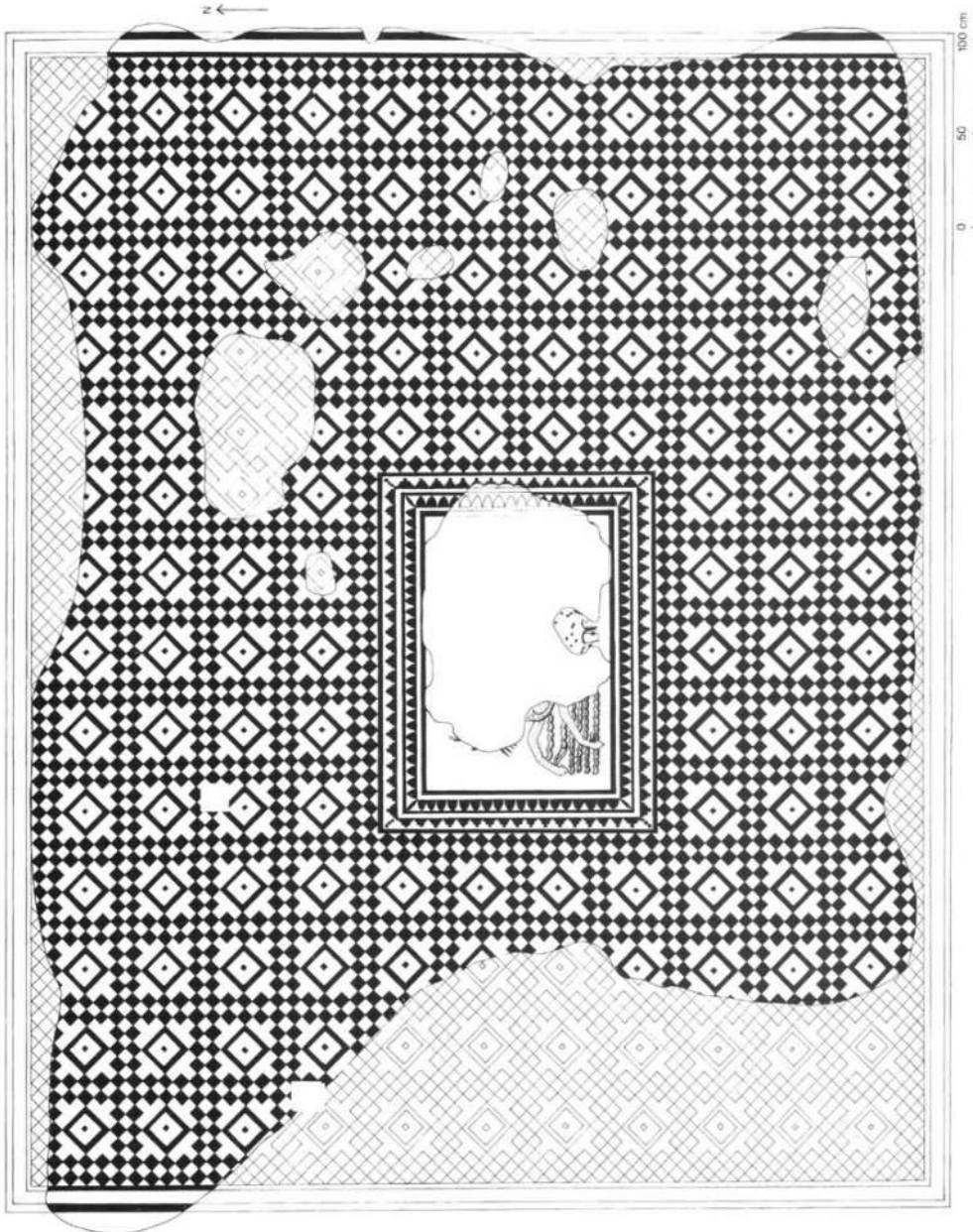


Fig. 16. Drawing of mosaic 7 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (S.L.)



Fig. 17. Mosaic 7 (first half 3rd century), House R 3, looking north (1 metre scale) (D.M.)

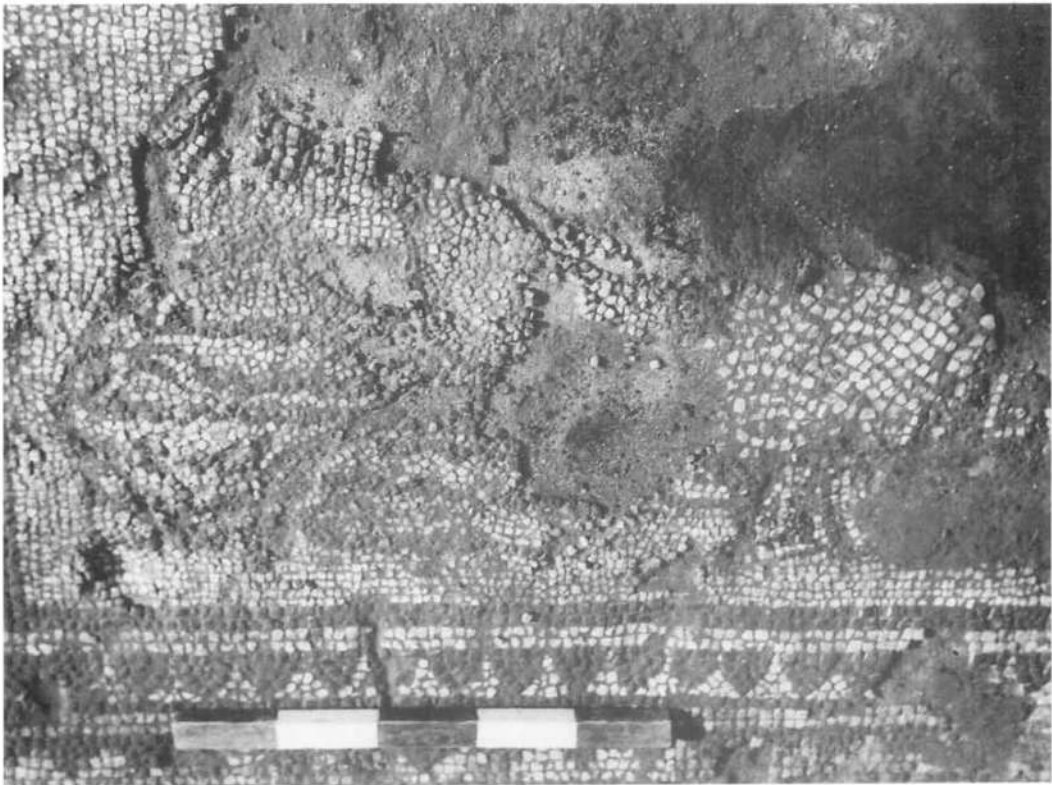


Fig. 18. Mosaic 7, House R 3. Detail of central panel taken at the time of discovery in 1971 (50 cm scale) (S.L.S.)

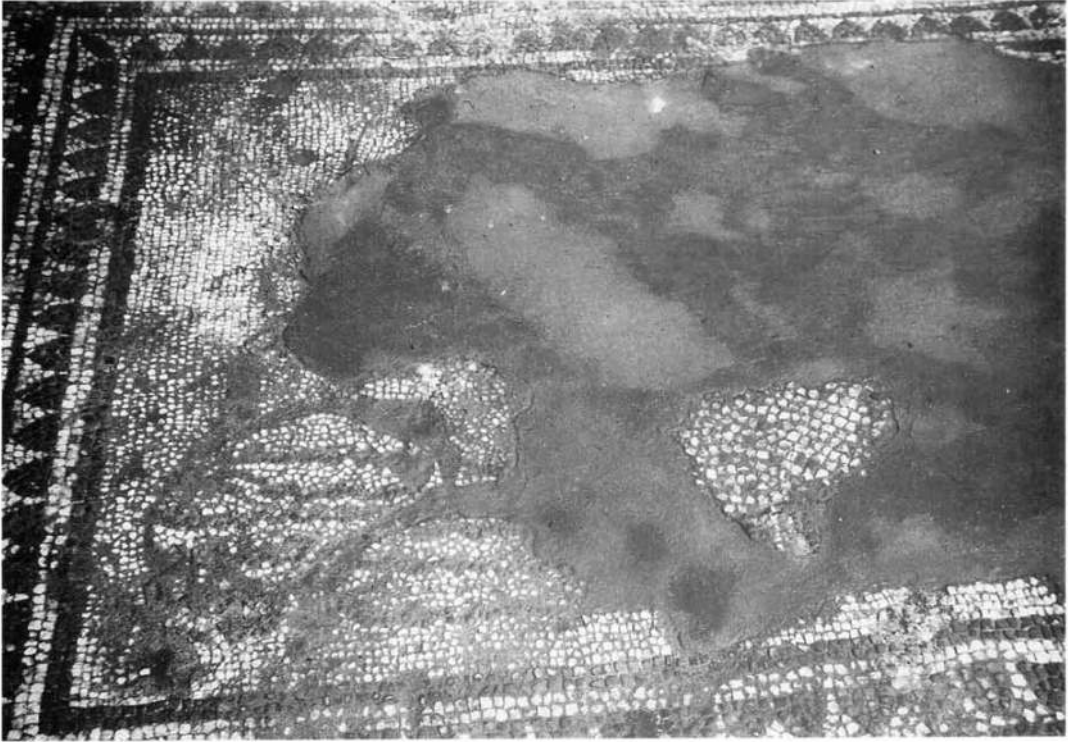


Fig. 19. Mosaic 7, House R 3. Detail of central panel photographed in 1972 (D.M.)



Fig. 20. Reconstruction drawing of central panel of mosaic 7, House R 3 (S.L.)

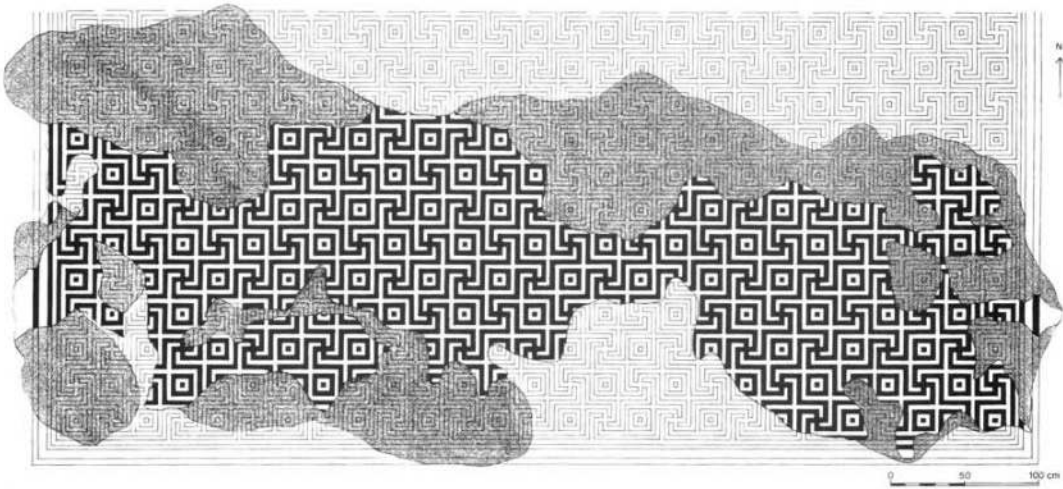


Fig. 21. Drawing of mosaic 8 (first half 3rd century), House R 3 (S.L.)

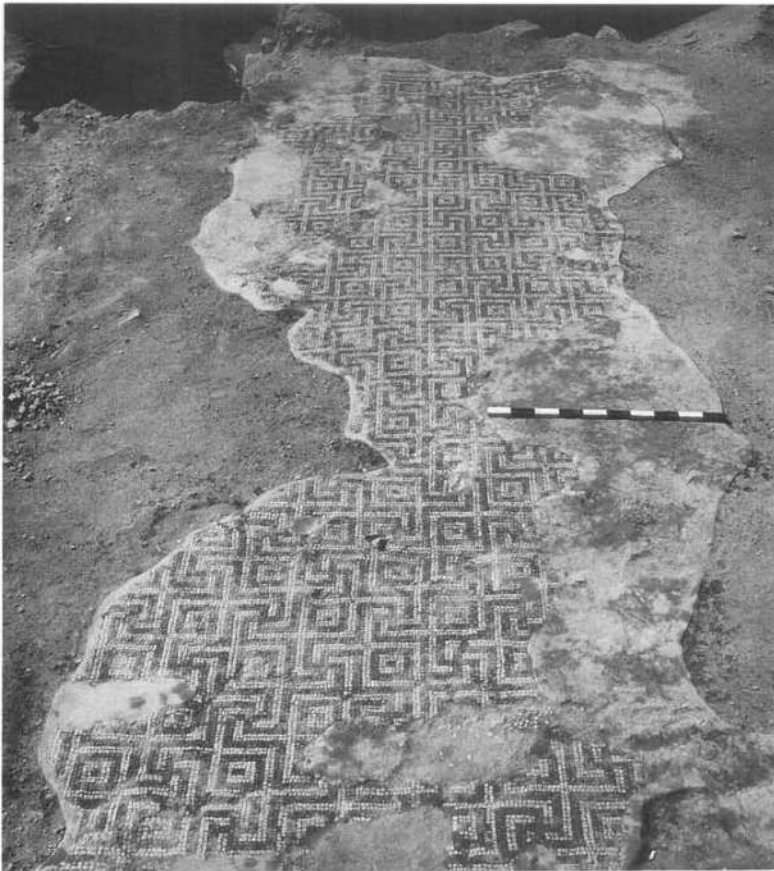


Fig. 22. Mosaic 8 (first half 3rd century), House R 3, looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

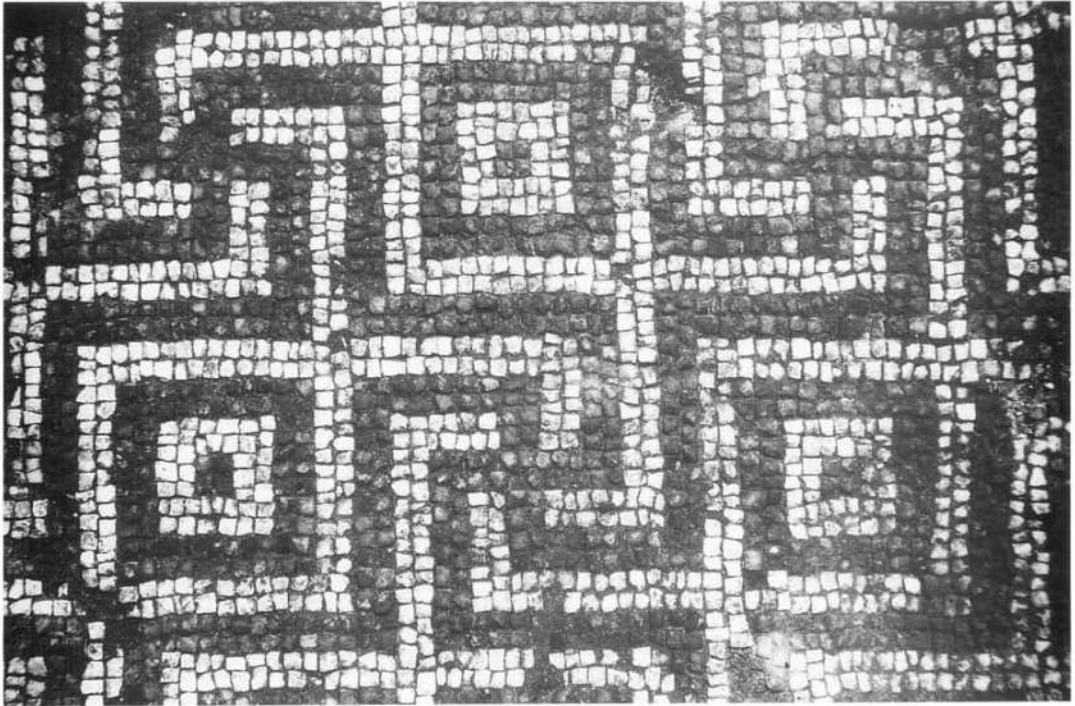


Fig. 23. Mosaic 8, House R 3. Detail of field (D.M.)

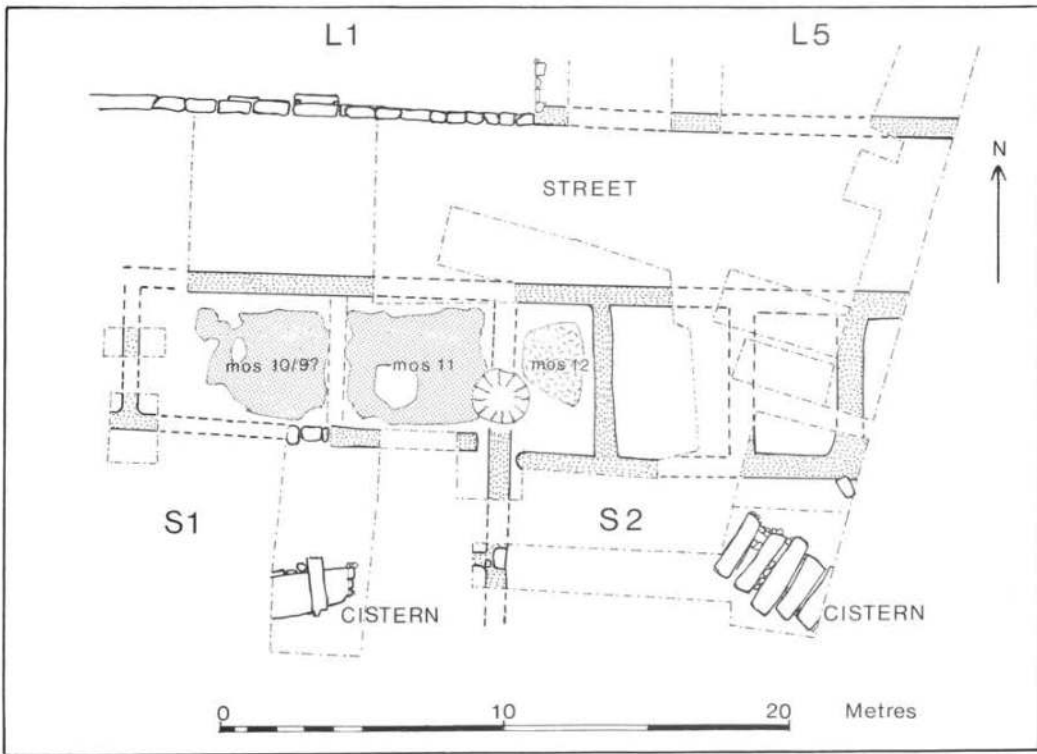


Fig. 24. Plan of Houses S1 and S2 (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 27)

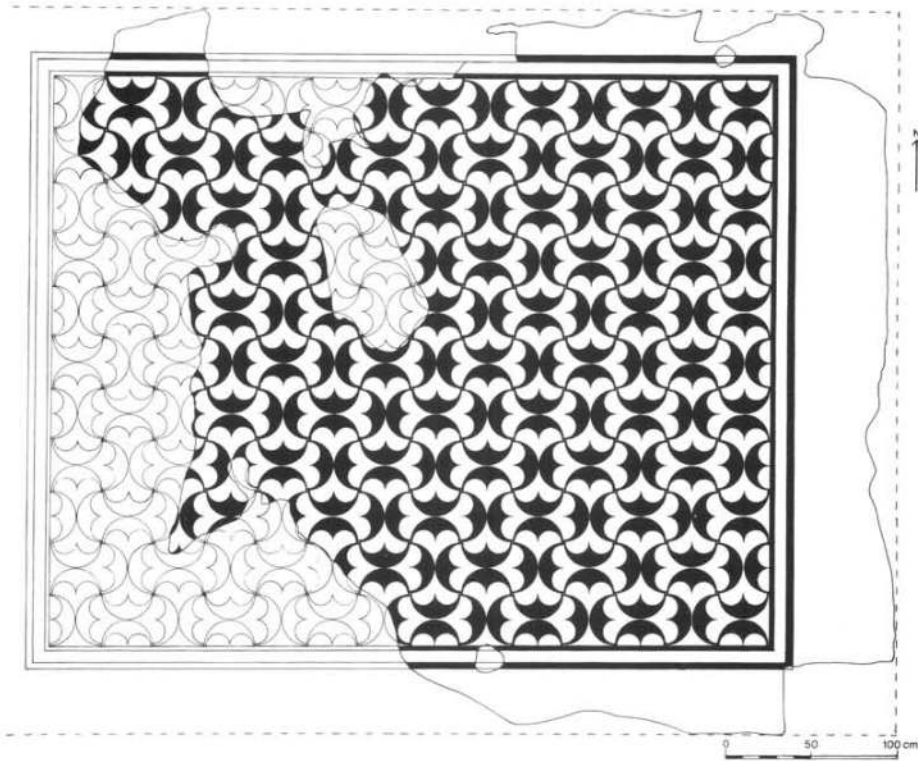


Fig. 25. Drawing of mosaic 10 (first half 3rd century), House S 1 (S.L.)

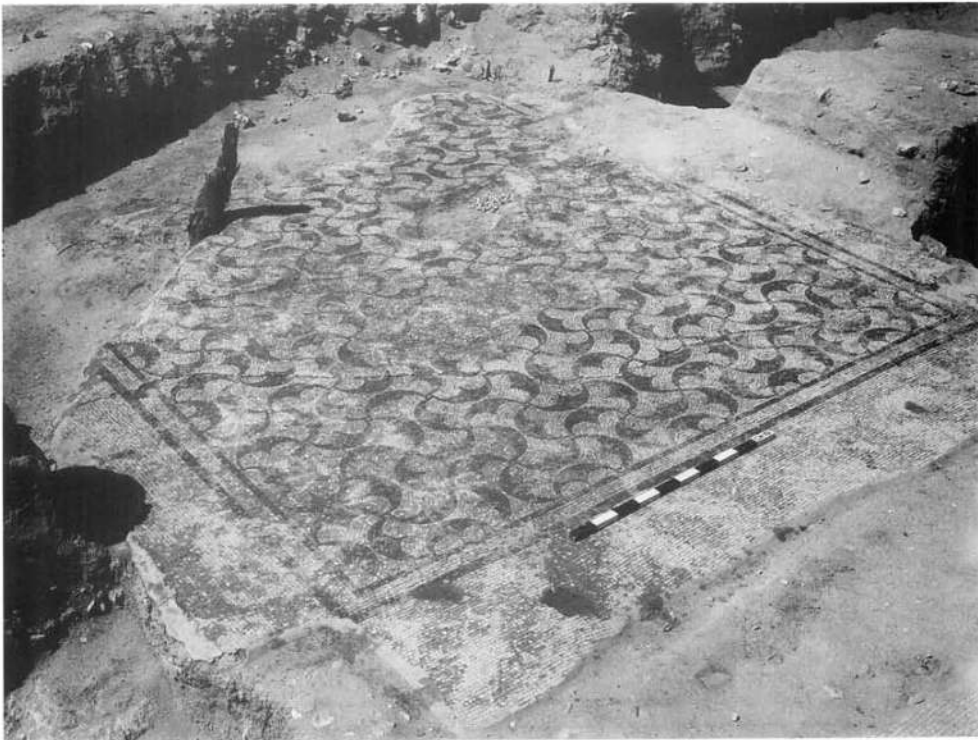


Fig. 26. Mosaic 10 (first half 3rd century), House S 1, looking north-west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

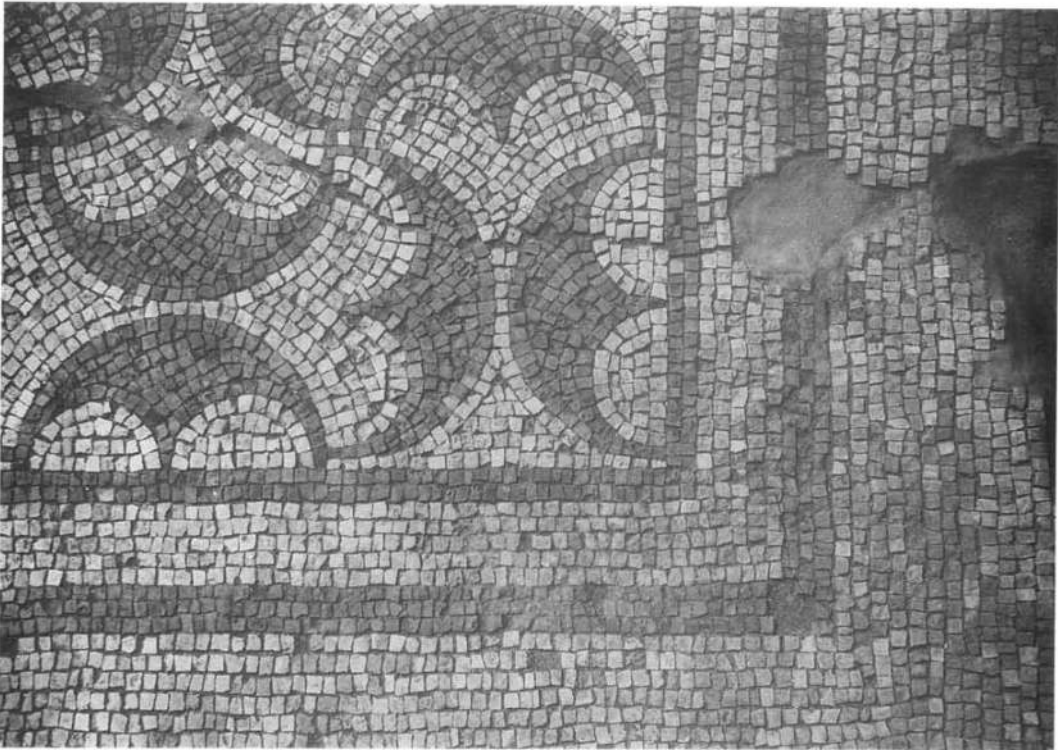


Fig. 27. Mosaic 10, House S 1. Detail of frame and field (D.M.)

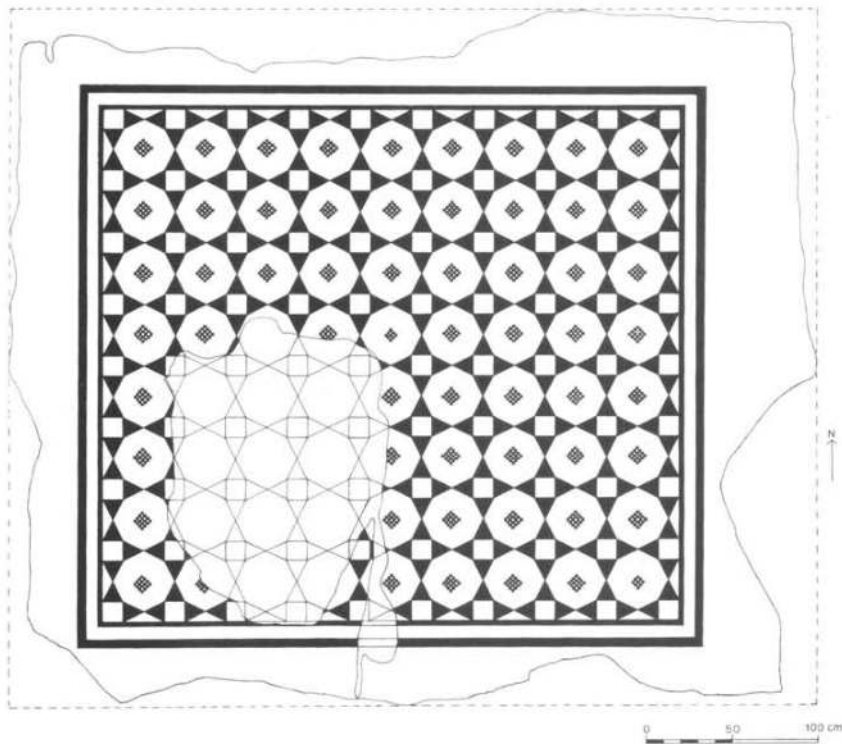


Fig. 28. Drawing of mosaic 11 (first half 3rd century), House S 1 (S.L.)

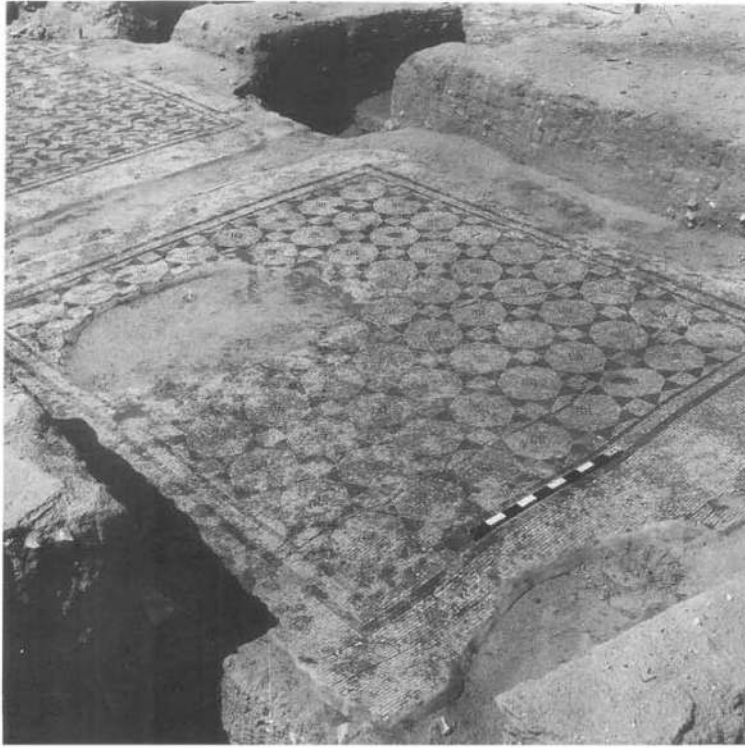


Fig. 29. Mosaic 11 (first half 3rd century), House S 1, looking north-west with mosaic 10 beyond (1 metre scale) (S.L.S)

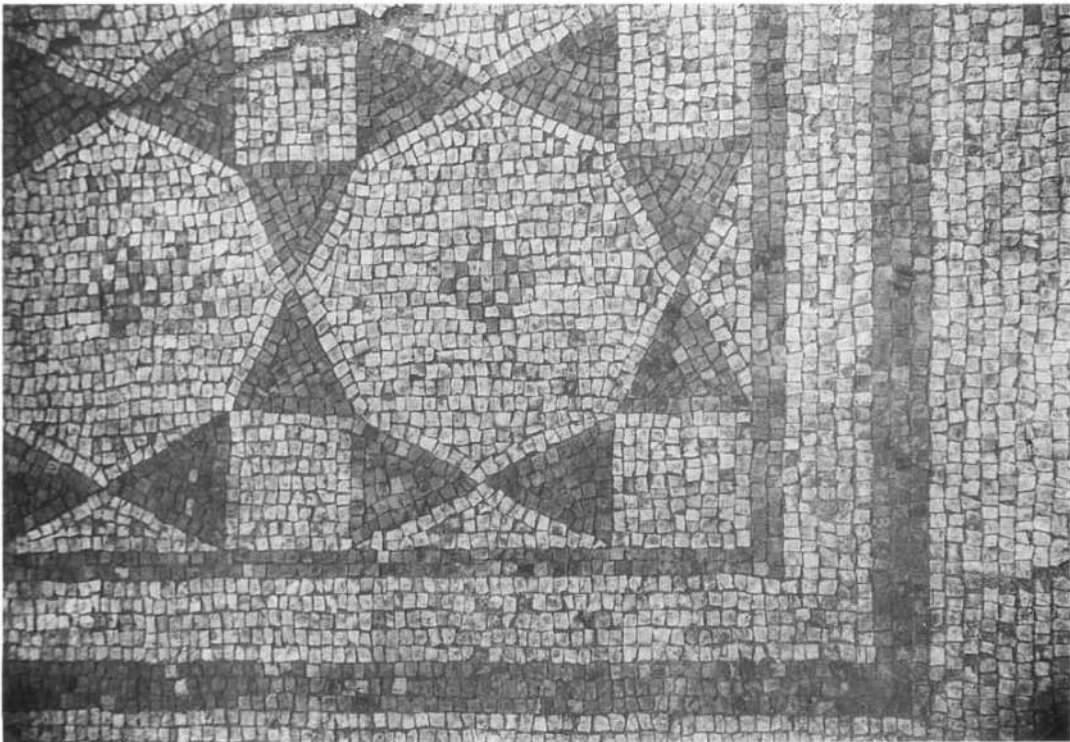


Fig. 30. Mosaic 11, House S 1. Detail of frame and field (D.M.)

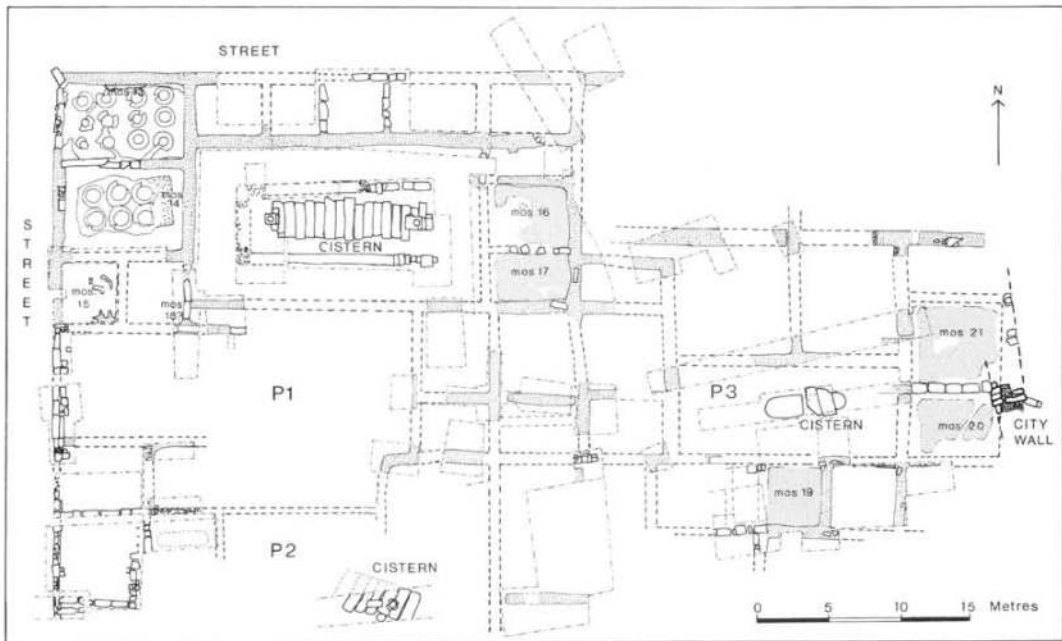


Fig. 31. Plan of Houses P 1, P 2 and P 3 (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 48)

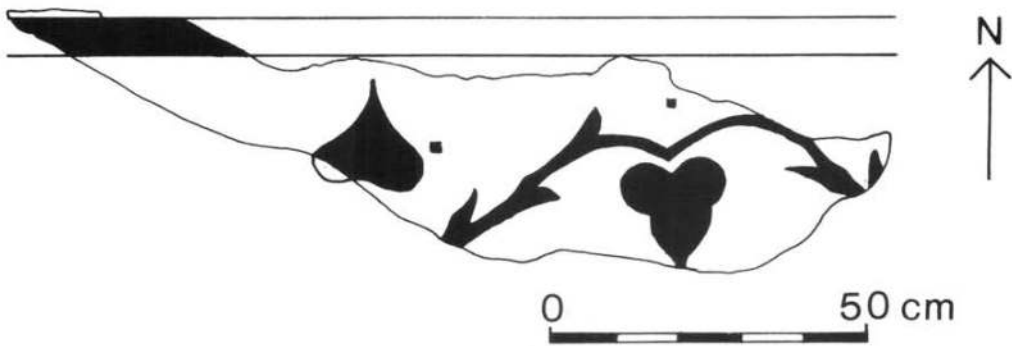


Fig. 32. Drawing of mosaic 13 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)

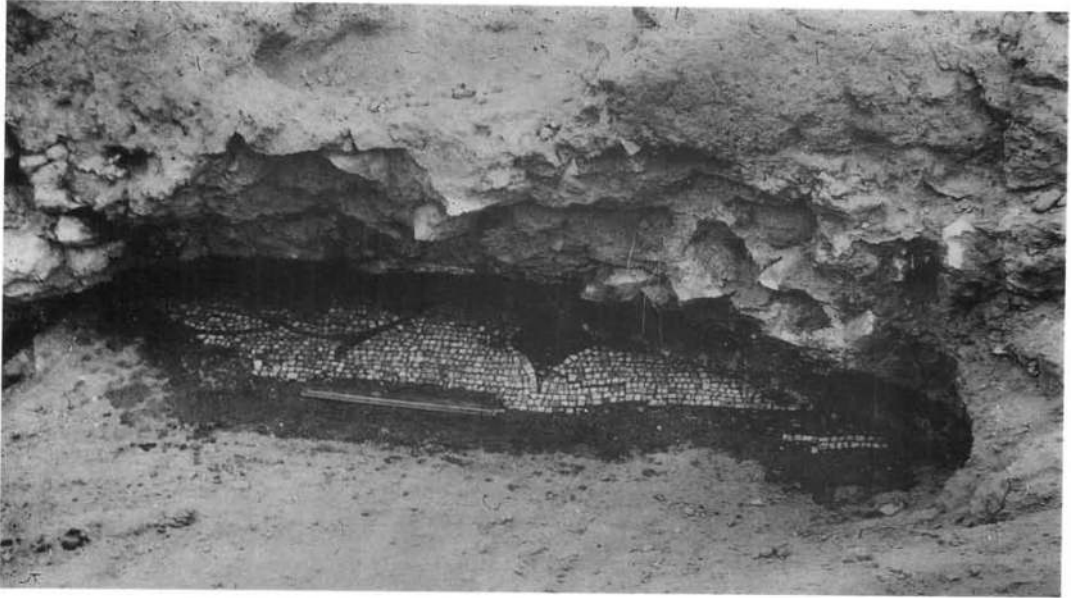


Fig. 33. Mosaic 13 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (D.M.)

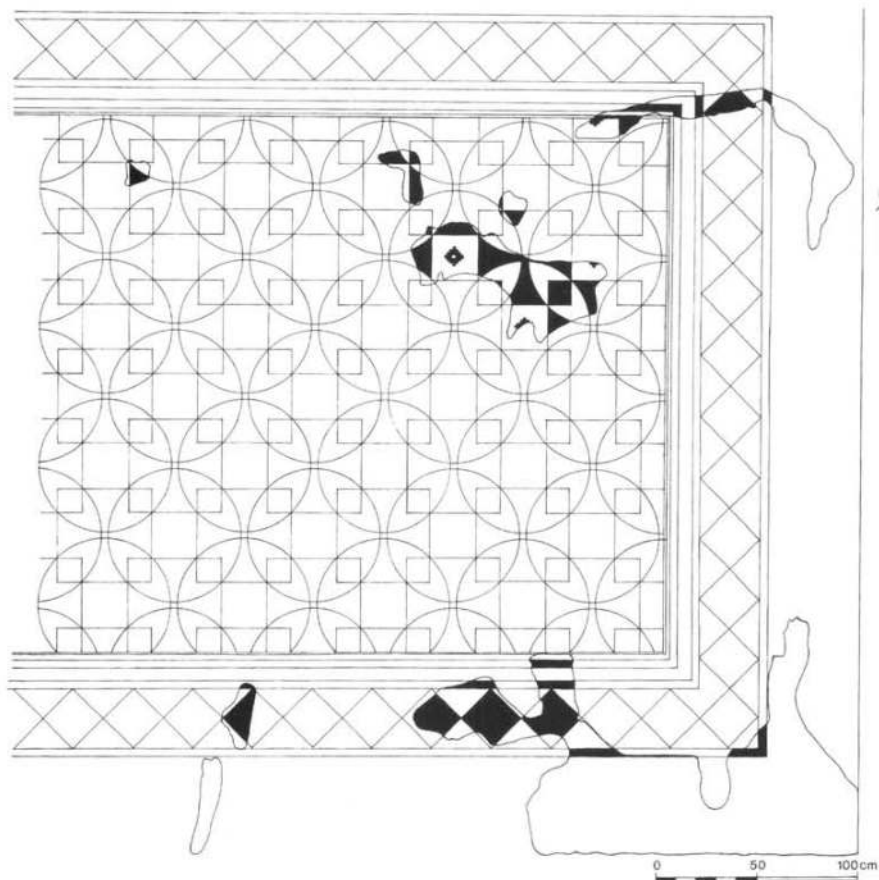


Fig. 34. Drawing of mosaic 15 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)

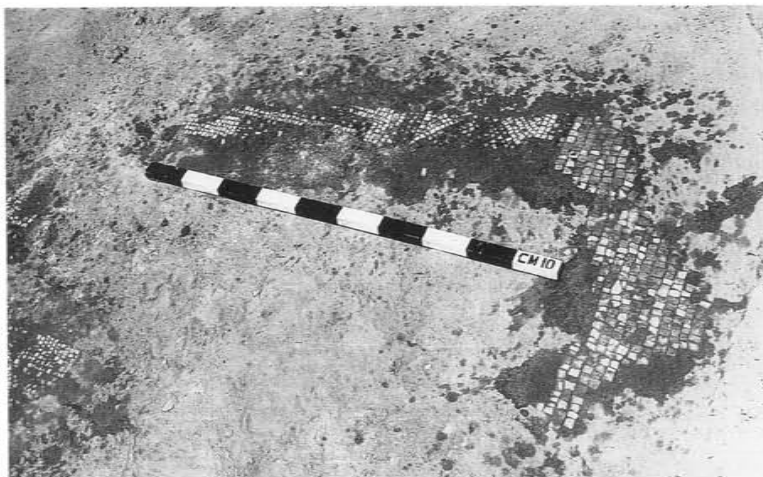


Fig. 35. Mosaic 15 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1. North-eastern corner looking north (1 metre scale) (D.M.)

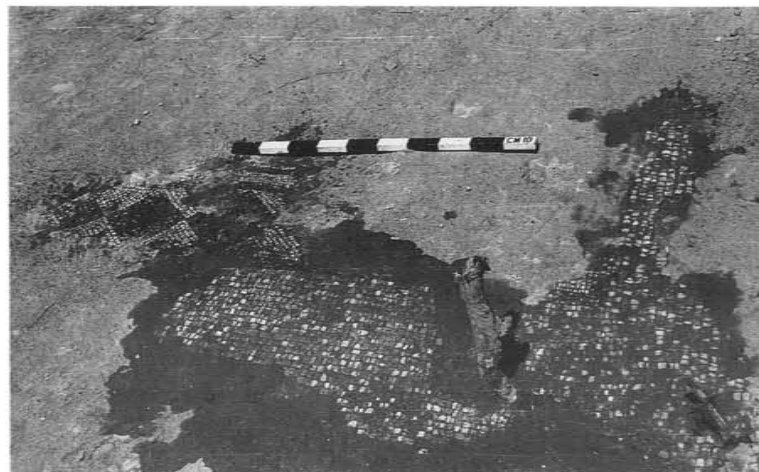


Fig. 36. Mosaic 15, House P 1. South-eastern corner looking north (1 metre scale) (D.M.)

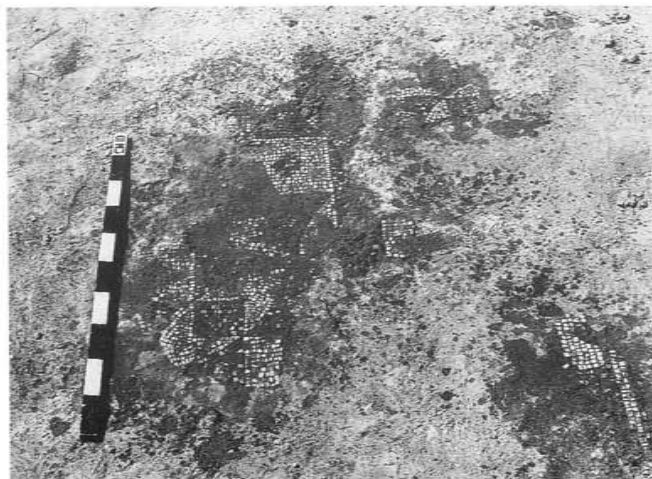


Fig. 37. Mosaic 15, House P 1. Central fragment looking west (1 metre scale) (D.M.)

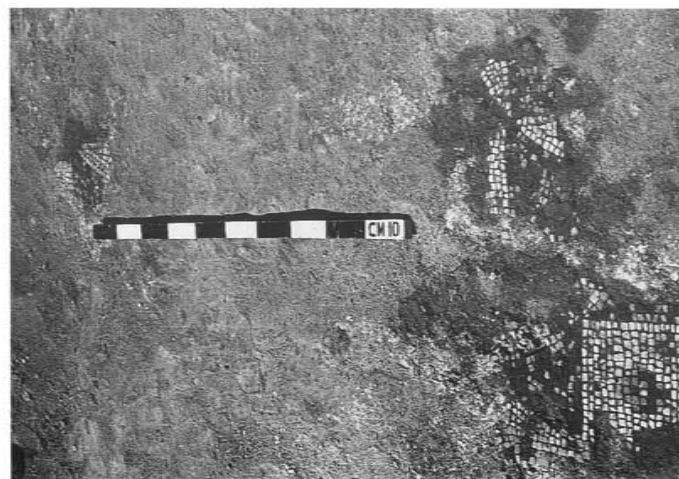


Fig. 38. Mosaic 15, House P 1. Westernmost fragment (1 metre scale) (D.M.)

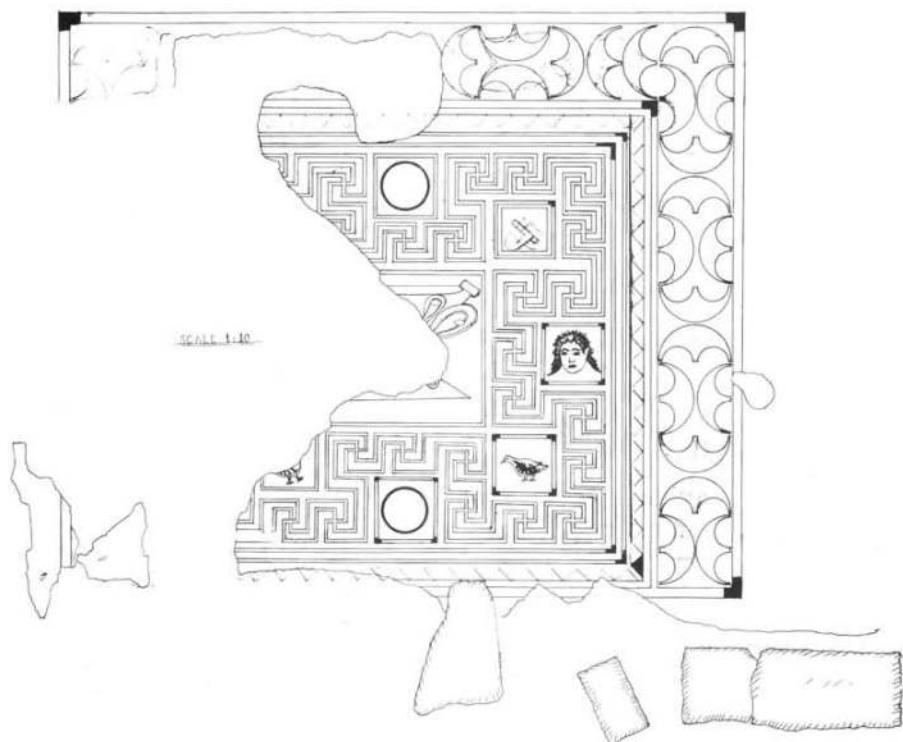


Fig. 39. Drawing of mosaic 16, House P 1, made at the time of its first discovery in 1962 (Dept. of Antiquities, Cyrenaica)

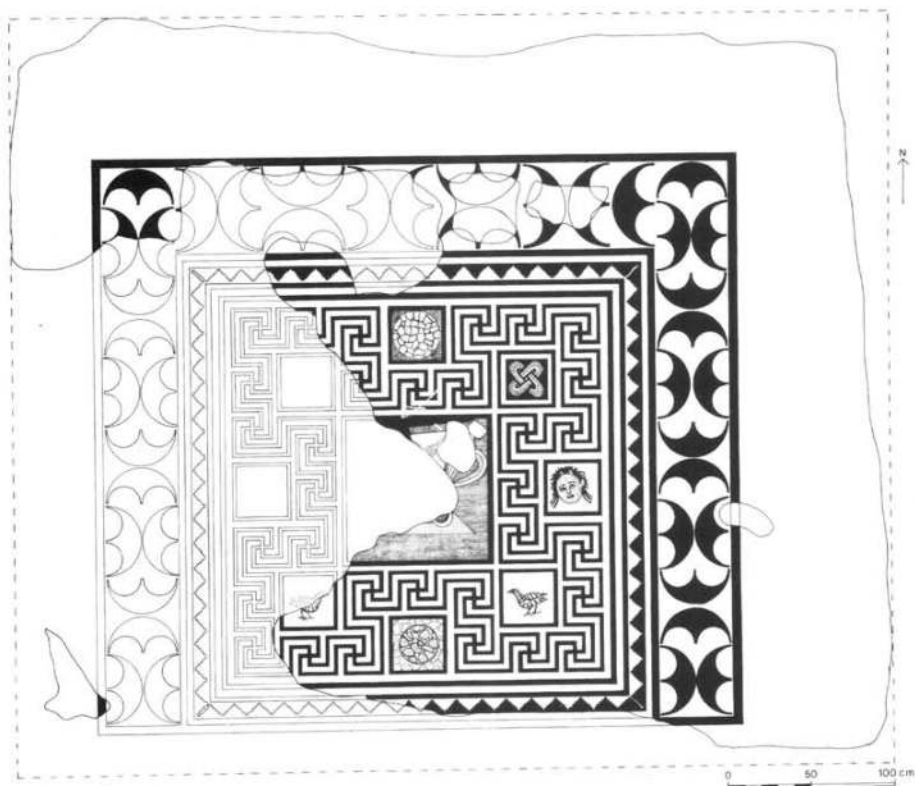


Fig. 40. Drawing of mosaic 16 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)



Fig. 41. Mosaics 16–17, House P 1, looking north (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)



Fig. 42. Mosaic 16 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1, looking east (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)



Fig. 43. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Central panel photographed in 1962 (R.G. Goodchild)



Fig. 44. Mosaic 16, House P 1. Central panel photographed in 1972 (D.M.)

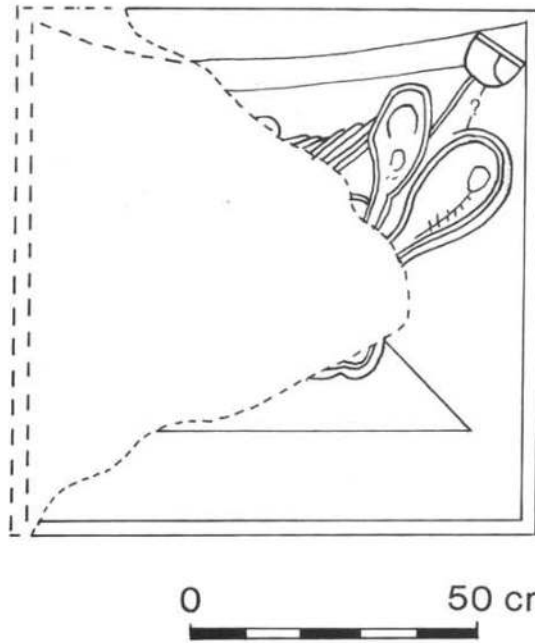


Fig. 45. Reconstruction drawing of central panel of mosaic 16, House P 1. (S.L.)

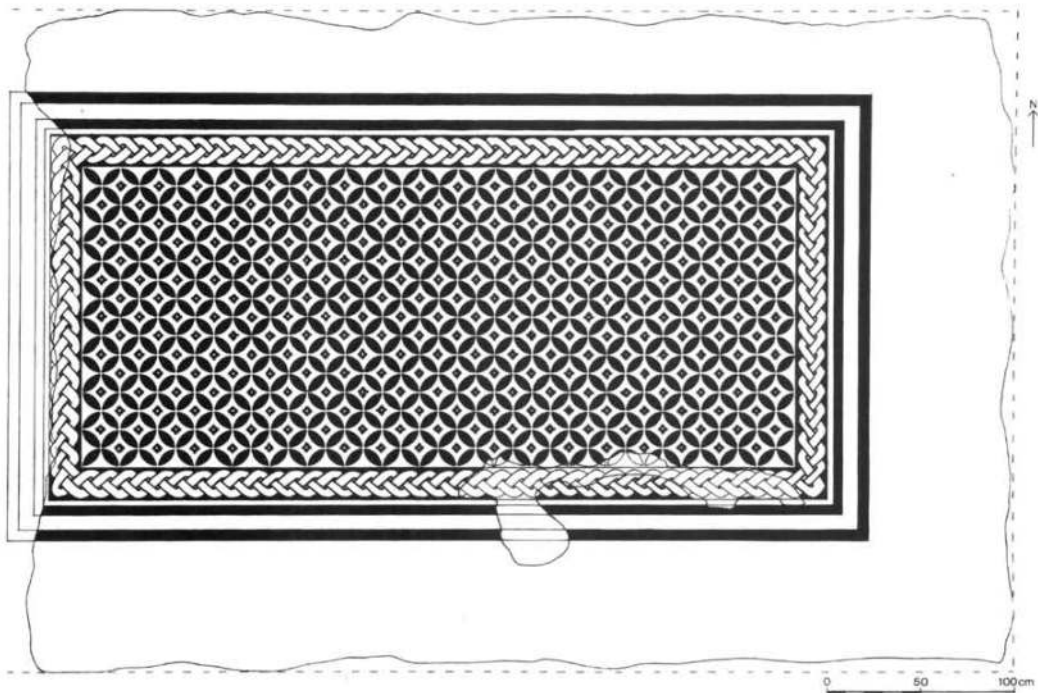


Fig. 46. Drawing of mosaic 17 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1 (S.L.)

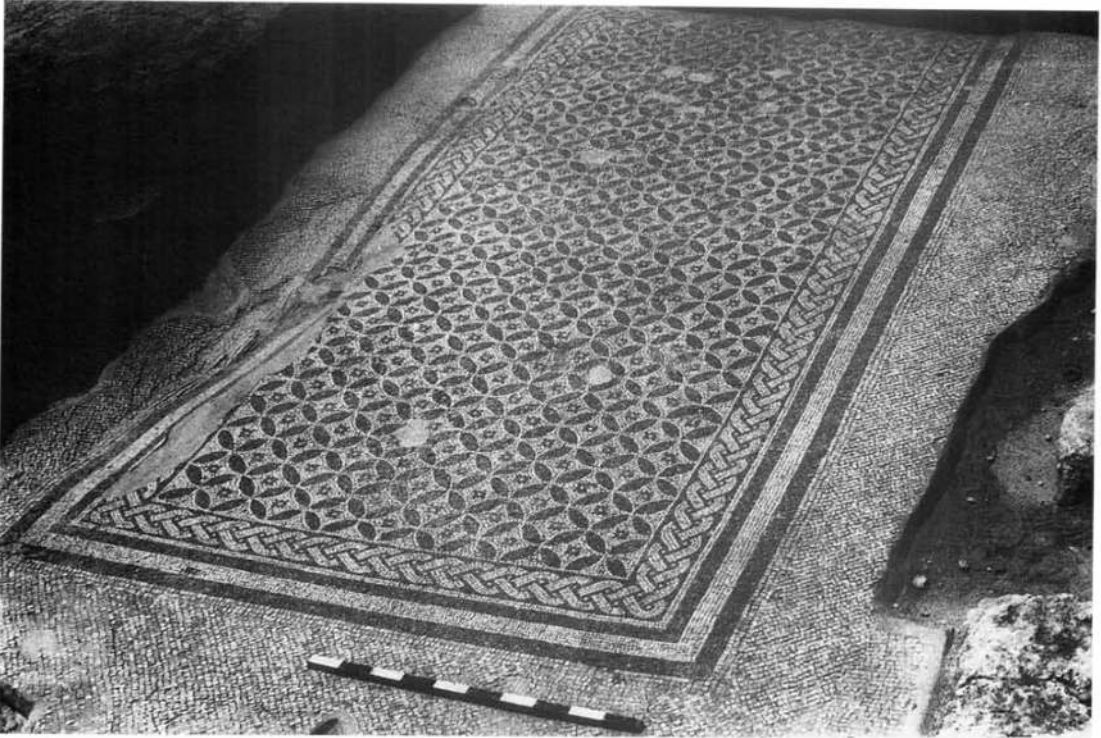


Fig. 47. Mosaic 17 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 1, looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

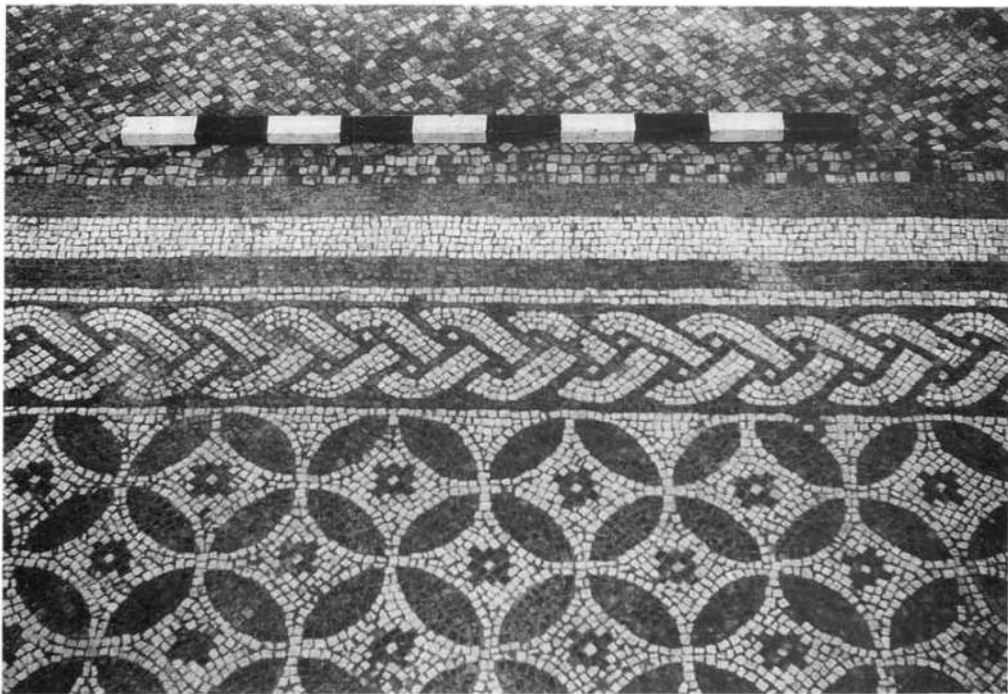


Fig. 48. Mosaic 17, House P 1. Detail of frame and pattern (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

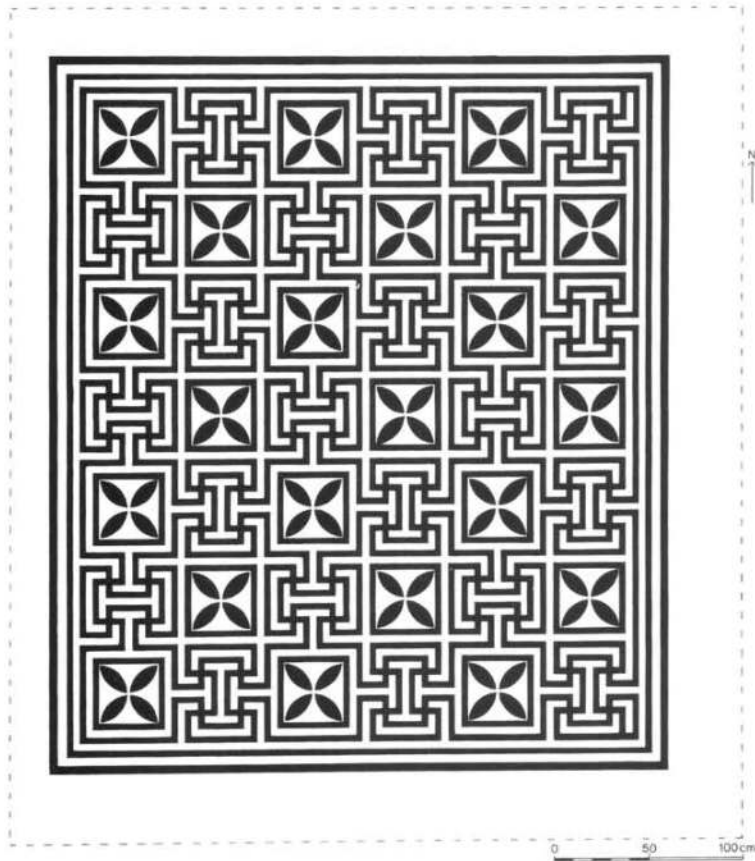


Fig. 49. Drawing of mosaic 19 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3 (S.L.)

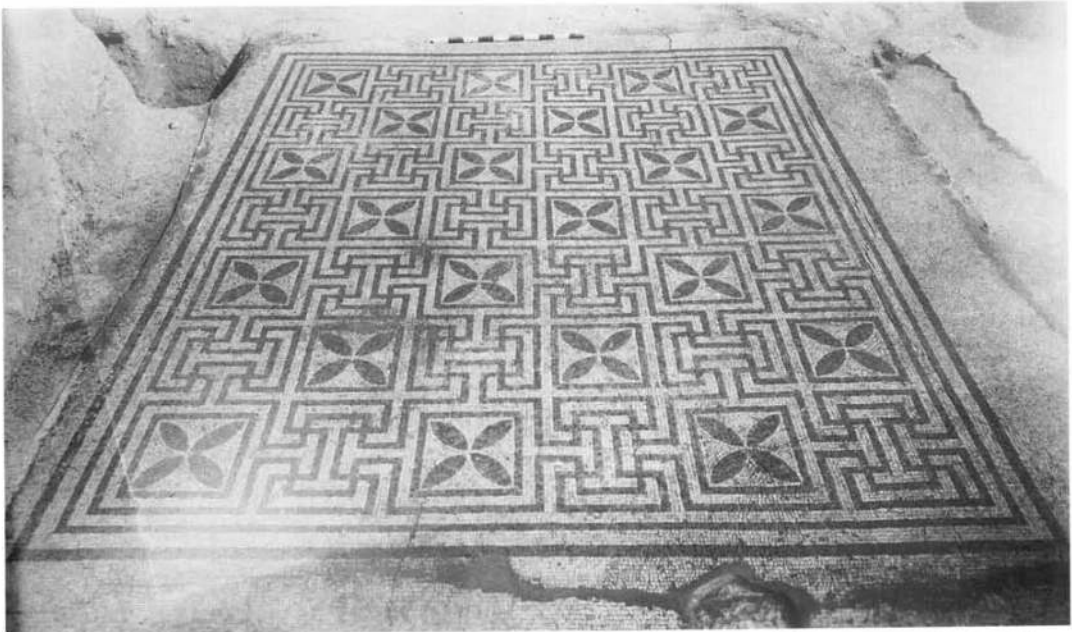


Fig. 50. Mosaic 19 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3, looking north (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

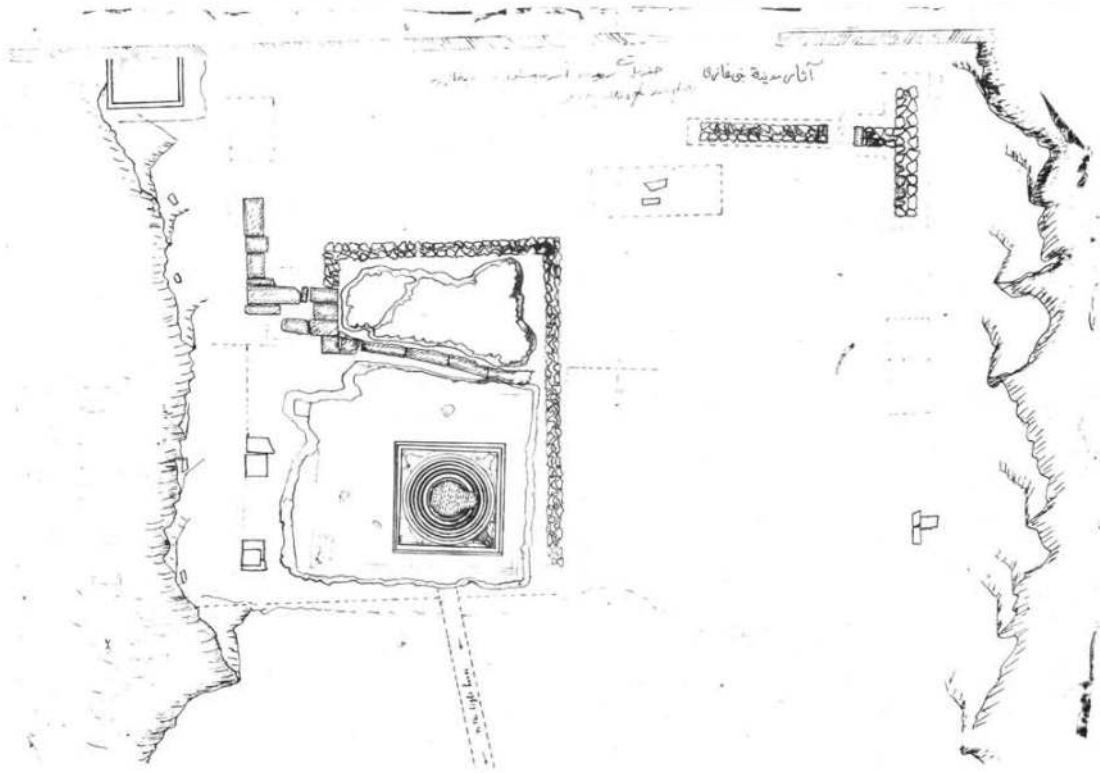


Fig. 51. Drawing of mosaics 20–21, House P 3, made at the time of discovery in 1965 (Dept. of Antiquities, Cyrenaica)

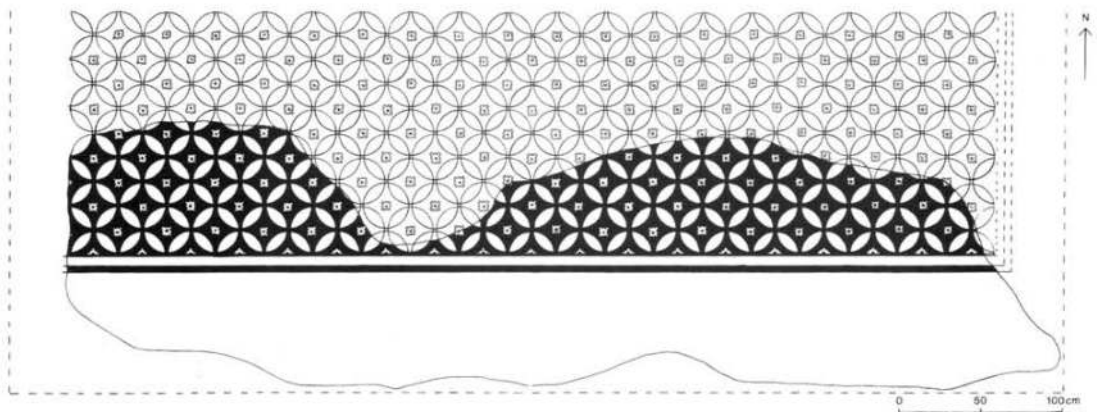


Fig. 52. Drawing of mosaic 20 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3 (S.L.)



Fig. 53. Mosaic 20, House P 3. Fragment in Tokra Museum (10 cm scale) (D.M.)



Fig. 54. Mosaics 20–21, House P 3, looking south in 1965 (R.G. Goodchild, Dept. of Antiquities, Cyrenaica, no. F 4456).

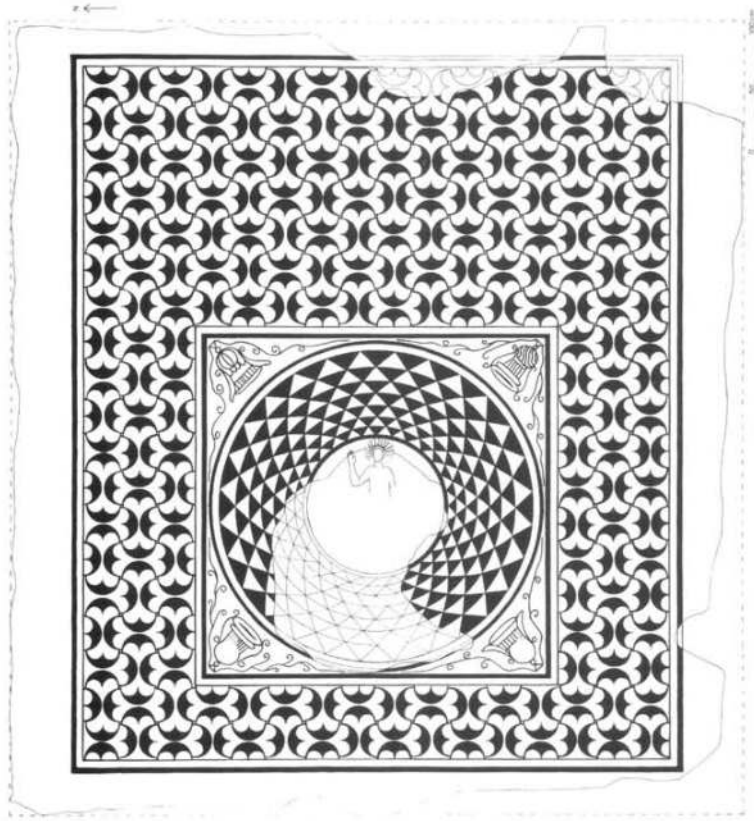


Fig. 55. Drawing of mosaic 21 (late 2nd/early 3rd century), House P 3 (S.L.)

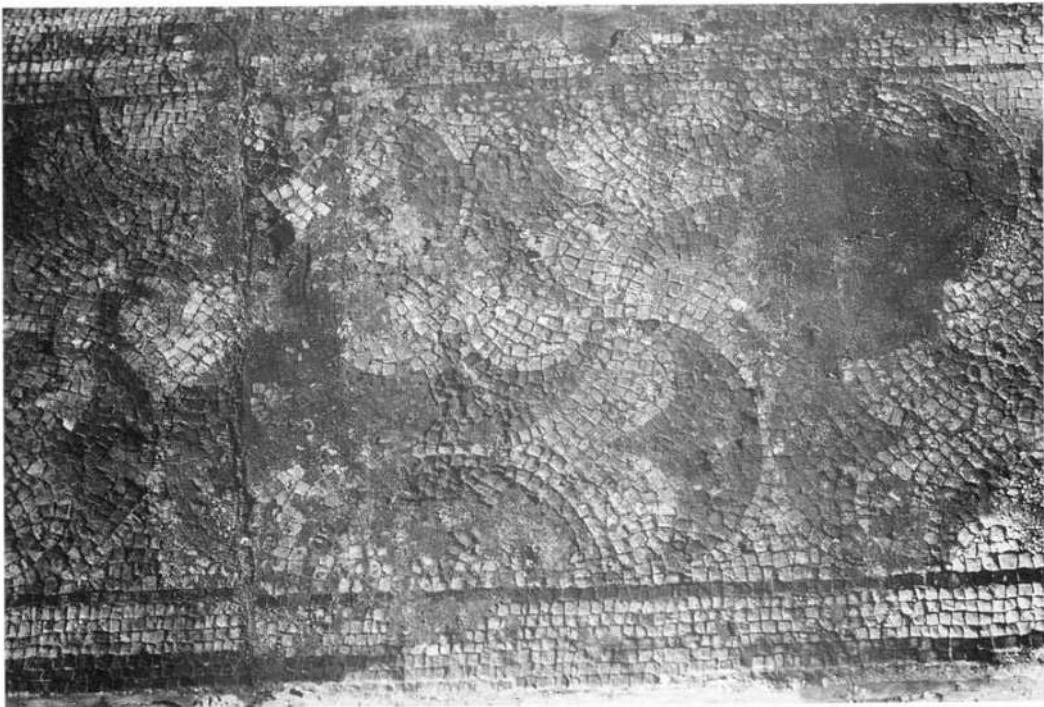


Fig. 56. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment of geometric field in Tokra Museum (D.M.)

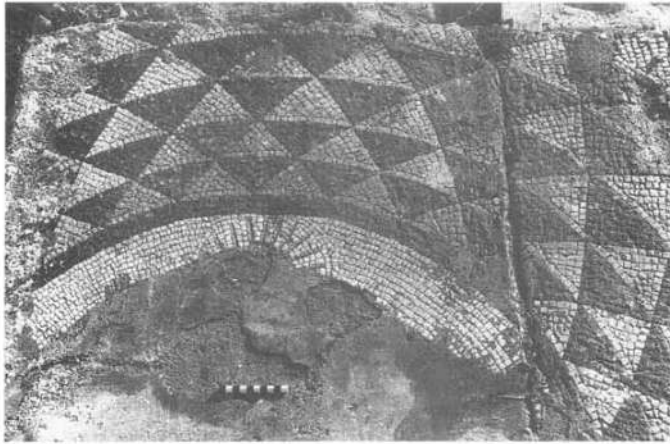


Fig. 57. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment of central medallion in Tokra Museum (10 cm scale) (D.M.)



Fig. 58. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment with south-eastern *kantharos* in Tokra Museum (D.M.)

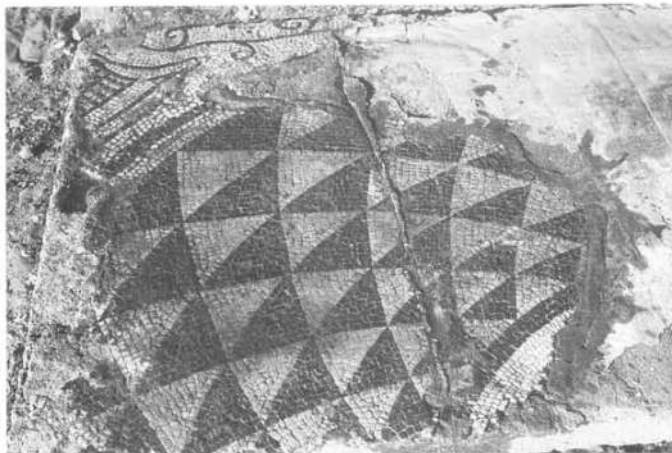


Fig. 59. Mosaic 21, House P 3. Fragment with south-western *kantharos* in Tokra Museum (D.M.)

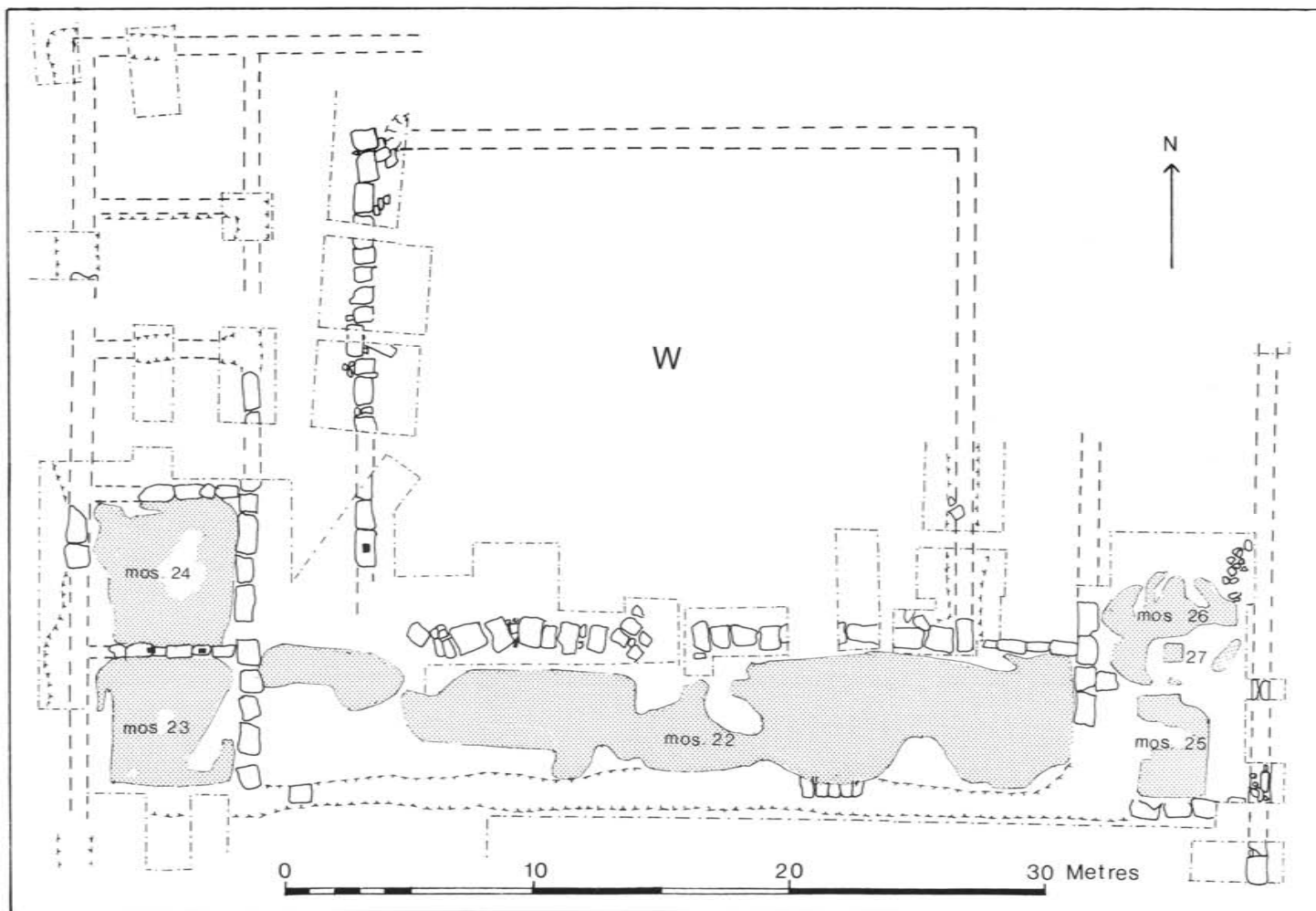


Fig. 60. Plan of Building W (based on *Berenice I*, fig. 49)

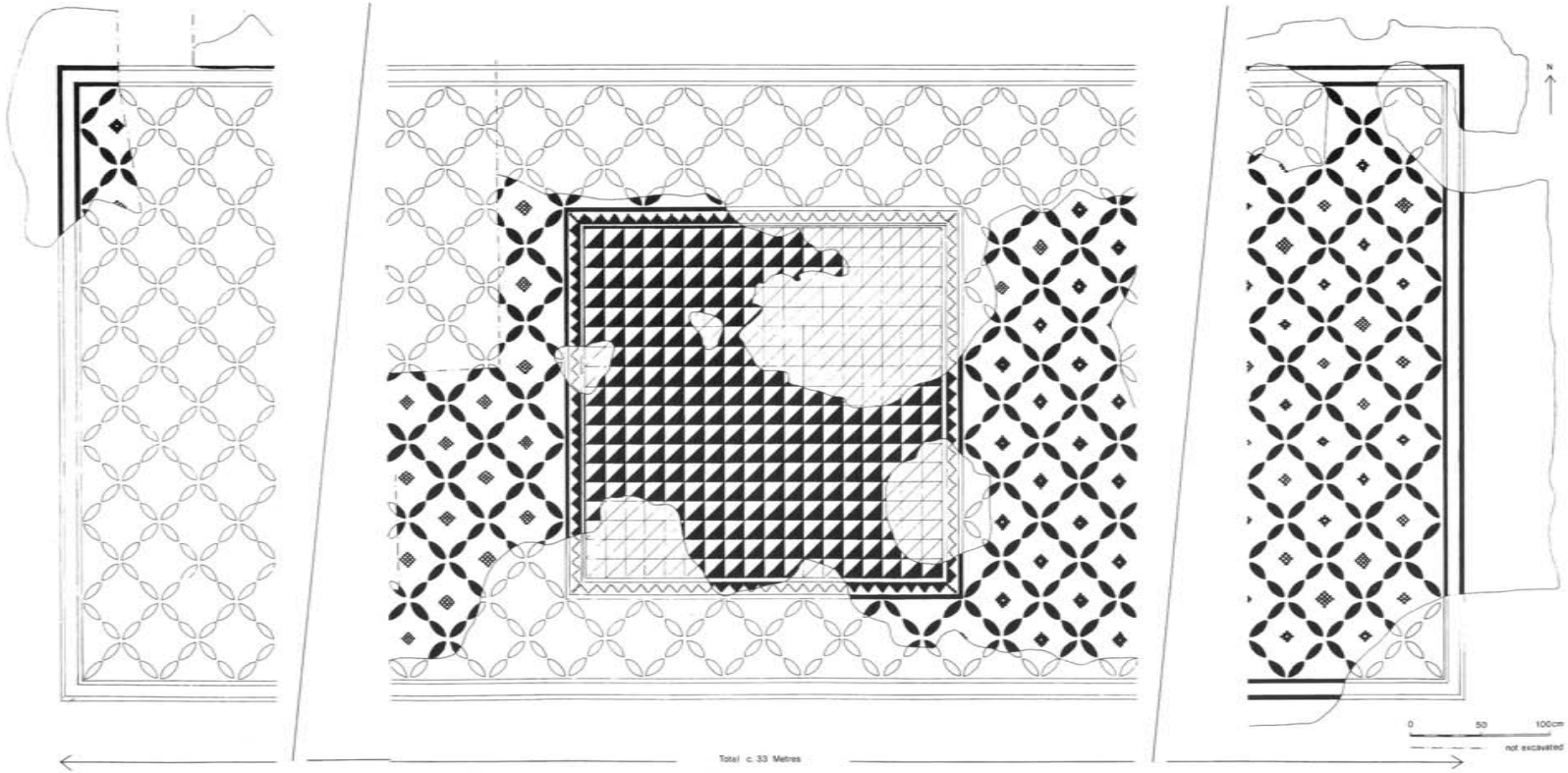


Fig. 61. Drawing of mosaic 22 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)

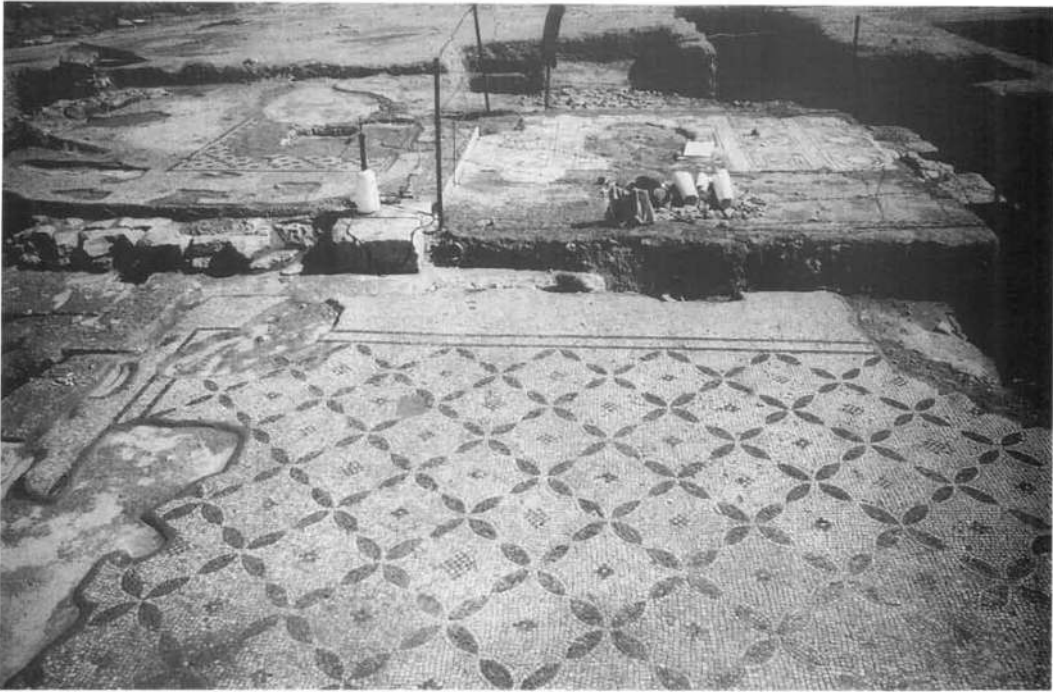


Fig. 62. Mosaics 22, 25–26, Building W. Eastern end of mosaic 22 looking south-east (D.M.)

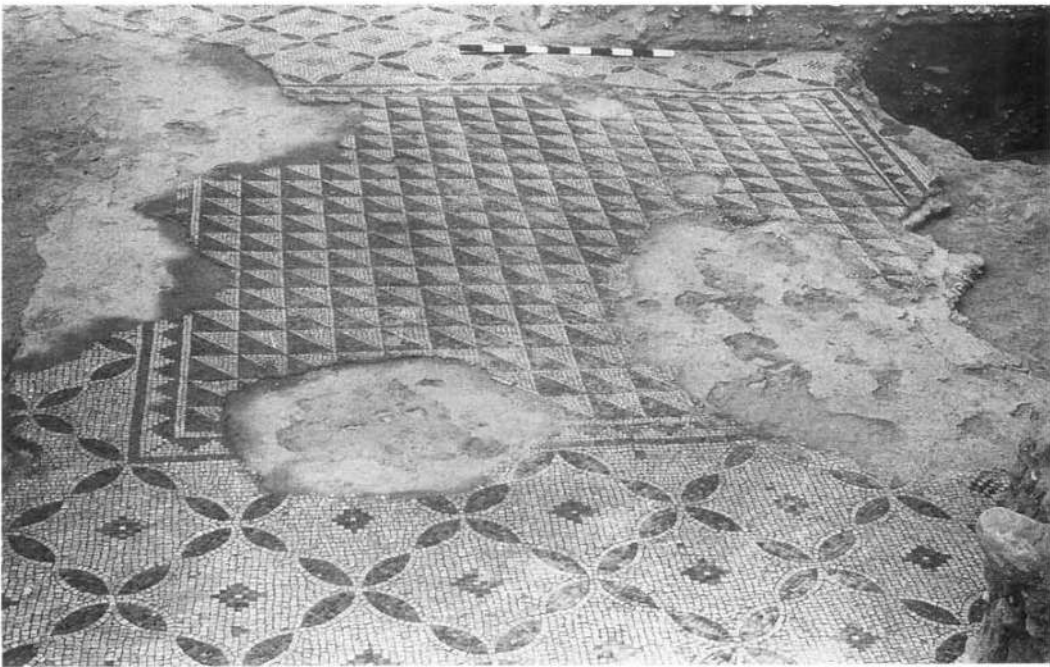


Fig. 63. Mosaic 22, Building W. Central section looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

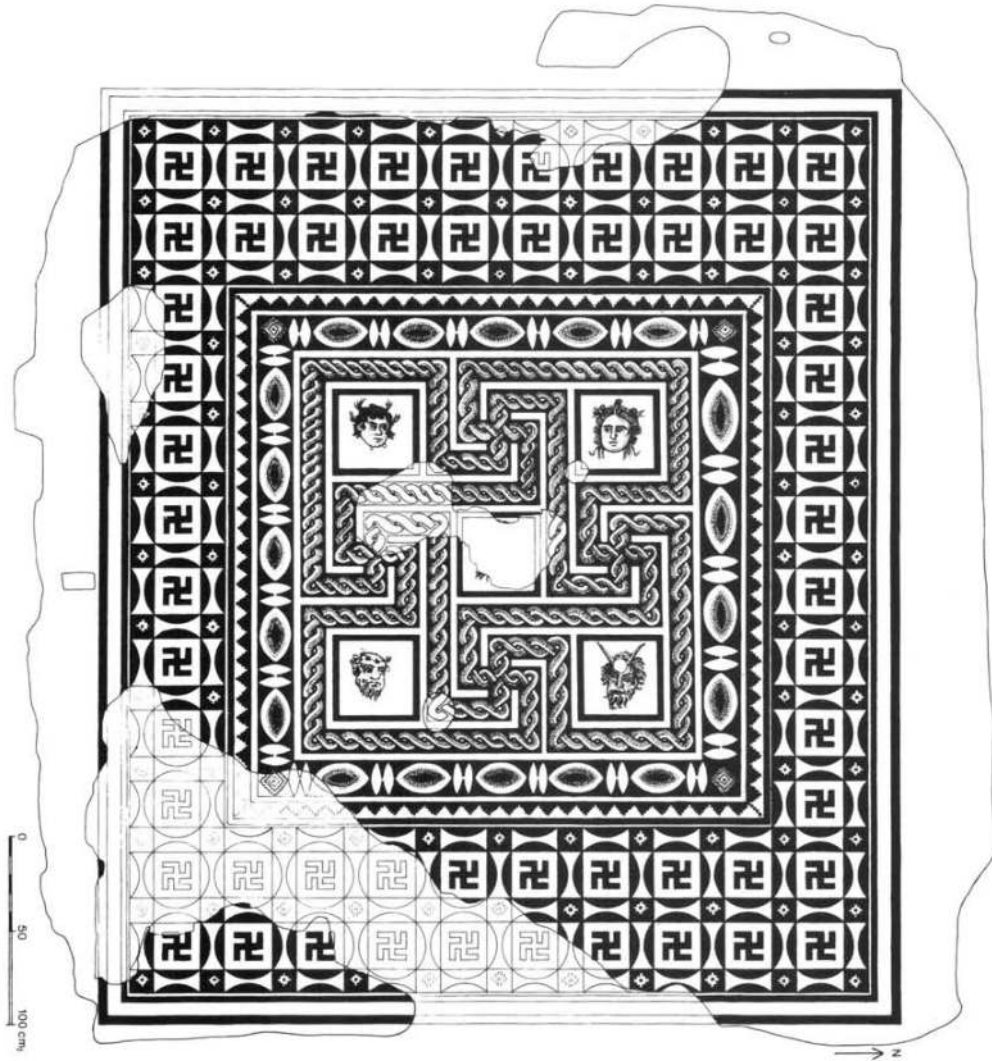


Fig. 64. Drawing of Mosaic 23 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)



Fig. 65. Mosaic 23, Building W. Central section looking west (S.L.S.)

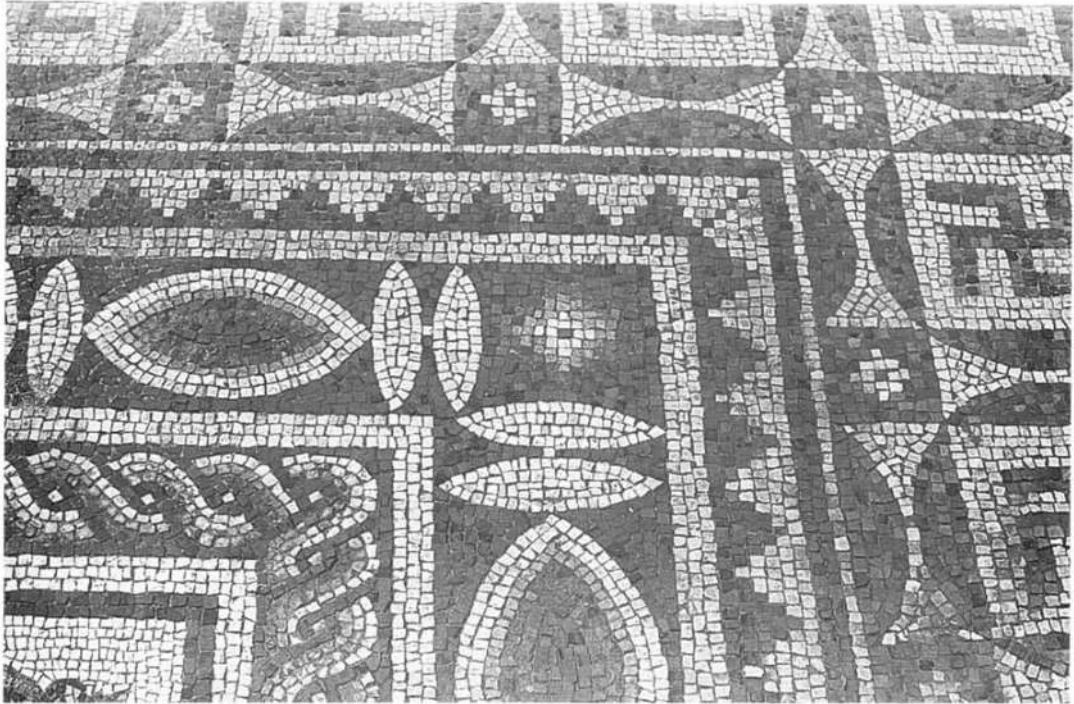


Fig. 66. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of framing bands and patterns (D.M.)



Fig. 67. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of framing pattern (D.M.)

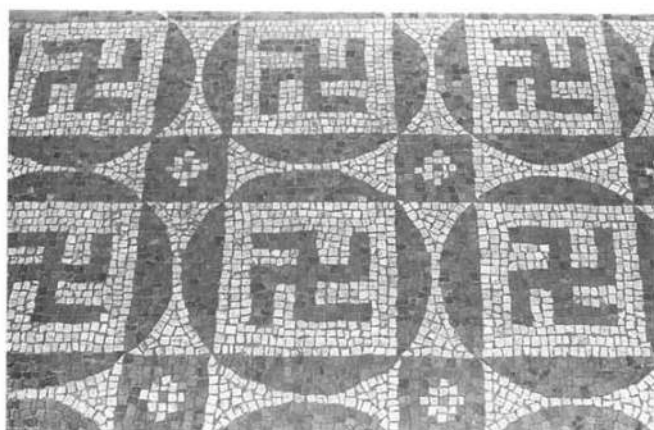


Fig. 68. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of framing pattern (D.M.)



Fig. 69. Mosaic 23, Building W. Detail of meander of guilloche (D.M.)

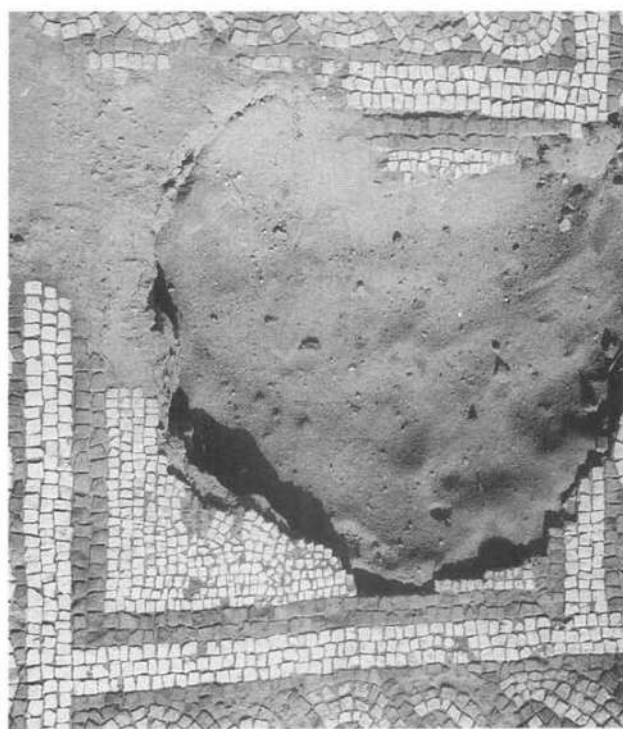


Fig. 70. Mosaic 23, Building W. Central panel (S.L.S.)



Fig. 71. Mosaics 23–24, Building W, looking south (D.M.)

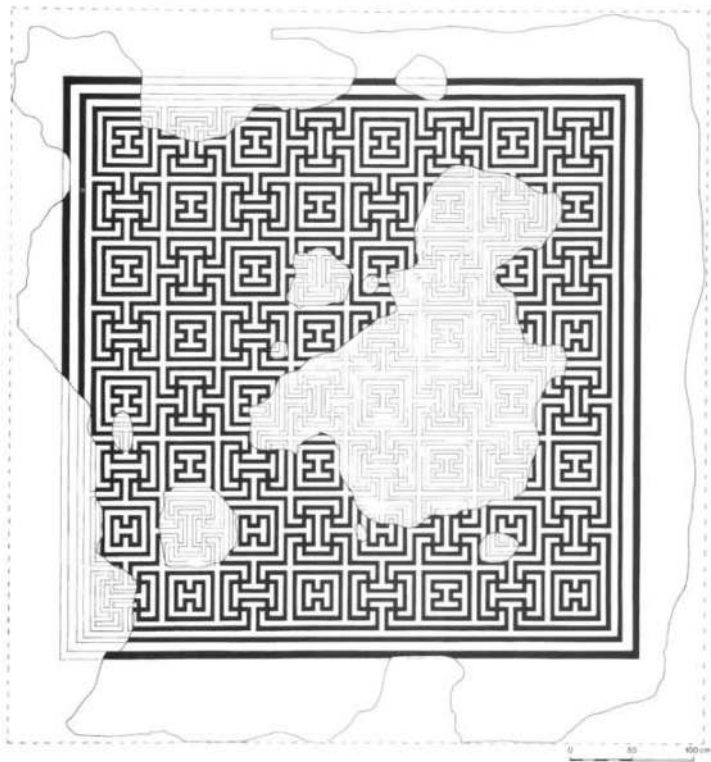


Fig. 72. Drawing of mosaic 24 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)

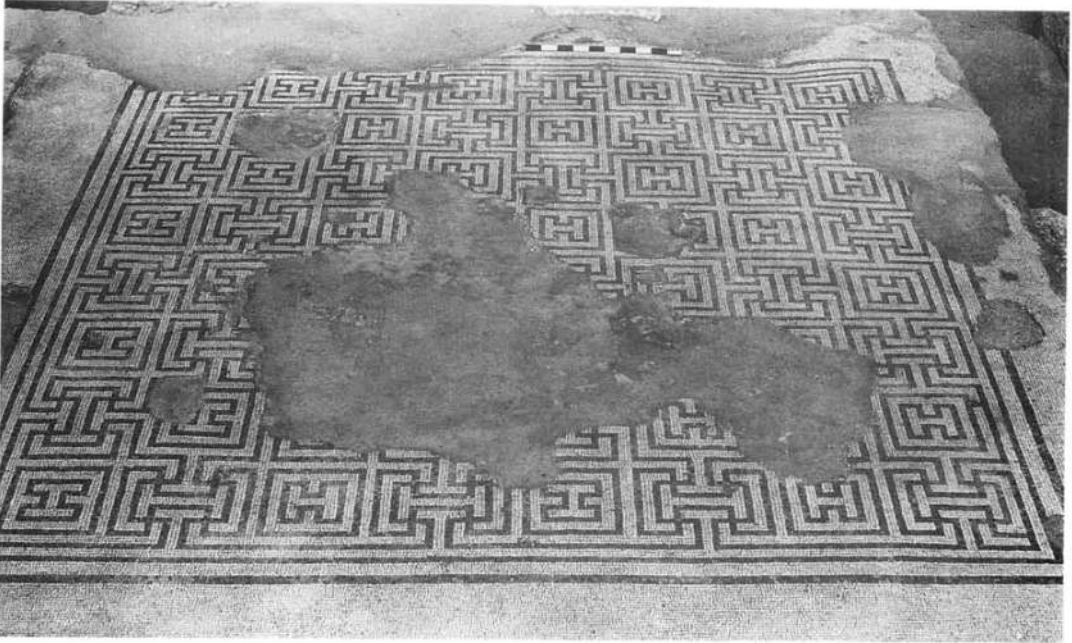


Fig. 73. Mosaic 24 (first half of 3rd century), Building W, looking west (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

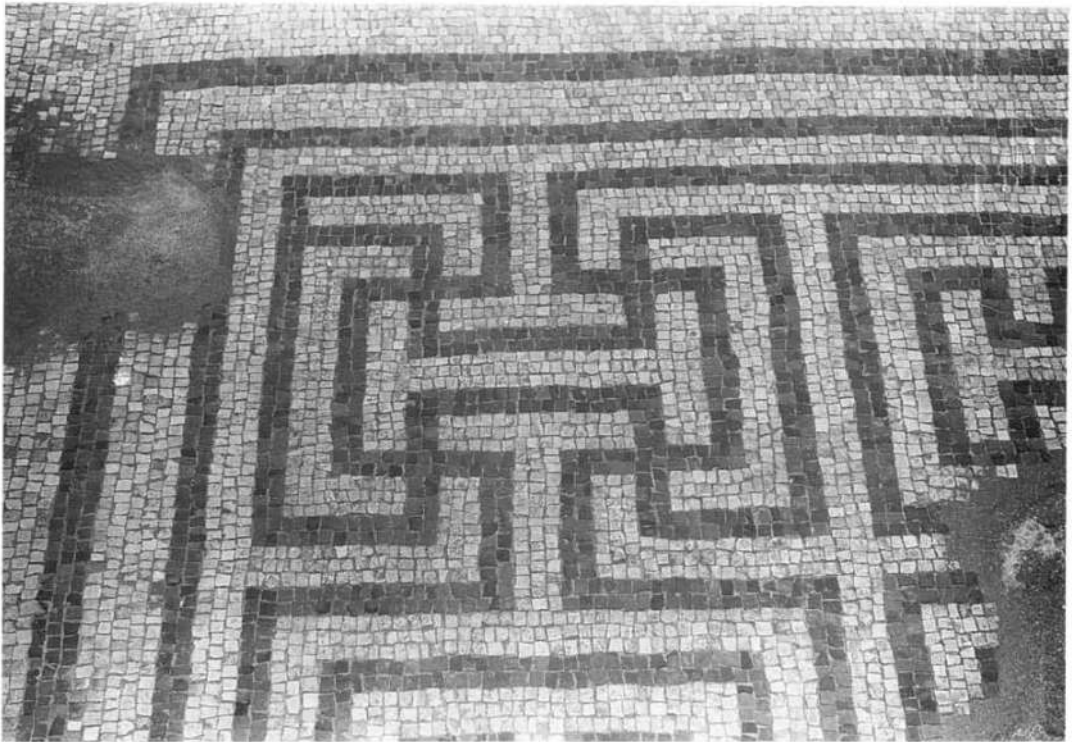


Fig. 74. Mosaic 24, Building W. Detail of frame and geometric pattern (D.M)

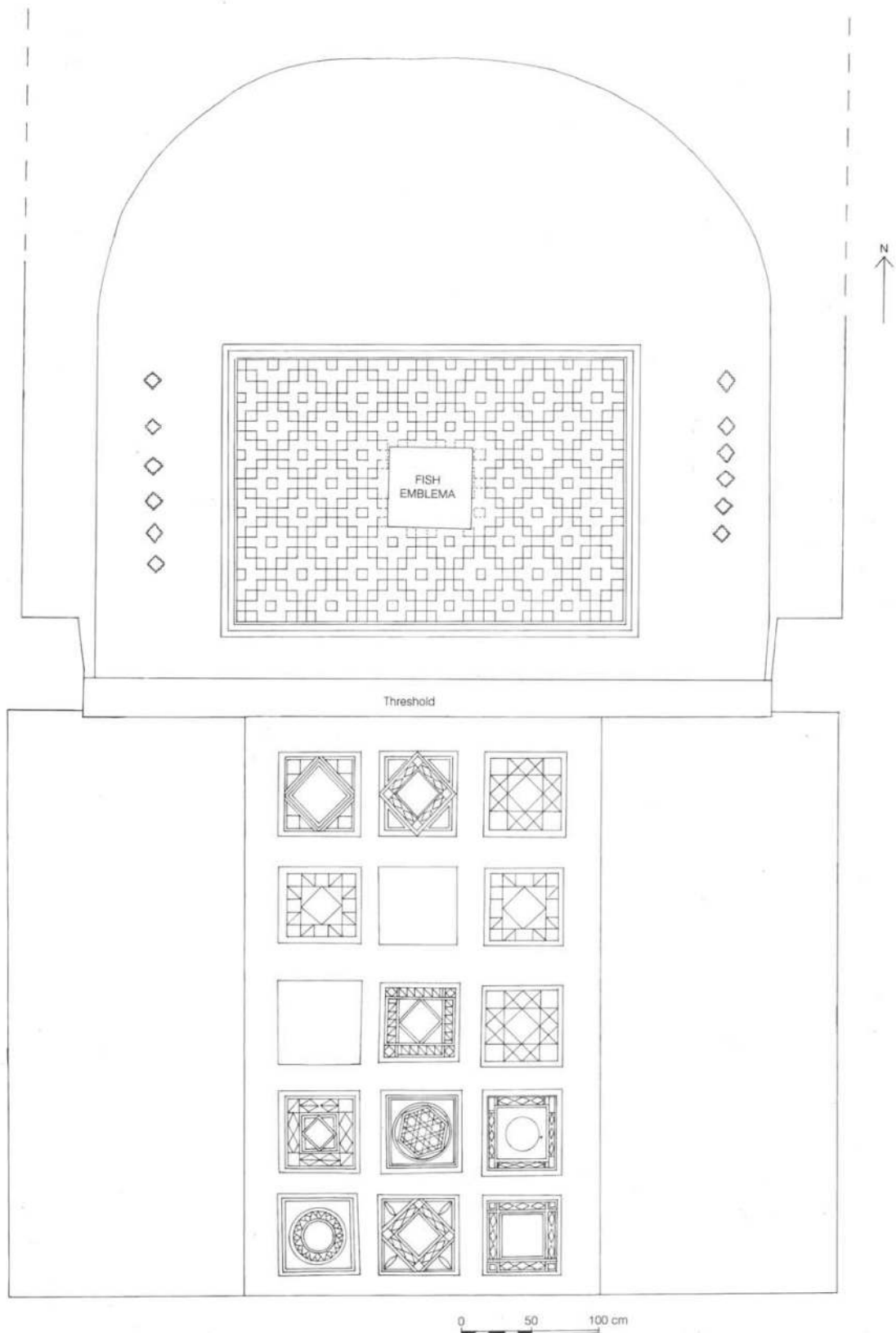


Fig. 75. Drawing of Room 7, Building W, with *opus sectile* 25, mosaic 26 and *emblema* 27 (S.L.)

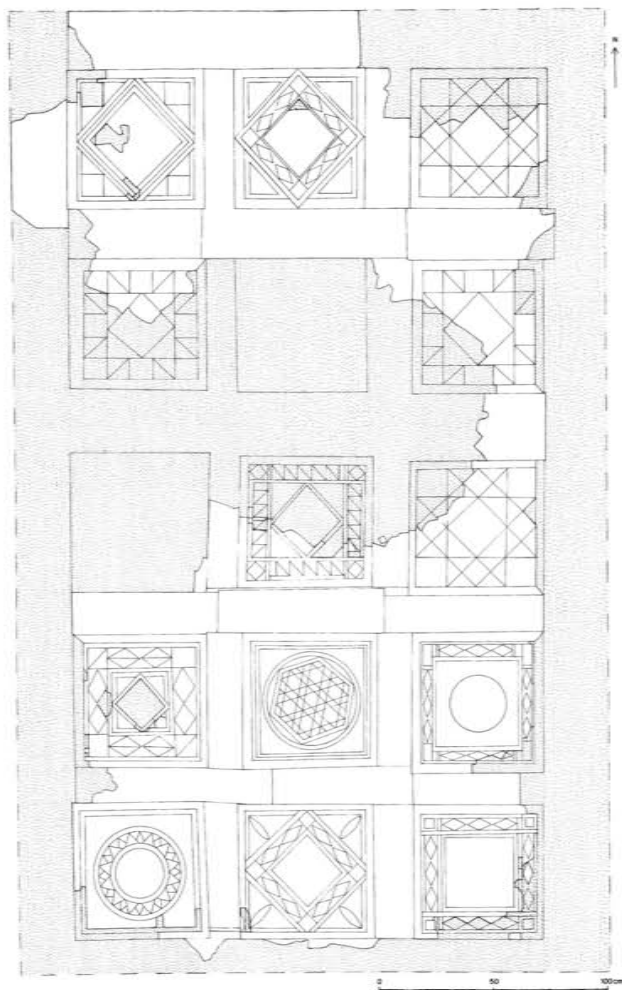


Fig. 76. Drawing of *opus sectile* 25 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)



Fig. 77. *Opus sectile* 25 and mosaic 26, Building W, looking north (D.M.)

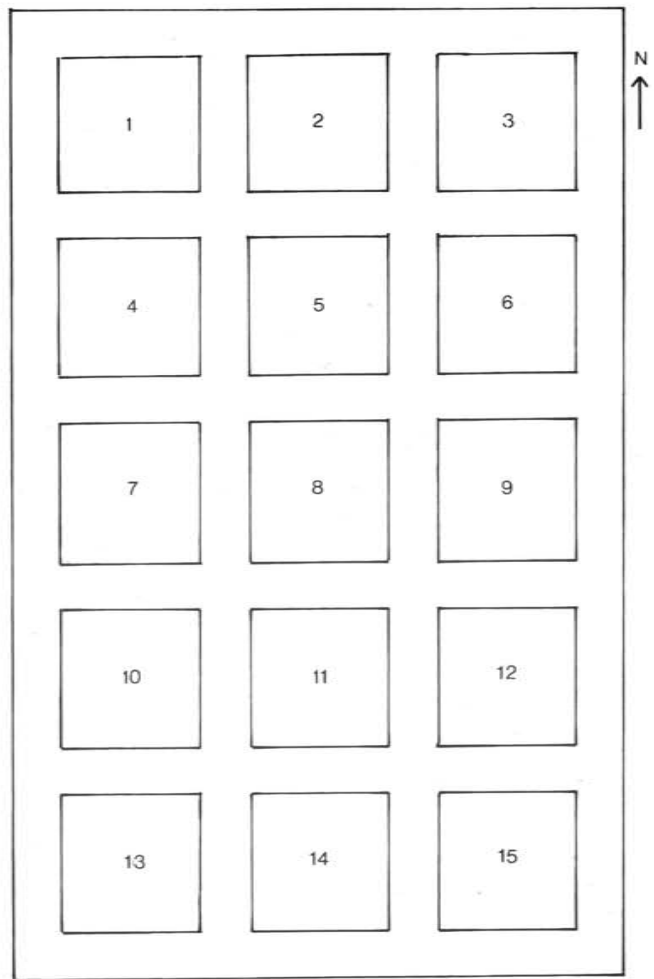


Fig. 78. Drawing of panel distribution in *opus sectile* 25, Building W (S.L.)

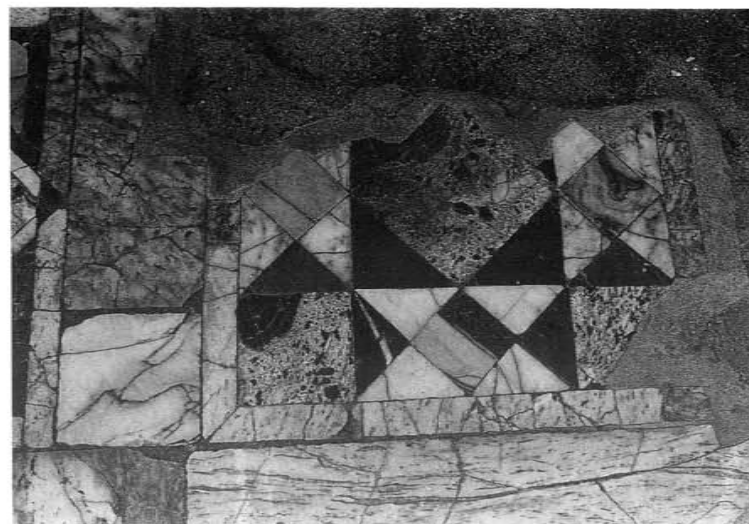


Fig. 79. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 3 (D.M.)

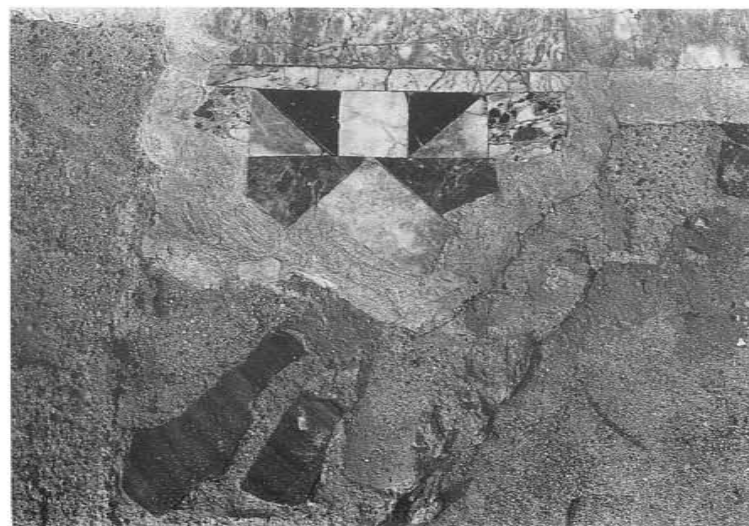


Fig. 80. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 4 (D.M.)

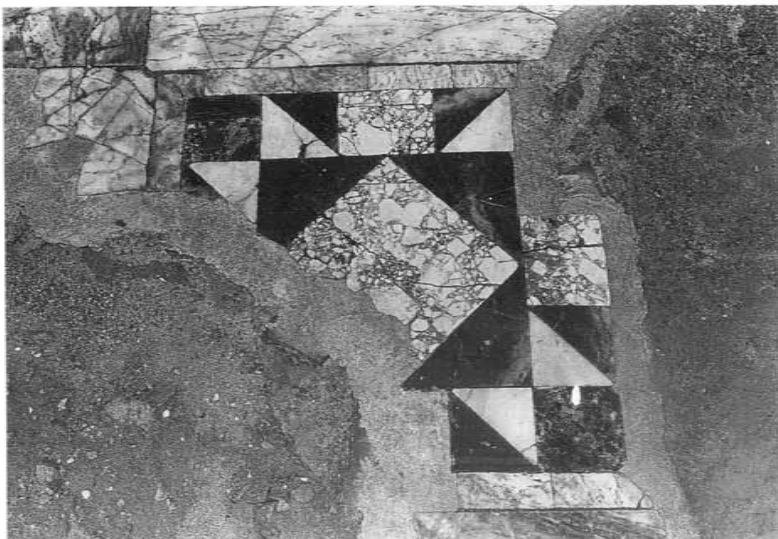


Fig. 81. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 6 (D.M.)

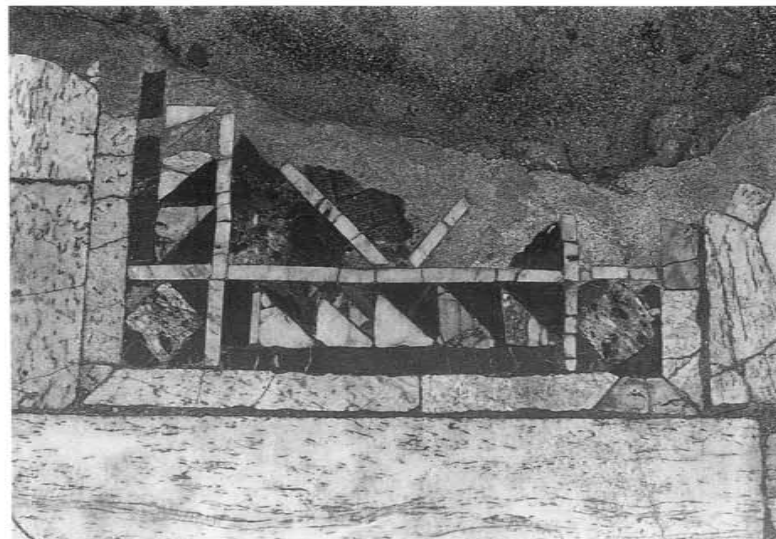


Fig. 83. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 8 (D.M.)



Fig. 82. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 7 (D.M.)

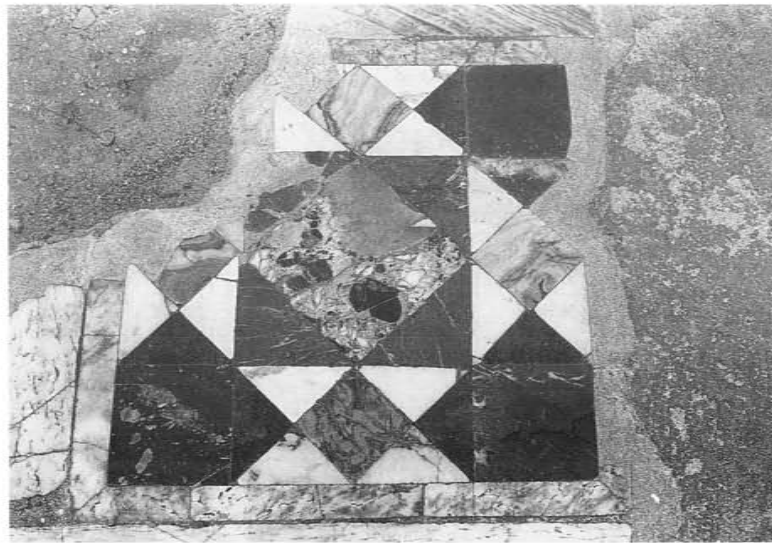


Fig. 84. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 9 (D.M.)

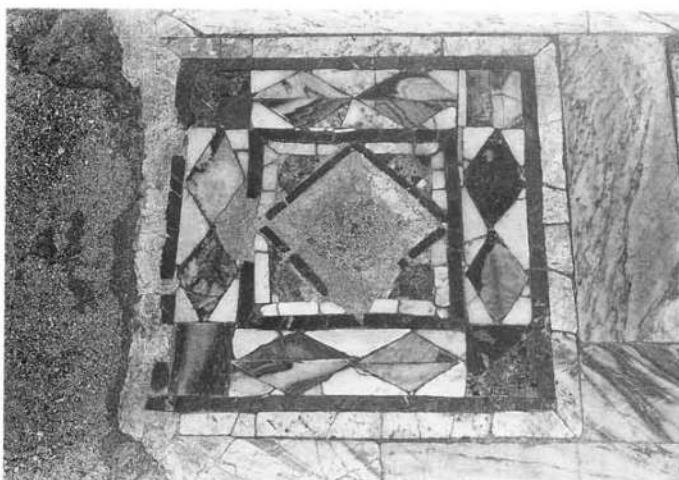


Fig. 85. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 10 (D.M.)



Fig. 86. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 14 (D.M.)

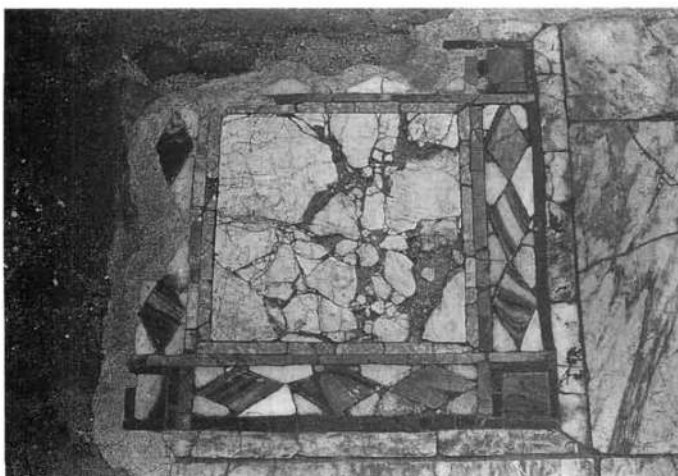


Fig. 87. *Opus sectile* 25, Building W. Panel 15 (D.M.)

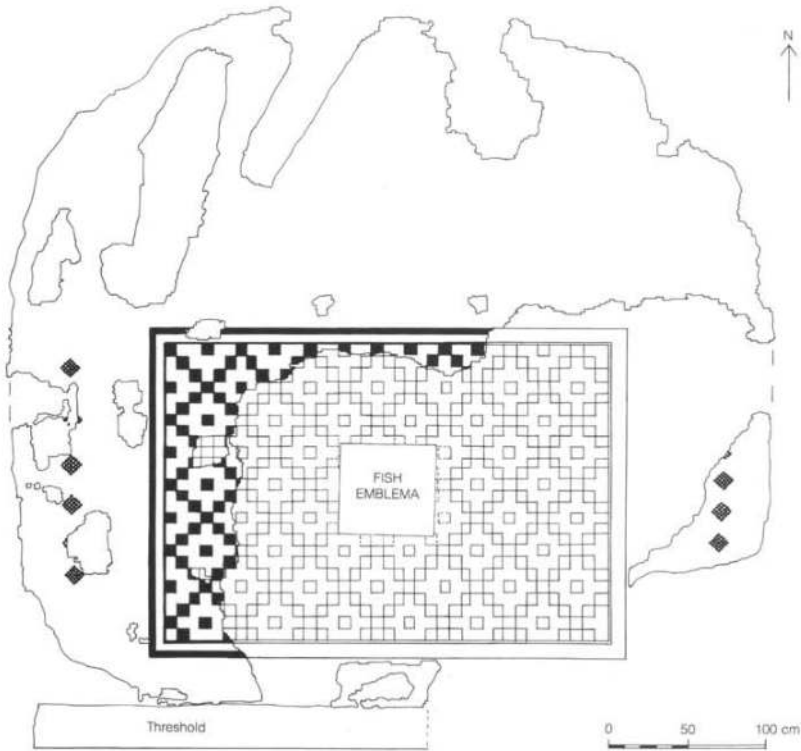


Fig. 88. Drawing of mosaic 26 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)



Fig. 89. Mosaic 26 and *opus sectile* 25, Building W, looking south, with emblema 27 removed (foreground scale: 1 metre) (S.L.S.)



Fig. 90. Mosaic 26 with *emblem 27 in situ*, Building W, looking south (1 metre scale) (S.L.S.)

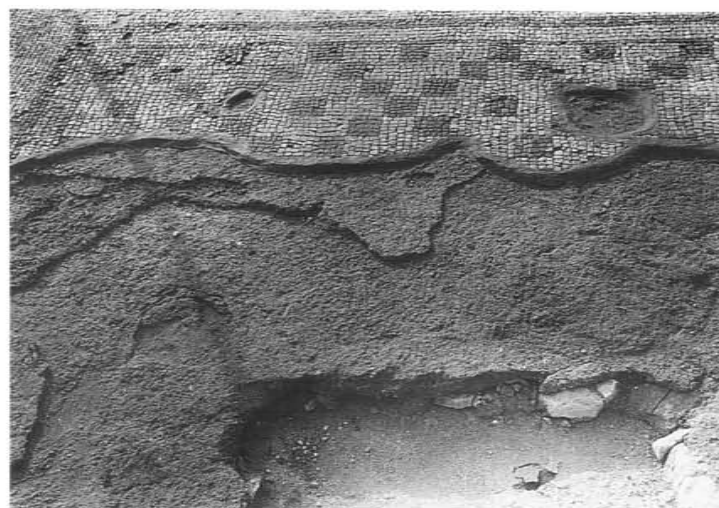


Fig. 91. Mosaic 26, Building W. Geometric field and foundation layers looking east (D.M.)

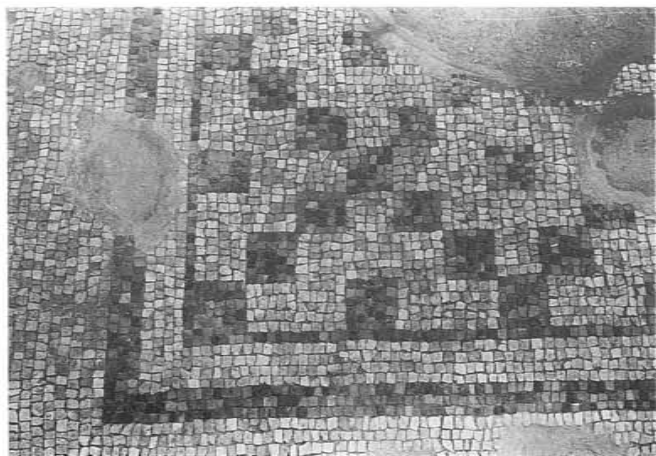


Fig. 92. Mosaic 26, Building W. North-western corner of geometric field (D.M.)



Fig. 93. Mosaic 26, Building W. Surround looking west (D.M.)

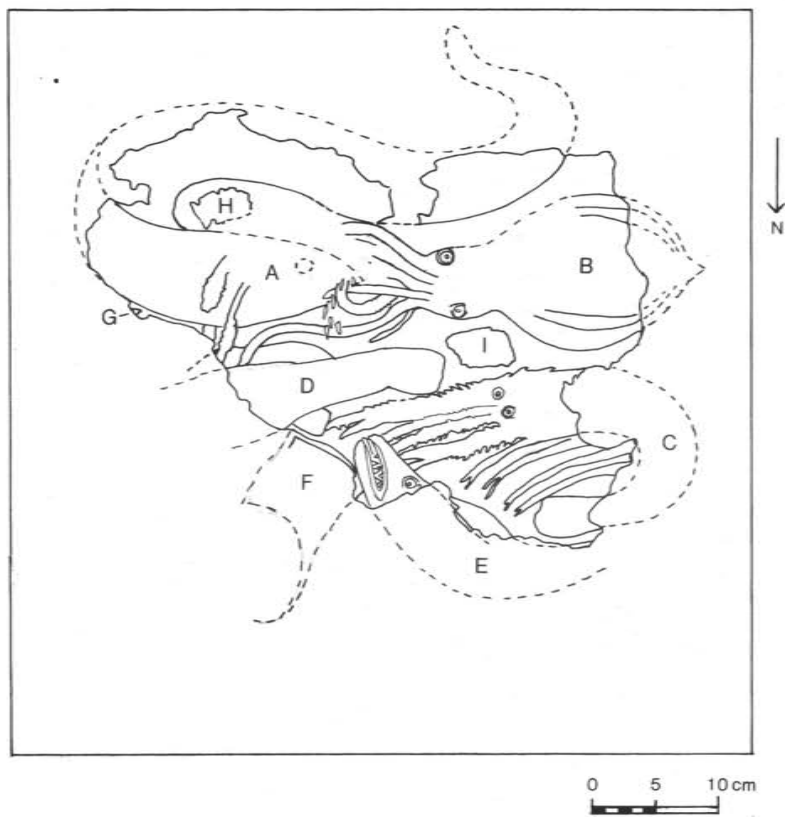


Fig. 94. Drawing of *emblema* 27 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (S.L.)



Fig. 95. *Emblema* 27 (first half of 3rd century), Building W (20 cm scale) (S.L.S.)



Fig. 96. *Emblema 27*, Building W. Detail with moray and cuttlefish (D.M.)



Fig. 97. *Emblema 27*, Building W. Detail with cuttlefish, alga and smooth serranus (D.M.)

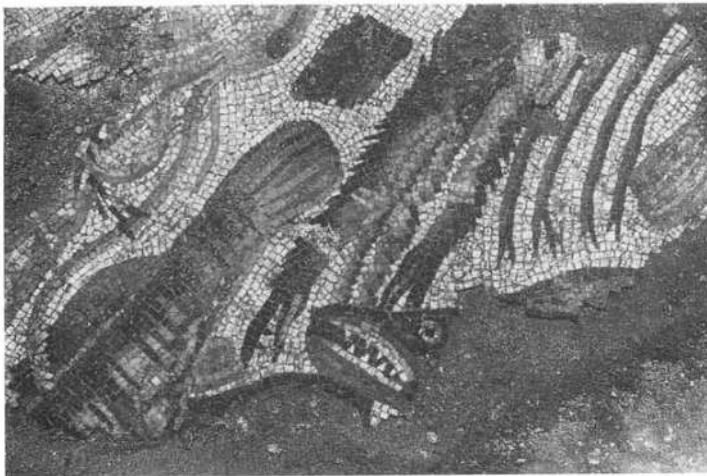


Fig. 98. *Emblema 27*, Building W. Detail with Norway lobster, cuttlefish, alga and dusky serranus(?) (D.M.)



Fig. 99. Mosaics 30–32, 'Casa di Leone', photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1724)

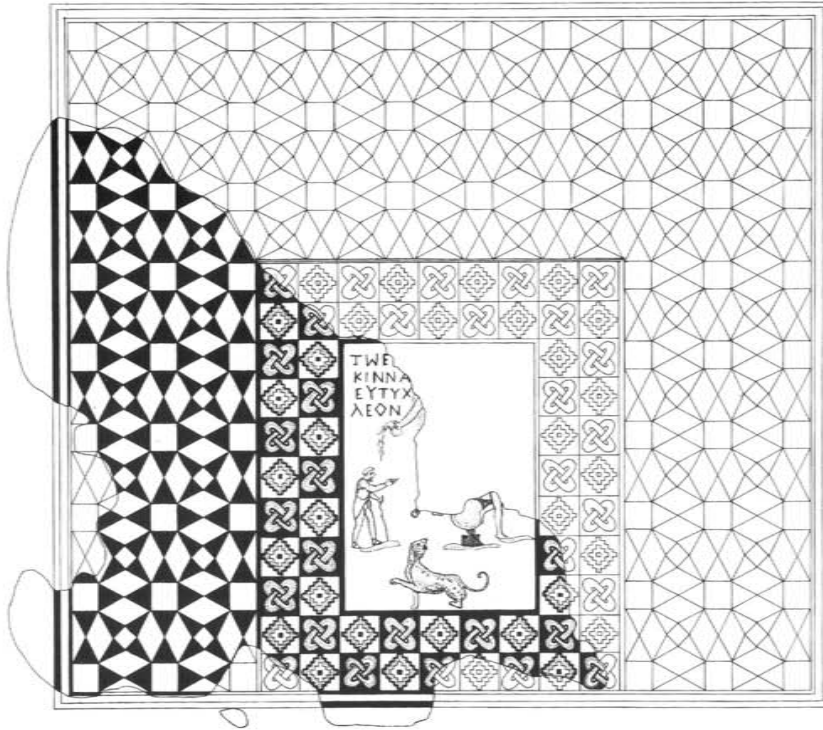


Fig. 100. Drawing of mosaic 30 (first half of 3rd century), 'Casa di Leone' (S.L.)

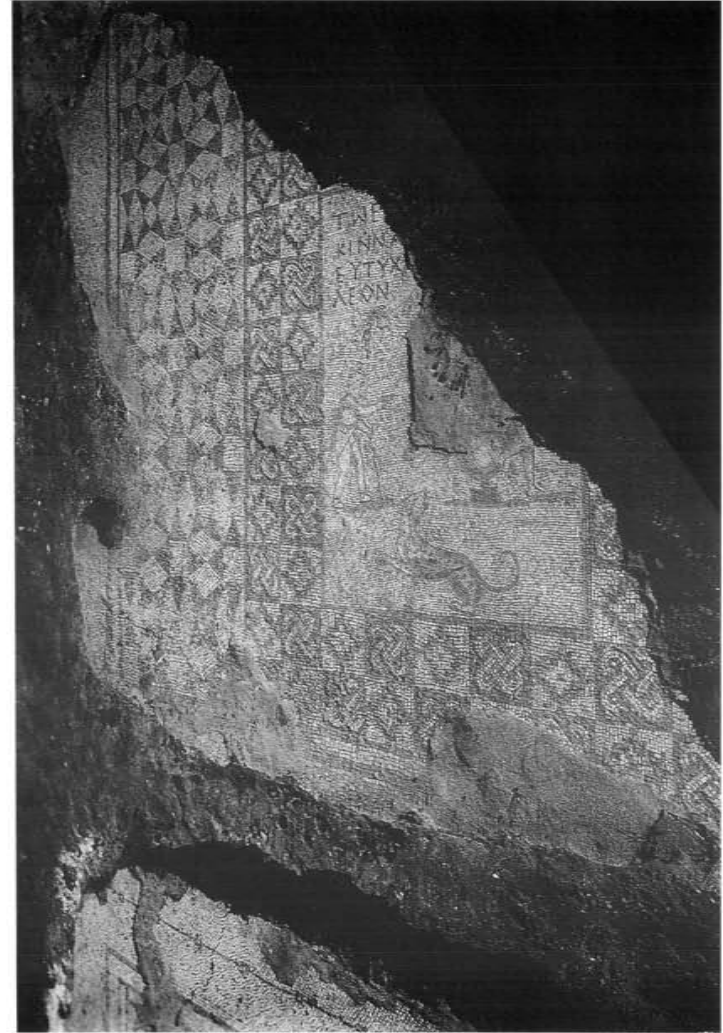


Fig. 101. Mosaic 30 (and 31) (first half of 3rd century), 'Casa di Leone', photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1727)

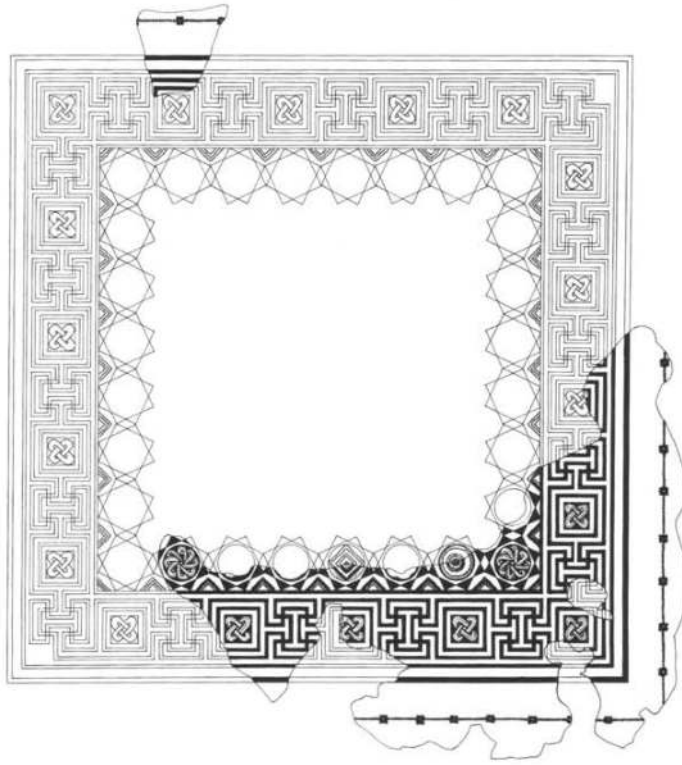


Fig. 102. Drawing of mosaic 31 (first half of 3rd century), 'Casa di Leone' (S.L.)

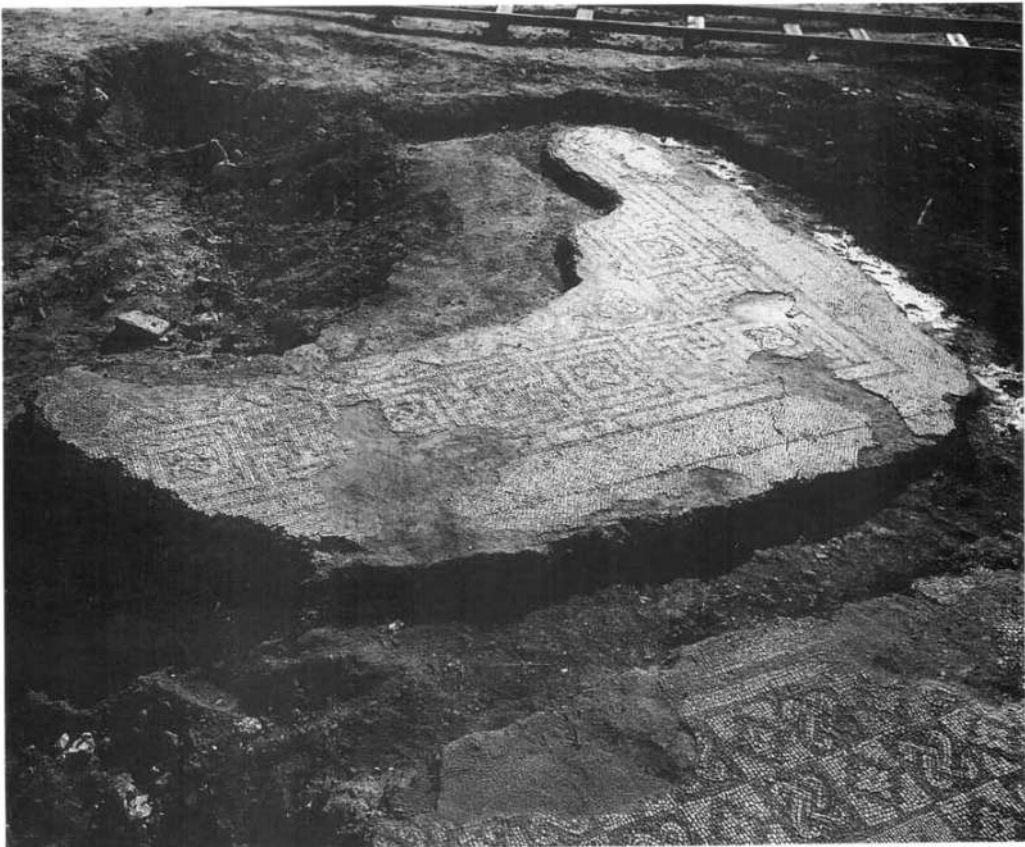


Fig. 103. Mosaic 31 (and 30) (first half of 3rd century), 'Casa di Leone', photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1729)

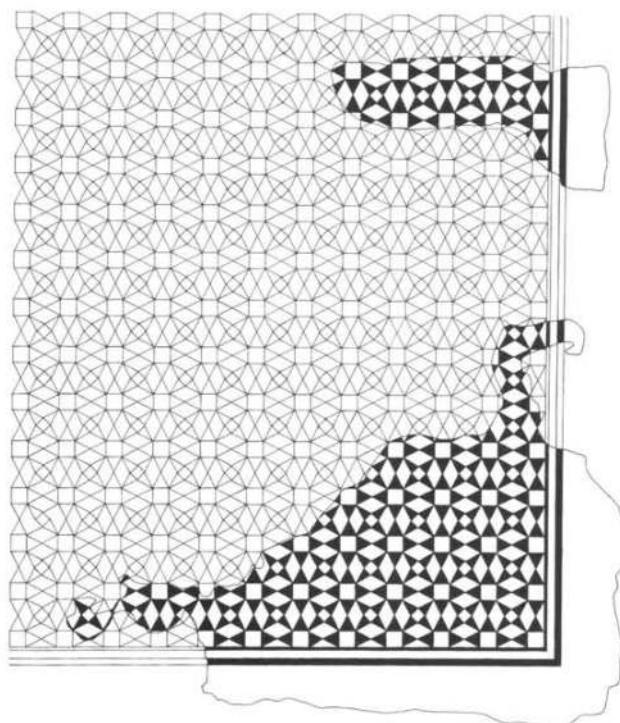


Fig. 104. Drawing of mosaic 32 (first half of 3rd century), 'Casa di Leone' (?) (S.L.)

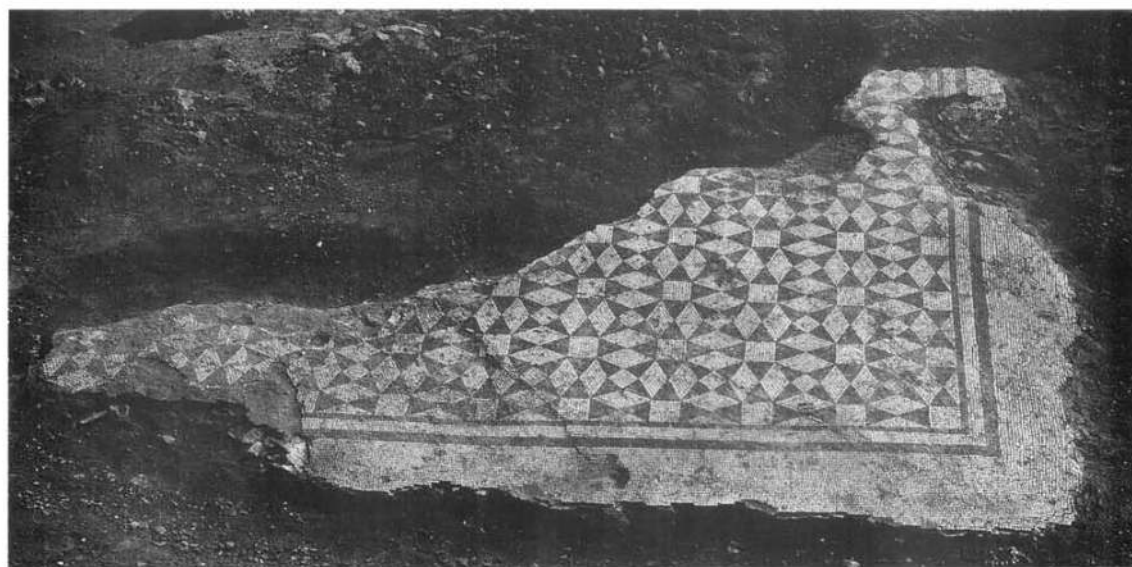


Fig. 105. Mosaic 32 (first half of 3rd century), 'Casa di Leone' (?), photographed in 1932 (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. E 1730).

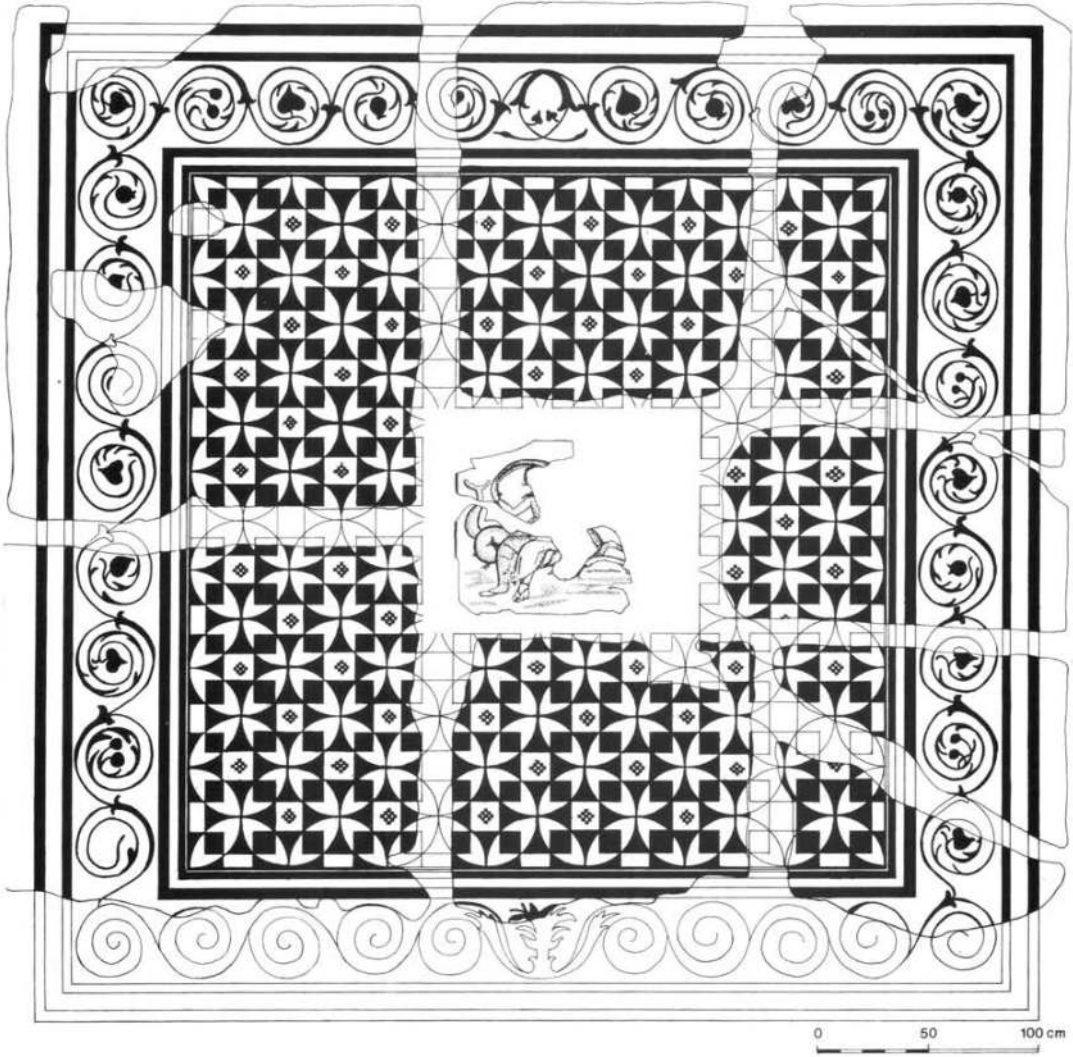


Fig. 106. Drawing of mosaic 34 (late 2nd/early 3rd century) from Shara Omar Mukhtar (S.L.)



Fig. 107. Mosaic 34 (late 2nd/early 3rd century) from Shara Omar Mukhtar (Department of Antiquities, Cyrene, neg. no. F 4928)

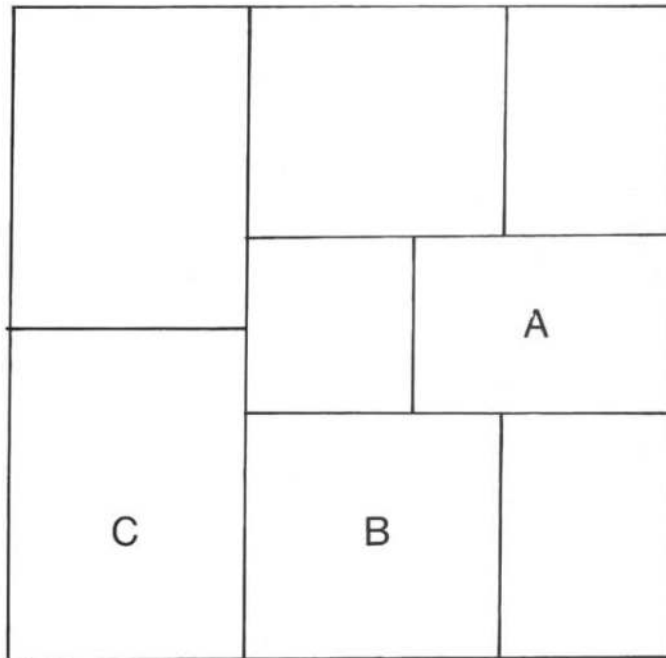


Fig. 108. Diagram showing position of rediscovered fragments A, B and C of mosaic 34 from Shara Omar Mukhtar (S.L.)

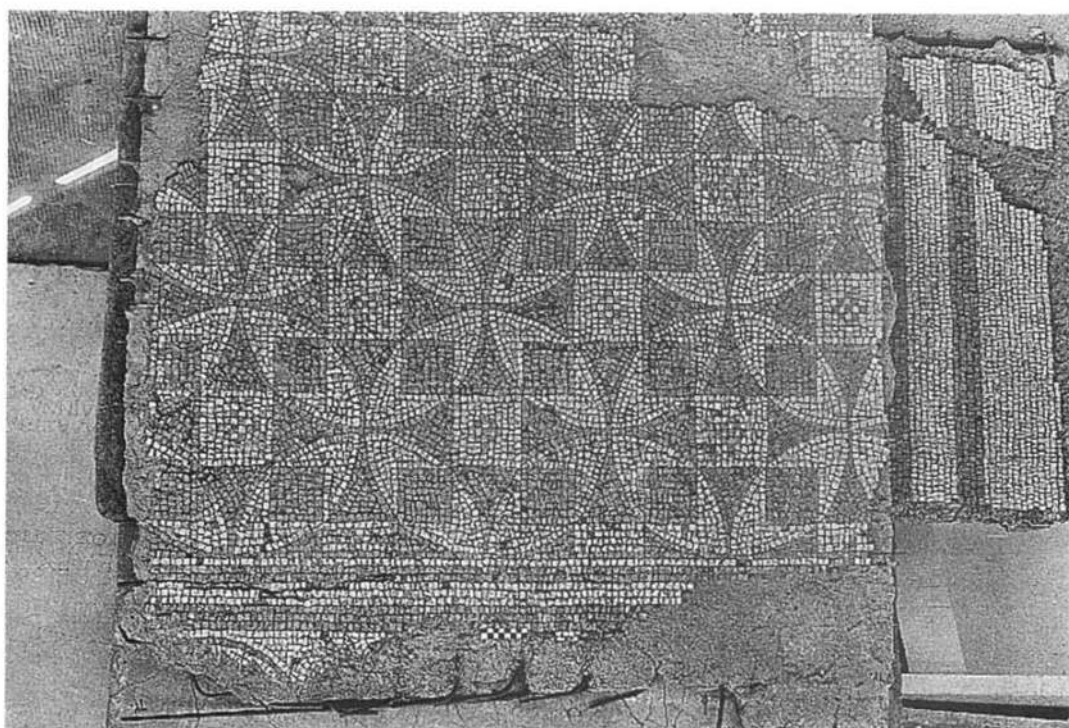


Fig. 109. Mosaic 34 from Shara Omar Mukhtar. Fragments B (and A) in Cyrene Museum (D.M.)

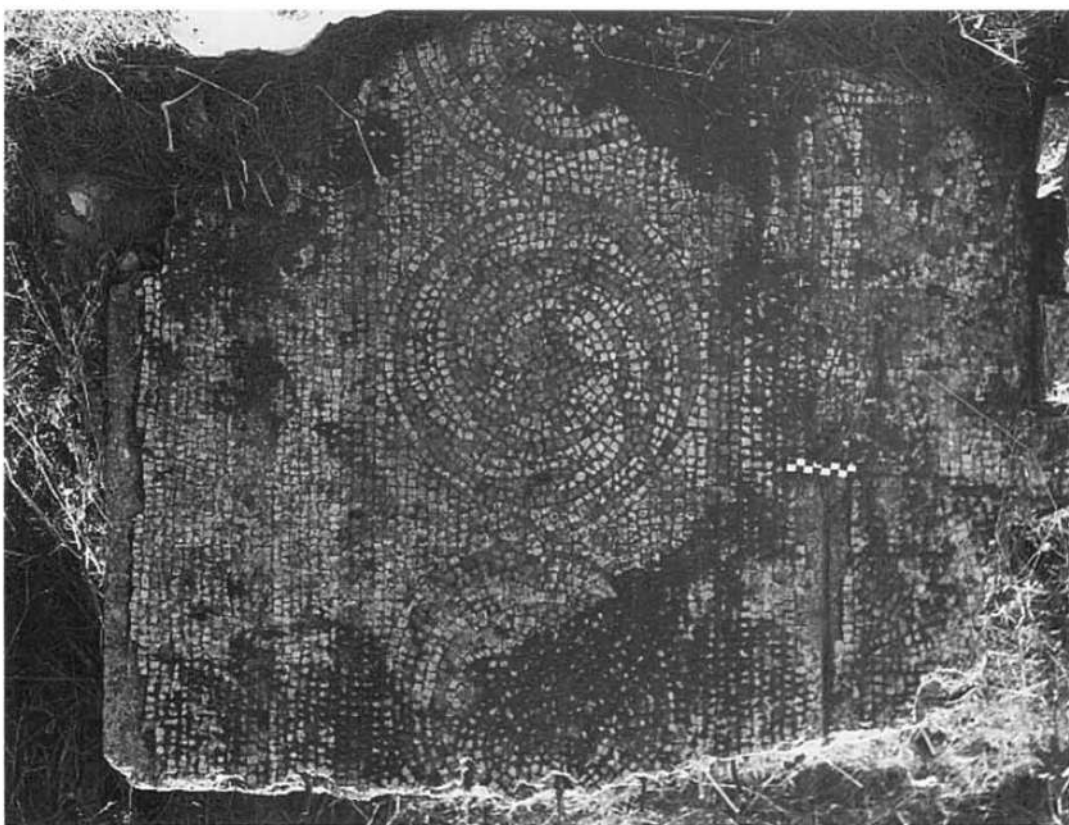


Fig. 110. Mosaic 34 from Shara Omar Mukhtar. Fragment C in Cyrene Museum (10 cm scale) (D.M.)

الفسيقياسه القورينائييه و تنظيمها المركزي و تقسيماتها الارضييه, بدن شك , ذات طابع شرقي. وكذلك نجد ان خائص الابيض و الاسود في فسيقياسه بينغازى لم تبقى غريبه , خصوصا بعد ظهور عديد من الامثله من اليونان كل الوقت. في نفس الوقت نجد بعض الزخارف ذات طراز ايطالي و البعض الاخر نجدها منتشره خلال الفسيقياسه اليونانيه الشرقيه. مثال على هذا, فسيقياسه البكره و الخرزه اللديونيديه من مبنى (ديليو) (فسيقياسه رقم 23). هذه المناظر بالخصوص محبوبه في اليونان و الشرق و منتشر استعمالها في قوريناييه. وبالرغم من انتشار زخرفه الترس, الممكن رؤيتها في منزل (اتش) (فسيقياسه رقم 3) و في منزل (بى) (3) (فسيقياسه رقم 20), في ايطاليا و باتساع اجزاء اخرى من العالم الرومانى, نجدها تناسب البيئه اليونانيه منذ ان هذا التصميم محبوب في اليونان.

كخلاصه عامه يمكننا ان نقول بان الفسيقياسه القورينائييه تنتمى الى تقليد منفرد يميز المنطقه. ويشمل طراز و تشكيل ذات عو امل لها طابع ايطالى او تخصص للقانون الفنى الرومانى. ولكن بالرغم من الخصوصيات الغالبه للتفصيل العلم و مفردات هذه الارضيات يونانيه الجوهر الا انها تعتبر شرقيه عامه. و دليل الشرق اليونانى و اوضح من خلال الفسيقياسه الهيلينيستيه القورينائييه, في القتره المبكره, نجد كذلك ان اى. الفولدى - روزنيم وصل الى نفس الانتماء في الفسيقياسه الجوستانينييه في المنطقه. و هذا لا يدعو للدشه بان نفس العملاء قد اتجوا نفس النمط في قترات لاحقه. و هذا الاستنتاج من دراسه الفسيقياسه اكده الدكتور جون لويد عند كلامه على العماره القورينائييه بقوله "بان انتماء قورينائييه الاساسي خلال العصور بقى الى اليونان و الشرق " .

بالرغم من ان ارضيه الايوبوس سكتايل (رقم 25) مبنى (دبليو) يصعب تصنيفها فهي تنتمي الى نفس تقليد تلك النمط من جزيره جيسون ماقنوس ومع هذا تختلف في عده جوانب.

و بالرغم الى الفسيفساء نجد التشابه قريبا جدا و عند فحص الفسيفساء من المبنى العام يتولوميس يقرب نجد اكثر من تشابه. هذه الارضيات مطابقة في استعمال المواد, حجم المكعبات, عرض الاطارات و اختيار الزخرفه. بدون شك ان هذه الفسيفساء معاصره لتلك من بنغازى (بالرغم من انها من ناحيه تقليديا اعزيت الى فترة مبكرة) و ابتكرت في مصنع واحد. بالنظر الى الفسيفساء القورينائية ككل نشعر باننا لا نتعامل مع منتجات اجنبية, مصانع منتقلة من مكان الى اخر عبر قورينائية, او فنانين يخدمون مومولين في اوقات مختلفة. هذه الفسيفساء تعكس مناخ فني مستقر (بالرغم من انه غير ملهم بالخيال) والذي وحد منتجات المصانع المختلفة العاملة في قورينائية خلال القرن الثاني و بداية القرن الثالث ب م. ليس بإمكاننا معرفة هذا العمل قد ادخل حديثا او كان موجود من قبل و لكن يمكننا القول بان عمل فنانى الفسيفساء القورينائية لم يكن يعزله عن العالم الخارجى و لابد من انهم وقعو تحت تأثير مراكز كبرى اخرى. هناك اخر اقتراح بان قورينانيا كانت جسر لهجرات المصانع الفنية الى تريبوليتانيا و اخيرا الى بيزكنيا وبقى افريقيا البر وقصليه. نتيجة تحليل فسيفساء بنغازى لم تدعم هذه النظرية حيث لم يكن لدينا فكرة واضحة عن فن الفسيفساء الاسكندرى فى الفترة الرومانية. هناك معضلة يجب اخذها فى الاعتبار وهى صعوبه عبور هذه المصانع الفنية خاليج سرت الكبير الى تريبوليتانيا. ونفس هذا الحاجز الطبيعي, يحول عن التأثير المباشر من الغرب مثل بيزكنيا و افريقيا البر وقصليه. بعد التفاضلى على الاستثناءات, لا يوجد ما يربط هذه الفسيفساء مباشرة مع تلك من الو الايات الغربية لشمال افريقيا. هناك استثنائين يتكوران من تقليد الايوبوس سكتايل (رقم 16) من منزل (بى 1), والذي ينتمى الى التقليد الشعبي التابع من الو الايات الغربية لشمال افريقيا, و الى طراز الميدالية نتاج مصانع تريبوليتانيا الفنية, و التى تنتمى الى القطع الصغيرة سهله النقل. و على اى حال يمكن ملاحظه التشابه الاخر بين تصميم الفسيفساء القورينائية و الشمال الافريقيه الاخرى و الذى يمكن اعزاه الى قوانين الزخرفه الرومانية العامة الكورين و التى ميعت فى شمال افريقيا حتى نصف القرن الثانى ب م.

و بعد عزل التأثير المباشر من الشرق و الغرب من قورينانيا لم يبقى الا النظر الى الشمال. لا يمكن غض النظر عن التشابه الموجود بين بعض الفسيفساء من برنيقى و الفسيفساء ذات النمط الابيض و الاسود من المدن الايطالية, مثلا/وستيا. نجد ان فسيفساء بنغازى و قورينانيا لم ترعى التوازن بين الزخرفه و الاستعمال و الذى طرحه بيكاتى كخاصيه لانتاج الفسيفساء فى القرن الرابع ب م فى ايطاليا, و الاكثر من هذا نجد ان الزخرفه ايطالية تقليديه. لا يوجد امثال موازيه لشبكه المخفيات المتعاقبه مع سطور من المربعات و ازواج من المثلثات فى اللوحه الجزييه للفسيفساء من منزل (نتش) فسيفساء رقم 3؛ أشكال 5 وما بعد) الا فى ايطاليا و التى تقع تحت عائله الزخرفه الايطالية الغير معروفة فى اليونان, يوجد شبيه للميترز المقول, و الذى يمكن رؤيته فى فسيفساء ارقام 19 و 24 من منزل (بى 3) و منزل (دبليو 3) بالثوالى, فى خارج قورينائية بايطاليا.

وبالرغم من التشابه القريب نجد ان الخاصيات العامة لفسيفساء قورينائية اقرب الى النوع اليونانى الشرقى اكثر من الايطالى. و لازلت اصول الفسيفساء اليونانية تحت النقاش الغير راجح وهذا يرجع لسوء الحظ نتيجة لقصور النشر فى موضوع الفسيفساء فى اليونان. من الظاهر يبدو ان بعض الفسيفساء اليونانية خصوصا فى عصر الامبراطوريه المبكره تشبه فى طرازها و اندام الاوان الفسيفساء الايطالية. و الاكثر من هذا يعتقد بان الطراز الايطالى للابيض و الاسود قد صدر فى خلال القرن الاول و الثانى ب م الى الشرق. و لازلت الفسيفساء البيضاء و السوداء نادره فى اليونان, ولكن باتباع الخطوط العامة لا يمكننا تحديد اتجاه التأثير الايطالى على اليونانى او بالعكس.

1972. أظهرت الصور الشمسية التي اخذت وقت الاكتشاف حالة الحفاظ الفقيرة للوحه المركزيه, وكذلك اظهرت قليل من التفاصيل الاخرى, مفقوده الان, والتي سوف تساعدنا على تفسير المنظر. فى الجهه اليسرى نجد اجنحه كبيره لفرشه متبانيه مع الخلفيه السوداء (العيون المركزيه لواحد من الاجنحه كانت مرنيه سنه 1965) و فى جهه اليسار نجد مخطط محيط لراس صغير وبالقرب منه جناح بريش ابيض. بالرغم من وجود تفاصيل اخرى لا يمكن اضافته اكثر من ان الموضوع يشمل *ايروس* و *سايقى*. بالنظر الى حاله الفسيفساء يمكن اعتبارها اضافه مهمه الى قائمه تجسيد *ايروس* و *سايقى* فى فن الفسيفساء.

فى اطار فسيفساء الاشكال يمكن ذكر ميداليه (رقم 27) ذات الطابع البحرى. صنعت فى صفره من التراكوتا (59×59 سم) تم ادخلت فى مركز خلفيه هندسيه سوداء وبيضاء (رقم 26) فى مبنى (دبليو). حاله الحفاظ هنا فقيره ولكن اجزاء من تسعه مخلوقات البحر قد عاشت مصنوعه من مكعبات ضئيله جدا (معظمها من زجاج) متبانيه مع خلفيه بيضاء. يهمن على المركز قتال دامى بين ثعبان بحر (مورينا هلينا) و نوع من الاخطبوط (سيبيا اوفيكيناليس), وهذه بوضوح تنتمى الى النوع الثالث (مناظر الحياه البحرى) من تقسيم ميبون للفسيفساء البحرى. يشبه التجسيد و الملامح العامه للمداليه تلك الفسيفساء و الميداليات التى وجدت مركزه بكثره فى منطقه تريبوليتانيا. هناك عده اسباب للاعتقاد بان هذه الميداليات صنعت فى مصانع فنيه تريبوليتانيه خلال اواخر القرن الثانى ب م ثم ادخلت فى ارضيات فيسيفساء بنغازى فى فتره متاخره.

تعتبر لوحات بنغازى ذات الاشكال مهمه جدا, الا ان سوء حاله حفاظها و تجزئها تجعلها غير مفيده لدراسه مقارنه الطراز. و بالرغم من هذا نجد ان فسيفساء الاقنعه الديونيسييه من مبنى (دبليو, فسيفساء رقم 23) تشابه بقوه فسيفساء من منزل *نيونيسوس* فى *كنوسوس* بجزيره كريت, و الفسيفساء الديونيسييه حديثا فى *نيون* بشمال اليونان. مع ان المثل الوحيد الموازى لفسيفساء *سيلينيوس كبيد/قوقوس*, (رقم 30) من منزل الاسد, تلك الفسيفساء من *ارقوس*, فلا بد لهذا معنى واضح. بالتباين مع هذا نجد بامكان ايجاد مقارنه جيده للفسيفساء الهندسيه. بعد فحص هذه الارضيات نجد اقرب الامثله الموازيه موجوده فى *قورينا*. وفى الحقيقه نجد توافق بين الفسيفساء المكتشفه فى *برنيقى*, *بتولومايس*, *ابولونيا* و *قورينا*. نجد كذلك تشابه خصوصا فى الموضوع المركزى, الزخرفه الهندسيه المتواضعه و قله استعمال الالوان. الامثله التاليه سوف توضح النقطه السالف ذكرها: كان نمط المثلثات المفصوله بمربعات منتشر عبر العالم الرومانى, واستعمل مع عناصر زخرفيه ثانويه. يمكن روئيه هذا النمط فى فسيفساء رواق منزل (أر 3) (فسيفساء رقم 6) و التى سلبت حتى الخطوط الاساسيه, وهذا اعطاها ميزه ومظهر عام مختلف. يمكننا ان نجد اقرب مثل موازى لها فى ارضيه جزيره *جيسون ماقنوس* فى *قورينا*, و مثلين اخرين من *بتولومايس* احدهما من الفيلا و الاخر من المبنى العام. نجد ان زخرفه *الميانر* المبسطه كنمط عام غير منتشره. اقرب مثل موازى لامثله منزل (أر 3) (فسيفساء رقم 8) يمكن ايجاده فى ارضيات قصر الاعمده فى *بتولومايس*, فى جزيره *جيسون ماقنوس* فى *قورينا* حيث استعمل كاطار, و فى فيلا *بتولومايس* حيث استعملت على النمط الموجود فى بنغازى و ليس على غرار العريشه ذات الورقه المربعه المشكله نتيجه تقاطع الدائرات و التى كانت منتشره فى العالم القديم. كانت العرائش ذات الورق المربع, و التى تشكل مثنى مقعر يغطى معظم ارضيه الصاله الكبيره للمبنى (دبليو) (فسيفساء رقم 22), منتشره فى خلال فتره قصيره فقط ولم تنتشر على مساحه واسعه. توجد امثله اخرى معروفه من *اوستيا*, *افيسوس*, و حتى *اوكساما* فى اسبانيا و لكن نجد اقرب الامثله من *قورينا*: فى صاله *الارتوستاتى* فى جزيره *جيسون ماقنوس* فى *قورينا* و فى الفيلا و المبنى العام *بتولومايس*. و على نفس الطريقه تقليد طراز *الايوبوس سكتايل* لمنزل (بى 1) (فسيفساء رقم 16) ينتمى الى نفس التقليد للفسيفساء المكتشفه فى *قورينا* حيث توجد لا يقل عن سبعة امثله (من حمامات *ترجان*, معبد *جوبتر* و جزيره *جيسون ماقنوس* فى *قورينا*). و

هذا المنظر فى السابق باسطوره/ايولاوس وهيبى ولكن الان يصعب دعم هذا التفسير . بعض العناصر توحى بان هذه اللوحه ترسم اسطورة ديونيسيوس و/ايكارىوس بالرغم انها يمكن ان تمثل اله الخمر وحاشيته . ونجد على عدد كبير من الاعمال الفنيه فى جميع المواد طبيعه و قفه ديونيسيوس واضحه . نتيجته لاستيعابه للخمر يمكن تحديد درجه و عيه بوضوح عن طريقه تحكمه فى الاناء والخمر ينصب منه ,ومن العاده البير الى جانبه مستعد لعلق الخمر . فى هذه الوحه اخذ العجوز مكان البير . وشخصيه العجوز ولباسه دلائل لنوع الفيلسوف/المتجول وبدون شك هذا يكون دور *بايد/اقوقوس* الى *ديونيسيوس* . *سايلىنيوس* , مع اعضاء حاشيه *ديونيسيوس* , مثل ما وجد عاده فى فسيفساء موكب *ديونيسيوس* او *ثياسوس* , ولكن فى هذه الحاله يمثل *سيليوس* *كيايد/اقوقوس* , وبالرغم من انه وجد على التوابيث الديونوسيه و فى الفنون الصغيره فانه وجد مره واحده ممثلا فى فسيفساء فى مكان اخر . هنا نشير الى فسيفساء *التركلينيوم* من المنزل الشرقى للمسرح فى مدينه ارقوس حيث يوجد شكل واقف (وجد الجزء السفلى و سولجان فقط) بجانب *ديونيسيوس* مطابق للشكل المكتشف فى فسيفساء بنغازى . وبالرغم من ان هذه الفسيفساء متاخره , ترجع الى القرن السادس , فهى تنتمى الى نفس التقليد التصويرى من برنيقى . ولازال الشكل الذى يقع بجانب الاناء الى يمين اللوحه مجهولا ربما كان لاحد اتباع *ديونيسيوس* .

وجد تمثيل تقليدى اخر فى صورته النريد الذى يركب مخلوق البحر فى مثالين من برنيقى . أحدهما (فسيفساء رقم 34) اكتشف فى شارع عمر المختار سنة 1940 , وكما دعمت بالصور فى ذلك الوقت نجد الفسيفساء متكونه من ثمانية اجزاء مرفوعه باستعمال الخرسانه . يعتقد الفقيد قودشايلد بان هذه الفسيفساء قد دمرت فى الحرب العالميه الثانيه و فى سنة 1973 ثلاثه من هذه الاجزاء وجدت فى المتحف الاثرى فى قورينا . كل هذه الاجزاء تحمل الزخرفه الهندسيه , و لم يكتشف اى اثر للاجزاء ذات الاشكال الانسانيه . كانت حاله الفسيفساء سيئه حتى فى وقت الاكتشاف . لم تظهر الصوره اكثر من ذيل سمكه ملتويه و جزء من صدر مخلوق البحر , ولم يبقى من النريد الا الارجل و الجزء العلوى من اليد اليسرى و كذلك حجاب كبير مملو بالريح و الذى مسكته فوق راسها .

و لسوء الحظ نجد ان فسيفساء النريد الثانيه مجزاه ايضا , وهى متكونه من شبه ميداليه فى مركز فسيفساء هندسيه بيضاء وسوداء فى منزل (آر 3) (فسيفساء رقم 7) . لم يظهر منها فى وقت الاكتشاف الا جزء من الصدر و الارجل الاماميه لحيوان يجرى و جزء صغير اخر يظهر النهايه السفلى للباس و رجل النريد . بالامكان تعريفه بمخلوق البحر (و ليس بثور) من خلال شعيرات التحسس الطويله و التى بدورها تنفى تفسير المنظر بانه اغتصاب اوروبا و الذى يشابهه فى التصوير الشكلى .

نفس حاله الحفاظ الفقيره تنطبق على الفسيفساء التشكليه من برنيقى , وبالرغم من الموضوع الرئيسى سهل التميز نجد صعوبه ترجمته . لم نجد صعوبه فى تفسير الفسيفساء المكتشفه سنة 1965 سنة 1965 فى منزل (بى 3) و التى اعيد اكتشافها قريبا (1975) مجزاة على شكل قطع صغيره و موجوده الان فى متحف توكره الاثرى (فسيفساء رقم 20) . نجد فسيفساء الذرع محكمه الصنع بالمدايه المركزيه مزخرفه باشكال ملونه بخلفيه بيضاء و سوداء . دمرت غالبيه هذه الفسيفساء التى كانت تحمل تسجيد للاله *هيليويس* و الذى لم يبقى منه الا اشعه الشمس , التى تشع من راسه , و اربع اصابع يده اليمنى . صور من الامام ويده اليمنى مرفوعه بايماعته السحريه *سول /نفتوس* (حامى الشمس) .

رخرف *التركلينيوم* الخاص بمنزل (بى 1) بطراز هندسى مرصع بلوحات مزينه باقتعه , عسافير و تقليد لطراز *اوبوس سكتايل* (فسيفساء رقم 16) و فى المركز نجد شبه ميداليه عاش منها جزء صغير . اكتشفت هذه الفسيفساء بالصدفه سنة 1965 ثم اعيد حفرها سنة 1971 -

يشمل فسيفساء رقم 3 (منزل أتش)، رقم 5 (مبنى آل)، رقم 6 (منزل آر)، رقم 3 (منزل آر)، رقم 10-11 (منزل أس 1)، رقم 17 (منزل بي 1) و ارقام 19-20 (منزل بي 3)، رقم 22 (مبنى دبليو) و رقم 31 ("منزل الاسد") و الشكل الثاني رقم 7 (منزل آر 3)، رقم 23 (مبنى دبليو) و رقم 34 (فسيفساء من شارع عمر المختار).

الموضه السائده بوضوح هي الارضية الهندسيه ذات الابيض و الاسود باستناه البعض الذى يحتوى على مداليه ملونه مركزيه باشكال ملونه. عند استعمال الالوان فى الزخرفه الهندسيه كالعاده استخدمت باقتصاد. هنا يمكننا ملاحظه بعض التغير فى الموضه الساريه وذلك لوجود ثلاثه امثله فقط من الزخرفه الهندسيه استعملت فيها الالوان (رقم 23 من مبنى دبليو، و ارقام 30-31 من "منزل الاسد") و تعتبر هذه متأخره عن الارضيات الاخرى ويمكن ان توضح الى النصف الاول من القرن الثالث و بسهل اعزاء ها الى نفس العامل الذى ساعد على غنى لوحه الالوان الاخرى من القرن الثانى للنصف الثانى الميلادى. تفضيل الاسود و الابيض يعتبر صيق الجوره و ليس نتيجة لعدم توفر المواد الخام او قله الموارد الماليه ويضهر هذا بوضوح فى مبنى (دبليو) المزخرف بسخاه بمختلف المواد (بما فيه فرسكو و ستكو ملونين - جس ملون)، و زخرفات اغلب ارضياته (و التى تشمل مداليه و اربوس سكتايل) بفسيفساء الابيض و الاسود.

استعملت كذلك الالوان فى الزخارف المضافه مثل جره الباقه فى فسيفساء رقم 3 (اشكال 5 و مابعد) من منزل (اتش) و فى اللوحات الثانويه الصغيره مثل تلك فى حجره الجوس /التركينيوم رقم 16 من منزل (بي). بالرغم من ان الطراز السائد هو الابيض و الاسود فى كل اللوحات الرئيسيه من ذات الاشكال الملونه لم نجد ارضيه تتبع التقليد الايطالى للاشكال البيضاء و السوداء.

وبالرغم من ان اللوحات ذات اشكال معروفه فى بنغازى، و التى تصل الى سته فى عددها، فهى اما مجزاة او مقفوده. نجدها تعكس سرد متوخ الى جرى، وكما متوقع توجد هناك امثله للسرد المعتاد منها اثنتين يمثلان شخصيه ديونيسوس. احدهما رقم 23 من مبنى (دبليو) مزخرفه بمائزر ملون وفى المركز مربع مقسم الى خمس لوحات صغيره مزخرفه باقعه مرتبه على شكل خماسى. اهم هذه هي اللوحه المركزيه التى دمرت فى الفتره الاثرية. تتميز اللوحات الاربعه الاخرى بطابع ديونيسى (موضوع اله الخمر) وواضح، حيث يوجد ساتير باذان ماعز؛ حوريه او راقصه متوجهه بياقه من الزهور؛ الاله بان بانذيه المذنبه، قرون و لحيه مفروقه؛ و اخيرا الاله سيلينيوس العجوز بلحيته الشابه وراسه الاصلح المتوج. الجميع ينظرون باتجاه المدليه المقفوده فى المركز و التى لم يبق منها الا وصلات من الشعر القليله. وترجع الاقعه الى السرد الديونسى المعتاد فقط. بالرغم من عدم وجود خصائص لها يمكننا تفسيرها كرمز للفصول الاربعه، فالساتير يمثل الصيف؛ الراقصات يتاج الزهور الريح؛ بان و رفاقه الخريف و العجوز سيلينيوس الشتاء. الفسيفساء الاخرى (رقم 30) التى تمثل ديونيسوس اكتشفت تحت منزل الاسد مع فسيفساء اخرى (ارقام 31-32) سنه 1932. ويبدو ان كل هذه الفسيفساء الثلاثه قد دمرت فى خلال الحرب العالميه الثانيه ولحسن الحظ ان بعض الصور اخذت سنه 1932 عاشت الحرب. جزء من المنظر و اربعة سطور من النقش اليونانى ذات الحروف الكبيره عاش بعد العثور عليه مجزاء. هذه الحروف غير كافيه لترجمتها و هي:

[...AEON [.../EYTYXX [.../KINNA [...TWE]

طبيعه الوقفه و مد اليد اليمنى تحمل جره يصب منها النبيذ تشير الى ان الشخصيه الكبيره الواقفه فى المركز هو ديونيسوس. ويؤكد هذا التعريف وجود احدى دلائل الاله و هي حيوان البير. على يسار اللوحه و تحت مصب النبيذ يوجد عجوز ملتحي، صور من الجانب، يمشى باتجاه مركز اللوحه و يدغم نفسه بعصاه ملتويه. و على اليمين، الجانب المقفود توجد بقايا شخص اخر. عرف

المطقة عامه بقيت فقيره نسبيا و محافظه عبر تاريخها الكلاسيكي. ونتيجة لهذا ان عدد المواقع التي يمكنها ان تتمتع بزخارف الفسيفساء اقل بكثير من منطقه افريقيا الشماليه, باستثناء بعض الاكتشافات العشوائيه والتي ذكرت في التقارير الاثريه مثل: قورينا , ابولونياو بتولومايس و برنيقي. وحتى في هذه الحالات تشكل الفسيفساء المشوره جزء بسيط من العدد المكتشف. ربما هذا يرجع الى ان الفسيفساء في قورينا, باعدادها اليست قابله, لم تظهر علامات التجديد و التلويح او الاعداد الهائله للماض ذات الشكال في منطقه افريقيا الشماليه. الحقيقه الاساسيه, والتي تعكس الوضع الحقيقي, انه تم الاكتشاف سيدي خريش على ارضيات في مناطق صغيره سنيه المحافظه بعيده عن المباني المركزيه في جزء غير مزدهر من المدينه. اهميه فسيفساء برنيقي هي حقيقه اكتشاف 25 من الارضيات, التي توثقت في هذا المقال, من خلال الحفره وهي لازالت في اطارها الطبيعى حيث يمكن تاريخها في اغلب الاحيان بدقة. وهذا يتبين مع كثير من الفسيفساء المشوره والتي تعانى عدم دقة التاريخ. و من خلال دراسه بعض الارضيات في بنغازى يمكننا ان نعمل بعض تورايج مجموعات اخرى من قورينا.

بالرغم من ان عدد من الفسيفساء التي عاشت من برنيقي لم تكن كثيره ولكن بإمكانها ان تعطينا صورة للمناخ الفنى في المدينه و قورينا ككل خلال الفتره ما بين 100-250 ب.م. و جاءت الاغلبه من مسكن خاصه باستثناء تلك من مبنى (دبليو) (ارقام 22-27) الكبير الذى يمكن ان يكون ذا وظيفه مدينه. بما ان هذه المباني تقع خارج احياء المدينه الراقيه يمكن اعتبار الفسيفساء الناتجه ما هي الا انعكاس للطراز العام للزخرفه المنازل الشعبيه الداخليه. فنزل (بى-1) غير عادى لوجود لا يقل عن ستة حجرات مغطيه بارضيات من الفسيفساء (ارقام 13-18). بما ان عدد قليل من الحجرات في منزل واحد مزخرفه بالفسيفساء يفترض بان الحجرات المبلطه بالفسيفساء خاصه بالضيوف. لسوء الحظ معظم هذه المنازل كشف جزء منها فقط هذا جعل مهمه تحديد وظائف الحجرات مستحيل, باستثناء الرواق (رقم 6-شكل 16 اف) منزل (ار-3), ومثلين آخرين لمخطمين على شكل حرف (يو) حول المساحه المزخرفه يؤكدا باستخدامهما كحجرتى جلوس تريكينيا (رقم 16 في منزل بى-1 و رقم 30 في منزل الاسد). مخطط ارضيات لجره رقم 7 في مبنى (دبليو) يوحى بان له وظيفه خاصه, و زخرف الجزء السفلى للتبلاط على طراز الاويس سكتايك, والجزء العلوى بفسيفساء ابيض و اسود بمدايه في المركز, و في هذين الجزئين يوجد مكان لدكات مبنية واثات متحرك. الجزء العلوى على شكل محراب يشبه ستينيليريوم (متكى على شكل نصف دائرى). لاشك بان الحجره لها وظيفه رسميه مثل صاله اكل او جلوس. يجب الملاحظه بان خصسه من السته ارضيات الفسيفساء ذات الاشكال الانسانيه في برنيقي - باستثناء الفسيفساء المنعزله (رقم 34؛ اشكال 125 وما بعد) من شارع عمر المحتر - ووجدت في في حجرات لها علاقه مباشره مع حجره اخرى مزخرفه بالفسيفساء ذات الطراز الابيض و الاسود الهندسى: مثل فسيفساء رقم 7 و 8 في منزل آر 3؛ ارقام 16 و 17 في منزل بى 1؛ ارقام 20 و 21 في منزل بى 3؛ ارقام 23 و 24 من مبنى (دبليو)؛ ارقام 30 و 31 من مبنى المسمى "بمنزل الاسد".

من الملاحظ المثيره للفسيفساء برنيقي هو طرازها الموحد. و استخدمت طريقه اعداد الارضيه لشرح الفسيفساء, المواد المستعمله, و حجم و كثافه المكعبات كمييار خلال العصر. غالبيه الفسيفساء كانت من ذات نوع الابيض و الاسود مع ندرت وجود الملون. و كثر استعمال الفسيفساء الملونه في اللوحات الاشكال الانسانيه تم ذلك باستعمال الحجر و في بعض الاحيان اضيف اليها الزجاج او في حالات نادره الرخام.

عرضت الفسيفساء نفس الطراز التشكيلي الموحد باستثناء المدايه و الاويس سكتايك حيث استمر نفس النورق في خلال العصر. كان تنعيم الارضيه دائما مركزيا على شكل حقل بطراز هندسى او على شكل لوحات اشكال انسانيه ذات اطار مركب و مزخرف الحاشيه. الشكل الاول

ارضيات الفسيفساء و الرخام

ديمتريوس مخايليدس

لقد وجد في حفريات سيدى خريش (1971-75) دليل لا يقل على 25 ارضيه من الفسيفساء التي عاش منها 18 ارضيه فى حاله يمكن تميزها (ارقام 3, 5-8, 10-11, 13-15, 19-24, 26).

يوجد كذلك ارضيه اويس سكتايل (رقم 25) بالاضافه الى نوع الميداليه (رقم 26) اثنتين من هذه الفسيفساء اكتشفت سنة 1965 ثم ردمت ونسيت. و فى نفس الوقت اكتشفت ارضيتين (ارقام 20-21) اعيد اكتشافهما و الان فى متحف توكره الاثرى. ويمكن اضافته الى هذه المجموعه لا يقل عن سبعة ارضيات فسيفساء اخرى (ارقام 28-34) اكتشفت فى عده اماكن اخرى من بنغازى فى هذا القرن, دمر بعضها و عاشت اجزاء من البعض الاخر. ويمكن حصر كل الارضيات, فى برنيقى, بدون عد المكعبات او القطع الصغيره الى ارضيه اويس سكتايل واحده و 30 ارضيه من الفسيفساء.

ترجع هذه الارضيات الى ثلاثه مجموعات تغطى فتره 150 سنه تقريبا, من نهايه القرن الاول الى منتصف القرن الثالث الميلادى. الفسيفساء من منزل (اتش) (رقم 3) تمثل اقدم مجموعته و تؤرخ الى نهايه القرن الاول او بدايه القرن الثانى الميلادى.

و منذ تاسيس برنيقى فى منتصف القرن الثالث (ق.م) و لمدته 350 سنه لم تعرف الفسيفساء بعد. كانت الفسيفساء فى الفتره الامبراطوريه المبكره قليله فى اليونان الشرقيه و انعكس هذا فى برنيقى. و يجب ان يؤخذ فى الاعتبار بان فن الفسيفساء عرف محليا فى الفتره الهلنستيه فى كل من يوسبيريدس, التى خلفتها برنيقى, و قورينا التى كان لها تاثير كبير على برنيقى عبر العصور.

يبدو ان الثورة اليهوديه سنة 115 ميلادى لم يكن لها اثر على المنزل (اتش) او المنازل الاخرى من هذه الفتره فى برنيقى, حتى اذا افترض حدوث دمار لا بد ان اعاده كانت سريعه. على اى حال, لقد قدم هادريان فى فتره حكمه دعم متواصل لتنميه قورينا, و اعاده السلام و الازدهار هذه انعكست على المجموعه الثانيه, وهى اكبر مجموعته الفسيفساء المورخه لما بعد منتصف و اخر القرن الثانى الميلادى.

لقد وصل قمه ازدهار هذا العصر فى خلال الفتره السويريه, كما ورد ذكره, حيث نجد كثره بناء او اعاد ترميم عديد من المنازل. و ترجع المجموعه الثالثه, وهى اكبر مجموعات الفسيفساء الى فتره الازدهار هذه, و بعدها بدأت المدينه فى التدهور حيث لم توجد فسيفساء صنعت بعد منتصف او

واخر القرن الثالث الميلادى.

لقد جأت اغلب ارضيات فسيفساء برنيقى من منازل النوع الشائع ذات الحجرات الحائطه بفناء مفتوح

(من طراز البرستايل او بدونه) مزوده بمواجن. كانت بعض الحجرات فاخره الديكور و التى لم نستطع تحديد وظائفها ماعدا تلك ذات الارضيه مخططه على هيئه متاكي تركلينيوم حجره جلوس او ستيبانيوم صاله طعام جلوس.

يفترض ان قورينا الرومانيه لم تظهر حبا عظيما للفسيفساء كما هو معروف فى المناطق الأفريقيه الأخرى. يبدو ان هذا الافتراض صحيح ولكن يحتاج الى اعاده نظر باخذ اعتبار العوامل الجغرافيه, مصادر المياه و كثافه السكان.

يجب لا ننسى باعتبار منطقه قورينه كبيره, و لكن جزء ضيق من الساحل مع الهضبه الجيريه مابين بنغازى و درنه, صالح للاستيطان فقط. بالرغم من ان الشريط الساحلى خصب جدا فان

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الملحق الخامس لمجلة ليبيا القديمة

حفريات ابي مرقبة ايدري

المجلد الرابع
الجزء الاول

ارضيات الفسيفساء و الرخام

ديمتريوس مخايليدس

اشرف على الحفريات

مسعو شقلوف

عبد الحميد عبد السيد

ترجمه

الدكتور حافظ امحمد الولده

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الاهداء
الى ذكرى

عوض مصطفى السعداويه دونالد أميريز سترونج

التوصيات المتعلقة بشراء نسخ من هذا الملحق توجه الى سكرتاريه مجلة ليبيا القديمه بمصلحه الاثار في
الجماهيريه العربيه الليبيه الشعبيه الاشتراكيه طرابلس (السراى الحمراء):

الجمهورية العربية الليبية الشعبية الاشتراكية - امانة التعليم والتربية

مصلحة الآثار

الملحق الخامس لمجلة ليبيا القديمة

عَفْرِيَاكُيْجُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ عَفْرِيَاكُ

المجلد الرابع
الجزء الاول