

Mosaics

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents 27 mosaics recorded during the rescue excavations at Zeugma in 2000 (Trenches 2, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15). Many of these were only small and indecipherable fragments. Of the more substantial ones, two were figured (as were some fragments found among fill in Trench 12), about 11 had geometric decoration, and others were plain or decorated only with monochrome bands. Most of these, including one of the figured pavements (M17), were found in three houses in Trench 2; one impressive figured pavement (M23) and two seemingly simpler geometric pavements were in a house in Trench 11; one (geometric) was in a house in Trench 13, where other geometric mosaics were also noted in a survey of the Birecik reservoir shoreline in 2002.

Zeugma is famous for the large number of fine figured mosaics found there, many of exceptionally high quality. Several of the houses discovered recently were richly and elaborately decorated, with numerous figured mosaics covering the floors of their more prestigious spaces, and others with complex geometric patterns. The mosaics from the trenches discussed here are for the most part much simpler, artisan work from the lower end of the mosaic workers' production. Some are plain or almost plain pavements designed for hard-use areas such as courtyards and peristyles, others simple geometric designs that could be laid with a minimum of effort or expenditure. The two figured mosaics decorated rooms presumably intended for the reception of guests. Since the complete plan of none of these houses is known, it is possible that some of them may have had other richly decorated rooms, but it seems clear that they were not comparable to the more magnificent dwellings of Zeugma, such as the House of the Synaristosai or the House of Poseidon.¹ Most of the mosaics illustrate the more typical, run-of-the-mill products of the Zeugma workshops. They offer an opportunity to examine the use of mosaic pavements as practical decoration within the architecture of houses that appear to have been comfortable but not particularly lavish, and to study the more everyday components of the mosaicists' repertory.

Repertory

The most common ornamental pattern is the trellis grid:² diagonal bands composed of single tesserae tangent at the angles, or of groups of four tesserae, crossing in a lattice design and forming compartments that contain squares set parallel to the diagonal bands.³ The pattern is one of

the easiest of mosaic designs to lay out and execute, and is very adaptable. It is used here both to form the border of a more elaborate central design (M13, M19) and to constitute the main or only decoration of a pavement (M10, M11, M6, M4). The coloring can be limited to black on white, additional colors may be used in the filling motifs, or different colors, usually yellow or gray and white, may alternate in the background (e.g., M6, M19). Additional motifs, such as the swastikas in M10, may also be added; while in M8 the trellis is used to outline a pattern of octagons. Its function could therefore range from an economical and practical design for a more utilitarian space to a decorative but not obtrusive design that could surround a more valuable mosaic. It is used extensively at Zeugma, both by itself and as a surround for a figured scene.⁴ Thus it appears several times, for instance, in the well-decorated House of the Synaristosai in Trench 6; a band colored alternately in yellow and white covers the area reserved for the couches around the mosaic of the Synaristosai itself.⁵

The trellis grid is a simple and basic pattern used in many parts of the Roman world and undoubtedly over a long period of time. It is very common at Antioch, in both its simpler and more elaborate forms; Doro Levi uses it as one of the key elements in his detailed discussion of the evolution of ornamental design in that city during the second and third centuries A.D. Its first appearance there is noted by him in houses that he places in the first half or middle of the second century, but it is especially frequent, and more varied in its treatment, in a series of houses that he dates to the Severan period or the mid-third century, notably the House of Menander and the House of the Boat of Psyches.⁶ The pattern is also found at Anemurium, in the Odeion, probably of the late second century; in the Large Baths (III 2B), dated stratigraphically to the mid-third century;⁷ and at Adana in Cilicia, where it covers the outer area of an ornamental pavement.⁸

Another characteristic feature found on many of these mosaics is the practice of decorating the outer surround of the pavement (white or cream-colored) with a series of small black motifs: small poised squares, groups of five tesserae arranged in a quincunx, or small crosslets. These may be scattered over a fairly broad area in an overall *semis*, as in M17 and M24; or set in a single row, as in M2 and M4, and fragment A of M25. Larger crosslets with rays of black tesserae are found on M13 and M26. The practice, in variant forms, occurs on many other mosaics at Zeugma, again including several in the House of the Synaristosai.⁹

The repertory of other geometric motifs used on these pavements is limited. All-over compositions are represent-

ed by the key-pattern formed in swastika-meander (M13), the pattern of adjacent octagons forming squares (M8), and the pattern of interlooped bands of guilloche and wavy ribbon, found twice here (M19, perhaps here a border; M26), and used several times elsewhere at Zeugma.¹⁰ The most common border patterns are guilloche and crowstep, the latter often doubled; the spaced double crowstep with a row of poised squares between, found on M8 and M10, is also used frequently at Zeugma.¹¹ A frame composed of rectangles containing lozenges and squares containing circles is used in M26, and in a varied and unusual form around the panel of Nereids in M23; it too is a Zeugma favorite.¹² Among ornamental motifs the most unusual are the double axes and peltae used in M2. It is noteworthy that all the geometric patterns, with the sole exception of the fragments with tangent cuboids included among the fragments M25, are flat and two-dimensional; there is no trace of the complex perspective designs used at Antioch in the Severan period. This is likely to be due to economic factors, such patterns being more demanding and therefore expensive to execute; they appear elsewhere at Zeugma as the border of some of the most impressive figured designs, for instance, the perspective meander around the mosaic of Daedalus and Pasiphae.¹³

The figured mosaics differ markedly from one another. The mosaic of Silenus and the birds (M17) not only has a close parallel in Zeugma itself, but can also be associated, in style and subject matter, with a series of mosaics from houses at Antioch. It belongs fully within a tradition that may be considered characteristic of Antioch from perhaps the mid-second century to the early third. The fragments with birds and a crater from Trench 12 (M25) likewise belong in the same tradition. In contrast, the Nereid mosaic (M23), although its iconographic ancestry can be traced, has no exact parallels, in Antioch or elsewhere. Both figured scene and border look like the work of a mosaicist who is adapting well-established models to a new purpose. Moreover, the style of the mosaic looks forward to the fourth century. The composition, with a large figured panel occupying most of the pavement, and a single, though complex, border, seems to be a late feature at Antioch; it is, however, typical of the series of mosaics from Shahba-Philippopolis, further south in Syria, which begin presumably with the creation of that city as a Roman colony and its embellishment by Philip the Arab in the mid-third century.¹⁴

Chronology

The Sasanian sack of Zeugma in A.D. 252/253 provides a secure terminus ante quem for the mosaics from the House of the Helmets (M4-7), House of the Bull (M8-19), House of the Fountain (M22-24), and House of the Tunnel (M26 and appendix); the fragments M25 may also plausibly be identified as debris from that sack. The evidence from the excavations does not, regrettably, provide a corresponding terminus post quem for any of the mosaics. The main con-

struction period of the houses themselves dates to the late first and early second centuries A.D., but various phases of alteration and embellishment follow before the destruction. Several of the mosaics may be placed before a final phase of alterations in their respective houses: this applies to M4-6 in the House of the Helmets; to M13 and M15 in the House of the Bull; and to M22 and M24 in the House of the Fountain. These last phases of alteration may, however, have taken place very shortly before the final destruction. M24, and presumably the other mosaics in the House of the Fountain, belong to a phase of renovations that may be placed in the first half of the third century. The other houses offer very little stratigraphic evidence on which to date the phases to which the mosaics belong. Only once, in the House of the Bull, can two successive layers of mosaics be demonstrated; however, nothing more can be said about the earlier of the two, M12, beyond its existence. As far as the archaeological evidence goes, therefore, the mosaics from these houses could date almost anywhere between the early second century and the mid-third.¹⁵

Internal considerations may be more informative. There is, first, a striking degree of homogeneity among most of the mosaics; the same ornamental motifs and designs recur again and again. It will be suggested (below) that two phases of refurbishment may be distinguishable among the mosaics of the House of the Bull, on the basis of style and execution; but if so, they should not be too widely separated. In general, the parallels between the repertory of ornament used on the mosaics of these houses make it tempting to identify them as a set of workshop links, standard stock-in-trade of a mosaic workshop (or a group of workshops) operating within a fairly short span of time, probably no more than one or two generations. Other mosaics in Zeugma, for instance those of the House of Dionysus or the Roman baths under the Birecik Dam, and several more from the 2000 excavations, are likely to belong within the same circle. The marked exception, within the group of mosaics discussed in this chapter, is the Nereid mosaic, M23, which differs not only in the figure style but also in the treatment of the motifs used in the border. I shall argue (below) that M23 should be dated only shortly before 250; the difference between it and the more homogeneous group suggests that the latter should be placed earlier, at least by a couple of decades.¹⁶

The comparable mosaics at Zeugma itself are at present no more securely dated than those currently under discussion; it may be hoped that the publication of all the recent excavations will provide more evidence. Outside Zeugma, numerous parallels will be noted with the mosaics of Antioch. A specific group of houses there recurs frequently in comparison: the House of the Boat of Psyches, the House of Menander, the House of the Buffet Supper (mainly the intermediate level); others, such as the House of Porticoes, the House of Dionysus and Ariadne, House DH 23/24, and the House of Aion, provide more sporadic parallels. In Levi's system of dating, these houses fall into two groups:

one ascribed to the Severan period, A.D. 193–235, the other, from which the main parallels come, to the post-Severan, A.D. 235–312.¹⁷ The archaeological basis for Levi's datings was tenuous, but on the whole recent scholars have accepted their general outlines.¹⁸ Other parallels may be seen with the House of Dionysus at Nea Paphos, for which a date at the end of the second or the early third century now seems to be established; and at Anemurium with the Large Baths, constructed apparently in the mid-third century.¹⁹ The parallels are therefore compatible with a date for the Zeugma pavements between the late second and the mid-third century; they are not sufficiently well dated themselves to allow greater precision within this timespan. It is, however, notable that M23 does not find close parallels in the group of Antioch houses just listed, neither in the figure style that seems to anticipate the late antique nor in the motifs of its border. It may, of course, be an anomaly, the product of a different workshop, but it underlines the difficulties and dangers of relying on stylistic dating when discussing the mosaics of the East.

The Zeugma mosaics belong without question in an East Mediterranean *koine*, and more specifically that of northern Syria and the surrounding regions. Outside Zeugma their closest links, not surprisingly, are with Antioch; but parallels can also be drawn with other centers in the region, from Cilicia, Cyprus, and the Levantine coast. They lack the very individual figure style that marks the mosaics, predominantly third-century, from Edessa, only a comparatively short distance away.²⁰ Once more of the mosaics from Zeugma, figured and nonfigured, have been published, it will be possible to establish more clearly the characteristics of the workshops there. Signs are already emerging of a homogeneous group, using a limited range of ornamental motifs again and again in different combinations; the secure establishment of the terminus ante quem of A.D. 253 for the group's operations is one of the great contributions of the recent excavations to our knowledge of mosaics in this region.

CATALOGUE OF MOSAICS

The writer of this catalogue has examined personally only the three mosaics that were lifted, M17, M23, M26 (contexts 2101, 11076, 13068). The descriptions of the rest are based upon those given in the preliminary catalogue of mosaics in the Unpublished Interim Report by Oxford Archaeology (OA) on their work at Zeugma in 2000 (2001, 95–138), supplemented by my own study of the excavators' field notes, on-site records of the mosaics, and photographs. Some information, such as the nature of the foundations, is not available, and some details cannot now be recovered. The preliminary catalogue was the work of Andy Millar and Phil Jefferies; I acknowledge especially the help of Andy Millar in my own study of the mosaics.

Trench 2

Three of the buildings in this trench contained mosaics (Plates 9–11). The largest number (12, some of them very fragmentary) were found in the House of the Bull, three in the House of the Pelta Mosaic, four in the House of the Helmets. One (M17) was lifted; the remainder were left in situ.

House of the Pelta Mosaic (M1–M3)

The remains of three mosaics were found in this building, in two separate areas; they are not directly associated with any architectural features.

M1 (context 2018, Room 2A)

Plain, black and white

Dimensions: 1.10 × 2.25 m

PL. 20B

Condition: very poor

Tesserae: 1.0–2.0 cm sq

Colors: black, white, gray

Heavily damaged remains of a mosaic, broken into four pieces. Part of a black border, apparently four tesserae wide, against a white background.

M2 (context 2138, area south of Room 2A)

Polychrome geometric

Panel with axe and pelta motifs

Dimensions: 3.33 × 1.98 m

PL. 20C, 21A

Condition: poor, truncated around all four edges, notably in the northeast corner and both the southeast and southwest corners

Tesserae: 1.5–2.0 cm sq

Colors: black, white, light blue, light gray, red

Surround: thirteen rows of white tesserae, with single row of black poised serrated squares.

Borders: black band four tesserae wide; white band; black band two tesserae wide.

Central Panel: rectangle divided by black fillet into three sections. The narrow rectangles at either end both contain representations of a pelta and double-headed ax, on a white ground. The axes are outlined in black tesserae with light blue used for the blade. The peltae are outlined in black, with a row of white and one of black around a red center. The wider central rectangle has a border of crowstep, white/black; within this are a white band three tesserae wide and a black fillet one tessera wide. The central area has a light blue-gray background, against which is a lozenge outlined by three rows of white tesserae and divided by white single fillets into a diagonal grid of nine smaller lozenges, alternately red and black, each containing a crosslet of white tesserae.²¹

Discussion: The double-headed axe is used as an ornamental motif on a number of mosaics from the eastern Mediterranean, several times in close association with

peltae. It occurs four times at Antioch, always in houses that provide parallels for the Zeugma pavements in other respects too: the House of the Boat of Psyche, the House of Menander, the House of the Buffet Supper (intermediate level), and the House of the Evil Eye (upper level). On these mosaics, the axe is used in a more clearly decorative way, to fill the triangles left between a lozenge and the rectangle that encloses it; peltae may be set to fill the angles of the lozenge.²² A similar effect is found at Palmyra in the peristyle of the House of Achilles; rectangular panels contain lozenges, here much more elaborately decorated, with the corner triangles filled with double axes, their blades shaped like a pelta, while peltae also appear in some of the lozenges and in other panels of the overall composition.²³ But a closer parallel for the less structured way in which the motifs are used on M2 is offered by the threshold to room 9 in the House of Dionysus at Nea Paphos, where two axes and two peltae are placed casually at the entrance, possibly with apotropaic or good-luck intent.²⁴

M3 (context 2163, area south of Room 2A)

Geometric, limited polychrome

Dimensions: 0.40 × 0.63 m

PL. 21B

Condition: poor; fragment of larger pavement

Tesserae: 1.0–1.2 cm sq

Colors: black, white, yellow

Two black fillet borders at outer edge of fragment (0.08 m apart), around part of a trellis grid of serrated fillets of four black tesserae; the compartments contain parallel serrated squares, yellow/white with black center.

DATING: HOUSE OF THE PELTA MOSAIC

There is no archaeological evidence for dating either the construction or the destruction of the mosaics, though the house may go back to the Flavian-Trajanic period.²⁵ The parallels for M2 date from the late second to mid-third century.

House of the Helmets (M4–M7)

In this house mosaics decorated the central courtyard of a peristyle court and the three surrounding porticoes, and a loggia-like room adjoining the court on its remaining side; a further fragment was found in the adjoining alleyway, abutting the threshold of the doorway into this house.

M4 (context 2196, Room 2H)

Loggia north of peristyle

Geometric polychrome

Dimensions: 2.50 × 6.40 m

PL. 25C–D

Condition: well preserved with the exception of part of the border in the northwest corner and the outer edge of the background all along the northern edge

Tesserae: ca. 1.0 cm sq., 1.5 cm sq. in surround

Colors: black, white, dark red, gray (two shades), pink

Surround: white, with single row of black quincunxes alternating with poised squares at regular intervals.

Borders: gray band four tesserae wide; white band eight tesserae wide; black fillet surrounding the central panel.

Central Panel (1.20 × 4.92 m): black trellis grid of serrated simple fillets, with squares of four tesserae at the intersections. Compartments contain parallel serrated squares, alternately dark red/pink/white and dark gray/medium gray/white.

M5 (contexts 2145 and 2192, peristyle court)

East, south, and west wings of peristyle

Plain polychrome

Max. dimensions: south 1.86 × 6.80 m;

PL. 26B–27A

east 4.80 × 1.23 m; and fragments on west

Condition: poor; very fragmentary on west side, larger areas on south and east

Tesserae: 2.0–2.5 cm sq

Colors: black, white, pink, gray (two shades), orange

A plain floor, predominantly white but with randomly placed tesserae in several colors.

M5A (context 2381)

Southwest corner of peristyle, on ledge next to cistern

Plain

Dimensions: 0.77 × 0.67 m

PL. 28F

Condition: poor

Tesserae: ca. 2.0 cm sq

Colors: white, gray

A plain white/gray fragment, distinct from the adjacent M5, but resembling it.

M6 (context 2113, peristyle court)

Courtyard of peristyle

Geometric polychrome

Dimensions: 3.42 × 3.22 m

PL. 27

Condition: good except for lacunae in southeast of the central panel

Tesserae: 1.0–1.2 cm sq. in panel, 1.6 cm sq. in surround

Colors: black, white, red (two shades), yellow (two shades)

Borders: white surround approximately 0.56 m wide. Black band five tesserae wide. White band eight tesserae wide. Black fillet framing the central panel.

Central Panel (1.75 × 1.74 m): black trellis grid of serrated fillets of four tesserae (*Décor* 124e); compartments alternately white and yellow, containing small parallel serrated squares, alternately of red tesserae with a white center and of black tesserae with a yellow center.

M7 (context 2047)

Fragment from external alleyway between House of the Helmets and House of the Bull, against threshold of doorway to House of the Helmets

Plain black and white

Condition: poor

PL. 30B

Colors: white, black

No discernible design.

DATING: HOUSE OF THE HELMETS

The House of the Helmets was probably constructed in the Flavian period and was destroyed in the mid-third century.²⁶ Alterations to the peristyle court and the room to its north, which took place shortly before the destruction, postdate the mosaics. Within these limits, there is nothing to show where the mosaics should be placed. But the simple trellis grid patterns of M4 and M6 conform to those widely in use at Zeugma and seem characteristic of the period running from the mid-second century to the early third, which may therefore be proposed for the mosaics as a group.

House of the Bull (M8–M19)

This house contained the largest number of mosaics in this trench, including the only figured mosaic found in this area. They decorated the central courtyard and the loggia adjoining to the north, three of the western rooms, and three of the rooms to the east, apparently adjoining the street on that side.

M8 (context 2313, Room 2J)

Geometric, limited polychromy

Central panel with adjacent octagons and squares

Dimensions: 2.45 × 3.35 m PL. 33, 34B

Condition: fair to poor; approximately 75 percent of the mosaic was excavated; considerable fire damage on the eastern and western sides of the borders and on the western edge of the central panel

Tesserae: 1.5 cm sq

Colors: black, white, gray (two shades), red (two shades), pink (two shades)

Borders: surround of white tesserae. Black band six tesserae wide; white border seven tesserae wide. Border, 25 tesserae wide, edged on either side with gray crowstep, and containing a row of gray poised squares with a white center on a white ground. White band seven tesserae wide. Inner border of double crowstep, dark red/white. White band six tesserae wide.

Central Panel: edged by dark gray fillet on white ground. Pattern of adjacent irregular octagons forming squares, with the adjacent sides serrated, in groups of four tesserae (cf. *Décor* 164a). At the center of the octagons were dark gray squares (possibly with a reddish-pink center, although there was too much fire damage for the color to be distin-

guishable). Surrounding these squares were four smaller poised squares, dark red with a single white tessera at the center.²⁷

Discussion: The pattern of adjacent octagons forming squares between them is common throughout the Roman world in innumerable versions and variants, from the first century A.D. until late antiquity. In Antioch too it is found at almost all periods and in versions ranging from very simple to elaborate. The comparatively simple version seen here is enlivened by squares in the center of each octagon, of the same size, and parallel to, those between the octagons. It may be best compared to a mosaic in House DH 24-s at Antioch, except that there the addition of lines connecting the angles of the squares changes the pattern into that of intersecting octagons (cf. below, M10).²⁸ The pattern remains very common in the later empire; a similar pavement, of poor quality, comes from the lower level of the House of the Green Carpet at Antioch, dated to the end of the fourth century.²⁹ In M8 the use of lines composed of groups of four tesserae for the diagonal sides of the octagons turns the pattern into a variant of the common trellis grid, but with squares at the points of intersection of the grid. For the border, with double crowstep framing a row of poised squares, see under M10.

M9 (context 2388, Room 2J)

Fragment from northern doorway of Room 2J

Geometric, limited polychromy

Dimensions: 1.00 × 0.48 m

PL. 17B

Condition: poor

Tesserae: 1.5 cm sq

Colors: black, white, pink, gray

Extensive burning on the surface obscured most of the pattern, which showed crosslets of black tesserae on a white ground.

M10 (context 2299, Room 2K)

Geometric, limited polychromy (?)

Central panel with swastikas in trellis, laid off-center in the room, on alignment with the northern wall

Dimensions: 3.35 × 3.20 m

PL. 35

Condition: fair, but with some large lacunae on the northern borders, and on a small area of the eastern part of the central panel

Tesserae: 1.0–1.2 cm sq

Colors: black, white, gray, dark red

Borders: surround of white tesserae. Gray/black band six tesserae wide; white band 10 tesserae wide. Border edged on either side with gray crowstep, and containing a row of gray poised squares with a white center on a white ground. White band 10 tesserae wide; gray fillet.

Central Panel (1.46 m sq.): white ground. Gray trellis grid of serrated fillets of squares of four tesserae (cf. *Décor*

124e), with swastikas at the points of intersection. Within the compartments are serrated poised squares, black with a white center of four tesserae, and an outer dark red (?) border. The execution of the design is irregular; the poised squares in the compartments vary considerably in size, and the tesserae of the ground are set in uneven lines. The mosaicist seems to have had difficulty in adapting the swastika motifs to the pattern of the trellis grid.

Discussion: The pattern of the central panel is an unusual variant of the trellis grid, for which I know no exact parallel. Apart from its use as an element in meander patterns, the swastika is common as an independent motif, and may be used in rows as a filling motif in grids.³⁰ The closest parallel for its use here seems to be the pavement in room 4, the latrine, in Bath E at Antioch, dated to the fourth century; there the swastikas are contained in squares, placed at alternate points of intersection of a trellis grid.³¹ The effect there is to make the pattern more easily read as one of intersecting octagons with squares at the center, a variant of the common pattern of adjacent octagons forming squares between them, seen in M8. This pattern in turn frequently introduces swastikas, either within the octagons or forming the intermediate squares, and linked up to outline the composition,³² while a pattern of intersecting octagons worked in swastika meander, producing the effect of swastikas in the center of each octagon, appears in the House of the Porticoes at Antioch.³³ M10 may represent a rather clumsy attempt to combine the grid pattern with that of the octagons and squares, with the swastika replacing the squares, but not directly used to outline the composition. The border used here and on M8, with a row of black cross-step on either side of a broad band of white and a row of poised squares down the middle, is found on several other mosaics at Zeugma: context 3178 from the Turkish excavations of 2000;³⁴ context 8463, also from the Turkish excavations;³⁵ and one of the mosaics from the Roman bath under the Birecik Dam.³⁶ A related form is found several times at Antioch, and at Anemurium.³⁷

M11 (context 2386, Room 2L)

Partially excavated mosaic in lower vaulted room

Black and white (or limited polychromy?), geometric

Dimensions of excavated portion: 2.10 × 1.34 m PL. 37C

Condition: fair

Tesserae: 1.0–1.2 cm sq

Colors: black, white (very occasional blue, pink, and orange)

Borders: white surround; black band four tesserae wide; white band 16 tesserae wide.

Central Panel: black fillet, edging trellis grid of serrated black fillets on white ground. Compartments contain serrated poised squares of black tesserae, with a white interior and a central black tessera. Some randomly placed tesserae in blue, pink, and orange.

M12 (context 2118, Room 2M)

North loggia, beneath M13

Small portion of mosaic floor only partially observable in section

Dimensions: not known

Condition: poor

Tesserae: not recorded

Colors: white/gray

M13 (context 2098, Room 2M)

North loggia, above M12

Geometric, polychrome

A rectangular panel with a design of swastika-meander forming a key pattern, in trellis border

Dimensions: 6.40 × 2.90 m

PL. 38

Condition: good, no lacunae; some damage to the outer border on the southern edge; extensive marks of burning on surface

Tesserae: ca. 1.0 cm sq

Colors: black, white, gray (two shades), dark red, pink, yellow

Surround: white tesserae laid in rows parallel to edges, set with a row of large black crosslets composed of poised serrated squares containing inscribed white squares, with rays of black tesserae on the diagonals.

Borders: black band four tesserae wide, followed by white band seven tesserae wide. Double black/gray fillet, edging trellis grid, one compartment wide, outlined by black serrated fillets on white ground (*Décor* 124a). Central compartments contain parallel serrated squares, black/red/pink/white/black; those along the edges contain similar triangles, dark gray/light gray/white/black. White band six tesserae wide. Simple guilloche, strands dark red/pink/white/black; black/dark gray/mid gray/white/black; black/?dark yellow/light yellow/white/black. White band six tesserae wide.

Central Panel (3.93 × 0.80 m): white ground. Pattern of swastika-meander outlined by double line, dark/light gray, forming key pattern (*Décor* 188c). The compartments formed by the key contain a poised serrated square flanked by two triangles, formed by bisecting a similar square; these motifs are colored alternately black/red/pink/white/black and dark gray/light gray/white/black.

Discussion: The swastika-meander forming a key pattern that fills the central panel is found in numerous variants, from simple to extremely elaborate, over a period running from the first century B.C. to the sixth A.D. The version seen here is one of the most elementary forms of its use to cover a surface: the meanders are based upon swastikas with single returns, but with an additional design filling the compartments formed between them.³⁸ Although the pattern seems to have originated in Campania and is distributed throughout the empire, it is especially common in the East, and above all at Antioch, where 13 examples in all are

attested. The comparatively simple version seen in M13 is found in four houses at Antioch, all placed by Levi between the end of the second and the beginning of the fourth century A.D.: the House of the Porticoes, House DH 23/24 N, the House of Menander, and the House of the Buffet Supper.³⁹ In most of these, the filling in the key compartments is a simple lozenge, enlivened by contrasts of coloring (and in one case, the House of the Buffet Supper, by perspective effects); in M13 it is the same type of poised serrated square or triangle that is used extensively as filler in trellis grids. The key pattern is also found on Cyprus, and is used extensively in several variants in the House of Dionysus at Nea Paphos, whose date is now generally placed in the late second or early third century A.D.⁴⁰ One of these, forming the outer surround of the triclinium mosaic, uses the same design with lozenges filling the key compartments seen at Antioch but in monochrome; another (room 1, framing the mosaic of Narcissus) fills the compartments with crosslets and poised squares. For the crosslets compare M26.

M14 (context 2350, courtyard)

**Central area of courtyard, surrounded by curb
Plain, black and white**

Dimensions: 5.07 × 4.87 m

PL. 39

Condition: good

Tesserae: black 1.5 cm sq.; white 4.0 cm sq

Colors: black/dark gray (two shades), white

A uniform expanse of large irregular grayish-white tesserae, decorated by two concentric bands of smaller black tesserae; the outer band is four tesserae wide, the inner three.

M15 (context 2411, courtyard)

**From the east, west, and south wings of courtyard, surrounding M14 outside curb, and at slightly higher level
Plain, black and white**

Max. dimensions: west 5.75 × 0.55 m;

PL. 39A

south 6.65 × 0.90 m; east 3.10 × 1.65 m

Condition: fair to good

Tesserae: 2.0–3.5 cm sq

Colors: black, white, gray

Plain pavement of grayish-white tesserae, with several small black crosslets at the northern end of the eastern strip.

M16 (context 2355, courtyard)

**Small rectangular area of mosaic in courtyard wing,
northeast of M15**

Plain fragment

Max. dimensions: 2.00 × 0.77 m

PL. 39A

Condition: fair

Tesserae: 1.0–2.0 cm sq

Colors: white, gray

Plain pavement of grayish-white tesserae, similar to M15, but with smaller tesserae.

M17 (context 2101, Room 2N)

Silenus and birds

Polychrome figured mosaic

Lifted; Gaziantep Museum

Max. dimensions: 5.10 × 4.00 m

PL. 42–45

Condition: approximately 45 percent intact when excavated; damaged on west and north sides; large lacuna in southern surround and adjacent panels of frame; smaller lacunae in central panel and eastern panels of frame; marks of burning
Tesserae: surround = 1.0–1.2 cm sq., density per dm² ca. 60–75; borders = 0.8–1.0 cm sq., density per dm² 85–100; figured panels = 0.5–0.7 cm sq. in background, 0.3–0.6 cm sq. in figures, occasionally smaller, density per dm² 150–180

Colors: numerous shades of yellow, brown, pink, red, gray, green, blue, black, and white limestone; blue and green glass in figures

A central rectangular panel, containing an Eros fishing, is surrounded by a frame of 14 approximately square panels, containing alternately Dionysiac masks and birds; the figured portion is set within concentric borders and a wide surround with repetitive black motifs on white.

Surround: outer field preserved to 1.24 m (maximum) at south side, 0.63 m to west, smaller areas to north and east. White tesserae laid parallel to edges, scattered with rows of quincunxes of five black tesserae alternating with black crosslets. Band of six rows of black tesserae. Inner field ranging from 0.53 m on south side to 0.32 m on west and north: white with rows of black crosslets with white tessera at center.

Border: width 10 cm. Double black fillet; crowstep red/yellow five rows wide; double black fillet.

Frame: width 43 cm. Divided by double black fillet into 14 approximately square panels, arranged five by four. Each has white band three tesserae wide around double black fillet, framing inner figured panels, ca. 32 × 35 cm. Figures all face outwards, with corner panels oriented along long sides. Description starts in southwest corner:

- Destroyed except for traces of red and yellow tesserae, possibly from wreath.
- Damaged at bottom half. Bird with long green tail, green breast, perhaps parrot.
- Female mask (maenad), turned slightly to left. Very round, with large eyes, closed mouth, no neck. Long red-brown bunches of hair at either side, wreath with cluster of leaves and grapes or flowers across top of head.
- Peacock facing left, green/blue (glass) body, green crest, eyes of tail in colored glass.
- Mask of Silenus, turned slightly to right. Bald head, full gray/white beard, moustache, bushy eyebrows. Wide eyes, closed mouth. Wreath of two bands of green tied across brow, clusters of green vine leaves and grapes at side of head.
- Bird of guinea fowl type facing left, with yellow/olive

body, projecting wings, short thick brown/green tail, large beak.

- Parrot on twig, with long tail, green body, large beak.
- Damaged; mask turned slightly to right. Beardless, brown hair, leaves projecting behind head; probably satyr.
- Largely destroyed; traces of unidentifiable bird on twig.
- Left side damaged, and affected by burning. Remains of mask, apparently frontal. One large eye survives, wreath at temples, beardless. Perhaps Dionysus, or satyr.
- Damaged and discolored by burning; bird on twig.
- Remaining three panels down the south side all destroyed.

Band of white, six rows of tesserae at sides, three at top and bottom.

Border of Central Panel: width 9.5 cm. Two-strand guilloche on black ground, strands black/red/yellow/white/black and black/gray/olive/white/black; white eye.

Central Panel (61 × 104 cm): oriented towards east. All except right side discolored by fire, large lacuna top left and center, several smaller lacunae. White ground. Brownish rock at right side, with winged Eros seated on it facing left, his left arm resting on rock, right arm held forwards holding rod. He is nude, with yellow/red hair. On the left is the lower part of a tree, its upper part lost in the lacuna. The central area is badly damaged and now indecipherable. The field notes made at the time of excavation refer to the lower half of a second Eros, perhaps kneeling on a rock; this is not now visible, and the photographs do not appear to confirm the identification. The remains of an object beside the Eros' knee can be made out, possibly a fish(?).

Style: Unusually small tesserae and a wide range of colors are used in the figures. The best preserved, the mask of Silenus, uses a range of fleshtones running from dark pink on the crown of the bald head, through several shades of lighter pink and yellow, to white highlights on forehead and cheeks, while dark brown lines give emphasis to the eyes and nose. His beard and moustache are composed of fine lines of two shades of gray, light brown, and white. The result is a very lively image. The female mask, evidently a maenad, has a similar range, again with the eyes strongly outlined in dark brown. The birds are also finely rendered, and the use of blue and green glass, here and in the wreaths around the figures' heads, will have further enlivened the original effect. The damage to the central panel makes it difficult to judge the quality of execution, though the surviving Eros shows a similar use of small tesserae (especially in the face) and range of tones. The rock on which he sits is rendered in brownish-gray stripes; it and the tree to the left stand out abruptly against a plain white ground.

Discussion: The closest parallel for this mosaic is a damaged mosaic (context 16020) found in Trench 16 of the French excavations at Zeugma in 2000.⁴¹ This was more

elaborate, with additional external borders and a frieze of acanthus scroll, but it has the same frame of panels containing Dionysiac masks, and a central panel (inside the acanthus frieze) probably with a marine subject. The execution appears to have been even finer than that of M17, but the masks seem to have been very similar. The maenad mask may also be compared to that at the center of a panel decorated with rows of triangles, which is very similar in the treatment of the wreath and the bunches of hair at the chin.⁴²

Outside Zeugma, a group of pavements from Antioch contain related motifs, though not combined in quite the same way. The Dionysiac masks, cut off at the chin and with closed mouth (unlike theatrical masks, where the mouth is normally open) are used twice at Antioch in a comparable way in borders. In the triclinium (Room 3) of the House of the Boat of Psyche, a panelled band runs across the entrance; the panels are alternately rectangular, enclosing lozenges with birds on a twig, and square, enclosing circles with Dionysiac masks.⁴³ The corresponding panel on the other side of the room has a similar design, but with theatrical masks; while in another room of the same house, theatrical masks in panels are combined with other panels containing birds.⁴⁴ A row of four Dionysiac masks appear in a single panel in the border of the triclinium mosaic of the House of the Triumph of Dionysus; they show a Silenus, a satyr, and two maenads. Theatrical masks again appear in the corresponding panels.⁴⁵ Birds of similar type form a figured frieze against a plain ground in the House of the Mysteries of Isis and the House of the Buffet Supper (intermediate level); they also occur several times assembled in a single panel.⁴⁶

Fishing Erotes are found on a number of the Zeugma mosaics. Several, fishing either on a dolphin's back or from rocks, appear on a mosaic (context 6259) from Trench 6 in the French excavations of 2000;⁴⁷ others appear in the angles of the mosaic with the busts of Oceanus and Tethys in the House of Oceanus.⁴⁸ They also occur numerous times, in marine scenes or independently, in several of the Antioch houses.⁴⁹ However, in view of the fragmentary nature of the central panel in M17, no exact parallels can be established.

A more remote comparison for the panels with Dionysiac masks is offered by the mosaics of the palace built by the Sasanian king Shapur at Bishapur, after his victorious campaigns against Rome in Syria in the 250s A.D., during which both Zeugma itself and Antioch were sacked. Panels set at the edge of the *iwān*-hall there contain what are clearly a series of Dionysiac masks, including several Silenus-like old men, maenads, satyrs, and Pan, all isolated against a plain white ground. Another, fragmentary, panel contained two birds on twigs, against a plain ground.⁵⁰ It has long been recognized that these mosaics, and the others of the *iwān*, are likely to be the work of mosaicists brought from Antioch (or other Syrian cities) by the victors.⁵¹ The masks bear only a generic resemblance to those on our mosaic, but they belong to the same tradition.

Date: No date has yet been proposed for the closest parallel, context 16020 from Trench 16 at Zeugma, but it contains a border of acanthus scroll unlikely to be far removed chronologically from other examples at Zeugma probably datable to the early third century.⁵² The Antioch parallels indicate the late second to mid-third century as the main period of popularity of the mask and bird motifs.

M18 (context 2444, Room 20)

Plain black and white

Max. dimensions: 0.83 × 0.40 m

PL. 11, 47A

Condition: poor

Tesserae: not recorded

Colors: black, white

Fragment; white background with partial remains of a black crosslet (or part of trellis grid). Very little detail is discernible.

M19 (context 2432, Room 2P)

Only partially excavated

Geometric polychrome

Condition: good where uncovered

PL. 47, 48A

Dimensions: 3.94 × 1.08 m

Tesserae: 2.0–3.5 cm sq

Colors: white, gray, black, dark red, pink, yellow

Border: plain white surround. Black band four tesserae wide, edging border of black trellis grid of serrated simple fillets, with squares of four tesserae at intersections (cf. *Décor* 124a).⁵³ Compartments are alternately gray and white, and contain parallel serrated squares made up of 25 tesserae, predominantly dark red with a white center. The narrow border on the northern side contains one complete compartment (white) and two half-compartments (gray); on the wider east side there are two complete gray compartments, with one and two half-compartments in white. Where these two sections meet, they form a contiguous group of four gray compartments, with no attempt to make the necessary adjustments.

Black/blue-gray fillet; white band six tesserae wide; black fillet; band of white/red crowstep; black fillet.

Central Panel (or another border): two interlooped bands forming circles (parts of two survive), within a square/rectangular frame; curvilinear triangles outlined in gray on a white ground fill the spaces between the circles and the outer border. One band consists of a simple guilloche, the strands in shades of gray, red, and yellow. The other is a wavy ribbon on a black ground, with the waves outlined in a single row of white, and colored alternately dark/light gray and pink/red. The eastern loop contains a white/gray inner circle outlined in black and edged with red/white crowstep.

Discussion: The pattern of interlooped bands forming circles is used as the design of the central panel in mosaic M26, and is discussed there.⁵⁴ In view of the rectangular format here, it probably formed a border around a missing central panel rather than the central panel itself.

DATING: HOUSE OF THE BULL

Tobin places the original construction of the house in the Flavian–early Trajanic period; it was destroyed in the mid-third century.⁵⁵ Between these dates, she proposes three phases of renovations, the first two involving the laying of mosaics and the addition of new painted plaster on the walls, as well as the construction of a new latrine; the third consisting of alterations such as the partial blocking of the colonnade between Room 2M and the courtyard. None of these activities can be dated more securely on stratigraphic grounds; the main evidence for placing the first renovation phase is the stylistic character of the mosaics, while the third she suggests may have occurred shortly before the final destruction.

The mosaics themselves do little to offer greater precision. M13 is clearly later than M12, which it covers; but since M12 could only be made out in section, nothing further can be said about it. A wall built as part of the insertion of a later room, perhaps a latrine, in Room 2O rested upon the mosaic of the courtyard, M15, which is therefore earlier; again, the new room cannot be dated more closely. Some of the mosaics (M14, M15, M16) are too simple to allow parallels to be quoted; others are too fragmentary. Where parallels can be established for the mosaics (M8, M13, M17, M19), they belong to a period running from the late second to the mid-third century (and later). M10 stands out from the others through its clumsy execution and irregularity, and gives the impression of being a later variant on the common pattern of the trellis grid. It may be suggested that it, together with M8, which has the same border pattern, and perhaps also M9, were laid in a single phase; it is not clear whether the more accurately rendered M13 should go with them.⁵⁶ The careful execution and fine detail of M17 are clearly due to its use in a more prestigious space and are not necessarily a sign of an earlier date, but it has little in common with M8 and M10; its composition and general characteristics suggest that it should probably belong between the later second and the first decades of the third century. M19 is related to M26, for which a third-century date is suggested below. None of these criteria can be pushed too far. All told, the mosaics of the House of the Bull seem to belong to a period running from the later second to the mid-third century, with indications that there was more than one phase of refurbishment within this wider period, the last of them maybe no more than one or two decades before A.D. 253.

Trench 4**M20** (context 4012)**Plain**

Max. dimensions: 1.80 × 3.50 m

PL. 50, 51B

Condition: fair

Tesserae: ca. 2.0 cm sq

Colors: white

A plain white floor.

Trench 9*House of the Hoards (M21)***M21** (context 9208, Room 9F)**Geometric polychrome**

Max. dimensions: 1.0 × 0.94 m

PL. 54, 63B

Condition: poor

Tesserae: 0.8–1.2 cm sq

Colors: black, white, dark blue, dark red

A fragmentary mosaic with a wide white surround composed of larger tesserae, a band of black / dark blue / black, three tesserae wide, an intermediate band (white?), and a black fillet framing a central geometric panel, perhaps with a trellis grid, and containing some dark red tesserae. The house was destroyed in the mid-third-century sack, and may have been constructed in the Middle Imperial period;⁵⁷ too little remains of the mosaic itself to make any suggestion about its dating.

Trench 11*House of the Fountain (M22–M24)*

Three mosaics were found in this house (Plate 78). A very fragmentary one decorated the small room to the north, which at one period apparently served as a latrine. The central courtyard had a mosaic that, because of time constraints, could not be fully investigated; the loggia opening off the courtyard to the south had a large figured mosaic, in excellent state of preservation, which was lifted (M23). The edge of a further mosaic or threshold panel in the doorway of the adjacent room to the west can be seen in on-site photographs, but no details are recorded.

M22 (context 11093, Room 11E)**Geometric polychrome**

Dimensions: 1.60 × 3.00 m

PL. 88D

Condition: poor; repaired in places with tile and mortar

Tesserae: not recorded

Colors: black, white, light green, light blue, others(?)

Simple mosaic floor with a geometric pattern and some variation in colors. Further detail could not be ascertained. Tobin has identified the room as a small household latrine.⁵⁸

M23 (context 11076, Room 11D)*Nereids on sea monsters***Polychrome figured mosaic****Lifted; Gaziantep Museum**

Max. dimensions: 3.05 × 5.10 m

PL. 84–86

Condition: excellent; small lacunae on west side of central panel and border

Tesserae: surround = 1.2–1.8 cm sq. (irregular), density per dm² 48–53; border = 0.8–1.2 cm sq., density per dm² 79–87; figure panel background = 0.8–1.0 cm sq., density per dm² ca. 86; figures = 0.8–1.0 cm sq. in animals and drapery, 0.5–0.6 cm sq. in flesh parts, with some thin rectangular tesserae for details such as eyes and nose; density per dm² in the figures ranges from 120–130 in animals and drapery to ca. 220–230 or even higher in the faces

Colors: numerous shades of yellow, pink, brown, red, green, blue, black, and white limestone

A large rectangular panel, containing two Nereids riding on a sea-bull and a sea-leopard, is framed by a panelled border with ornamental motifs. It occupied the whole floor of a room opening through a colonnaded loggia off the courtyard; two of the walls were decorated with painted plaster (11073). The mosaic was oriented towards the south, to be seen from the rear of the room.

Surround: maximum width 38 cm (on east side only). White tesserae set in rows approximately parallel to edge. On the west side, the mosaic apparently continued into the doorway of the adjacent room. On-site photographs show the edge of a narrow band, perhaps a threshold panel, with a design of rows of poised squares. No further details are available.⁵⁹

Outer border: gray/black fillet of four rows of tesserae.

Frame: width 42–43 cm. A band of rectangular and square panels containing ornamental motifs is set against a white ground (five rows of tesserae). At the corners, four square panels are separated by the white ground from the panels along the sides, which are contiguous; the long sides each contain a central square panel between two long rectangles, with a smaller upright rectangle at each end; the short sides have an upright rectangle between two long rectangles. All are framed by a continuous black fillet, single around the upright rectangles, double around the rest.

The square panels in the northwest and southeast corners both contain poised squares with a border of crow-step, black/yellow, around an inner square divided into four stepped triangles, gray/blue/white and pink/dark pink/red; the angles of the outer squares contain stepped triangles, pink/red/black. The other two panels have a yellow ground and contain a circle composed of four lobes, alternately red and gray, and forming an inner concave square with blunt points, containing a small poised square, black/gray, on white ground.

Four designs, repeated with minor variations, are found in the panels along the sides. Two designs, each repeated

four times, alternate in the long rectangular panels. One is framed in crowstep, black/yellow, with an inner rectangle outlined by a single black fillet. Within, pink triangles fill the angles; the space between forms a yellow oblong octagon, with small gray squares on each short side. Two black floral motifs, with an elongated spindle-shaped petal between tendrils, grow from the squares at the ends; in the center a black circle contains a four-petalled rosette, red/dark pink/light pink/white. The other long rectangles have a white ground, within which is an inner rectangle with concave recesses in the center of each side. Triangles, alternately gray-blue and yellow, fill the angles; the space between forms an oblong octagon with the short sides concave. Black floral motifs, similar to those in the other rectangular panels, grow from the ends; the central circle contains a similar rosette in shades of green/blue/gray. The small upright rectangles all contain pairs of peltae, those on the long sides facing inwards, those on the short sides outwards. The peltae are divided vertically into two halves, red/pink or gray-green/gray-blue; their points and base end in loops. The two square panels in the center of the two long sides both contain, on a white ground, a circle of simple guilloche, the strands black/white/pink/red/black, black/white/yellow/green/black, and black/white/gray-green/gray-blue/black; the central disc is green/yellow/white.

Inner Border: width 10 cm. A double crowstep, composed of two outer rows of black serrated triangles facing in to form a row of yellow serrated poised squares (cf. *Décor* 15c).

Central Panel (1.51 × 2.72 m): framed by a double red fillet, overlapping at the corners. On a white ground, two Nereids, dressed in tunics and cloaks, ride on the coiling tails of a sea-bull (right) and a sea-leopard (left); a dolphin fills the space in the bottom left corner.

To the right are the head and forequarters of a bull, its head turned back towards the Nereid. Its body is colored in shades of gray, brown, green, and pink, applied in broad stripes, and partially outlined in black. The mouth is open, with teeth and tongue visible, and a red dewlap runs from the muzzle down the chest. Two small red fin-like attachments just behind the right foreleg are the only indications of fishiness; the junction with the sea monster's tail is entirely hidden behind the body of the right-hand Nereid, who reclines on his back. Beneath her left knee appears a coil of tail folded back on itself, striped in gray-blue and gray-green, with hatched black lines running diagonally near the edge. A red line forms two spiky fins at the right side. The coils of tail continue to the left beyond the Nereid's right leg, with a second coil behind, which supports the left-hand Nereid; it is not clear to which of the sea monsters this belongs. Between the two Nereids appears the end of a tail, ending in a complex seaweedy fan of fins, yellow/green/gray/black.

The Nereid reclines with her left elbow resting against the bull's shoulder, her body stretched out as if supported

on the coils of the tail, her left leg tucked under her, her right extended. With her right hand she holds the end of a yellow veil that billows behind her, forming an arc over her head and vanishing behind her left shoulder, to reappear around her hips. She wears a blue tunic pinned on the right shoulder and slipping off her left arm to leave the left shoulder bare. Her left nipple is apparently exposed, though placed much too high on her breast. The tunic is girdled beneath her bosom, and falls in looping folds over her stomach. At her hips the yellow drapery of her veil crosses her body, while her legs are wrapped in a voluminous red cloak that ends in a gray lower border. The cloak passes behind her body and is caught up over her left arm, with a fold falling to her thigh. Her hair forms a double bow on top of her head and falls in waves of black, yellow, and red ringlets down the back of her head. Her eyes are blue, with heavy lids and brows; her head is turned to her left (the viewer's right), towards the bull. She wears earrings and has red bracelets around her right wrist and upper arm.

To the left of the panel are the foreparts of a winged leopard. The nearer wing is attached just below the neck, the further projects in front of the chest and continues behind the head. The spots on the head consist of a single black tessera; those on the body, of rings of black around a white center. Tongue and teeth are visible, and strands of beard hang from the lower jaw. A single red fin is attached to the top of the left foreleg. The body vanishes behind the left-hand Nereid; again there is no sign of a junction with the tail, nor is it clear how it is supposed to relate to the coils of tail visible beneath and between the Nereids.

The second Nereid leans her right elbow against the shoulder of the leopard, just behind its wing; her left arm rests along her body. She seems to recline on the coils of tail to the left, with her legs vanishing behind the first Nereid. She wears a green tunic pinned on both shoulders, leaving both arms bare, and girdled under her bosom; it falls in chains of folds over her stomach to her ample hips. Her legs are wrapped at the thighs in a yellow cloak, with a fold across the top that is pulled up over her right arm, and falls in a fold to her hips. Her hair is parted in the middle, and falls in waves of red, yellow, and black, with a ringlet at the back of the neck. Over her crown her hair is covered by a band. Her eyes are darker than her sister's, her features otherwise similar; her head is turned to the viewer's left. She wears earrings and has bracelets on her upper arms and left wrist. Beneath her right elbow, against the leopard's back, is a red rectangular object. Its central section is flecked with black dots, while the slightly curved top and bottom are plain red. It is probably intended for a basket, similar to those held in this position by Nereids on other mosaics.⁶⁰

In the bottom left corner, beneath the leopard, is a dolphin facing left. It has a big round eye, and open beak; there is a double red fin underneath the beak, and a pointed red fin on top of the head. The body is mainly gray-green and gray-blue, outlined in black, with a red streak along the middle behind the eye and lighter colors beneath; spiky

fins, red above and black below, emerge from the back and belly. The tail ends in a seaweedy fan, black, gray, green, and red, like that of the sea monster.

Style: The figures are outlined predominantly by a single row of black tesserae, replaced by red in some flesh parts, or along the spiky fins of the sea monsters. Color is applied in stripes, which do not shade into one another. In the bull, broad patches of gray, brown, pink and even green indicate the volume in a somewhat rudimentary way; the leopard is rather more varied, with the spots standing out against a mixture of pink, gray, and gray-blue. The folds of the drapery are indicated by lines. The flesh tones range from white to light and dark pink, with a little yellow; again the shading is predominantly done by stripes. The features are strongly outlined, with heavy lids, double eyebrows, a firm line for the nose, and a mouth marked by three short lines of red and black.

Although the overall effect of the panel is striking, there are awkwardnesses in the composition. As noted above, the foreparts of the sea creatures have no connection to the coils of tail; the designer appears to have no model that shows a sea-bull or sea-leopard with a convincing junction between its constituent elements. Nor is the relationship between the Nereids and the monsters on which they recline worked out convincingly. In addition, the lower coils of the tails and the foot of the right-hand Nereid are squashed against the lower frame, as if insufficient room was allowed for them; the left hoof of the bull is similarly pressed against the right-hand frame. It looks as though the design were laid out on the floor from the top down, and its relation to the available space miscalculated. The craftsman has had difficulty in handling the foreshortening of the bull's head and neck, which are turned at an unconvincing angle. More specific errors affect the veil of the right-hand Nereid, which does not continue evenly on either side of her head, and her exposed left nipple, placed much too high on her breast.

Discussion: The panelled frame is a variant of the common border design composed of rectangular panels containing lozenges alternating with square panels containing circles; a much simpler version is found on M26, discussed below. Here it is elaborated, first by the addition of the upright rectangles containing pairs of confronted and opposed peltae, and second by the unusual treatment of the filling motifs of the long rectangles. The lozenges normally found in this position have been blunted at the angles, forming instead a very elongated octagon; the addition of the small interior squares at the short sides on one motif, and the concave recesses at these points on the other, make them resemble rather a shield motif or *scutum*, though these are normally hexagonal.⁶¹ The petal and tendril motifs that fill them resemble those in the spandrels of M26. The inner border of double crowstep is common at Zeugma. It occurs, inter alia, around one of the geometric mosaics in the House of Dionysus, on the mosaic of Oceanus and Tethys

from the House of Oceanus, and on one of the geometric mosaics of the Roman baths under the Birecik Dam.⁶² The frame of the Nereid panel itself, with its overlapping corners, recurs as an inner frame on a number of the figured mosaics at Zeugma, for instance the mosaics of Aphrodite and the Tritons, of Dionysus and Telete, and the panel with the Triumph of Dionysus on the mosaic of Daedalus and Dionysus.⁶³ It is found also on several of the Antioch mosaics, and is derived originally from the wooden frames used for paintings; it therefore draws attention to the pictorial quality of the scene so framed.⁶⁴

Nereids riding on sea monsters belong to the realm of the marine thiasos, which provided an inexhaustible stock of material for mosaicists throughout the Roman world, as well as for the carvers of sarcophagi and workers in every other medium.⁶⁵ In addition to sea-horses and sea-dragons, and to Tritons or ichthyocentaurs, every sort of hybrid creature serves as their mount. In the early third-century Maritime Baths at Ostia, for instance, four Nereids ride on a sea-horse, a sea-bull, another sea-horse, and a sea-tiger; while in the House of the Dioscuri at Ostia, perhaps 150 years later, their mounts include sea-horse, sea-bull, sea-stag, sea-donkey, and sea-leopard.⁶⁶ Almost always, however, the Nereids are shown nude or lightly draped, often with a cloak covering their lower body, while one end is pulled up to form an arc over its wearer's head; the elegant tunics worn by the two on our mosaic are unusual. The theme appears only twice at Antioch, in a mosaic of the House of the Triumph of Dionysus, placed by Levi in the Antonine period, and in the fourth-century Bath E.⁶⁷ In Bath E the Nereids are all nude, and recline on the backs of Tritons or ichthyocentaurs. The mosaic from the House of the Triumph of Dionysus is a long narrow panel, with only two Nereids. One rides on the elongated coils of the tail of a winged sea-horse, led by an elderly Triton. The second is damaged, but appears to be riding on the tail of a young Triton to the right. As far as can be judged from the surviving fragment, she wore a tunic very like that of the right-hand Nereid on our mosaic, except that it slips down over her right shoulder instead of her left.⁶⁸ At Zeugma itself, one example of the Nereid theme is known, on the mosaic of Antiope, a Satyr, and Galatia, from the House of Poseidon.⁶⁹ Here a fairly small panel, beneath the scene of Antiope and the satyr, contains a Nereid labelled as Galatia (= Galatea) riding to the right on the back of a sea-leopard; she wears a yellow tunic pinned on both shoulders, and a red cloak around her hips and over her left arm. Her pose, with the right hand holding up the end of the drapery that forms an arc over her head, resembles that of the right-hand Nereid on M23, though it is not identical;⁷⁰ the leopard, which is not winged, might be a much simpler version of the animal ridden by the left-hand Nereid, with a similar lack of connection between the foreparts, the shapeless coil of tail on which she sits, and the short segment of the end of the tail that appears to her left. In quality, it is greatly inferior to M23.

Another source has affected the iconography of the right-hand Nereid. Representations of the rape of Europa show the princess riding on the back of a bull, often in a manner very similar to that of the Nereid here, except that the creature is a real bull, not a hybrid sea monster. Odile Wattel-de Croizant, in her study of the mosaics representing the myth of Europa, has concluded that there is a contamination between the images of the marine thiasos and those of Europa, who is frequently represented nude with her cloak forming an arc over her head, like a Nereid.⁷¹ But the influence may also go in the opposite direction. The subject appears on a mosaic from Byblos, where Europa reclines along the back of the bull, who turns his head towards her; she wears a tunic that slips down over her right shoulder, and her cloak is wrapped around her thighs, then pulled up behind her back to arc over her head, and held in her left hand.⁷² Except for the reversed position of the arms (closer to that of the Nereid in the House of the Triumph of Dionysus at Antioch), she is extraordinarily similar to the Nereid on M23. The one appearance of the Europa theme at Antioch, in the central panel of room 1 of the House of the Boat of Psyche, is fragmentary, and the head of the bull is destroyed, but Europa has her arms in a position resembling that of the Zeugma Nereid; she wears a transparent tunic, exposing the right shoulder and breast.⁷³

In view of what was said earlier about the mosaicist apparently lacking a model for the sea monsters, it seems possible that there may indeed be an attempt here to conflate two themes: Europa, elegantly draped in tunic and mantle, on her bull may have been transformed into a Nereid from the marine thiasos, with a second Nereid, equally elegantly draped, added alongside. The result was a design striking in its overall effect, especially because of the vivid coloring, though unconvincing in the details of draftsmanship. One final parallel may be drawn within Zeugma itself. The head of the right-hand Nereid is almost identical in pose and detail to that of Parthenope in the mosaic of Metiochos and Parthenope.⁷⁴ She too turns her head towards her left, in this case to look towards Metiochos, and her tunic slips down over her left shoulder; only the left arm differs, pulled round much further in front of her. Further study would be needed to establish whether this is evidence for a common designer of the two mosaics, or simply for the use or adaptation of a common cartoon. Also problematic is the connection with the mosaic of Galatia in the House of Poseidon, discussed above. It is evidently closely related to the pattern used in M23, but much simpler. The proposal made below for a date for M23 shortly before A.D. 253 appears to make it likely that it is somewhat later than any of the mosaics in the House of Poseidon; the use of a common source for the two Nereid mosaics may therefore be (tentatively) suggested.⁷⁵

M24 (context 11079, courtyard)

Geometric, black and white

Dimensions (excavated portion): 1.45 × 3.40 m PL. 83D

Condition: good, where uncovered; full extent not revealed

Tesserae: 1.0 cm sq

Colors: black, white

Only partially excavated. Within a white surround, a black fillet frames a white field decorated with a regular *semis* of black crosslets. At the center are a narrow black fillet edging a border of crowstep (colors not identifiable). The panel within this could not be exposed.

DATE: HOUSE OF THE FOUNTAIN

The house may originally go back to the Hellenistic period, with major remodelling in the late first or early second century A.D.; it was destroyed in the mid-third century. Before the destruction several renovations and alterations took place, which Tobin places in the first half of the third century.⁷⁶ These include the installation of a fountain in the courtyard, with which the laying of M24 should go, presumably also the laying of M23 (although there is no stratigraphic evidence for its date), and renovations in the latrine (Room 11E), probably accompanied by the laying of M22. Subsequently, M22 was repaired with tile, and then in a later phase was covered by a mortar floor, at the same time that the latrine went out of use, the fountain also presumably ceased to function, and the wall between Room 11E and the courtyard was blocked. These last changes appear to have taken place shortly before the destruction of the house.

Too little information is preserved about either M22 or M24 to offer any more precise dating based on style or parallels. However, M23 is very distinctive. Had the date of destruction not been firmly established (the mosaic was covered with debris securely dated to the mid-third century), its style might have been taken to indicate a date closer to the end of the third or early fourth century: the strong outlines, limited use of shading, striking coloristic effects, and frontal, almost hieratic presentation of the Nereids, all seem to point towards late antiquity. The border pattern is of little help in establishing the chronology, in the absence of close parallels for it: but the complication of the ornamental motifs is likewise often indicative of a date later in the third century. Given the excellent state of preservation of the mosaic, it may be suggested that it was created not long before A.D. 253. Assuming the other two to be contemporary with it (which seems plausible, though it cannot be proved), time needs to be allowed for the subsequent repair of M22, and then the final alterations to the house; this does not necessarily require more than one or two decades. A date for the Nereid mosaic in the 230s or 240s may therefore be proposed.

Trench 12

A collection of 94 fragments of mosaic, most very small, was included among the debris that made up a layer of fill in the Square Structure in Trench 12. The material appears to consist of debris collected after the Sasanian destruction; its original source is not known.⁷⁷

M25 (context 12016)

Fragments of polychrome figured mosaic (or several mosaics?), found in later fill

Lifted; Gaziantep Museum

Dimensions: largest fragment (A) 0.89 × 0.54 m; PL. 95B-G rest vary between ca. 8 cm and ca. 20 cm sq

Condition: 94 fragments recovered

Tesserae: 0.5–1.1 cm sq

Colors: black, white, light gray, yellow (two shades), orange (two shades), red (two shades), pink, blue (three shades), green (three shades), brown (two shades); some use of glass

Fragment A constituted the corner of a considerably larger panel. Within a white surround, decorated with occasional black quincunxes, is a series of rectangular concentric borders. A red/white crowstep edges a four-strand guilloche on a black ground (0.19 m wide). The strands are: black/dark green/orange/white/black; black/light gray/yellow/white/black; black/dark red/pink/white/black; black/light blue/gray/white/black. Within this, successive fillets of white, pale yellow, red, black, and blue-gray frame the central field. Only a small portion of this remained (0.03 × 0.44 m); on a gray ground is the inscription ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ.

The other 93 fragments, which were not recorded separately, contained a wide variety of representations, both of border patterns and figured designs. The border patterns included: wave pattern, scrolls, guilloche (two- and three-strand), and rows of tangent cuboids (*Décor* 99e). Among the figured designs were numerous fragments representing various birds, floral motifs, and a crater. Among the birds can be distinguished the head of a rooster and a light-headed, crested bird, possibly a peacock. Details in the feathers and eyes of the birds were of glass; the coloring was lively and naturalistic. The crater was shown as metallic (bronze?), with wide rim, sharply angled shoulder, shallow belly, and foot, with a ring handle placed at the shoulder; liquid spilled down from the rim. In this fragment, and some of those with birds, the color of the ground seems to have been pinkish.

Discussion: It is not clear whether the fragments represent one original mosaic or several. On fragment A, the name Theodotos is unlikely to have identified an actor in a figured scene, since the name is not that of any known mythological character (the most common use of identifying inscriptions on the Zeugma mosaics). It may have formed part of an inscription giving either the signature of the mosaicist or perhaps the name of the patron. The script

is cursive, with rounded forms; this cannot be used as an indication of the date of the mosaic, since the Zeugma mosaics use both square and rounded forms, sometimes within the same pavement.⁷⁸ The fragments with birds, flowers, and a crater suggest that the original mosaic may have resembled the mosaic of the Birds and Kantharos in Antioch; moreover the figured panel there was surrounded by a wide area of tangent cuboids, similar to those used as a border pattern on several of these fragments.⁷⁹ The border of tangent cuboids (“solids in perspective”) is found on numerous Antioch mosaics from about the mid-second century onwards;⁸⁰ at Zeugma it appears on the very fine mosaic from the House of Poseidon showing Eros and a veiled woman and is used as a central panel on one of the mosaics from the Roman baths under the Birecik Dam.⁸¹ The suggestion that the fragments may be debris from buildings destroyed in the Sasanian sack would therefore be consistent with the style of these fragments, which could well date from the late second or early third century.⁸²

Trench 13

House of the Tunnel (M26 and Appendix)

One mosaic was discovered in this house during the 2000 excavations (M26); it was lifted for protection in the following year. Further investigation in 2002 revealed three more mosaics in the adjoining area, one of which was lifted (see Appendix, p. 164). At least two rooms of the house were decorated with wall paintings.⁸³

M26 (context 13068, Room 13C)

Polychrome geometric mosaic

Lifted; Gaziantep Museum

A central ornamental panel with a design of looped circles is set within a geometric frame

Max. dimensions: 2.80 × 4.40 m

PL. 120–121

Condition: northeast corner destroyed, covering most of northern border, about half of eastern, and top corner of central panel; surround survives only on west side and small section of east

Tesserae: surround, 1.2–1.6 cm sq. (uneven and irregular), density per dm² ca. 55; border and central panel = 0.8–1.2 cm sq., density per dm² 70–77

Colors: black, dark gray, light blue-gray, yellow, green, pink, red, and white limestone

Surround: preserved only on west and small section of east side. White tesserae laid vertically from edge at outside, then parallel to border. Decorated with large black crosslets (four survive), composed of poised serrated squares containing inscribed white squares, with rays of black tesserae issuing from center of each side.

Border: triple gray fillet.

Frame: square and rectangular panels, 46 cm wide, set against white ground; 10 rows of white tesserae on outside,

six between each panel and along inner side. Square panels survive at two corners, while the third corner (northwest) is plain white, presumably because of some architectural feature at that point; the fourth is destroyed.⁸⁴ Two rectangular panels fill the two complete sides, and half of another remains on the damaged eastern side; fragments of a similar panel on the northern side, now lost, can be seen in the on-site photographs. All the panels are outlined by a double gray/black fillet.

Identical motifs fill the squares. A circle, outlined by a double black fillet, is set against a blue-gray ground; small black triangles fill the angles. Within the circles, a ring of white stepped triangles against a red ground surrounds an inner circle, outlined in black with a yellow filling. The rectangles all contain an inner lozenge, set against a yellow ground, with triangles alternately red and black in the angles. Two motifs alternate within the lozenges. In one group, a circle is set against a blue-gray ground and contains a ring of white stepped triangles on red with a central black and yellow circle, like those in the corner squares. In the other group, a poised square is set against a blue-gray ground within the lozenge; it too contains red and white stepped triangles, but here set in a square format around a central square.

Central Panel (ca. 1.83 × 1.80 m): This is edged by a double gray/black fillet; a similar fillet surrounds an inscribed circle. The spandrels contain, on a yellow ground, a floral motif growing from the angle and divided vertically into two parts, red and black. The central leaf is flanked by two smaller leaves at the sides, with leafy tendrils growing between them; each motif shows minor variations in the shape and position of the leaves. Within the circle, an inner border of white and red crowstep surrounds a wreath-like pattern of two bands interlooped to form six circles. Curvilinear triangles, alternately red and gray, fill the spaces between the bands and the outer border and contain a white half-crosslet.

One of the looped bands consists of a double guilloche, the strands are colored black/red/pink/white/black; black/gray/light gray/white/black; black/green/yellow/white/black; a single white tessera forms the eye between the strands. The other is a wavy ribbon on a black ground, with the waves outlined in a single row of white and colored alternately pink/red and gray/light gray. The loops contain inner circles outlined in white and edged with crowstep, alternately red/white and black/white. Within this are four-petalled rosettes, green and white, against a black ground. The central area, within the interlooped bands, is a very irregular gray hexagon containing a ring of white/red crowstep around a yellow disk with a single black tessera at the center.

The layout is often irregular, the motifs vary in size, and lines are not straight; the circles are drawn freehand.

Discussion: The pattern in the central panel, the interlooped bands of guilloche and wavy ribbon forming circles, was

evidently a favorite of the Zeugma workshop(s). It is used in very similar, though somewhat more elaborate, form in the central panel of Room 3 of the House of Dionysus.⁸⁵ There too it fills a circle within a square, with similar floral motifs in the angles; the loops form eight smaller circles rather than six, and there are minor differences in their filling and in the rosettes in the center. The execution is also rather more precise. The pattern was also used as a border in a rectangular format, for instance in context 6151 in Room P9 of Trench 6 of the French excavations (House of the Synaristosai). Here it surrounds a rectangular central panel with a geometric design; more varied motifs fill the small circles.⁸⁶ M19 from Trench 2, discussed above, shows a fragment, also in rectangular format, preserving parts of two similar looped circles; this is perhaps more likely to have been part of a border than to have formed the central motif. In a related use of the same motif, the bands could contain figures in their inner circles. Thus the busts of the provinces in the mosaic of Neptune and the Provinces from Zeugma, now scattered through numerous different museums and collections, are framed in the same looped bands; they formed a rectangular border around a central panel with the chariot of Neptune, while a further border contained a scroll with hunting Erotes.⁸⁷

Further afield, circles of the same interlooped bands were used to contain busts of Socrates and the Seven Sages in the mosaic from Baalbek-Soueidié in modern Lebanon. The format there is circular, as on our pavement, with the loops surrounding a central bust of the muse Kalliope, and floral motifs fill the spandrels of the outer square. The execution is much more careful than in any of the Zeugma examples, in keeping with the more ambitious composition and theme.⁸⁸

The panelled frame of M26, with its lozenges within rectangles and circles within squares, is found twice in almost identical form in the mosaics of the Roman baths under the Birecik Dam. A slightly wider range of fillings is used than on our mosaic, but many are identical; even the coloring, predominantly yellow and blue-gray, is the same, though reversed in one example. It is very tempting to see these as products of the same workshop.⁸⁹ A simpler version, with two rectangles flanking a square, is used on the threshold of the mosaic of the Wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne in the House of Dionysus.⁹⁰ The same pattern is used as a border several times at Antioch; it is found there both in its simple form, for example, in the House of Aion, and in a more elaborate version with complex ornamental or even figural motifs at the center of the panels, as in the House of the Buffet Supper and the House of the Boat of Psyche.⁹¹ A similar design is also found in the Large Baths (III 2B) at Anemurium, apparently constructed in the mid-third century, perhaps shortly before the Persian invasions, and in a much simpler form in the probably contemporary structure EIII 2B.⁹² The large black crosslets in the surround are identical to those used on M13; they also occur on a mosaic from the House of the Synaristosai.⁹³

APPENDIX

In October 2002 the fall in the level of the reservoir exposed further rooms to the east of the original excavated area, presumably belonging to the same house as M26. These contained three more mosaics, which were excavated by Gaziantep Museum. Two of these mosaics had designs consisting of simple versions of the trellis grid; detailed information is not available. The third (Plate 126) was lifted and taken to the Gaziantep Museum, where it was conserved by the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica–Roma. It has a border of trellis grid, with compartments colored alternately white and yellow, around a central panel with intersecting circles forming quatrefoils. The compartments thus formed are also alternately white and yellow, while the lobes of the quatrefoils are alternately red and blue-gray, and contain a small poised square in the opposite color.⁹⁴ The design of intersecting circles also recalls mosaics in the House of Dionysus; they are used, in slightly different form, both in the outer border of the mosaic of the Wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne and in the central panel of the mosaic in the peristyle court.⁹⁵ Another example comes from the Roman baths under the Birecik Dam.⁹⁶

DATING: HOUSE OF THE TUNNEL

There is no stratigraphic evidence for the date of construction of the house, but on the basis of the construction technique, Tobin suggests that it was no earlier than the end of

the first or beginning of the second century A.D. It was destroyed in the mid-third century, evidently in the Sasanian sack.⁹⁷ Of the comparanda quoted above for M26, the only one with a secure date comes from the mid-third-century baths at Anemurium. The mosaic of Neptune and the Provinces is usually placed in the third century; the scroll with hunting Erotes from that mosaic is very close to that which surrounds the mosaic of the Synaristosai, which cannot be earlier than the third century.⁹⁸ The mosaics from the House of Dionysus, which provide several close parallels, are not dated archaeologically; Campbell suggests a late second- or early third-century date, but without any very solid grounds.⁹⁹ In general, the mosaics of the House of the Tunnel use a decorative repertory that recurs on many of the mosaics of Zeugma, and that may be suggested to be characteristic of the first half of the third century.

Trench 15

M27 (context 15312)

Plain

Dimensions: 1.55 × 2.21 m

PL. 146A

Condition: poor

Tesserae: 1.5 cm sq

Colors: white, gray, pale red

Predominantly white and gray with an occasional pale red tessera randomly inserted.

NOTES

1. House of the Synaristosai: Abadie-Reynal 2002, 763–70; Abadie-Reynal and Darmon 2003, 79–99. House of Poseidon (also called House of Daedalus and Pasiphae): Abadie-Reynal 2002, 748–62; Darmon 2005. See also Başgelen and Ergeç 2000; Ergeç, Önal and Wagner 2000; Campbell and Ergeç 1998; Önal 2002a; Önal 2002b; Darmon 2004, for other mosaics from Zeugma.
2. Only the most commonly occurring ornamental patterns, such as the trellis grid, are discussed in detail at this point. Those that are found only once or twice on this group of mosaics are discussed in the catalogue, immediately after the description of the relevant mosaic. For the patterns, references are given to C. Balmelle et al., *Le Décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine I* (1985) and II (2002) (cited as *Décor I* and II), though for the sake of clarity for the non specialist in mosaics, I have sometimes simplified the English descriptions.
3. Cf. *Décor I*, 124a and e.
4. Two examples of the trellis used as the main decorative motif of a mosaic were found in the Turkish excavations in Trench 8: see Early 2003, 51–5, figs. 45–6 (report by M. Önal and Y. Yavaş); one of these (context 8463) uses the same border motif as **M8** and **M10**. The trellis grid also formed the outer surround of the two ornamental mosaics in the House of Dionysus, and of the mosaic of Metiochos and Parthenope excavated by D.L. Kennedy in 1993: Campbell and Ergeç 1998, 117–9, figs. 7.12–7.15, and 121, fig. 7.19.
5. Abadie-Reynal and Darmon 2003, esp. 87–8. A border of trellis colored in yellow and white also surrounded the very fine mosaic of Oceanus and Tethys in the House of Oceanus: Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, fig. pp. 34–5.
6. Levi 1947, 373–412, esp. 375, on the appearance of the motif in the House of the Evil Eye (pl. XCIII); figs. 74, 76–7, 79, pls. XLIV, CIV–CV (House of Menander); pls. XXXVII, XXXIX (House of the Boat of Psyches).
7. Campbell 1998, 11–2, pl. 40; 27–33, pls. 130, 137–8.
8. Budde 1972, 29–30, figs. 47–50.
9. Cf. for example OA Unpublished Interim Report 2001, figs. A.27 (context 6014), A.28 (context 6037), A.29 (context 6151), A.31 (context 6190, the Synaristosai), all from the House of the Synaristosai (Trench 6); fig. A.37 (context 8459); fig. A.43 (context 14233).
10. See under **M26**.
11. See under **M10**.
12. See under **M26**.
13. Abadie-Reynal et al. 2000, 283–92, figs. 12–13, suggesting a date at the end of the second or beginning of the third century.
14. Cf. Balty 1989, 495–502, 518; Balty 1981, 396–402.
15. For all this, see chapters in these volumes by Aylward, Butcher, Kenrick, and Tobin, and the chronological summaries to the various houses in the Catalogue of Mosaics.
16. See under **M23**.
17. Levi 1947, 625; the House of the Boat of Psyches, the House of Menander, the House of the Buffet Supper (intermediate level), the House of the Evil Eye (upper level), the House of the Peddler of Erotes, and the House of Aion all fall into his later group, assigned to 235–312. His more detailed discussion, especially of the first two of these houses (398–406), shows that he would place them in the earlier part of this period; cf. Balty 2001, 306: “deuxième tiers du IIIe siècle.”
18. E.g., Balty 1981, 371–7 (Severan period); 392–6 (post-Severan to Tetrarchy); Balty 2001.
19. See under **M13** and **M26**.
20. For Edessa see Balty 1981, 387–90; further bibliography in Dunbabin 1999, 172–3; add now Balty and Briquel-Chatonnet 2001. An isolated fragment of a mosaic with the head of a woman very similar in style to the Edessa tomb mosaics was found earlier at Zeugma: Wagner 1976, 101, pl. 24a; Balty 1981, 387, pl. XXII.2.
21. The description given here, which is based upon the one extant photograph of the mosaic in situ (DI 2114) and on the field notes, differs slightly from that given in the preliminary mosaic catalogue in the OA Unpublished Interim Report. Some doubt must remain about the arrangement of the colors in this mosaic.
22. Levi 1947, 190, pl. CIII f; pl. CVc; 217, pls. XLVIIIa, CVIIa; 219, pl. CVIIe; Cimok 2000, 120–1.
23. Stern 1977, 8–9, figs. 5–15, comparing the Antioch group; he also cites examples from Gaul (9 n. 5).
24. Kondoleon 1994, 132, fig. 80, who compares the use of the axe and pelta motif on a mosaic from Loano in Liguria.
25. Tobin, this volume.
26. Tobin, this volume.
27. No photograph survives of this mosaic, and the field notes differ slightly from the description given in the preliminary catalogue. The inner border is described in the field notes as “white oval shapes running through a reddish-pink background,” rather than double crowstep, and the field drawing may confirm this. The drawing of a detail in the field notes also shows clearly that the sides of the octagons were composed of rows of groups of four tesserae, rather than the straight lines that appear in the computer-generated drawing.
28. Levi 1947, 105, 390–1, pl. XCVIIc.
29. Levi 1947, 315, pl. CXXVIIIa.
30. E.g., *Décor* 123d, from Forli in Italy.
31. Levi 1947, 260–1, 419, fig. 158, pl. CXb.
32. E.g., *Décor* 166a–d.
33. Levi 1947, 109, fig. 42, 390, pl. XCVIIIc; cf. *Décor* 171d. A much later version from the fifth-century church of Shavei Zion in Israel places the swastikas at the points of intersection of a trellis pattern, in a way similar to that of **M10**: *Décor* 171f.
34. OA Unpublished Interim Report 2001, 111.
35. Early 2003, 52–3, fig. 46 (report by M. Önal and Y. Yavaş); OA Unpublished Interim Report 2001, 121, fig. A.38.
36. Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 32–3. Cf. Unique Identity Number 32 from a wide-area surface survey conducted by Oxford Archaeology in 2000 (OA Unpublished Interim Report 2001, 132).
37. Antioch: Levi 1947, 149, pl. XXVIIb (House of Dionysus and Ariadne, room 3); 191–2, fig. 71 (House of the Peddler of Erotes); 199, fig. 74, pl. XLIVa (House of Menander, room 1); 217, pl. XLVIIIa (House of the Buffet Supper, intermediate level, corridor of South complex); Campbell 1988, 64, pl. 189 (House of the Drunken Dionysus, upper level). Anemurium: Tomb AIV 7D, Campbell 1998, 53, pl. 225.
38. In a detailed study covering 163 examples, Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets has distinguished the different types and traced the evolution of the pattern: see Guimier-Sorbets 1983. The current example conforms to her type 112; cf. also *Décor* 189b, e.
39. Guimier-Sorbets 1983, 208, 210; Levi 1947, 389–90, pls. XCVIIe, XCIXb, CVf, CVIIb; the later examples of the motif at Antioch are mostly considerably more elaborate.
40. Kondoleon 1994, especially 76–82, with full discussion of the pattern, especially the relationship between western and eastern examples, and concluding that “we can note a widespread use of the [latchkey-] meander in the second through the mid-third centuries, especially at sites in Byzacena, Greece, and Syria” (81–2). For the date of the House of Dionysus see references in Dunbabin 1999, 229 n. 19.
41. Abadie-Reynal 2001, 274, fig. 2.18; OA Unpublished Interim Report 2001, 130, fig. A.44.
42. Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, fig. p.39; another section of the same mosaic contains panels with birds resembling those on **M17**.
43. Levi 1947, 176, pls. XXXVIIa, CIIId; color photograph Cimok 2000, 157.

44. Levi 1947, 186, pl. XLIIa, surrounding the mosaic of the banquet of Agros and Opora; the border here is very much richer and more elaborate.
45. Levi 1947, 92, pl. XVIa–b; Cimok 2000, 91. Levi did not recognize the Dionysiac nature of the masks and thought that the darker coloring of the satyr indicated that it was meant for a black maid-servant.
46. Friezes of birds: Levi 1947, 164, pl. XXXIIIb; 219, pl. XLVIII. Bird panels, in House of Menander (lower level), House of the Red Pavement, mosaic of the Birds and Kantharos, House of the Buffet Supper (lower level): Levi 1947, 66, 87–8, 91, 129–30, and 590, pl. CLXXVIII.
47. Abadie-Reynal 2001, 269, fig. 2.14; OA Unpublished Interim Report 2001, 119, fig. A.35.
48. Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 34–5.
49. E.g., in the House of the Boat of Psyches: Levi 1947, 185–6, pls. XXXIXb, XLI; the House of Menander: *ibid.* 198–200, pl. XLIVa; the House of the Drunken Dionysus: *ibid.* 224, pl. LIc; the House of the Drinking Contest, *ibid.* 162, pl. XXXIc; and the House of the Peddler of Eros: *ibid.* 191–5, pl. XLIIIa. The motif also occurs at Anazarbus in Cilicia: Budde 1972, 84–6, figs. 83–7.
50. Ghirshman 1956, 38–60, pls. IX–XV.
51. See Balty 1995, 149–52, with earlier references.
52. Cf. Abadie-Reynal and Darmon 2003, 90–5, 99; the scroll on context 16020 might be a few decades earlier than that on the Synaristosai.
53. The description given here departs from that given in the OA Unpublished Interim Report, which does not mention the alternating colors of the compartments, clearly visible in the photograph. Details of the coloring of other parts of the pattern are less certain.
54. Discussed below.
55. Tobin, this volume.
56. In the absence of clear photographs it is impossible to judge the technique of M8 and M9; the field notes suggest that M9 and M10 should be contemporary. Too little is known of M11 to tell whether it too goes with its neighbors.
57. Tobin, this volume.
58. Tobin, this volume.
59. See Tobin, this volume; Early 2003, 33. The panel appears, displaced to the south, in the drawing of the house given in Early 2003, fig. 20.
60. E.g., the Nereid riding a sea-donkey on a mosaic from the House of the Dioscuri at Ostia, Becatti 1961, 121, no. 217, pl. CLIII, and one of those in the House of the Triumph of Dionysus at Antioch, discussed below.
61. Cf. *Décor* 18g, 153.
62. Cf. Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 28 fig. 4 (the House of Dionysus); 32–3 (Roman baths); 34–5 (Oceanus and Tethys).
63. Önal 2002a, 18–19, 32–3; Önal 2002b, pl. 45c; Darmon 2004, figs. 1–2, 11.
64. Cf. Ehlich 1953, 80–90. Antioch: e.g., Levi 1947, 34, pl. Va; 68, pls. XI–XIII; 150, pl. XXIXb–c; cf. *ibid.* 376, 382, 387, 396.
65. *LIMC* VI (1992), s.v. Nereides (N. Icard, A.-V. Szabados), 785–824, esp. 790–803; for the earlier history of the theme cf. Lattimore 1976; Barringer 1995.
66. Becatti 1961, 112, no. 211, pl. CXLV; 119–22, no. 217, pls. CXLIX–CLIII.
67. Levi 1947, 100–4, fig. 39, 269–72, pls. XVIId, LXIIIa–c, CLc, CL–IVb.
68. Levi's description (1947, 100) seems to be misleading; he says nothing about her dress, which can be seen clearly in his pl. CLc, but describes her as having had "an attitude and attire similar to the other one," who is nude except for a mantle around her hips.
69. Önal 2002a, 42–3; Darmon 2005, 1285–6.
70. Her left leg is extended instead of the right, and her head is turned at a different angle.
71. Wattel–de Croizant 1995, 5, 239–44; see also Darmon 2000, 715.
72. Chéhab 1957–9, 16, pl. v; Wattel–de Croizant 1995, 201–2, pl. XXVa. The date is probably third century; see Balty 1981, 411.
73. Levi 1947, 169–72, pl. XXXV; Wattel–de Croizant 1995, 203–4, pl. XXVb, proposing a date in the Constantinian period, which seems too late; Baratte 1978, 125, proposing the beginning of the third century.
74. Campbell and Ergeç 1998, 121–3; Önal 2002a, 54–7.
75. The mosaic of Antiope, the Satyr, and Galatia is dated to the first half of the third century by Önal 2002, 42. Darmon 2005 argues that all the mosaics of the House of Poseidon, and those of the adjoining House of Euphrates, form part of a single, contemporary, decorative programme, which he places around 200 A.D. (see also Darmon 2004); this dating is accepted by Barbet 2005, 56, 91. I am not convinced by the arguments that the mosaics all belong to a single unitary programme, and would prefer to leave open the possibility that they range in date over the later decades of the second century and the opening decades of the third. No stratigraphic evidence has yet been published, and the stylistic criteria for dating the Zeugma mosaics remain uncertain.
76. Tobin, this volume.
77. Tobin, this volume.
78. On the mosaic of Daedalus and Dionysus, for instance, elegant square letterforms are used in the panel with Daedalus and Pasiphae, rounded forms in the accompanying panel with the triumph of Dionysus (Önal 2002a, 12–20). The suggestion that an evolution from square to rounded forms on mosaics can be traced at Antioch, with square prevailing down to the middle of the third century, is made by Levi 1947, 627, but is clearly too schematic to be applied at Zeugma.
79. Levi 1947, 90–1, 590, pls. XVa, CLXXVIIIc; he suggests a date in the Antonine period. For a color photograph, see Cimok 2000, 96. Similar, though somewhat later, is a panel in the House of the Sun-Dial: Levi 1947, 221, pl. CLXXXb.
80. Levi 1947, 386–7 (House of the Red Pavement), 397, etc.
81. Eros: Önal 2002a, 27–8 (there identified as Eros and Psyche); Darmon 2005, 1295–7. Roman baths: Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 32–3.
82. Cf. Tobin, this volume.
83. See Tobin, this volume; Bergmann, this volume.
84. The drawings in Early 2003, figs. 10 and 11b, are misleading in showing a square in this corner; the area of plain tesserae that fills it is visible in the on-site photographs.
85. Campbell and Ergeç 1998, 117–9. For the basic design of a "wreath-like pattern in a circle, of interlaced circles," normally eight, see *Décor* II, 307.
86. Abadie-Reynal et al. 2001, 266, fig. 2.11.
87. Parlasca 1983. The largest single number of fragments is in the Pergamonmuseum in Berlin; see Kriseleit 2000, 45–51.
88. Chéhab 1957–9, 32–43, pls. XV–XX; *Décor* II, 307d; ascribed to the early third century by Balty 1981, 180–3.
89. Illustrated in Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 32–3.
90. This threshold is not illustrated or discussed in Campbell and Ergeç 1998, but cf. Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, fig. on p. 20.
91. House of Aion: Levi 1947, 196, fig. 73. House of the Buffet Supper (intermediate level): *ibid.* 218–19, pl. XLVIIIId. House of the Boat of Psyches, triclinium: *ibid.* 175–6, pls. XXXVII, CIIIC–d; cf. Balty 1981, 394: "imitating opus sectile."
92. Campbell 1998, 27, 31–3, pls. 123–4; 34, pls. 143–4.
93. OA Unpublished Interim Report 2001, context 6037, fig. A.28; the central panel has a simple trellis pattern.
94. "Observations on the Shoreline at Zeugma," unpublished document produced by Oxford Archaeology for the Packard Humanities Institute, images 2 and 3.
95. Campbell and Ergeç 1998, 109–117; 119; Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 20–1, 28.4.

96. Başgelen and Ergeç 2000, 33.
 97. Tobin, this volume.
 98. Abadie-Reynal and Darmon 2003, 87, 95, 99. Balty 1981, 384–6, dates the mosaic of Neptune and the Provinces to the first half of the third century.
 99. Campbell and Ergeç 1998, 115–19. The house itself appears to have been built around the first century A.D. and destroyed by fire in the third: Ergeç 1998, 89.

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