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Edited by Søren Dietz



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The cover illustration depicts a Bronze Statuette
of a Horse found at the Argive Heraion. NM 13943.
Drawing by Niels Levinsen. See p. 55, Fig. 19.

Pagans in Late Roman Halikarnassos II

The voice of the inscriptions

Signe Isager

This article will provide a preliminary presentation and discussion of the mosaic inscriptions found in the pavements of a late Roman building in Halikarnassos. It suggests that the inscriptions testify to an orphic/neoplatonic milieu in 5th century Halikarnassos and to a spiritual if not personal presence of the Egyptian poet Nonnos in the town. The inscriptions to be presented were found during the Danish excavations in Bodrum in 1991 and 1992; they were cleaned and restored in the campaign of 1993.

Part of the Roman building was excavated in 1856 by C.T. Newton and the inscriptions found then are already known.¹ Nevertheless it is natural to discuss them in connection with the new findings. In the following I shall for practical reasons make a distinction between the parts of the Roman building excavated respectively by the British and the Danes.

All the inscriptions in the Danish-excavated part were set in the tessellated floor of the apsidal room F (Fig. 1). The

NOTE 1
Hinks 1933, 125-143.

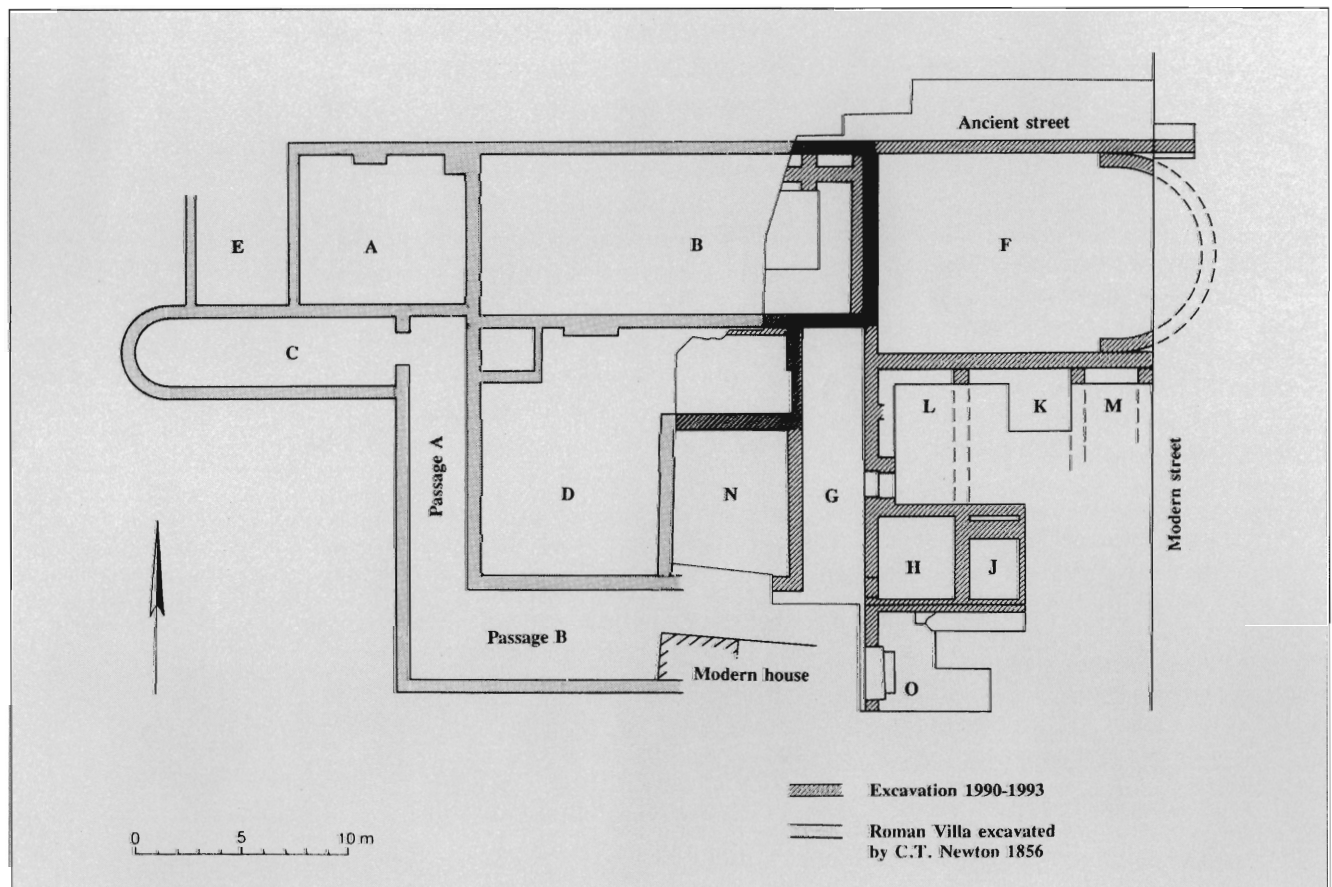


Fig. 1. Plan of the two parts of the villa juxtaposed (Inger Bjerg Poulsen).

most exciting find was a nearly complete inscription in eight lines, an epigram set in a *tabula ansata* (Fig. 7). Opposite this and just in front of the entrance was found the right part of an inscription set in a medallion (Fig. 2). The left part – little more than half – is completely missing. The personified Seasons in the four corners of the room were all identified not only by their attributes but also by inscriptions (Figs. 3–6).

The part of the building excavated by Newton had some inscriptions with a purely identifying function too: The Seasons were identified by the same names as in our part of the building.

Several mythical figures were identified by inscriptions, i.e. Meleager and Atalanta (Poulsen, Figs. 16–18), Dido and Aeneas and finally Dionysos. Three medallions each containing a female head were identified by inscriptions as Halikarnassos, Alexandria and Berytos respectively.

Finally there was a medallion containing six words to be commented on later.

The inscriptions of the apsidal room F

1. The epigram

Text:

Βῆμα τεὸν φέρε δεῦρο μολῶν
 δ' ἐπὶ νευε φαεινοῖς
 αὐτίκα νῦν βλεφάροις ψηφθετὸν
 παρέχω
 σῶμα λίθων πολύμορφων ὄπερ
 τεχνῆμονες ἄνδρες
 στορνυμένου δαπέδου πάντοθεν
 ἠγλάϊσαν,
 5 ὄφρα κεν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα δόμου
 πολυδαίδαλον εἶδος
 ὑπορόφου πάτρῃ τῆιδ' ὄνομαστὸν ἔη
 ὁ πρὶν αἰκέλιον τελέθον Χαρίδημος
 ἔγειρεν
 ἐκ γαίης καμάτοις χρήματα
 πλῖστα πορῶν

Translation:

Come hither and nod your approval
 without delay with your bright shining
 eyes. I present a

multiform body of stones laid in
 mosaics, a body which skillful men
 in spreading the floor made shine all
 over,
 5 so that the richly wrought appearance
 of the high-roofed building
 shall make this city renowned in many
 places.
 What before was in a miserable state
 Charidemus raised
 from the ground with toil and enormous
 expense

Remarks: The text was nearly complete when found in 1992, and the restorations carried out by Benny Berg from the National Museum of Copenhagen in 1993 have confirmed the readings and eliminated alternative possibilities.

The designer of the mosaic attained a balanced composition in the *tabula* by filling out gaps at the end of the line with a floral motif, resembling a twig of pine. The same device is used in the inscribed medallion.²

The letters of the inscription are handsome and regular, 5–6 cm in height, and are without doubt “late”, but they do not of course in themselves provide evidence for a precise dating. Sigma, epsilon and omega (always divided) have square forms, while the omikron and theta are circular and/or oval respectively. It is obvious from the beautifully rounded omikrons and phi's that it was not lack of skill which made the artist choose the square form for some letters.³ It is difficult to generalize on such matters. For instance a building in Thebes tentatively dated to the late 5th or early 6th century⁴ has representations of the months in its tessellated pavement, two of them with square sigmas in their name, the rest being oval. Likewise the mosaic of the Nereides in Apamea dated to 362–363 has the name of Krisis with square sigmas but an oval sigma in Poseidon.⁵ I have so far not found close parallels for all letters of the epigram in one inscription.⁶

The translation of the very first word, βῆμα, is a matter for discussion. It is very unlikely that it had a neutral meaning to any contemporary reader – nor did it give

NOTE 2

Compare the inscription in the bath of Poimenios where another floral motive is used, Budde 1972, pl. 93.

NOTE 3

cf. Åkerström-Haugen 1974, 50.

NOTE 4

Spiro 1978, 210–211.

NOTE 5

Balty 1981, fig. 242.

NOTE 6

More irregular but not without similarities are the letters of an inscription from a baptisterium in the Basilica of Saint John at Kos, Pelekanidis 1974, p. 44.



Fig. 2. Inscription in medallion seen from the west.



Fig. 3. Personification of Autumn.

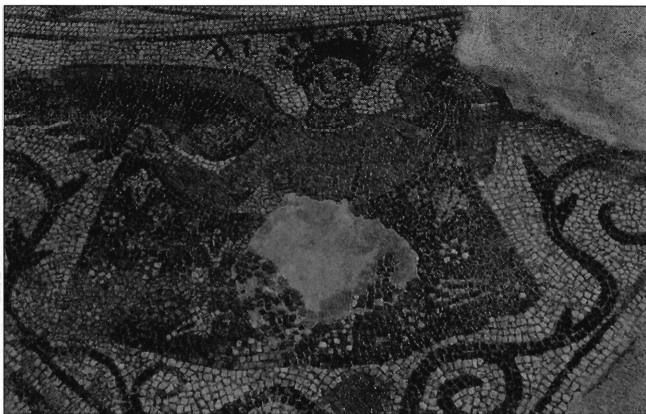


Fig. 4. Personification of Spring.



Fig. 5. Personification of Summer.



Fig. 6. Personification of Winter.



Fig. 7. Inscription in tabula ansata in front of the apse.

the same associations to every reader, since it was the word for step, for tribunal and for the area of the church containing the alter.

2. The inscription in the medallion

Text:

.....KIMEN
ONEON
 ΠΑΡ]ΑΚΟΙΤΗΝ
ΣΗΝΗ
 5 .ΑΛ]ΟΧΟΣ
 .ΕΚ]ΓΟΝΩΝΑΓΑ
ΛΕΙΤΙΜΗ
Τ]ΕΥΕΗ
ΔΕΚΑ

Remarks: The medallion must have been about 115 cm in diameter when complete. Less than half has been preserved and unfortunately for the interpretation of the inscription it was the right-hand side which was preserved.

In the course of cleaning and restoration during the 1993-campaign the readings of 1992 were confirmed, and a few loose letter fragments not given here, recovered.

The letters are 5-6.5 cm high. As in the epigram, sigma, epsilon and divided omega are square, but in contrast to the epigram some of the letters have a more cursive form, delta, alpha, ksi and my (only once).

The excavators found no trace of repair to the pavement. Many of the letters are very much like those in the epigram; the tesserae are the same and, as already mentioned, the way of filling out the endings of a line with a formalized twig of pine is identical with the one used in the inscription of the *tabula ansata*. Therefore we assume that the inscription was made with the rest of the pavement and that the use of cursive letters was chosen to suit the circular form of the tondo.

I shall not hazard any tentative translation of this fragmentary inscription for the moment, but only point to the fact that medallions of this kind with inscriptions have parallels in many late Roman build-

ings, often in a Christian context. It seems for the moment a reasonable guess that a complete text would have given the names of a married couple.

3. The Seasons

- a. αἶαρ - spring
- b. χει]μῶν - winter
- c. φθινόπωρον - autumn
- d. θ[έρος] - summer

The Seasons are identified in the pavement partly with symbols, partly by inscriptions. The restoration of the text is supported by the parallel inscriptions found in the part of the building excavated by Newton.

The letters are similar to the letters in the epigram. Newton suggested that αἶαρ might be the Carian version of ἔαρ, but the same spelling has since been found in the Seasons panels from Hagios Taxiarchis near Argos in a bath tentatively dated to the early 6th century.⁸

Interpretation - the epigram

The epigram is the inscription which has most to offer as regards interpretation.

The general meaning of the text is not in doubt. The visitor is invited by the building to approach, to acknowledge and to admire what skillful men have managed to do with the floor. It will redound to the city of Halikarnassos, and the man who took upon himself the trouble and the expense has deserved his emphatic place in the verse.

While the general meaning is plain, many questions are raised by the text. Who is the visitor? Who is the donor? Is he perhaps also the host and the owner of the building? Is it true that the building was rebuilt from the ground, or is that a formulaic expression not to be taken literally?

As far as the extent of the rebuilding is concerned, the article by Birte Poulsen seems to support a literal reading of the text. The name of the donor, Charidemos, is known from two Halikarnassian inscriptions on column drums which we hope to be able to examine further.⁹ It is

NOTE 7

For my translation, cf. Lid-dell & Scott & Jones s.v. φέρω A II. For the translation tribunal, cf. Robert 1948, especially Addenda concerning an inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum, no. 30 in Britschkoff 1923.

NOTE 8

Newton 1863, 310. Åkerström-Haugen 1974, 71 and 129.

NOTE 9

IG II 2656b.

necessary to bear in mind though that Charidemos might have lived elsewhere and therefore have left no further traces in inscriptions from Halikarnassos. In the following I will examine in what way the epigram and the inscriptions as a whole might throw some light on the identity of the people meant to use the building.

The connection with Nonnos – formal

It was the choice of words in the poem which first pointed to the Egyptian poet Nonnos as a person who might provide the key to our understanding of the spirit that reigned in the building. The epigram – short as it is – has most of its words in common with Nonnos’ great poem *Dionysiaka* in 48 songs. They often occupy the same position in the verse. The epigram is written in elegiacs and consists of four disticha, while Nonnos’ two known works are written in hexameters. Therefore it is not possible to compare them too strictly, but still it is obvious that our poem follows rather slavishly the rules used by Kallimachos and revived by Nonnos. The Greek language was undergoing a gradual process of change whereby the difference between long and short vowels tended to disappear and tonal accent to be replaced by dynamic accent. One of the effects on Nonnos’ verse was a preference for the dactyl and a very restricted use of the spondee.¹⁰

Francis Vian has drawn up a list of Nonnos’ priorities for the first five feet in his hexameters.¹¹ There are 9 different combinations. In the four hexameter lines of our poem lines 1, 5 and 7 follow Nonnos’ first priority (dddd – d=dactyl), line 3 follows his third (ddd – s=spondee). Lines 1, 3 and 5 have female caesurae as preferred by Nonnos and his followers while line 7 has the masculine caesura. The latter should not disturb us: line 7 is the line which mentions the name of the donor, Charidemos, and in fact proper names allow for certain prosodic deviations in Nonnos’ verses too.¹² To stress the proper name further the mosaicist left a

little extra space in front of it in the mosaic. The four lines consisting of pentameters are totally dactylic except for the spondee constituting the first foot in line 8.¹³

Special expressions

This is not the place to compare every word in the epigram with Nonnos’ work. I shall only point to two common denominators. The rhythm and colour of Nonnos’ poetry is characterized *inter alia* by two expressions also found in our epigram. The first is **ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα**, here and there and everywhere, which occurs sixty times in Nonnos, fifty-nine of which in the same position as in the Halikarnassian epigram. It is natural that only one of these examples should be from his paraphrase of the Gospel according to St. John. The expression is better suited to the restless, dramatic and sometimes slightly drunken atmosphere in the *Dionysiaka*.

The other expression is **πολυδαίδαλον εἶδος**, richly wrought appearance, l.5. The translation “richly wrought” for **πολυδαίδαλον** is perhaps too generic. “Wrought with Daidalic skill” is the more literal rendering. The shield of Achilles is described as polydaidalic in the *Iliad* 11.32, and the word is very common in Nonnos. It occurs 23 times, one of which in the paraphrase of the Gospel according to St. John. There are no doubt several reasons for this. Nonnos loves elaborating on the fantastic and marvellous, be it in form, in colour, or in technique. He prefers long and graphic epitheta placed before the (often short) noun to be qualified. Thus a typical constellation in his verse is precisely **πολυδαίδαλον εἶδος** (six occurrences, all in the *Dionysiaka*). Another reason for Nonnos to use it might be later philosophical interpretations of the description of the shield in Homer as a description of cosmos (Eustathius *ad locum* –

Τὰντα δὲ μίμημα τοῦ κόσμου εἶναι φασιν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κράτητα. Διὸ πολυδαίδαλός τε εἴρηται διὰ τὴν τῶν κοσμικῶν εἰδῶν ποικιλίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν, κτλ.)

The word **πολυδαίδαλος** is especially

NOTE 10
For Nonnos’ metre see
Wifstrand 1933, Vian 1976.

NOTE 11
Vian 1976, L.

NOTE 12
Wifstrand 1933, 23.

NOTE 13
Cf. PPUAES 3A, 167.

well adapted to dactylic poetry. In versified inscriptions it is nonetheless rarely found. The two inscriptions containing the word πολυδαίδαλος (none of them combined with εἶδος) are both from Late Antiquity - one has a Christian context, the other a pagan one.¹⁴

The latter is an inscription from Amyklai in Sparta.¹⁵ It was cut in a base meant to bear an honorary statue. The verse is addressed to Apollo, it is in 4 distichs and even if it is less elegant and has its epitheta after the noun unlike Nonnos it has much more than the word πολυδαίδαλος in common with our epigram.

The other inscription containing the word πολυδαίδαλος is a poem in hexameter beautifully cut in raised letters forming part of the interior as well as the exterior decoration of Hagios Polyeuktos in Byzantium. It is thus dated to 524-527, i.e. the period when the church was built. The poem is not fully preserved in the ruins of the church but all its 76 lines were already known from the *Anthologia Palatina* (1.10). It was composed to celebrate Juliana Anicia (462 - c. 528), who built the church to the soldier-martyr Polyeuktos.¹⁶ The poem has some of its words and its way of using epitheta in common with Nonnos, and since it is written to praise the donor it is natural that it should stress the splendour, the honour and the toil just like the Halikarnassian epigram. The hexameter has too many spondee's by Nonnian standards. But the general tone, its interest in mythology and in the celestial phenomena would fit well into his universe. The only inscription I know of till now with the typical Nonnian expression πολυδαίδαλον εἶδος is the epigram in Halikarnassos.

The connection with Nonnos - content

While the similarities with our epigram in vocabulary and rhythm can be found throughout the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos, there are parallels in content also. We find in the *Dionysiaka* two invitations extended

to strangers, main characters in the epos, to come and visit a palace (called *inter alia* a δόμος). The first is Kadmos who is led by Peitho in disguise to visit the palace of Elektra.¹⁷ Kadmos is travelling all over the world in search for his sister Europa, but the journey is interrupted momentarily at Samothrake so that he can meet his bride to be, Harmonia. It has long been recognized that the description of Kadmos' visit to the palace of Elektra has its precursor in the description of Odysseus' visit to Alkinoos in the *Odyssey*. The palace of Elektra is described in detail in the *Dionysiaka* III 123-146.

The second invitation to visit a palace is extended to Dionysos himself by the Assyrian dynast Staphylos - Grape - who prostrates himself before the god and asks him to imitate his father Zeus the Friend of Guests and enter his palace.¹⁸ The palace is described in XVIII 62-92. Neither of the palace visits in Nonnos is "cited" in the short epigram from Halikarnassos, but in reading them you cannot help feeling that they were close to the author's mind when writing. That is not a demonstrable fact. Still it seems safe to conclude that the epigram was written in the time of or later than Nonnos' *Dionysiaka*. It may not be a coincidence that an episode told in setting the scene for Kadmos' visit is the one where "the Seasons ran to the house (δόμος) of Elektra bearing the sceptre of Zeus and the robe of Kronos and the staff of Olympos to prophesy the indissoluble dominion of the Ausonians", that is the Romans, III 195-199.

Parallels in stone

While epigrams really similar to the Halikarnassian one in mosaic pavements from Asia Minor are not as yet known to us, there are some contemporary inscriptions in stone from Aphrodisias which resemble it in style as well as in purpose. All three inscriptions are cut directly "on the highest remaining course of blocks"¹⁹ in the restored so-called Agora Gate. They celebrate the restoration which *inter alia* meant that the building was adapted as a foun-

NOTE 14
See also *Anthologia Palatina*, 6.332 and 16.80.

NOTE 15
IG V,1,455, Tsountas, EphArch 1892, 21.

NOTE 16
Harrison 1989.

NOTE 17
III 83 sqq.

NOTE 18
XVIII 39-40.

NOTE 19
Roueché 1989, 68.

tain, no.38. The poetically best of the three Aphrodisian inscriptions is a hexameter in six lines, Roueché no.38. It celebrates the donor, Ampelios, titled “father of his motherland”, and also the poet himself which is unusual. The poet is Pythiodoros from Tralles and he calls himself a rhetor. The two other inscriptions, nos. 39 and 40, are in distichs like ours. One of them was amended - perhaps by the city council - which did not add to the elegance of the verse,²⁰ but still the choice of words calls the Halikarnassian inscription to mind.

Parallels in mosaic floors

From what I have been able to discover till now it seems that mosaic inscriptions in floors are common in Late Antiquity, but that it is a comparatively rare occurrence to find such inscriptions written in verse and even more rare that this verse should be of such high quality as the one in Halikarnassos.

Helpful for research on the Greek mainland is Marie Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth/Sixth Centuries with Architectural Surveys*, vol 1-2, New York and London 1978.²¹

Several inscriptions contained in this corpus mention the sponsor/donor of the mosaics or perhaps of the whole building. In these cases the building is always meant for the public, a congregation or the like - a fact to keep in mind when we try to interpret the function of our building. Normally the inscriptions are in prose.

Versified inscriptions are, however, found in one of the five basilicas of Nikopolis, the so-called basilica alpha. No less than three inscriptions in its mosaic floor are in 4-line hexameters and have some unmistakably Nonnian features. Thus nearly all the words are known from Nonnos and some of them often occupy the same place in his verse. Some of them also occur in our epigram. On the other hand, the author seems, in contrast to Nonnos, to prefer a spondee as the fourth foot of the hexameter and there is only

occasional Nonnian handling of epithets. Two of these inscriptions are nearly identical.²² Sometimes the epsilon before the iota is omitted as in our inscription. On the basis of the content of the inscriptions the first phase of the building in Nikopolis has been dated to the second quarter of the 6th century.²³

From Kilikia we have an inscription in two distichs set into the mosaic floor of a Roman bath. No Nonnian echoes are detectable which is reassuring since the mosaics are dated on stylistic grounds as early as the late 4th century.²⁴

The inscriptions in the part of the building excavated by Newton

This is not the place to devote an exhaustive examination to the inscriptions recovered during the mid 19th century British excavations in Halikarnassos and to compare them with the new Danish findings. It is obvious for instance that the letter forms of the inscriptions identifying Atalanta and Meleager are not the same as those found in the part of the building excavated by the Danes. Nevertheless the examinations hitherto conducted leave us in no doubt that the building functioned as one building. Thus the four seasons in Newton's room B were identified by the same words as in the apsidal room F excavated by the Danes. The rest of the mythological figures identified by inscriptions were all found in the part of the building excavated by Newton. They are nearly all known from Nonnos' *Dionysiaka*, the exceptions being Dido and Aeneas.

A square containing a laurel wreath enclosing the following six words was found in the part of the building excavated by Newton:

ὑγία - health
ζόη - life
χαρά - joy
εἰρήνη - peace
εὐθυμία - cheerfulness
ἐλπίς - hope

NOTE 20
Roueché 1989, 71.

NOTE 21
Pelekanidis 1974 and Ase-
nakopoulou-Atzaka 1987
are invaluable.

NOTE 22
ArchEph 1917, 63 and 48,
the last line of which, line
5, does not seem to form
part of the poem.

NOTE 23
Spiro 1978, 429.

NOTE 24
Budde 1969, 97.

All these words are concepts with positive connotations. Some of them are common in a Christian context, like **πίστις** “**πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη**,” or **εἰρήνη**. In mosaic floors of Late Antiquity you often meet concepts personified and identified by inscriptions²⁵ or you can meet them, though more rarely, as here, without any figural representation. Still, I know of no other mosaic floor with so many concepts spelled out in one frame. And since the impression has already been given that we are in the more pagan world of Nonnos’ *Dionysiaka*, it is reasonable to look for the appearance of the words in orphic or neoplatonic contexts. It seems to me suggestive that five of the six concepts are contained in the last four lines of the so-called orphic hymn to Zeus:

**ἀλλὰ χαρεῖς λοιβαῖσι δίδου φρεσὶν
αἰσιμα πάντα ζῶν τ’ ὀλβιόθυμον, ὁμοῦ
θ’ ὑγίειαν ἀνασσάν εἰρήνην τε θεόν,
κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον, καὶ βίον
εὐθύμοισιν ἀεὶ θάλλοντα λογισμοῖς**

It is not immediately clear why personifications not only of Halikarnassos but of Berytos and Alexandria were given such a conspicuous place in the mosaic decoration of the floor. Many explanations are possible. The owners of the building probably wanted to advertise their connections with people in the coastal cities of Berytos and Alexandria. The connections might be commercial. Or maybe one should look to Nonnos once more for an alternative explanation. Alexandria was the city where he wrote his *Dionysiaka*. He probably went to Berytos too, as demonstrated recently by Pierre Chuvin.²⁶ Berytos – modern Beirut – plays a very important role in his *Dionysiaka* just as it did in the intellectual history of his own world. In his epic Berytos is dwelt upon as an important Roman colony to be and as the city which is going to hold the “reins of Law” (XLI 389–393). As for Halikarnassos, that is of course the city of the building, the **πάρις** of the epigram. It is generally agreed, and it can be inferred from the *Dionysiaka* that Asia Minor at-

tracted Nonnos’ lively attention. It is of course unnecessary to go so far as to think of Halikarnassos as one of the places where Nonnos actually went, even if one ought not to exclude the possibility that Nonnos became one of the many – most of them pagan – Egyptian wandering poets. These are pure speculations. It is a fact, though, that Alexandria and especially Berytos remained strongholds for intellectual pagans for a long time. The same *mutatis mutandis* might go for Halikarnassos.

Concluding remarks

Where do these preliminary investigations lead us? As a minimum I think they give a relative dating for the last phase of the building. It was contemporary with or later than Nonnos. Fortunately that fits well into the picture given by the other findings.²⁸

Apart from that, it is of course a delicate question how far one ought to go in the interpretation of the mosaics in a late Roman building. There is much to be said for Raeck’s moderate approach. One of the premises in Raeck’s illuminating book is that the message of a pictorial representation had to be immediately understandable. One could say with him that our building – the British-excavated part of which is well known to him – fits well into a picture where everything had to be spelt out in letters for the not so classically educated generation of the new elite. Raeck actually points to the fact that our Meleager was identified to the users of the building by an inscription and that the myth as such meant very little while it is significant that Meleager is represented wearing the contemporary dress of a man of the Roman elite. Perhaps the mosaics of the building were only meant to stress the *felicitas temporum* in a general way.²⁹ On the other hand it is tempting to see the building in a framework similar to the one suggested for slightly earlier buildings in Apamea in Syria³⁰ and in Nea Paphos in Cyprus³¹ and to interpret the inscriptions as telling us that this house was intended

NOTE 25
E.g. Campbell, 1991 no. IV A 1: κτύσις and no. IV A 36 : εὐκαρπία and ἀγορά.

NOTE 26
Chuvin 1991, 198.

NOTE 27
Cf. Cameron 1965.

NOTE 28
Poulsen Supra 193–208.

NOTE 29
Cf. also Dresken-Weiland 1991.

NOTE 30
J. and J. Ch. Balty 1974.

NOTE 31
Daszewski 1986.

NOTE 32

Cf. the description of the palace, alluding also to the Ausonians, Dido and Aeneas as the only strangers to the world of Nonnos' *Dionysiaka*, the personification of Berytos, the old Roman colony, and the expression *πάτριτι τῆιδ'*, which brings Halikarnassos to the fore amongst important cities in the world.

NOTE 33

Alföldi-Rosenbaum & Ward-Perkins 1980. For the Justinian renaissance, see especially Kitzinger 1951.

to serve people who were conscious of and participating in contemporary spiritual life and who had chosen an alternative to Christianity, the orphic/neoplatonic road. They were citizens of the world and they recognized the Romans' right – or destiny – as rulers and protectors of peace in that world.³² The mosaics found in churches built or rebuilt during the so-called Justinian renaissance, e.g. in Cyrenaica, should warn us against too clear-cut conclusions.³³

It is possible that the stress in the interpretation of the mosaics and their inscriptions should be less on religious matters and more on the general admiration for classical culture which characterized the period. If so, the three medallions with the personifications of Halikarnassos,

Alexandria and Berytos might simply announce to whoever went into the room that he would be received by an educated person who learned his rhetoric in Alexandria and his law in Berytos. Or perhaps it announced that the visitor would find here a library of international standard.

Anyway it is important to keep in mind that the mosaics with their inscriptions were laid in a period when one and the same person could write a great epic on *Dionysiaka* and a versified paraphrase of the Gospel according to St. John.

★ The English was revised by Peter Spring. The photographs, figs. 2-7, were made by Jacob Isager.

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