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Fig. 1. Mosaic fragment of a kneeling gazelle, fifth century. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, acc. no. 70.12.

THE GAZELLE MOSAIC: AN INHABITED SCROLL IN MISSOURI

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Floral scrolls occupied by human and animal elements performing a variety of activities were an extremely popular motif of Roman decorative art. The popularity of these “peopled” or “inhabited” scrolls was such that they became the stock-in-trade of Roman and Early Byzantine mosaic art. On display at the Museum of Art and Archaeology is a circular mosaic fragment representing a gazelle kneeling in the middle of an acanthus scroll (Fig. 1), which is a particularly interesting example of this type of decorative device.¹

The acanthus scroll² is composed of six interconnected leaves arranged in alternating directions: they are seen in side views, one pointing upwards, the following one downwards, curling and overlapping with geometric regularity. The leaves are rendered in three distinct color schemes, which follow in sequence and repeat: light-brown and tan, brick red-red and pink, grayish green and light brown. The leaf tips are highlighted in white and the outer contours defined in black or brick red. Three lines of black tesserae projecting upwards from the first leaf may be the beginning of tendrils. The gazelle, nestled in the elliptical area defined by the leaves, is represented in profile, facing left, its long horns and ears curving slightly to follow the contour of the scroll. Its hindquarters rest on a red leaf that reappears in the area between the back and the neck of the animal and starts again next to its lower jaw, curving downwards towards its front legs. The gazelle’s front legs and its rump abut the scroll, giving the impression that the animal is hiding in the vegetation. Three varying shades of brown and tan were used on the body of the animal; white highlights the belly, legs, chest, neck and the area below the eye. The eye consists of a black tessera encircled by smaller red and white tesserae. Black outlines the body, with the exception of the neck and belly, where red was used. Below the gazelle’s hindquarters and attached to the acanthus scroll by a thin line of black tesserae is a large light brown and tan pomegranate with white highlights. The background of the piece is white.

The peopled scroll, a vine, acanthus or laurel rinceau with added vegetal, human or animal motifs, originated in Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece but its full development and widespread use occurred in Roman times, with continued

popularity into the Early Byzantine period.³ The motif is particularly common in mosaics, but it is also present in other forms of decorative art such as wall paintings,⁴ architectural decoration,⁵ and metalwork.⁶

In mosaics, peopled scrolls were a rather common border motif for mythological, pastoral, agricultural or hunting scenes throughout the Empire. From the fourth century onwards they will just as commonly appear as field decoration.⁷ Their widespread use is attested in Italy,⁸ in the Western provinces,⁹ and in North Africa,¹⁰ but this was a particularly favored motif in the eastern provinces¹¹ and it is there that the closest stylistic parallels to the Missouri gazelle are to be found. For the general development of mosaics in the northwest provinces and their chronology see Klaus Parlasca, *Die Römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland* (Berlin 1959), specifically the pavement from Fliessem, pp. 16-18, pl. 21-22.

Comparison to four Early Byzantine pavements from Daphne and Yaktó, suburbs of Antioch (modern Antakya, Turkey), points to a common artistic tradition. The pavements are: the *triclinium* of the Constantinian Villa,¹² the Worcester Hunt mosaic,¹³ the border of the Mosaic of the Rams' Heads¹⁴ and the borders of rooms 2 and 4 of the Yaktó complex.¹⁵ These four pavements and the Missouri gazelle share a similar iconographic type, in that they all have scrolls with representations of animals. In the Antiochene examples they are, however, shown in flight and on a black background unlike the gazelle in our piece, which is represented at rest and on a white background. It is the treatment of the acanthus scroll, specifically, that places all these examples within the same tradition and distinguishes them from pavements in neighboring areas. The scrolls run in regular spirals. The leaves are shown only from the side, as if folded, with serrated edges pointing inwards, followed by another leaf shown in the same manner but with the serrated edges pointing outwards.

The earliest example of the group is the hunting mosaic from the Constantinian Villa (Fig. 2). It displays these characteristics in the classicizing, naturalistic style of the so-called "Constantinian Renaissance" evident in the abundance of details, the careful rendering of the flowers and fruits that occupy the center of the scrolls, the delicate tendrils that stem from the acanthus and the delicate coloring achieved by the use of glass tesserae in tones of gray, gray-green and green. Despite this, the leaves are very large and uniformly lit, with no attempt at balancing light and shade. A coin of Constantine, the Great (reigned A.D. 311–A.D. 337), imbedded in the mortar provides a *terminus post quem* for this pavement.¹⁶



Fig. 2. Detail of the border of the hunting mosaic of the Constantinian Villa (Daphne, near Antioch), fourth century. Louvre Museum, acc. no. Ma3444. Photo courtesy of Louvre Museum, Paris.

The fragments from the Yakto complex show a further simplification of the vegetal characteristics of the acanthus leaves so that they appear very flat against the dark background. This impression is emphasized by the dark, linear shading on the rib of the leaves, which gives the impression of a spiral running parallel to the scroll and from which the leaves protrude. The fragments from the Yakto complex are dated by Levi to the period of A.D. 350–A.D. 400, on purely stylistic grounds.¹⁷

A further development towards schematization occurs in the border fragment from the House of the Rams' Heads (Fig. 3). The rinceau is on black ground; the leaves are gray-green with white highlights and various shades of red on the underside. The scrolls contain a hunting putto, a pomegranate, and a ram protome rendered in light gray, gray and light violet. The acanthus leaves are shown in a side view, their serrated edges alternately pointed up or down. The midrib of the leaves is a circular light line on the dark background that hints at the ribbon-like effect of the shading in the scroll from the Yakto Complex, but that impression is not carried through as the midrib of each leaf is interrupted where a new leaf begins. The effect is somewhat schematic but still naturalistic. Occasionally, the serrated edges of more leaves appear on the underside of the scroll in an attempt at

perspective that is not entirely successful. This detail is absent in the Missouri piece as the area where it could have been present is not preserved. Overall, however, the treatment of the scroll is very similar.

Levi dates this mosaic to A.D. 500 on stylistic grounds. The archaeological evidence, however, points to a late fourth-early fifth century date: in the layer immediately below the mosaic were found two coins, one of Valentinian I (reigned A.D. 364–A.D. 375), and another of the same emperor or of Valens (reigned A.D. 364–A.D. 378), and pottery and lamps dated to the late fourth-early fifth century. These finds provide a *terminus post quem* for the pavement.¹⁸ In light of the archaeological evidence, the mosaic of the House of the Rams' Heads is more appropriately dated to the fifth century.¹⁹

The Worcester Hunt mosaic (Fig. 4) presents a later stage of this development. The vegetal motif has degenerated into a purely ornamental element. The arched line that is still reminiscent of a midrib on the Yakto border has become an outline with an identical line defining an inner contour so that the leaves are arranged inside double geometric spirals. Their serrated edges are rendered in light tones on the dark background and stem alternately from the inner or the outer arch in a purely decorative, schematic rendering. There is controversy on the date of the Worcester Hunt mosaic. Levi proposes a sixth-century date on stylistic grounds.²⁰ However, new evidence from neighboring areas, specifically



Fig. 3. Mosaic fragment from the House of the Rams' Heads (Daphne, near Antioch), fifth century. Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland. Antioch Subscription Fund, acc. no. 1937.130. Permission to reproduce courtesy of the Baltimore Museum of Art.



Fig. 4. Border of the Worcester Hunt, House of the Worcester Hunt, Room 1 (Daphne, near Antioch), fifth century. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, acc. no. 1936.31. Photo courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

Apamea, and the reexamination of the stylistic evolution of the hunting mosaics of Antioch suggest the last third of the fifth century as a more reasonable date for the Worcester Hunt.²¹

From a purely stylistic perspective the Missouri gazelle would fall somewhere between the Constantinian villa and the Worcester Hunt mosaics in that it does not display the delicate naturalism of the first nor the crude schematization of the second. The closest stylistic parallel for the treatment of the acanthus rinceau is offered by the fifth-century pavement of the House of the Rams' Heads (Fig. 3). Apamea, now Qalaat al-Mudik, in northern Syria, provides another workable parallel in the border of the mosaic of Meleager and Atalanta (Fig. 5) dated to the last quarter of the fifth century.²² This luxuriant border is composed of large, full acanthus leaves shown in side and oblique views with naturalistic shading. Protomes of lions, bears, ducks, fish, and bulls erupt from the scrolls. One hunting putto appears on each of the four sides of this rectangular border and in the corners there are vegetal masks like those from the Constantinian Villa at Antioch, all on a black background. The acanthus rinceau is rather more detailed and naturalistic than that of the Missouri example. The vegetal characteristics are more obvious, less schematic, better understood. The leaves are a fuller, more elaborate version of those around the Missouri gazelle, but they are arranged in a similar manner: each leaf stems from its predecessor, which thus acts as a sort of receptacle. This specific detail makes these mosaics a group unto themselves. In other areas, there prevails a tendency to treat the scroll as one continuous flat leaf with one or two jagged sides, emerging from a calyx that comes to resemble a horn or a cornucopia, spiraling towards its center. This trend, present in early fourth-century mosaics of Aquileia²³ became a standard in North African mosaics²⁴ and appears also in third to seventh-century mosaics in Jordan,²⁵ Israel,²⁶ Lebanon,²⁷ and Cilicia.²⁸

Thus, from a purely stylistic standpoint, the treatment of the acanthus scroll alone establishes a close relation between the mosaic fragment from Missouri and the parallels from the Daphne suburb of Antioch as well as the neighboring area of Apamea.

As for the treatment of the animal itself, the Missouri gazelle is represented in a somewhat more naturalistic manner than the foliage. Anatomical proportions are correct, even though some details are simplified. Highlights in white and tan tesserae add volume to the body, namely around the forelegs, belly and hindquarters, but the separation between anatomical areas is done with a few lines of color and some disregard for their plastic and organic qualities, as is obvious in the chest, legs and belly. Foreshortening is awkward, as, for example, in the depiction of the muzzle, mouth, horns, and right front leg. The latter, especially, sticks out at an awkward angle from the animal's chest. Overall, the effect is one of simplified naturalism because the animal's representation is abbreviated but not quite cartoon-like. These characteristics place the gazelle within the repertoire of



Fig. 5. Detail of the border of the mosaic of Meleager and Atalanta (SW corner of Apamea, Syria), last quarter of the fifth century. Photo courtesy of Janine Balty, Centre Belge de Recherches Archéologiques a Apamée de Syrie, Brussels, Belgium.

animal representations produced in Antioch and neighboring areas in the fifth and early sixth centuries.

This type of kneeling or seated animal occurs frequently within hunting, pastoral and harvest subjects. In general, after the Constantinian age, there is a move towards more ornamental, less organic representations of animals, with liveliness of movement and formulaic stances replacing anatomical realism.²⁹ In North Africa, two mid-third-century mosaics from El Djem display the range of use of the kneeling animal type in that province. In the Hare Hunt mosaic,³⁰ one hare hides in the middle of a circular thicket of vegetation with hounds and hunters about to descend upon it. A set of kneeling animals appears in the mosaic of the Dice-players,³¹ a still life mosaic with *xenia* motifs, where beasts of the amphitheater share space with ocean creatures, dead and live fowl, fruits and plants and two kneeling gazelles. The whole composition is organized into square registers surrounded by a laurel border. One other interesting parallel is that of a kneeling gazelle from the Maison de l’Arsenal (also known as Maison du Virgile) in Sousse,³² which is surrounded by *xenia* motifs but, unlike those in the example from El Djem, these are scattered throughout the available space, with no border other than a stalk of millet extending along the outer edges of the mosaic. These three examples share, if not a common theme, an affinity of style. The creatures are



Fig. 6. Reclining feline, detail of the border of the mosaic in the nave of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba, Jordan, sixth century. Photo courtesy of Fr. Michele Piccirillo.

elegant, with long bodies, graceful necks and, in the case of the gazelles, very large, alert eyes. They are of a type with the Missouri gazelle but not of the same style. Antioch and its neighboring areas provide closer parallels.

Jordan provides several examples of peaceful animals nestled in the middle of an acanthus scroll: a gazelle and a feline in the border of the mosaic from the nave of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba (Fig. 6), a stag in the border of the nave mosaic in the Chapel of Elias, Maria and Soreg in Jerash, a sheep and lion in the field decoration of the nave of the Upper Chapel of the Priest



Fig. 7. Reclining sheep, detail of the field decoration of the mosaic in the nave of the upper Chapel of the Priest John at Khirbat al-Makhayyat (Mount Nebo), Jordan, sixth century. Photo courtesy of Fr. Michele Piccirillo.

John at Khirbat al-Makhayyat (Mt. Nebo) (Fig. 7) and several animals in the field decoration of the nave of the church of the Palm Tree at Umm Al-Rasas.³³ They appear in a Christian context, in mosaics that display a combination of harvest, pastoral and hunting subjects. The animals are represented in simplified forms, outlined in black, with anatomical partitions and details defined by stark lines and very linear shading. They are shown within a circular area defined by two or three leaves with very jagged edges and well-defined midribs, almost totally devoid of their vegetal character. The animals with their surrounding foliage appear

cartoon-like. They represent an interesting development of the type but are not very close parallels for the Missouri gazelle.

Closer stylistic, if not iconographic, parallels can be established with three pavements from the Yakto and Daphne suburbs of Antioch. Kneeling or seated animals appear in hunting mosaics of the area: a gazelle in the mosaic of Megalopsychia, one ibex and two hares in the Worcester Hunt (Fig. 8) and a goat in the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (Fig. 9).³⁴ These animals are part of larger field

compositions. They are unharmed and motionless amidst wounded and fleeing animals pursued by hunters through a landscape suggested by scattered clumps of vegetation. The vegetation surrounds none of these animals, but they share a similarity of treatment with the Missouri gazelle: they are naturalistically rendered, despite the simplified anatomical details and the linear shading. This is particularly true of the representation of the ibex in the Worcester Hunt (Fig. 8) and the goat in the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (Fig. 9), especially in details such as the bend of the animals' left legs which stick out from their chests just as awkwardly as the right leg in the Missouri gazelle.

The eastern provinces provide other examples that may establish a link in the stylistic evolution of the treatment of animals from the fifth- and sixth-century mosaics of Antioch and the late sixth-century mosaics of Jordan: the stiff, immobile animals in the Martyrion of Seleucia,³⁵ the rather decorative, ornamental animals in the border of the House of the Rams' Heads (Fig. 3) and the lively but simplified forms of the animals in the mosaic of Meleager and Atalanta from Apamea (Fig. 5). It is within this stylistic context that both the animal and the scroll in the mosaic fragment from Missouri are to be placed.

The depiction of animals resting amidst an acanthus scroll is very rare, as the four examples from Jordan would indicate. They are more often shown as animal protomes bursting from within a scroll, arranged as a border motif on a dark background. White background for borders is not very common either. Six examples can be mentioned. Two in Madaba, in the Baptistry Chapel and in the Church of Al-Khadir, both mosaics dated to the sixth century and occupied by scenes of hunting, fowling and herding; one at Umm Al-Rasas in the Church of the Priest Wa'il where various standing animals and one horseman survived the Iconoclasts; another at Zay, in the territory of Gadara of Peraea with foliate masks, birds, a horned ram and a cup on a pedestal;³⁶ the border of the mosaic from the villa at Jenah, Lebanon; and the border of a mosaic from Nahariya, Israel.

The use of the inhabited acanthus as field decoration occurs in the sixth-century churches of the Priest John (Fig. 7) and of St. George at Khirbat al-Makhayyat (Mount Nebo area), at Umm Al-Rasas in the Church of Bishop Sergius, Church of the Lions, Church of the Palm Tree, and Church of the Rivers, all dating to the late-sixth century, and in a secular context in the seventh-century mosaic in the Burnt Palace at Madaba.³⁷ Judging by size alone, the scroll from Missouri may have been a field element. It is 91.44 cm in diameter, which places it among the larger examples in the groups defined by Claudine Dauphin in her

study of the use of peopled scrolls in Eastern mosaics. Because of its diameter, it is to be placed alongside the large scrolls used, for example, in the field decoration of the mosaics in the Chapel of the Priest John and the Church of Saint George.³⁸ As a border element it would have been part of a rather large border that could have measured up to 1.20 meters. Large borders of over 1 meter in width are also mentioned in Dauphin's study, but the scrolls in them are usually smaller than our example.³⁹

The white background coupled with the large size of the scroll, would reinforce the possibility that this may have been a field element rather than a border element. These two characteristics also place it within the traditions defined by the sixth-century mosaics of the churches of the Priest John, St. George, Bishop Sergius and the seventh-century mosaic from the Burnt Palace at Madaba.

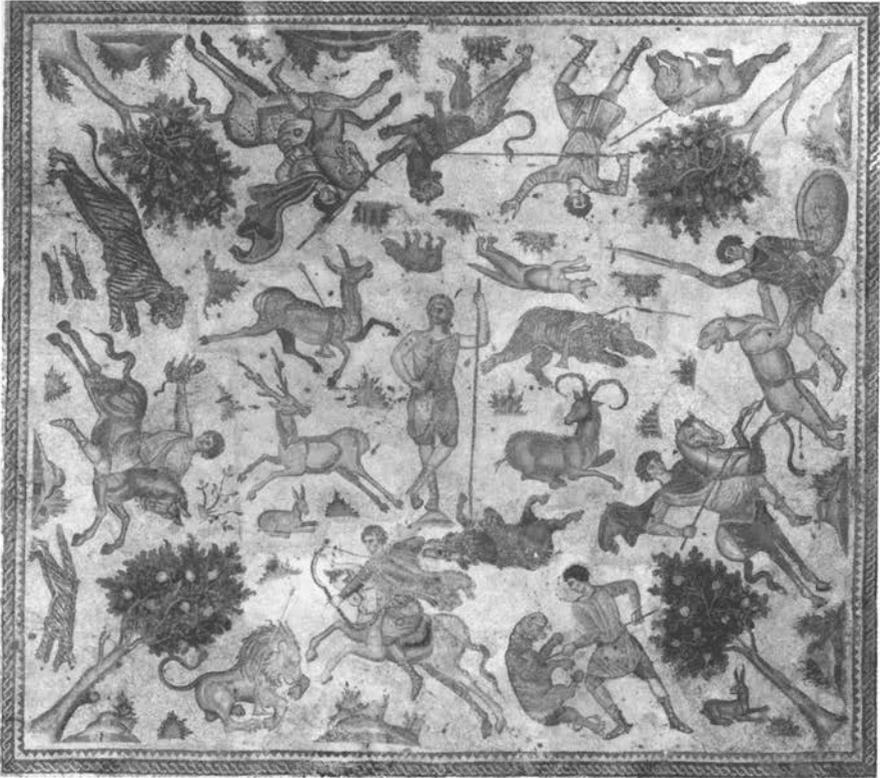


Fig. 8. The Worcester Hunt, field decoration, fifth century. House of the Worcester Hunt, Room 1 (Daphne, near Antioch). Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, acc. no. 1936.30. Photo courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

However, the style of representation is without a doubt very different, as is the technical quality of the work as defined by tesserae count. The piece in Missouri uses approximately 100 tesserae per square decimeter in the background and 144 in the figure of the gazelle, which places this on a par with the finest examples from the Imperial Palace in Constantinople and the House of the Rams' Heads in Antioch.⁴⁰ The Jordanian mosaics are coarser, with lower tesserae count and wider spacing of tesserae. Also, they are laid in a more simplified way than in the Missouri piece, where they follow contour lines very closely. The use of a pomegranate as a space filler occurs in mosaics in Constantinople, Antioch (Constantinian villa, House of the Rams' Heads), Misis, Jenah, Madaba and Jerash.⁴¹

The stylistic and iconographic evidence points to the suburbs of Antioch as a likely place of origin for the Missouri gazelle, but the absence of an archaeological context leaves us in the dark about the type of building it decorated and its cultural and religious context. Here we can only speculate, based on the settings of other mosaics excavated under controlled conditions. The museum purchased this piece on the art market. According to information provided at that time by the dealer, the mosaic fragment had been excavated at Daphne in 1965 and later held in a private collection. Art dealers are notorious for fabricating deceptive provenances for antiquities, however in this case, the dealer's statement appears to be strongly supported by the evidence of stylistic and iconographic comparanda.

Whereas in Antioch the peaceful animals are without the enclosure of a vegetal element, and a part of the hunting scenes that decorate the floors of private homes, in Jordan they appear surrounded by foliage in association with hunting, pastoral and harvest scenes in the pavements of churches.

Within a pagan context, the peopled scroll has either a purely organic function within hunting scenes, i.e., animals hide in vegetation to escape death or capture or cower before an unavoidable fate, or it is an appropriate component of a Dionysiac or Orphic scene, in which the animals are either to be viewed as the symbols of wild, unrestrained Nature or the beneficiaries of the soothing spell cast by the divine musician's lyre. As the composition of the pavements changes, so does the symbolism attached to a motif that will endure one more change with the advent of Christianity.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the Christian church became the most important source of patronage for mosaic workshops. Traditional (pagan) motives that lent themselves to Christian interpretation were readily adapted to new purposes

by the mosaicists. The transfer into a Christian context of rural and hunting scenes, often enclosed in a vine or acanthus scroll, occurred predominantly in sixth-century Eastern churches where they are part of the wide repertory of representational motives that replaced the geometric and nonfigurative themes of earlier church pavements.⁴² The popularity of these motifs seems to be borne out by the fact that the peopled scroll was used as decoration for the floors of churches more often than for any other building.⁴³ The motionless, sometimes cowering animals seen in the secular scenes of hunting and *venationes* of Antioch acquire a new dimension when present on the floor of a church.

The symbolism attached to the inhabited scroll as it was transferred from a pagan to a Christian context includes a wide range of themes,⁴⁴ namely: mankind's stewardship of the Earth whose bounty is offered to God and thus establishes human supremacy over the natural world and specifically over animals,⁴⁵ and the Animal Paradise in which the beasts "are transformed into the peaceful assembly described by Isaiah."⁴⁶ Within these themes, individual elements are given an



Fig. 9. Detail of reclining goat from the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (possibly from a house on Mt. Stauris, Antioch), late-fifth–early-sixth century. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington D.C., acc. no. 38.74 a, c. Photo courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

added symbolic value. For instance, a lamb recalls the Good Shepherd, a dove is linked to the Baptism of Christ, a deer to the soul's yearning for God, a caged bird is the soul imprisoned in the body.⁴⁷ However, a number of animals appear to have no symbolic value: the gazelle is one such.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, it is present in the border or field decoration of several Jordanian mosaics, as mentioned previously, in an unquestionably Christian context.

In Antioch, peaceful animals parade around the ambulatory of the sixth-century Martyrion of Seleucia and also in the fifth-century mosaic in the Hall of Philia, two examples of

Christian mosaics, which are believed to illustrate the Peaceful Kingdom described by Isaiah.⁴⁹

The adaptability of the peopled scroll to a variety of settings and contexts was the very reason for its longevity and popularity. According to C. Dauphin, “It is simply a neutral theme, read, understood and interpreted according to the mentality of the onlooker, for the life of artistic motifs is far longer than that of their original significance. Like most other motifs from the Graeco-Roman artistic repertory, the inhabited scroll passed into Jewish and Christian art alike, taking on different meanings according to the period, the religion, the building and the onlooker.”⁵⁰

The fact that the closest stylistic parallels to the Missouri gazelle were found in private villas at Daphne,⁵¹ where the motif is used within a pagan context, coupled with the iconographic connections to the sixth-century Christian mosaics of Jordan, namely, the peaceful, seated gazelle, the white background and large size of the scroll, raise an interesting possibility. This fragment could be viewed as an example of a transitional period in Antioch during which pagan motifs and the workshops that produced them were coming under the patronage of the Christian churches and bringing with them their traditional (pagan) repertoires of motives.

In light of the available evidence, I propose that the Missouri gazelle was a field element of a mosaic produced for a Christian building in Antioch or its suburbs sometime in the fifth century. This date would place it within the years of production of its closest stylistic parallels, the mosaic fragment from the House of the Rams’ Heads and the hunting mosaics of Antioch and Apamea.⁵²

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NOTES

1. Acc. no. 70.12. Dimensions: vertical axis - 83.82 cm, horizontal axis - 91.44 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, "Acquisitions," *Muse* 5 (1971), p. 6, illus. on cover; Osmund Overby, ed., *Illustrated Museum Handbook* (University of Missouri Press, Columbia & London, 1982) p. 7, fig.11; Museum of Art and Archaeology, *All That Creepeth Upon the Earth: Animals in Art from the Ancient World* (Museum of Art and Archaeology, Columbia, Missouri, May 30–August 2, 1992) no. 59.
2. Catherine Balmelle et al., *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine*, (Paris, 1985) motif no. 64,e.
3. The changing form of this motif is summarized by: Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, (Princeton, 1947) pp. 489-517; Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee and John B. Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls: A Hellenistic Motif in Imperial Art," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 18 (1950) pp. 1-43, pls. 1-26; Ernst Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington, Ind., 1976) p. 71; Claudine Dauphin, "A New Method of Studying Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements (Coding and Computer Analysis) with Special reference to the Levant," *Levant* VIII (1976) pp. 113-149; Idem, "Byzantine Pattern Books: A Reexamination of the Problem in the Light of the 'Inhabited Scroll,'" *Art History* I, 4 (1978) pp. 400-423; Idem, "Symbolic or Decorative? The Inhabited Scroll as a Means of Studying some Early Christian Mentalities," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) pp. 10-34.
4. Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls," p. 7, note 22. See also Levi, *AMP*, pp. 489-517.
5. Cf. the limestone lintel (acc. no. 67.177) with rinceau enclosing rampant animals in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology: "Acquisitions," *Muse* 2 (1968) p. 5; K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality, Catalogue of the Exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1977-1978* (New York, 1979) no. 146.
6. Cf. one Early Byzantine silver and gilt bracelet (acc. no. 68.175b) with open-work vine scroll in the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology: "Acquisitions," *Muse* 3 (1969) p. 11, illus.; Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "Three Early Byzantine Ornaments," *Muse* 26 (1992) pp. 46-52, illus. The minor arts, and metal-work specifically, first made use of this motif and were responsible for its

continuation according to Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls," p. 4 and p. 42.

7. This is particularly true in the eastern part of the Empire. Dauphin, *Levant VIII*, pp. 113-149, studied 116 mosaics of the fourth to the seventh centuries, C.E., from Constantinople, Cilicia, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine (Israel, Jordan, and the West Bank) with peopled scroll decoration and found that the motif had been used almost exclusively in borders in second- and third-century mosaics. In mosaics of the fourth to the seventh centuries there was a 50-50 split between borders and fields (p. 119).

8. For a general account see Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, "Peopled Scrolls," pp. 1-43 and Levi, *AMP*, pp. 489-517.

9. In addition to the Western mosaics included in the studies mentioned above, it is worth including a reference to the Spanish pavements of the villa de El Pesquero (José María Álvarez Martínez, "Nuevos documentos para la iconografía de Orfeo en España," in Peter Johnson, Roger Ling and David J. Smith, eds., *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics: Held in Bath, England, on September 5-12, 1987* (*Journal of Roman Archaeology*, supp. ser. 9) (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1994) pp. 217-223, figs. 7-9); a mosaic with a victory scene in the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano (*Corpus de Mosaicos de España I*, #43, pp. 45-46, pl. 77); a pavement from the villa of El Hinojal (*CME I*, #65, p. 52, pls. 95-98, 107); the mosaic of Portman (*CME IV*, #93, p. 83, pl. 46); the pavement from the villa of Hellin (Sebastián Ramallo Asensio, J. Jordán Montes, *La villa romana de Hellin (Albacete)* (Murcia 1985) pp. 17-18); and that of the villa del Ramalete (*CME VII*, p. 70ff.). All of these mostly fourth-century pavements display a marked simplification of the motif that, although still retaining some of its vegetal characteristics, is represented in a stiff, decorative manner with leaves sprouting from horn-like elements, tendrils ending in leaves or fruits, the whole scroll making a very pronounced spiral whose center is occupied by running animals, animal protomes and also the usual fruits and flowers. Overall they display very close stylistic ties to North Africa.

10. For the general development of North African mosaics see Katherine Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford, 1978).

11. For a general development see Ernst Kitzinger, "Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian", *La Mosäique Greco-Romaine. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, (Paris, 1963 [1965]) pp. 341-351.
12. Levi, *AMP*, p. 226ff., 501-2, pls. LII, LIV-LV; Richard Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes II. The excavations of 1933-36* (Princeton, 1938) pp. 197-200, pls. 62-8; Irving Lavin, "The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and their sources," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963) p. 190, no. 21; Frances F. Jones, "Antioch mosaics in Princeton," *The Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 40 (1981) no. 2.
13. Levi, *AMP*, pp. 363-5, 504-5, pls. CXLIVb-d; Stillwell, *Antioch*, pp. 200-2, pls. 70-1.
14. Levi, *AMP*, pp. 350, 504, pls. LXXXIId; Stillwell, *Antioch*, pp. 188-189 n. 60, sections 4 and 2, pls. 45-6; *Early Christian and Byzantine Art. An exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art. April 25-June 22* (Baltimore, 1947) p. 131, no. 667.
15. Levi, *AMP*, p. 503, pls. CXLIIIg and CXLIVa.
16. Stillwell, *Antioch*, p. 197ff.; Levi, *AMP*, p. 226, 625; Lavin, *DOP* 17, p. 190, n. 21.
17. Levi, *AMP*, pp. 279-283, p. 503 relates the acanthus scrolls of the Yakto complex to the fourth-century mosaics from the basilicas of Aquileia and on p. 626 the fragments are dated to the period between A.D. 350 and A.D. 400.
18. Levi, *AMP*, p. 350: the archaeological material was found only under one of the four border fragments discovered in Room 1 of the House of the Rams' Heads, but as Levi points out they were all part of the same mosaic; see also the chronological table, p. 626.
19. An interesting stylistic and chronological comparison is provided by the Phoenix mosaic, the one other Antiochene mosaic decorated with a border of rams' heads, which are very similar in style to those in the House of the Rams' Heads. Found below the Phoenix mosaic was a coin of Theodosius II (reigned A.D. 401-A.D. 450) that would provide "a date for the mosaic at least posterior

to the beginning of the fifth century A.D.” Levi, *AMP*, p. 351, pls. LXXXIII, CXXXIV–CXXXV.

20. Levi, *AMP*, pp. 363-365, 503, and chronological table, p. 626. Levi’s conclusions are based in comparisons with the Antiochene pavements of the Megalopsychia Hunt (A.D. 450–A.D. 475), the Dumbarton Oaks Hunt (dated to A.D. 500–A.D. 526), the Martyrion of Seleucia (dated on the basis of earthquake damage to before A.D. 526), and the Jordanian pavements of the churches of St. John the Baptist, St. George, and Saints Cosmas and Damian (A.D. 529–A.D. 533) in Jerash.

21. Levi, *AMP*, p. 587ff., saw the twisting of the animals necks in a direction opposite that of the body, and a simplification of volume that make the animals look like toys or caricatures, as indications of a new stylistic evolution. Cécile Dulière, “Ateliers de mosaïstes de la seconde moitié du Ve. Siècle”, *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan de recherches archéologiques 1965-1968 (Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie. Miscellanea 6, Brussels, 1969)* p. 128, points out that these characteristics were already present at Apamea in the portico mosaic (dated to A.D. 469) and on the mosaic of the Amazons (dated to circa A.D. 475). Lavin, *DOP* 17, p. 190, n. 20, sees no stylistic discrepancies to justify Levi’s dates and proposed that the hunting mosaics of Antioch be dated to the last quarter of the fifth century based on their stylistic unity.

22. Janine Balty, *Mosäique Antiques du Proche-Orient. Chronologie, Iconographie, Interpretation, Centre de Recherche d’Histoire Ancienne* 140 (Paris, 1995) p. 172, pl. xxiv.2; Idem, “Les mosaïques de Syrie au Ve. siècle et leur repertoire”, *Byzantion* 54 (1984) pp. 437-68, pl. XI.2; Idem, *Mosäique Antiques de Syrie* (Brussels, 1977) pp. 118-123 and figures; Dulière, *Miscellanea* 6, pp. 125-130, pl. LII.

23. Levi, *AMP*, p. 499, fig. 183.

24. In North African mosaics the tendency towards stiff ornamentation is already present in the third-century Boar Hunt mosaic from Carthage (see Dunbabin, *North Africa*, pp. 48-49, 252, pl. XI.21), but it is more prevalent in fourth-century mosaics that display a type of scroll very similar to that used in the Boar Hunt border (several examples from Carthage, #24, pp. 53-54, 252, pl. XIII.26-28; #23a, pp. 104, 168-169, 252, pl. XXXV.92; #32, pp. 62, 119-121, 252, pl. XLIII.109; #41, pp. 57-58, 62, 144, 253, pl. XVI.35-37. Also present in a mosaic from

Constantine, #4, pp. 56-57, 255, pl. XVI.34 and one from Dougga, #7, pp. 99, 257, pl. XXXIV.89). The tendency continued into the fifth century as seen in a mosaic from Tabarka and another from Thurburbo Maius (Tabarka, 1 i, pp. 122, 271, pl. XLV. 111-113; Thurburbo Maius, 7, pp. 170, 274, pl. LXVII.171).

25. Cf. the border of the mosaic in the nave of the Church of the Apostles in Madaba, dated to A.D. 578; the mosaic in the nave of the Church of Bishop Sergius at Umm al-Rasas, dated to A.D. 587-588; the mosaics in the nave of the Upper Chapel of the Priest John in Khirbat al-Makhayyat (town of Nebo), dated to A.D. 565; and the mosaics in the Church of St. George, also in Khirbat al-Makhayyat, dated to A.D. 535-536. In all of these the acanthus scroll consists of two to four continuous leaves with two very jagged sides, stemming from a calyx-like blossom and curving inwards to form the top and bottom halves of the scroll. See Michele Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (Amman, Jordan, 1993) p. 106, figs. 78-95, pp. 234-235, figs. 365-371, p. 174, figs. 218-233, p. 178, fig. 245, respectively. Another variant consists of two continuous leaves seen in strict profile view, the ribs forming the outer contour of the circle and the jagged side of the leaf curving inwards as seen, for instance, in the borders of the mosaics in the nave of the Church of the Deacon Thomas in the 'Uyun Musa valley and in the nave of the Church of Al-Khadir. See Piccirillo, *Jordan*, p. 187, figs. 257-258, 263 and p. 129, figs. 142-143, 149, respectively.

26. The treatment of the acanthus scroll in Israeli mosaics is very similar to the second type listed above for Jordan, as can be seen in the border of the Orpheus Mosaic from Jerusalem (Levi, *AMP*, p. 507, fig. 186, n. 26), in the border fragments of a third-century mosaic from Shechem (Nablus), and in the border of a geometric mosaic from a fourth-century-seventh-century monastery at Tell Basul. See Ruth and Asher Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements in Israel* (Rome, 1987) pp. 129-130, pl. CLI-CXCI (Shechem) and pp. 137-138, pl. CLXII (Tell Basul). A fourth-century-fifth-century mosaic in Nahariya shows an interestingly dotted midrib, *ibid.*, pp. 113-114, pl. CXXXVI.

27. Maurice Chebab, *Mosäiques du Liban (Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth XIV-XV, Paris, 1958-1959)*, specifically a mosaic from Jenah, pl. XXX.

28. Cf. Ludwig Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien, I: Frühchristliche Mosaiken in Misis-Mopsuestia* (Recklinghausen, 1969) pls. 26-112, the border of the fourth-century mosaic from the martyrium of Misis-Mopsuestia.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 584.
30. Dunbabin, *North Africa*, p. 49, n. 13, pl. XI.22.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 170, pl. XLVII.118.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82, 125 n. 58, pl. XLVII.117.
33. Piccirillo, *Jordan*, p. 106, figs. 85-86, p. 296, fig. 568, p. 174, figs. 218-219, 230, 233, pp. 241-242, fig. 394, respectively.
34. See n. 12 and n. 20 above; Levi, *AMP*, pl. LXXVIIa, pls. CLXXIII-CLXXVII, pls. LXXXVd and LXXXVIa, respectively. See also, Sheila D. Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch (Corpus of Mosaic Pavements in Turkey, Subsidia Mediaevalia 15*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1988) pl. 199.
35. Levi, *AMP*, pp. 359-363, pl. LXXXIXb.
36. Piccirillo, *Jordan*, p. 118, figs. 102-103; p. 129, figs. 142-143, 149; p. 242, fig. 396; p. 324, figs. 670-672, respectively.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 174, figs. 218-233; p. 178, fig. 245; pp. 234-235, figs. 365-371; p. 236, figs. 373, 376; p. 241, figs. 394-395; p. 240-241, fig. 390, respectively.
38. Dauphin, *Levant VIII*, pp. 126-127, n. 48-50, defined four groups of inhabited scrolls by diameter. This example belongs to Group 4, scrolls with a diameter of more than 90 cm, with three examples in Madaba (vine scrolls in the “Cathedral” and two fragments of unknown provenance) and one each in the churches of the Priest John and Saint George in Khirbat al-Makhayyat. Group 1 (30–50 cm scrolls) includes the borders of the Worcester Hunt, Rams’ Heads, Bird Rinceau, the Martyrion from Antioch, Jenah in Lebanon, and Damascus Gate in Jerusalem.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 123, n. 38-40, also defined four groups of inhabited scrolls by width of borders. The Missouri gazelle would belong to Group 4 (with borders ranging from 80 cm to over 1 m), which is represented in Constantinople, Urfa (Edessa), Snafiya, and Madaba. Group 2 (50–60 cm) includes the Antiochene mosaics of the Constantinian villa, the Worcester Hunt, and the Martyrion of Seleucia. Group 3 (60–80 cm) includes the House of the Rams’ Heads and the House of the Bird Rinceau.

40. Ibid., p. 125 n. 43.
41. Ibid., p. 128 n. 53.
42. Dunbabin, *North Africa*, pp. 230-231 and n. 153-162.
43. Dauphin, *Levant VIII*, found that among the 116 pavements that were the object of her study, 55.2% were in churches, 9.5% in houses, 8.6% in synagogues, 2.6% in baths, 1.7% in courtyards, 1.7% in funerary chambers, and 20.7% were without a specific context.
44. Dauphin, *Byzantion* 48, pp. 19-34.
45. Henri Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park, Pa., 1987) pp. 67-72, specifically mentions the mosaics in the Upper Chapel of the Priest John and in the Church of Saint George at Khirbat al-Makhayyat, as an example of human mastery over the beasts and a definition of “humanity’s place in the natural world created by God” (p. 71), as well as the Eucharistic feeling that permeates this *prosphora* or “offering,” of the Earth’s bounty to God alongside with the sharing of the communion bread.
46. Dunbabin, *North Africa*, p. 230 n. 157. See also p. 231 n. 158-160.
47. Dauphin, *Byzantion* 48, pp. 12-18, provides an interesting listing of some of these interpretations.
48. Ibid., p. 18.
49. Isaiah 11:6-8, *The New English Bible* (Cambridge, 1970). See also Levi, *AMP*, pp. 359-363, pls. LXXXVII-LXXXIX and, pp. 317-319, respectively. An unquestionable inscriptional connection to the biblical passage heralding the coming of the Messiah occurs only in a group of five mosaics studied by Sheila D. Campbell, “The Peaceful Kingdom: a liturgical interpretation,” in Johnson et al., ed., *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics*, pp. 125-134. The animals represented are, by and large, those referred to in the passage from Isaiah.
50. Dauphin, *Byzantion* 48, p. 34.
51. Bohdan Philip Lozinski, “The Phoenix mosaic from Antioch: a new interpretation,” in Johnson et al., ed., *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics*,

pp. 135-142, proposes that the “villas” of Daphne may have been, “... not private homes, but festival halls, wedding halls, or places for teaching or performing religious dramas, dances and hymns. The baths attached to them would have served for purifications.” (p. 142).

52. The controversy over the dates of the hunting pavements of Antioch is summarized by Dunbabin, *North Africa*, p. 223 n. 128, p. 225 n. 136. See also n. 21 above.