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„Female Personifications on Late Antique Floor Mosaics
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1 INTRODUCTION

The area of ancient Antioch on the Orontes (modern Antakya, Turkey) is a hotspot with one of the most mosaic finds. Following the extensive archaeological excavations of 1932-1939 by the *Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its vicinity*, a Princeton University foundation, recent investigations have also been carried out by Hatice Pamir.¹ Nevertheless, the Antiochian ground shows that it is still rich with archaeological remains, thus during hotel construction work in 2009, further mosaics came to light. Therefore, based upon the initiative of the Hatay Archaeology Museum² and in concordance with the Adana Conservation Council for Cultural and Natural Assets,³ a 10-year excavation and conservation project was started. In 2019, under the direction of the award-winning Turkish architect Emre Arolat, the archaeological remains were united with the country's newest hotel, The Museum Hotel Antakya,⁴ which opened its doors to visitors in 2020.⁵ Accordingly, the mosaics of Antioch were given media coverage and are a reminder of Turkey's cultural heritage. Besides the fact that achievements of this kind promote tourism in the country, there are still gaps in science that should be filled when considering the value of the Antiochian mosaic for archaeological research. Thus, the present master's thesis intends to advance the scientific study of the unearthed mosaics of the initial excavations, while the number of new finds in the 21st century continues to increase. In particular, the wide range of pictorial themes on the mosaics already excavated require further iconographic and iconological study. Based upon this, the present study on Antiochian personifications was created to answer some of the unanswered questions to date. Since the mosaics in Antioch are found primarily in private domains, the following pages provide contextual insights on the development of the representations outside of the Orontes region, in addition to the iconography. In conclusion, it is hoped that the work will contribute to the understanding of Late Antique visual culture.

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³ Koruma Uygulama ve Denetim Birimi (KUDEB) Şube Müdürlüğü. Contact: sahin.kil@adana.bel.tr; <<https://www.adana.bel.tr/tr/birim-detay/132>> (20.02.2022).

⁴ The Museum Hotel Antakya, St. Pierre Mevkii, Haraparasi Mahallesi, Hacilar Sokak, No. 26/1, 31120 Antakya/Hatay, Turkey. Contact: ik@themuseumhotelantakya.com; <<http://www.themuseumhotelantakya.com/>> (20.02.2022).

⁵ <<http://www.themuseumhotelantakya.com/the-hotel/index-more.php>> (20.02.2022); Dezeen, Alyn Griffiths, <<https://www.dezeen.com/2021/11/16/museum-hotel-antakya-emre-arolat-architecture-ancient-ruins/>> (20.02.2022).

2 METHODOICAL BASES

2.1 RESEARCH SUBJECT AND PERIOD

The aim of this master's thesis is to examine the representation of female personifications on Late Antique floor mosaics of Antioch on the Orontes, using an iconographic methodological approach. For the extension of the territorial research area to widen the mosaic repertoire, the suburb of Daphne was also added as a subject of this research. However, one theme that is not taken into consideration are the seasons, which indeed are present on the mosaics of Antioch, but must be excluded for reasons of space.⁶ The focus on female personifications is due to several reasons. Firstly, personifications, no matter in which chronological period or culture, are mainly embodied by women in pictorial art. Indeed, the same applies to the Orontes region, where female personifications are predominant on the mosaic pavements. Moreover, none of the male personifications that exist could be assigned to Late Antique times at all. The floor mosaics with personified male figures date mainly to the 2nd and 3rd centuries.⁷ Another reason why the images of women are examined is the fact that the depicted female personifications are dressed in colorful garments and are adorned with magnificent jewelry, which provides a fertile ground for an iconographic analysis. The research period is given by the material in question. In accordance with the finds from the Orontes plain and their closest analogies from other Eastern Mediterranean sites, the research period extends from the second half of the 5th century to the end of the 6th century AD. The study includes mosaic images from the private, public, and religious domains, as far as the current research situation allows. It is the intention to take into account a number of representations of buildings with different contexts. The areas of Late Antique society in which the personifications occur is explored to gain an insight into the perception of these abstract ideas. In particular, the present thesis takes a new look at how and to what extent the use of pagan virtues has been reinterpreted by and for the Christian observer. Furthermore, an extensive iconographic study is intended to analyze the representations, paying attention to the details, to understand to what extent certain attributes or conventions are characteristic for Late Antique imagery.

⁶ For a detailed review on this topic, see Hachlili 2009, 184-191.

⁷ Male personifications represented include: Agros (Cimok 2000, 170), Alpheus (Cimok 2000, 98), Bios (Cimok 2000, 55), Comus (Cimok 2000, 62), Eros (Cimok 2000, 136), Eurotas (Cimok 2000, 224), Ladon (Cimok 2000, 183), Okeanus (Cimok 2000, 46. 151. 187), Pyramos (Cimok 2000, 66), Tigris (Cimok 2000, 64).

2.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The present thesis deals with the question of which female personifications appear on the floor mosaics of Antioch and its vicinity between the 5th and 6th centuries. Were some represented more often than others? In this regard, the representations in the suburb of Daphne are also examined to see if the personifications known from Antioch can also be found there or whether other abstract ideas were common there. After the question of the subject has been determined, its appearance on the pavements is analyzed. How were the mosaic images conceived? Are they whole body representations or busts? In the course of this thesis, it is essential to investigate whether the figures are labeled or not. The function and necessity of the proven inscriptions on the representations is another topic of discussion that will be addressed. Did the inscriptions contribute to the understanding of the abstract ideas depicted or is the identification of the figures by their iconography possible even without them? In this sense, the iconography of the personifications will be examined in more detail. A study is carried out in order to discover to which extent the images of these abstract values differ from other mosaic representations of women. With this in mind, the convention, hairstyle, costume and adornment of the Antiochian personifications are studied to see if these pictorial elements are comparable with other visual examples of women on mosaics. For the readability of images, attributes of the depicted figures are always of great importance and are therefore also considered in the course of this investigation. Another task, therefore, is to look for certain attributes that could possibly indicate a particular personification. In this regard, contemporaneous mosaic images from other sites are consulted to determine if there is a norm for the illustration of attributes. As finds ought to be assessed within their archaeological context, investigations have also been carried out concerning this matter. The contextual approach of the mosaic images will thus provide essential information about the usage and the understanding of personifications in different areas of daily life in Late Antiquity.

2.3 METHODOLOGY

To create an inventory of Late Antique mosaic representations depicting a female personification, the Princeton University's excavation reports⁸ were consulted, along with the mosaic catalogues of Levi, Campbell and Cimok.⁹ Recent excavation reports¹⁰ were also

⁸ Elderkin 1934; Stillwell 1938; Stillwell 1941.

⁹ Levi 1971; Campbell 1988; Cimok 2000.

¹⁰ Pamir 2014a; Pamir 2014b.

studied, which provided additional mosaics with female personifications from the rescue excavations of 2005 and 2010-2012.

First, a subject-specific selection was made, in which all mosaics with female personifications from Antioch and Daphne were recorded on the basis of the publications mentioned above, including those from the Roman period, some of which were later used for comparison. The seasons, which are also personified as women, are not part of the research and were therefore not considered during the selection. In a second step, the representations from the 5th and 6th centuries were identified and, as such, the catalogue of Late Antique female personifications from Antioch was assembled, which forms the basic structure of the present thesis. In the third step, parallels of the Antiochian personifications were searched for and the mosaics that could be located at other sites were subsequently added to the catalogue, since their entries with detailed information and descriptions were consulted for the iconographic comparison. At this stage, the compilation of the catalogue already yielded significant results concerning the find contexts and iconography.

A comparative method was used to answer the research questions of this master's thesis, which are primarily concerned with the iconographic aspects of the representations. In this way, it was possible to determine the type of image that appears frequently. In order to identify whether the female personifications are identifiable without their inscriptions, the comparative examples were juxtaposed and examined for similar conventions and attributes that might contribute to the identification of figures without inscriptions. Even the issue of whether the images of female personifications differ from humans was studied using the comparative method for which representations of women on contemporary mosaics were consulted.

To study the conception of personifications adopted from pagan culture into Christian society, literary and epigraphic sources were used which reflect the way people thought at that time. In this regard, this research was not limited to written evidence from the 5th and 6th centuries, but also included the scriptures and inscriptions that provide crucial clues for the interpretation of the depictions, even if they predate or postdate the mosaics.

2.4 STATE OF RESEARCH

The importance of Antioch was recognized at a very early stage, leading to research being initiated in the 19th century. Carl Otfried Müller published the monograph *Antiquitates Antiochenae* in Göttingen in 1839, which is considered the earliest scientific work concerning the antiquities of the site. Müller's monograph basically results only from existing written sources since the city was less accessible at that time. In 1869, Richard Förster visited Antioch

and published three articles¹¹ adding further views to Müller's study. There has been a considerable amount of literature on the history of Antioch and Syria since then. Other important scholars to be mentioned are E. S. Bouchier and V. Schultze¹² who widely investigated the history of the site. A survey of the archaeological material known so far was carried out in 1931 by Lt.-Col. P. Jacquot during his military service there. He presents his discoveries in his work *Antioche. Centre de Tourisme* which was published in Antioch.¹³ Besides these major studies the first archaeological excavation could be achieved in 1932 on the initiative of Professor Charles Rufus Mores with the establishment of the *Committee for the Excavation of Antioch and its vicinity at the Princeton University*.¹⁴ The committee carried out eight campaigns in Antioch from 1932 to 1939 and published their research results in three volumes.¹⁵ Several reports on the achievement of the campaigns, notably of mosaic pavements, were provided also by W. A. Campbell.¹⁶ The value of the representations of the Antiochene mosaic images was recognized by C. R. Morey, who comments that the mosaic pavements of Antioch prove the continuity of pagan iconographic motifs – including personifications – up to Late Antiquity.¹⁷ In his additional works which were published between 1936 and 1938 he also focused on the history of Antioch since its foundation in the Seleucid era. The activities of the campaigns and the findings in this region is based on Morey's reports. Many attempts have been made by Morey with the purpose of reconstructing the topography of Antioch. He studied the archaeological remains of the city and the literary sources concerning this matter to be able to identify some buildings mentioned in therein.¹⁸

Since the scientific research began in the 19th century various studies have discussed the foundation and the evolution of the site. The mosaic floors of the Orontes region gained much more attention after the discovery of the pavements of the Yakto Complex in the suburb of Daphne. In two adjacent rooms the mosaics of Megalopsychia (cat. no. 5.2.5) and Thalassa (cat. no. 5.2.6) could be revealed.¹⁹ From this time onwards, the excavations focused on the uncovering of the mosaics of Antioch. Through these investigations, a large number of mosaic

¹¹ Foerster 1897; Foerster 1898; Foerster 1901; Downey 1961a, 4 f. 44; Downey 1962, 4.

¹² Bouchier 1921; Schultze 1930; Downey 1961a, 5.

¹³ Jacquot 1931; Downey 1961a, 45.

¹⁴ The committee was founded by the Princeton University and represented several Institutions and individual sponsors. Further promoters were the Musées Nationaux de France (Louvre), the Baltimore Museum of Art, and the Worcester Art Museum. In 1936, the Fogg Art Museum and the Dumbarton Oaks Museum participated the committee, see Kondoleon 2000a, 5; Barsanti 2012, 25.

¹⁵ For the excavation reports, see Elderkin 1934; Stillwell 1938; Stillwell 1941. Downey 1961a, 3-5. 44 f.; Kennedy 1996, 185; Kondoleon 2000a, 5-8.

¹⁶ Campbell 1934; Campbell 1936; Campbell 1938; Campbell 1940.

¹⁷ Morey 1935, 11.

¹⁸ Morey 1936; Morey 1938.

¹⁹ Campbell 1934, 201-203, figs. 1-2, pls. 21 b; 22 a-b; Morey 1935, 10.

floors could be localized in the Orontes plain.²⁰ The examinations show that most of the mosaic floors originate from private houses and bath buildings.²¹ Thus, the focus of the excavations turning in a different direction, more articles have been published dealing with the Antiochene mosaics. In 1938, G. Downey took the first step with his substantial article *Personifications of Abstract Ideas in the Antioch Mosaics* in which he discusses the concept of personifications on floor mosaics.²² His view of the personifications goes far beyond the general assumption, that they were simple decorations. He proves that the Antiochian personifications are reflections of the contemporary thoughts and values whose origin lies in the ancient philosophical teaching.²³ Downey's contribution is an important milestone and was used as a basis for the present thesis. In addition, he published fundamental monographs²⁴ depicting the city's development diachronically, paying particular attention to the epigraphic and literary sources. He expands his research by exploring the physical remains of the site that were first considered by him. The Christian community of Antioch was initially addressed in Downey's studies. He deals with the formation of the new faith within a pagan world. Downey's works are the key handbooks for the city's history forming the basis for future research.

Through the years of intensive excavations, new material was brought to light. Thus, the wide repertoire of mosaic pavements was presented in the catalogue of D. Levi titled *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, published in 1971.²⁵ The author analytically examines the structures and the rooms of Antioch paved with mosaics paying particular attention to their contexts. An evaluation of the site stratigraphy as well as technical and stylistic analysis by Levi, provides important dating approaches for the mosaics. Apart from this, he undertakes detailed descriptions of the representations which are partially referred to in the present thesis.

G. Downey continued authoring new studies about the Antiochian personifications. In his articles *Ethical Themes in the Antioch mosaics*²⁶ and *The Pagan Virtue of Megalopsychia in Byzantine Syria*,²⁷ he questions whether the personifications belong to the Christian or the pagan doctrine. Based on the Megalopsychia mosaic, which he uses as a case study, the author concludes that both teachings mostly coincide in such images. He underlines that in early times the pagan virtues were received by the Christians and gained new meanings within the

²⁰ Campbell 1940, 419; Leader-Newby 2005, 231, figs. 16.1-10; Huskinson 2004, 134.

²¹ Downey 1938, 349; Huskinson 2004, 134.

²² Downey 1938.

²³ Downey 1938, 349. 360. 362.

²⁴ Downey 1961a; Downey 1961b; Downey 1962.

²⁵ Levi 1971.

²⁶ Downey 1941.

²⁷ Downey 1945.

ecclesiastical world. Another personification that became the subject of an article was that of Apolausis, to which M. W. Haslam finds a counterpart in a bath complex in Hagios Taxiarchis near Argos and iconographically compares both images of the personification.²⁸ A group of mosaics representing Tethys – found mainly in baths or near pools – were reviewed by Wages.²⁹ She examines the iconographic evolution of the representations dating from the 2nd to 5th centuries and divides the mosaic images into three phases. Wages’ analyses reveal that in the early stages Tethys primarily appears together with Okeanus and she demonstrates that in the second phase, which she puts at the end of the 3rd century, the identity of Tethys “began to merge with that of the figure” of Thalassa.³⁰ Wages dates her final phase to the third quarter of the 5th century, to which she assigns the Thalassa mosaic from Daphne (cat. no. 5.2.6). Due to the missing attribute of Tethys, the wings on her forehead, she concludes that the figure on the Yakto mosaic is an embodiment of Thalassa.³¹

In 1988 a second catalogue entitled *The Mosaics of Antioch* was released by S. D. Campbell. Her work resembles in structure the catalogue of Levi, but comes with supplements concerning the dimensions and the number of *tesserae* that were used for each mosaic image that she processes. The repertoire of Antiochian mosaic pavements was composed again in the year 2000 by F. Cimok providing further descriptions for the representations.³² The catalogues published to date contain the entire range of floor mosaics found in the Orontes region, but unfortunately without attempting a division of the material into epochs.

In 2012, C. Barsanti addresses the problem of the division of the Antiochian mosaics between museums abroad in her article *The Fate of the Antioch Mosaic Pavements. Some Reflections*.³³ She gives a brief review of how the pavements were cut into sections and were divided among the committee sponsors after the project ended in 1939. One of the mosaic pavements she mentions in her article is the one of the House of Ge and the Seasons, decorated with representations of two personifications that are the subject of the present thesis (cat. nos. 5.2.2; 5.2.4). Barsanti demonstrates in this particular case how the pavements of the building were cut in sections and are exhibited in three different museums, while the mosaic of Ge with the seasons is displayed in the Princeton Art Museum, the pavement of Room 4 representing Ktisis is now in the Worcester Art Museum. Only the mosaic floor of Room 3 with the image of the

²⁸ Haslam 1976.

²⁹ Wages 1986.

³⁰ Wages 1986, 124.

³¹ Wages 1986, 125.

³² Cimok 2000.

³³ Barsanti 2012.

haloed women remained in Antioch and can be viewed today in the Hatay Archaeology Museum. Barsanti rightly emphasizes how this action harmed the cultural heritage of Antioch.³⁴ The representations were taken apart even though displaying the pavement as a whole – a preferable way would be to place the floors of each structure in a separate exhibition room of the museum – would contribute more to the understanding of the cultural heritage of Antioch.

The latest monographs devoted to Antioch are *Antiochia in der Spätantike. Prolegomena zu einer archäologischen Stadtgeschichte*³⁵ and *Ancient Antioch. From the Seleucid Era to the Islamic conquest*,³⁶ published in 2016.

In recent times scholars mainly discussed the wide range of pictorial elements offered by the pavements of Antioch. A well-known characteristic of the mosaics from the Orontes plain is that they depict plenty of jewelry. S. Pedone³⁷ dedicated an article to this subject with the purpose of searching for comparative examples for the luxurious pieces shown on the mosaics. Pedone proves the close resemblance of the images with Late Antique and Byzantine jewelry and thus introduces a fundamental approach for the dating of the pavements.

Further studies regarding the iconography of Tethys and Thalassa were published recently by the archaeologists S. Eraslan³⁸ and J. Wade.³⁹ Eraslan's investigations correlate with Wages' conclusion⁴⁰ stating that Tethys first appears on mosaics as the divine wife of Okeanus, but later each figure functioned as the personification of the sea, rarely shown together. She further confirms the appearance of the Thalassa images in the time between the 3rd and 6th centuries. The continuity of maritime themes into the Christian times is well presented in the article *The eternal spirit of Thalassa. The transmission of classical maritime symbolism into byzantine cultural identity* of Wade. She declares the longevity of such images – usually positioned at the center of nave pavements in churches – due to maritime metaphors in the Old and New Testaments. The Yako-Thalassa mosaic served as a breeding ground for another research question addressed by Z. Friedman in 2018.⁴¹ The subject of her study is the fishing boat at the

³⁴ Barsanti 2012, 32, fig. 8.

³⁵ Brands 2016.

³⁶ De Giorgi 2016.

³⁷ Pedone 2012.

³⁸ Eraslan 2015a; Eraslan 2015b.

³⁹ J. Wade, *The Eternal Spirit of Thalassa. The Transmission of Classical Maritime Symbolism into Byzantine Cultural Identity*, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 14, 2018, 51-69, <https://go-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=T006&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CA596402496&docType=Report&sort=RELEVANCE&contentSegment=ZLRC-MOD1&prodId=LitRC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CA596402496&searchId=R2&userGroupName=43wien&inPS=true> (24.02.2022).

⁴⁰ See previous Page.

⁴¹ Friedman 2018.

right edge of the mosaic. Friedman refers to Libanius' records in which he informs about ships on the Orontes River that carried products from the harbour to the inland and apparently the way back. According to Friedman, the boat on the mosaic represents the ships of this time and is thus evidence for the local fishing industry. In this context, she even assumes that the owner of the Yakto Complex probably served in this sector.

3 HISTORY OF THE SITE

Finally, before considering the material culture of Antioch, it is necessary to outline the city's history. During the conquests of Alexander the Great, Syria was integrated into the Greek world. Thus, the territory of Antioch, the Amuk Plain at the Orontes River, with its natural advantages provided a favorable site for a new Greek city. Founder of the city was Seleucus Nicator, a former general in the army of Alexander the Great, to whom the emergence of Antioch around 300 BC is owed. Antioch controlled the road network between southern Anatolia and parts of Syria, Palestine and Transjordan from its founding until its demise in the early 7th century AD (*Fig. 1*). In the beginning, the settlers of the new city were mainly migrants dominated by Hellenic intellectuals, as well as members of the Seleucid army and later veterans of the Roman army. The population of Antioch also included native settlers such as Syrians, Jews, Cretans, and Cypriots, who formed a mixture of ethnic groups and cultures. As a result of the extensive building activities of the Seleucid rulers, Antioch soon developed into one of the most magnificent cities in the Eastern Mediterranean and became the capital of the Seleucid kingdom in the middle of the 2nd century BC.⁴² Located about 9 km to the south of Antioch, Daphne, with its numerous natural springs, formed a famous and flourishing suburb of the city, covering the water demand of Antioch through aqueducts built in Roman times. Especially in the 4th century AD the suburb increased in size and importance. Thus, the wealthy built several villas, gardens, inns, and baths there and alongside the connecting road to Antioch. According to the sources, Hellenistic rulers and Roman emperors spent their summers at Daphne, enjoying its natural beauties, including its fresh water, impressive landscape, and pleasant climate.⁴³

During the Roman expansion eastward, the Romans knew that the conquest of Antioch was necessary because of its strategic location on the border to the Persian Empire and to secure

⁴² Downey 1961a, 58. 66-68; Downey 1962, 11 f. 15. 28. 31. 55; Brands 2016, 1-8; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 30. 39 f.; Kondoleon 2000a, 4; Maas 2000, 13 f.; Ashbrook-Harvey 2000, 42; Kennedy – Liebeschuetz 1988, 70; Najbjerg – Moss 2014, 22.

⁴³ Downey 1961a, 19; Downey 1962, 41-44; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 167-169, fig. 3, 18; Kondoleon 2000a, 9 f. 145; Najbjerg – Moss 2014, 22.

Roman commercial interests. Pompey captured Antioch and made it the capital of the Roman province of Syria in 64 BC. Thus, began the process of inserting the city into the Roman scheme. During the Roman rule, several emperors contributed to Antioch's transformation into a Roman city. At the time of the Augustan empire a major building program occurred. One of them was the construction of a monumental colonnaded street. Further buildings that were commissioned by the Roman emperors ranged from a theater, an amphitheater, a hippodrome, temples, aqueducts to baths. The suburb of Daphne was also constantly expanded. Diocletian even built the great palace on the island, before 298 AD. According to literary sources, the residence had three gates and a road that led from the palace through the city gate across a bridge to the suburbs. After Diocletian's reign, his successors continued to reside in this palace. Another achievement during his rule was the reorganization of the mint of Antioch, which became part of the empire's new monetary system producing coins of a uniform type.⁴⁴

The pagans in Antioch became familiar with monotheism through the Jewish community in the city. The new faith was easily accessible due to the Greek translations of Jewish scriptures. Another crucial factor for the development of Christianity on the Orontes were the missionaries who were sent to Antioch by the elders in Jerusalem. Important personalities that ought to be pointed out in this context are Saint Barnabas and Saint Paul from Tarsus who preached in the city. The religious significance of Antioch is also based on the account that the disciples of Christ were first mentioned as *Christians* there. The new term even enabled the Roman authorities to differentiate the Christian community from the Jews. Nevertheless, religious practices were of informal character until the administration of the Christian community was formed by Bishop Ignatius in the beginning of the 2nd century AD. The records of Bishop Ignatius hand down that an ecclesiastical ministry with a monarchical bishop, presbyters and deacons ruled over the laity in Antioch.⁴⁵ The city's central location in the Levant from where the missionaries could easily travel to the inland of Syria as well as to Cyprus, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy promoted the immediate spread of the Christian faith all over the Mediterranean.⁴⁶ Ecclesiastical buildings were constructed in Antioch after the establishment of Christianity under the reign of Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor. In 327 AD, the emperor commissioned the construction of the octagonal Great Church, also called Golden

⁴⁴ Downey 1961a, 173. 318-323; Downey 1962, 73-76. 80-89. 118; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 69. 71. 127 f.; Maas 2000, 14; Najbjerg – Moss 2014, 28; Brands 2016, 1 f. See for the primary sources Theod. hist. eccl. 4.26.1-2, 264-265; The literary source mentioning the gates can be found in Hirth 1885, 213.

⁴⁵ Downey 1961a, 273-278. 294; Downey 1962, 5. 121-124. 131-133; Liebeschuetz 2015, 343; Kondoleon 2000a, 10; Ashbrook-Harvey 2000, 39 f.; Liebeschuetz 1972, 232 f. See the respective handbook Zetterholm 2003 which is devoted to the separation between Judaism and Christianity in Antioch. The name "Christians" given to the disciples can be found in Act 11:26. Downey 1962, 120.

⁴⁶ Act 11:19-30, 13:1-3, 14:26-28, 18:18-23; Gal 2:11-14; Downey 1961a, 288; Mayer – Allen 2012, 3.

Church or *Domus Aurea* – no longer preserved today – which was inaugurated by Constantius in 341 AD. Due to the Christian community being the most powerful religious group in the city, it was soon joined by citizens from the upper class of society. Thus, new churches and monasteries were constructed both in the city and in the *suburbium* accommodating a considerable number of monks, Aztecs, and other holy figures, who disseminated the new faith among the rural population. It is known that rural presbyters performed the eucharistic liturgy even in the villages of Antioch. After the establishment of sacred sites, hundreds of pilgrims visited Antioch on their route to the Holy Land, as proved by *itineraria*.⁴⁷ Thus, Antioch evolved into one of the most famous ecclesiastical capitals of Late Antiquity.⁴⁸

The ongoing growth of Antioch was indeed a thorn in the side of the Persians and the city was devastated by them several times.⁴⁹ During the 5th and 6th centuries AD Antioch experienced difficult times when fire disasters and earthquakes destroyed large areas of its urban space. After these catastrophes, the Persian siege of 540 AD took place.⁵⁰ To save the city from further catastrophes Antioch was renamed to *Theoupolis* (city of God) by Justinian I. and an extensive reconstruction was commissioned by the emperor.⁵¹ But the miss fortune continued, and the bubonic plague broke out in 542 AD and caused the death of many inhabitants.⁵² In 611 AD the Persians once again occupied Antioch and the city remained under their rule until 628 AD (or 630 AD), when Heraclius recaptured it. After the victory at the Battle of Yarmuk in 636 AD, the Arabs expanded their territory and conquered the cities of Syria in 637/638 AD. This brought Antioch under Arab rule and caused an influx of refugees to the western part of the empire.⁵³

⁴⁷ Downey 1961a, 342-346; Downey 1962, 6. 143 f.; Kennedy 1996, 185; Cameron 2003, 58. 60. 71. 73; Liebeschuetz 2015, 341. 344; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 142. 193 f.; Ashbrook-Harvey 2000, 42; Kennedy – Liebeschuetz 1988, 74 f.; Liebeschuetz 1972, 234-239. For a detailed review on the churches of Antioch, see Mayer – Allen 2012. For the establishment of martyr' shrines in Antioch, see Mayer – Neil 2006, 20 f. 27 f. More details on pilgrims in Antioch can be found in Mayer 2003, 5-32; Mayer – Allen 2012, 4. See also Sandwell – Huskinson 2004, and the rural presbyters are addressed in Trombley 2004, 59.

⁴⁸ Antioch already belonged to the pentarchy of the Great Church in the 4th century AD, see Ashbrook-Harvey 2000, 42.

⁴⁹ Brown 1998, 154. 169; Kennedy 1996, 181 f. 182; Morey 1936, 637; Downey 1961a, 737.

⁵⁰ Kennedy 1996, 182; Downey 1961a, 738; Downey 1962, 242; Cameron 2003, 110. 162; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 190. 200. 206-208; Maas 2000, 21.

⁵¹ Brands 2016, 34. 37 f. 45; Downey 1961a, 520-525. 528-530. 533-546; Downey 1962, 242. 246; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 190. 192; Foss 2000, 23.

⁵² Downey 1961a, 553-557; Downey 1962, 255-258; Cameron 2003, 164; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 200. 208.

⁵³ Brands 2016, 57; According to Kennedy, the Muslim occupation took place in 641 AD, see Kennedy 1996, 182; Downey 1961a, 575-578. 738; Downey 1962, 268-271; Brown 1998, 194; De Giorgi – Eger 2021, 192. 220. For a continuation of the city's history under the Arabs, the Crusaders and the Turks, see Hitti 1956; Cahen 1940; Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923. Downey 1961a, 578; Downey 1962, 271.

4 THE CYCLE OF PERSONIFICATIONS

4.1 TERMINOLOGY

The term *personification* is generally understood as the embodiment of abstract ideas both in language and in image. Various corresponding definitions of *personification* can be found in the scientific literature, the main sources being mentioned here. In 1913, Matz defines the term in his publication *Die Naturpersonifikationen in der griechischen Kunst* as “die Darstellung eines unbeseelten unter dem Bilde eines beseelten Objekts”.⁵⁴ Another striking definition was recently provided by M. Meyer in her article *Wunschbilder. Zu bildlichen Darstellungen abstrakter Personifikationen des guten Lebens*. She declares as follows “Eine Personifikation ist die Darstellung eines Gegenstandes, eines Phänomens oder eines Abstraktums als Person, in der Sprache oder im Bild“. – „Sie steht als Person für etwas, das keine Person ist“.⁵⁵ An integral part of the definitions introduced by most scholars is the anthropomorphic character of a personification.⁵⁶ Concerning this matter, the key issue in visual art is the identification of personifications. How can personified figures in images be distinguished from deities or other figures? Research has thus tended to focus on the recognition of personifications. Shapiro correctly recognizes that the identification of a personification depends on the existence of labels or the visual context. The scholar states that in the case of lacking inscriptions, the context will be the determining criterion. Whether a deity appears as the divine power itself or as a personification can only be determined by the context of the depiction, the assessment being subjective in most of the cases.⁵⁷

Turning now to the question of the application of the term in literary sources. While evidence of personified figures in images exists since the Archaic the word *personification* was mentioned far later in ancient literature. The English word *personification* derives from the Latin words *persona* and *facere* and appears first as *prosopopoeia* – a post-medieval transliteration of the Greek word *προσωποποιία* – in the rhetorical teaching *De Elocutione* of Demetrius of Phalerum, dating into the period 3rd century BC – 1st century AD. The term has been mentioned by Demetrius referring to theater masks, *prosopon*. *Personification* was used in the context of dramaturgy throughout the antiquity.⁵⁸ Shapiro summarizes the meaning of

⁵⁴ Matz 1913, 1.

⁵⁵ Meyer 2007, 183 f.

⁵⁶ Matz 1913, 1; Meyer 2007, 185; Borg 2002, 49; Stafford 2000, 4.

⁵⁷ Shapiro 1993, 15; Meyer 2007, 183; Borg 2002, 70. 82.

⁵⁸ Demetr. eloc. 265; Stafford 2000, 5; Burkert 2005, 3; Shapiro 1993, 12.

the term in rhetorical writings as follows “speaking in the voice of a character not actually present, whether real or imaginary”.⁵⁹

A further term that requires a definition is *allegory* which is closely related to *personification*. Focusing on the etymology, *allegory* relates to the words *ἄλλος* and *ἀγορεύειν* which is translated by Borg as “etwas anderes sagen”, in addition she provides the following definition: “die Allegorie ist demnach eine indirekte Ausdrucksweise, die mit der vordergründigen Aussageebene, dem sog. Literarsinn, einen Hintersinn, eine zweite, oftmals die eigentlich wichtige Aussage verbindet”.⁶⁰ In general allegory is understood as a way of narrative representation.⁶¹ The consideration of allegory as a multi-meaning form of expression even corresponds with their position in ancient literature.⁶² Thus, it appears that *personification* and *allegory* are related terms but not synonymous.⁶³ Several scholars have studied their relation, and it can be observed that personifications can indeed demonstrate an allegorical message in images, that according to Borg can be summarized by the term “allegorische Personifikationen”.⁶⁴ In the present thesis the term *personification* stands for the representation of abstract concepts as human beings – in accordance with the general definition of the word – whereas *allegory* will only be mentioned in connection with the iconological determination of pictorial themes and motifs.

4.2 MOVING IMAGES

Personifications were first mentioned in Greek poetry, with Homer and Hesiod considered as the earliest sources.⁶⁵ The earliest artifact that bore images of personifications is the Kypselos chest from the early 6th century BC, which is no longer preserved, but was described by Pausanias in the 2nd century BC.⁶⁶ From Pausanias’ account, it can be inferred that the personifications Eris (strife), Nyx (night), with Hypnos (sleep), Thanatos (death), Dike (justice), and Adikia (injustice) were depicted on the Kypselos chest.⁶⁷ In addition, the earliest images of personifications which have been preserved can be observed on Greek vases, including Themis (divine order) on the well-known black-figured *dinos* of Sophilos (580/570

⁵⁹ Shapiro 1986, 5 f.; See also Shapiro 1993, 13; Stafford 2000, 13. 16; Burkert 2005, 10, note 28. 13 f.

⁶⁰ Borg 2002, 41. See also Hahn 1967.

⁶¹ Borg 2002, 39. 85. The term *allegory* is also addressed in Meier 1976; Haug 1979; Kurz 1988.

⁶² Borg 2002, 46.

⁶³ The synonymous use of the terms *allegory* and *personification* is also criticized in Jauss 1960, 179-206; Meier 1976, 60 f.

⁶⁴ Borg 2002, 88. 94. 222.

⁶⁵ Stafford 2000, 1; Borg 2002, 44 f. 71. 109. 117. 138 f. 144. 151. 156. 164 f.; Burkert 2005, 3. 7-9. 12-14. 17 f.; Yamagata 2005, 21-28; Hes. theolog. 116. 211; Meyer 2007, 183.

⁶⁶ Paus. 5, 17.5-19.10.

⁶⁷ Meyer 2007, 183 f.; Shapiro 1993, 22 f.; Burkert 2005, 13; Borg 2002, 33. 105-107. 117-119. 119-122; Scheibler 1984, 41 f.

BC; Fig. 2),⁶⁸ and Eris (strife) on a *tondo* of a *little-master cup* (middle of the 6th century BC; Fig. 3).⁶⁹ Personifications that were first mentioned in connection with the Kypselos chest reoccur on preserved Greek vases, such as Dike and Adikia on an attic *amphora* (520 BC; Fig. 4).⁷⁰ In general, it can be said that the female personifications on Greek vases usually appear as young women in full-length within a multi-figure scene, acting together with other figures, each bearing an inscription.⁷¹

Even though the concept of personification was initiated in the Archaic era, it was further pursued in the visual arts of later times. Thus, images of personifications adorn various Late Antique media.⁷² Indeed, personifications occupied a central place in mosaic art. A variety of personified abstractions occur on mosaic pavements – in both secular and religious structures – excavated in Eastern Mediterranean sites dating from the 4th to 6th centuries. Yet, the most significant number originate from the villas and baths in Antioch and its vicinity.⁷³ Regarding the Late Antique representation method, Leader-Newby could observe three different types of visual contexts for personifications. The first, forming the most common type in Antioch, is the depiction of personifications as *emblemata* at the center of a mosaic pavement (6.2.1 Chapter). In other cases, they appear alongside related personifications or within mythological scenes.⁷⁴ Initially, the female figures that were continuously personified on Late Antique floors will be addressed. In this respect, it is worth pointing out that personifications of natural elements were especially absorbed into Christian iconography and thus gained a growing importance on mosaic pavements during the 5th and 6th centuries. In particular, Ge (earth) and maritime figures such as Tethys and Thalassa (both representing the sea) are widespread in the churches of the Levant. Another frequently occurring abstraction on Late Antique mosaic paving is Ktisis (foundation). In terms of conventions, it can be observed that personifications represented on

⁶⁸ London, British Museum 1971, 1101.1; LIMC VIII (1997) 1203, no. 20, pl. 829, s.v. Themis (H. C. Ackermann); Borg 2002, 131, figs. 20-21; Shapiro 1993, 218, 263, cat. no. 141, fig. 179.

⁶⁹ Berlin, State Museums, Antikensammlung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz F 1775; LIMC III (1986), 847, no. 1, pl. 608, s.v. Eris (H. C. Ackermann); Borg 2002, 135, fig. 22; Shapiro 1993, 52 f. 233, cat. no. 13, fig. 11.

⁷⁰ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3722; LIMC III (1986), 382, no. 3, pl. 280, s.v. Dike (H. C. Ackermann); Scheibler 1984, 40-42, figs. 2-3; Borg 2002, 141, 162, fig. 13; Meyer 2007, 184, fig. 1.

⁷¹ Stafford 2000, 14.

⁷² For portrayals of Ge on tapestry fragments, see Stauffer 1995, 32, 44, cat. no. 9; Maguire 1990, 219, fig. 20. Images of personifications on Late Antique silverware are thematized in Watson 2013. More details on Late Antique city personifications can be found in Poulsen 2014 and on their portrayal on Coptic textiles in Horak 2001. See Meyer 2006 for a broad overview of the Tyche of Antioch. The general issue of the continuity is addressed in Osbourne 2015, 120; Liebeschuetz 2015, 346 f. 380.

⁷³ Liebeschuetz 2015, 370; Talgam 2018, 110; Huskinson 2004, 144.

⁷⁴ Leader-Newby 2005, 231 f.; Liebeschuetz 2015, 382; Talgam 2018, 107; Huskinson 2004, 144.

mosaics usually appear as fully dressed female busts within medallions, often accompanied by inscriptions.⁷⁵

Through this chapter, it becomes apparent that personifications have been a recurring subject in texts and images over time. In this regard, it should be noted that the present thesis is not concerned with the question of whether personifications first appeared in written or pictorial sources, but rather with the interplay of texts and images as a process leading to the longevity of personifications. In the way they are displayed on Late Antique mosaic paving, the personifications are subject to a fundamental change in convention. A new standardized way of representing personifications becomes apparent through the catalogue below.

5 CATALOGUE OF PERSONIFICATIONS

The following catalogue is intended to show the representations of female personifications on Late Antique mosaic pavements from Antioch and its vicinity. Special focus is put on the representations dating to the 5th and 6th centuries. The mosaic images are introduced in three parts according to the investigated sites: initially the mosaics from Antioch (5.1 Chapter), then the ones from Daphne (5.2 Chapter) and in the last section selected parallels from other Eastern Mediterranean sites (5.3 Chapter) are displayed. The mosaics of each site are listed alphabetically by the name of the pictured personification. The sites of the comparative examples are added next to the name of the personification to enable an easy searching for various mosaics of the same figure. The entries of the representations are supplemented with essential data referring to location, context and dating of the mosaics. Each entry is followed by a comprehensive description of the representation in which the image of the personification and the surrounded decor of the pavement is considered. The designation of the geometric ornaments is based on the catalogues of S. Campbell and R. J. Sweetman.⁷⁶

Since the focus of the thesis is on the personifications, the structure of the following catalogue was built according to them. It should be noted that the present thesis is the first with such an outline. This provides a simple reference for the personifications studied. The previously published catalogues⁷⁷ were structured in accordance with the buildings in which the mosaics are preserved, which is inconvenient for an iconographic study of the personifications. Whereas a listing by their name, as here, is more appropriate for our investigation. Another achievement

⁷⁵ Hachlili 2009, 179 f. 196; Nassar 2016, 93-105; Osbourne 2015, 120. 122. 126; Kondoleon 2000b, 64; Leader-Newby 2005, 240; Huskinson 2004, 144.

⁷⁶ Campbell 1988, 85-100; Sweetman 2013, 272-283.

⁷⁷ See 2.4 Chapter.

of this catalogue is that it is devoted only to Late Antique representations, unlike previous works presenting a corpus for the entirety of the mosaic pavements belonging to different epochs from the Orontes region.

5.1 ANTIOCH

5.1.1 ANANEOSIS

Site: Sector 10-Q, Antioch

Fig. 5-Fig. 6

Context: House A

Dating: 450-475 AD

The mosaic image was dated after a stylistic comparison with the mosaics Amazon Hunt and Meleager and Atlanta from Apameia.

Description: The outer border extending around all four sides consists of a row of diagonal grids in lozenge shape, with stylised circles in the centres of the lozenges, a wave pattern, a frieze tongued double guilloche motif and another wave pattern. The main decoration of the mosaic floor is a pattern of squares and diamonds. 48 squares, 6 on the short side and 8 on the long side, are connected vertical with two-stranded guilloche and horizontal with a triple ribbon, in between of the frames are diamonds placed. Each of the squares and diamonds is filled with geometric decor. In the center of the squares-diamond pattern the medaillon of the personification Ananeosis is situated. Ananeosis appears in the middle of a wreath with apples and pomegranates. The wreath is decorated on each side with winged busts of the four seasons.⁷⁸ Ananeosis is shown draped with a mantel, with her right hand she pulls on the edge of her mantel.⁷⁹ Her left hand is covered. Her head and her gaze are pointed slightly to the right. Her hair is pinned up and is jeweled with a gem in the middle of her forehead. Ananeosis wears pearl earrings and a thin necklace. The personification is labelled with the Greek letters as [A]NANE/WC[IC].⁸⁰

⁷⁸ The busts of the seasons have been interpreted differently in the secondary literature. In the excavation reports the bust on the left is designated as summer, the one on the opposite side as spring, the upper as autumn, and the lower as winter, see Stillwell 1941; Campbell 1940. In 1971, Levi assumed that the bust represents summer at the top and winter at the bottom, and mentioned that the two lateral seasons are not identifiable, see Levi 1971, 321. S. C. Campbell agrees with Levi's interpretation of the superimposed busts, but assumes that the two lateral seasons embody spring on the left and autumn on the right, see Campbell 1988, 27 f.

⁷⁹ Campbell has wrongly identified a small terracotta wine amphora in her hand, see Campbell 1940, 422. In 1988, she has recognized that the personification is holding the hem of her cloak, see Campbell 1988, 27. A concurring description can also be found in Levi 1971, 321.

⁸⁰ Levi 1971, 320-323, pl. 73 a-b; Campbell 1988, 27 f., cat. no. IV A 10, pls. 81-82; Cimok 2000, 244; LIMC I (1981) 756 f., no. 1, pl. 611, s.v. Ananeosis (H. C. Ackermann); Campbell, 1940, 419. 422, fig. 5; Stillwell 1941, 171, no. 102, pl. 46. Parallels for the geometric pattern can be found in Nassar – Al-Muheisen 2013, 609, fig. 19; Nassar – Sabbagh 2016, 550 f., figs. 33. 35.

5.1.2 APOLAUSIS

Site: Toprak-en Narlidja (7 kilometers north of Antioch)*Fig. 7; Fig. 14***Context:** Bath of Apolausis, apsidal room (Room 10)**Dating:** Late 4th century AD or second half of the 5th century AD

An early date is assumed by a coin from the late 4th century found under the mosaic of the *frigidarium*. According to the style of the mosaic and other finds, such as coins and sherds, a second dating into the 5th century is postulated.

Description: The floor mosaic with a square-diamond pattern is framed with a shaded three strand guilloche on a black ground. The main picture in the center of the geometric pattern shows the personification of Apolausis. She is turned slightly to the left towards the flower she is holding in her upstretched right hand. Her left arm hangs down, her left hand is not visible. Her gaze is not directed at the flower, but upwards. She is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic with *clavi* and wears a veil that falls on her shoulders. Apolausis is adorned with earrings and probably a thin necklace. The mosaic image carries the Greek inscription ΑΠΟ/ΛΑΥ/ΚΙC.⁸¹

5.1.3 EPICOSMESIS

Site: Antioch*Fig. 8***Context:** uncertain**Dating:** 5th century AD

Description: Within the ring of a meander appears the inscribed personification of Epicosmesis. Her neck, a part of her chin, and the lower part of the medallion is not preserved. The inscription ΕΠΙΚΟ/CMHCIC is placed horizontally next to her head. The bust of the personification is shown frontally and her gazes are directed to the spectator. She wears a tunic and a cloak thrown over both shoulders, pulling the hem with her right hand in the front. Her left hand is invisible under her garment. Epicosmesis is visualized richly jeweled. A crown full of diamonds decorates the pinned-up hairstyle of the woman, as well as spherical earrings and a necklace with diamond pendants are the accessories of Epicosmesis.⁸²

⁸¹ Levi 1971, 304-306, pls. 67 d; 168 b; Cimok 2000, 236 f.; LIMC II (1984) 182, no. 1, pl. 181, s.v. Apolausis (H. C. Ackermann); Stillwell 1941, 7. 19-23, fig. 21, 258, 183, no. 124, pl. 58, plan 5; Leader-Newby 2005, 231 f., fig. 16, 2; Belis 2016, 43-45, figs. 17-18. 20; Richter 1956, 61, no. 42, pl. 27; J. Paul Getty Museum, Alexis Belis, <<https://www.getty.edu/publications/romanmosaics/catalogue/excavations-antioch/>> (25.02.2022).

⁸² Cimok 2000, 301; Liebeschuetz 2015, 382; Pedone 2012, 402 f. 405 f. 408, fig. 19.

5.1.4 GE

Site: 15-M, Antioch*Fig. 9-Fig. 10***Context:** House of Aion, upper level, Room 3**Dating:** 5th – 6th centuries AD

Indications for the dating are coins and Late C pottery belonging to the 4th and 5th century underneath the pavement.⁸³ Stillwell placed the mosaic closer to the 5th – 6th centuries according to the type of the construction and the style of the mosaic.⁸⁴

Description: The mosaic frame consists of a wave pattern on the outer side and a dentilled simple filet on the inner side extending around all four sides. The main image depicts in the center the bust of Ge set into a non-framed medallion, which is flanked by two *karpoi* (fruit bearers) carrying *cornucopiae* with fruits. Ge is shown frontally and looks at the spectator. She is dressed in a tunic and cloak thrown over her left shoulder, her right shoulder and breast is uncovered. Her long hair is pinned on the back and is decorated with a wreath out of fruits. A snake winds around her neck like a chain. Ge is jeweled with hoop earrings with pearls. The *karpoi* are facing each other and lunging forward with the *cornucopiae* in their hands. They are depicted barefoot and wear a sleeveless, knee-length tunic and a cloak hanging down their shoulders. The *karpoi* have short hair, and their gazes are directed to Ge. The mosaic image reveals the Greek letters Γ/H.⁸⁵

5.1.5 KTISIS

Site: 7-N, Antioch*Fig. 11***Context:** House of Ktisis, Room 1**Dating:** 500-526 AD

The iconographic comparison carried out by Levi points to the mentioned date.

Description: The medallion of the bust of Ktisis is set in the center of the pavement and is framed with an asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche on a black ground. Around the image of Ktisis flowers, buds and birds are scattered all over the pavement. Ktisis is shown frontally, her head and gazes are turned slightly to the right. The inscription K[TI]/CIC in Greek letters

⁸³ Campbell 1988, 59; Levi 1971, 355 f.

⁸⁴ Stillwell 1941, 12.

⁸⁵ Levi 1971, 355 f., fig. 146, pl. 84 c-d; Campbell 1988, 58, cat. no. IV A 24c, pls. 170-173; Cimok 2000, 287; Stillwell 1941, 11 f., fig. 10, 175 f., no. 109, pl. 50; Lodge – McKay 1981/1982, 55-69, figs. 2. 3.

is placed horizontally over her shoulders. She wears a tunic and a cloak. She is holding a measuring stick in her right hand in front of her chest. Her left hand is not shown. The mosaic image is in the area of her right shoulder and neck of the figure damaged. Ktisis wears a richly decorated golden diadem set with red and green rectangular gemstones and a round ruby brooch in the center. Moreover, a necklace with similar colored gemstones is partly preserved. Additionally, she is adorned with a wreath of pearls under her diadem and with pendant earrings.⁸⁶

5.1.6 MEGALOPSYCHIA

Site: Haraparasi quarter, Area III

Fig. 12

Context: House, central main room

Dating: 5th century AD

Description: The personification is shown in a medallion framed with a wave ornament, running counterclockwise. The figure is designated as [M]EΓA/ΛOΨY/XI/A. She is facing frontally and holds the measuring stick between her hands. Megalopsychia is dressed in a long-sleeved garment and wrapped in a mantle. Around the image of the personification the pavement is decorated with bird species and small growths.⁸⁷

5.1.7 SOTERIA

Site: Toprak-en-Narlidja (7 kilometers north of Antioch)

Fig. 13-Fig. 14

Context: Bath of Apolausis, *frigidarium* (Room 1)

Dating: Second half of the 5th century AD

The dating could be achieved through the study of the style of the mosaic and by evaluating the coins and ceramic found underneath.

Description: The circular frigidarium mosaic is framed with a wavy ribbon decoration. The central ornament is an eight-pointed star, consisting of two entwined squares, which bears in the central octagon the round medallion of Soteria. Eight scrolls appear around the outer edges of the star, bearing alternating central and oval discs. The octagon is decorated with three rows

⁸⁶ Levi 1971, 357 f., pl. 85 a; Campbell 1988, 5 f., cat. no. IV A 1, pls. 2-3; Cimok 2000, 294 f.; Leader-Newby 2005, 240 f., fig. 16, 10; Stillwell 1938, 182, no. 42, pl. 30.

⁸⁷ The mosaic was unearthed during the rescue excavations carried out between 2010-2012 by the field director Hatice Pamir in cooperation with Hatay Archaeology Museum. Pamir 2014a, 104-111. Pamir 2014b, 105, fig. 7.

of tangent cuboids. In the center the bust of Soteria appears within a circular frame of serrated saw-tooth pattern. Her upper body, her head and gazes are turned to the right. She is wrapped in a cloak, the fringe is hanging over her left shoulder, leaving her right shoulder and right arm bare. She wears a half-up hairstyle, and a series of hair strands lies along her right arm. Her head is adorned with a golden garland of leaves with a framed oval gemstone in the middle. She is jeweled with pendant earrings, a necklace with spherical beads, and a golden bracelet on her right arm. The inscription CWTH/PIA is placed horizontally over her shoulder.⁸⁸

5.1.8 TETHYS

Site: 13-R, Antioch

Fig. 15-Fig. 16

Context: Bath F, pool

Dating: *terminus ante quem* 537/538 AD

The bath complex was built in four phases, with the Tethys mosaic belonging to the second phase. An indication of the construction phases is an inscription that dates the last phase to 537/538 AD. The dating is therefore regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for the Tethys mosaic, which was already present at the time of the final reconstruction.

Description: The octagonal mosaic pavement of the pool bears in the center the bust of Tethys. The personification is labelled by the inscription TH/ΘYC placed over her right shoulder. The personification is shown naked swimming in the water. While her body is directed to the right, her head and gazes are turned to the left. Her long loose hair falls on her shoulders. Two wings appear on her forehead, and a rudder leans against her right shoulder. Tethys is not jeweled. Tethys is surrounded by a circle of fishes swimming, with large fishes on the outside and smaller ones, as well three octopuses on the inside.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Levi 1971, 304-306, pls. 68 a-b; 168 a; Cimok 2000, 234 f.; Stillwell 1941, 7. 19-23, fig. 21, 182 f., no. 122, pl. 57, plan V; Leader-Newby 2005, 231 f., fig. 16, 1; Belis 2016, 43-45, figs. 17-20; LIMC VII (1994) 800, no. 1, pl. 570, s.v. Soteria (H. C. Ackermann); J. Paul Getty Museum, Alexis Belis, <<https://www.getty.edu/publications/romanmosaics/catalogue/excavations-antioch/>> (25.02.2022).

⁸⁹ Levi 1971, 258 f., pl. 62 a; Campbell 1988, 49 f., cat. no. IV A 20ai, pls. 141-142; Stillwell 1941, 8 f., fig. 7, 172 f., no. 105, pl. 48; Stilwell 1938, 3. The dating of the mosaic is discussed in Wages 1986, 119.

5.2 DAPHNE

5.2.1 ANANEOSIS

Site: Daphne*Fig. 17***Context:** uncertain**Dating:** 5th – 6th century AD

Description: The mosaic pavement is framed by a double-calices frieze. In the center of a grid of fleurettes is inserted the panel of Ananeosis. She is depicted frontally with upward gaze. Her right hand is raised in a gesture of speech and in her left she holds a peacock feather. She is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic with a cloak over it. Her pinned-up hairstyle is adorned with a golden diadem which is set with stones. She is jeweled with earrings and a necklace. She is designated with the inscription [ANAN]E/WCIC above her head.⁹⁰

5.2.2 GE

Site: DH 24-P, Daphne*Fig. 18-Fig. 19***Context:** House of Ge and the Seasons, upper level, Room 1**Dating:** about 475 AD

Description: A border of a wavy ribbon scroll with ivy leaves surrounds the mosaic pavement. The mosaic decoration consists of a medallion in the center and four others on the corners. The medallions on the corners represent the personifications of the seasons, the one in the middle depicts the personification of Ge. The left upper edge of the mosaic with the image of autumn is not preserved. The medallion of Ge is oriented to the room entrance, whereby the seasons to the center. The inscribed mosaic medallion of Ge is framed by a wave ornament and set into a golden hexagon. Ge is dressed in a *peplos*, which is pinned on her shoulders with jeweled *fibulae*. Her head is tilted slightly to the right looking to the *cornucopia* filled with fruits. Her long hair is pulled back and falls behind her shoulders. She is crowned with a wreath of fruits. The inscription Γ/H is placed on the sides of her head.⁹¹

⁹⁰ The mosaic was uncovered in 2005 during a rescue excavation. Hatay Archaeology Museum. See for the scheme of a double-calices frieze Nassar et al. 2017, 85, fig. 5; Nassar – Sabbagh 2016, 547, fig. 29.

⁹¹ Levi 1971, 346-348, figs. 139-140, pls. 81 a-b; 169 a; Cimok 2000, 276-280; Campbell 1938, 217, fig. 14; Stillwell 1938, 3, 193 f., no. 77, panel B, pl. 56; Stillwell 1961, 54.

5.2.3 GE

Site: 27-P, Daphne*Fig. 20-Fig. 21***Context:** House of the Worcester Hunt, Room 2**Dating:** 5th – 6th century AD

Description: The pavement is badly damaged and reveals an acanthus scroll border. The main mosaic image depicts Ge within a circular medallion framed with a wave pattern. She can be identified by the inscription Γ/H at the sides of her head. Over the rest of the pavement around the medallion of Ge are leaves with different fruits on them. Ge is shown frontally and is looking to the spectator. Her forehead, right shoulder and a part of her cloak are not preserved. She wears a short hairstyle, a tunic, and a cloak. Ge shows her hem filled with fruits by holding it up with both hands.⁹²

5.2.4 KTISIS

Site: DH 24-P, Daphne*Fig. 22-Fig. 23***Context:** House of Ge and the Seasons, upper level, Room 4**Dating:** about 475 AD

Description: The mosaic pavement is framed with a border of large birds and flowers. Ktisis bust is shown in an irregular octagon at the center of the pavement, set in an orthogonal pattern of tangential four-pointed stars formed by lozenges, the stars bearing small squares at four corners. Each geometric shape is filled with ornaments. Ktisis head and gazes are turned slightly to the left. She wears a violet tunic and a red cloak thrown over both shoulders. She wears a pinned-up hairstyle and a rich diadem with golden medallions which are arranged adjacently. Ktisis is jeweled with triangular shaped earrings hanging from golden hoops. She is labelled as KTI/CIC.⁹³

⁹² Stillwell 1938, 202, no. 91, Room 2, pl. 74; Cimok 2000, 300; Campbell 1938, 216; Maguire 1987, 75; Barsanti 2012, 30 f.; Nassar 2016, 98, fig. 12.

⁹³ Levi 1971, 346-348, fig. 139, pls. 82 b; 169 b; Cimok 2000, 281; Stillwell 1938, 3, 194 f., no. 81, pl. 58; Campbell 1938, 217, fig. 15; Stillwell 1961, 54; Leader-Newby 2005, 232, fig. 16, 7; Nassar 2016, 99, fig. 13; Worcester Art Museum, object number 1936.35, <<https://worchester.emuseum.com/objects/33965/ktisis-floor-mosaic>> (14.12.2021).

5.2.5 MEGALOPSYCHIA

Site: DY 17/18-H/J, Daphne*Fig. 24-Fig. 25; Fig. 27***Context:** Yakto Complex, upper level, Room A**Dating:** second half of the 5th AD

The inscription *τὸ Περιβάτον Ἀρδαβουρίου* on the topographical border names the *magister militum per Orientem*, who served in Antioch from 450 to 457 AD, and provides a *terminus post quem* for this mosaic.

Description: The frame of the mosaic pavement consists of a topographical border in the outer, showing buildings from Antioch and Daphne, and inside a tightly braided round-tongued double guilloche extending around all four sides. The main mosaic image depicts figural hunting scenes with wild animals and at the center the medallion of the personification with the inscription ΜΕΓΑΛΟΨΥΧΙΑ. The six hunting scenes, one at each short side and two on each long side, are framed by trees rising from the corners. In addition, the four cypresses shown in the middle on each side, serve on the longer sides as separator between the two battles scenes. Depicted are the Greek heroes Narcissus, Hippolytus, Acteon, Meleager, Adonis and Tiresias, all of which can be identified by inscriptions. The bust of Megalopsychia at the center is shown within an asymmetrically shaded guilloche ring. The personification is shown frontally looking slightly to the left. She is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic with a jeweled collar and a cloak thrown over both shoulders. She is holding her right hand up showing the gold coins in her palm, while some are spread around her hand. A vessel filled with gold coins is leaning on her left shoulder.⁹⁴ Megalopsychia is jeweled with spherical pearl earrings and her updo is decorated with a diadem with golden leafed edges and once a golden jewel in the center.⁹⁵

5.2.6 THALASSA

Site: DY 17/18-H/J, Daphne*Fig. 26-Fig. 27***Context:** Yakto Complex, upper level, Room B

⁹⁴ Downey interprets the contents as flowers and sees a rose in her right hand. This issue is discussed in detail on Page 51.

⁹⁵ Levi 1971, 323-345, pls. 76 b; 77-80; Cimok 2000, 245-253; Leader-Newby 2005, 231 f., fig. 16, 3; Campbell 1934, 201 f., fig. 1, pls. 21 b; 22 a-b; LIMC VI (1992) 402, no. 1, pl. 204, s.v. Megalopsychia (H. C. Ackermann); Morey 1935, 10; Friedman 2018, 65-67, figs. 2-3; Elderkin 1934, 114-156; Downey 1945, 283; Liebeschuetz 2015, 380; Huskinson 2004, 138. Downey 1938, 356-363. For Downey's interpretation of the attributes, see Downey 1938, 356; Downey 1941, 368.

Dating: second half of the 5th century AD (see cat. no. 5.2.5)

Description: Thalassa is rising from the water with tousled thick hair and two lobster claws on her forehead. She appears swimming to the left, while her upper body and her head is turned to the spectator. Her gazes are directed to the left. She is holding the rudder in her right hand and a small dolphin in her left palm. Behind Thalassa, the sea monster Cetus is wrapped around her upper body showing his head of a wolf, which is oriented to the right, with a widely opened muzzle.⁹⁶ The personification is jeweled with small golden hoop earrings with leaf pendants. An inscription is completely missing. Various sea creatures are depicted swimming in the water. On the sides of the personifications appear two on each side naked *putti* riding on dolphins towards the sea goddess. The dolphins are shown with reins and the two outer *putti* raise their whips. The sea scene extends over all four sides and frames Thalassa. The border on the left short side is not preserved but a continuation of the maritime scene is expected on this side as well. The upper border shows another sea scene upside down with naked men fishing. The depiction illustrates two boys on the right pulling a big net full of sea animals out of the water. At the center are another two young men shown in a fisher boat, while one is paddling the other is leaning out of the boat grabbing with both hands a sea animal. On the right short side is a seated boy on a rock holding his fishing rod in the water.⁹⁷

5.3 SELECTED PARALLELS

5.3.1 ANANEOSIS, QASR-EL-LEBIA, LIBYA

Context: East Church, nave pavement, panel 9 c

Fig. 28-Fig. 29

Dating: 539/540 AD

The nave pavement was installed in the time of Bishop Makarios, according to the inscription in the center of the mosaic, which makes a dating into the year 539/540 AD possible.

Description: The nave pavement is divided into 50 panels, with 5 panels in each of the 10 rows, set in a rectangular grid pattern. The bust of Ananeosis is depicted at the center of row 9 (panel 9c). A thin line frames the bust of Ananeosis, which appears in a niche with two Doric columns and a rounded gable. The personification appears dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and with her whole body towards the viewer between parted curtains, both ends of which are tied around the

⁹⁶ Eraslan 2015b, 5.

⁹⁷ The scholars who interpreted the figure as Tethys are Levi 1971, 323-345, pls. 75 a-c; 76 a; Cimok 2000, 248-250; Wages 1986, 121, fig. 6, whereby she is designated as Thalassa in Campbell 1934, 202, fig. 2; Friedman 2018, 63-77; Eraslan 2015b, 5, fig. 10; Morey 1935, 12; Nassar 2016, 96 f., fig. 5. See also Stillwell 1938, 200-205, pls. 71; 73; 80.

columns. The personification can be identified by the inscription ANA/NEW/CIC placed in the upper corners of the mosaic image. She raises her right hand in a greeting gesture, her left hand is not shown but may be holding the basket leaning on her left shoulder. Ananeosis is jeweled with earrings and a necklace made of spherical pearls.⁹⁸

5.3.2 APOLAUSIS, HAGIOS TAXIARCHIS, GREECE

Context: Bath

Fig. 30

Dating: 565 AD

A three-line dedicatory inscription at the upper edge of the mosaic reveals the dating.

Description: The bust of Apolausis is set in a wreath. She is slightly turned to the right and looks into the distance. Apolausis is dressed in a tunic and has a mantle thrown over both shoulders. She is wearing earrings and a diadem with a circular gemstone and a similar decorated necklace on her neck. The inscription ΑΠΟΛΑΥ/CIC is placed in two rows to the right of the figure.⁹⁹

5.3.3 GE, WADI ‘AFRIT, JORDAN

Context: Upper Chapel of Priest John, nave pavement

Fig. 31-Fig. 32

Dating: 565 AD

A three-line dedicatory inscription at the upper edge of the mosaic reveals the dating.

Description: The floor mosaic of the nave exhibits a composition of an acanthus scroll decoration. The branches form a symmetrical pattern of circular medallions with individual figures and animals placed in each. At the center of the second row from the top is visualized the personification of Ge. In addition, she can be identified by the inscription Γ/H divided at the sides of her image. The bust of Ge is shown with a sleeveless tunic and a cloak thrown over both shoulders. She holds with both hands the edges of her hem full of fruits in the front. Ge wears a mural crown and a wreath of fruit on her head. She is jeweled with necklaces and her upper arms are adorned with bracelets. The acanthus scroll-medallions which flank Ge depict

⁹⁸ Maguire names the contents of the basket “fruit or bread” (Maguire 1987, 45). The designation “fruit” can be found in Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980, 124, no. B. 3, fig. 10, pl. 5, 3; Grabar 1969, 266, and “bread” in Stucchi, 1975, 402. Maguire 1987, 44-48; Maguire 2012, 32 f., fig. 1, 15; Cowell 2014, 91, figs. 2-3. The dating of the mosaic is addressed in Maguire 1987, 45; Reynolds 1980, 146.

⁹⁹ LIMC II (1984) 182, no. 2, pl. 181, s.v. Apolausis (H. C. Ackermann); Haslam 1976, 48; Marcovich 1976, 48; Åkerström-Hougen 1974, 129 f., cat. no. 11 b, pl. 12.

two *karpoi* in profile with short hair wearing belted, short tunics without sleeves handing the personification fruit baskets.¹⁰⁰

5.3.4 GE, BEIT-JIBRIN, PALESTINE

Context: Villa

Fig. 33-Fig. 34

Dating: 4th – 6th century AD

The mosaic was laid in the second phase of construction. Vincent believes that the mosaic is the paving of a Roman villa from the 3rd century AD. Comparisons with the Antioch mosaics give an earliest dating to the 4th century AD. The latest dating to the 6th century AD has been suggested by Levi, but this overlaps with the third construction phase, which is clearly dated to the 6th century AD based on iconographic analysis and a coin find.

Description: The border of the mosaic illustrates a hunt scene. Hunters on horses and on foot are chasing wild animals. The southern scene is interrupted at the center by a circular medallion depicting the female bust of winter and by two buildings in the corners. The direction of the representation is oriented clockwise. The border of the central panel is decorated with a wavy ribbon enclosed with lotus flowers. Within, ten octagonal panels which are arranged into two vertical rows, are inserted into a geometric patterned pavement. Each panel represents an animal facing the center where in the intermediate area in a row three female busts appear within diamonds. In the middle the personification of earth is portrayed, summer in the upper panel and spring in the lower. All three figures are inscribed. Ge appears frontally with her head and gaze slightly turned to the left. She holds with both hands a cloth filled with fruits in the front. Her long hair is gathered in the back. Ge is wearing a *peplos*, which is pinned together on both shoulders with jeweled *fibulae*. A diadem with an oval gemstone in the center and vine branches hanging from it adorns Ge's veiled head. On both arms she wears a bracelet. She is designated as Γ/H.¹⁰¹

5.3.5 GE, KHIRBET EL-MUKHAYYAT, JORDAN

Context: Church of Saint George, nave pavement

Fig. 35-Fig. 36

¹⁰⁰ Piccirillo 1989, 190-192; Maguire 1987, 69-72, figs. 76-80; Maguire 2012, 14 f., fig. 1, 3; Nassar 2016, 97, fig. 7; Piccirillo 1993, 174 f., pls. 225-233; Hachlili 2009, 179; Merrony 1998, 468; Saller – Bagatti 1949, 51, no. 4, pls. 9, 1; 10, 2; Piccirillo 1986, 36 f., figs. 50-54.

¹⁰¹ Hachlili 2009, 179, fig. 8, 3; Levi 1971, 579, fig. 213; Vincent 1922, 259-281, pl. 8, 2; Avi-Yonah 1981, 293-295, no. 23, pl. 49; Avi-Yonah 1932, 146-148, cat. no. 23; Avi-Yonah 1993, 197 f.; Nassar 2016, 98, fig. 11.

Dating: 535/536 AD

The dedicatory inscription in front of the chancel screen proves the dating.

Description: The nave mosaic is framed by a meander forming square panels in which an animal or an ornament is represented on the long sides and the seasons on the short sides. An acanthus scroll divides the main panel into twelve sections with scenes of the chase and the harvest. The three *emblemata* on the top shows Ge in the middle and two *karpoi* at her sides bringing offerings to her. Ge holds a cloth full of fruit. Her head is damaged.¹⁰²

5.3.6 GE, UMM AL-RASAS, JORDAN

Context: Church of Bishop of Sergius, nave pavement

Fig. 37-Fig. 38

Dating: 587/588 AD

The dating can be derived from the dedication inscription placed in front of the altar.

Description: The edge of the mosaic in the nave is decorated with vine scrolls on all sides. Busts of the seasons are depicted on the corners holding the vine branch. The scrolls are filled with various ornaments. The main panel is decorated with ten rows of four acanthus scrolls. In the middle of the lowest row, on the west side of the mosaic, Ge is represented within an acanthus scroll. She is identified by the inscription Γ/H on the sides of her head. It is a full-body depiction of the personification, showing her in a sleeveless long tunic, which is tied at her waist. Her face is damaged. In the hem of her cloak, which rests on her right shoulder, she bears fruit. Ge is adorned with pendant earrings and a bracelet on her left arm. A wreath of fruits crowns her head.¹⁰³

5.3.7 KTISIS, QASR-EL-LEBIA, LIBYA

Context: East Church, nave pavement, panel 10 d

Fig. 28; Fig. 39

Dating: 539/540 AD (see cat. no. 5.3.1)

Description: The panel representing the personification of Ktisis is framed by a thin line. Ktisis is shown standing frontally dressed in a long-sleeved tunic and beneath a cloak thrown over both shoulders and covering her head. Her head and her gazes are turned slightly to the left. In

¹⁰² Piccirillo 1993, 38, 178, figs. 244-245. 251; Piccirillo 1989, 177-181; Saller – Bagatti 1949, 69, no. 1, pls. 22, 3; 23, 3; Nassar 2016, 97, fig. 8; Merrony 1998, 468; Hachlili 2009, 179; Maguire 1987, 70-72, fig. 81.

¹⁰³ Piccirillo 1993, 206, 234 f., figs. 365. 368. 369; Nassar 2016, 97 f., fig. 9; Hachlili 2009, 179.

her right outstretched hand is depicted a wreath and a palm branch. In her left hand in front of her chest is holding a scroll. The personification is flanked by two plants carrying red blossom. The two-line inscription KTI/CIC is to the left of her head.¹⁰⁴

5.3.8 KTISIS, KOURION, CYPRUS

Context: Bath of Eustolius, *frigidarium*

Fig. 40

Dating: 5th century AD

A coin of Theodosius II. was found underneath the mosaic pavement.

Description: The square panel of Ktisis is set in a braided guilloche patterned pavement. The border of the figurative panel is decorated with a plain frame on the outer and a serrated saw-tooth pattern internally extending around all four sides. The inner square with a thin linear border carries the circular medallion of Ktisis in the center with on two opposite corners a triple zigzag decor, and on the other edges an almond-shaped ornament with ribbons. The border of the medallion consists of a circle with three sections, while the outer and the inner circles is plain, the middle ring shows an asymmetrically shaded guilloche decor. The central disc representing Ktisis is framed with a thin line. Ktisis is depicted in the left semi-profile looking to the measuring stick on her raised right hand. Her left hand is not shown. Her wavy, thick hair is gathered on the neck, falling to the back. Ktisis is dressed in a green *chiton* with two golden *clavi* in the front. She is jeweled with a bracelet on her right wrist. The mosaic image is labelled by the inscription KT/I/CIC.¹⁰⁵

5.3.9 KTISIS, EDESSA, TURKEY

Context: Villa of the Amazons, Room 8

Fig. 41-Fig. 42

Dating: 6th century AD

The mentioned dating is intended for the mosaic due to stylistic analyses and the Justinian elements of the garment of Ktisis.

Description: The pavement is decorated with an outlined orthogonal pattern of irregular octagons adjacent and intersecting on the shorter sides forming squares and oblongs. The central panel is framed extending around all sides by two plain linear borders, in the middle with an

¹⁰⁴ Maguire 1987, 44-50; Cowell 2014, 91, figs. 2-3; Grabar 1969, 266, fig. 1; Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980, 123, no. A. 4, fig. 10, pl. 5, 2.

¹⁰⁵ Maguire 1987, 48-50; Osbourne 2015, 122, cat. no. 25; Megaw 1974, 59 f., fig. 4.

asymmetrically shaded simple guilloche on a black ground. The inner field shows a pattern with tangent scales in outline, each with a flower inside.¹⁰⁶ The central panel with the representation of Ktisis has a rectangular shape and a shaded linear border. Ktisis appears frontally in front of a building that is partially covered with a cloth. Her upper body is shown to the hip, while her head and gazes oriented to the spectator. Her arms are angled at the upper part of the body, holding a measuring stick in between her hands. Ktisis wears a long-sleeved *stola* over which is draped a mantle with *tablion*, which is fastened with a brooch on her right shoulder. A rosette is applied on her right upper arm. Her pinned-up hairstyle is adorned with a diadem embedded with gemstones and pearls and additionally with pearl chains over her ears. She wears hooped earrings with round pendants and a thin collar necklace with gemstones. The inscription KTI/CIC is placed horizontally next to her head.¹⁰⁷

5.3.10 KTISIS, ORIGIN UNKNOWN

Context: uncertain

Fig. 43

Dating: 500-550 AD

Description: The fragmented mosaic shows the bust of the personification frontally. She wears a tunic with an ornate collar, over it a mantle pinned together with a brooch at the front. She holds the measuring stick in front of her chest with both hands. Ktisis wears a voluminous short hairstyle. She is richly jeweled with a diadem set with gemstones and diamonds, a necklace, and earrings, the pendants of which are in the form of water drops. The inscription KTI/[CIC] is partially preserved over her head. In the left image field, a *karpos* with a *cornucopia* turns to her. He is dressed in a long-sleeved tunic that reaches to his knees. Over his left shoulder lies a mantle. To the left of his head the Greek word ΚΛΛΟΙ is inscribed. The pavement is decorated with florets which appear around the figures.¹⁰⁸

5.3.11 THALASSA, MADABA, JORDAN

Context: Church of the Apostles, nave pavement

Fig. 44; Fig. 45; Fig. 46

Dating: 578-579 AD

¹⁰⁶ For the terms of the geometric pattern, see Nassar – Al-Muheisen 2013, 606, fig. 17.

¹⁰⁷ Önal 2017, 83-86, cat. no. 1. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Evans et al. 2001, 16 f.; Tülek 2011, 925, fig. 7; Norris 2005, 36 f., cat. no. 3; Gittings 2003, 35 f., fig. 6; Met Museum, object numbers 1998.69; 1999.99, <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/469960>> (14.12.2021).

The date for the church mosaic could be determined by an inscription in an adjacent room.

Description: The nave pavement is decorated with an acanthus scroll border. The internal part shows pairs of birds antithetical arranged forming a grid pattern. The spaces in between are filled with various ornaments, which are repeated in each horizontal row. The medallion of Thalassa, framed by a Greek inscription, is placed in the center of the pavement. The personification is depicted in the sea showing her upper body frontally. Her gazes are directed at the viewer. She holds her right hand in front of her chest in a gesture. Her left arm is completely covered by the cloak that hangs over her left shoulder on which the rudder lies. Her long straight hair falls down her back. Thalassa is adorned with a bracelet on her upper right arm and another on her wrist, and seems to wear a necklace. Various fish and an octopus swim around Thalassa, and Cetus appears behind her on the left. The inscription ΘΑΛΑΚΚΑ is placed over her head.¹⁰⁹

5.3.12 THALASSA, SYRIA

Context: uncertain

Fig. 47

Dating: 5th – 6th century AD

Description: Thalassa emerges naked out of the waves and looks with wide open eyes to the viewer. From her breasts runs the sea water. Her long hair is gathered back, while some strands lie on her shoulders. In her left hand she holds the rudder, and her arm is adorned with bracelets. She carries lobster claws on her forehead. Cetus appears on her left side licking her face. The personification is designated as [ΘΑΛ]/ΑΚΚΑ.¹¹⁰

6 OUTCOME

The results obtained during the compilation of the catalogue are presented below. The achievements concerning the find contexts of the mosaics are addressed in the first subchapter. The structure has been adapted to that of the catalogue, in which the find context of the mosaics is treated independently according to their sites, starting with the ones found in Antioch, followed by the mosaics of the suburb of Daphne and, finally, the selected mosaics from other Eastern Mediterranean sites. The distribution of personifications between sites and in the

¹⁰⁹ Maguire 2012, 4-17, fig. 1, 4; Bowersock 2006, 43 f., fig. 2, 13; Nassar 2016, 95 f., fig. 3; Lux 1986, 106-129, pl. 29; Piccirillo 1989, 96-107; Piccirillo 1993, 106 f., figs. 78. 80. 95; Noth 1986, 130-142.

¹¹⁰ Nassar 2016, 96, fig. 4; Eraslan 2015b, 6, fig. 11; LIMC VIII (1997) 1199, no. 14, pl. 828, s.v. Thalassa (H. C. Ackermann).

buildings is addressed in a separate section. The second subchapter is dedicated to the observations gained during the iconographic analysis of the representations. It is organized by themes, which include the type of image that emerged, as well as the issues of determining personifications, their distinction from humans on mosaics and the development of medallion busts on wall mosaics of churches.

6.1 FIND CONTEXT

6.1.1 ANTIOCH

In Antioch, a total of eight mosaic images originates from five private houses and two bath complexes (*Table 1*). It must be remarked that only one depiction was found in each house. These are the representations of Ananeosis in the House A (sector 10-Q), of Ge in the House of Aion (sector 15-M), of Ktisis in the House of Ktisis (sector 7-N), and of Megalopsychia in another house (Haraparasi quarter, Area III). The personifications depicted on the pavements of baths are Tethys from the Bath F (sector 13-R) and Apolausis and Soteria from the Bath of Apolausis (Toprak-en-Narlidja). The only construction that provides two representations is the Bath of Apolausis. The mosaics were located in the frigidarium, showing Soteria, and in an adjacent apsidal room, representing Apolausis. Nonetheless, the mosaic illustrating Epicosmesis could not be assigned to a find context but may originate from a house. The question of whether it was installed in a private house or in a bath must therefore remain unanswered. However, it is necessary to note that each building in Antioch provides a different personification. A repetition of an abstract concept could not be determined, neither in the individual rooms nor in the houses.

6.1.2 DAPHNE

Extending the area of investigation to the suburb of Daphne brought further representations of female personifications to light. A total of six mosaic pavements at this site bear an image of an abstract idea (*Table 1*). The finds stem from four different houses, including Ge in the House of the Worcester Hunt (sector 27-P), Megalopsychia and Thalassa in the Yakto Complex (sector DY 17/18-H/J), and Ktisis and Ge in the House of Ge and the Seasons (sector DH 24-P). Concerning the mosaic with the depiction of Ananeosis, it is unclear from which building it originates but it could refer to a house, since she is also represented in a domestic context in Antioch. The Yakto Complex and the House of Ge and the Seasons are two private houses in which several rooms were decorated with female personifications. These are always adjacent

rooms. As for the occurrence of a single personification, Ge appears once in each of the two different houses. It needs to be mentioned that representations of female personifications from baths are completely absent from Daphne, as none dating to the 5th or 6th century could be located.

6.1.3 SELECTED PARALLELS

TABLE 1

Starting from the female personifications that appear in the Orontes region dating back to the 5th and 6th centuries, parallels were sought in other sites of the Eastern Mediterranean. This did indeed lead to success, and it was possible to locate several contemporaneous buildings in which the same abstract concepts are represented. While the closest analogies of the Antiochene personifications mostly originate from Late Antique churches in the Levant, some could also be discovered in private houses. A total of 12 representations from seven churches, three houses, and two baths were examined (*Table 1*). The only building that offered more the one representation of a personification is the East Church at Qasr-el-Lebia with the depiction of Ananeosis and Ktisis on its pavement.¹¹¹ In the remaining four churches, only one representation could be found in each case. It is the image of Ge that appears in the Church of Priest John at Khirbet al-Mukhayyat, in the Upper Chapel of Priest John at Wadi ‘Afrīt, and in the Church of Bishop Sergius at Umm al-Rasas. Thus, Ge is among the personifications most frequently seen on church mosaics. The fifth sacred building, which is included in the catalogue, is the Church of the Apostles in Madaba providing the image of Thalassa on its mosaic floor. On the floors of private houses outside the Orontes region, only the images of Ge and Ktisis could be determined. Ge was found once in a house in Beit-Jibrin and Ktisis once in a house in Edessa. Furthermore, a bath in Hagios Taxchiarchis offered an image of Apolausis on its pavement and another in Kourion the representation of Ktisis.

The two mosaics of which the find contexts are uncertain bear the images of Ktisis and Thalassa. The results show that out of the five Ktisis depictions included in the catalogue, three originate from houses. The frequent occurrence of Ktisis in domestic contexts suggests that the named representation (*Fig. 43*) may also have adorned a private house. In the case of Thalassa, there is already evidence from the domestic context, which is the representation in the Yakto Complex, and the sacred context, namely the mosaic in the Church of the Apostles at Madaba. The personification is shown in the house in a multi-figure composition, whereby she is

¹¹¹ Actually, the assemble consists of Ananeosis, Ktisis and Kosmesis, but since the starting point of our research is Antioch and no Late Antique representation of Kosmesis could be found there, Kosmesis is not a subject of the present thesis.

enclosed in a medallion on the nave mosaic. Thus, there is a strong probability that this mosaic, depicting Thalassa in a thin lined medallion (*Fig. 47*), was also once part of a nave mosaic, similar to the one at Madaba.

6.1.4 DISTRIBUTION OF THE MOSAICS

Concerning the spatial distribution of the representations, it is worth emphasizing that in most cases only the rooms with mosaic decoration were uncovered so that the original ground plan of several buildings of Antioch remained unknown. Hence, for some constructions little can be said about the arrangement of their paved rooms.¹¹² This can be observed well on the field plan of the House of Ge and the Seasons (*Fig. 23*) and the House of the Worcester Hunt (*Fig. 21*), where the structures have not been unearthed in their entirety and thereby it is not apparent which part of each house the paved rooms have formed. The ground plans examined so far show, however, that the mosaic paving with both figurative and geometric decor usually extends over all parts of the structures. This means that images of personifications adorned not only the paving of the main rooms, but also the corridors, as evidenced by the mosaic of Ge in the House of Aion (*Fig. 10*).

With a few exceptions, there are no indications of building inscriptions that could provide information about the owners of these structures.¹¹³ Inscriptions were found only in Bath F and in the Yakto Complex, with the former only providing the date and the function of the building as a public bath, but no references to the founder.¹¹⁴ More information can be obtained from the inscription in the Yakto Complex. It is placed on the topographical border of the Megalopsychia mosaic found in Room A, which depicts various buildings from ancient Daphne and Antioch. The monuments depicted bear inscriptions, with one building being labelled with the name and title of Pribathon Ardaburius, who was *magister militum per Orientem* from 450 to 475 AD and resided in Antioch until 459 AD.¹¹⁵ The inscription gives a date for the mosaic and moreover, also provides evidence for a potential founder or owner of the house. This find indicates that the buildings of Antioch and Daphne may have belonged to upper-class citizens, as already suggested by their elaborate mosaic decoration.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Stillwell 1961, 47 f.; Kondoleon 2000b, 65. Dobbins 2000, 51 f.

¹¹³ Huskinson 2004, 138.

¹¹⁴ Wages 1986, 119; Levi 1971, 366.

¹¹⁵ Theod. hist. eccl. I, 13; Levi 1971, 323; Friedman 2018, 66; Campbell 1934, 201 f.; Yegül 2000, 148; Liebeschuetz 2015, 374. 380 f.

¹¹⁶ Liebeschuetz 1972, 49. 134; Downey 1962, 44.

The investigated Late Antique church mosaics in Qasr-el-Lebia, Wadi 'Afrit, Khirbet al-Mukhayyat, Umm al-Rasas, and Madaba demonstrate that the images of personifications were usually positioned prominently and centrally on the pavements of the nave. Depictions of abstract concepts in other areas of the churches, such as in the aisles, could not be determined. This is also due to the fact that the mosaic pavements of the aisles or the adjacent rooms of the church are usually decorated with non-figurative representations. Regarding the size of the representations, one is struck by the mightiness of the Thalassa image on the nave of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba. This raises the question of whether the images of personifications in churches increased or decreased in size over the course of Late Antiquity. The chronological order of the representations shows that on the earliest mosaic in the catalogue from Khirbet el-Mukhayyat, dated to 535/536 AD, the personification appears considerably small within an acanthus scroll, similar to the latest mosaic in the catalogue from Umm al-Rasas, dated to 587/588 AD. However, the Thalassa mosaic from Madaba dates to 578/579 AD and is thus placed towards the end of the timetable, but it was made earlier than the Umm al-Rasas mosaic. In other words, since the Thalassa mosaic is chronologically placed between the mosaic examples on which the image of the personification occupies a small place, it cannot be said that it represents a development of size. Therefore, no statement can be made regarding the evolution of the size of personified figures on church mosaics over time, neither an increase in size nor the opposite could be observed on these selected examples.

A contextual study related to the geographical distribution of the mosaics revealed that there are no significant discrepancies between the represented personifications in Antioch and Daphne. The personifications Ananeosis, Ktisis, Ge, and Megalopsychia located in the houses of Antioch also occur in the houses of Daphne. The personification of the sea is represented with different identities, in Antioch it is Tethys and in Daphne it is Thalassa, who appears on the floors. Nonetheless, only in one of the cases, the building can be associated with water. Only the building at Antioch in which Tethys is depicted is a bath and corresponds to the meaning of the personification, whereas Thalassa is represented in a private house in Daphne. Whether this structure nevertheless had to do with maritime affairs requires more detailed research. It is however clear that the even distribution of personifications on the Orontes plain demonstrates the connectedness of both sites, not only in administrative and economic terms, but also from a socio-cultural perspective. For instance, Megalopsychia, who represents magnanimity and appears at both sites, was seemingly highly valued by the inhabitants of the Orontes region on mosaic floors. The fact that the natural force Ge, the embodiment of earth, is in total the most common personification – once in Antioch and twice in Daphne – is not

unexpected and is attributable to the already mentioned fertile soil of this region. In the case of Ananeosis, the personification of renewal, and Ktisis, the personification of foundation, there is a direct relation to the process of building which explains their frequent appearance on mosaic floors. Abstract concepts that could only be located in Antioch are Epicosmesis, Soteria, and Apolausis. Their absence in Daphne is probably related to the state of research. Therefore, based on the present situation, which constitutes a uniform distribution at both sites, it can be assumed that future excavations at Daphne may reveal mosaics of these personifications. For instance, Soteria, personification of health, and Apolausis, personification of enjoyment, are two examples which originate from a bath building in Antioch and if one attaches them to baths in general due to their meaning, then their absence in Daphne can be explained by the fact that no baths could be located there.

The search for parallels in other sites of the Eastern Mediterranean revealed that the images of the female personifications Epicosmesis, Megalopsychia, Soteria, and Tethys are limited only to the Orontes region. In the case of Tethys, it is documented that in the 6th century AD, Thalassa occupied its place on the floor mosaics (6.2.2 Chapter), which explains the absence of Tethys representations. For the other three personifications, further research is required regarding whether this is related to the state of research, or whether it is the extinction of their images during the 6th century AD. Since the image of Soteria come from a bath and those of Epicosmesis and Megalopsychia from a domestic context in Antioch, other baths and private houses in the Eastern Mediterranean need to be excavated to conclude that their representations on floor mosaics ended during the Late Antique period. This cannot yet be claimed, as there is insufficient evidence for bath buildings and private houses. However, what has become apparent regarding the representations in the churches is that in none of the five churches examined images of Soteria, Epicosmesis and Megalopsychia were discovered. Consequently, it seems that these abstract concepts found their place in the Late Antique civil domestic life, rather than in buildings of faith.

It can be said that the primary cause of the discrepancy in the number of the illustrated church mosaics between Antioch and other sites is due to the insufficient archaeological evidence from the Orontes region.¹¹⁷ During the excavations carried out in the 20th century, which were mainly devoted to the floor mosaics in secular buildings, only four churches were located and thoroughly explored. The churches whose archeological remains have been preserved are one

¹¹⁷ The knowledge of Christian sites of worship at Antioch and its vicinity from the 2nd to 7th centuries is mainly based on literary sources, see Mayer – Allen 2012, 11. 14-22. 123-125. Churches and monasteries in Antioch and the surrounding area mentioned in written sources are listed in Downey 1961a, excurses 17. Further information regarding this can be found in Brands 2016, 59.

structure in the lower town and another one in the upper town of Seleucia Pieria, as well as the Church at Kaoussie and the Church at Machouka, close to Antioch.¹¹⁸ It is therefore worth taking a closer look at these valuable finds. The church discovered in the lower city of Seleucia Pieria lies on the colonnaded street that led to the port. Its floor plan shows a main part in form of a double-shelled tetraconch and a rectangular wing that opens into an apse in the east. Parts of the mosaic paving from the ambulatory, depicting a procession of animals, have been preserved.¹¹⁹ The second church of Seleucia Pieria, located in the upper town, is a small three-aisled basilica. Its north aisle was adorned with a mosaic floor, the inscription of which dates the paving to the beginning of the 7th century.¹²⁰ The remaining places of worship at Antioch are two *extra muros* churches. The first is the Church at Machouka, which is situated in the northern *suburbium* of the city on the road to Aleppo. It is a three-aisled basilica with a *narthex* at the south-west end of the nave. Large parts of the church floor were decorated with mosaics that have been preserved in the northern aisle. Chronologically the church belongs to the first half of the 6th century.¹²¹ The second *extra muros* church is situated on the road to the village of Kaoussie in the northeastern plain of Antioch. The foundation of the church is cruciform with arms of equal size and a central body. A group of rooms and *porticoes* adjoins the eastern arm in the northern part, in which the baptistery is placed. Fragments of mosaic paving are preserved throughout the structure, including all four arms and the baptistery. The building has been identified as the church containing the remains of St. Babylas. Written sources and epigraphic references date the construction back to the 4th century.¹²² With regard to the decorative program of Antiochene churches, it should be emphasized that they provide floor mosaics, which are mainly composed of animals as well as vegetal and geometric ornaments. Even if the structures would fit into the timeframe of the present thesis, there was no evidence of personified abstractions on the pavements of Antioch's churches that could be taken into account. This phenomenon can also be observed in Cilician churches, in which the floors are predominantly decorated with flora and fauna or geometric patterns.¹²³ Therefore, according to current knowledge, Late Antique representations of female personifications in ecclesiastical buildings are not ascertainable in the territory of Antioch. Since the current state of research cannot be considered as a definitive result, further investigations are needed to determine the

¹¹⁸ Mayer – Allen 2012, 6 f., figs. 4-5; Brands 2016, 59.

¹¹⁹ Mayer – Allen 2012, 58-64, figs. 5. 79. 80-85. 100; Kleinbauer 2000, 217 f., fig. 1; Kondoleon 2000c, 218 f., fig. 1.

¹²⁰ Mayer – Allen 2012, 64-67.

¹²¹ Mayer – Allen 2012, 56-58, figs. 59-78; Levi 1971, 367-369, figs. 152-153, pls. 140 e; 141 a-d.

¹²² Mayer – Allen 2012, 32-51, figs. 7-57.

¹²³ Tülek 2004, 423. 430-436.

reasons why images of abstract concepts are completely absent in the churches of Antioch and its vicinity. The results of future excavations in this region may shed some light on this issue.

6.1.5 SUMMARY

The represented female personifications on the mosaic pavements of Antioch and Daphne dating back to the 5th and 6th centuries are Ananeosis, Apolausis, Epicosmesis, Ge, Ktisis, Megalopsychia, Soteria, Tethys, and Thalassa. The study of the find context of these personifications revealed that personifications appear in three different types of construction: private houses, baths, and churches. It is worth mentioning, however, that not every personification is represented in every type of building. In Antioch, eight mosaics could be located which belong to five private houses and two bath buildings. In the suburb Daphne, six mosaics were discovered in four private houses, while there is no evidence of bath buildings. Also, in the excavated church buildings in Antioch and its surroundings, which would fall into the research time, no female personifications could be proven. The closest parallels of the Antiochian personifications in ecclesiastical buildings are known from today's Libya and Jordan. A total of 12 representations of female personification represented in the Orontes region were discovered in seven churches, three private houses, and two bath buildings in other sites. In general, mosaics depicting personified abstract concepts are installed in bathhouses, in pools or in the *frigidarium* area, and in churches in the nave. In private houses, the floors of several rooms and corridors are decorated with representations of female personifications. While a multiple representation of a personification occurs in different buildings at one site, no repetition of a personification in one structure could be detected. Evidence for building inscriptions exists at Antioch in Bath F, which names the building as a public bath and places the dating of the Tethys mosaic before 537/538 AD. Another inscription was found on the Megalopsychia mosaic in the Yaktó Complex at Daphne, from which it is possible to infer the *magister militum per Orientem* Pribathon Ardaburius, who served in Antioch between 450 and 457 AD. Accordingly, the dating is considered as a *terminus post quem* for the mosaic. Furthermore, all representations found in churches can be dated based on the dedication inscriptions.

6.2 ICONOGRAPHY

6.2.1 THE IMAGE TYPE

The examined mosaic images in Antioch and its *suburb* Daphne show that in the 5th and 6th centuries female personifications were usually depicted as busts set in an ornamented square panel, called *emblema*, or inside medallions in a prominent place on the floor mosaic, commonly in the center. The decoration of the framing includes a wreath (*Fig. 5*), a linear framing (*Fig. 7; Fig. 17*), a meander (*Fig. 8*), a wave ornament (*Fig. 18; Fig. 20*), a guilloche band (*Fig. 11; Fig. 24*), a serrated saw-tooth pattern (*Fig. 13*), or, in the case of the representation of Ktisis in the House of Ge and the Seasons in Daphne (*Fig. 22*), an irregular octagon imitating a gold sheet with diamonds. The results clearly show that the image of the personification is mostly inserted into a geometric patterned floor mosaic and represent the only figurative depiction on the pavement.¹²⁴

Regarding the isolation of personified abstractions, it can be said that during the analysis it was possible to determine that some figures fall outside of this framework. An example for this is Ge accompanied by *karpoi* on the House of Aion mosaic (*Fig. 9*). The association of Ge with *karpoi* is attested in the Orontes region only by this mentioned find – no other parallels from Late Antiquity could be found neither in the nearby area nor in Daphne so far¹²⁵ – but the same pictural motif can indeed be observed on the nave mosaic of Priest John’s Upper Chapel from the same period in Wadi ‘Afrīt (*Fig. 32*).¹²⁶ Apart from this, two other counterparts of Ge from Daphne, excavated in the House of Ge and the Seasons (*Fig. 18*) and the House of Worcester Hunt (*Fig. 20*) illustrate the personification canonically singular inserted in a medallion with a similar wave patterned frame, which differ only in the orientation of the waves. While the waves of the border run clockwise on the Worcester mosaic, they run counterclockwise on the House of Ge and the Seasons mosaic. Returning to the appearance of Ge, it can be noted that on the mosaic of the House of Ge and the Seasons, the content of the image has been shortened compared to that in the House of Aion due to the omission of the *karpoi* carrying the *cornucopiae*, but here only the *cornucopia* remained, now held by the personification itself. Abundance, a fundamental characteristic of Ge, is normally symbolized on mosaics with the

¹²⁴ Leader-Newby 2005, 231 f.; Liebeschuetz 2015, 382; Talgam 2018, 107; Huskinson 2004, 144.

¹²⁵ A Roman pendant for the assemblage of these figures is found in Bath E, which dates to the 4th century AD, see Levi 1971, 263-277, pl. 62 b.

¹²⁶ A Roman representation of Ge together with *karpoi* dating to the 4th century AD exists in Bath E in Antioch, which can be found in Levi 1971, 260-269, pl. 62b; Campbell 1988, 7-11, cat. no. IV A 2b 1, pls. 9-11. A further description from Roman times of the personification with its companions is published in Dunbabin 1999, 168, fig. 174.

aid of the *cornucopia* carried by Ge or her companions, as illustrated above. Nonetheless, on the Worcester pavement, the mosaicist pictured abundance differently. The fruits that usually occur in the *cornucopia* have been placed here in the upheld hem of the personification and were additionally scattered over the rest of the floor, establishing a new representational convention. Even though the pictorial motif of the cloth filled with fruit was a new invention for the image of Ge in the Orontes region, it is a recurring motif on contemporaneous Ge mosaics in the Levant, making the Worcester mosaic not an isolated case. The closest parallels were found on mosaic floors of churches at Wadi ‘Afrīt (*Fig. 32*) and Beit-Jibrin (*Fig. 33*). In the former, the image of Ge bearing fruit in her hem was completed by two *karpoi* bringing baskets filled with fruit, reminiscent of the House of Aion mosaic (*Fig. 9*). On the Wadi ‘Afrīt mosaic, the *cornucopiae* are replaced by baskets, but the message of the representation is the same, emphasizing the abundance of Ge. It is interesting to note that in the Orontes region the motif of the cloth filled with fruit has already been proven for another personification from Roman times. The House of the Boat of Psyche, situated in Daphne from 3rd century AD, is decorated in Room 8 with a mosaic pavement depicting a banquet scene with Agros (field) and Opora (harvest) reclining, on the right Oinos (wine) is represented as an old servant bringing a drinking vessel to the couple (*Fig. 48*). Opora is shown in the familiar scheme with a pile of fruit that she carries in her upheld coat on her lap.¹²⁷ In the question concerning the origin of this motif, the Greek vase images of Opora were consulted. In the Classical period, Opora is usually shown as a young woman serving a bountiful plate to the banqueters (*Fig. 49-Fig. 50*).¹²⁸ The hem filled with fruit could not be proven as Opora’s attribute for the Greek period, rather the fruit plate instead. The mosaicist in Daphne from the Roman era, however, showed his creativity by depicting the personification with the freshly picked fruits in the hem of her mantle. Thus, the motif of harvest was transferred to the image of Ge in Late Antiquity, which was also repeated on the Barberini Diptych (*Fig. 51*).

Furthermore, mosaics with a rich figurative decoration can be found in the Yakto Complex. Starting with the Megalopsychia mosaic (*Fig. 25*), it is possible to observe a variety of figures in addition to the personification on the pavement. While hunters fight wild animals in the main field, on the topographic border of the mosaic, several inhabitants are shown in front of the monuments. Despite the abundance of figures, Megalopsychia is obviously the protagonist on the pavement. This is well illustrated by her image inside a medallion, its central position on

¹²⁷ Stillwell 1938, 3, pl. 40; Levi 1971, 186-190, pl. 42 a. b; Cimok 2000, 170 f.; LIMC VII (1994) 57, no. 5, s.v. Opora (H. C. Ackermann). The actual meaning of Opora is the “ripened fruit”, which signifies the harvest, see Smith 2011, 77; LIMC VII (1994) 55 f. (H. C. Ackermann).

¹²⁸ Smith 2011, 80, figs. 5, 10, 7, 2; LIMC VII (1994) 55-58, nos. 1. 3. 7-8, pls. 44-45, s.v. Opora (H. C. Ackermann).

the pavement and the orientation of Megalopsychia towards the viewer. On the floor mosaic of the adjacent room, also Thalassa (*Fig. 26-Fig. 27*) appears in combination with a group of figures. She is surrounded by dolphin riding *putti* and young fishermen. It is striking that the standardized scheme of an *emblema* or a medallion is completely absent on this representation. Instead, it was decided to have the maritime world as a frame for the personification, extending around all sides of the pavement. Thalassa, the main figure of the mosaic, is emphasized by her size and central position on the pavement. Unlike Megalopsychia, Thalassa is more involved in the event, swimming in the sea, but her frontal appearance – rather than looking in the direction she is swimming – resembles the busts set in a framing, which is why the personification draws the viewer's attention first rather than the secondary figures on the pavement. Furthermore, Thalassa is fully equipped with her attributes (claws, rudder, and Cetus), which additionally illustrates her power in the picture. Just as Megalopsychia was depicted in the adjacent room, Thalassa could be portrayed in an *emblema* or inside a medallion and then placed in the center of a floor decorated with sea creatures, which was a form of presentation that was known at the time. However, the mosaicist deliberately chose a particular composition for the pavement of Room B. Thus, the Thalassa mosaic is considered a fundamental find for the diversity of representation forms in Antioch and its vicinity. Even though the only surviving Thalassa mosaic from the Orontes region is not set into an *emblema* or medallion, this convention is well attested in the 6th century churches of the southern Levant (*Fig. 44; Fig. 47*). Another example for nature being used as a frame in this sense is illustrated on the Tethys mosaic found in Bath F at Antioch (*Fig. 15*). No ornamented border can be seen around the personification, but the octagonal ground plan of the pool reminds of a medallion, which is why the center of the pavement was an ideal place for the image of the personification. Against a white background, Tethys is shown frontally in the sea and the water is indicated by a narrow shading below her chest. The composition is completed by marine animals, which are not illustrated below the surface of the sea, that is, underneath Tethys, but are swimming around her, forming a frame that imitates the busts set in medallions. Even her posture towards the viewer with her eyes wide open is very similar to them.

The investigated mosaics exemplify that a framing in the form of an *emblema* or a medallion was prevalently used for female personifications on Late Antique floors of Antioch and its vicinity. In this way, the prominent visualization of personifications could be achieved on the pavements. Some exceptions show that even in the absence of a geometric border around the figure, some sort of edging was provided on each mosaic to highlight the personification as the main figure of the mosaic. This phenomenon is consistent with Tülek's observation that a

reduced composition with a main figure as a bust image in the foreground of the pavement is a Late Antique custom. Even the development of the images from three-quarter-view to a frontal view, which she noted earlier, can also be seen in the Antiochian representations.¹²⁹ As illustrated above, a schematic border can be replaced by a framing influenced by nature, for instance, the maritime world, as shown in the cases of Tethys and Thalassa. Another common trend throughout the Levant during the 6th century AD was the “inhabited scroll pattern”¹³⁰ consisting of medallions formed with acanthus or vine branches, as attested for Ge on the nave mosaic of Priest John’s Upper Chapel at Wadi ‘Afrīt (*Fig. 32*). A certain emphasis on the mosaic image could also be achieved by using the colors of the *tesserae* differently, as it was the case on the Ge mosaic in the House of Aion (*Fig. 9*). Furthermore, the idea of multiple borders around the figural panel is a Hellenistic tradition, as Kondoleon rightly notes.¹³¹

6.2.2 RECOGNITION OF PERSONIFICATIONS

Further analysis revealed that the descriptions were usually accompanied by a legend naming the personification depicted. A total of 14 representations from Antioch and the surrounding area were examined, including eleven mosaic images with Greek inscriptions and two representations without inscriptions. The writing mainly appears in a single line behind the personification, interrupted by the figure’s head. The representation of Tethys in Bath F (*Fig. 15*) is the only case in which the inscription is positioned in two lines to the left of the personification. In the following, the focus will be on the representations that do not have any labels, namely the haloed figure in the House of Ge and the Seasons (*Fig. 52*) and the mosaic in Room B of the Yakto Complex (*Fig. 26*). First, the latter representation will be analyzed. In the scientific literature, there seem to be different interpretations for the depicted maritime figure. Although Levi and Cimok named the figure Tethys in their studies,¹³² Eraslan and Wages correctly state in their papers¹³³ that the figure on the Yakto mosaic embodies Thalassa, the Late Antique successor of Tethys. The lobster claws on the forehead of the figure on the

¹²⁹ Tülek 2011, 926.

¹³⁰ For a detailed review on this topic see Hachlili 2009, 111-147.

¹³¹ Kondoleon additionally argues that the mosaics from Apamea, Shahba-Philoppopolis and Palmyra differ in style from the Antiochian ones and show more traditional elements, see Kondoleon 2000b, 64 f. Since the style of the mosaics and the related question of the workshop are not addressed in the present thesis, for this one can refer to the following studies Levi 1971, 373-624; Dunbabin 1989, 314; Brands 2002, 131; Brands 2016, 64-68; Kitzinger 1965, 342 f. 346 f.

¹³² Levi 1971, 323-345; Cimok 2000, 248-250.

¹³³ Eraslan 2015a; Eraslan 2015b; Wages 1986.

Yakto mosaic are attributes of Okeanus¹³⁴, which, according to the scholars' research, were adopted from her in the second half of the 4th century AD. In addition to the lobster claws, Thalassa appears on the mosaic with Cetus embracing her torso and a rudder in her right hand. It is noteworthy that these attributes are not Late Antique features of Thalassa but were already used by Tethys in the 3rd century AD.¹³⁵ This interpretation of the figure as Thalassa is in complete agreement with the results of Campbell and Friedman, who also see Thalassa in the representation.¹³⁶ Due to previous fundamental iconographic analysis, it is indeed possible to identify Thalassa on the pavement of Room B at Daphne, despite the absence of an inscription. Thalassa thus has certain attributes that belong to her identity. As a result, further images of the personification, in which she is equipped with these attributes, can also easily be assigned to her in the future. However, it becomes problematic when only rudder and Cetus occur, which could also refer to Tethys. In this context, the headdress of the personification – wings stand for Tethys and lobster claws for Thalassa – seems to be the decisive factor for the identification. The recognition of unlabeled figures depicted on Antiochian floor mosaics can be analyzed in the portrait of the nimbed woman in Room 3 of the House of Ge and the Seasons (*Fig. 52*). Several scholars have attempted to define the representation, but there is still no accepted interpretation to date. The mosaic pavement, unearthed by the excavations committee of the Princeton University, was published by Stillwell in 1938. In the excavation report, the figure is mentioned as a “female with nimbus”.¹³⁷ The representation was also considered by Levi when he composed his catalogue of Antioch's mosaic pavements. Levi describes the figure as follows: “The bust in Room 3 presents a fine female countenance, unfortunately much damaged in the upper part. It was undoubtedly a personification, but was not inscribed. Unlike other personifications, her supernatural or divine quality is stressed by a greyish-white nimbus, against which the head stands out in full view.”¹³⁸ According to his assumption, the figure embodies a personification with divine power, probably because of the *nimbus*. A further source for this representation is Cimok, identifying the figure as being Ktisis, without providing a reason why he came to this hypothesis.¹³⁹ Further studies on this issue are therefore required in order to validate the statements put forward so far. For this, representations of nimbed women

¹³⁴ The mosaic in the House of Menander at Antioch dating to the 3rd century AD shows Okeanus with lobster claws on his head, see Eraslan 2015a, fig. 3. A similar mosaic of Okeanus with lobster claws from the same period originates from Zeugma, see Eraslan 2015a, fig. 4.

¹³⁵ For a representation of Tethys from the Roman period carrying the rudder see Eraslan 2015a, fig. 6. Mosaic images of Tethys with Cetus can be found in Eraslan 2015a, fig. 4; Levi 1971, 167-169. 186, pls. 35 a; 39 b. For depictions of Tethys with rudder and Cetus see Eraslan 2015b, figs. 7-8.

¹³⁶ Campbell 1934, 202, fig. 2; Friedman 2018, 63-77.

¹³⁷ Stillwell 1938, 194, no. 80, pl. 58.

¹³⁸ Levi 1971, 347.

¹³⁹ Cimok 2000, 282.

must first be considered. The *nimbus* manifested itself in Late Antique pictorial art as an attribute of holy or sanctified figures. This raises many questions about the identity of the represented figure. Does the woman embody a personification at all? Evidence of personified abstractions with *nimbus* actually exists from Late Antique time. For instance, a mosaic pavement depicting nimbed seasons from the 6th century AD originates from Syria (*Fig. 53-Fig. 54*).¹⁴⁰ The figures on the mosaic are determined as the seasons due to their attributes and their fragmented but recognizable inscriptions. Similar to the Antiochian figures, they are portrayed as busts within an *emblema* that is inserted in a geometrically patterned floor. Returning to Cimok's assumption, even an inscribed representation of Ktisis with a *nimbus* has been preserved in Awzai, Lebanon (*Fig. 55*).¹⁴¹ Ktisis appears on the Awzai mosaic dating to the 5th and 6th centuries AD in the already familiar *emblama* scheme, but unusually with a martial character holding a spear in her right hand. As can be seen, some finds prove the *nimbus* for personifications and even for Ktisis. However, considering the find context of the haloed woman mosaic, other images of inscribed personifications are present in the remaining rooms of the house. While the larger room is decorated with Ge in the middle of the four seasons, the pavement of the smaller room depicts Ktisis (*Fig. 18; Fig. 22-Fig. 23*). Since both pavements bear inscriptions, doubts remain as to why the woman with the halo in Room 3 is not inscribed. Observations on the composition of the pictorial themes in Antiochian buildings reveal, however, that the personifications are not repetitive in the houses in which they occur. There are in fact personified abstractions represented several times in this region, but in different buildings, such as Ge in three different structures and Ktisis in two different complexes (*Table 1*). The floors of the individual rooms of the examined Antiochian houses are adorned with pictorial themes that differ from each other. After considering this fact, one cannot assume any more that Ktisis appears in two adjacent rooms, especially not with such strongly differing conventions. For this reason, Cimok's hypothesis that there is another Ktisis representation in Room 3 is no longer credible. With regard to the question whether this image is generally a personification, it should be said that, although there is evidence of nimbed personifications in the Levant, this matter should be examined on a site-specific basis. On the mosaic floors at the Orontes, no personification with a halo was found. This suggests that, it was not a common attribute for the Antiochian personifications, and thus the figure with halo in Room 3 is a unique discovery in this region and should therefore be treated differently from the other personified female abstractions. For the purpose of presenting a comprehensive study, a more applicable

¹⁴⁰ Kiilerich 1998, 22-36, figs. 1-2.

¹⁴¹ Blas de Roblès et al. 2004, 64.

interpretation for the haloed figure will be presented here, which has not been mentioned before. In other regions mosaic images of women with halo represent benefactresses. Although such image from the Orontes plain is not known, the depiction of a donor from Wadi ‘Afrīt dating to the 6th century AD (*Fig. 56*)¹⁴² can be used as an analogy here. The bust of the woman appears in the same way as the figure from Antioch: frontal and richly adorned with jewelry and a *nimbus*. The similarity of the image type is apparent, and therefore, it can be argued that the figure in Room 3 embodies a benefactress. She would thus be the only one in Antioch who also stands out from the other figures because of her unique way of portrayal with a *nimbus*. The postulation appears to be substantiated by the mosaic in Room 4, which depicts Ktisis, the personification of the foundation, so it seems likely that even the woman in Room 3 represents someone who contributed to the construction of the house, namely the benefactress herself.

Nevertheless, the haloed figure shows that an identification of the depicted figure is problematic without a specific attribute or label. But does this also apply to the other representations examined? Even though the remaining descriptions are all inscribed, they will also undergo an iconographic analysis to determine whether the women would be recognizable without their inscriptions. Reviewing the figures, indeed, some personifications with specific attributes and standardized conventions emerged. These are Ge (earth), Ktisis (foundation) and the maritime personifications Tethys and Thalassa (both representing the sea). Features of Ge that contribute to recognition are fruits – whether as headdress, in the *cornucopia* or in the hem of her mantle – and the *karpoi*. All three representations of Ge preserved from the Orontes plain (*Fig. 9; Fig. 18; Fig. 20*) are identifiable based on these pictorial elements even in the absence of an inscription. Also, parallels from other sites provide the same representation convention for the personification. In the case of Ktisis, the measuring rod is her attribute in visual art.¹⁴³ Among the two mosaic images of Ktisis, she is only shown with her measuring tool in the House of Ktisis (*Fig. 11*). As the closest analogies of this representation mosaic pavements from Kourion (*Fig. 40*), Edessa (*Fig. 41*), and a further example with uncertain origin (*Fig. 43*) in which the measuring stick recurs, can be cited here. Her second portrait in the House of Ge and the Seasons (*Fig. 22*), however, has no specific indications that would facilitate her identification. She appears as a finely dressed woman with a golden headdress, who could embody any other Antiochian personification in this way. Regarding Tethys and Thalassa, it should be noted that these figures differ significantly from all other Antiochian personifications. Apart from their

¹⁴² Nassar 2016, 95, fig. 2; Piccirillo 1993, 167, fig. 217. 175, figs. 230. 233; Piccirillo 1989, 190.

¹⁴³ Tülek 2011, 923; Leader-Newby 2005, 240.

attributes already discussed,¹⁴⁴ in most cases the maritime scene, in which they are visualized, reveals their identity as personifications of the sea. Thus, the determination of their image does not depend on the inscription, unless they are very fragmentary.

As Tülek has already noticed, not all personifications on Antioch's floor mosaics show specific attributes. To be more precise, these are Ananeosis (renewal), Epicosmesis (celebration), and Soteria (health) appearing on the floors without attributes (*Fig. 5; Fig. 8; Fig. 13*).¹⁴⁵ The only feature these women have in common is that they wear a variety of elaborate jewelry, such as diadems, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and ornate collars.¹⁴⁶ Regarding the distribution of the images of these abstract ideas, it should be mentioned that Ananeosis is depicted on mosaic pavements two more times. The first parallel comes from nearby, namely from Daphne, which was found in 2005 during a rescue excavation of the Hatay Archaeology Museum and is included in the catalogue (*Fig. 17*). The second representation of Ananeosis decorates the nave pavement of the East Church in Qasr-el-Lebia, dating to the 6th century AD (*Fig. 29*).¹⁴⁷ When considering these, one can observe that no attribute that could be explicitly associated with the personification is repeated in the images. While the personification in Antioch appears without items in her hands, Ananeosis from Daphne is represented with a peacock feather and in the East Church of Qasr-el-Lebia, she is shown in the same way as a bejeweled lady but holding her right hand up in a gesture and with a basket in the foreground. According to Alföldi-Rosenbaum and Ward-Perkins, the contents of the basket represent fruit, while Stucchi sees the contents as bread.¹⁴⁸ However, due to the oval and identical shape of all pieces, it seems that the basket is filled with loaves. Does that mean that the bread basket can be considered as the attribute of the personification? On this pavement, the bread basket is added to the image of Ananeosis, but nevertheless, caution must be applied when naming it as the attribute of the personification. Indeed, it is recalled that the decorative program of the mosaic is devoted to the Christian life,¹⁴⁹ whereby the “bread of life” – a repetitive symbol in the Christian iconography – could not be absent on this mosaic and Ananeosis (renewal) appears here as the one holding it. What is meant here is a constellation of Christian symbols and metaphors assembled on an ecclesiastical mosaic, without confirming that Ananeosis must occur in every

¹⁴⁴ See Page 40.

¹⁴⁵ Tülek 2011, 923.

¹⁴⁶ For a detailed review on the jewelry pictured on Antioch's floor mosaics, see Pedone 2012.

¹⁴⁷ Maguire 1987, 44-48; Maguire 2012, 32 f., fig. 1, 15; Cowell 2014, 85-96; Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980, 122, fig. 10. 124, no. B.3, pl. 5, 3; Stucchi 1975, 402, fig. 404.

¹⁴⁸ See for the interpretation of the content Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980, 124, no. B.3; Stucchi 1975, 402; Maguire 2012, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Cowell 2014, 91.

context with the bread basket. In short, the bread basket here is part of an allegorical concept¹⁵⁰ rather than being a convention for the image of the personification. The same applies to the representation of Ktisis on the same pavement (*Fig. 39*). The figure appears in the church with her head covered and no longer carries her usual attribute, the measuring rod, but a wreath and a branch. The religious character of the personification is iconographically emphasized.¹⁵¹ However, just as the mosaic of Qasr-el-Lebia could not contribute to the iconography of Ananeosis, neither can the mosaic from Daphne. Due to insufficient evidence, the feather cannot be determined as her attribute either.

The Antiochian representations of Epicosmesis and Soteria (*Fig. 8; Fig. 13*) are further examples where no peculiarities could be determined that could possibly suggest a canon for their appearance on mosaic pavements. The fact that no other depictions of these women were found on mosaics during the investigation, which would allow a comprehensive study of their iconography, complicates the matter even more. These are the only representations of them explored so far. At this point, it can be concluded that Ananeosis, Epicosmesis, and Soteria were not identifiable without their designations, since in terms of adornment and costume, they bear a strong resemblance to other personifications depicted in Antiochian buildings and as already demonstrated, they do not possess any testified attributes.

Other female personifications holding items on the mosaics of Antioch, the meaning of which is not so clear, are Apolausis (enjoyment) and Megalopsychia (magnanimity). Their relation to the objects in their hands has not been addressed in the scientific literature, thus, it is discussed below. Beginning with Apolausis, it can be said that she appears as a young woman holding a flower in her right hand on the pavement of the apsidal room of a bath in Antioch (*Fig. 7*). The personification is named on two other mosaic pavements in addition to the one in Antioch. On a mosaic in Hagios Taxiarchis dating to the 6th century AD (*Fig. 30*), the bust of the personification is shown within a wreath of flowers. Decisive iconographic similarities – except that they are female busts – cannot be determined on both mosaics. Since the investigation is devoted to the objects held by the personifications, it should be emphasized that the flower in the hand of Apolausis from Antioch does not appear on the pavement in Hagios Taxiarchis. Nonetheless, an association with flowers is given on the latter representation by the wreath that frames the bust of the personification. Yet, doubts remain whether flowers are a characteristic for Apolausis. Regarding this, a third mosaic of Apolausis from the 6th century AD (*Fig. 57*),

¹⁵⁰ Maguire 2012, 32; Maguire 1987, 46-48.

¹⁵¹ Maguire 2012, 32; Cowell 2014, 91.

with unknown origin, should be mentioned here.¹⁵² It is a full-body representation of Apolausis sitting next to Ploutos (wealth) on a bench. Both figures bear inscriptions above their heads, which facilitated their identification. The mosaic shows Apolausis resting her left hand on Ploutos left shoulder. She is dressed in a long tunic with short sleeves and is wearing jewelry. In fact, this representation of Apolausis is also adorned with flowers, which appear as crowns on the heads of the figures. The three mosaic images confirm that flowers recur in various ways – whether in her hand, as a headdress, or as a framing – on Apolausis’ mosaics. This observation can be compared with fruits, which are repetitive on Ge’s mosaics.¹⁵³ Additionally, it must be remarked that no other personification occurs with flowers in Antioch. She is the only one who holds a flower in her hand. Perhaps the flower carries a symbolic meaning, emphasizing the value of the personification. A possibility would be the good smell of the flower that gives pleasure. This would give a contextual meaning to the representation. Considering this idea and the reappearance of flowers on other mosaics of Apolausis, it seems that flowers were intended for Apolausis, just as fruits were intended for Ge. Moreover, the Apolausis-Ploutos mosaic is a fundamental discovery because of several reasons. On the one hand, it contributes to the understanding of the custom of depicting Apolausis on mosaic pavements and on the other hand, it is the only example of a whole-body representation of her. In contrast to the *emblema*-type represented in Antioch, the personification is not isolated within a medallion but is integrated into a multi-figured composition. Accordingly, the mosaic testifies a change in convention. How can this phenomenon be explained? A diachronic development of the image type can be ruled out, since the dating of the full-body representation, as that of the mosaic from Hagios Taxiarchis, which shows Apolausis in an *emblema*, belongs to the 6th century AD. The depiction of the seated Apolausis next to Ploutos is probably due to the preference of the individual who commissioned this mosaic.¹⁵⁴ The question of how often this scheme of the personification is used on mosaic pavements must remain unanswered due to the lack of analogies. Referring back to the question of recognition, it can be said that a clear identification of Apolausis on the mosaics of Antioch and Hagios Taxiarchis is conceivable by the find context – both representations were found in bath complexes – which is more promising than the iconography of the personification. It is not surprising that the personification of pleasure and enjoyment often appears in baths. Who could better represent the aspect of bathing on

¹⁵² Brody 2014,12; Kondoleon 2009, 216-222, pl. 23; Sotheby’s, object number 66, <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2005/antiquities-n08104/lot.66.html>> (04.01.2022).

¹⁵³ See Page 43.

¹⁵⁴ Kondoleon notes that the composition resembles the Hellenistic formula of dining couples, which was known from funerary monuments and Roman domestic wall paintings and may have been imitated with this representation, see Kondoleon 2009, 220.

mosaic pavements? To summarize, on different representations of Apolausis, a connection to flowers could be determined. Nevertheless, since the flower does not appear in her hand on the comparative examples as it does on the Antioch mosaic, one needs to remain cautious when interpreting it as her attribute. When flowers occur, however, they can be considered a familiar element of her image. As indicated before, uninscribed images of female personifications found in baths should primarily be associated with Apolausis, firstly, because of the previous find context, which attests her depictions only in baths, and secondly, because of the connotation of the term *απολαυσίς* with bathing culture in written sources.¹⁵⁵ These aspects also apply to Soteria, which is why she could also be considered in the interpretation of an unlabeled female bust found in a bathhouse.¹⁵⁶

The final personification from the Orontes region that remains to be studied is Megalopsychia. She appears on the Yakto mosaic pavement (*Fig. 24*) slightly turned to the left and showing gold coins in her palm. Further, she is holding a container full of gold coins with her left hand. On the contrary, Downey interprets the content of the container as flowers, and he claims that she holds a rose in her right hand.¹⁵⁷ Even though the small pile of coins in her palm corresponds to the shape of a rose blossom, the focus of the iconographic analysis should be on the other side of the depiction, namely on the contents of the container. As indicated by the small size, the spherical shape, and the bright golden color of the objects, they can only represent coins. From this, it can be concluded that some of the coins are obviously depicted in her right hand and the hypothesis with the rose blossom can thus be falsified. As Raeck pointed out, this is the *sporta*, a money container.¹⁵⁸ Accordingly, the question arises whether the *sporta* can be understood as an attribute of Megalopsychia. In this regard, one can refer to Tülek's description, which reads as follows: "Megalopsychia in Antioch does not have any attribute except her gesture raising right hand with coins in her palm."¹⁵⁹ Indeed, as quoted, the money container was not perceived as her attribute by Tülek. This issue deserves an explanation. To be able to ensure an attribute, two conditions should be met. First, the relation between the depicted figure and its attribute must make sense, and second, the attribute must recur in several descriptions of the figure. In the case of the Megalopsychia mosaic, both are fulfilled. Megalopsychia embodies magnanimity, which is emphasized by the appearance of coins in the image. Her raised hand with coins in the palm is to be understood as a gesture for the distribution of coins.

¹⁵⁵ Lib. or. 11.134.

¹⁵⁶ Huskinson 2004, 144.

¹⁵⁷ Downey 1938, 356; Downey 1941, 368.

¹⁵⁸ *Sportae* are also documented on consular diptychs and coins, expressing the generosity of the ruler, see Raeck 1992, 143; Levi 1971, 339 f. See also Kondoleon 2009, 220 f.

¹⁵⁹ Tülek 2011, 923.

Generosity, one of Megalopsychia's values, is represented by the coins on the mosaic and thus, the composition is in this sense comprehensible and may visualize the attribute of the personification. Nonetheless, it still needs to be investigated whether this convention is repeated on other mosaic pavements. The present analysis did not reveal any other representation of Megalopsychia on Late Antique floor mosaics but in the illuminated manuscript *Vienna Dioscurides*, which was created around 512 AD for the byzantine imperial princess Anicia Juliana (Fig. 58). The dedication miniature shows Anicia Juliana sitting on a throne in the center. She can be seen scattering gold coins with her right hand and in her left hand she is holding a codicillary diptych, a sign of rank or learning. She is flanked by two personifications. Inscriptions identify the figure on the left as Megalopsychia and the one on the right as Phronesis (prudence). A third personification kneeling at the feet of Anicia Juliana is designated as [Eu]cha[r]listia [ton] technon (gratitude of the arts).¹⁶⁰ In addition, the following dedication inscription runs along the edge of the central panel:

IOY ΔΟΞΑΙCΙ[N ANACCA?]
 [ON]ΩPAT[AI C'] A[ΓA]Θ[AI]C Π[A]C[AIC]
 YMNOYCIN K[AI] ΔO[EAZOYCIN]
 ΛΑΛΙCΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΙC ΠΑCΑ[N] ΓΗΝ
 [I]HC'H ΜΕΓΑΛΟ[Ψ]ΥΧΙΑ
 ΑΝΙΚΗΩΡΩΝ ΓΕΝΟ[C] ΠΕΛΕΙC
 ΝΑΟΝ [ΔΕ] Κ[ΥΡ]ΙΟΥ ΗΓΙΡΑC
 ΑΝΩ [ΠΡΟΕΚΒ]ΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΩC

The translation reads as follows: "Hail, oh princess, Honoratae extols and glorifies you with all fine praises; for Magnanimity (Megalopsychia) allows you to be mentioned over the entire world. You belong to the family of the Anicii, and you have built a temple of the Lord, raised high and beautiful."¹⁶¹

Even though several personifications appear in the illustration, only Megalopsychia is mentioned as a virtue of Anicia Juliana in the inscription. Praise is given to the princess' magnanimity, which is celebrated with Megalopsychia both in image and in writing.¹⁶² It is

¹⁶⁰ LIMC VI (1992) 402, no. 2, pl. 204, s.v. Megalopsychia (H. C. Ackermann); Weitzmann 1977, 61, cat. no. 15; Kiilerich 2001, 169-172, fig. 1; Raeck 1992, 143; Levi 1971, 339.

¹⁶¹ Kiilerich 2001, 171; Spatharakis 1976, 147; Premerstein 1903, 111.

¹⁶² Kiilerich 2001, 178-181; Raeck 1992, 143.

interesting to observe that the adornments and costume of the personifications on the sides of the princess correspond to those of the mosaics in Antioch. They are dressed in long-sleeved tunics with a mantle thrown over and are crowned with golden diadems, as most of the Antiochian personifications. Here, the image of Megalopsychia was conceived with coins as well. Yet, she is not to be considered as an autonomous figure as in the mosaic. In the *Vienna Dioscurides* her value particularly reaches its peak through the connection with the central figure. Megalopsychia reinforces the magnanimity of the princess by her presence. She carries the pile of coins distributed by the princess in her coat and the composition is thus an allusion to Anicia Juliana's donation of a church, as inferred from the inscription. To summarize, the argued characteristics of an attribute, namely meaningfulness and recurrence, could be proven for the sporta on the Megalopsychia mosaic. While this pictorial element emphasizes the quality of the personification, it also recurs in other representations of her, even on a different medium. This iconographic analysis enables to define coins as an attribute of Megalopsychia. Thus, the opposite of Tülek's claim that Megalopsychia appears on the Yakto mosaic without an attribute can be proven.

Searching for references for the identification of Antiochian personifications on mosaics, the results are consistent with previous studies and show that many of the personifications follow Greek conventions by being dressed in tunics and mantle.¹⁶³ In addition to their clothing, also the women's hair does not have any peculiarities and is similarly coiffed. Since neither their garments nor their hair was individualized, it is not possible to distinguish them from each other on the basis of these elements and therefore, the representations were examined for attributes that could possibly contribute to the identification of the figures. A systematic approach of the figures – whether with or without inscriptions – revealed that the personifications Ge, Ktisis, Tethys, and Thalassa are depicted according to a certain canon and are equipped with characterizing attributes. Based on this realization, an unscribed description of Thalassa in the Yakto Complex could be identified by means of her ensured attributes. Moreover, it was possible to obtain satisfactory evidence to substantiate uncertain objects as attributes of some personifications, such as the basket filled with golden coins in the hand of Megalopsychia. A similar representational scheme is found in the manuscript *Vienna Dioscurides*, in which Megalopsychia embodies the magnanimity of Anicia Juliana by sitting next to her with a pile of gold coins in her arms. Furthermore, a certain repetitive element on the mosaics representing Apolausis could be determined. An association of the personification with flowers could be observed in the course of the comparative study and was equated with the combination of Ge

¹⁶³ Leader-Newby 2005, 232 f.; Osbourne 2015, 123; Kondoleon 2000b, 63.

with fruits on mosaic pavements. Regarding the attributes, however, it must be emphasized that in one case an item intended for an individual personification suddenly occurs in the hand of another figure. More precisely, it is the mosaic excavated in Daphne representing the inscribed bust of Megalopsychia (*Fig. 12*) holding in her hands the measuring rod, which has already been proven on several mosaic pavements as an attribute of Ktisis. Despite the adoption of a foreign attribute, the representation does not lose its meaningfulness. As depicted on the dedication miniature portrait of Anicia Juliana, magnanimity is deployed in the context of foundations, which is in turn embodied by Ktisis. This shows that despite an unusual attribute, the composition of the mosaic image did not emerge randomly, but actually represents an elaborate concept. The act of founding, symbolized by Ktisis' measuring stick, and the magnanimity of the founder, personified by Megalopsychia,¹⁶⁴ are united in one image. Even though some female personifications from the Orontes plain appear without uniform convention and attributes, such as Ananeosis, Epicosmesis, and Soteria, it cannot be maintained that female personifications on Antiochian mosaics were not characterized in Late Antiquity.

A further discussion subject relates to the function of inscriptions on Late Antique mosaics. Several researchers have expressed doubts about the *paideia* of Late Antique inhabitants and see the constant presence of labels as a necessity for the recognition of the depicted figures in this period. Raeck asserts that the Late Antique viewer could only understand the representations from the inscriptions, since according to him, at that time, Greek conventions and iconography fell into oblivion. As mentioned by Leader-Newby, Raeck's assumption is questionable. In contrast, Leader-Newby introduces two more possibilities. According to her, the inscriptions may have been influenced by dramatic performances in theaters. She considers the possibility that placards, which may have been used for the announcement of the characters on the stages or carried with statues in processions, probably have advanced the labelling of mosaic representations, but she fails to provide adequate proof of this finding. The author of this thesis is in agreement with Leader-Newby's second hypothesis, namely that the *paideia* of the Late Antique elite is indeed attested by the abstractions on the floors of Antioch's houses. In this context, she rightly follows Downey's well-grounded hypothesis that the Antiochian personifications reflect contemporary values and ideals. Leader-Newby emphasizes that the application of labels on floor mosaics did not develop abruptly, but rather has been proven since the 3rd century AD.¹⁶⁵ Thus, the commonness of inscriptions on mosaics should not be attributed

¹⁶⁴ Aristotle stressed Megalopsychia as the highest virtue, see Aristot. eth. Nic. 1124a. Kiilerich 2001, 178.

¹⁶⁵ Leader-Newby 2005, 235-238. 241. The necessity of labels for the identification of personified figures is discussed in: Raeck 1992, 139. 160 f. Kondoleon believes that the inscriptions were applied as a distinguishing feature, since the busts are very similar, see Kondoleon 2000b, 64. For Downey's fundamental approach on this

to the decline of philosophical knowledge in Late Antiquity, but should be seen as varied preference for pictorial art. The majority of the examined mosaic images demonstrate the familiar scheme of a representation with an inscription occurring horizontally at the level of the head of the personified figure. As can be seen from the catalogue, this is a pictorial type that has been proven in wide regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, and thus represents a trend that was reproduced and applied to buildings with sacred and profane functions.¹⁶⁶

6.2.3 THE RELATION OF ABSTRACT CONCEPTS TO OTHER FIGURES

It will be discussed below how the images of abstract concepts relate to the depictions of humans on mosaics. Since the mosaics from the houses and baths in Antioch depict the personifications as a single image, this issue can be best examined on the church mosaics from the Levant, which offer multi-figured compositions. For instance, the nave mosaic of the Upper Chapel of Priest John at Wadi ‘Afrīt dating to 565 AD (*Fig. 31*) provides depictions of living women in addition to the image of Ge.¹⁶⁷ While Ge is inserted into the acanthus-scroll-patterned main panel, the bust of a possible benefactress (*Fig. 56*) is depicted in the meander border of the pavement. Here, Ge is shown in the well-known convention with the coat filled with fruits accompanied by the *karpoi*. The benefactress appears frontally with a halo and looks directly at the viewer, emphasizing her significance on the mosaic. She is dressed nobly in a tunic and a mantle pinned together with an ornamented brooch on her chest and is adorned with a luxurious diadem, pendant earrings, and a necklace. Ge occupies the central position on the mosaic, whereas the benefactress is pushed to the edge. A distinction between the two women is possible, on the one hand, through the determined iconography of Ge and, on the other hand, through the inscriptions on the mosaic. Beside the designation Γ/H on the image of the personification, a dedication inscription mentions the donors of the church with which the image of the haloed woman on the border is associated. As determined in this case study, when a living woman is depicted together with anthropomorphic abstractions, the living woman, i.e., the benefactress, is iconographically differentiated from the personification on this mosaic, despite the lack of characteristic facial features. Firstly, only the donor is nimbed on this mosaic, and secondly, her portrayal is inserted into another part of the mosaic, with the separation of the images thus creating a contextual distinction.

issue see Downey 1938, 349 f. 360. 362. Tülek’s observations are also consistent with Downey’s results, see Tülek 2011, 923.

¹⁶⁶ Kondoleon 2000b, 64.

¹⁶⁷ Nassar 2016, 95, fig. 2; Piccirillo 1993, 167, fig. 217. 175, figs. 230. 233; Piccirillo 1989, 190.

Ge and the benefactress are clearly more prominent than the third female figure on the mosaic. She appears two rows below Ge within the middle acanthus scroll (*Fig. 59*).¹⁶⁸ This is a whole-figure representation of a veiled woman turned slightly to the left, who carries a fruit basket over her left shoulder. In her outstretched right hand, she holds a knife. She is dressed in a sleeveless tunic and a coat that is pulled over her head. Her arms are adorned with bracelets and her clothing and jewelry are pictured in the same detail as that of Ge. The only difference is that the woman has pulled the coat over her head. Her role and function in this composition can be seen in the image type, which is closest to those of the *karpoi*. The young men hand over the offering to Ge, while the woman with the fruit basket and the knife in her hand is obviously responsible for picking fruit. She embodies a farm worker in the process of harvesting. Her head is covered to protect it from the sun and her hair from any dirt that may occur during field work, just as rural women today cover their heads with scarves. The figure embodies a simple worker and is another representation of a human being on this mosaic, along with the benefactress. Despite similarities in terms of the identical facial features of the women and their garment, there are indeed iconographic elements that clarify the rank of the women depicted. The frontal emergence of Ge from the center of the mosaic pavement spreads her effect and demonstrates that she is the source of the agricultural activities that take place around her on the mosaic. Her power is visualized by the majestic crown together with the fruits that adorn her head and some that lie in her hem. It is conveyed here that Ge is the actual force that generates and nourishes. In this composition the inscription Γ/H served not primarily to identify her, but to increase her significance. The benefactress appears singular within a square panel and is adorned with a halo and rich jewelry. These attributes clearly identify her as a noble woman who has contributed to the construction. Compared with these two leading women, the farm woman does not turn to the viewer, but is occupied with her harvest, indicating her secondary role on the representation.

When analyzing the mosaic, and especially the image of the donor, it is noticeable that it resembles the Antiochian representations, in particular those without attributes, including Epicosmesis (*Fig. 8*), Ktisis (*Fig. 22*), Ananeosis (*Fig. 17*) and the haloed figure (*Fig. 52*).¹⁶⁹ The perspective of these representations – frontal orientation of the bodies – as well as the clothing and adornment of the women are strikingly similar. If the pictorial context of the Wadi ‘Afrīt mosaic and the inscriptions were not given, the donor on the border could easily embody

¹⁶⁸ Piccirillo 1993, 175, figs. 229-230; Maguire 1987, 70.

¹⁶⁹ For the earlier discussion concerning the similarity of the haloed figure to the benefactress from Wadi ‘Afrīt see Page 46.

a personification. In this sense, her *nimbus* would not interfere, since, as has already been explained, haloed personifications are attested on Late Antique floor mosaics. An example for this would also be the nave mosaic of the Church of Saint Paul in the Kastron Mefaa at Umm al-Rasas dating to the 6th century AD (*Fig. 60*),¹⁷⁰ which bears the image of the haloed Ge in the center. These mosaics exemplify the development of the image of richly adorned women on Late Antique floor mosaics, whether as an abstract idea or as a human being.

The usual appearance of Ge with fruits in her cloak and the *karpoi* on her sides is also seen on the nave mosaic in Saint George's Church at Khirbet el-Mukhayyat dating to 535/536 AD (*Fig. 35*). Even on this mosaic the personification occupies a central position. The remaining part of the floor is covered with scenes thematizing chase and harvest, as on the floor in Priest John's Chapel. The representation is complemented by the busts of the seasons, which are integrated into the framing. The seasons are depicted frontally in square panels. It is interesting to note that on the church mosaic in Wadi 'Afrat, which was built later, the seasons in the framing are replaced by the donors with a halo. Humans appear secondary on the mosaic during rural activities, while the personified figures are indeed visually emphasized.

One of the latest ecclesiastical mosaics in the catalogue is the one found in Bishop Sergius' Church at Umm al-Rasas, which was built in 587/588 AD (*Fig. 38*). It needs to be mentioned that the figures on the mosaic were defaced by iconoclasts. The busts of the seasons decorate the corners of the frame, while the personification of the sea (Abyss) appears at the eastern edge of the mosaic. Ge appears on the opposite side. The donors of the church are depicted in the center of the mosaic, Ge rather at the edge, but her frontal appearance identifies her as an abstract concept and thus, distinguishes her from the humans around her who are engaged in agricultural activities.

Furthermore, on the floor of a secular building like the villa at Beit-Jibrin (*Fig. 34*) Ge is depicted along with other personifications, namely the seasons. The personifications are all displayed as busts within medallions and with frontal orientation and the composition resembles the one depicted on the floor of Room 1 in the House of Ge and the Seasons (*Fig. 19*). At Beit-Jibrin, Spring, Summer, and Ge are equipped with inscriptions and characterizing attributes: Flowers and a bird complete the image of Spring, a sickle and a sheaf of grain are intended for Summer, and Ge, as usual, carries a bunch of fruits in her coat. Winter appears without an inscription in the margin, but her identification is aided by her familiar convention of her mantle, which completely covers her. Even without the labels, the figures would be identifiable

¹⁷⁰ Piccirillo 2002, 535-559, fig. 1. 5; Hachlili 2009, 180 f., fig. 8, 2 b; Hamarneh 2011, 533.

due to their determined attributes and conventions. The busts of the women occupy the central axis of the mosaic and due to their position and their frontal appearance, they are the main characters of the representation around whom everything else revolves. No peculiarities are observed in the representation of Ge that would attribute a more powerful status to her compared to the remaining personifications. She is not emphasized, neither in posture nor in garment, but is instead shown in the same way as the seasons. Even regarding the direction of the gaze towards the viewer, no figure stands out as all of them look slightly to the right. In the case of the mosaic from Beit-Jibrin, no living women are included in the depiction; only men are shown in the hunting scene that extends over the edges, but none of the hunters stand out as a protagonist – either iconographically or through an inscription – who might be more important than the personifications in the center of the mosaic. Instead, on this mosaic, the hunting scene takes the place of a geometric border and is intended to represent the diversity of flora and fauna in which the villa was probably embedded. This is also indicated by the individual animals that stand within the octagonal panels next to Ge and the seasons. Such scenic images were often chosen for the decoration of mosaics in villas. This tendency can also be observed in the villas of Antioch, where the mosaic floors are decorated with hunting scenes (*Fig. 24*) and framed with various animals and plants (*Fig. 22*).

6.2.4 CONTENT CHANGE OF MEDALLION BUSTS

The processing of the mosaics from Antioch and its vicinity has shown that between the second half of the 5th and 6th centuries there was a tendency to portray female personifications inside medallions. It has become apparent that this phenomenon is limited to the Late Antique period, since the mosaics from the Roman time of the city, dating mainly to the 3rd century AD, primarily depict female personifications in square *emblemata*.¹⁷¹ Among the parallels included in the catalogue, the mosaic of Ktisis from Kourion (*Fig. 40*) attests the Antiochian method of representation of a medallion bust at another find spot. Based on its type, the Cyprian mosaic

¹⁷¹ In the Roman period the *emblema*-concept has been applied to the representations of the following female personifications: Agora (Levi 1971, 291-304, pls. 66 a; 67 a), Amerimnia (Levi 1971, 225 f., pl. 51 d), Arethus (Levi 1971, 105-110, pl. 18 b-c), Bios (Levi 1971, 191 f., pl. 43 b), Dynamis (Levi 1971, 226 f. 248-250, pl. 61 a-c), Euandria (Levi 1971, 226 f. 248-250, pl. 61 a-c), Eukarpia (Levi 1971, 291-304, pls. 66 a; 67 b), Ktisis (Levi 1971, 226 f. 248-250, pl. 61 a-c), Lacedaemonia (Levi 1971, 260-277, pl. 63 d), Psalis (Levi 1971, 204 f., pl. 46 b-c), Tethys (Levi 1971, 167 f., pl. 35 a; Levi 1971, 186, pl. 39 b; Levi 1971, 241 f., pl. 47 c; Levi 1971, 222, pl. 50 a), Thisbe (Levi 1971, 105-110, pl. 18 b-c), Tryphe (Levi 1971, 198. 204-206, pl. 46 c-e; Levi 1971, 223 f., pl. 51 a-b). The remaining female personifications on Roman mosaics appear in full-length in multi-figured compositions, including Aiokia (Levi 1971, 291-304, pl. 66 a-b), Aroura (Levi 1971, 260-277, pl. 62 b), Chresis (Levi 1971, 278 f., pl. 64 a), Ge (Levi 1971, 260-277, pl. 62 b), Kilikia (Levi 1971, 57-59, pl. 9 d), Mnemosyne (Levi 1971, 291-304, pl. 66 a-b), Opora (Levi 1971, 167. 186-191, pl. 42 a-b), and Tethys on a mosaic from Seleucia Piera (Cimok 2000, 195; Eraslan 2015a, fig. 6).

image of Ktisis belongs to the representation in the House of Ktisis (*Fig. 11*), which shows the personification holding the measuring rod enclosed in a medallion with a guilloche-banded border. The way in which the medallion bust has developed in the course of the 6th century can be introduced by means of the church mosaics. Comparative examples can be found especially on wall mosaics, whose production peaked with the construction of monumental churches from the early 4th century AD. Since then, mosaic masterpieces were created for the walls of ecclesiastical buildings. Thus, large-scale mosaics of sacred figures developed inside the church, the most significant ones in the presbytery, where the Christian liturgy proceeded. The most sacred place in the church was the vault of the main apse above the altar, where the images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were placed.¹⁷² In addition to the representations that extended over entire walls, the mosaic program in churches is often supplemented by medallions. They appear as a recurring ornament on various architectural components, the most popular places being the intrados of the arches and, in the case of domed buildings, the vault. The medallions applied in the churches primarily represent Christian symbols and busts of the representatives of the faith, such as Christ himself, as well as the images of prophets, saints, and martyrs. Especially the buildings in Ravenna, with the most celebrated Late Antique wall mosaics, present the repertoire of Christian medallions.¹⁷³ The use of medallions was first shown with the Basilica of San Vitale, the most important building in the city. Bishop Ecclesius founded the church and dedicated it to Saint Vitalis before his death in 532 AD. Vitalis was a wealthy citizen of Milan who was martyred during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. In the place of Vitalis' martyrdom and burial, Ecclesius commissioned the construction of the basilica, which was completed in 547/548 AD. The intrados of the triumphal arch that forms the entrance to the presbytery, is decorated with 15 medallions, including the image of Christ at the apex, flanked by the busts of the twelve apostles as well as Saints Gervasius and Protasius, the alleged sons of Saint Vitalis (*Fig. 61-Fig. 62*). The medallion series begins with the busts of the apostles Petrus and Paulus, who are portrayed next to Christ, and is completed by the busts of the Saints Gervasius and Protasius at the bottom.¹⁷⁴ The men are mostly shown frontally, some are turned slightly to the side, and occupy the entire space within the medallion. Moreover, they are all nimbed. All the names of the figures, except for Christ, are placed horizontally above their shoulders and are interrupted by their heads. The men are depicted with different appearances,

¹⁷² Leatherbury 2018, 86 f. 89.

¹⁷³ Deliyannis 2018, 347.

¹⁷⁴ Bovini 2010, 20; Bovini 1966, 31. 38. 47; Bovini 1958, 115. 119. 134; Johnson 2018, 130 f. 140, pls. 84; 87; Verhoeven 2011, 46.

whereas Christ, Petrus, and Paulus appear in their usual iconography. The frame of the medallions is depicted three-dimensional and the color alternates between white and gold.

Another monument outside Ravenna that is decorated with Christian medallions is the Basilica of the Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, dated to 565-566 AD. A series of medallions frames the conch of the church, depicting apostles at the intrados and prophets below (*Fig. 63*). Apart from the busts of Hegoumenos Longinus and John the Deacon in the corners, which are equipped with square *nimbi*, the remaining busts are not nimbed. The central medallion at the highest point of the arch shows the Holy Cross, from the sides of which the busts of the apostles emanate. The composition in the apse is crowned with a medallion on the summit of the triumphal arch depicting the Lamb of God. In addition, two more medallions decorate the spandrels of the triumphal arch, illustrating the bust of John the Baptist on the left and the bust of the Virgin on the right.¹⁷⁵ Inside each medallion in the apse is an inscription that names the figure. The upper body of the figures are in frontal pose and their hair, beard and eyebrows are indicated differently. In the image of the Virgin, one can also identify characterizing elements, such as her covered head. The mosaic representation in the Basilica of Saint Catherine's Monastery shows how medallions became an accepted form of representation for Christian signs and figures, used as in the Basilica of San Vitale.

The medallion busts were used to honor the men of faith on the walls of the churches, but this honor was also given to Christian women. Medallions with female busts are evidenced in the Archiepiscopal Chapel – also called Oratorio di San Andrea – located in Ravenna. The chapel was erected by Bishop Petrus II, who reigned from 494 to 519 AD. The oratory has the shape of a cross that opens opposite the entrance into a small apse, in the conch of which appears a golden cross surrounded by golden stars on a blue background, representing the sky. The intrados of the four arches supporting the vault are in turn decorated with a series of medallion busts (*Fig. 64-Fig. 65*). On the eastern and western arches, the bust of Christ crowns the apex, flanked by the busts of six apostles, three on each side. On the northern and southern arches, the medallion in the apex bears the Monogram of Christ, from which the busts of male and female saints emanate.¹⁷⁶ In contrast to the inscriptions inside the medallions, the names of these saints are placed above the medallions. The female saints depicted in the medallions on the southern arch intrados are the martyrs CECILIA, EVGENIA, EVFIMIA, DARIA, PERPETVA, and FELICITAS. The women are shown frontally according to the usual scheme.

¹⁷⁵ Schurr 1997, 95, cat. no. JOH 20; Forsyth 1968, 3. 13, figs. 35-36; Weitzmann 1966, 393. 401-404, figs. 13. 17. 23-24; Miziolek 1990, 43.

¹⁷⁶ Bovini 2010, 123. 125. 128; Bovini 1966, 85-87; Bovini 1958, 68-75.

They are not nimbed, instead, a white veil falls from their head. The absence of the *nimbus* is not limited to the female martyrs. On the contrary, all the figures in the chapel were depicted without it, except for Christ, who is equipped with the cruciform halo. The martyrs, apart from Daria and Felicitas, seem to wear hairnets adorned with diamonds and pearls to match their ornamented collars. A thin, unadorned hair band holds Daria's hair together, whereas Felicitas was generally depicted quite differently, namely wrapped in a black robe that also covers her head. The women's faces are modeled similarly, without any characteristic features that would not allow an identification without their labels. Similar to the intrados of the triumphal arch in the Basilica San Vitale, the one of the Basilica Eufrasiana at Parentium, dating to the middle of the 6th century AD, was decorated in the same way with medallion busts (*Fig. 66-Fig. 67*). However, there are the images of nimbed female saints depicted in the medallions. In total, 13 medallions are shown: the one in the apex represents the Lamb of God, who is flanked by the six medallions of the female martyrs. As in the Archbishop's Chapel, an inscription above each medallion reveals the name of the martyr. These are the images of the martyrs from top to bottom on the left side: SCA AGATHE, SCA AGNES, SCA CICILIA, SCA EVGENIA, SCA BASILISSA, SCA FILICITAS; and on the right side: SCA EVFYMIA, SCA TECLA, SCA VALERIA, SCA PERPETVA, SCA SUSANA, SCA IVSTINA.¹⁷⁷ It can be observed that uniformity is also emphasized in the depiction of female martyrs inside medallions. The frontal posture, the upswept hair, the robe with an ornate collar, and the white veil are characteristics for the busts of female martyrs. Furthermore, the virgins on the northern clerestory wall in the Basilica of San Apollinare Nuovo visualize what the full-length costumes of the female saints might have looked like (*Fig. 68*).¹⁷⁸ The mosaic was installed under Archbishop Agnellus, who served between 557 and 570 AD. The 22 virgins are shown in a procession led by the Three Magi. They are dressed in white tunics with above golden dalmatics and are adorned with diadems and necklaces. An almost floor-length white veil embellishes their heads, which they have taken forward from the left side to wear the martyr's crown in it. These mosaic representations highlight that an iconography for female saints emerged, which both the large-scale depictions and the medallion busts follow.

In summary, this section has described the path of medallion busts from the pavement of Late Antique private houses to the walls of Christian buildings. It can be observed that as soon as medallions were placed in a sacred context, the pictorial theme changed, while the type of image

¹⁷⁷ Schurr 1997, 216, cat. no. THEKLA 18; Noga-Banai 2008, 79, fig. 1; Leatherbury 2018, 92, fig. 6, 6; Prelog 1968, 19, figs. 12. 24. 32. 33-36.

¹⁷⁸ Schade states that the costume of the virgins represents the contemporary models of the 5th and 6th centuries AD, see Schade 2003, 106.

was maintained. The monuments consulted illustrate how medallions of ecclesiastical character began to represent the most sacred symbols of Christianity, including the Holy Cross with the Hand of God, the Lamb of God, and the Monogram of Christ. The figures that take their place in medallions are now Christ himself, prophets, apostles, and saints. Medallion busts represent the most important convention for these individuals, along with the full-body depictions. Furthermore, the image scheme of the holy figures was adapted to the personifications. The way in which abstract concepts were depicted was now transferred to the images of saints. It can be said that the predominance of medallions on the walls of churches is also due to their practical function, as they fit into narrow spaces, such as the intrados of arches. Also, for aesthetic and symbolic reasons medallions kept their place under the arches. On the one hand, the juxtaposition of several medallions was a way to decorate the intrados of the arches and, on the other hand, the placement of religious figures in them increased the symbolic importance of the image program of church buildings. The representation of the protagonists of Christianity in medallions on the arches, from where they looked down on the visitors, was intended to demonstrate their sanctity and to keep them in memory at the same. Furthermore, it is noticeable that the medallion busts in churches such as the ones in Antioch, are always inscribed, either inside or above. The designation of the medallion busts seems to be a custom that can already be traced on the Antiochian floor mosaics and continues in the Christian imagery. However, this does not mean that Christian figures replaced the personifications completely and thus medallion busts of abstract concepts disappeared in churches. This is proved by the medallion bust of Thalassa on the nave pavement of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba (*Fig. 44*). The dating of the mosaic in the years 578/579 AD is secured by the dedication inscription of the church and therefore, it was composed much later than the presented medallion busts of the representatives of Christianity. Even if the medallion bust was adopted along with the personification, without replacing it with a Christian figure, the Christian meaning was transferred to Thalassa in this case. It needs to be mentioned that several Christian references to the sea are attested in the art and literature of the time. Maritime images and metaphors were common in biblical contexts. Thus, the personification of the sea also underwent a Christianization in its meaning, which is reflected in the mosaic of the Church of the Apostles. The gesture of the figure and the following prayer:

Κ[ύρι]ε ὁ θε[ὸ]ς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν δὸς ζωὴν

Αναστασίῳ καὶ Θωμᾷ καὶ Θεοδώρα κ[αὶ] Σαλαμανίου ψηφ[οθέτου],¹⁷⁹

engraved around the representation demonstrate how Thalassa blesses the church and its congregation.¹⁸⁰

Finally, the images of female martyrs provide similarities in terms of clothing and adornment with those of the personifications represented in Antioch. The closest parallels in this context are Epicosmesis (*Fig. 8*) and Megalopsychia (*Fig. 24*). As the martyrs, they wear lutescent clothing that imitates the color of gold, emphasizing the high quality of the fabric, along with a richly decorated collar. Even though most of the Antiochian personifications are dressed in garments of Hellenistic tradition – consisting of a tunic and a mantle thrown over one or both shoulders – the clothing of Epicosmesis and Megalopsychia also reflects the fashion of Late Antiquity known from other contemporary representations of women. This is also evidenced by the *clavi* applications on the garment of Apolauasis (*Fig. 7*). Regarding the hairstyle, it is noticeable that Megalopsychia’s hair, parted in the middle (*Fig. 24*), resembles the hairstyle of the martyrs depicted in the Basilica Eufrasiana (*Fig. 67*). Even though the martyrs shown in medallions wear less jewelry – only a delicate chain of gemstones adorns the neck of the martyrs in the Basilica Eufrasiana and in San Apollinare Nuovo – the virgins in San Apollinare Nuovo wear a diadem with a brooch in the center, in which a red gemstone is set (*Fig. 68*), identical to the headdress of Ktisis in the House of Ktisis (*Fig. 11*). The central part of Megalopsychia’s diadem (*Fig. 24*) is damaged, but a jewel was once attached here as well. The insights gained from this brief study significantly contribute to the understanding of the position of female personifications in the women’s world of Late Antiquity. Representations of living women with different roles in society, such as the benefactress shown in the Upper Chapel of Priest John at Wadi ‘Afrīt and the female martyrs, demonstrate that also the clothing of abstract concepts visualizes the style of the time. Without the accumulation of royal insignia,¹⁸¹ the clothing and adornment of the Antiochian personification is oriented to that of the noble, venerable women. The most striking result to emerge from this study is that no matter what or who the female

¹⁷⁹ The Greek inscription translates as follows: „Herr Gott, der du den Himmel und die Erde gemacht hast, gib Leben dem Anastasios und dem Thomas und der Theodora und dem Salamanios als dem Mosaizisten.“ see, Noth 1986, 134.

¹⁸⁰ J. Wade, The Eternal Spirit of Thalassa. The Transmission of Classical Maritime Symbolism into Byzantine Cultural Identity, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 14, 2018, 51-69, <https://go-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=T006&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CA596402496&docType=Report&sort=RELEVANCE&contentSegment=ZLRC-MOD1&prodId=LitRC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CA596402496&searchId=R2&userGroupName=43wien&inPS=true> (24.02.2022).

¹⁸¹ See the respective handbook Schade 2003 for a description of the Late Antique iconography of women on sculptures and coins. Insignia are discussed in particular on pages 109-111.

figures on the mosaics embodied, the purpose was to portray women as beautiful and honorable as possible. The examined mosaic images illustrate that abstract concepts also received the same recognition as donors or saints on visual art.

6.2.5 SUMMARY

An image type could be established that is repeated on the mosaic images of female personifications in Antioch and Daphne. All the mosaics from the 5th and 6th centuries, mostly geometric patterned, are conceived in the center with an *emblema* or medallion enclosed with a decorative frame, in which the image of the personification is inserted. The personifications usually represent the only figurative image on the pavements. There is a tendency to render the abstract concepts singularly and to emphasize them as the protagonists of the composition. This is also evidenced by the few multi-figure depictions from the Orontes region, which were found in the Yakto Complex. Even though these representations are expanded with hunting or sea scenes in which humans are involved, the personification still emerges as the main figure. This was achieved by depicting the personification as the only figure with a frontal orientation of the upper body and head. In comparison, the minor characters on the mosaic are usually shown from the side, immersed in their activities. However, if the personification is surrounded by other personifications, for instance Ge accompanied by the seasons – such representations have been preserved in Beit-Jibrin and in the House of Ge and the Seasons – none of the figures is highlighted to whom a special position might be assigned. They appear with a uniform scheme and are individualized by their attributes. The study of the identification of the Antiochian personifications, with or without inscription, has revealed that this depends on the personifications. In total, nine different abstract concepts and natural elements put into a female body are determined from the Orontes region, four of them emerged with established convention and attributes. These are Ge, Ktisis, Tethys and Thalassa, which are characterized by standardized convention and fixed attributes. The way in which they were depicted – Ge with fruit and *karpoi*, Ktisis with the measuring rod, Tethys with wings, rudder, and Cetus, and Thalassa with lobster claws, rudder, and Cetus – is also repeated on contemporary mosaic pavements outside the Orontes region. With a few exceptions, the pattern of a respective personification was retained in buildings with a profane as well as a sacred function. The context of the mosaic did not affect its pictorial type. In addition, due to parallels, flowers could be assigned to the identity of Apolausis and the money container to that of Megalopsychia. It turned out that in the absence of inscriptions, the recognition of the personifications without a familiar convention cannot be fully maintained, since the women resemble each other in the

execution of their hairstyle, clothing, and adornment. This also became clear from the image of the un-inscribed haloed woman, for whose identity different interpretations were considered. However, the find context and the unusual use of the *nimbus* showed that this figure cannot embody a personification but could represent a donor. In the last chapter, the development of medallions, which is limited to Late Antiquity in Antioch, was examined. It has been determined that the closest parallels from that time can be found on the wall mosaics of Christian buildings. Medallions were used as decoration in church buildings, mostly under the arches or in the vault. Their adaptation into a Christian context caused the change of the pictorial theme represented in them. Once applied to the walls of churches, they served as support for Christian symbols, such as the Holy Cross, the Lamb of God, and the Monogram of Christ. In the case of the medallion bust, the representatives of the Christian faith took the place of the personifications, but without completely erasing them. Nevertheless, the depiction of personifications in churches continued, the latest one listed in the present catalogue dates to the period 578-579 AD. In general, however, it can be said that the images of saints are oriented in type to the mosaic images of personifications.

7 INTERPRETATION

7.1 RENEWAL AND FOUNDATION

The previous chapters were devoted to the iconographic aspects of the images, in which their contents and elements were related to each other in a two-dimensional way. In this part, it is the intention to go one level deeper and explore the actual meaning of the representations, which will be achieved by consulting the preserved literary and epigraphic sources that correspond to the images catalogued. The written testimonies provide clues about the motivation for the creation of such images and their perception by the Late Antique society, which allows for the representations' placement in an ideological context today. Initially, the various interpretations postulated in the scientific literature will be reviewed, followed by a comparison with the ancient and Late Antique sources.

The first to be mentioned are the representations that have developed beyond the private sphere, even in churches. The different find contexts of the same personification provide an insight into the variability of the conception of these images. Such a personification that can be viewed from different viewpoint is Ananeosis. She is portrayed in two private houses in the Orontes region (*Fig. 5; Fig. 17*) and once on the nave mosaic of the East Church in Qasr-el-Lebia (*Fig. 29*). When looking at the representation in the church, it must be noted that according to the

arrangement of the panels – the positioning of Ananeosis (panel 9c) immediately below the panel with the representation of a city which is inscribed as ΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΕΑ/ΘΕΟΔΩΡΙΑΣ (*Fig. 28, panel 10c*) – Ananeosis is linked to the refounding of the new town Theodorias during the reorganization of Cyrenaica by Justinian in the scientific literature. With the inclusion of the personifications Ktisis and Kosmesis who flank the city, Grabar argues that in this way the act of foundation is visually framed by the personifications, each contributing its own meaning to the process. Especially Ananeosis is defined by the scholar as the personification of “nouvelle dédicace” (new dedication), who is intended to symbolize the newly founded city that rises above her.¹⁸² Maguire also agrees with Grabar’s interpretation and declares that the composition of Ktisis (creation), Kosmesis (adornment), and Ananeosis (renewal) has an allegorical connotation. He claims that these four panels (10 b-d and 9c) are the figurative representation of Justinian’s political program based on new foundations and the renewal of cities to promote the Christianization of the empire, as transmitted by Procopius.¹⁸³ Since the mosaic is installed in a church, an ecclesiastical interpretation of Ananeosis can also be derived from the pavement, in addition to the connection with the imperial building program. Christian evidence is the depiction of the four Rivers of Paradise with Gihon and Pison at the sides of the personification (panels 9b and 9d) and Euphrates and Tigris two rows below (panels 7b and 7d). Scholars also gave special focus to the representation of the eagle feeding on a carcass (panel 8c) beneath the panel of Ananeosis. In this context, Maguire recalls Anastasios who explained the Gospel “For wherever the corpse (*ptoma*) is, there will the eagles congregate” (Matthew 24, 28) in the following way: “where [Christ’s] holy body died, there he has congregated us, so that we can participate in Him. For when he was raised up high on the cross he congregated the gentiles, and the birds of the gentiles born from the water, so that they could imitate his passion and his cross.” Maguire emphasizes that this is about the gathering of the gentiles at the body of Christ, and believes that the representation is the allegorizing of this comment.¹⁸⁴ St. Ambrose commented on these verses as the faithful gathered to the flesh and blood of Christ: “The corpse (*corpus*) is that about which it is said ‘my flesh in truth is food and my blood in truth is drink’.”¹⁸⁵ The commentator further connects the verses with the Mass and with the renewal through baptism, appealing to the baptized: “Hear again David saying ‘Your youth will renew itself like that of the eagle’ (Psalm 102, 5). You have begun to be a good eagle, which seeks the sky and scorns what is terrestrial...For ‘wherever the corpse is, there will the eagles be.’ The

¹⁸² Grabar 1969, 266-268; Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980, 34 f. 147; Maguire 1987, 44. 51.

¹⁸³ Prok. aed. 6.2.14-23; Maguire 1987, 45. 54.

¹⁸⁴ Ambr. hex. 6; PG 89, 924-926; Maguire 1987, 51.

¹⁸⁵ Ambr. in Lc. 8.56; Corpus Christianorum 14, 318-319; Maguire 1987, 51.

corpse represents the altar and the corpse of Christ is on the altar. You are eagles, renewed by the washing away of the fault.”¹⁸⁶ According to these sources, the renewal after baptism, which is preserved in scripture, was also reproduced as an image, which extends to the panel of Ananeosis. Thus, the arrangement of the representations also seems logical, as Ananeosis rises above the eagle with the carcass. Regarding the position of Ananeosis on the pavement, Maguire concludes: “The personification of ‘Renewal’ can be related to the town that appears immediately above it; but it can also be associated with the Rivers of Paradise, which appear beside it, and thus Renewal can refer to the concept of the gathered waters. Moreover, it is possible to read the personification of Ananeosis in conjunction with the eagle and the deer immediately below it, which, as we have seen, can symbolize the gentiles gathered at communion”.¹⁸⁷

The Christian renewal attributed to the meaning of Ananeosis is also evidenced by the application of the term *αναnéωσις* in the inscriptions on the arches of the south arcade, which can be found in the Church of the Apostles at I’djâz in Syria, dating to the late 4th or early 5th century AD:¹⁸⁸

Εὐχὲ ἀποστόλων, προφητῶν, μαρτύρων ὑπὲρ [ἀ]νανεώ[σεως τῆς συναγ]ωγῆς καὶ λαοῦ¹⁸⁹.

[Εὐ] χὲ ἀποστόλων [ὑπὲρ] ἀνανεώσεως κ[αὶ] ζοῆς ἡμῶν (π)άντων.¹⁹⁰

Thus, the idea of Ananeosis in the sense of Christian renewal has been accepted by several scholars so far. The rather secular interpretation of Ananeosis presented at the beginning concerning, on the one hand, the construction program of Justinian and, on the other hand, its strongly Christian affected meaning, established a third point of view which represents a fusion of these two possible interpretations combining God and man as creators. This observation is based on Topping’s study of the hymn written by Romanos, in which the author celebrates Justinian for rebuilding Constantinople and erecting the Great Church of St. Sophia after the Nika riots of 532 AD, by associating the emperor with Christ, the creator and reviver of the world.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Ambr. sacr. 4.7; Maguire 1987, 51 f.

¹⁸⁷ Maguire 1987, 55; Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980, 37; Cowell 2014, 90-92.

¹⁸⁸ Maguire 1987, 51, note 66.

¹⁸⁹ Translation: “Prayers of apostles, prophets, martyrs (are besought) for (the) renewal of the synagogue and people”, in Prentice 1909, 89, cat. no. 1009.

¹⁹⁰ Translation: “Prayers of apostles (are besought) for (the) renewal and life of us all”, in Prentice 1909, 91, cat. no. 1013.

¹⁹¹ Maas – Trypanis 1963, 462-471; Topping 1978, 22-35. Maguire 1987, 49. 54.

However, the image of Ananeosis on the church mosaic at Qasr-el-Lebia demonstrates the abundance of interpretations that can be attributed to the representations of a personification. The diversity of the scholars' views is enhanced by the rich image program of the pavement. The more figures are combined with the personification — whether human, animal, or even symbols — the more explanations emerge. It must be emphasized that there is not always only one valid interpretation for personifications, as the Qasr-el-Lebia mosaic proves. In this case, Ananeosis may refer to the renewal of the city Theodorias, to the renewal of the Christian community through the union of the gentiles into one church, or to the renewal provided by the eucharistic sacrifice, and furthermore, there is the possibility that the image of Ananeosis simultaneously celebrates the Creator of the whole world and the mortal creator of the city and its church.¹⁹²

In the case of Ktisis appearing next to the panel of Theodorias, a connotation to the foundation of the new town is indispensable. This also supports the posture of Ktisis holding a branch in her hand, similar to the representation of founders, as Soreg (*Fig. 69*) on the pavement of the Chapel of Elias, Mary, and Soreg at Gerasa, which dates to the 6th century AD. Moreover, Ktisis is facing the city and is holding a wreath towards it in a gesture of crowning, so that she is also visually connected to the mosaic panel of the city.¹⁹³ Hence, Maguire rightly postulates that Ktisis represents the refoundation of Theodorias by Justinian and refers for certain to the construction of the church and the installation of the pavement. This hypothesis is also supported by the comparison with Ktisis' depictions from the Orontes region. The mosaics of the personification in the houses of Antioch and Daphne show her uniformly as a bust holding the measuring rod, whereas in the East Church a convention strongly reminiscent of that of benefactors was chosen for her in order to emphasize the aspect of the foundation.

Moreover, Maguire, in agreement with Stucchi, suggests that the image of Ktisis may relate to the Creation of God in a wider context.¹⁹⁴ Basil of Seleucia, who was an archbishop in Isauria in the 5th century AD, spoke about the creations of human imitating the divine one in his sermon: “[Man]...as if sitting on a throne, shows the image of the Creator through the dignity of his works, imitating his Maker with his own actions as with colors. For man puts his own hand to creating, and desires to fabricate, and constructs houses, and fits together boats, and joins beds,

¹⁹² Maguire 1987, 54.

¹⁹³ Grabar 1969, 268. 270, note 1; Alföldi-Rosenbaum – Ward-Perkins 1980, 34-36. 147; Maguire 1987, 48. 51. For the chapel, see Saller – Bagatti 1949, 270-274, pls. 45. 50, 1.

¹⁹⁴ Maguire 1987, 48; Maguire 2012, 32; Stucchi 1975, 401 f. Grabar considers the mosaic pavement to be the representation of the biblical creation of the world, and that Kosmesis and Ktisis recall the first moments of Genesis, see Grabar 1969, 266-268; Stucchi 1975, 401.

and constructs tables, and thus playing at creation he imitates the hands of the Maker.”¹⁹⁵ Another scholar of the 5th century AD, Bishop Theodoret of Cyrus — a small town located close to Antioch — spoke in the same way when commenting on Genesis: “man imitates the God who made him by building dwellings, walls, towns, harbors, boats, dockyards, chariots, and countless other things” — “images of the heavens, of the sun, the moon, and the stars, as well as likenesses of humans and images of animals.”¹⁹⁶ The literary sources show how man with his products was understood as equivalent of God and at the same time, the Almighty was seen as the supreme creator. For instance, such considerations were also handed down through the Syrian theologian Theodore of Mopsuestia: “Just as if some king, having constructed a very ample city, and having adorned it with many and varied works, would order his portrait — as large and as beautiful as possible — to be erected in the middle of the town ... so the Maker of Creation made the whole universe, and embellished it with diverse and varied works, but in the last place he produced man in the place of his portrait.”¹⁹⁷

On the basis of the epigraphic sources, one can also note that the creator, whether divine or secular, is addressed as *κτίστης*. In this context, one can point to the inscription preserved in front of the presbytery of the Chapel of Theotokos on Mount Nebo, which was built shortly after 600 AD:

‘Ο κτίστης κ(αι) δημιουργός τῶν ἀπάντων Χ(ριστός) ὁ Θε(εός) ἡμῶν κ(αι) εὐχῆ τοῦ ἀγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου ἐπισκόπου/ἐτελε[ε]ιώθη τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς Θε[ο]τ[ό]κου σπουδῆ κ(αι) ἀγ[ώ]νι Μαρτυρίου κ(αι) Θεοδώρου πρεσβ(ύτερων) κ(αι) ἡγου[μ][έ]ν[ω]ν.¹⁹⁸

From the inscription, it is apparent, on the one hand, that Christ was recognized as the Creator of the whole world and is therefore addressed as *κτίστης*, and, on the other hand, that the chapel was erected for Him and the efforts of His servants, the worldly builders Bishop Leontios, Martyrius, and Theodore, were praised in His presence and grace was prayed for them. Leader-Newby rightly points out that building activities of this kind became a social act and the engraved names of the donors on the pavement contributed to their status in the Christian community.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁵ Bas. Oratio I [Migne, PG 85, 36]; Maguire 1987, 49.

¹⁹⁶ Theod. Questiones in Genesim I, 20 [Migne, PG LXXX, col. 105]; Maguire 1987, 49.

¹⁹⁷ Theod. Quaestiones in Genesim I, 20 [Migne, PG, LXXX, col. 109]; Maguire 1987, 49.

¹⁹⁸ “O Creator and Maker of all things, Christ our God, the entire work of the Theotokos was finished with the vow of our holy father, Bishop Leontios, by the exertion and effort of Martyrius and Theodore, priests and abbots.” Translation after Saller – Schneider 1941, 255 f., pl. 110. Maguire 1987, 49, note 57.

¹⁹⁹ Leader-Newby 2005, 240 f.; Maguire 1987, 48-50, note 48.

Considering the representations in the houses of Antioch, the two preserved Ananeosis mosaics from the Orontes plain (*Fig. 5; Fig. 17*) do not provide any verified attributes that could possibly be included in the interpretation. Moreover, due to the occurrence of Ananeosis in a domestic context and the absence of references to its founder, a religious connotation is invalid. In connection with this, “renewal” must be interpreted in terms of the architecture, and therefore, Ananeosis undoubtedly refers to the construction of either the house, the room, or the pavement that represents the personification, or to all three. In this respect, the excavation reports of the houses must be studied again to see if some indications concerning the renovation measures in the parts where Ananeosis appears can also be proven archaeologically. The same applies to Ktisis, of whom a total of two mosaics are also known from the same region (*Fig. 11; Fig. 22*). The abstract idea of “foundation” that emanates from Ktisis can refer to the whole of the structure and/or to a part of it, where the portrayal of the personification is placed. Even the assumptions postulated for the representations in the church, namely that the image of Ktisis at the same time praised the founder, also applies to Antioch’s houses. It is also striking that both representations of Ktisis — although in different houses and locations — are designed similarly with a variety of animals and vegetation reminiscent of nature created by God. This, according to Maguire, seems to imply that Ktisis may represent a divine creation, and the scholar further includes the mortal founders in his interpretation, describing that the mosaic may symbolize God’s creation, which “was imitated by builders on earth.”²⁰⁰ However, there is no evidence to support Maguire’s assumption that the occupants of these houses praised God’s creation by associating these images with Ktisis; rather, there is a definite probability that the animal and plant species shown on the pavements praised the surrounding flora and fauna and/or were inspired by it.

7.2 EARTH AND WATER

Personifications representing the elements of nature also became established in Christian iconography. Especially Ge and Thalassa, which are common in Antioch’s houses, decorated the floors of churches. They retained their relevance in Late Antiquity due to the writings of Christian scholars of that time, who often quoted the forces of nature. An example for this is Bishop Theophilus of Antioch, who metaphorized in his comment on the Hexaemeron the church as a well-watered island, where the faithful could get everything profitable. He also spoke of the rivers and springs whose waters flow into the seas and nourish them, just as the

²⁰⁰ Maguire 1987, 48. 50.

God's laws nourish the world.²⁰¹ The gathering of the waters, which happened on the six days of Creation, is addressed in the Hexaemeron: "And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear, and it was so; And God called the dry land earth and the gathering together of the waters called He seas" (Genesis 1:9-10). Another source is St. Ambrose of Milan, who commented on Genesis saying that the waters from the valleys, symbolizing the heresies of the Gentiles, and the waters from the marshes, signifying the desires and passions, are gathered into one faith and into one Church founded above the seas and rivers.²⁰²

People were aware that the earth and sea were God's creations, and therefore the forces of nature gained additional meanings through the metaphors of the early church fathers and thus maritime allegories became an integral part in the Christian thought. In this context, it should be mentioned that St. Ambrose preached on the benefits of praying to Christ, emphasizing that He was the One who can calm the storms and the waters, symbolizing the turmoil of everyday life.²⁰³ In the same way, Augustine of Hippo described, in his sermon, the church as a ship led by God through all kinds of storms and turmoil and urged the faithful to remain in the ship of God.²⁰⁴ It needs to be mentioned that the metaphor of the church as a ship was frequently used in sermons. Moreover, Christ and the saints were described as the sailors who guide the faithful to safe harbors.²⁰⁵ With this evidence, one can now better understand the image of the

²⁰¹ Theoph. Autol. 2.14; Maguire 1987, 42.

²⁰² Bas. hex. 4, 1.3-6.

²⁰³ Ambr. hex. 3.5.24 [PL 14, 165-166]; Maguire 1987, 42; J. Wade, The Eternal Spirit of Thalassa. The Transmission of Classical Maritime Symbolism into Byzantine Cultural Identity, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 14, 2018, 51-69, <https://go-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=T006&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CA596402496&docType=Report&sort=RELEVANCE&contentSegment=ZLRC-MOD1&prodId=LitRC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CA596402496&searchId=R2&userGroupName=43wien&inPS=true> (24.02.2022).

²⁰⁴ Aug. serm. 75 [NBA 30.1, 502-512]; Other references for the metaphor of the church as a ship, see also Aug. serm. 75.2. 7 [NBA 30.1, 506]. 75.4 [NBA 30/1.504]; J. Wade, The Eternal Spirit of Thalassa. The Transmission of Classical Maritime Symbolism into Byzantine Cultural Identity, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 14, 2018, 51-69, <https://go-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=T006&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CA596402496&docType=Report&sort=RELEVANCE&contentSegment=ZLRC-MOD1&prodId=LitRC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CA596402496&searchId=R2&userGroupName=43wien&inPS=true> (24.02.2022).

²⁰⁵ Greg. Naz. De rebus suis 573-575 [PG 37, 1013]; Theod. De providentia 5.10 [PG 83, 483-484]; J. Wade, The Eternal Spirit of Thalassa. The Transmission of Classical Maritime Symbolism into Byzantine Cultural Identity, *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 14, 2018, 51-69, <https://go-gale-com.uaccess.univie.ac.at/ps/retrieve.do?tabID=T006&resultListType=RESULT_LIST&searchResultsType=SingleTab&hitCount=1&searchType=AdvancedSearchForm¤tPosition=1&docId=GALE%7CA596402496&docType=Report&sort=RELEVANCE&contentSegment=ZLRC-MOD1&prodId=LitRC&pageNum=1&contentSet=GALE%7CA596402496&searchId=R2&userGroupName=43wien&inPS=true> (24.02.2022).

personified sea in the center of the nave mosaics. In particular, the mosaic in the Church of the Apostles in Madaba (*Fig. 44; Fig. 46*) reflects these thoughts of the community. Accordingly, the representation of Thalassa can be interpreted in the following ways: it can symbolize the waters gathering in the sea, that is, the gathering of the Gentiles in one church, and it can also represent troubled waters through which the church is safely sailed by God. Especially the prayer on the mosaic image confirms that the help and safety was expected from the Almighty.²⁰⁶

The earth, which was created by God at the same time as the sea, can symbolize different things in Christian context. According to Maguire, the representations of Ge on the floors of churches may refer to God's power and dominion over the whole world. A second interpretation may be that God is the Creator of all things, including the fruits and animals on the land and in the water from which the mankind could benefit.²⁰⁷ The fertility of the earth is described by St. John Chrysostom as "a mother and a nurse to us" and he continues by saying "we feed from it, and in every other way we have the benefit of it. However, we should no longer ascribe all of these benefits to the nature of the earth itself, but rather to the power of the Creator who made it."²⁰⁸ St. Augustine also speaks of the "mother earth", which is ruled by the Almighty: "We do not call even the earth herself creator, although she is seen to be the fruitful mother of all the things...for we read: 'God gives it a body as he has chosen and to each kind of seed its own body'."²⁰⁹ The written sources reveal that the natural forces were considered to be emanating from Christ. This is also apparent from the Christian hymn to the Nile, which was found in Antinoë and dates back to the 6th century AD: "O most fortunate Nile, smilingly have you watered the land; rightly do we present to you a hymn; we all make festival for you; longed for, you have shone forth at the right season; you have come again to us, you who were well accepted; you are (a bringer) of miracles in all Egypt, a remedy for men and for beasts; [you have brought] the awaited season; you are always the preserver of the mass of the poor; the fruit your virtue is very great...you have displayed to us a strange miracle; you have brought the benefits of the heavens." The interesting thing about this scripture is its conclusion, appealing to Christ as the source of Nil's power: "true illumination, Christ, benefactor, [save] the souls of men, now and [for ever]...."²¹⁰ Furthermore, a novel by Theodosius II and Valentinian III, issued in Constantinople in 438 AD, invokes the personifications of nature as "agents of

²⁰⁶ For the mentioned inscription, see Page 67prayer: f.

²⁰⁷ Maguire 1987, 72.

²⁰⁸ Gen Hom. 9 [PG 53, 77]; Maguire 1988, VI, 150.

²⁰⁹ Cor. 1, 15, 38; Aug. civ. 12.26; Maguire 1988, VI, 150.

²¹⁰ Turner 1981 49-62; Maguire 1998, VI, 153

God”.²¹¹ The evidence shows that the personified forces of nature that occur in a Christian context were particularly understood as the representatives of God. They were not deified, but rather considered as phenomena emanating from God, which are under His control. This contrasts with the Greco-Roman belief that personifications also possessed divine power and could determine the fate of a human being. Thus, to please them, sacrifices were offered, and altars, temples, and votives were dedicated to them in the pagan culture.²¹²

A third interpretation arises for the representation of Ge with the *karpoi* in churches, who provide the personification with offerings, which is accepted by Maguire, Saller, and Bagatti as the faithful serving God.²¹³ This postulation can be associated with the following dedication inscription: “O St. George, accept the offering (*prosporan*) and work of the people of this village....”. In this context, the term *prosporan* can mean food donations, labor, or financial donations that could be provided during the construction of the church or offered after its completion.²¹⁴

After all, the results of this study indicate that the visual occurrence of natural forces in the houses of Antioch — with Ge being the most common personification — are due to the good conditions of this land. The fertile, well-watered Orontes plain was appreciated by the inhabitants which is thus reflected in the images of Ge, Thalassa, and Tethys. Except for the thought that they refer to the surrounding landscape, earth and sea can occasionally be associated with rulers. For instance, a representation of Ge in an imperial palace is described by Constantine Manasses, who informs that the image was placed at a bed chamber of the emperor.²¹⁵ Concerning the image, he explains that earth was depicted as a woman surrounded by fruits, sea creatures, and birds. Since the description of Manasses is reminiscent of the floor mosaics of Ge from the 5th and 6th centuries AD, it can be assumed that the representation in the palace is also a work from this period.²¹⁶ This evidence suggests that the emperor was considered the ruler of the earth and sea, and these personifications are therefore common in imperial iconography. Hence, in 39 AD, the Queen of Judaea, Kypros, sent a tapestry to the

²¹¹ Maguire 1998, VI, 153, note 52. For the scripture, see Nov. Theod. 3, 1, 8.

²¹² Stafford 2000, 2. 18. For instance, the sanctuaries of Nemesis and Themis at Rhamnous are dedications for personifications (Stafford 2000, 56-60. 78-96; Burkert 2005, 17). In this context, the statues, and altars to Hygieia in the sanctuaries of Asklepios are also worth mentioning (Stafford 2000, 151-156. 159).

²¹³ Maguire 1987, 71; Saller – Bagatti 1949, 100; Merrony 1998, 468; Hachlili 2009, 180.

²¹⁴ Evidenced by Syriac inscriptions at a 6th century church at Khirbat Hasan: “There was spent on it drachmas eighty and five; (of) beans, wheat, and lentils measures (pecks) four hundred and thirty besides the first outlay”, see Sukenik 1932, 46. For the provision of bread to craftsmen working on a church, see Ševčenko – Ševčenko 1984, 76. Saller – Bagatti 1949, 143; Maguire 1987, 71 f., note 30.

²¹⁵ One cannot conclude from the source which palace Manasses is referring to, but it is assumed that he is writing about the Great Palace in Constantinople.

²¹⁶ Maguire 1987, 74 f.; See for the scripture Sternbach 1902, 74-79.

Roman emperor Gaius representing the earth and the ocean to honor his rule over the world, which bore the inscription: “Kypros made me [the textile], a perfect copy of the harvest-bearing earth, and all that the land encircling ocean girdles, obedient to great Caesar, and the grey sea too,” along with Philippus of Thessalonica’s poem:

γαῖαν τὴν φερέκαρπον σὴν ἔζωκε περίχθων
 ὠκεανὸς μεγάλῳ Καίσαρι πειθομένην
 καὶ γλαυκὴν με θάλασσαν ἀπηκριβώσατο Κύπρος
 κερκίσιν ἱστοπόνοις πάντ ἀπομαξαμένη
 Καίσαρι δ εὐξείνῳ χάρις ἦλθομεν, ἦν γὰρ ἀνάσσης
 δῶρα φέρειν τὰ θεοῖς καὶ πρὶν ὀφειλόμενα²¹⁷

The textile no longer survives, but from the description it can be inferred that Ge is represented on the tapestry in the same convention as on the floor mosaics with the bountiful cloak, but in this case, to imply dominion over the sea, Ge is surrounded by the waters of the ocean. Another source for the use of this motif in an imperial context is the Barberini Diptych (*Fig. 51*), which depicts an emperor on a horse, probably Justinian, while Ge is shown sitting under the rearing horse with a pile of fruits in her lap and is holding her right hand in a gesture of submission under the emperor’s foot.²¹⁸

Whether the images of natural forces in the houses of Antioch imitated imperial iconography can neither be verified nor ruled out. Based on the inscription of Ardaburius,²¹⁹ there is an indication that individuals with ruling function may have lived in these houses, nevertheless the representations need to be interpreted with care. Moreover, for the representation of the sea in the Yakto Complex, which is completed with fishing scenes, Friedman postulates that the mosaic implies the profession of the owner, namely the fishing industry.²²⁰

Even though the Christian reinterpretation of the personifications is proven by the textual sources, a corresponding restructuring of the mosaic images examined is neither attested in private domains nor in churches. The depictions in churches share the same conventions found in houses. Ananeosis, as depicted in the East Church in Qasr-el-Lebia, is the only figure who is

²¹⁷ “In me Carpo, imitating all by her shuttle’s labour at the loom, depicted accurately all the fruitful land, encompassed by Ocean, that obeys great Caesar, and the blue sea as well. I come to Caesar as a present...., for it was the queen’s duty to offer the gift long due to the gods.”, see AP 9.778, and for translation, see Gow – Page 1968, 300. 333 f.; Maguire 1998, VII, 221.

²¹⁸ Maguire 1987, 73-77, fig. 86; Weitzmann 1979, 331-335.

²¹⁹ See Page 39.

²²⁰ For Friedman’s interpretation of the Yakto-Thalassa mosaic, see Friedman 2018, 63-77.

equipped with a Christian attribute, the bread basket (*Fig. 29*). Nevertheless, the fact that the personifications occur in churches testifies that they were included in the Christian faith. In most cases, it was not the attributes, but the arrangement of images that gave the personification its Christian meaning. An example of this phenomenon is the nave mosaic of the Church of Saint Paul in the Kastron Mefaa at Umm al-Rasas (*Fig. 60*), which was erected in the 6th century AD. A meander border divides the main panel into four parts thus forming a cross, with the bust of Ge inserted into the meander band in the intersection. The resulting four areas are decorated with medallions bearing the inscribed busts of the Four Rivers of Paradise, including Ghion and Phison in the upper part and Tigris and Euphrates in the lower.²²¹ The composition can be compared with the Ge mosaic from the House of Ge and the Seasons (*Fig. 19*), where the personification is surrounded by the four seasons. In the Church of Saint Paul, the composition was adapted to the Christian faith, and instead of the seasons, the Rivers of Paradise qualified as the companions of Ge.

7.3 PERSONIFICATIONS FOUND ONLY IN SECULAR BUILDINGS

Megalopsychia is represented twice in the Orontes region (*Fig. 12; Fig. 24*) but does not reoccur in ecclesiastical structures. Concerning the meaning of her representation in the Yakto Complex, an interpretation is offered by Grabar, who draws attention to the hunting scenes on the mosaic, which recalls the *venationes*. He suggests that the figure embodies the Aristotelian definition of Megalopsychia, which the ancient scholar uses to describe the ideal ruler: *δοκεῖ δὴ μεγαλόψυχος εἶναι μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἄξιος ὢν*.²²² Malalas is a source from the 6th century AD, who mentions Megalopsychia as a virtue of rulers. Moreover, Libanius already indicated that the virtue could be possessed even in the private life of individuals²²³.

Grabar interprets the depiction as “chasse princière” or chasse héroïque”, translated as a “princely” or a “heroic” hunt. According to Grabar, the figures are animated by Megalopsychia, who gives “inspiration and training by means of the hunt”.²²⁴ Lassus, on the other hand, claims that the personification represents the Megalopsychia in the Platonic sense of “arrogance.” He believes that the hunters were punished by means of the *venatio* because of their “excessive

²²¹ Piccirillo 2002, 544 f., fig. 5; Hachlili 2009, 180 f., fig. 8, 2 b; Hamarneh 2011, 533.

²²² Aristot. eth. Nic. 1123 b 1. The translation reads as follows “Now a person is thought to be great-souled if he claims much and deserves much”, see Rackham 1934. Downey 1938, 357.

²²³ Ioh. Mal. 103.18; 104.5; 243.10; 280.11; 291.8; 298.5; 298.20; 299.19; 304.9; 306.12; 313.6; 316.5; 325.10; 342.9; 425.8; Lib. or. 13.17; 14.25; 15.40; 18.153; 18.202; 31.35; 57.3; 59.85; Lib. epist. 643 W =10.655.14 F; 200 =10.185.2; 259 =10.248.8; 374 =10.358.7; 1046 =11.334.11; 1537 = 11.537.10. On *μεγαλοψυχια* as a quality of the senators in Antioch, see Lib. or. 11.134; 11.138; 35.4; Downey 1938, 357.

²²⁴ Grabar 1936, 137-139; Downey 1938, 357.

sense of magnitude.”²²⁵ However, several scholars have expressed doubts about Lassus’ approach, especially Seyrig emphasizes that the representation of Megalopsychia in the sense of “arrogance” is not common, and that such an interpretation would undermine the allegorical meaning of the mosaic. He believes that the mosaic floor was rather commissioned by someone for whom the *venatio* was of great importance and who intended to bring the spectacle into his house through the mosaic.²²⁶

Instead, Weigand’s interpretation seems to be plausible that the generous donor can be recognized in the image of Megalopsychia. He rightly states that the figure represents Megalopsychia, who stands for magnanimity, and is characterized by the *sporta* (money container). He therefore suggests that the personification could refer to the donor of the depicted *venatio*.²²⁷ As Raeck has already noted, Megalopsychia raises her hand with coins in the gesture of *sparsio*, leaving no doubt that magnanimity is thematized in this mosaic. The dedication miniature of Anicia Juliana proves that Megalopsychia is represented in Christian contexts, i.e., in connection with church donations. Hence, Raeck’s interpretation correlates with Dunbabin’s approach, as both assume that the depiction expresses the generosity of the householder, whose donations may refer to some buildings shown in the topographical border or to the *venationes* that took place in the town.²²⁸ In this sense, also the hypotheses of Grabar and Downey would fit with the interpretation of the benevolent householder, who thus demonstrates the imperial virtue possessed or desired to possess.²²⁹

In addition to Megalopsychia, Apolausis and Soteria are other examples that, according to current research, are not documented in churches. It is striking that they are represented only in bath buildings (*Fig. 14*). Even the closest parallel of Apolausis outside the Orontes region originates from a bath (*Fig. 30*). Evidence of their meaning in bathhouses is provided by Libanius, who writes about the waters of the Orontes region, praising especially the springs of Daphne over several pages, a part reads as follows: “Who, standing at the first outlets of the springs and gazing on the water flowing out and borne along both walls of the temple, could fail to admire the abundance of the water, to be struck with its beauty, to honor it as divine, and to take pleasure in touching it, greater pleasure in bathing in it, and the greatest pleasure of all

²²⁵ Plat. Alk. 2, 150 c; Elderkin 1934, 127; Downey 1938, 357.

²²⁶ Seyrig 1935, 42-44; Downey 1938, 357, note 19.

²²⁷ Weigand 1935, 427 f.; Downey 1938, 357, note 19. The development of the concept of *μεγαλοψυχια* in the Roman world is addressed in Knoche 1935.

²²⁸ Raeck 1992, 143 f.; Dunbabin 1978, 228; Levi 1971, 342-345. See also Schade 2003, 145.

²²⁹ Downey 1938, 356-363; Grabar 1936, 137-139. See also Aymard 1953. Levi accepts the identification of Megalopsychia as *munificentia*. However, he assumes that the figure is a representation of a *virtus*, without referring to the amphitheater, see Levi 1971, 339-345.

in drinking it? It is cold and clear and most drinkable, and endowed with benefits and pleasant to apply to the body”.²³⁰ The pleasure and the healing that emanate from the water, as documented in the written sources, is also reflected in the mosaic decoration of the bathhouses. The concept that the bathhouses are a place of pleasure as well as mental and physical health was conveyed to the visitors by the representations of the personifications Apolausis and Soteria on its floors. The effect of the images of Apolausis and Soteria on visitors can be compared to having Libanius’ words engraved on the floor or having him quoted orally every day at the entrance of the bath. As Downey has already noticed, the literary themes reached a wider audience through the mosaic images.²³¹ Furthermore, the representation of Apolausis in a bath at Hagios Taxiarchis can be seen as evidence of the migration of this concept. Whether the written sources first animated the inhabitants of Hagios Taxiarchis to depict Apolausis or mosaics is secondary; what is significant is that the connotation of Apolausis with bathing was known. Thus, Apolausis and Soteria were intended for a specific type of building, namely bathhouses. Accordingly, their depictions are absent from domestic and ecclesiastical contexts. The same applies to Epicosmesis (*Fig. 8*), for which neither a parallel nor an indication of a Christian reinterpretation could be proven in the course of this research. The question of whether “celebration” was visualized at all by the figure of Epicosmesis in later times cannot be answered due to insufficient evidence. Nonetheless, from this brief overview, it is apparent that some personifications developed only in buildings with a certain character.

Although the representations on the floors of private houses are not as complex as the mosaics in the naves of churches, and since the ordinarily isolated personifications cannot always be associated with any other depictions, their conception is nevertheless ambiguous. Maguire studied the symbolism of images and made a distinction between the following two variations: ambivalence and ambiguity. By “ambivalence”, he means an image that is repeated but has a different meaning with each repetition. An example of this is the repetition of lambs in the Christian visual culture, where Christ and the apostles are represented by each lamb. According to Maguire and as the name implies, “ambiguity” refers to an image that is represented once, but is open to various interpretations.²³² If one refers to his two definitions, most of the mosaics studied fall into the latter, as already demonstrated. In most of the cases, multiple interpretations are plausible at the same time, and as noted by several scholars, the assessment is subjective in

²³⁰ Lib. or. 11, 236-242; For the reference to the *λουτρῶν ἀπόλαυσις*, see Lib. or. 11, 134; See also Anth. Gr. 9.636, 815; Aug. conf. 9.12. Downey 1938, 359 f. Kondoleon 2009, 220.

²³¹ Downey 1938, 359 f.

²³² Maguire 1987, 10-13.

the end.²³³ Regarding Maguires' statement that the meaning of images "could be nuanced or even completely altered according to their contexts"²³⁴, it should be noted that this was observed on the mosaics catalogued. For instance, while the depiction of Ge with the *karpoi* in a house can symbolize the abundance of the soil, in an ecclesiastical context she gains a deeper sense and can represent God's creations and, at the same time, refer to the donations of God's servants. An adaptation of the symbolism of the images to their contexts can be traced both in literary sources and in the images; in churches, for example, a bread basket was added to the image of Ananeosis, or a *nimbus* to Ge. However, this does not mean that a personification appears in a certain building with a completely foreign identity. The original meaning of a personification always remains the same, regardless of the setting in which it occurs. As Stafford rightly points out, in a monotheistic culture, personifications served as "a rhetorical device, or a way of giving artistic form to something intangible."²³⁵ Instead of transmitting the actual message through a long text, this was done with the aid of a personification, by assembling personifications or by uniting a certain personification with a foreign attribute, such as Megalopsychia holding the measuring rod. Evidence of simultaneous transmission of a message in text and image is provided by the dedication miniature of Anicia Juliana. Here, the magnanimity of the princess was honored by placing the image of the personification next to Anicia Juliana and mentioning it in the accompanying inscription, as it was a description of the representation. This demonstrates that images cannot be imagined without personifications, regardless of medium and culture. They are a means for visual language and an integral part thereof. In this context, reference should be made to Downey, who concludes that "The Antiochian personifications represent the idea of the society, and they speak in a more direct vocabulary, representing, as they do, the reduction to the simplest possible terms of ideas and concepts which, if expressed through literary media, might be clothed in elaborate and possibly deceptive form".²³⁶ In terms of iconography and the find contexts, it could be determined that the use of personification on mosaic pavements was well thought out and not accidental in Late Antiquity. They should not be considered as ornaments, rather are elements that reveal a lot about the culture and the time in which they were created.

²³³ Shapiro 1993, 15; Meyer 2007, 183; Borg 2002, 70. 82.

²³⁴ Maguire 1987, 8.

²³⁵ Stafford 2000, 1.

²³⁶ Downey 1938, 350.

8 ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Unter dem Begriff *Personifikation* wird in der Forschungsliteratur im Allgemeinen die Darstellung einer Idee, eines Konzepts, oder eines Gegenstandes als Person verstanden. Im Zuge einer umfangreichen Bestandsaufnahme, die auf Grabungsberichten und bereits publizierten Katalogen der Mosaik aus der Orontes Region basiert, konnten in Antiochia und Daphne insgesamt 26 verschiedene weibliche Personifikationen auf Mosaikböden erfasst werden.²³⁷ Die Mosaik aus dem 5. und 6. Jh. n. Chr. der spätantiken Epoche stellen insgesamt 9 unterschiedliche weibliche Personifikationen dar, darunter Ananeosis (Erneuerung), Apolausis (Vergnügen), Epicosmesis (Fest), Ge (Erde), Ktisis (Gründung), Megalopsychia (Großmut), Soteria (Erlösung), Tethys (Meer) und Thalassa (Meer). Es handelt sich dabei in Summe um 14 Mosaikböden, auf denen die aufgelisteten Personifikationen einheitlich als Büsten abgebildet sind, die in einem Katalog zusammengefasst wurden. Der Katalog ist der Erste, der sich ausschließlich den Mosaikdarstellungen von weiblichen Personifikationen aus dem spätantiken Antiochia und Daphne widmet. Die Aufarbeitung des Materials ergab, dass in der Orontes Region weibliche Personifikationen in zwei verschiedenen Bautypen auftreten, nämlich in Häusern und Bädern. Die Aufnahme weiterer Fundorte im östlichen Mittelraum sorgte für eine Erweiterung des Fundkontexts auf Kirchen. Aus der Analyse der Fundkontexte geht hervor, dass gewisse Personifikationen für bestimmte Bautypen präferiert wurden. In den Kirchen etablierten sich vor allem Ananeosis, Ktisis, Ge und Thalassa. Ktisis dominiert in Häusern und Apolausis, Soteria und Tethys in Bädern. Daneben zeichnet sich ab, dass Ktisis die einzige Personifikation ist, die in allen untersuchten Bautypen (Haus, Bad, Kirche) vertreten ist. Bezüglich der Verteilung der Darstellungen konnte ermittelt werden, dass die Anzahl und die Art der Personifikationen in Antiochia und Daphne im Wesentlichen übereinstimmen, wobei eine wiederholte Abbildung einer bestimmten Personifikation an einem Fundort vorkommt, jedoch nicht in einem Bau. Was die räumliche Anordnung angeht, sind Personifikationen in Häusern sowohl in den Haupträumen als auch in den Seitenräumen (Korridore), in Bädern im *frigidarium* (Kaltbad) und in Kirchen im Hauptschiff dargestellt worden. Personifikationen nehmen generell eine bedeutende Position auf den Hauptachsen der Bodenmosaik ein und heben sich durch ihre auffällige frontale Haltung und ihre Attribute von den Nebenfiguren ab. Grundsätzlich besteht aber, was die Kleidung und den Schmuck der weiblichen Personifikationen betrifft, Einheitlichkeit mit den Mosaikbildern von Märtyrerinnen

²³⁷ Es handelt sich hierbei um die folgenden Personifikationen aus römischer und spätantiker Zeit: Agora, Aiokia, Amerimnia, Ananeosis, Apolausis, Arethusa, Aroua, Bios, Chresis, Cilicia, Dynamis, Epicosmesis, Euandria, Eucarpia, Ge, Ktisis, Lacedaemonia, Megalopsychia, Mnemosyne, Opora, Psalis, Soteria, Thalassa, Tethys, Thisbe, Tryphe.

und Stifterinnen. Frauen erscheinen auf Mosaiken edel gekleidet und reich geschmückt, unabhängig davon, ob sie ein Abstraktum oder eine in der Gesellschaft hoch angesehene Person verkörpern. Ferner wurde festgestellt, dass die Verwendung von Medaillonbüsten, die in Antiochia für Personifikationen bezeugt sind, im Laufe des 6. Jh. n. Chr. auf den Wandmosaiken der Kirchen für die Darstellung von Heiligen fortgesetzt wurde, ohne die Personifikationen in Kirchen vollständig zu ersetzen. Die Ergebnisse der Studie, die sich der Identifizierung von Personifikationen auf Mosaiken widmete, zeigen, dass Ge (Früchte, Füllhorn, *karpoi*), Ktisis (Messstab), Tethys (Flügel an der Stirn, Ruder, *Cetus*) und Thalassa (Krabbenscheren an der Stirn, Ruder, *Cetus*) anhand von bereits definierten Attributen und Konvention auch ohne ihre Beischriften identifizierbar sind. Die unbeschriftete Figur mit einem Nimbus im „House of the Ge and the Seasons“ scheint aufgrund ihrer singulären Ikonographie für Antiochia keine Personifikation darzustellen. Vergleichsbeispiele aus Kirchen lassen vermuten, dass die Frau eine Spenderin verkörpert und zusammen mit Ktisis (dargestellt im Nebenraum) die Hauptcharaktere für das Entstehen des Gebäudes symbolisiert. Darüber hinaus können Blumen mit Apolaisis und die *sporta* (Geldbehältnis) mit Megalopsychia assoziiert werden, wohingegen die Identifizierung von Ananeosis, Epicosmesis und Soteria, aufgrund fehlender standardisierter Konventionen und/oder Attribute, einzig von der Beischrift abhängig ist. Neben den archäologischen Beweisen, zeigen auch literarische und epigraphische Quellen, dass die Begriffe „Erneuerung“ und „Gründung“ von den frühen Kirchenvätern häufig verwendet wurden. Die in der Genesis beschriebene Erschaffung der Erde und des Meeres und deren metaphorische Konnotation mit dem Christentum führte dazu, dass die Personifikationen Ge und Thalassa in der Spätantike zu einem beliebten Motiv im Haus Gottes wurden, ohne dass sie mit Christus gleichgesetzt wurden. Eine dementsprechende christliche Umstrukturierung für die Personifikationen, die in Kirchen abgebildet sind, ist nicht immer der Fall. Ausschließlich das Bild der Ananeosis wurde in Qasr-el-Lebia mit einem Brotkorb ergänzt, dass das eucharistische Sakrament symbolisieren soll. Für die übrigen Personifikationen wurden dieselben Konventionen, wie in profanen Bauten, nachgewiesen. Unabhängig deren Kontexte konnte eine Mehrdeutigkeit für alle Personifikationen festgestellt werden, wobei die Mosaikbilder in den Häusern keine Rückschlüsse auf den Glauben ihrer Bewohner erlauben. Dafür beziehen sie sich auf das Ort, den Bau und/oder auf die soziale Stellung des Eigentümers.

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9.1 ABBREVIATIONS

AAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AW	Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte
Berytus	Berytus. Archaeological Studies
BMetrMus	The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
Boreas	Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie
ByzZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CRAI	Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
FrühMitAltSt	Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalter-forschung der Universität Münster
GrRomByzSt	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
JbAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JbKHSWien	Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
LibSt	Libyan Studies
LIMC	Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae
QDAP	The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine
RB	Revue biblique

REA	Revue des études anciennes
StBiFranc	Studium biblicum Franciscanum. Liber annuus
SymbOslo	Symbolae Osloenses
TransactAmPhilAss	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
TransactAmPhilosSoc	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

9.2 PRIMARY SOURCES

Acta apostolorum

Ambrose, Hexaameron

Ambrose, Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam

Ambrose, De sacramentis

Anthologia Graeca

Anthologia Palatina

Aristotle, Ethica Nicomachea

Augustine of Hippo, De civitate dei

Augustine of Hippo, Confessiones

Augustine of Hippo, Sermones genuini

Basil of Caesarea, Homiliae in hexaameron

Basil of Caesarea, Oratio I

Demetrius of Phalerum, De elocutione

Epistula ad Corinthios 1

Genesis homilies

Gregory of Nazianzus, De rebus suis

Hesiod, Theogonia

John Malalas

Libanius, Epistulae

Libanius, Orationes

Pauli epistula ad Galatos

Pausanias, Graeciae descriptio

Patrologia Graeca

Patrologia Latina

Plato, Alcibiades 2

Procopius of Caesarea, De aedificiis

Theodoret of Cyrus, De providentia

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Theophilus of Antioch, Ad autolyicum

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10 APPENDIX

Personification	House	Bath	Church	Quantity
Ananeosis (Renewal)	2 Antioch, House A <i>without attribute</i> Daphne, House (?) <i>peacock feather</i>	-	1 Qasr-el-Lebia, East Church <i>bread basket</i>	3
Apolausis (Enjoyment)	-	2 Antioch, Bath of Apolausis <i>flower</i> Hagios Taxiarchis, Bath <i>without attribute</i>	-	2
Epicomesis (Celebration)	1 Antioch, House (?) <i>without attribute</i>	-	-	1
Ge (Earth)	4 Antioch, House of Aion <i>fruit, karpoi, cornucopiae</i> Daphne, House of the Ge and the Seasons <i>fruit, cornucopia</i> Daphne, House of the Worcester Hunt <i>hem filled with fruit</i> Beit-Jibrin, House <i>hem filled with fruit</i>	-	3 Khirbet al-Mukhayyat, Church of Saint George <i>hem filled with fruit, karpoi</i> Wadi 'Afrat, Upper Chapel of Priest John <i>hem filled with fruit, karpoi</i> Umm al-Rasas, Church of Bishop Sergius <i>hem filled with fruit</i>	7
Ktisis (Foundation)	4 Antioch, House of Ktisis <i>measuring rod</i> Daphne, House of Ge and the Seasons <i>without attribute</i> Edessa, House <i>measuring rod</i> Uncertain origin, House (?) <i>measuring rod</i>	1 Kourion, Bath of the Villa of Eustolius <i>measuring rod</i>	1 Qasr-el-Lebia, East Church <i>branch, wreath, scroll</i>	6
Megalopsychia (Magnanimity)	2 Antioch, House <i>measuring rod</i> Daphne, Yaktó Complex <i>spora</i>	-	-	2
Soteria (Health)	-	1 Antioch, Bath of Apolausis <i>without attribute</i>	-	1
Thalassa (Sea)	1 Daphne, Yaktó Complex <i>rudder, crab claws as headdress, Cetus</i>	-	2 Madaba, Church of the Apostles <i>rudder, Cetus</i> Syria, Church (?) <i>rudder, crab claws as headdress, Cetus</i>	3
Tethys (Sea)	-	1 Antioch, Bath F <i>rudder, wings as headdress</i>	-	1

Table 1- Contextual overview of the personifications and their attributes

11 ILLUSTRATIONS

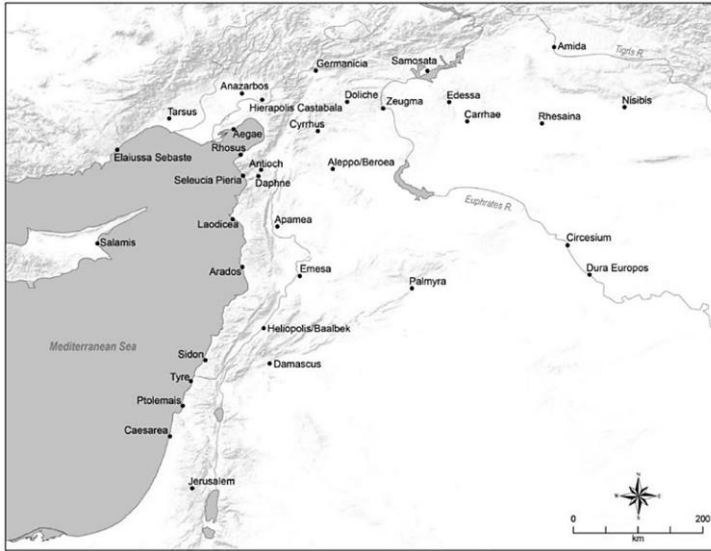


Fig. 1 - The cities of Roman Syria



Fig. 2 - Themis, Dinos of Sophilos, 580/570 BC, London, British Museum 1971,1101.1



Fig. 3 - Eris, Little-Master cup, middle of the 6th century BC



Fig. 4 - Dike and Adikia, Amphora, 520 BC, Vienna, KHM 3722



Fig. 5 – Ananeosis, House A, Antioch (cat. no. 5.1.1)



Fig. 6 - Ananeosis, House A, Antioch, in situ



Fig. 7 - Apolausis, Bath of Apolausis, Antioch (cat. no. 5.1.2)



Fig. 8 - Epicosmesis, Antioch (cat. no. 5.1.3)



Fig. 9 - Ge, House of Aion, Antioch (cat. no. 5.1.4)



Fig. 10 - Ge, House of Aion, in situ



Fig. 11 - Ktisis, House of Ktisis, Antioch (cat. no. 5.1.5)



Fig. 12 - Megalopsychia, House, Haraparasi Quarter, Antioch (cat. no. 5.1.6)



Fig. 13 - Soteria, Bath of Apolausis, Antioch (cat. no. 5.1.7)



Fig. 14 - Bath of Apolausis, mosaics in situ



Fig. 15 - Tethys, Bath F, Antioch, in situ (cat. no. 5.1.8)



Fig. 16 - Bath F, Antioch, position of the pool



Fig. 17 - Ananeosis, Daphne (cat. no. 5.2.1)



Fig. 18 - Ge, House of Ge and the Seasons, Daphne (cat. no. 5.2.2)



Fig. 19 - House of Ge and the Seasons, mosaic pavement in Room 1



Fig. 20 - Ge, House of the Worchester Hunt, Daphne (cat. no. 5.2.3)

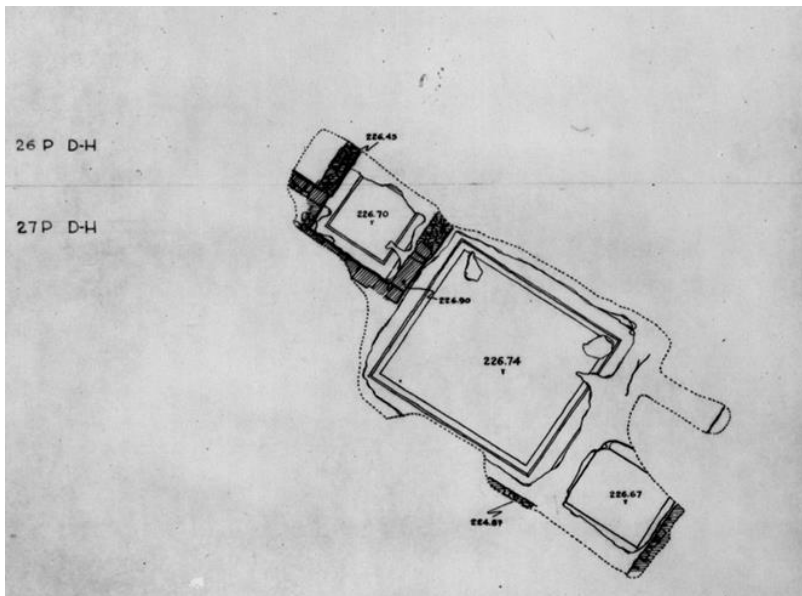


Fig. 21 - House of the Worchester Hunt, excavation plan



Fig. 22 - Ktisis, House of Ge and the Seasons, Daphne (5.2.4)

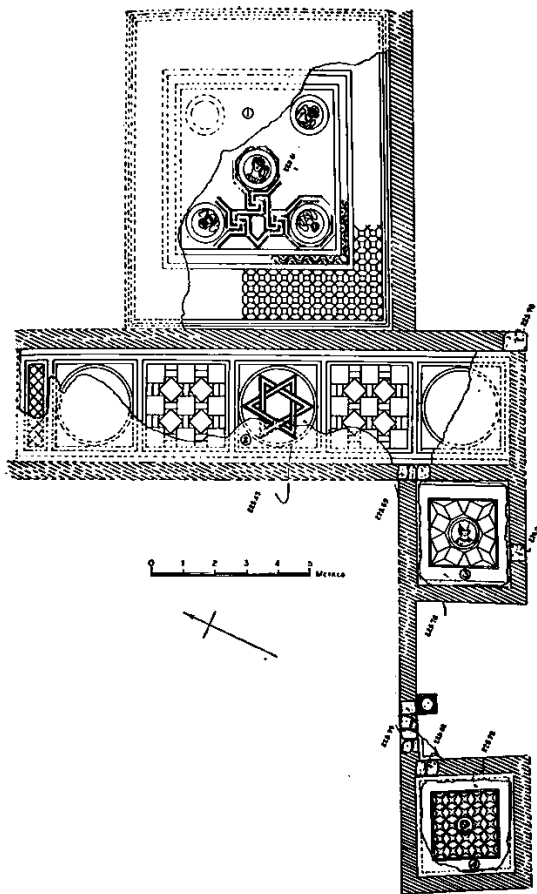


Fig. 23 - House of Ge and the Seasons, Rooms 1-4, schematic plan



Fig. 24 - Megalopsychia, Yaktó Complex, Daphne (cat. no. 5.2.5)



Fig. 25 - Yaktó Complex, mosaic pavement in Room A



Fig. 26 - Thalassa, Yakto Complex, Daphne (cat. no. 5.2.6)

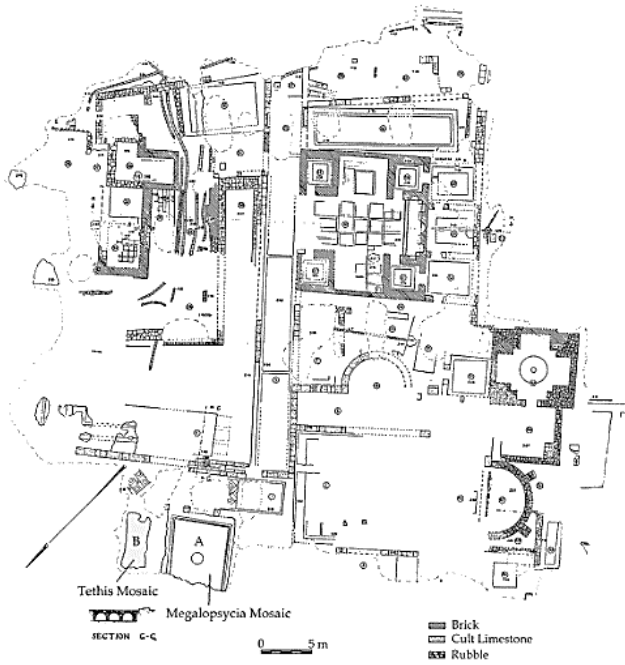


Fig. 27 - Yakto Complex, schematic plan

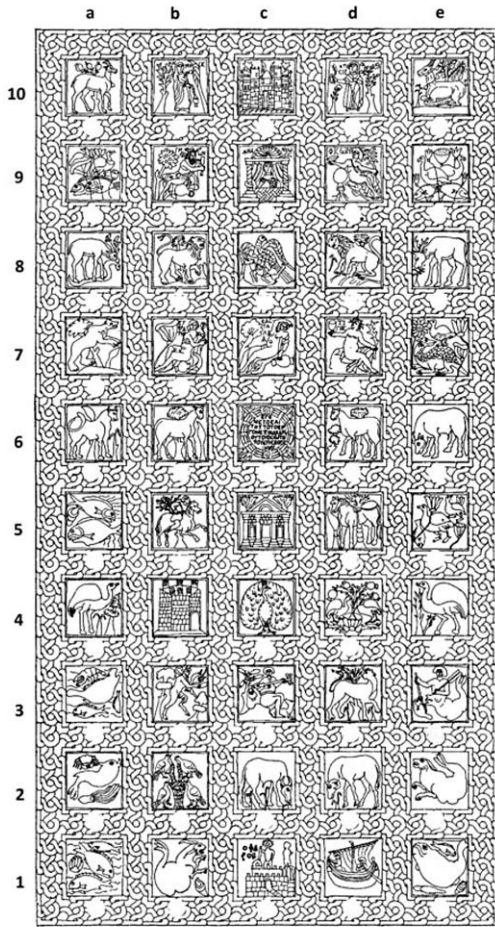


Fig. 28 - Qasr-el-Lebia, East Church, nave mosaic, schematic plan

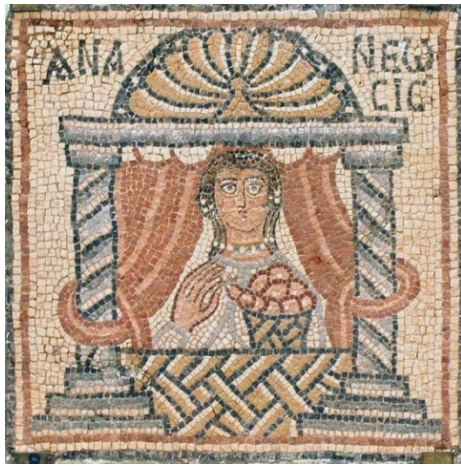


Fig. 29 - Ananeosis, East Church, Qasr-el-Lebia (cat. no. 5.3.1)



Fig. 30 - Apolauasis, Bath, Hagios Taxiarchis (cat. no. 5.3.2)



Fig. 31 - Wadi 'Afrif, Upper Chapel of Priest John, nave mosaic, in situ

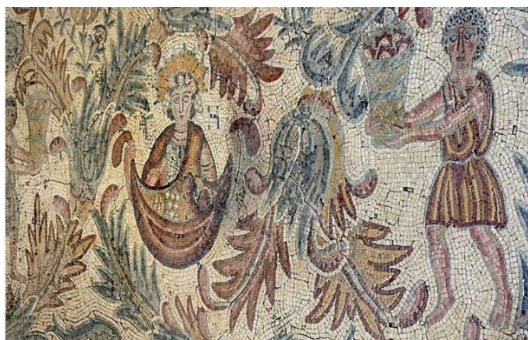


Fig. 32 - Ge, Upper Chapel of Priest John, Wadi 'Afrif (cat. no. 5.3.3)



Fig. 33 - Ge, Villa, Beit-Jibrin (cat. no. 5.3.4)

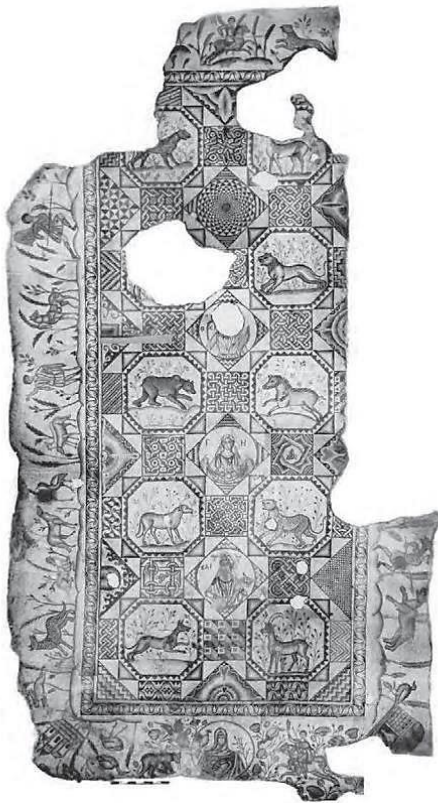


Fig. 34 - Beit-Jibrin, mosaic pavement

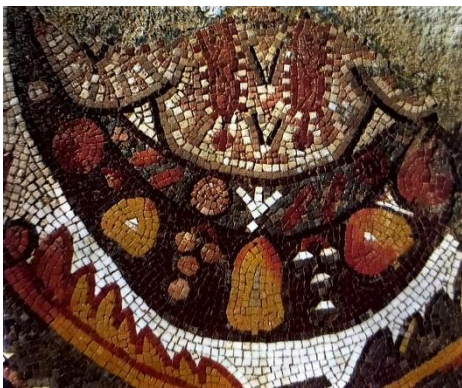


Fig. 35 - Ge, Church of Saint George, Khirbet el-Mukhayyat (cat. no. 5.3.5)



Fig. 36 - Khirbet el-Mukhayyat, Church of Saint George, nave pavement, schematic plan



Fig. 37 - Ge, Church of Bishop Sergius, Umm al-Rasas (cat. no. 5.3.6)

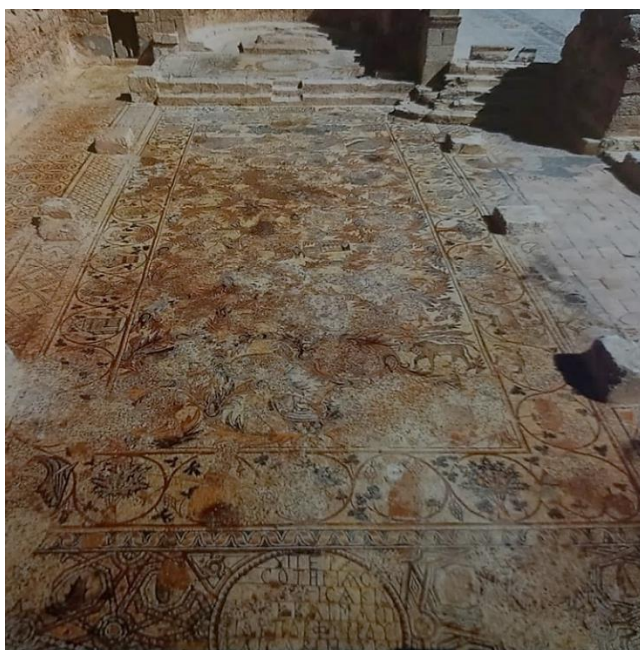


Fig. 38 - Umm al Rasas, Church of Bishop Sergius, nave pavement, in situ



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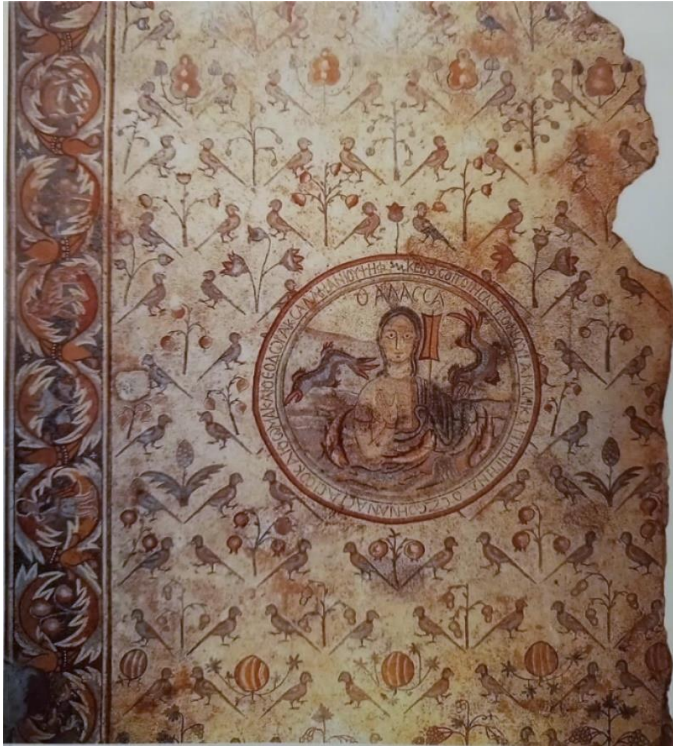


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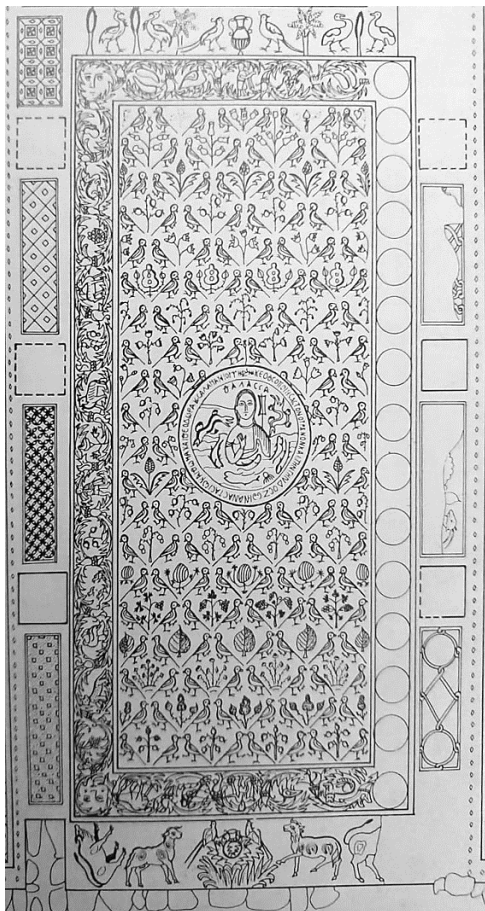


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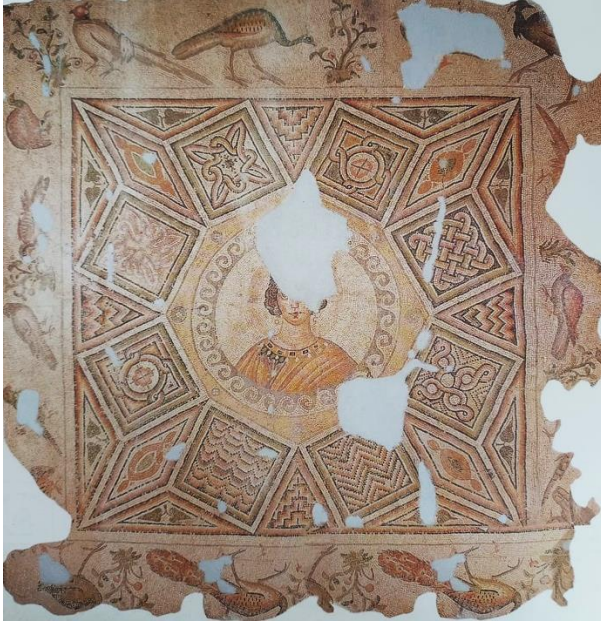


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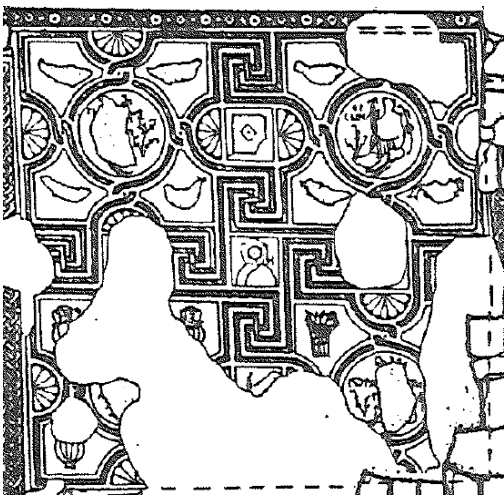


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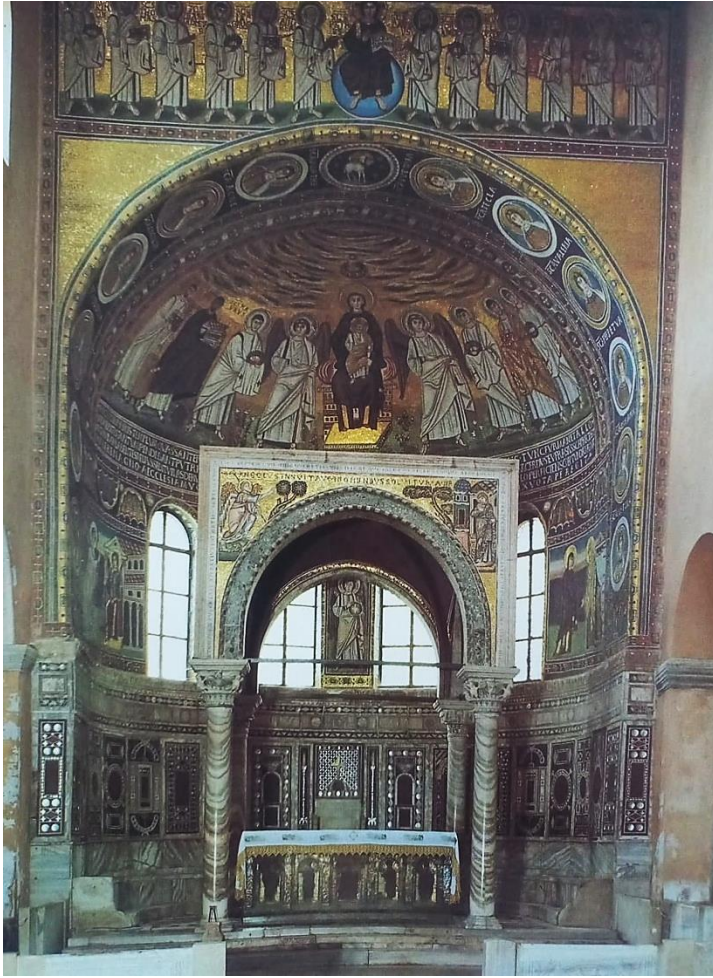


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13 ABSTRACT

The themes and the motifs that appear in the rich mosaic repertoire of Antioch have captured the attention of scholars for their variety and artistic quality. This master's thesis aims to discuss the representation of female personifications on Late Antique floor mosaics in the Orontes region from the 5th and 6th centuries AD. The mosaics from Antioch and the suburb of Daphne attested for the research period are catalogued and then subjected to an iconographic study. The personifications will be thoroughly analyzed in order to understand how and to which extent certain attributes or conventions are characteristic for Late Antique visual language. The study includes mosaic images from the private, public, and religious domains. The intention is also to provide an iconographical and contextual comparisons with parallels from other Eastern Mediterranean sites as well as to establish how these images, apparently pagan, were perceived by the Christian viewer.

Die Mosaiken von Antiochia haben von Beginn an die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher aufgrund ihrer Vielfalt und ihrer künstlerischen Qualität auf sich gezogen. Die vorliegende Masterarbeit befasst sich mit der Darstellung von weiblichen Personifikationen auf spätantiken Bodenmosaiken in der Orontes Region aus dem späten 5. und 6. Jh. n. Chr. Die für den Untersuchungszeitraum bezeugten Mosaik aus Antiochia und dem Vorort Daphne werden katalogisiert und anschließend einer ikonographischen Untersuchung unterzogen. Die Personifikationen werden unter Berücksichtigung der Details gründlich studiert, um zu verstehen, wie und in welchem Umfang bestimmte Attribute und/oder Konventionen für die spätantike Bildsprache charakteristisch sind. Die Studie umfasst Mosaikbilder aus dem privaten, öffentlichen und religiösen Bereich. Ikonographische und kontextuelle Vergleiche mit Parallelen aus anderen Fundorten im östlichen Mittelmeerraum werden vorgenommen, um zu verstehen, wie die Rezeption dieser scheinbar heidnischen Bilder von der christlichen Gesellschaft wahrgenommen wurde.