

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: COSTUME AS AN INDICATOR OF STATUS IN
LATE ANTIQUE MOSAIC PAVEMENTS OF
THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Risa Storlie Zielinski, M.A./M.L.S. 2010

Directed By: Professor Kenneth G. Holum
Department of History

Romans used everyday costume to indicate status. The evidence analyzed here is mosaic pavements from Roman Syria and Palestine portraying a range of individuals from different social levels. Chapter 1 discusses costume as a means of communication and symbolic behavior, how the Romans used costume to indicate status, and why mosaics are useful in this analysis. Chapters 2 and 3 explore how everyday costume, as represented in mosaics, indicated status by using garment quantity, color, decoration, and jewelry. Chapter 2 analyzes mosaics from the second through fourth centuries AD, chapter 3 those of the fifth and sixth centuries. The main point is to show how costume in mosaics, and presumably in real life, changed in the transition from the High Empire to Late Antiquity.

COSTUME AS AN INDICATOR OF STATUS IN LATE ANTIQUE MOSAIC
PAVEMENTS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

By

Risa Storlie Zielinski

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
2010

Advisory Committee:

Professor Kenneth G. Holum, Chair
Professor Marjorie Venit
Assistant Professor Antoine Borrut

© Copyright by
Risa Storlie Zielinski
2010

Disclaimer

The thesis document that follows has had referenced material removed in respect of the owner's copyright. A complete version of this document, which includes said referenced material, resides in the University of Maryland, College Park's library collection.

Dedication

To my husband Rob. Thank you for your love, support, help, and for being a constant source of encouragement through my whole graduate student career. I love you.

To my two sons, Henryk and Hadrian. You both mean the world to me. I hope you will always follow your dreams even when they seem impossible. May this thesis be an inspiration to you someday.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank to my sister, Ara Storlie, for her support and the use of her domicile, which really helped me focus on this project and get away from my busy household.

A special thanks goes to my parents, David and Kathryn Storlie, for fostering my love of learning and for encouraging me to follow my dreams.

And finally, I would like to thank Professor Kenneth Holum for his guidance through my graduate studies and for giving me the idea to pursue this topic in such a visually rich source.

Table of Contents

Disclaimer.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Figures.....	vi
Chapter 1 : Costume as an Indicator of Status.....	1
Chapter 2 : Mosaic Pavements of the Second to Fourth Centuries.....	24
Chapter 3 : Mosaic Pavements of the Fifth to Sixth Centuries.....	46
Chapter 4: Conclusion.....	79
Figures.....	86
Bibliography.....	116

List of Figures

- Figure 1.1 Man wearing a basic tunic. From Mary G. Houston. *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume & Decoration*, 97, fig. 105. 2d ed. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965.
- Figure 1.2 Woman wearing a gap-sleeved tunic and *stola* with a *palla*. From Houston, 110, fig.127.
- Figure 1.3 Woman wearing two tunics with a *palla*. From Alexandra T. Croom. *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, 86, fig. 39. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2000.
- Figure 1.4 Woman wearing a wide-sleeved tunic. From Houston, 135, fig. 145.
- Figure 2.1 Pasiphae, Ariadne, and Trophos. House of Poseidon, Zeugma. From Mehmet Önal. *Mosaics of Zeugma*, 14-15. Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2002.
- Figure 2.2 Craftsmen – Daedalus and Icarus. House of Poseidon, Zeugma. From Önal, 15.
- Figure 2.3 Phaedra, nurse, and Hippolytos. House of the Red Pavement, Antioch. From Faith Cimok, ed. *Antioch Mosaics*, 76-77. Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2000.
- Figure 2.4 Ge. House of Euphrates, Zeugma. From Önal, 45.
- Figure 2.5 Two Nereids riding sea monsters. Mosaic of Nereids, Zeugma. From J.H. Humphrey, ed. *Zeugma: Interim Reports*, 31. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2003.
- Figure 2.6 Dionysos, left; Herakles, right. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From R. Talgam and Z. Weiss. *The Mosaics of the House of Dionysos at Sepphoris*, color pl. II. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, 2004.
- Figure 2.7 Nymph with a young Dionysos riding a goat. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. IV.
- Figure 2.8 Maenad and goatherd. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VI.
- Figure 2.9 Two Maenads and a Satyr. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VI.

- Figure 2.10 Young man and Maenad. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VII.
- Figure 2.11 Young woman. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VIII.
- Figure 2.12 Young man riding a donkey. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VIII.
- Figure 2.13 Woman with *liknon* and a man leading a donkey. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VIII.
- Figure 2.14 Man with two baskets of grapes. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. IX.
- Figure 2.15 Woman holding a duck and man carrying a pedestal and garland. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VIII.
- Figure 2.16 Naked boy and man emptying a basket of grapes. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. VIII.
- Figure 2.17 Woman playing an *auli* and man supporting a boy riding a goat. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. X.
- Figure 2.18 Woman of great beauty. House of Dionysos, Sepphoris. From Talgam and Weiss, color pl. XIV.
- Figure 2.19 Ariadne. House of Dionysos and Ariadne, Antioch. From Cimok, 127.
- Figure 2.20 Eros and Psyche. House of Poseidon, Zeugma. From Önal, 28.
- Figure 2.21 Parthenope. Mosaic of Parthenope and Metiochos, Zeugma. From Önal, 55.
- Figure 2.22 Metiochos. Mosaic of Parthenope and Metiochos, Zeugma. From Önal, 55.
- Figure 2.23 Banquet – diners and their attendants. House of Orpheus, Sepphoris. Katherine M.D. Dunbabin. *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*, color pl. XII. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Figure 2.24 Tryphe. House of the Drunken Dionysos, Antioch. From Cimok, 54.
- Figure 2.25 Bios. House of the Drunken Dionysos, Antioch. From Cimok, 55.
- Figure 2.26 Hunters. Constantinian Villa, Antioch. From Cimok, 204.
- Figure 2.27 Hunter on horseback attacking a tigress. Constantinian Villa, Antioch. From Cimok, 210.

- Figure 2.28 Hunters on horseback. Constantinian Villa, Antioch. From Cimok, 206.
- Figure 2.29 Boy milking a goat. Constantinian Villa, Antioch. From Cimok, 214.
- Figure 2.30 Shepherd. Constantinian Villa, Antioch. From Cimok, 217.
- Figure 2.31 Shepherd playing horn. Constantinian Villa, Antioch. From Cimok, 215.
- Figure 2.32 Young man and woman making garlands. Constantinian Villa, Antioch. From Cimok, 216.
- Figure 2.33 Woman reading from a scroll. Mosaic of Mnemosyne, Antioch. From Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon, eds. *The Arts of Antioch*, 199. Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005.
- Figure 2.34 Seated woman, left; woman holding ewer and bowl, right. Mosaic of Mnemosyne, Antioch. From Becker and Kondoleon, 197.
- Figure 2.35 Flute player, left; bowl player, right. Mosaic of Musicians, Mariamin. From Katherine M.D. Dunbabin. *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, 171, fig. 178. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Figure 2.36 Lyre player, left; castanet player, right. Mosaic of Musicians, Mariamin. From Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, 171, fig. 178.
- Figure 3.1 Soteria. Bath of Apolausis, Antioch. From Cimok, 235.
- Figure 3.2 Apolausis. Bath of Apolausis, Antioch. From Cimok, 237.
- Figure 3.3 Seated young man. Sepphoris Synagogue, Sepphoris. From Zeev Weiss, *The Sepphoris Synagogue*, 150, fig. 91. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2005.
- Figure 3.4 Standing young man. Sepphoris Synagogue, Sepphoris. From Weiss, 151, fig. 92.
- Figure 3.5 Megalopsychia. Yakto Complex, Antioch. From Doro Levi. *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. II, LXXVI, b. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947.
- Figure 3.6 Meleager. Yakto Complex, Antioch. From Levi, vol. II, LXXVII, a.
- Figure 3.7 Narcissus. Yakto Complex, Antioch. From Levi, vol. II, LXXVII, c.
- Figure 3.8 Teiresias. Yakto Complex, Antioch. From Levi, vol. II, LXXVIII, a.
- Figure 3.9 Acteon. Yakto Complex, Antioch. From Levi, vol. II, LXXVIII, b.

- Figure 3.10 Man and two women conversing. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 272.
- Figure 3.11 Man in front of public bath. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 270-71.
- Figure 3.12 Man and child. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 269.
- Figure 3.13 Vendor. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 271.
- Figure 3.14 Carrier. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 270.
- Figure 3.15 Peddler. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 263.
- Figure 3.16 Slave. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 257.
- Figure 3.17 Porter. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 258.
- Figure 3.18 Woman and child. Yaktó Complex, Antioch. From Cimok, 259.
- Figure 3.19 Amazons on horseback. Nile Festival Building, Sepphoris. From Ehud Netzer and Zeev Weiss. *Zippori*, 53. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.
- Figure 3.20 Amazons. Nile Festival Building, Sepphoris. From Netzer and Weiss, 53.
- Figure 3.21 Ge. House of Ge and the Seasons, Antioch. From Cimok, 277.
- Figure 3.22 Ktisis. House of Ge and the Seasons, Antioch. From Becker and Kondoleon, 210.
- Figure 3.23 Small game hunter. Triclinos Building, Apamea. From Janine Balty. *La Grande Mosaique de Chasse du Triclinos*, pl. XL.1. Bruxelles: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie, 1969.
- Figure 3.24 Hunter with a shield and spear. Triclinos Building, Apamea. From Balty, pl. XL.3.
- Figure 3.25 Horseman with spear facing right. Triclinos Building, Apamea. From Balty, pl. XLIII.1.
- Figure 3.26 Horseman with spear facing left. Triclinos Building, Apamea. From Balty, pl. XLII.1.
- Figure 3.27 Hunter with a shield and spear. Triclinos Building, Apamea. From Balty, pl. XXVIII.1.
- Figure 3.28 Archer. Triclinos Building, Apamea. From Balty, pl. XXXIX.

- Figure 3.29 Horseman with a bow and arrow. House of Worcester Hunt Mosaic, Antioch. From Becker and Kondoleon, 229.
- Figure 3.30 Horseman with a spear. House of Worcester Hunt Mosaic, Antioch. From Becker and Kondoleon, 229.
- Figure 3.31 Hunter attacking a leopard. House of Worcester Hunt Mosaic, Antioch. From Becker and Kondoleon, 229.
- Figure 3.32 Hunter with a spear. House of Worcester Hunt Mosaic, Antioch. From Becker and Kondoleon, 229.
- Figure 3.33 Maria. Chapel of Elias, Maria, and Soreg, Gerasa. From Michele Piccirillo. *The Mosaics of Jordan*, 296, fig. 569. Edited by Patricia M. Bikai and Thomas A. Dailey. Amman, Jordan: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993.
- Figure 3.34 Soreg. Chapel of Elias, Maria, and Soreg, Gerasa. From Piccirillo, 281, fig. 515.
- Figure 3.35 July. Narthex, El-Hammām Tomb Chamber, Beth-Shean. From Meir Ben Dov and Yoel Rappel. *Mosaics of the Holy Land*, 99. New York: Adama Books, 1987.
- Figure 3.36 August. Narthex, El-Hammām Tomb Chamber, Beth-Shean. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 99.
- Figure 3.37 September. Narthex, El-Hammām Tomb Chamber, Beth-Shean. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 99.
- Figure 3.38 December. Narthex, El-Hammām Tomb Chamber, Beth-Shean. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 99.
- Figure 3.39 Man with club running after his mastiff. Main Hall, El-Hammām Tomb Chamber, Beth-Shean. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 97.
- Figure 3.40 Three men treading grapes. Main Hall, El-Hammām Tomb Chamber, Beth-Shean. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 96.
- Figure 3.41 Donkey followed by a man with a basket of grapes. Main Hall, El-Hammām Tomb Chamber, Beth-Shean. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 94.
- Figure 3.42 Shepherd attacking a lion. Old Diakonikon Baptistry, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 136, fig. 167.
- Figure 3.43 Hunter attacking a lioness. Old Diakonikon Baptistry, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 137, fig. 168.
- Figure 3.44 Hunter on horseback. Old Diakonikon Baptistry, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 138-39, fig. 169.

- Figure 3.45 Black man. Old Diakonikon Baptistry, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 141, fig. 171.
- Figure 3.46 Young man with a zebra and camel. Old Diakonikon Baptistry, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 135, fig. 166.
- Figure 3.47 John, son of Ammonius. Church of St. George, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 179, fig. 247.
- Figure 3.48 Hunter attacking a leopard. Hippolytus Hall, Madaba. From Piccirillo, 58, fig. 11.
- Figure 3.49 Hunter with a bow and quiver. Hippolytus Hall, Madaba. From Piccirillo, 59, fig. 12.
- Figure 3.50 Hunter with a spear. Hippolytus Hall, Madaba. From Piccirillo, 61, fig. 15.
- Figure 3.51 Handmaiden, Phaedra, and falconer. Hippolytus Hall, Madaba. From Piccirillo, 57, fig. 9.
- Figure 3.52 Stableboy. Hippolytus Hall, Madaba. From Piccirillo, 51, fig. 3.
- Figure 3.53 Country girl and three Graces. Hippolytus Hall, Madaba. From Piccirillo, 54, fig. 6.
- Figure 3.54 Aphrodite and Adonis. Hippolytus Hall, Madaba. From Piccirillo, 53, fig. 5.
- Figure 3.55 Shepherd and hunter attacking a bear. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 153, fig. 202.
- Figure 3.56 Grape porter. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 157, fig. 205.
- Figure 3.57 Man leading a donkey. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 155, fig. 203.
- Figure 3.58 Two young men treading grapes and a flute player. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 158, fig. 206.
- Figure 3.59 Hunter with his dog. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 153, fig. 202.
- Figure 3.60 Vintager. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 156, fig. 204.
- Figure 3.61 Lion hunter with bow. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 152, fig. 201.

- Figure 3.62 Fisherman. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 161, fig. 209.
- Figure 3.63 Boatman. Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 160, fig. 209.
- Figure 3.64 Lady donor. Chapel of the Priest John, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 167, fig. 217.
- Figure 3.65 Young man with a basket of fruit. Chapel of the Priest John, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 173, fig. 224.
- Figure 3.66 Hunter with a sling. Chapel of the Priest John, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 172, fig. 223.
- Figure 3.67 Country woman. Chapel of the Priest John, Mount Nebo. From Piccirillo, 175, fig. 230.
- Figure 3.68 February. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From G.M. FitzGerald. *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis)*, Frontispiece. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939.
- Figure 3.69 April. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.70 June. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.71 July. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.72 September. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.73 October. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.74 November. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.75 December. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.76 May. Hall A, Monastery of Lady Mary, Beth-Shean. From FitzGerald, Frontispiece.
- Figure 3.77 Orbikon leading a camel. Kissufim Church, Negev. From Yoram Tsafrir, ed. *Ancient Churches Revealed*, pl. XXII.c. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993.

- Figure 3.78 Kalliora, left; Lady Syltous, right. Kissufim Church, Negev. From Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Ancient World*, front cover. Hanover and London: University of New England, 2002.
- Figure 3.79 Hunter fighting a bear. Kissufim Church, Negev. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 113.
- Figure 3.80 Horseman attacking a leopard. Kissufim Church, Negev. From Ben Dov and Rappel, 111.

Chapter 1 : Costume as an Indicator of Status

Mosaic floor pavements offer a wealth of visual information from the Roman world. They portray in color a variety of themes from geometric designs to full-length figures engaged in diverse activities. Mosaic pavements were found in many different locations in the Roman Empire, from private dwellings to public buildings, from Christian churches to Jewish synagogues. Because mosaics were such a popular means of visual display, the figures portrayed provide a visual history into a range of social levels. Sculpture does not offer this variety, since it mostly depicted imperial figures. This wide range of depicted social levels in mosaics provides a good source in which to study everyday costume as an indicator of status in the Roman world.

The words costume and dress both refer to and imply the use of clothing to cover and adorn the body. To wear clothes, a uniquely human behavior, is an act that possesses great symbolic meaning in a culture and is closely connected to social interaction. Simply put “the clothed body” was equated with being civilized, especially to the minds of the Greeks and Romans.¹ Barbarians, who lived beyond the civilized world, were often described without clothing or having used them sparingly. The use of costume in the Roman world was a way for an individual to express both personal and, more importantly, social identity.² Individuals as a group in Roman society had to define what garments and adornments were important and what garments and adornments would bring censure upon those who deviated from the

¹Mary Harlow, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, and Liza Cleland, “‘I Wear This Therefore I Am’: The Clothed Body in the Ancient World,” in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), xii.

²Linda B. Arthur, *Religion, Dress, and the Body* (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 1.

established norm. Aspects of adornment as in hairstyle and appearance were also areas that received attention and regulation, for costume includes not only clothes that cover the body but also jewelry, hairstyles, and cosmetics.³ As individuals do not usually live in isolation, their appearance had an influence on those who dwelled around them. Costume, in stratified societies, served as a means of social control by those who possessed the most wealth and status. Individuals with wealth had the necessary monetary means to buy or trade for raiment and items for bodily adornment that went beyond meeting their basic needs. Quantity and quality of clothing materials entered into their costume choices. On the other hand, individuals who possessed little and had to labor to meet their basic needs lacked these means and had to procure what they could to cover themselves.

For this study, the focus is on how everyday costume was used to indicate status in the Roman world, and especially on how costume changed in the transition from the High Empire of the second century AD to the Late Antique period of the fifth and sixth centuries. The main evidence under analysis is mosaic floor pavements from Roman Syria and Palestine, which portray a wide range of individuals from different social levels. The geographical limits of Roman Syria and Palestine were chosen to achieve a manageable body of material to examine. Chapter 1 includes a general discussion of costume as a means of communication and symbolic behavior; how the use of costume can indicate status; how the Romans used costume to display status; a brief discussion on rank and status; and why mosaics are useful in this analysis of status indication. A chronological exploration of mosaics from Roman Syria and Palestine is undertaken in chapters 2 and 3, an effort to see

³Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith, *Roman Dress and the Fabric of Roman Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 7.

how everyday costume is an indicator of status through the utilization of garment quantity, color, decoration, and jewelry and if the ways of this indication changed over time. Chapter 2 analyses select mosaics from the second to fourth centuries AD, while chapter 3 focuses on those of the fifth through sixth centuries AD. The emphasis is on continuities in costume, but especially on changes over the centuries that presumably reflected changes in real life. Chapter 4 offers closing perspective on all the themes discussed.

Costume served as a means of communication in social interactions. Individuals, through the wearing of costume, have historically revealed their personal identity along with other socially pertinent information.⁴ This form of communication was non-verbal; however, it had much to convey to viewers in societies focused on status distinctions, like Roman society. The language of dress was usually unconsciously transmitted, as individuals wore clothes which in many ways were socially prescribed for their place and position in life.⁵ Costume serves as a powerful tool in “expressing and reinforcing subtle values, relationships, and meanings.”⁶ Dress while being a primarily personal activity is also a social one that reveals the values of a given society. Like any form of communication, what an individual decided to wear sent non-verbal messages to others. These messages were then

⁴In modern societies, the importance of costume’s language has decreased with the mass production of clothing and imitation luxury items. Based on this, the ideas presented in this section will reflect historical trends, which I will discuss mainly in the past tense.

⁵Penny Storm, *Functions of Dress: Tool of Culture and the Individual* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1987), 102-03. Also see Arthur, 3. The wearing of garments is second nature to humans who have always done so. Because of the emphasis placed on an individual’s socially prescribed place, he or she would not consciously think about his or her style of garment and what it really showed. It would be understood, but not consciously analyzed.

⁶Jean A. Hamilton and James W. Hamilton, “Dress as a Reflection and Sustainer of Social Reality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective,” *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 7 (1989): 22.

decoded by others and ultimately influenced how others responded to and treated a given individual.⁷

Costume was not only a form of communication, but was also viewed as a symbolic behavior. Humans are unique in that they wear clothes and can adorn themselves with expensive objects. Through this act, they created meaning and passed it on to others. Since symbols were given arbitrary meanings, costume became symbolic when meaning was assigned to it. Individuals were not usually isolated from others; as a consequence, costume and appearance became a means that influenced all members of society. Symbols on costumes were a silent but powerful way to quickly communicate multiple facts. People in a society first had to define their costume in cultural terms before they prescribed it with symbolic meaning. Without social interaction, symbolic meaning cannot be imparted.⁸ How an individual desired to be perceived was defined by the values that his or her culture upheld. Edmondson and Keith state that personal attire was always part of “a socially determined code of appropriate and inappropriate dress.” This code, they proceed to say, was not static but changed as a society evolved.⁹ What was considered acceptable costume in a society could change with time in light of shifting social pressures.

Costume, as perceived symbols, acted to define social groups and provided visual reference information to others. This information helped individuals tell insiders from outsiders. Individuals in similar positions wore equivalent costumes and thus were seen as

⁷Storm, viii.

⁸Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), 6; Hamilton and Hamilton, 16; and Jeremy Tanner, “Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic,” *JRS* 90 (2000): 23.

⁹Edmondson and Keith, 5.

belonging to a certain group. As a society grew more complex, symbols became increasingly important in maintaining its structure. It was very important for individuals to know and understand the meaning imparted in their culture's costume, for symbols could transmit a variety of messages from the easily discernible to the ambiguous.¹⁰ A challenge in studying costume is figuring out the meaning behind the symbols which members of *that* society would have understood at a glance, but which are now long forgotten or can only be faintly comprehended.

Costume assigned symbolic meanings were powerful tools which historically provided much information about an individual. In hierarchical societies, costume exhibited many subtle meanings and denoted where an individual belonged. This rigid social structure was visually reinforced by the costumes people wore, because symbols of status on clothing were a guide to who possessed the most power.¹¹ A society with stable fashion had a very strict costume code; on the other hand, a society with an abundance of fashion change lacked this rigidity. In societies where the social hierarchy was established, changes in costumes were minute. A society that placed a strong emphasis on appearance limited social mobility. When this emphasis was absent, individuals were much freer to move up or down the social hierarchical structure; consequently, this freer movement allowed for many fashion

¹⁰Arthur, 3-4 and Storm, 103.

¹¹Olson, 5.

modifications.¹² Changes in costume design in hierarchical societies can reveal alterations in social relations.¹³

Costume also served to distinguish gender and reflected the different roles the two genders played in their society. Men and women historically were separated by clothing styles that belonged exclusively to their gender. Typically, women in the past have not physically toiled as hard as men and would subsequently wear garments of longer length. Women generally would also wear more jewelry than men. Wearing a costume designated for the opposite gender marked an individual out for criticism and showed an overstepping of one's traditional roles. An individual who engaged in such behavior would become an object of public shame and ridicule.¹⁴

Now it is time to understand more about status and how it was indicated through costume. Status related to an individual's social position or standing in regard to others around him or her. The more status an individual possessed the more prestige he or she would have in society.¹⁵ High status was usually related to wealth and the ability to lead others. Individuals who possessed high social status found ways to showcase their superiority. This superiority whether through appearance, behavior, or accessibility created barriers between different social groups. These barriers were encouraged by the upper stratum, for they served as a form of social control that helped solidify and maintain their

¹²Storm, 104, 171, and 178. Many modern societies are not hierarchical; as a consequence, costume and fashion change all the time.

¹³Hamilton and Hamilton, 21.

¹⁴Storm, 127 and 158. Roman costume differentiated between the sexes for many centuries. Roman men wore the toga; Roman women wore the *stola*. See pp. 13-16 below for more details.

¹⁵A closer look at status and what it means will follow on p. 17.

control. Social control radiating from the top encouraged social conformity among the different groups on the premise that without it society would not be ordered. Status indicated by costume was an important and powerful way to regulate others and ensure social conformity. Humans both in the past and now have possessed a strong desire to impress others. The use of costume to showcase superiority was a natural result of this desire, since it was a visible sign recognizable by all.¹⁶

Costumes can indicate status in a number of ways, which include quantity of garments, quality, and color of material. Since status usually corresponded to the possession of wealth, these ways of status indication revealed the use of monetary means or its equivalent to advance one's social position and exert control over others. It is important to remember that cloth production was time-consuming and hence inherently expensive. Quantity of garments, which included a greater amount of fabric, exhibited a lifestyle of leisure, since short unencumbered garments work best for hard labor. Long, bulky garments hindered the ability of an individual to perform physical work. The use, thereby, of garments with many layers and longer length not only showed an individual's access to wealth, but also the kinds of activities that occupied his or her time. An individual's ability to possess and wear more was directly related to his or her social position and status. In societies that equated quantity of garments with status, individuals of low status, like slaves or the poor, were often seen or depicted partially or fully nude.¹⁷

¹⁶Storm, 145-46. Also see Edmondson and Keith, 5.

¹⁷Olson, 25; Storm, 150 and 152.

Quality of material, furthermore, showed the ability of individuals to invest more in their costumes than the average person and purchase or commission items that served no other purpose than display. High quality material was more expensive because it was more time consuming to produce. This limited the quantity available and made higher quality cloth more rare. The finest wool or linen garment in turn was more expensive and beyond the means of the poor, who could only afford to make or obtain cloth of much lower quality. A change in the production process that decreased the amount of time spent on production would ultimately lower the cost and make the product more readily available. When this happened, the status of the material would decline and would no longer be desired by the members of the upper stratum. Because of these factors, quality of material was a way to indicate status.¹⁸

Another mark of status in costume was the use of color. The process of dyeing cloth was not easy, especially in the ancient world. The gathering of dye and its preparation was a long, arduous process. Dyes were not very colorfast, especially the cheaper plant-based dyes, so garments had to be re-dyed after repeated washing. The wealthy could afford to own a number of garments and could rotate their wearing. This rotation reduced a given garment's wear and preserved and extended its "like new" appearance. People with low status could not afford costumes of bright color; accordingly they wore undyed or poorly dyed clothes.¹⁹ Given dyed materials' expense, only individuals with wealth could afford to

¹⁸Storm, 153-54.

¹⁹Alexandra T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2000), 25-26. Also see Storm, 153 and Edmondson and Keith, 7. For more on maintaining garments see Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress From A to Z* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 119-20. For more information on ancient dyes see Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya, *Coptic Fabrics* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1990), 26-29.

obtain and wear brightly colored clothes. Because of this, bright, colorful costumes indicated the high status of their wearers.

From this general discussion of how costume can indicate status, it is now time to turn to what the literature has to say about Roman practices and attitudes toward costume and status indication. This is a relatively new field of inquiry. Interest in Roman costume history, what Roman costume looked like, dates from the early twentieth century, beginning with Lillian Wilson. Recently, interest has focused on dress studies, the analysis of dress that includes among other things its sociological, anthropological, and psychological aspects.²⁰ Leading this study of Roman costume are two works: *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, and, more recently, *Roman Dress and the Fabric of Roman Culture*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith. These works mainly focus their discussions on the Republican and Early Empire periods and leave Late Antiquity relatively unmentioned. A discussion of the general impressions from these works will follow to show how Romans valued costume as a way to indicate their status.

Roman society was very conscious of social distinctions. For a long period of Roman history, the toga denoted a man's social and political position through the use of special markings.²¹ Costume for a Roman signaled many things like rank, status, and power.

²⁰For an overview of these scholarly trends see Edmondson and Keith, 1-15.

²¹Senators wore a broad purple stripe on their togas, whereas equestrians wore a narrow purple stripe on theirs. In the Early Empire, when political competition ceased and the emperor increasingly made all political appointments, the political markings of the toga lost their prestige. The toga was still worn for official business for a time after this point, but men turned increasingly to other forms of costume indication to signal their status and position in society. See Shelley Stone, "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 13-45 and Jonathan Edmondson, "Public Dress and Social Control in Late Republic and Early Imperial Rome," in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 21-46.

Bonfante states that Roman dress was “loaded with meaning.” She points to a section from Seneca that reveals how Romans viewed both an individual’s language and dress as an indicator of his or her character. Latin literature uses *cultus* to include style of dress and personal adornment in its meaning.²² Cultured individuals in Roman eyes knew how to dress and adorn themselves. Present in Roman literature are lists of material goods that pointed to the wealth and status of their owners. Items of clothing were recorded in these lists, because clothes were expensive and were viewed as part of a household’s wealth. Roman costume was essentially “a material representation of the social world.”²³ Beyond representing the reality of the hierarchical social world, Roman costume served as a means of social control. The traditional Roman costume of toga for men and *stola* for women denoted each gender’s Roman citizenship and was denied to others who were not citizens. Even within the citizenry, different markings on the toga or *stola* indicated different stages in an individual’s life.²⁴

Roman costume and the appearance of Roman citizens stayed fairly constant from the Republican period to the Early Empire. With increased prosperity, the upper stratum of Roman society sought ways to set themselves apart from the rest of the people. Two ways were to use dyes that produced brightly colored materials and to use different kinds of

²²Larissa Bonfante, “Introduction,” in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 5-6. The section she notes from Seneca is taken from his *Epistle* 114.4-8, 21-22, and 122.7.

²³Mary Harlow, “Dress in the *Historia Augusta*: The Role of Dress in Historical Narrative,” in *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, ed. Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005), 144 and 149. For more on the value of textiles see Cleland, Davies, and Llewellyn-Jones, 205.

²⁴Edmondson and Keith, 7.

fabrics, like silk, in their costumes. Ovid speaks of the range of colors available for women to wear and then compares this color array to flowers in spring. The colors he mentions included blue, green, yellowish orange (saffron), amethyst, white, gray, brown, and yellow.²⁵ Expensive dyes and high quality fabrics were beyond the reach of those without wealth, so by wearing them individuals indicated their elevated status.²⁶

Roman footwear has received attention not only in description of its different styles but also as a means of status indication. How the Romans covered, protected, and adorned their feet reflects, according to Goldman, their “ideas of class, rank, trade, and profession.”²⁷ What shoes an individual wore pointed to his or her role in life. Common Roman individuals wore natural colored shoes, while those in the upper stratum wore shoes of dyed leather. Senators wore their shoes dyed red. For many, the poor and slaves, shoes may have been beyond their means, so they simply would have gone barefoot or used some form of wrap to protect their feet in winter. Sandals, to Romans, were for indoor use; while the *calcei*, shoeboots which covered the whole foot, were for outdoor wear. Elaborate designs and gems, seen increasingly in Late Antiquity, also decorated shoes and proclaimed a wearer’s status.²⁸

²⁵Ovid, *Ars*. 3.169-90.

²⁶Judith Lynn Sebesta, “*Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa*: The Colors and Textures of Roman Costume,” in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larrissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 65, 71, and 73.

²⁷Norma Goldman, “Roman Footwear,” in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larrissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 101.

²⁸*Ibid.*, 104-05 and 116. For more on shoe decoration in Late Antiquity see Croom, 110-11.

Jewelry possesses a special place when it comes to status indication, especially as a means of female adornment. The use of precious metals and stones along with rare gems to make adornments for the human body has had a long history and has denoted individuals who have the wealth, power, and prestige to obtain such expensive items. This type of display was evident in the Roman world. Numerous sources, from literature to monuments to archaeological finds, show that the use of jewelry was a way for individuals to distinguish themselves from others.²⁹ Jewelry, in the early Roman Republic, was not conspicuous. Items worn were the *bullae* (amulet) and gold rings. As prosperity increased, so did the wearing of jewelry by the upper stratum. Archaeological evidence shows that the size and quantity of jewelry individuals wore increased from the first to fourth centuries. By the Early Empire bracelets, earrings, necklaces, and rings were popular female adornments for those who could afford them. Late Antiquity saw the size of jewelry increase. Women wore wide bracelets and necklaces with heavy stones, while men displayed large crossbow *fibulae*. The wearing of jewelry in all periods of Roman history proclaimed one's wealth, status, and social standing.³⁰ Women in the lower stratum tried to imitate those of the upper stratum and wore jewelry made from inexpensive materials like glass and non-precious metals.³¹

²⁹Ann M. Stout, "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larrissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 77.

³⁰Ibid., 77-80 and 83. Along with this information on general jewelry use, Stout also discusses the development of imperial jewelry. Stout, 96-98, concludes by saying, "It was always fashionable to adorn oneself richly with jewelry in the Roman and Byzantine periods, the showier the better as time went on."

³¹Olson, 46. Also see Ellen Swift, *Roman Dress Accessories* (Buckinghamshire, UK: Shire Publications, 2003), 6.

Before looking at specific examples of Roman costume, it is important to understand the garments that represented Roman and Late Roman everyday costume. The basic design of Roman costume, a form of tunic and draped mantle or fastened cloak, was fairly stable for a long period of time, as was the simplicity of the garments' shapes. Men and women wore garments primarily known by the same name. What differed between the clothes of the two genders was the lengths and colors of their garments. Graeco-Roman costume lacked attention to fitting and was styled by draping, pinning, and belting.³² The toga, the best known garment of Roman costume, had Etruscan origins and was worn by both men and women in the early centuries of Roman history. The toga remained a special symbol of Romanness and denoted a Roman citizen. This lasted until the late second century AD, when the toga was no longer worn as part of the daily costume of a Roman citizen. The toga still retained its ceremonial status and was worn, elaborately decorated and draped, by Roman emperors and consuls until the fifth century.³³ For the purpose of the present study, the Roman toga does not enter into the discussion, since it is not depicted in any of the mosaics to be discussed later.

With increased exposure to Greece and its culture, Roman costume began strongly to imitate Greek costume.³⁴ The name for the tunic in Greek was the *chiton*, while in Latin

³²Bernard Goldman, "Graeco-Roman Dress in Syro-Mesopotamia," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 164. Graeco-Roman dress was distinct from Iranian dress, where tailoring was used to achieve a fitted costume.

³³Mary Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume & Decoration*, 2d ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965), 92. How the toga was worn did undergo changes, especially in how it was draped. Depictions of early togas show a garment with simple folds, while later depictions show complicated draping methods.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 87.

is was called the *tunica*. A tunic was chiefly made from either wool or linen and was worn either with or without sleeves. A tunic with sleeves was a simple T-shaped garment, while a tunic without sleeves amounted to a rectangular-looking garment. Over the tunic, a mantle or cloak was usually worn. In Latin, the mantle was known as the *pallium* (male) or *palla* (female). The Greek equivalent to the *pallium/palla* was the *himation*. This garment was a straight edged, rectangular shaped piece of material that was draped around the body. No form of fasteners were used to secure it; instead an individual kept it in place through draping or arm position. A cloak, on the other hand, was a rectangular or semi-circular piece of fabric that was fastened at the right shoulder by a *fibula*, brooch. The *chlamys* was a widely used Greek cloak. There were a number of different words in Latin that referred to cloaks worn by either soldiers or civilians. Military cloaks included the *sagum* and *paludamentum*, while civilian cloaks included the *lacerna*, *laena*, and *paenula*.³⁵

Beyond the toga, Roman men mainly wore a knee-length, sleeved tunic (fig. 1.1) that was belted around the waist. The tunic was either plain or decorated by a single center stripe, a *clavus*, or by two *clavi*, vertical bands running from the shoulders down to the hem. A form of mantle or cloak completed a man's costume.³⁶ A simple tunic was a poor man's garment of choice. For him, his tunic was either with or without sleeves and reached to just below or at the knee. He wore it either unbelted or belted. In depictions of men at work, the right arm and shoulder are bare, giving the worker a greater range of motion.

³⁵Houston, 67-69, 96-99, and 109-10. For more on mantles and cloaks see Croom, 51-55.

³⁶Houston, 97. Known evidence shows *clavi* were "tapestry darned into the material in wools of a purple, indigo, or deep wine colour." Also see Croom, 23-4 and 31.

The basic garment for Roman women was also the tunic, which was longer in length than a man's, and a mantle, the *palla*. The length of a woman's tunic was determined by her social position. Women not engaged in physical labor wore longer tunics. The Roman matron in Latin literature is traditionally described wearing the *stola* and *palla* (fig. 1.2). The *stola*, made without sleeves, was not sewn at the shoulders but was fastened with brooches or straps and then belted under the bust. Under the *stola*, an elbow-length, gap-sleeved tunic was worn. As the *stola* went out of use, this elbow-length, gap-sleeved tunic became the outer garment Roman women wore. Completing a Roman woman's costume was the *palla*, a woollen rectangular mantle that reached to her knees or ankles. It was considered an essential garment for a respectable woman when outside.³⁷ Olson feels that the *palla* more than the *stola* showed a woman's position.³⁸ Because the *palla* was such a large piece of material held in place by draping and arm position, this garment would impede movement and make working difficult. A woman from the lower stratum would wear a tunic and some form of smaller wrap, whereby allowing herself greater range of motion. Women wore a wide range of colors. Their garments were more colorful than Roman men's garments.³⁹

The third to sixth centuries AD saw gradual changes in Roman costume style. Generally both men and women's tunics began to have long sleeves and the fashion of

³⁷Croom, 75-80 and 89; Olson, 25-26 and 32-33. A gap-sleeved tunic's sleeves were formed by fastening together the top fabric at certain points instead of creating a continuous seam. Women generally did not wear cloaks. See Croom, 92.

³⁸Olson, 36 and 43. While the *stola* receives attention in the writings of Roman authors little is really known about its actual life span.

³⁹Lucille A. Roussin, "Costume in Roman Palestine: Archaeological Remains and the Evidence from the Mishnah," in *The World of Roman Costume*, ed. Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larrissa Bonfante (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 185-86. Also see Olson, 11-12 and Rutschowscaya, 48.

wearing two tunics (fig. 1.3) began. The inner tunic had long tight fitting sleeves while the outer tunic was looser and had short elbow length sleeves and was shorter in length than the inner tunic. Tunics with very wide sleeves (fig. 1.4) also appeared. Men's tunics were decorated more elaborately with circular (*orbiculi*) or square (*tabulae*) embroidered patches placed on the tunic's front and upper shoulders. The length of men's tunics increased to below the knee, although working and military men along with hunters still wore shorter at or above the knee tunics.⁴⁰ As the use of gap-sleeved tunics declined, women started wearing their sleeves sewn. Only in the fifth century did women's tunics start to become more richly decorated. A woman's *palla* was now also smaller and less encompassing than earlier forms.⁴¹ Clothing style well into the eighth century AD consisted of the simple tunic along with a mantle or cloak. What differed were the tunic's proportions in length and width, both in its body and in its sleeves.⁴² The long periods of relatively little costume change in the Roman world reveals a strong, stable hierarchical society.

Where one stood in this social hierarchy mattered and determined one's privileges. What was the meaning of rank and status to a Roman? At a glance, Roman society was unequally divided into the upper stratum, those with ancestral birth and wealth, and the lower stratum, the rest of the population. Given the economic conditions of the Roman world

⁴⁰For more on the wearing of two tunics see Croom, 39 and 86; Houston, 126. For more on male tunic decoration see Croom, 34-36.

⁴¹Croom, 81, 85-87 and 90; Houston, 131.

⁴²Houston, 135.

no middle class was possible. One belonged either to the upper or the lower stratum.⁴³ Wealth in Roman society was primarily obtained through ownership of land, which was passed down through inheritance. Men from the senatorial, equestrian, and decurion orders owned large portions of land, with the majority of their wealth derived from agriculture. How much land one owned depended on one's place within a given order. The majority of the remaining population, from small landowners to slaves, worked the land. Cities did have craftsmen and traders, but the scale of these operations were relatively small and these individuals lacked any real political influence.⁴⁴

Where an individual belonged in the upper stratum with regards to birth and wealth determined his rank, essentially his standing in relation to those around him. Status, on the other hand, included an evaluation of power, education, and moral repute.⁴⁵ One definition of status in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* is "relative rank in a hierarchy of prestige." Status was bound with prestige and other like synonyms such as prominence, distinction, and importance. An individual needed to cultivate his status. Men earned their status via their actions and the influence they gained as they pursued their political careers. A young man of birth and wealth would have to prove his worth and honor, and as these increased so would his status. Rank in the Roman world was most visible on the public stage

⁴³Géza Alföldy, *The Social History of Rome*, trans. David Braund and Frank Pollock (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 99, 104-07, and 146-47. Also see Peter Garnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture* (London: Duckworth, 1987), 116.

⁴⁴Garnsey and Saller, 110 and Alföldy, 99 and 167. The importance of landownership and the wealth derived from it is clear in Libanius' writings. See J.H.W.G.Liebeschuetz, *Antioch City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 45-46 and 48-49.

⁴⁵Garnsey and Saller, 118. Status for a Roman was "based on the social estimation of his honour, the perception of those around him as to his prestige."

and related to a man's political career, while the focal point of status was in an elite man's personal dealings with others, whom he knew and the number of clients he had.⁴⁶

From the Early Empire until the third century, the upper stratum of Roman society were divided into three distinct orders: the senatorial, equestrian, and decurion. Qualification for membership in an order was based on birth, citizenship, and wealth. Within each order there were gradations of both rank and status. The lower stratum included a wide range of individuals, the *plebs*, occupying many diverse social and economic positions. This stratum included the free, both freeborn, *ingenui*, and freed, *liberti*, along with citizens and non-citizens, and, of course, slaves, *servi*. A vertical division based on perceived cultural refinement existed between the *plebs urbana*, city-dwellers, and the *plebs rustica*, country-dwellers. Some individuals in the lower stratum were wealthy but were denied entry into the upper stratum because they lacked the right criterion, mainly free birth.⁴⁷

The second century saw the emergence of the terms *honestiores* and *humiliores* to describe the upper and lower strata. These terms were descriptive and denoted moral qualities, before they took on social and legal meanings. The root meaning of *honestiores* was honor and dignity; on the other hand, the root meaning of *humiliores* was lowness or insignificance. An elite person's honor was bound to the political office he held and his involvement in the affairs of the imperial government. Members of the lower stratum could

⁴⁶Garnsey and Saller, 116-17 and 122.

⁴⁷For more on these divisions see Garnsey and Saller, 112-15 and 119-20; Alföldy, 106-30 and 133-45; and Peter Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 236-45.

not hope for such distinction. Roman legal sources described *honestiores* as having social status and economic resources, while the *humiliores* did not possess these.⁴⁸

With the economic crisis of the third century, and the increased centralized nature of the imperial bureaucracy, the social system underwent change and gradations of rank became more discernable. Emperors increasingly bestowed rank on individuals as rewards for good service regardless of their birth. The higher an individual's placement in the social hierarchy, the greater his privileges and his ability to receive the emperor's attention.⁴⁹ The senatorial order in the third century was still the most prestigious, even though its political power had declined. Below the senatorial order was the equestrian order whose members filled many military and administrative offices. Grades were established within the equestrian order and were based on office and salary earned. Constantine created the *comites*, imperial companions, whereby the emperor bestowed a *comitiva*, an office or honor, on an individual. This new order or group with privileges included members of the senatorial and equestrian orders along with men who belonged to neither. Members of these groups held their special privileges for life, making entry into these groups desirable. Members of the decurion order, on the other hand, increasingly faced heavy financial burdens and obligations, while their privileges declined. Many members of the decurion order tried to

⁴⁸By the reign of Hadrian, *honestiores* and *humiliores* started to have social and legal distinctions with regards to criminal penalties. The *honestiores*, which included senators, equestrians, decurions, and veterans, received lighter penalties in criminal cases. They faced exile and loss of property instead of execution or deportation to the mines like the *humiliores* did for the same offenses. Torture and flogging were also used on the *humiliores*, while the *honestiores* were exempt from these. Garnsey, 223-24, Alföldy, 106, and A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 17-18 and 519.

⁴⁹Garnsey, 280, states that "the principal benefits and rewards were available to those groups most advantageously placed in the stratification system by reason of their greater property, power, and prestige."

escape these burdens by moving up the social hierarchy. By the end of the fourth century, the equestrian order dissolved. This change coincided with the enlargement of the senatorial order, as former equestrian positions either acquired senatorial rank or were downgraded to the civil service. Rank in the senatorial order was now determined by the offices senators held, and new grades based on this structure were created. Senators were now either *illustris*, *spectabilis*, or *clarissimi*. The size of the senate changed again in the six century and came to constitute only the *illustris*, while the *spectabilis* and *clarissimi* became only honorary titles.⁵⁰

Below these orders and above the *plebs* in terms of legal privileges came members of the civil service that included officials from both the civic and military administrations. Veterans and the intellectuals of the Christian church also enjoyed their own sets of special privileges. A range of conditions existed for the *plebs rustica*, who were either small landowners, tenants of a landowner, free laborers, or slaves. Tenants included the *adscripticii* and *coloni*. *Adscripticii* were essentially serfs who belonged to an estate and lacked freedom of movement. *Coloni*, on the other hand, were personally free but were tied to the land they worked. Slavery declined in importance; however, the condition of both free men and slaves generally merged into one of greater poverty and dependency. A range of conditions also existed for the *plebs urbana*. Here were found traders and craftsmen along with civic workers and domestic slaves.⁵¹

⁵⁰Jones, 525-29, 535-45, and 724-53; Alföldy, 169-70 and 200-02; Liebeschuetz, 167-75.

⁵¹Jones, 519, 563-66, 773-74, 795-96 and 801-03. Also see Alföldy, 171-78 and 202-08.

Syria and Palestine's various mosaic floor pavements offer a glimpse into the world of the Roman upper stratum and into the lives of the different members of her lower stratum. These mosaic pavements are found located in private dwellings and public buildings along with Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. In private dwellings, mosaic pavements reveal what members of the upper stratum considered important in their lives. Huskinson notes that these pavements are "a sign of affluence" when seen in private dwellings. Dauphin also draws the same conclusion and states that the many mosaics found dating from the third to seventh centuries are an "index of prosperity," which reveals a leisured way of life for members of the upper stratum, for this region.⁵² Those who commissioned mosaics in their houses were from the "municipal elite" who desired to showcase their wealth and cultural background.⁵³ The scenes depicted show a deep connection to classical learning. This shared elite culture united Rome's wealthy citizens all across the Mediterranean world. Many mosaics were located in the dining room, *triclinium*, where diners gathered to share meals, have conversation, and watch entertainment. The depictions of personifications on these floors offered diners discussion points and sources of contemplation while they enjoyed their meal.⁵⁴

⁵²Janet Huskinson, "Surveying the Scene: Antioch Mosaic Pavements As a Source of Historical Evidence," in *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch*, ed. Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004),137, and Chaudine Dauphin, "Mosaic Pavements as an Index of Prosperity and Fashion," *Levant* 12 (1980): 113-16.

⁵³Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 320.

⁵⁴Huskinson, 139 and 144. Also see John J. Dobbins, "Houses at Antioch," in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. Christine Kondoleon (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Worcester Art Museum, 2000), 51-53.

Early floor mosaics displayed mythological scenes, with the deities depicted partially nude. As time progressed, a change occurred and the personification of abstract ideas became popular along with hunting scenes.⁵⁵ Dunbabin states that “true portraits are rare” in mosaics. Hunting scenes and rural activities can depict either “timeless” scenes or “the contemporary world.” Continuing on, she believes that representations of the dead on tomb mosaics or of building donors do refer to “specific individuals.”⁵⁶ Given that the figures depicted in most mosaics, apart from tomb mosaics and building donor portraits, do not reflect actual individuals, what do their costumes reveal about status indication? Deities and mythological characters’ costumes can either reflect contemporary dress or conventions used to identify them as belonging to a sphere separate from humans.⁵⁷ For this study, our emphasis is on how costume was used as a means to indicate status. A garment, whether of contemporary design or a convention, still showed indications of status. These status indicators, I believe, do reflect contemporary trends. Tanner states that art “serves to construct relationships of power and solidarity.”⁵⁸ By installing mosaics, wealthy homeowners sought to display their wealth and status to their guests through the use of art. The scenes depicted on their floors mirrored the values they desired most to emulate and show to others. Therefore, the figures represented directly reflect these wealthy individuals and their actual world. It is their self-image, one that indicates what they held dear and the

⁵⁵Huskinson, 137 and Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, 298-300.

⁵⁶Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, 300.

⁵⁷Croom, 15-17. The study of Roman costume is problematic, because both art and literary references are subjective. This said many insights and observation are discernable in both of these sources.

⁵⁸Tanner, 18.

status that they sought to promote. Hunting scene mosaics are an example of this, as they allowed wealthy homeowners the ability to show their leisurely interests, possible possessions, and hunting skill.⁵⁹

Beyond private dwellings, churches and synagogues also yield rich mosaic pavements. The range of the figures represented in church and synagogue mosaics opens the discussion of costume and its use to a broader group of individuals. Church and synagogue mosaics predominately depicted scenes from agricultural life, personifications of the calendar months, and building donors along with some hunting scenes. This diversity allows us to see the costumes of individuals from different social backgrounds. If what we have discussed is correct regarding the use of costume to indicate status, then we will see a range of costumes shown on the figures within the following mosaics.

⁵⁹Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 146.

Chapter 2 : Mosaic Pavements from the Second to Fourth Centuries

Now it is time to examine chronologically select mosaic pavements from Roman Syria and Palestine from the second to fourth centuries AD to see how the figures' costumes indicated their status. I selected mosaics for this study based on the presence of upper and/or lower strata individuals. I did not include mosaics with imperial, military, or religious figures, for the goal here is to examine everyday costume and how it relates to status indication. In the discussion on general Roman costume trends in chapter 1, I described typical everyday Roman costume. The Roman world was not homogenous, but a diverse composition of many different provinces that comprised many different cultural groups. The region under discussion here is the Eastern Mediterranean, which was strongly influenced by its long Greek history dating back to its Hellenistic rulers. Typical Roman costume was mostly worn in the provincial cities by imperial officers and members of the municipal elite wanting to be seen as Roman. The coastal cities, generally, showed more Romanization than the cities of the interior. Beyond the wearing of the tunic and mantle or cloak, the provincial costume style of Syrian men included trousers. Syrian costume was influenced by both Greek and Parthian styles.¹

Depictions of everyday costume on mosaic pavements provide a general view of Roman costume, not an absolute portrait. Limitations include the color range available, for the tesserae may not reflect actual colors worn; color gradations in the figures' garments were common, while actual garments were one consistent color; and correct representation

¹Alexandra T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2000), 128-30.

of details in a restricted space was hard to achieve. While there are limitations, figures from mosaics offer a wealth of information about garment color, design, and decoration. I analyzed the figures in the mosaics which follow in four areas to see how their everyday costumes indicated their status. These areas included quantity of material, color, garment decoration, and jewelry use. Reference to each mosaic's descriptive literature is given; however, I have relied heavily on the use of color photographs to add details not mentioned by the literature's authors. A common omission in the literature was garment color. When that was the case, I tried to describe the general color and not the many gradations that mosaic tesserae can present. Each figure's costume is described by style and color, along with decoration and jewelry worn, if present. After I describe all the figures in a mosaic, I present an interpretation of their costumes and what it indicates about status.

The House of Poseidon at Zeugma, a town from Roman Syria located on the Euphrates River, yielded a large mosaic with five figures that dates from the second century. The subject is mythological with four of the characters identified by inscriptions over their heads. On the left are located Pasiphae, Pasiphae's daughter Ariadne, and Trophos (fig. 2.1). Pasiphae sits on a chair and wears a long floor-length pink tunic, bright yellow *palla*, and ivory veil that covers her head and then falls down her back. Her tunic is sleeveless and held together at the left shoulder with a *fibula*. Her right shoulder is bare with her tunic falling down onto her arm. A thin strap with a jewel in the center appears to hold this part of her tunic together. Another explanation may be that her arm is bare of her tunic like the next figure and she wears an additional bracelet with a jewel set in the middle. She wears a belt,

a simple tied cord, under her bust.² Golden bracelets adorn her right arm and wrist. A golden necklace with an oblong jewel set in the middle hangs around her neck. She wears pearl earrings, and a golden crown rests on her head beneath her veil. A foot, shod in a shoe, shows from under her tunic.

Next to Pasiphae stands a young woman, possibly Pasiphae's daughter Ariadne, although no inscription appears above her head. Ariadne also wears a long floor-length, sleeveless tunic fastened only at her left shoulder, which leaves her right shoulder and arm bare. Her tunic is a pale pink with grayish green *clavi* and is belted under her bust. She wears a golden necklace, golden hoop earrings, and golden bracelets on her arm and wrist. One of her feet is visible with a shoe in it. In the center of the mosaic is an older woman identified as Trophos, which means nurse. Trophos wears a long, short-sleeved, pale green tunic, brownish pink *palla*, and shoes, but no jewelry.

The Athenian craftsman Daedalus and his son Icarus (fig. 2.2) come next. In mythology, Daedalus built Pasiphae a hollow wooden cow, so she could have sexual relations with Poseidon's white bull. Daedalus, portrayed bearded, wears a short mid-calf length, belted, yellowish-brown tunic with two thin dark brown *clavi*. His tunic is fastened on his left shoulder leaving his right arm and shoulder bare. On his right is Icarus, Daedalus' son. Icarus sits on a block with his back turned to the others and wears only an off-white loincloth. Both Daedalus and Icarus are barefoot.³

²For more on belts see Croom, 87-88. Belts were no more than "twisted cord, tied in a reef knot with only short ends hanging down, in general probably of a contrasting colour to the tunic." Belts are not always visible, sometimes only the gathered fabric under the bust or at the waist gives away their presence.

³Mehmet Önal, *Mosaics of Zeugma* (Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2002), 12-13. For a color picture of this mosaic see Ibid., 14-15.

This mosaic offers a portrait of a range of social levels going in descending order from Pasiphae to Icaurus. Pasiphae wears the most jewelry and is draped in the most fabric. The colors of her costume are also the brightest of the whole group. She clearly possessed the most status. Her daughter wears less jewelry and her garment colors are lighter than her mother's. Pasiphae's and Ariadne's costumes show a strong Greek influence in how their sleeveless tunics were fastened at their shoulders. A sleeveless tunic is a known Greek convention in depictions of goddesses and female mythological characters. This fact does not distract from the status indicators used on these two women's costumes. Whether upper stratum women wore sleeveless tunics in the privacy of their homes is not known for certain. When they were in public or depicted in art, it was respectable for them to wear an enveloping mantle, which usually covered their shoulders and arms.⁴ The nurse, while wearing a quantity of material, does not wear any jewelry. Her garments, while colored, are in pale or neutral shades. Daedalus' tunic looks like to a Greek workman's tunic, which was called an *exomis*.⁵ He is clearly dressed like a workman. Lastly, Icaurus wears only a loincloth. He possessed the least status of the group, being an apprentice to his father's craft.

⁴Croom, 16-17 and 75. A garment whether contemporary or a convention still showed status indications, which we are most concerned with here. In her chapter on provincial clothing, Croom, 130, mentions Syrian women wearing of a "tube-dress fastened on one shoulder only, the left, with a massive brooch." For more on Greek costume see Mary Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume & Decoration*, 2d ed. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965), 38-67. No example in Houston shows only one shoulder having a fastener while the other is bare. A similarity is visible in the sleeveless tunic fastened with either brooches or pins.

⁵An *exomis* was a male tunic worn fastened with a brooch or clasp at the left shoulder leaving the right shoulder bare. For a definition of *exomis* see Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Greek and Roman Dress From A to Z* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 64. Also see Houston, 46 and fig. 42 on p. 47. Examples of a Roman workman's tunic do not show the left shoulder being fastened like the Greek workman's tunic.

While the forms of dress are more Greek than typical Roman, there is much to show that costume was used as an indicator of status.

The House of the Red Pavement and its large mosaic located in Antioch dates from the second century. One panel of this mosaic pavement portrayed Phaedra, her nurse, and Theseus' son Hippolytos (fig. 2.3). Phaedra wears a sleeveless, belted, reddish pink tunic that reaches to her feet and a yellow *palla* that covers part of her head along with neutral colored shoes. Next comes her nurse, who wears a floor-length, sleeved tunic in gray and cream with a pair of red *clavi* down the front and a *palla* in the same shade as her tunic. Hippolytos wears a knee-length, belted, brownish cream tunic with pale purple *clavi* down to his tunic's hem and a yellowish cloak, fastened on his shoulder by a *fibula*. High laced boots encase his feet.⁶ Status is indicated by the colors used in the costumes. Vivid color, achieved through the use of expensive dye, was an important signal of status. The contrast between the colors of Phaedra's costume and the nurse's shows that the use of color was an important area for indicating status. The nurse is not Phaedra's equal, and therefore her garments cannot match Phaedra's garments in color. Both this nurse and the nurse from the previous mosaic wear tunics with sleeves, while their mistresses wear sleeveless tunics. As stated before, a sleeveless tunic was a Greek convention for female mythological characters like Phaedra and Pasiphae. A sleeveless tunic was also possibly a way for upper stratum women to indicate their status and leisurely lifestyle. Since they had no need to work in the sun, their skin was untanned. No sleeves would display this well.

⁶Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 71. For a color picture of this mosaic see Faith Cimok, ed., *Antioch Mosaics* (Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2000), 76-77.

The House of Euphrates at Zeugma contained a mosaic with a bust of Ge located in the middle of the pavement that dates to the second century. Ge (fig. 2.4), a personification of the earth, wears a sleeveless tunic fastened at the shoulders with some kind of *fibulae*. Her tunic is a bluish gray with black highlights. Her head is adorned with a wreath of leaves, and she holds a cornucopia.⁷ These dress accessories were common in depictions of personifications and help to identify them. Again a woman wears a sleeveless tunic to indicate status, either social or mythological. Another indicator of high status is the color of Ge's costume.

In a courtyard house in Zeugma, an impressive mosaic depicting two Nereids, sea-nymphs, riding sea monsters (fig. 2.5) was unearthed. This mosaic dates to the late second century. The Nereid on the left wears a sleeveless, dark green tunic fastened at the shoulders by golden *fibulae* and a belt under her bust. Her yellow *palla* is draped over her lower body and right arm. Golden bracelets adorn her upper arms and wrists. To the right sits the other Nereid. She wears a sleeveless, vibrant light blue tunic belted under her bust. A *fibula* fastens her tunic at her right shoulder, while her left shoulder is bare. Her tunic has slipped down onto her arm whereby exposing her left breast. This Nereid's red *palla* is draped over her lower body and left arm. Golden bracelets also adorn her upper arms and wrists. A bare foot is visible.⁸ Sleeveless tunics are also worn by these mythological women. Status is indicated by the use of colorful costume, voluminous garments, and jewelry.

⁷Önal, 44. For a color picture of this mosaic see Ibid., 45. This Ge will be compared with a mid-fifth century one in Ch. 3, p. 55, to see how styles changed.

⁸Robert Early, "Rescue work by the Packard Humanities Institute: interim report, 2000," in *Zeugma: Interim Reports*, ed. J.H. Humphrey (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2003), 33. For a color picture of this mosaic see Ibid., 31.

The House of Dionysos at Sepphoris possessed a multi-paneled mosaic located in the *triclinium* (dining-room) that dates to the late-second or early-third century. This private dwelling was located on a prominent spot in Sepphoris and was lavishly decorated with mosaic pavements. Given the size and decoration of this dwelling, its inhabitants were wealthy and highly placed in society.⁹ The theme of the mosaic is the life of Dionysos along with images from the practice of his mysteries. A few figures from the life of Dionysos will be discussed before our attention turns to the Dionysiac procession. This will help us see whether or not figures in mythological scenes are portrayed like human mortals or differently. The gods Dionysos and Herakles are depicted in a panel of this mosaic (fig. 2.6) wearing nothing but a *pallium* draped around their lower bodies. Dionysos' *pallium* is a brownish color, while Herakles' is a reddish color.¹⁰ In the panel dealing with the education of the young Dionysos by the Nymphs at Nysa, two nymphs are depicted on either side of a nude Dionysos riding a goat. The nymph on the left (fig. 2.7), holding out her hands to support Dionysos, wears a long, sleeveless, gray tunic and bright yellow *palla* wrapped around her middle.¹¹

Another panel of interest deals with goatherds (fig. 2.8). A maenad stands on the left and holds a *thyrsus*, a pinecone-topped staff. She wears a long, sleeveless, gray tunic and a yellow *palla*, wrapped around her middle and draped over her left shoulder. Next comes a

⁹R. Talgam and Z. Weiss, *The Mosaics of the House of Dionysos at Sepphoris* (Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, 2004), 111 and 128.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 51-54. For a picture of this panel see *Ibid.*, color pl. II. Gods from this period are usually depicted either nude or with limited clothing. For a discussion of what lack of clothing means, see Larissa Bonfante, "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art," *AJA* 93, no. 4 (October, 1989): 543-570. This article's focus is on early classical art, but its idea of "nudity as a costume" is intriguing.

¹¹Talgam and Weiss, 59. For a picture of this panel see *Ibid.*, color pl. IV.

seated goatherd milking a goat. He wears a short, sleeveless, belted, reddish tunic with his right shoulder bare. He wears boots.¹² The revelry panel (fig. 2.9) depicts two maenads and a satyr. The standing maenad plays an *aulos* and wears a long, sleeveless, gray tunic with a reddish *palla* wrapped around her middle. The other maenad wears the same kind and color of garments as the one just describe. The standing satyr, holding a shepherd's staff, wears a yellowish kilt. Satyrs throughout this mosaic are depicted wearing kilts.¹³

The last panel dealing with the life of Dionysos that we will look at deals with the gift bearers. The two figures of interest here are a young man and a maenad (fig. 2.10). The young man carries a basket of grapes and wears a short-sleeved, grayish tunic that is belted with a length of material pulled up so that the tunic hangs above his knees. His belt is concealed by the excess material draped over it. Two black bands run diagonally across his chest. The maenad that proceeds him wears a long, sleeveless, gray tunic and yellow *palla* wrapped around her middle.¹⁴ All these figures from the panels dealing with the life of Dionysos display a similar pattern in their costume. The gods wear little, only a *pallium*. The women wear long, sleeveless, mostly gray tunics with a yellow or reddish *palla* wrapped around their middles. The men wear short tunics in a range of colors, either reddish, brown, or yellow. The satyr's costume is the only one that is different from what is known of Greek and Roman costume.

¹²Talgam and Weiss, 67-68. For a picture of this panel see Ibid., color pl. VI.

¹³Ibid., 69-70. For a picture of this panel see Ibid., color pl. VI.

¹⁴Ibid., 70-73. For a picture of this panel see Ibid., color pl. VII.

Now the focus shifts from the life of Dionysos to the western and eastern outer border depicting the Dionysiac procession. Here mortal humans are portrayed participating in the Dionysaic mysteries. Starting at the left of the western side of the outer border, a young woman (fig. 2.11), with a garland in her outstretched hand, wears a long, short-sleeved, grayish blue tunic that reaches below her ankles and a yellow *palla* draped around her body. She is the only woman to wear a short-sleeved tunic. Talgam and Weiss call her “a maiden.” In front of her, a young man (fig. 2.12) rides a donkey. His short-sleeved tunic is also grayish blue and his *pallium*, which is draped over his left shoulder and around his lower body, is yellow. Next comes a woman carrying a *liknon*, a shallon basket, on her head along with a *thyrsus* on her back and a man with a garland around his neck leading a donkey (fig. 2.13). The woman wears a long, sleeveless, gray tunic and yellow *palla* wrapped around her middle, while the man wears a short, sleeveless, belted brownish *exomis*. The *exomis* is pulled up and fastened with a belt that is not visible, because a fold of fabric is pulled over it creating an overfold. Proceeding these figures is another man (fig. 2.14) with a long pole over his shoulders supporting two baskets full of grapes. He wears a reddish *exomis* with two black *clavi* running down the front. Again the fabric is pulled over the belt creating an overfold. A woman holding a duck comes next accompanied by a man who walks holding a pedestal for the god on his shoulder and a garland in his right hand (fig. 2.15). The woman wears a long, sleeveless, red tunic and a light blue *palla*. The man, like the basket bearer, wears a brownish *exomis* with two black *clavi* running down the front. The same overfold of fabric hides his belt. The next man is destroyed except for his lower body and legs. Ahead of him is a naked little boy and a man emptying a basket of grapes out onto the ground (fig.

2.16). The man emptying grapes onto the ground wears a short, gray tunic that is rolled down around his waist and tied into place baring his upper body.¹⁵

The next well preserved section of this procession is located on the eastern side of the same outer border. Here is depicted a woman playing the *auli* and a man supporting a boy who is riding a goat (fig. 2.17). The woman playing the *auli* wears a ground-length, sleeveless, grayish tunic with a yellow *palla* wrapped around her middle. The man with a guiding hand on the boy's back wears a knee-length, sleeveless, belted tunic in gray. His belt is visible with no overfold of fabric covering it. The little boy in front of him, not well preserved, is naked. All the figures in this procession are barefoot.¹⁶ Lastly, a female bust of great beauty (fig. 2.18) is located on the mosaic's northern side in the center of the outer border. Her head is adorned with a wreath of leaves and from her ears hang earrings made in the shape of rings with pearls. No clothing is visible around her neck.¹⁷

Celebrations to Dionysos coincided with the end of the grape harvest. They started with a procession that proceeded to an altar where a pedestal was placed on which a statue of the god was set. Children were initiated into the cult of Dionysos by their bathing in water, because of this they walked in the procession naked. The procession just described is journeying from two different directions. Unfortunately, the convergent point of the procession was destroyed. A range of individuals are depicted in this mosaic. Each person had a place indicated by the objects they hold or a purpose revealed in their actions.

¹⁵Talgam and Weiss, 77-79. For pictures of this panel see Ibid., color pl. VIII and IX.

¹⁶Ibid., 80-81. For pictures of this panel see Ibid., color pl. X.

¹⁷Ibid., 93. For a picture of this bust see Ibid., color pl. XIV.

Individuals from all levels of society participated in the rites associated with the mysteries of Dionysos.¹⁸

A similarity of costume is present throughout this mosaic. The figures in the mythological scenes are clothed in much the same manner as the figures in the Dionysiac procession. The only differences are the costume of the gods and the satyrs. The women wear long, sleeveless tunics in gray or red, while the men wear short, sleeveless tunics in brown, red, or gray. Apart from the *clavi* on two of the men's tunics, their costumes lacked decoration. The maiden and young man on the donkey both wear short-sleeved tunics with large enveloping mantles. They possibly held a special place of honor in the procession and thus wore the most clothing. The man emptying grapes on the ground is stripped to the waist, showing he is busily engaged in labor. The men in the *exomis* were generally also performing actions: leading the donkey, carrying baskets of grapes, or carrying the statue's pedestal. The women similarly were busy carrying objects, and that is why their mantles were wrapped around their middles instead of draped over their bodies. The man with the boy riding the goat, the only preserved man wearing a sleeveless tunic that covers both shoulders, is not involved in active work but in the boy's initiation. The naked boys as initiates, I believe, lacked real knowledge of the mysteries, and going without clothes was a symbol of this. Status indication is not very prominent in the procession; however, small differences in the costumes of the described participants symbolized their level of involvement.

¹⁸Talgam and Weiss, 82-85.

The House of Dionysos and Ariadne located in Antioch had a large mosaic that dates to the late-second or early-third centuries. It depicts Ariadne partly reclined and a damaged Dionysos in the central panel. Dionysos is shown wearing a long, long-sleeved red tunic and a green-blue *pallium*. Ariadne (fig. 2.19) wears a sleeveless, belted tunic in a blue color, that reaches down to her sandaled feet. Her large *palla*, covering her legs, is yellow. A wreath of leaves graces her head, while her arms and wrists are adorned with gold bracelets.¹⁹ Here jewelry is again used to signal a female's high status. Ariadne is adorned with four gold pieces that highlight her arms. The use of jewelry along with Dionysos and Ariadne's colorful garments indicate their high status.

The House of Poseidon in Zeugma yielded a mosaic depicting Eros and Psyche (fig. 2.20) sitting on a couch. This mosaic dates from the second to mid-third century. A winged Eros, like Dionysos and Herakles, wears just a white *pallium* wrapped around his lower body. Psyche, on the other hand, wears a long-sleeved tunic in yellow with a large whitish, pale blue, gossamer *palla* wrapped around her whole body and covering her head. An earring hangs down from her visible ear, while a wreath of leaves adorns her head.²⁰ Psyche's *palla* is an excellent example of the use of a very light, gauzy material. The purpose of wearing such a fine, transparent fabric was to indicate status. The material, likely silk, was expensive and did little to provide warmth or protection, so it lacked practicality. The opulence of Psyche's *palla* denotes a leisured way of life. Doing anything besides sitting

¹⁹Levi, vol. I, 143. For a color picture of this mosaic see Cimok, 127.

²⁰Önal, 27. For a color picture of this mosaic see Ibid., 28.

would be very difficult in such an enveloping piece of material. Interestingly, Psyche wears a long-sleeved tunic, not a sleeveless tunic like we have seen so many times now.

Finally, from Zeugma, a mosaic of Parthenope and Metiochos, sitting on a couch, was uncovered in a house that dates from the second to the mid-third century. Parthenope (fig. 2.21) wears a floor-length, sleeveless tunic and *palla*. Her belted tunic is blue and is attached at the shoulders with *fibulae*, while her *palla* is a pale pink. One *fibula* is visible on her left arm, for the fabric from her left shoulder has slipped off her shoulder baring it. Golden bracelets, in pairs, adorn her arms and wrists, while an earring hangs from her ear. A shoe is visible on her foot. Metiochos (fig. 2.22) wears a knee-length, unbelted, white tunic with two reddish *clavi* running down his tunic's front from shoulders to hem. A reddish brown *pallium* is draped over his left shoulder and arm and encircles his lower body, making it impossible to determine if his tunic has sleeves. He wears sandals on his feet.²¹ The costumes of Parthenope and Metiochos indicate status through the use of garment quantity and color. Metiochos wears a white tunic with *clavi*, while Parthenope is dressed in a colorful tunic. This reflects the typical pattern of color use in men and women's costume. Parthenope wears both bracelets and earrings that visibly show her wealth and status. Gender differences are visible not only in tunic color but also in tunic length and in the jewelry Parthenope wears. Women wore their tunics longer than men did and were adorned with bracelets and earrings, while a man wore none of these.

²¹The house was located in Site D of the excavation; see David Kennedy, *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates, Rescue Work and Historical Studies*, ed. J.H. Humphrey (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1998), 122. Also see Önal, 54. For a color picture see *Ibid.*, 55. Looters removed the upper portions of Parthenope and Metiochos. These sections were eventually displayed in Houston, TX, in the Ménil Collection. Once the rest of the mosaic was uncovered and it was determined these figures belonged to it, Parthenope and Metiochos were returned to Turkey and placed in the Gaziantep Museum. For more on this see Kennedy, 121.

In Sepphoris, a private dwelling known as the House of Orpheus had a mosaic pavement located in its *triclinium*. The Orpheus mosaic dates to the second half of the third century. One panel of interest for this study depicts a scene from a *convivium*, a banquet. Four men sit on a couch around the table; one man stands, and two attendants wait on them (fig. 2.23). The men around the table wear short-sleeved blue-gray or yellow tunics with reddish *clavi*. The length of their tunics is not visible, since the couch blocks their lower bodies. A reddish brown *pallium* is visible draped on the lap of the man sitting on the left. The man standing to the left of the others wears a knee-length, short-sleeved, belted, blue-gray tunic with reddish *clavi*. The color of his blue-gray tunic is the same as the other seated men in blue-gray tunics. These men wear similar costumes and are adorned with wreaths around their necks and heads. The man serving wine also has a wreath around his neck and head and wears the same kind of tunic, but in a lighter shade of gray. Finally in this panel, a man in a sleeveless, gray tunic tends the water heater. A wreath is also around his neck.²² Here two men are depicted slightly differently from the diners in their costume color and style. These men are attendants, possibly slaves, and lack the diners' status. The wine server has a paler colored costume compared to the diners. The water heater attendant wears a different style tunic with no sleeves and no belt. Even the costumes of the lower stratum indicated their status. The wine server is better dressed than the water heater attendant, thus

²²Talgam and Weiss, 8-11. Talgam and Weiss state that the man standing on the left is also an attendant, just like the wine server and water heater attendant. Based on his costume this interpretation does not fit. His costume matches those of the other diners, while there is an open spot on the right side of the couch. This shows he belongs with the diners. This man is likely the host welcoming his guests to dinner. The other two men are definitely attendants who have specific roles to perform. For more on banquet attendants see Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 150-56. For a picture of this mosaic see *Ibid.*, color pl. XII.

indicating his higher status. These attendants do wear simple wreaths, but the style of them is plainer. Status for the diners is indicated by their colorful costume.

Dating from the early third to the early fourth century, the upper level of the House of the Drunken Dionysos in Antioch possessed a five-panel mosaic with two personifications depicted. Tryphe meaning “Luxury” or “Enjoyment” was located on the left; Bios meaning “Life” was located on the right. This mosaic was positioned in a corridor which led into a possible *triclinium*. Both figures are portrayed seated leaning on dark green cushions. This partially reclining position may signal their inclusion as guests to dinner. Tryphe (fig. 2.24) wears a sleeveless tunic, fastened at the shoulders and belted under her breasts. Her tunic is a light green with dark blue edges; her *palla* is colored a yellowish brown. A wreath of flowers and leaves adorns her head, and on her right arm two golden bracelets appear, one above her elbow and one at her wrist. Bios (fig. 2.25) wears a long, wide-sleeved gray-white tunic with green *clavi* and a red *pallium*. He similarly has a wreath of foliage on his head.²³ Given the feel that these figures are guests enjoying a meal, it is not hard to see them clothed in contemporary costumes, which would then reflect what their host, the homeowner, would himself be wearing. The sleeves on Bios’ long-sleeved tunic are noticeably wider than those seen in the previously discussed mosaics. As seen before, status is indicated for both genders through garment quantity and color. Tryphe additionally indicates status by wearing jewelry, which was chiefly a means of feminine adornment.

A dwelling known as the Constantinian Villa located in Daphne just outside Antioch dates to the early fourth century and had a large mosaic depicting hunting scenes along with

²³Levi, vol. I, 224. For a color picture of this mosaic see Cimok, 54-55.

a pastoral border. In the center of this mosaic was located an octagonal pool, while the four corners had figured personifications of the seasons. The hunting scene is possibly centered around the Calydonian boar hunt, since one of the panels depicts Meleager and Atalanta. Not all the hunters will be discussed here, but only the ones that offer the clearest portrayal of costume. In the panel located between the personifications of Spring and Summer, three hunters and an attendant (fig. 2.26) are represented preparing for the hunt and sacrificing to Artemis. A bearded hunter sits in the left corner on a rock and wears a long-sleeved, belted, light yellow tunic with green *clavi*. His feet are encased in laced boots. Beside him is a barefoot figure holding a spear and a dead hare. This man wears a dark *exomis* pulled up around his waist baring his bottom. From his left arm hangs a red cloak possibly belonging to the hunter sitting on the rock. He is either an attendant to the sitting hunter or a hunter of lesser status, as quantity of clothing indicates status. Two other standing hunters occupy the other side of this scene. They are both bearded and wear knee-length, long-sleeved, belted tunics and laced boots. Again their garments are brightly colored. The short hunter's tunic is red and paired with a green cloak, while the taller hunter wears a yellow tunic bordered in green around his neck and a red cloak.²⁴

The panel between Summer and Autumn shows three hunters on horseback. The middle horseman's costume is the most visible. This hunter (fig. 2.27), attacking a tigress from his horse, wears a long-sleeved, white tunic with a purple border at the hem and near the ends of his sleeves. Embroidered circular patches, *orbiculi*, in the same purple color adorn his tunic at the shoulder and near his bottom hem. This development of adding more

²⁴Levi, vol. I, 236. For a color picture of this panel see Cimok, 204.

decoration and embroidered patches to male garments dates it to the third and fourth centuries. These embroidered patches came in a number of different shapes like circles, squares, or rectangles.²⁵ His red cloak is fastened with a *fibula* at his right shoulder. Long dark hose cover his legs. These hose were essentially tight-fitting leggings.²⁶ Two other hunters (fig. 2.28) riding on horses are depicted in the panel between Spring and Winter. The horseman on the left wears a long-sleeved, belted tunic in bright yellow, brownish cloak, and white hose. No other markings are visible on his tunic. The other horseman on the right wears a yellow long-sleeved tunic, long white hose, and black shoes. His garment decorations include black trim at his shoulders and around his neck proceeding in two vertical bands down to his chest. Black *orbiculi*, like the hunter's above, are placed near his tunic's hem. His sleeve cuffs are similarly edged in black.²⁷ This is an interesting comparison. Here are two hunters both on horseback, but one is dressed in plainer clothes than the other. The horseman with the richly decorated tunic likely possessed greater status than his counterpart in the plain tunic. Also, here is the first example of richly decorated tunics that have more than just *clavi* embroidered on them. Use of garment decoration like this signals an indication of status for these hunters on horseback, since more time would have been needed to make such garments. They, given these decorations, must possess greater status than the hunters on-foot and the horseman in the undecorated tunic.

²⁵Croom, 34. Also see Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya, *Coptic Fabrics* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1990), 48-54.

²⁶Levi, vol. I, 236. See Croom, 55-56, for more information regarding hose. For a color picture of this panel see Cimok, 210.

²⁷Levi, vol. I, 236. For a color picture of this panel see Cimok, 206.

Along the border of this mosaic were placed pastoral scenes. One panel depicts a sitting boy (fig. 2.29) milking a goat. This boy wears a short, sleeveless, white-gray tunic belted around his waist. Two shepherds are depicted in two separate panels. The first shepherd (fig. 2.30) wears a short, long-sleeved, belted, blue tunic with a yellow *pallium* draped over his left shoulder and arm. Black boots cover his feet. The other shepherd (fig. 2.31) plays a horn and stands among his flock of sheep and goats. He wears a short, short-sleeved, belted, yellow tunic with reddish puttees and dark shoes. Puttees were a form of leg protection made by wrapping pieces of cloth around the lower legs and then securing them with ties. Lastly, in another panel, a young man pulls garlands from a basket, while a woman weaves them (fig. 2.32). The young man wears a similar short, short-sleeved, belted tunic with *clavi* markings and dark sandals. The woman is dressed in a sleeveless light pink tunic belted under her breasts that reaches to the ground. Her legs are covered with a dark *palla*.²⁸ Interestingly, this woman wears a sleeveless tunic and is identified as a country woman, not a goddess or mythological character. There is a difference in tunic style between the two shepherds. The first shepherd with the long-sleeved tunic and *pallium*, by the way he is dressed, showed he had more status than his younger counterpart, who wore short-sleeves and had no *pallium*. The dress of these figures is simple. Their costume colors are not as bright as seen in the previous examples. No jewelry or additional decorations beyond the young man's *clavi* are visible. From these observations, it is clear the individuals depicted in the pastoral scenes possessed limited social status and were simply rural folk. The young

²⁸Levi, vol. I, 249-50. See Croom, 57, for more on puttees. For color pictures of these panels see Cimok, 214-17.

man and woman, given their costumes and activity, likely belonged to the rural peasantry, who had some assets and possessions but were not exceptionally wealthy.

Now it is time to turn to a funerary mosaic found just outside Antioch's Daphne Gate in a necropolis' tomb chamber. The Mosaic of Mnemosyne dates from the middle to the late fourth century and bears the inscription Mnemosyne, which means "remembrance." It was likely commissioned as a memorial for a deceased individual. The central panel features a *symposium* with six women present. Three figures are intact; three have damage to their faces and heads. The most prominent woman (fig. 2.33), who is likely the deceased, sits on a low stool and reads from an open scroll. She wears a floor-length, light purple tunic with long, wide sleeves. A white *palla* is draped over her shoulders and legs. On the right side of this mosaic, one woman sits while a younger woman stands and holds a ewer and bowl (fig. 2.34). The sitting woman under the Mnemosyne inscription wears a sleeveless, slightly darker purple tunic, girted under her breasts with a yellow belt. She is identified in the literature on this mosaic as either a regular upper stratum woman or the personification of "Remembrance." The standing younger woman wears a floor-length, wide-sleeved, belted, white tunic with two wide purple *clavi*. This woman is an attendant to the other women, as she is in the act of bringing a ewer and bowl over to the table. Her costume reflected the status of her mistress. All the women appear to wear earrings, possibly of pearls. Beyond the colorful costumes and earrings, not much material wealth is displayed in this mosaic. The above described women's costumes signal their status as individuals of some wealth, while

the reading of the woman with the scroll shows learning and thus status.²⁹ While not from the wealthiest class of Antioch's citizens, these women did possess some wealth which they sought to indicate through their appearance and the appearance of their attendant. The colors of their garments along with their earrings clearly show this.

Finally, the Mosaic of Musicians from a dwelling in Mariamin, a town from Roman Syria, was located in the *triclinium* and depicted contemporary activities of the wealthy. This mosaic of richly dressed women playing musical instruments dates from the end of the fourth century. In the center of the mosaic, a woman plays the double flutes, while another stands behind a table and plays metal bowls with a stick (fig. 2.35). The flute player, who has a flute in each hand, wears an outer tunic of silvery gray with black decorative bands. These wide bands are embroidered around her neckline and at her sleeve cuffs in a double band. She appears to wear an inner tunic, for triangles of a different tone are visible under the rounded neckline of the outer tunic. She wears a red belt under her bust, while her ears are adorned with pearl earrings. Next to the flute player stands a woman behind a table with eight bronze bowls. She also wears two tunics. The inner tunic of silvery gray has long, fitted sleeves that end in decorated cuffs with bands of yellow. The outer tunic has wider elbow length sleeves and is a brown color with yellow markings. A cream looped belt is tied under her bust.³⁰

²⁹Levi, vol. I, 296. Also see Rebecca Molholt, "Mosaic of a Women's Funerary Banquet," in *The Arts of Antioch*, ed. Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005), 199. For color pictures of this mosaic see *Ibid.*, pages 197-99. For more on an attendant's costume reflecting the status of her mistress see Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), 43.

³⁰Abdul Rizaq Zaqzouq and Marcelle Duchesne-Guillmin, "La mosaïque de Mariamin," *AAS* 20 (1970): 106-108. Syrian influence is visible in the way this belt is tied and looped. See Croom, 128-29. Her example is on male costume, but it looks similar to the way this woman's belt was tied and then looped. For a picture see Katherine M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 171, fig. 178.

The next group of female musicians on the right side of the mosaic include a lyre player and a castanet player (fig. 2.36). The lyre player, positioned behind the castanet player, appears to also wear two tunics, for the rounded neckline of the outer tunic shows an inner tunic visible in little triangles that are in a lighter shade of color. Her long-sleeved outer tunic is a dark green and richly embroidered, with golden discs on its upper part forming rows across the bodice, down the sleeves, and at the sleeve cuffs. The lower part of her tunic is decorated with a large circular medallion with more golden discs arranged in a circular pattern. A white belt tied under her bust forms a loop. Her ears are adorned with golden earrings. The woman all the way on the right plays the wooden castanets. She wears two tunics. Her reddish brown inner tunic edged with a yellow stripe is clearly visible as a wide border at her ankles. The outer tunic is a purplish gray with two wide black *clavi* descending from her shoulders to the hem of her outer tunic. The black *clavi* are widest at her shoulders before they narrow slightly on the front. The sleeves of the outer tunic are wide and fall down to the wrists. The fabric of the outer tunic appears thin like silk. She wears a belt of yellow under her breasts, while her ears are adorned with golden hoop earrings that end in pearls.³¹

These women are dressed in elegant, richly decorated garments. By their rich costumes with bright colors and use of decorative elements, the women show they possess status. They also wear jewelry in the form of earrings. The use of long-sleeved tunics is starting to appear along with the use of more tunic decoration in the form of neck and sleeve

³¹Zaqqouq and Duchesne-Guillmin, 105-106. For a picture see Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, 171, fig. 178.

bands. All the women wear a form of inner tunic visible mostly at the rounded neckline of their outer tunic and an outer tunic richly decorated.

Changes are evident in everyday garment style and decoration starting in the early fourth century. The upper stratum was trying to find new ways to separate themselves from the rest of the population. The use of quantity of material and color were not enough. It is interesting to note that these changes corresponded to changes in society as a whole. The third century was a time of crisis and the emergence of a stronger, more centralized figure in the emperor. These shifts in society enabled change to happen in garment style and decoration. For men these changes are visible on the hunters' garments in the Constantinian Villa mosaic; for women the change is most apparent in the Mosaic of Mnemosyne and the Mosaic of Musicians. Men's garments show an increased amount of garment decoration in the form of trim around their necks and sleeve cuffs and the use of *orbiculi*, embroidered patches, near their tunic's hem. Women are now depicted wearing long-sleeves instead of sleeveless tunics. Garment decoration for them in the use of broader *clavi* and decorative sleeve bands was increasing as well.

To judge from all the examples just cited, status indication was important for all Romans. All levels of society desired to indicate the status they possessed in relation to their counterparts. This is evident in figures from the lower stratum seen in the above described mosaics. Examples include Daedalus and Icaurus from the House of Poseidon, the wine server and water heater attendant at the banquet in the House of Orpheus, and the two shepherds in the Constantinian Villa pastoral scenes. In each pair, one individual clearly possessed more status than the other with this indicated by the costume they wore.

Chapter 3 : Mosaic Pavements from the Fifth to Sixth Centuries

Mosaic pavements from Roman Syria and Palestine during the fifth to sixth centuries AD continue to offer a rich portrayal of everyday costume. This portrayal is even richer than before, for the range of figures depicted includes many from the lower stratum. This increase corresponded to the decoration of Christian churches and Jewish synagogues with mosaic pavements. Members of these religious communities included people from all sections of society. The figures depicted on these mosaics similarly embraced a wide range of individuals employed in a variety of activities. Mosaics from the second to fourth centuries were located predominantly in private dwellings. Their themes centered on mythological scenes, personifications of abstract ideas, and scenes of the leisurely life. Now agricultural, pastoral, and hunting scenes increasingly occurred. As previously discussed, a change is evident most notably in costume decorations and to a lesser extent tunic style. The four areas which indicate status in costume will continue in the analysis of these mosaics. These areas include quantity of material, colors, garment decoration, and jewelry use.

The Bath of Apolausis located in Antioch and its mosaics date from the early fifth century. Here were located two mosaics with the personification of a woman in the center of each. Inscriptions beside the women's heads gave their names. The personification of Soteria meaning "Salvation" was located in the *frigidarium*, the cold room of the bathhouse. Soteria (fig. 3.1) wears a sleeveless, deep yellow tunic and a dark green *palla* draped over her left shoulder. Her right shoulder is bare, while her right arm has a golden bracelet. Her long dark hair falls over her bare right shoulder and down her arm. A wreath of golden leaves adorns her head. In the middle of the wreath is a large green jewel, possibly an

emerald. She also wears earrings and a wide necklace, both of which are made of gold and green gems.¹ The other personification of Apolausis, meaning “Enjoyment,” shows a woman (fig. 3.2) wearing a long-sleeved brown tunic belted under her breasts with rich red and black trimmings around her neck, on her shoulders, on her tunic cuffs, and running down the sides of her tunic in two parallel *clavi*. A light multicolored *palla* of pinks and light browns is draped on her head and falls onto her shoulders. Her ears are adorned with earrings.² Jewelry is becoming larger and more extravagant, as seen in the jewelry that Soteria wears. The figure of Apolausis depicts the use of abundant trim on the upper parts of a female’s garment. The use of such garment decoration was also present with the horseback riding hunters from the Constantinian Villa and on the women’s garments in the Mosaic of Musicians in the previous chapter. The costume Apolausis wears demonstrates that garment decoration on women’s costume in the fifth century was becoming more prominent and lavish.³ This lavishness of decoration indicates the possession of high status.

The Sepphoris Synagogue was constructed in the early fifth century. A long mosaic pavement decorated the main hall. Two preserved figures in band six of this mosaic are from the story of Abraham and Isaac that the Jews refer to as the ‘*Aqedah* (The Binding of Isaac). The panel of Abraham and Isaac is largely destroyed. What remains is the panel that depicts

¹Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), 305. For a color picture of this mosaic see Faith Cimok, ed., *Antioch Mosaics* (Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2000), 235.

²Levi, vol. I, 305. For a color picture of this mosaic see Cimok, 237.

³The use of this type of garment decoration appeared later on women’s costume than on men’s costume. It is only in the fifth century that women’s garments are observed with such lavish trimmings. See Alexandra T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2000), 84 and 86-87.

their two attendants along with a donkey. A young man (fig. 3.3) sits on the ground and holds the donkey's rope. He wears a knee-length, long-sleeved, belted tunic. His tunic is reddish in color and decorated with two *clavi* down the front and two pairs of black and yellow *orbiculi* located on the shoulders and near his tunic's bottom edge. Two black bands encircle his sleeve cuffs. His belt is black with a white center and on his feet are black boots. The other young man (fig. 3.4) stands behind the donkey and holds a spear in his left hand. He wears a similar long-sleeved, belted tunic in yellow with two dark *clavi* running down its front and two black bands around his sleeve cuff. Only two black *orbiculi* are visible on his shoulders, since the donkey blocks the view of his lower body. He, like the seated young man, also wears black boots.⁴

These young men, while having garment decoration on their tunics, are known attendants to Abraham and Isaac who accompanied them on their journey. Why were their tunics decorated like this? The answer would be simpler if the figures of Abraham and Isaac were preserved. Since this is not the case, it is hard to say for sure what the costume differences were between these two groups. An attendant's dress could reflect the status of his or her master. There was no standard slave or poor people's dress in antiquity.⁵ As the fifth century progressed, garment decorations became popular on the tunics of people from both the upper and lower strata. An upper stratum individual's garments would still be much

⁴Zeev Weiss, *The Sepphoris Synagogue* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2005), 143-44. For a color picture of the seated young man see *Ibid.*, 150, fig. 91; for a color picture of the standing young man see *Ibid.*, fig. 92.

⁵See Kelly Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-presentation and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), 43. Olson states slave women's appearance depended on their job, their owners "status and generosity; and whether or not he or she wished to advertise their wealth on the slave's body." While Olson's work deals with the costume of women, the same principle applies to slave men as well.

more lavish and richly decorated than the garments of an individual from the lower stratum. These young men's garment decorations reflected the high status of the household in which they served.⁶

The Yakto Complex in Antioch and its mosaic dates from the mid-fifth century. Here was located a hunting scene mosaic with a central portrait bust medallion of Megalopsychia along with border scenes depicting urban life. This mosaic is rich in detail with many figures portrayed from different levels of society. The personification of Megalopsychia (fig. 3.5), meaning "Generosity" is here depicted as the ideal character of a generous ruler. She wears a long-sleeved white tunic with an overfold formed from an out-of-sight belt under her breasts. Golden colored cuffs adorn her sleeves, while bands of the same golden color run down either side of her tunic in *clavi* stripes. Encircling her neck is a jeweled necklace constructed of pink and green stones set in gold. Her *palla*, covering her shoulders, is pink. She wears earrings, each of which consists of a large pearl hanging from golden thread. Her head is crowned with a large yellow jewel set in the middle of leaves, above which a string of beads wraps around her head. Her right hand holds coins, while her left arm holds a full container of more coins.⁷ This figure is richly dressed and ornamented with many jewels. All these aspects of her costume exhibit her high status.

The hunters around the medallion of Megalopsychia are identified by inscriptions over their heads as mythological characters but are depicted in contemporary costume.

⁶Weiss, 150. Weiss states that their "plain dress seems to be an indication of their status." This is not an accurate statement. The young men's garments reflect more the high status of the ones they served instead of their own status.

⁷Levi, vol. I, 338-345. See Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), LXXVI b, for a picture of this part of the mosaic.

Meleager (fig. 3.6), fighting a tigress, wears a long-sleeved, white tunic belted around his waist, a long red cloak fastened with a black *fibula* at his right shoulder, and white boots with red laces.⁸ Narcissus (fig. 3.7), on the other hand, seen attacking a lion, wears a more elaborately decorated garment. His long-sleeved tunic is pinkish, with *tabulae*, embroidered square patches, located near his garment's lower hem and at his shoulders. A disc hangs around his neck and falls down to his chest. His flowing cloak is yellow and is fastened at his right shoulder, while his boots are red.⁹ These two men are depicted in similar costume. The only difference between their garments is that one has more decoration than the other. By looking at their dress only, one would judge Narcissus to possess greater status than Meleager.

A look into the genealogy of these hunters reveals an interesting distinction between those with mere mortal backgrounds and those with divine descent. Meleager was the son of Oeneus, king of Calydon, and Althaea, daughter of Thestius. Teiresias (fig. 3.8), another hunter dressed similarly to him, was only the son of Everes, a descendant of Udaeüs, and Chariclo, a nymph.¹⁰ Both of these hunters were only of mortal lineage. While their dress is colorful, their garments lack additional decoration. On the other hand, Narcissus, whose father was the river god Cephissus and whose mother was the nymph Leriopé, is dressed in a colorful garment along with decoration in the form of *tabulae* and a hanging disc. Acteon (fig. 3.9), another hunter dressed similarly to Narcissus, also had a father of divine descent.¹¹

⁸Levi, vol. I, 338. See Levi, vol. II, LXXVII a, for a picture of this part of the mosaic.

⁹Levi, vol. I, 337. See Levi, vol. II, LXXVII c, for a picture of this part of the mosaic.

¹⁰See Levi, vol. II, LXXVIII a, for a picture of this part of the mosaic.

¹¹See Levi, vol. II, LXXVIII b, for a picture of this part of the mosaic.

His father was Aristaeüs, a minor god of rustic pursuits, while his mother was Autoñoë, daughter of Cadmus king of Thebes. These seemingly slight distinctions mattered in Roman eyes. The higher status of the hunters, based on their genealogical descent, is indicated on their garments for others to see in an instant. Status was important to the Romans, and they used their costumes as a way to express this. The above described mosaic and its identified mythological hunters is strong evidence of this fact.

The topographical border around the previously discussed Yakto Complex hunting scene and medallion of Megalopsychia represented the cities of Antioch and Daphne and depicted scenes of urban life along their streets. Buildings are identified by inscriptions located above them. A host of different characters are visible in contemporary dress interacting along the streets. To begin with, a man and two women (fig. 3.10) stand conversing. The man wears a long, loose fitting, grayish-yellow tunic with neutral colored shoes. The two women wear long tunics that reach to the ground. The woman on the right wears a long-sleeved, yellowish tunic and a dark *palla*, while the woman next to her wears a purplish tunic and pinkish *palla* that covers her upper body and head.¹²

Proceeding on, we encounter a man standing in front of the public baths (fig. 3.11) who wears a long white tunic decorated with black *clavi* and two small *tabulae* near his hem. His red *pallium* is draped over his shoulders and is the same length as his tunic. He wears black shoes. Farther on to the left, a man stands holding a child's hand (figs. 3.12). Both he and the child wear whitish tunics with black *clavi* and small *tabulae*. Two other figures of

¹²Christine Kondoleon, "Mosaics of Antioch," in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. Christine Kondoleon (Princeton: Princeton University Press and Worcester Art Museum, 2000), 115. These three figures stand between the Olympic Stadium and the Martyrion. For more on them see Levi, vol. I, 330. For a color picture of these figures see Cimok, 272.

interest are shown near this man and child. One is a vendor (fig. 3.13) behind a table of goods, who wears a sleeveless, white tunic. His skin tone is dark, showing that he spends much time outdoors. The other is a carrier (fig. 3.14), possibly a slave, who has a bundle in his arms. He wears a plain long-sleeved, belted, brownish tunic with black boots.¹³ In another scene, a peddler holding a stick with a bundle at the end (fig. 3.15) walks along the street near the market. He is dressed in a pinkish tunic belted around his waist and high black boots.¹⁴ In a different scene, a barefoot man in a whitish loincloth (fig. 3.16), most likely a slave, balances a jug on his head and carries a basket in his left hand. A little to the right of the slave, a barefoot porter (fig. 3.17), carrying a rolled bundle, wears a yellowish tunic belted at his waist. Beyond these figures, a woman holding a child by the hand and carrying a bundle on her back (figs. 3.18) prepares to cross a bridge. She wears a yellowish tunic and reddish *palla*, while the child is dressed in a white belted tunic decorated with black *clavi* and two small *tabulae*.¹⁵

This border is rich in everyday costume depiction, with many different individuals shown from slaves to workers up to individuals with some standing. It offers a snapshot into a busy urban environment. What individuals wore distinguished them and their position in life. Beyond a few markings on their tunics, none of these figures wears any form of jewelry. The color of their clothes is relatively simple, and no bright colors were used for their garments. The man in the group of two women and the one holding the child's hand are

¹³Levi, vol. I, 330. For color pictures of these figures see Cimok, 269-71.

¹⁴Levi, vol. I, 331. For a color picture of this figure see Cimok, 263.

¹⁵Levi, vol. I, 331. For color pictures of these figures see Cimok, 257-59.

likely individuals with some means, given that they wear longer, more encumbering, tunics. The man in front of the public bath also wears a long tunic and is the only man to wear a *pallium*. This distinction signals the possession of some status. The other men described all wear short knee-length tunics and appear to be performing work or tasks related to their occupations. One man is clearly a slave, since he only wears a loincloth. The woman with the child apparently is a working woman or a slave, possibly the child's nurse, since she is depicted carrying a bundle on her back. A woman with status would have an attendant carry her things and not be so burdened. The two women conversing with the man have some leisure time on their hands. To judge from their costume and activity, they are not poor; however, they do not possess great wealth or high status. This topographical border offers a glimpse into Roman urban life and the wide variety of individuals that one would encounter in the city streets of the late Roman world.

The Nile Festival Building in Sepphoris dates to the fifth century. Two panels in this building, a public basilica of some sort, are of interest here.¹⁶ The first depicts two Amazon warriors on horseback. These Amazons (fig. 3.19) wear mainly male costumes with a few female additions. The Amazon on the left has a raised spear in her right hand and wears a short, sleeveless, belted gray tunic with her right breast exposed. Many plaits of fabric decorate the front along with a pale red *tabula* positioned near her tunic's hem. A reddish brown cloak flies out behind her, but it is not clear how it is fastened. Pale red boots are on her feet. Two golden bracelets adorn her right arm and wrist, while an earring with pearls

¹⁶Ehud Netzer and Zeev Weiss, "New evidence for late-Roman and Byzantine Sepphoris," in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J.H. Humphrey (Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1995), 170-71.

hangs down from her ear. Completing her costume is a pale red Phrygian cap. The Amazon on the right wears a short, long-sleeved, belted red tunic with three black bands around the cuff. A few plaits of fabric decorate the front of her tunic. A gray cloak is fastened with a *fibula* on her right shoulder. She also wears a pale red Phrygian cap. Her legs are destroyed, so it is not known what kind of shoes she had.¹⁷ Status symbols are apparent on these two women. The Amazon on the left possessed greater status given the fact she wears jewelry, while the Amazon on the right wears none. Garment decoration is also more prominent on her tunic. The Amazon on the left did possess status, too. This is indicated in her long-sleeved and brightly colored tunic.

The other panel depicted Amazons involved in some kind of festivities (fig. 3.20). Two Amazons are fully preserved and both wear the same kind of short, sleeveless, belted tunic with their right shoulder and arm bare. Their right breasts are also exposed. Two belts under their busts and at their waists create many folds in their tunic fabric. The left Amazon wears a brown tunic, black boots, and a pale red Phrygian cap. The right Amazon wears a blue-gray tunic with a reddish belt under her breasts, reddish boots, and another pale red Phrygian cap. Her left breast is clearly missing identifying her as an Amazon, which means “breastless.” They are adorned with no additional jewelry.¹⁸ Their tunic style is like the male *exomis* seen on laboring figures depicted in mosaics from chapter 2. Their dress is plain compared to the Amazons on horseback. Therefore, they did not possess as much status.

¹⁷This panel was located across from the main entrance of the basilica hall. Netzer and Weiss, “New evidence for late-Roman and Byzantine Sepphoris,” 169. For a color picture of this panel see Ehud Netzer and Zeev Weiss, *Zippori* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 53.

¹⁸This panel was located in a room off a courtyard. Netzer and Weiss, “New evidence for late-Roman and Byzantine Sepphoris,” 169. For a color picture of this panel see Netzer and Weiss, *Zippori*, 53.

The House of Ge and the Seasons in Antioch possessed two mosaics dating from the mid-fifth century. Here were located the personification images of two women, Ge and Ktisis, richly dressed and adorned. Each woman was placed in the center of her own mosaic along with an identifying inscription. Ge (fig. 3.21), meaning “Earth,” wears a sleeveless purplish tunic with black highlights fastened at her shoulders by two large round *fibulae*. The center of each *fibula* is pink and likely represents some kind of precious stone, while the outside rim is black. Reddish brown hair falls over her shoulders. Two pearls on a golden chain hang from her ears. Her head is crowned with leaves and fruit.¹⁹ An interesting comparison is between Ge of the second century discussed in chapter 2, fig. 2.4, and this one from the fifth century. Ge in the House of Euphrates is similarly dressed in a sleeveless tunic with *fibulae*, but she wears no jewelry. Her fifth century counterpart now wears earrings and jewel centered *fibulae*.

The other female figure is identified as the personification of Ktisis, meaning “Foundation” which refers to building. Ktisis (fig. 3.22) wears a grayish purple tunic and reddish *palla*. She is richly adorned with jewelry. From her ears hang thick gold circles with triangular pendants in the center. A crown of red and green jewels graces her head. These jewels are separated by vertical rows of pearls.²⁰ Both Ge and Ktisis indicate status through the use of jewelry to adorn their bodies. As noted before, jewelry in this period became

¹⁹Levi, vol. I, 346. For a color picture of this mosaic see Cimok, 277.

²⁰Levi, vol. I, 347. Also see Christine Kondoleon, “Mosaic of Ktisis (Foundation),” in *The Arts of Antioch*, ed. Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005), 211-14. For a color picture of this mosaic see *Ibid.*, 210.

larger and more prominent. Garment color is still an important signal of status, since these women wear brightly colored costumes.

The Triclinos Building in Apamea had a large hunting mosaic dating from the mid-fifth to early sixth century. All the hunters wear short tunics. This was for their convenience, as it gave them greater mobility when pursuing their prey. Starting in the bottom row on the left, a small game hunter (fig. 3.23) with two dogs carries a net and two sticks. He wears a short-sleeved, belted, pale reddish tunic along with a white scarf tied around his neck. On his legs are greenish gray trousers, dark yellow knee pads, and brownish puttees with black lacings. Puttees, a form of leg protection, were pieces of cloth wrapped around the lower legs and then secured with ties. Across from this small game hunter is another hunter with a shield and spear (fig. 3.24) and his back to the viewer. He wears a short-sleeved, belted tunic in yellowish brown with a dark band around his sleeve cuff. A white belt is around his waist, while a white scarf is tied at his neck. Brownish black trousers cover his upper legs, while his dark gray puttees with black laces protects his legs.²¹

Located in the middle row are two horsemen with spears in their right hands and billowing cloaks behind them. The horseman on the left who faces right (fig. 3.25) wears a long-sleeved, belted, mustard-yellow tunic with a wide red band on his sleeve cuff. His belt is not visible, but the fabric is folded over around his waist. His cloak is green and is fastened at his right shoulder with a *fibula*. He wears black shoes. The horseman on the right who faces left (fig. 3.26) wears a short-sleeved, white tunic with a dark band around his

²¹Janine Balty, *La Grande Mosaique de Chasse du Triclinos* (Bruxelles: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie, 1969), 10. See Croom, 57, for more on puttees. For a picture of the small game hunter see Balty, pl. XL.1. For a picture of the hunter with a shield and spear see Ibid., pl. XL.3.

sleeve cuff. His trousers are grayish and his cloak is a reddish brown. He wears brown sandals.²² Above these horseman are two additional hunters on-foot. On the left, a hunter with a shield and spear (fig. 3.27) attacks a leopard. He wears a long-sleeved, belted, yellowish brown tunic with two dark bands on his sleeve cuff. His reddish cloak, flying out behind him, is fastened with a *fibula* at his right shoulder. He wears greenish trousers, dark yellowish knee pads, and gray puttee with black laces. Finally, an archer (fig. 3.28), across from this hunter, wears a short-sleeved, belted tunic. His tunic is grayish green and is secured at his waist with a wide white belt. A reddish cloak flutters out from his left shoulder where it is draped. He, like the hunters in the bottom row, wears a white scarf around his neck. His feet are covered in brown shoes.²³

The costumes of all the hunters are similar. The differences include wearing either a cloak or a neck scarf and having either short or long sleeves on their tunics. A few colored bands are visible around their sleeve cuffs. The hunters in the bottom row wear no cloaks, so they possess the least skill and status. The small game hunter carries no metal weapon, and his tunic is only a pale reddish color. The horsemen, on the other hand, wear colorful cloaks. The horseman on the left has the widest band markings on his sleeve cuff and wears both a colorful tunic and cloak. Based on what is known of status indication, he would have the most status, given his garment's markings. The hunter with shield and spear above the horseman clearly possesses more skill and status than the one in the bottom row, since he

²²Balty, 11-12. For a picture of the horseman on the left see Ibid., color pl. b and pl. XLIII.1. For a picture of the horseman on the right see Ibid., pl. XLII.1.

²³Ibid., 12-13. For a picture of the hunter with a shield and spear see Ibid., pl. XXVIII.1. For a picture of the archer see Ibid., pl. XXXIX.

wears a long-sleeved tunic and flowing cloak compared to the other's short-sleeved tunic and neck scarf. Slight differences can signal a different relative skill level or social position. This is evident in all the hunting mosaics discussed so far from the Constantinian Villa to the Yakto Complex. The hunters, all men of leisure, possessed varying levels of status which they sought to make known through the costumes they wore.

The House of the Worcester Hunt located in Daphne outside of Antioch also had a mosaic depicting hunting scenes. This mosaic, known as the Worcester Hunt Mosaic, dates from the early sixth century. It shows a central figure of a hunter dressed in animal skins with breeches and laced boots standing over a speared boar. Located around him are different wild animals, four hunters on horseback, and three hunters on-foot. This central figure was a personification of the "valor and manly courage" of one who was successful in the hunt. A homeowner commissioning a mosaic like this was trying to proclaim his position as an upper stratum man who could afford to participate in these kinds of hunting activities.²⁴ All the hunters, apart from the central figure, wear short, long-sleeved, belted tunics, knee-length breeches, and high laced boots. A comparison of two hunters on horseback with two hunters on-foot will show that men of varying status, more than likely of the same stratum, participated in similar activities and declared the gradations of their status through their costumes.

A horseman (fig. 3.29) pursuing a lion from the section under the central figure wears a dark gray tunic with darker gray breeches and a flowing red cloak, fastened around his neck. A red *orbiculus* is located near the hem of his tunic. Another horseman (fig. 3.30),

²⁴Christine Kondoleon, "Mosaic of the Worcester Hunt," in *The Arts of Antioch*, ed. Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005), 235.

located above the central figure, wears a white tunic with a reddish *orbiculus* located near his hem. Bands, in the same color, appear near his sleeve cuffs and vertically descend to his chest. Under his tunic are greenish breeches, while his flowing cloak is red and fastened at his right shoulder. Both men possessed status and indicated it in the adorning of their garments. The second horseman appears to have greater status, given his more elaborately decorated tunic. The on-foot hunters in the Worcester Hunt Mosaic wear colorful tunics that lack decoration. The one under the central figure (fig. 3.31), attacking a leopard, wears a reddish tunic and grayish breeches. The other on-foot hunter (fig. 3.32), located above the central figure, wears a light gray tunic with darker gray breeches.²⁵ It must be concluded that the described horsemen with garment decoration possessed the most status of all the hunters shown here. The act of hunting was a leisurely pursuit, so the hunters in this mosaic all possessed high social status. This is indicated through their costumes, but is especially prominent in the two horsemen's garments. Status distinctions were important for the Romans, and they sought to exhibit them clearly on the garments they wore.

The Chapel of Elias, Maria, and Soreg in Gerasa yielded a mosaic pavement with scenes of hunting and agricultural life, animals, and three portraits. This mosaic dates from the first half of the sixth century. Only Maria and Soreg are discussed here. Maria (fig. 3.33), located on the left side of the mosaic, wears a ground-length tunic in light brown with a dark brown and cream border at her hem. Near the hem are two *orbiculi* of the same color as this border. Two red *clavi* run vertically down the center of her tunic. Her reddish cloak is worn over her head and falls around her body before reaching to below her knees. It is fastened

²⁵Levi, vol. I, 364-65. Also see Kondoleon, "Mosaic of the Worcester Hunt," 228-236. For a color picture of this mosaic see Ibid., 229.

with a large cross *fibula* under her throat. Under her cloak is a cream cap that covers her hair. Soreg (fig. 3.34), located on the right side of the mosaic, wears a floor length, long-sleeved, blue tunic bordered in green with two *orbiculi* near her hem and green bands around her sleeve cuff. Her brown cloak with a darker brown border is draped over her shoulders and fastened with a circular *fibula* on her chest. Two brown strings descend from the *fibula* and stop just beneath her waist. It is not clear if they are ribbons or some kind of tassel from her cloak. Her head is bare, and it appears her ears are adorned with golden earrings. She wears brown shoes.²⁶ Both women wear long tunics and cloaks fastened with *fibulae* that are made in bright colors. The *orbiculi* match the colors of their tunics. Soreg wears earrings, while Maria has her head covered with a cap that reveals a style known for women during this period. Their colorful garments and garment decorations indicate their status.

The El-Hammām tomb chamber was discovered in the eastern cemetery of Beth Shean. Wealthy individuals constructed small funerary chapels with mosaic pavements over the vaults of their tombs. This tomb chamber was divided into two parts: the narthex, the entrance area, and the main hall. Here the focus is on the upper pavement of both the narthex and main hall that dates to the middle of the sixth century.²⁷ The narthex yielded a mosaic of personifications of the calendar months. Only four figures are well preserved. The figure

²⁶This Chapel got its modern name from the inscribed names of these three benefactors. Soreg holds an olive branch in her right hand. The olive branch is a symbol that can mean the individual has passed on and is now in heaven. Sylvester J. Saller and Bellarmini Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949), 272. For more information on Maria's hairstyle see Croom, 105. Also see Michele Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan*, ed. Patricia M. Bikai and Thomas A. Dailey (Amman, Jordan: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993), 296, fig. 569 for a color picture of Maria and p. 281, fig. 515 for a color picture of Soreg.

²⁷M. Avi-Yonah, "Mosaic Pavements at El-Hammām, Beisān," *QDAP* 5 (1936): 11 and 29-20. Avi-Yonah puts the date to around AD 530.

that represents July is a young man (fig. 3.35) who carries a large green leaf with red fruit and wears a short, sleeveless, belted, blue tunic with darker blue highlights. August (fig. 3.36), also portrayed as a young man, holds a fan and jug. He wears the same kind of tunic as July but in a dark green with red *clavi* running down to chest level. Near his tunic's hem are located two small red *tabulae*, while his feet are bare. September (fig. 3.37), again a barefoot young man, wears the same style tunic as July and August. His tunic is reddish with two short black *clavi* reaching only to his upper chest. December (fig. 3.38), depicted as a woman holding a mattock over her left shoulder, wears an ankle-length, long-sleeved, belted tunic and a small *palla* over her hair that flows down onto her shoulders and then out behind her. Both her tunic and *palla* are dark green, while green shoes adorn her feet.²⁸ Personifications of the calendar months depicted individuals engaged in each month's important activity. These individuals in real life would be either independent or dependent workers from the lower stratum. As seen in the mosaics of the Sepphoris Synagogue and Yakto Complex, the use of garment decorations in the form of *clavi*, *tabulae*, or *orbiculi* were increasingly used by individuals outside the upper stratum. These markings were smaller in size compared to the increasingly rich and elaborate markings the upper stratum displayed. *Clavi* stripes are clearly visible on both August and September, while August has the addition of two small *tabulae*.

The main hall's mosaic pavement was divided into vine volutes of eight rows. Each row had seven medallions that depicted animals and pastoral, hunting, or vineyard scenes. In the third row, a barefoot man (fig. 3.39), with a club in his right hand and his back to the

²⁸Avi-Yonah, 23-24. For a color picture of this mosaic see Meir Ben Dov and Yoel Rappel, *Mosaics of the Holy Land* (New York: Adama Books, 1987), 99.

viewer, runs after his mastiff chasing two sheep. He wears a short, sleeveless, light blue tunic, while over his left arm is his reddish cloak. The fourth row has a medallion of three men treading grapes (fig. 3.40), who wear only blueish loincloths. A donkey carrying a basket full of grapes followed by a barefoot man with a basket of grapes on his back (fig. 3.41) bring grapes to the wine press. This man wears a short, sleeveless, belted tunic in green.²⁹ Beyond garment color, all the figures are barefoot and wear plain tunics or loincloths that fit their laboring position. All the tunics except one are depicted in a shade of blue. The tesserae used in this mosaic are very colorful, providing a range of bright colors for its scenes. Its portrayal of garment color seems to fit into the overall color scheme of the mosaic and likely does not reflect the colors laboring men wore. Like the personifications of the months, all these workers wore simple garments with little to no decoration. These depictions represent working men from the lower stratum; their garments and lack of shoes support this.

The Old Diakonikon Baptistry is located off the northern side of the sanctuary belonging to the Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo. Of interest here is a large central pavement depicting hunting and pastoral scenes. An inscription at the top of the mosaic pavement dates it to AD 530.³⁰ In the first row, a shepherd fights a lion, while a hunter attacks a lioness. The barefoot shepherd (fig. 3.42) wears a short, sleeveless, belted gray tunic with small red *orbiculi* on the shoulders and at the tunic's bottom hem. Two red *clavi*

²⁹Avi-Yonah, 14-15. For an overall picture of the mosaic see Ibid., pls. XIV/XV. For color pictures of the described parts see Ben Dov and Rappel, 94, 96-97.

³⁰Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 144 and 146. For a color picture of the whole pavement see Ibid., 134-35.

run down his chest and end with a spearhead design. The hunter (fig. 3.43) attacking the lioness wears a short, long-sleeved, belted tunic in red with black bands around the neck, on the shoulders, and around the sleeve cuffs, yellow trousers with a band of black accented with white circles around each cuff, reddish boots, and a red Phrygian cap on his head.³¹ Continuing down to the second row, a hunter on horseback spearing a bear (fig. 3.44) wears a short, long-sleeved tunic in white with mustard yellow vertical stripes on his arm and a red cuff band around his sleeve. A wide bright yellow band borders the bottom edge of his tunic. His trousers are also bright yellow with a black and white band at its cuff. A black cloak is fastened with a reddish *fibula* on his right shoulder. He wears reddish boots.³² The fourth row depicts a black man with a roped ostrich and a young man holding a roped zebra and camel. The black man (fig. 3.45) wears only a long piece of material wrapped around his waist that reaches down close to his ankles. Piccirillo describes this costume as a “long loincloth.”³³ This loincloth is a dark yellow with red highlights. A band of black and white is located around the knees and appears again around the waist. A long belt in the same colors as the loincloth appears tied around his waist, for the ends then fall all the way down to the edge of the loincloth. The final figure is a young man with the zebra and camel (fig. 3.46) who wears a short, long-sleeved, belted, bright yellow tunic. His tunic has red bands on the sleeve cuffs and around the bottom edge. His trousers are brownish and decorated with a black and

³¹Michele Piccirillo, “Campagna archeologica nella Basilica di Mosè Profeta sul Monte Nebo – Siyagha,” *Liber annus* 26 (1976): 300. For color pictures of the shepherd and hunter see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 136-37.

³²Piccirillo, “Campagna archeologica nella Basilica,” 300. For a color image of the hunter on horseman attacking a bear see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 138-39.

³³Piccirillo, “Campagna archeologica nella Basilica,” 304.

white band around their cuffs, while his reddish cloak is draped over his shoulders and is fastened with a yellowish *fibula* on his chest. On his head is a yellow and red Phrygian cap, while on his feet are red boots.³⁴

There is a strong Eastern influence in the costume of these men, especially in the wearing of the trousers and the Phrygian cap. The black man is likely a slave, given that he wears only a loincloth and his feet are bare. The shepherd also does not possess much status since his costume is plain with only small *clavi* and *orbiculi* and his feet are similarly bare. The two hunters both possess status shown in their brightly colored garments with rich decorations. The horseman wears an additional cloak indicating his greater skill. The young man holding the zebra and camel suggests by his costume that he possesses status, but his activity does not conform. His garment decorations are plainer than the horseman's and the hunter's; because of this, he possibly is a young man of the elite learning about hunting.

The Church of Saint George was located on the acropolis of Mount Nebo and dates to AD 535/36. A number of mosaics decorated the church's floors. In the northern aisle there is a portrait of John, son of Ammonius (fig. 3.47), in a mosaic with animals and a vintager. His family was one of the church's benefactors. John's full length portrait is identified by an inscription on either side of him. He wears a short, long-sleeved, belted tunic and cloak. His tunic is grayish cream with a darker band around his sleeve cuffs, while his cloak is dark blue with a reddish border. His long cloak is tossed over his shoulders with a narrow section falling down onto his chest. It is not totally clear if he wears yellowish hose

³⁴Piccirillo, "Campagna archeologica nella Basilica," 300-301. For a color picture of the black man see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 141. For a color picture of the young man with the zebra and camel see *Ibid.*, 134.

on his legs or not. High black boots are on his feet. His arms reach out in a praying position.³⁵ John's portrait served to remind worshipers of his family's status. His costume indicates status by the quantity and color of material used, the decoration of the cloak's border, and the presence of very distinct footwear.

Hippolytus Hall is from a mansion in Madaba, a town of Roman Palestine, built in the early part of the sixth century. Two panels and the border with hunting scenes are of interest here and date to the mid-sixth century.³⁶ Three hunters fight animals in the border. A hunter attacking a leopard (fig. 3.48) wears a short, sleeveless, belted white tunic decorated with two pairs of *tabulae* on the shoulders and near his tunic's bottom hem. Two *clavi* descend from the shoulder *tabulae* and end at his waist. The *tabulae* and *clavi* are of a red and black squares. He is barefoot. Next to him is a hunter with a bow and quiver (fig. 3.49), who has just shot his arrow at a lion. He wears a short, long-sleeved, belted dark yellow tunic. Alternating squares of red and white appear in a band around his neck, on his sleeve cuffs, and at his tunic's bottom hem. A central wide *clavus* in white ends at his waist. His belt is red, while his boots are black and white. A third hunter attacks a wild animal (fig. 3.50) with a long spear. He wears a short, sleeveless, belted tunic like the hunter attacking the leopard. His garment decorations are larger than the other hunters. On his yellowish tunic, two pairs of *tabulae* in a red, white, and black pattern appear on his shoulders and near

³⁵This is known by an inscription that names them and others as giving to the church. The praying position can symbolize an individual's place up in heaven praying for those on earth. Saller and Bagatti, 75 and 99. For a black and white image see Ibid., pl. 29.1. Also see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 40 and 178-79. For a color image see Ibid., 179.

³⁶Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 66. Later over this mansion, in the late sixth or early seventh century, the Church of the Virgin Mary was built. For dating see Ibid., 26.

his tunic's bottom edge. Two *clavi* in black and white design ending in a medallion descend over his chest. Instead of continuing down from the shoulder's *tabulae*, his *clavi* pass by the inner edge of the *tabulae*. He wears boots on his feet.³⁷ These three hunters' garments show gradations of status. The hunter with the bow wears both long sleeves and boots. His tunic is of a rich color, while the other hunters wear tunics in lighter shades. The hunter with the least status is the one attacking the leopard. His feet are bare and his garment decorations are the smallest.

The central panel in the Hippolytus Hall mosaic deals with the myth of Phaedra and Hippolytus. Only the upper bodies of the figures are preserved. A handmaiden helps Phaedra, while a bearded falconer stands by them (fig. 3.51) with a falcon on his hand. The handmaiden wears a gray tunic and reddish orange *palla* draped over her shoulders. A cap on her head covers her hair and is the same color as her *palla*. Phaedra wears an orange tunic with a wide border around her neck in white squares edged in black. Her *palla* is multi-toned in shades of red, pink, and green. She wears a necklace with a center medallion along with a plain golden one, a bracelet on her waist, gold hoop earrings with four hanging pearls, and a golden crown with a pearl in the middle. The falconer wears a long-sleeved, gray tunic and reddish *pallium* draped over his left shoulder. The only figure preserved on the right is a stableboy (fig.3.52) who wears a long-sleeved, belted tunic in shades of gray with a decorative band of red and white squares around his neck and on his shoulders.³⁸ Phaedra

³⁷Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 24. For a color picture of the hunter attacking a leopard see Ibid., 58; for a color picture of the hunter with a bow and quiver see Ibid., 59; and for a color picture of the hunter spearing a wild animal see Ibid., 61.

³⁸Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 24. For a color picture of this mosaic see Ibid., 51 and 57.

clearly possessed the most status in this panel. She wears the richest costume with many pieces of jewelry. Her handmaiden wears a plainer tunic and no jewelry. Both the falconer and boy wear plain tunics. There is a little decoration on the boy's tunic, but it is not elaborate and is similar to the young men in the Sepphoris Synagogue mosaic.

The next mosaic panel depicts Aphrodite and Adonis in a country scene. A country girl and three Graces (fig. 3.53) stand on the left side. The country girl wears a sleeveless reddish tunic and long, greenish *palla* wrapped around her waist. The way her *palla* is wrapped makes it look like a skirt; however, the design of a skirt in the modern sense was not used as a garment in this time period. Decorative bands of white circles on a red background edged both the top and bottom of the *palla*. Two *clavi* in red and white squares runs down the front of her tunic. She wears bronze bracelets on her arms and wrist. Her feet are bare, and she carries a basket with fruit on her left shoulder and a bird in her right hand.³⁹ In the center of the panel three Graces appear with six Cupids. The Graces all wear long, sleeveless, belted tunics and are barefoot. The Grace on the left wears a greenish tunic with a red belt. A reddish *palla* draped over her right arms flows out around her back. She wears golden bracelets on her upper arms and on her wrists and a golden crown in her hair. The middle Grace wears a yellowish red tunic with a white and black belt. She is adorned with a necklace with a pearl at its center, golden earrings made of a hoop with three golden chains ending in pearls, bracelets on her arms and wrists, and a gold crown on her head. The Grace

³⁹Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 24. Piccirillo describes this girl's costume as a "skirt and blouse." He contradicts himself later when he refers to the *clavi* on her front as on her "bodice." A bodice refers to the upper part of a dress and is not associated with a blouse. Unless it is a very Eastern style, a costume consisting of a skirt and blouse was not used at this time. A form of large mantle wrapped around the waist makes more sense.

on the right wears a greenish tunic with a border of dark yellow at her hem and a dark yellow belt at her waist. She is adorned with a simple bead necklace, earrings like the middle Grace of gold and pearls, golden bracelets on her arms and wrist, and a golden crown on her head.

Aphrodite and Adonis (fig. 3.54) sit on a bench. Aphrodite is bare-breasted, but wears a *palla* wrapped around her lower body, sandals, and jewelry. The wrapped *palla*, which looks like a skirt, is red and green with a yellow border. Aphrodite is adorned by a double necklace around her neck which falls to her breasts and ends in a large jewel. Golden bracelets adorn her arms, wrists, and ankles. The wrist bracelets have an added jewel. She wears earrings like the ones seen on the Graces. Adonis wears a long-sleeved tunic and a cloak fastened below his right shoulder with a *fibula*. His tunic is yellow with a shoulder *orbiculus* in red bordered with white and two white and red *clavi* descending down his chest. The same pattern as the *clavi* borders his sleeve cuffs. His cloak is greenish and is draped over his lower body. He wears reddish boots.⁴⁰

Aphrodite's costume, apart from her being naked down to her waist, clearly declares her high status, because she is adorned with many pieces of jewelry. The garment that covers her lower body is rich in color. The way Aphrodite is clothed shows that a goddess could dress differently than mortal women. Aphrodite's adornment with so much jewelry indicates just how important a status symbol it was. The Graces also wear jewelry but not as much or as lavish. The country girl wears bracelets but they are a different color than the Graces' and Aphrodite's. This points to the fact they were not made of gold but some other metal like bronze. The country girl is dressed almost too well to show that this scene takes places in the

⁴⁰Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 24. For a color pictures of this panel see Ibid., 51-55. For more on nudity as a costume see Ch. 2, n.10.

county.⁴¹ If this is correct, there is a definite difference between her adornment and the adornment of the other women that indicates she is not equal to them. Interestingly, she like the Graces wears a sleeveless tunic.

The Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius was built on the acropolis of Mount Nebo and dates to the middle of the sixth century. The eastern panel of a large mosaic pavement located in the nave depicted hunting, pastoral, and vineyard scenes, all major activities in daily life for this region's inhabitants. A dedicatory inscription mentions the year AD 557.⁴² Starting on the eastern side in the second row, a shepherd and hunter (fig. 3.55) are occupied with their daily affairs. The bearded, barefoot shepherd leans on his staff and scans the horizon. He wears a short, sleeveless, pale yellow tunic. His right shoulder and chest are bare with the excess material knotted at his waist. A grayish *pallium* is draped over his left arm.⁴³ Next to him is a hunter trying to spear a bear. This hunter wears a short, long-sleeved, belted tunic in pale blue, trousers in brown, and shoes. Around his neck is a light brown decoration that goes down onto his shoulders and chest in the form of a line.⁴⁴ Moving down to the third row, a bearded, gray-haired grape porter with a large basket of grapes on his back (fig. 3.56) walks to the right. He wears a short, sleeveless, dark gray tunic with a white belt and black sandals. Two small red *orbiculi* are visible near the hem of his tunic.⁴⁵

⁴¹Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 66.

⁴²Ibid., 164-65. The mosaic is arranged in vine volutes of six vertical rows and four horizontal rows. For a color picture of this mosaic see Ibid., 153.

⁴³Saller and Bagatti, 57-58. For a picture see Ibid., pl. 15.2.

⁴⁴Ibid., 58. For a picture see Ibid., pl. 16.1.

⁴⁵Saller and Bagatti, 59. For a color picture see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 157.

The fourth row has three different scenes of interest. A barefoot young man (fig. 3.57) leads a donkey carrying baskets of grapes. He wears a short, sleeveless, grayish brown tunic with a brown belt and two small black *orbiculi* located near his tunic's hem. Before him are two barefoot young men treading grapes in a wine press and a flute player (fig. 3.58). The grape treaders wear only loincloths. The treader on the left wears a stained loincloth that matches the color of the grapes he treads, while the other treader's loincloth is an off-white color. Facing them is the barefoot flute player who wears a short, sleeveless, belted tunic in red and yellow stripes.⁴⁶

Proceeding to the fifth row, a hunter and his dog (fig. 3.59) chase a rabbit. This hunter wears a short, long-sleeved, belted, reddish tunic with yellow bands around his sleeve cuffs. Black shoes encase his feet. The last volute of this row has a barefoot vintager (fig. 3.60) cutting grapes. He wears a short, sleeveless, belted tunic in gray with two small red *orbiculi* located near his hem. A lion hunter (fig. 3.61) with a bow is depicted in the last row of this mosaic. He wears a short, long-sleeved, belted tunic in orange with red highlights. A band of a patterned black and white decorates his neck, shoulders, chest, and sleeve cuffs. His knees are covered by knee pads in an off-white, and his feet have black shoes on them.⁴⁷ A fisherman and boatman are depicted on an intercolumnar panel located on the north side of the panel just described. The fisherman (fig. 3.62), who sits on a rock beside the river and

⁴⁶Saller and Bagatti, 59-60. For a color picture of the man leading the donkey see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 154-55; for a color picture of the grape treaders and flute player see *Ibid.*, 158.

⁴⁷Saller and Bagatti, 60-61. For a picture of the hunter see *Ibid.*, pl. 14.2; for a color image of the vintager see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 156; and for a color picture of the lion hunter see *Ibid.*, 152.

holds a broken fishing rod with a caught fish, wears a grayish loincloth. The boatman (fig. 3.63), in a boat on the river, also wears a grayish loincloth.⁴⁸

All the hunters wear a form of shoes, while the other men are barefoot, except for the grape porter who wears sandals. Many different activities are visible in this mosaic. Beyond the three hunters, all the other men are busy engaging in their trades. The activities requiring the most physical work treading grapes, fishing, and rowing a boat show the workers wearing only loincloths. The grape porter, donkey leader, and vintager all wear tunics with small *orbiculi*. The hunters wear costumes with the most decoration. The lion hunter's tunic is the most elaborate and colorful, showing his skill and status. The bear hunter's garments are paler in color than the lion hunters, while lastly the rabbit chaser's garments are colorful, but lack decoration beyond his sleeve cuffs. Whether in the upper or lower stratum, an individual's costume showed occupation and associated status.

The Chapel of the Priest John, part of the Church of Amos and Kasisseus, was located at the eastern slope of Mount Nebo and had a large mosaic pavement that depicted hunting and agricultural scenes. One of its inscriptions date the mosaic to AD 565. In the border, there is a portrait bust of a lady, possibly a donor (fig. 3.64), richly dressed. She wears a pale green and cream tunic and a reddish cloak fastened on her chest with a golden circular *fibula* with a green gem at its center. An elaborate double necklace of red and black beads is around her neck, while her ears have golden hoop earrings with pearls at the end. Her head is adorned with a jeweled crown that has two rows of pearls on either side of a large circular

⁴⁸Saller and Bagatti, 63-65. For a color picture of the fisherman and boatman see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 160-161.

gem. A halo is around her head. This was a common portrait symbol used for individuals that were highly regarded.⁴⁹

Besides the lady donor, the central pavement depicts men engaged in agricultural work and hunting. On either side of a badly damaged personification of the earth, two barefoot young men advance toward her, carrying outstretched baskets of fruit. The young man on the right (fig. 3.65) wears a short knee-length, sleeveless, belted tunic in red and yellow stripes, while the other young man wears the same kind of tunic in light gray and cream stripes. Below them, a hunter with a sling (fig. 3.66) wears a knee-length, sleeveless, belted tunic in yellow and red stripes with the addition of two gray *tabulae* near the bottom hem. Draped on his right shoulder then wrapped around his body and up over his left shoulder is a *pallium* in grayish black, while sandals cover his feet. Below him is a barefoot country woman (fig. 3.67) who carries a basket of fruit on her left shoulder and wears an ankle-length, sleeveless tunic in gray and cream. Around her neck and at her hem is a darker border. Her hair is covered with a pinkish *palla* that falls onto her shoulders and then is visible behind her. She wears a simple golden necklace and bracelets on her arm and wrists.⁵⁰

The lady donor's *palla* is a bright reddish color, showing she has the wealth to procure expensive brightly dyed material. She is also adorned with many pieces of jewelry – necklace, earrings, and a crown. She indicates status through the use of bright colors and jewelry. The country woman's costume is very plain in comparison. Her garment color is

⁴⁹Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 40, 164, and 174-75. Three ladies are mentioned in an inscription: Porphyria, Rome, and Mary. It is felt this lady is one of these named benefactors. For a color image see *Ibid.*, 167. For more on the halo being a symbol of high regard see Saller and Bagatti, 55.

⁵⁰Saller and Bagatti, 52-53. For a color picture of the whole mosaic see Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, 175; for a color picture of the young man see *Ibid.*, 173; for a color picture of the hunter with a sling see *Ibid.*, 172; and for a b/w picture of the country woman see Saller and Bagatti, pl.12.1.

much paler and her jewelry, while present, is very simple. Her costume indicates the possession of a little status and money, but it does not equal the lady donor's status or wealth. Interestingly, she like the country girl in Hippolytus Hall wears a sleeveless tunic. Both these figures are not identified as a goddess or a personification. The young men carrying baskets wear undecorated tunics. They possess a little status since their tunics are colored. The hunter with a sling shows his higher status, in relation to the young farmers, by the use of garment decoration and the wearing of the *pallium*. He also wears sandals on his feet, while both young men are barefoot.

The Monastery of Lady Mary located in Beth Shean had a large mosaic in Hall A that dates to around AD 567. In the center of this mosaic was a large medallion with two figures that represented the sun and the moon surrounded by twelve figures that represented the calendar months. By each month is a Latin inscription that identifies the month along with Greek characters that provide the number of a month's given days. A few of the figures are damaged, January and August, while March is depicted as a warrior, which is outside the parameters of this study. All the figures, except May, wear short, sleeveless, belted tunics and are barefoot. For this reason, I will discuss May last.

February (fig. 3.68) is a bearded man who carries a rake. His tunic is light brown, while his belt is black and tied around his waist so that the belt ends hang down to the edge of his tunic. April (fig. 3.69), who carries a goat and a basket, wears a whitish gray tunic with two gray *orbiculi* placed near the bottom hem. A brownish yellow cloak is visible on his right side. June (fig. 3.70) holds a bunch of grapes and wears a gray tunic with a yellow belt and flowing reddish brown *pallium* draped over his left shoulder. Two yellowish *tabulae*

are located near his tunic's bottom hem. July (fig. 3.71), who holds a sheaf of corn, wears a grayish white tunic with a tied black belt. September (fig. 3.72) carries a bunch of grapes and a basket. His tunic is grayish white with a black belt and two reddish brown *orbiculi* near his bottom hem. A reddish brown cloak hangs over his shoulders and winds around his arms. A line in the same reddish brown goes across his tunic's neck and down onto his chest and appears like some kind of fastener for his cloak. October (fig. 3.73), who wears a plain gray tunic, holds a stick and carries an object balanced on his shoulders held in place with a reddish brown material over his head, around his neck, and in his left hand. November (fig. 3.74) carries a sheaf and a basket. His tunic is white with two black *clavi* that stop at his waist and two reddish brown and black patterned *orbiculi* near his bottom hem. A wide reddish brown belt is tied around his waist with the ties falling to knee length. A brownish yellow *pallium* hangs off his left shoulder and descends to below his knees. December (fig. 3.75) scatters seed. His tunic is white with two black *clavi* descending down to his waist and two black and white *tabulae* placed near his tunic's bottom hem. His belt is white and outlined in black with the ties hanging down to the level of his *tabulae*. Off his left shoulder is a cloak in light brown that hangs down his side to below his knees. Now for a description of May (fig. 3.76), who carries flowers in the holds of his outstretched cape. He wears a long mid-calf length grayish, white tunic with two brownish yellow *orbiculi* near the bottom hem and a black band around the neck. His legs are covered in grayish white trousers, while a cape of reddish brown covers his arms and flows down to his sides.⁵¹

⁵¹G.M. FitzGerald, *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939), 1 and 5-7. For a color reproduction see *Ibid.*, Frontispiece. FitzGerald, 5, states: "The variety of colours employed is sufficiently exemplified in the extremely accurate water-colour drawing by Miss Muriel Bentwich, reproduced as the Frontispiece."

All the men wear similar costume, except for May. The differences between their costume is in garment decoration, quantity of material worn, and color. May wears the most clothes, along with *orbiculi* on his tunic, making his month very important in the yearly cycle. Of the nine figures described, six wear a pair of decorative embroidered patches, either *orbiculi* or *tabulae*, on their tunics. The months without decoration are February, July, and October. May and November wear large wraps and have the largest *orbiculi* on their tunics. All the other figures either wear a small wrap or none at all. Garment decorations seem to relate to a figure's place of importance in the yearly agricultural cycle with each figure representing its month's most important activity.

The Kissufim Church is located in the Negev northwest of Tell Jemmeh. In the church's nave was a mosaic pavement now largely destroyed. A dedicatory inscription dates the mosaic to AD 576. Two panels from the northern intercolumniations are preserved and of interest here. One depicts a barefoot man leading a camel (fig. 3.77), identified as Orbikon in an inscription. Orbikon wears a short, sleeveless, belted, off-white tunic. Two small *orbiculi* are located near his tunic's bottom hem. The other panel portrays the upper bodies of two richly dressed women (fig. 3.78). The woman on the right scatters coins, above her head is an inscription that translates Lady Syltous, making her a likely building donor. Next to the Lady Syltous is another older woman with an inscription above her head that identifies her as Kalliora, which means "good hour." The Lady Syltous wears a long-sleeved tunic in cream with reddish brown highlights and a reddish brown *palla* that covers her head. Under the *palla*, she wears a tight fitting white cap that covers her hair. The cap has a decorated band of two vertical brown stripes that set off a black square with a green center. She wears

long earrings that end in large pearls. Wide bracelets are visible on her wrists. Kalliora holds a bowl in her hands and wears a long-sleeved brownish cream tunic with a black and cream band around her neck and at her sleeve cuff. Her *palla* is brownish yellow and covers her head. A brownish tight fitting cap almost covers all her hair and has a decorated band of a simple cream square.⁵²

The northern aisle has two mosaic panels depicting hunting scenes. One portrays a hunter fighting a bear (fig. 3.79) with a shield and sword. He wears a below-the-knee length, long-sleeved, belted reddish tunic and a pair of light gray trousers. His tunic is elaborately decorated with a wide geometrically patterned band in black and cream. This is visible on his shoulders, down his chest, and on his sleeve cuff. The band down his chest ends past his waist but before his tunic's hem. His black belt on either side of this decorative band has two pairs of black stripes that end a little past the central decorative band. These black stripes are possibly silver or gold lappets. If so, this hunter wears a costly ornamental belt known as a *zoster*.⁵³ Even his trousers have a patterned band around their cuffs. From a leather strap over his right shoulder hangs a sword scabbard. He wears neutral colored shoes. The another hunter (fig. 3.80), on horseback attacking a leopard, wears a similarly elaborate tunic. His greenish tunic is mid-calf length, long-sleeved, and belted. He also wears grayish trousers

⁵²Rudolf Cohen, "A Byzantine Church and Its Mosaic Floors at Kissufim," in *Ancient Churches Revealed*, ed. Yoram Tsafrir (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 277-280. For a color picture of the camel leader see *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.c. For a color picture of the two women see the cover of Peter Brown, *Poverty and Leadership in the Ancient World* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2002).

⁵³For more on ornamental belts see Martha K. Risser, "The belt of Stephanos: gold belt ornaments found in area LL, 1996 and 1998 seasons," in *Caesarea Reports and Studies: Excavations within the Old City and the Harbor 1996-2007*, ed. Kenneth G. Holum, Jennifer A. Stabler, and Eduard G. Reinhardt (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2008), 59-65.

and high boots in a neutral color. The decorations on his tunic feature the same wide band mentioned above. This wide decorated band in black and cream checkers descends down the front of his tunic and down his shoulders to end mid-upper arm. It is also visible around his neck and around his sleeve cuffs.⁵⁴

There is a marked contrast between Orbikon leading the camel and these hunters. Orbikon's tunic is very plain when viewed next to the hunters even though it does have small decorative patches. His neutral colored tunic is sleeveless, while the hunters wear colorful long-sleeved tunics along with trousers. His feet are bare, while the hunters wear boots. Both hunters had high status. Their tunics are richly decorated and colored, while both wear trousers and boots. The hunter attacking the bear possessed the most status, since his ornamental belt was an expensive addition to his costume. Clearly quantity of material, use of color, and garment decoration indicated their high status and place in society.

The two women's costumes indicate differences that point to the Lady Syltous having a higher status than Kalliora. Both women wear similar styles of garments, but the Lady Syltous' are portrayed in richer, brighter colors, and her *palla* is more voluminous than Kalliora's *palla*. She also wears bracelets and earrings, and her head cap is decorated more elaborately. The use of quantity of material, color, and jewelry all show that the Lady Syltous had the most status. In this context, with her scattering coins, she was furthermore wealthy and was generous in giving to the Kissufim Church.

Many individuals from laborers to the affluent were depicted in the above analyzed mosaics from the fifth to sixth centuries. The upper stratum continued to use garment

⁵⁴Cohen, 280-81. For a color picture of the hunter fighting a bear see Ben Dov and Rappel, 113; for a color picture of the horseman attacking a leopard see Ibid., 111.

decoration and jewelry to indicate their status; however, compared to the second to fourth centuries, both of these have increased in size and prominence. Because many mosaics in the fifth and six centuries were built in churches and synagogues, more individuals performing a variety of tasks in pastoral and agricultural scenes were depicted. This provides us with figures from a wider range of social levels on which to see how everyday costume indicated status for the Romans. Simple garment decorations are seen increasingly on worker tunics, but these decorations did not match the upper stratum's rich designs and bright colors. Persons of the lower stratum and those of the upper stratum desired to show the gradations of status which they possessed over others in similar social positions. Everyday costume for the Romans communicated a great deal of information to viewers and indicated the amount of status an individual possessed.

Chapter 4 : Conclusion

Costume was an important visual element for the indication of status, since choice of clothing was an act that possessed great symbolic meaning in a culture and was closely connected to social interaction. Societies assigned meaning to the clothes their people wore, making clothes a means by which to communicate many important facts. This form of communication was non-verbal; however, it was a very effective way to transmit information. Hierarchical societies, like Roman society, had a very defined costume code that quickly told others where one belonged. Status was very important in a hierarchical society, for it showed an individual's place in relation to others. Indicating status on everyday costume was a powerful way to enforce group standing and an individual's position within a group, especially for the upper stratum. The upper stratum, those individuals with the most wealth and the highest standing, were the ones who controlled society and desired most to display their preeminence. Upper stratum figures depicted in the previously analyzed mosaics showed their high status repeatedly through the costumes they wore.

Many of the mosaics just described came from private dwellings. The upper stratum in Roman society installed many beautiful mosaic pavements in their dwellings. Themes from these mosaics centered on mythological scenes, the wealthy lifestyle including banquets and hunting scenes, and the personifications of abstract ideas. From the second to fourth centuries AD, this was where most mosaics were found. By the fifth century, mosaic pavements began to appear increasingly in Christian churches and Jewish synagogues. This expanded the range of themes to include agricultural and pastoral scenes, along with donor

portraits and calendar month personifications. Here, more than before, individuals from the lower stratum were depicted performing their everyday tasks. This wide range of depicted social levels provides a good context in which to study everyday costume as an indicator of status in the Roman world.

Many of the analyzed mosaics portrayed mythological scenes or figures of personifications. A logical question that arises is, do the figures in these scenes wear contemporary costume? Given the relatively stable nature of costume styles in the ancient world, variations focused more on regional differences and tastes. Generally, mythological characters and figures of personifications were more likely depicted in Greek costume, given the emphasis placed on classical learning in the second to fourth centuries. Many of these female figures were depicted wearing sleeveless tunics. This style was possibly a convention that may have signaled their belonging to a higher realm. It is not known with absolute certainty if women wore sleeveless tunics in real life or not. Most of the female participants from the Dionysiac procession and the maenads in the panels dealing with the life of Dionysos in the House of Dionysos were depicted in this style. No real difference, in fact, existed in tunic and *palla* styles between the women in the procession and the maenads. The young woman in the pastoral scenes from the Constantinian Villa, the country girl in Hippolytus Hall, and the country woman from the Chapel of the Priest John all wore sleeveless tunics. Interestingly, Psyche in the House of Poseidon wore a long-sleeved tunic. The convention that only goddesses and female mythological characters wore sleeveless tunics while contemporary women did not is not an absolute given the evidence from the mosaics analyzed here.

As mythological scenes declined by the third century, figures of personifications and hunting scenes increasingly graced private dwellings. Churches and synagogues, on the other hand, used agricultural, pastoral, and hunting scenes to decorate their floors. What is certain is that garments favored contemporary decorations in all the centuries covered. Second century figures were shown wearing small pieces of jewelry, whereas by the fifth century, jewelry pieces were larger and more prominent. A good example of this are the busts of two women from different centuries identified as Ge. Ge of the second century from the House of Euphrates wore no jewelry and only plain *fibulae*, while Ge of the fifth century from the House of Ge and the Seasons wore pearl earrings and jeweled *fibulae*. Gods and goddesses were depicted differently like Dionysos from the House of Dionysos who wore just a *pallium* or Aphrodite from the Hippolytus Hall who was portrayed bare breasted, but beyond these deities costume choices in mosaics generally reflected contemporary trends. Consistently throughout the centuries under discussion, status was indicated in all the expected ways of quantity of material, color, garment decoration, and jewelry use even for mythological characters and figures of personifications.

From this chronological exploration of select mosaic pavements from Roman Syria and Palestine, it is clear that many means of status indication remained constant for the members of the upper stratum from the second to sixth centuries. These included the use of bright costume colors and jewelry. What changed as society evolved and formed new ways of elite expression was the use of garment decoration and the wearing of larger, more prominent pieces of jewelry. Costume as an indicator of status for the upper stratum was best illustrated in the Megalopsychia Mosaic with its mythological hunters. The hunters,

Narcissus and Acteon, with divine ancestry, had more decoration on their garments than did the hunters, Meleager and Teiresia, who had only mortal lineage. Other hunting mosaics showed gradations based on greater perceived skill. Status indication for hunters and the gradations within their group were clear in the Constantinian Villa, Triclinos building, Old Diakonikon Baptistry, and the hunting border in Hippolytus Hall. Repeatedly, garment decoration on hunters with considerable skill, like horsemen and lion hunters, was greater than the decoration on their peers with less ability, who wore only plain tunics or smaller decorations. While these may seem like slight distinctions, as all the hunters possessed status, to the Romans it was important. Because of this, they felt it was crucial to depict these distinctions clearly on their garments. Their society was based on a social hierarchy. Everyday costume for the Romans served as a visible indication of where an individual belonged in their social structure. Even in the upper stratum, slight distinctions mattered and were shown.

Lower stratum individuals encountered a number of times in these analyzed mosaics, were depicted differently from those who possessed high status in the same mosaic. Both Pasiphae in the House of Poseidon and Phaedra in the House of the Red Pavement wore bright sleeveless tunics compared to their nurses' short-sleeved tunics in lighter shades of color. The diners and their attendants in the House of Orpheus were depicted differently from each other. One attendant wore a lighter colored version of the diners' tunic, while his counterpart wore a sleeveless, unbelted tunic. The attendant of the seated hunter in the Constantinian Villa hunting mosaic was shown almost totally nude. The pastoral scenes around these same hunting scenes showed figures clothed in simple garments that lacked any

form of adornment. The topographical border from the Megalopsychia Mosaic also depicted individuals from the lower stratum. These scenes offer us a snapshot into a busy urban environment. What individuals wore distinguished them and signified their position in society. Beyond a few markings on their tunics, none of the figures wore any form of jewelry. The black man from the Old Diakonikon Baptistery wore only a long loincloth, while the shepherd wore a plain tunic with minimal decoration. These two figures compared to the hunters with richly decorated costumes in the same scene showed a great difference of appearance. Lastly, the country girl in Hippolytus Hall was dressed much more simply than the Graces or Aphrodite. She wore only bronze bracelets, while the Graces and Aphrodite wore golden ones along with other pieces of jewelry. Based on these observations, all these figures, to judge from the costumes they wore, did not appear to possess high social status. Individuals from the upper and lower strata were clearly distinct from each other in their appearance.

Even in the lower stratum slight distinctions in standing were shown. Gradations in status were also evident on lower stratum figures. In the House of Poseidon, Daedalus, master craftsman, was dressed in a tunic, whereas his son and apprentice, Icaurus, wore only a loincloth. The wine server in the banquet scenes in the House of Orpheus wore a short-sleeved tunic with *clavi*, while the water heater attendant wore a simple sleeveless tunic. The men involved with vineyard work in the Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius all wore the same short, sleeveless tunic; however, their garment decorations varied. The old grape porter, the man leading a donkey, and the vintager had small *orbiculi* on their tunics, while the flute player had no decoration and the grape treadingers wore only loincloths.

Variations of garment decoration in relation to activity or skill were seen again on the figures representing the calendar months in the Monastery of Lady Mary. Based on the figures depicted in these mosaics, status distinctions were also used by the lower stratum to indicate their standing in regard to others of similar social position.

Typical costume representation for upper stratum figures in these mosaics was a colorful tunic, brightly colored mantle, and some form of shoes. Most women were shown wearing jewelry, which became larger as the centuries progressed. The use of jewelry to indicate status was a mostly female behavior. When a female was paired with a male, it was she who wore the jewelry. This was visible with Dionysos and Ariadne, Metiochos and Parthenope, Bios and Tryphe, and Aphrodite and Adonis. Status indication for men centered around garment color and decoration. Observed from the fourth century on, garment decorations appeared with greater frequency on men's costume in the form of cuff bands, embroidered square, *tabulae*, or circular, *orbiculi*, patches located near the hem and/or at the shoulders, and vertical *clavi* bands reaching down to the chest. Only in the fifth century did this type of decoration appear on women's costumes. These changes correspond to known alterations in Roman costume style and decoration.

Typical costume representation for lower stratum male figures in these analyzed mosaics was a short, belted, sleeveless tunic in neutral shades of color and bare feet. Rarely were they shown with a mantle or cloak. Small garment decorations started to appear on their costumes in the fifth century, but these decorations were not rich or elaborate like the upper stratum's. The first example cited were the attendants to Abraham and Isaac in the Sepphoris Synagogue. Workers engaged in hard labor like grape treading, in the El-

Hammām tomb chamber, or boat rowing, in the Church of the Holy Martyrs Lot and Procopius, wore only loincloths. Lower stratum women wore a long tunic and some form of wrap. Examples include December from the El-Hammām tomb chamber, the country girl from Hippolytus Hall, and the country woman from the Chapel of the Priest John.

By the fifth and sixth centuries, a progressively wider distance separated the upper stratum from the lower stratum. The increasing disparity derived from imperial favors bestowed on certain groups in the form of economic and legal privileges. The wearing of larger, more voluminous costumes with garment decorations and more prominent jewelry by the upper stratum emphasized this inequality and showed an increased desire to indicate their place in the social and economic hierarchy. Individuals from the lower stratum imitated the upper stratum and also used similar means of status indication in a more restricted way to indicate their place in the social hierarchy. The figures depicted on these select mosaics from Roman Syria and Palestine support the idea that everyday costume played an important role in Roman society for status indication. Quantity of garments and color of material were important for signaling these distinctions, along with garment decoration and jewelry use. The use of quantity, color of material, garment decoration, and jewelry as a means of analysis does reveal the importance these aspects of costume possessed and how they communicated information to Roman viewers. Everyday costume for the Romans did serve as a strong means of non-verbal communication and as a way for the upper stratum to indicate their superiority, define their social group, and control those under them.

Bibliography

- Alföldy, Géza. *The Social History of Rome*. Translated by David Braund and Frank Pollock. London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- Avi-Yonah, M. "Mosaic Pavements at El-Hammām, Beisān." *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 5 (1936): 11-30.
- Arthur, Linda B. *Religion, Dress and the Body*. Oxford: Berg, 1999.
- Balty, Janine. *La Grande Mosaïque de Chasse du Triclinos*. Bruxelles: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie, 1969.
- Becker, Lawrence and Christine Kondoleon, eds. *The Arts of Antioch*. Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005.
- Ben Dov, Meir and Yoel Rappel. *Mosaics of the Holy Land*. New York: Adama Books, 1987.
- Bonfante, Larissa. "Introduction." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- _____. "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art." *American Journal of Archaeology* 93, no. 4 (October, 1989): 543-70.
- Cleland, Liza, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Cleland, Liza, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, eds. *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005.
- Cimok, Faith, ed. *Antioch Mosaics*. Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2000.
- Cohen, Rudolf. "A Byzantine Church and Its Mosaic Floors At Kissufim." In *Ancient Churches Revealed*, edited by Yoram Tsafrir, 277-82. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993.
- Croom, Alexandra T. *Roman Clothing and Fashion*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2000.
- Dauphin, Chaudine. "Mosaic Pavements as an Index of Prosperity and Fashion." *Levant* 12 (1980): 112-34.

- Dobbins, John J. "Houses at Antioch." In *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, edited by Christine Kondoleon, 51-57. Princeton: Princeton University Press and Worcester Art Museum, 2000.
- Dunbabin, Katherine M.D. *The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- _____. *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Early, Robert. "Rescue work by the Packard Humanities Institute: interim report, 2000." In *Zeugma: Interim Reports*, edited by J.H. Humphrey, 8-56. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2003.
- Edmondson, Jonathan and Alison Keith, eds. *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Edmondson, Jonathan. "Public Dress and Social Control in Late Republic and Early Imperial Rome." In *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, edited by Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith, 21-46. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- FitzGerald, G.M. *A Sixth Century Monastery at Beth-Shan (Scythopolis)*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939.
- Garnsey, Peter. *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Garnsey, Peter and Richard Saller. *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society, and Culture*. London: Duckworth, 1987.
- Goldman, Bernard. "Graeco-Roman Dress in Syro-Mesopotamia." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larrissa Bonfante, 163-81. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Goldman, Norma. "Roman Footwear." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larrissa Bonfante, 101-29. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Hamilton, Jean A. and James W. Hamilton. "Dress as a Reflection and Sustainer of Social Reality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 7 (1989): 16-22.

- Harlow, Mary. "Dress in the *Historia Augusta*: The Role of Dress in Historical Narrative." In *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, edited by Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005.
- Harlow, Mary, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, and Liza Cleland. "‘I Wear This Therefore I Am’: The Clothed Body in the Ancient World." In *The Clothed Body in the Ancient World*, edited by Liza Cleland, Mary Harlow, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2005.
- Holum, Kenneth G., Jennifer A. Stabler, and Eduard G. Reinhardt, eds. *Caesarea Reports and Studies: Excavations within the Old City and the Harbor 1996-2007*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series, no. 1784. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2008.
- Houston, Mary G. *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume & Decoration*. 2d ed. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1965.
- Humphrey, J.H., ed. *Zeugma: Interim Reports*. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2003.
- _____. *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*. Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1995.
- Huskinson, Janet. "Surveying the Scene: Antioch Mosaic Pavements As a Source of Historical Evidence." In *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch*, edited by Isabella Sandwell and Janet Huskinson, 134-45. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004.
- Jones, A.H.M. *The Later Roman Empire 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey*. Vol. I and II. Norman, OK, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
- Kennedy, David. *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates: Rescue Work and Historical Studies*. Edited by J.H. Humphrey. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1998.
- Kondoleon, Christine, ed. *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*. Princeton: Princeton University Press and Worcester Art Museum, 2000.
- _____. "Mosaics of Antioch." In *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, edited by Christine Kondoleon. Princeton: Princeton University Press and Worcester Art Museum, 2000.
- _____. "Mosaic of Ktisis." In *The Arts of Antioch*, edited by Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon, 208-14. Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005.

- _____. "Mosaic of the Worcester Hunt." In *The Arts of Antioch*, edited by Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon, 228-35. Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005.
- _____. "The City of Antioch: An Introduction." In *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, edited by Christine Kondoleon, 3-10. Princeton: Princeton University Press and Worcester Art Museum, 2000.
- Levi, Doro. *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*. Vols. I and II. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947.
- Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.
- Molholt, Rebecca. "Mosaic of a Women's Funerary Banquet." In *The Arts of Antioch*, edited by Lawrence Becker and Christine Kondoleon, 196-207. Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 2005.
- Netzer, Ehud and Zeev Weiss. *Zippori*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.
- Netzer, Ehud and Zeev Weiss. "New evidence for late-Roman and Byzantine Sepphoris." In *The Roman and Byzantine Near East: Some Recent Archaeological Research*, edited by J.H. Humphrey, 164-76. Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1995.
- Olson, Kelly. *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Önal, Mehnet. *Mosaics of Zeugma*. Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2002.
- Ovadia, Ruth and Asher Ovadia. *Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel*. Roma: L'erma di Bretschneider, 1987.
- Ovid. *The Art of Love and Other Poems*. Translated by J.H. Mozley. 2nd ed. Reprint, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Piccirillo, Michele. *The Mosaics of Jordan*. Edited by Patricia M. Bikai and Thomas A. Dailey. Amman, Jordan: American Center of Oriental Research, 1993.
- _____. "Campagna archeologica nella Basilica di Mosè Profeta sul Monte Nebo – Siyagha." *Liber annus* 26 (1976): 281-318.

- Risser, Martha K. "The belt of Stephanos: gold belt ornaments found in area LL, 1996 and 1998 seasons." In *Caesarea Reports and Studies: Excavations within the Old City and Harbor 1996-2007*, edited by Kenneth G. Holum, Jennifer A. Stabler, and Eduard G. Reinhardt, 59-65. British Archaeological Reports, International Series, no. 1784. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2008.
- Roussin, Lucille A. "Costume in Roman Palestine: Archaeological Remains and the Evidence from the Mishnah." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, 182-90. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Rutschowskaya, Marie-Hélène. *Coptic Fabrics*. Paris: Adam Biro, 1990.
- Saller, Sylvester and Bellarmino Bagatti. *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet El-Mekharryat)*. Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 7. Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1949.
- Sandwell, Isabella, and Janet Huskinson, eds. *Culture and Society in Later Roman Antioch*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2004.
- Sebesta, Judith Lynn, and Larissa Bonfante, eds. *The World of Roman Costume*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Sebesta, Judith Lynn. "Tunica Ralla, Tunica Spissa: The Colors and Textures of Roman Costume." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, 65-76. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Stone, Shelley. "The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, 13-45. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Storm, Penny. *Functions of Dress: Tool of Culture and the Individual*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1987.
- Stout, Ann M. "Jewelry as a Symbol of Status in the Roman Empire." In *The World of Roman Costume*, edited by Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, 77-100. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Swift, Ellen. *Roman Dress Accessories*. Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd., 2003.
- Talgam, R. and Z. Weiss. *The Mosaics of the House of Dionysos at Sephoris*. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, 2004.

Tanner, Jeremy. "Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic." *Journal of Roman Studies* 90 (2000): 18-60.

Tsafir, Yoram, ed. *Ancient Churches Revealed*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993.

Weiss, Zeev. *The Sepphoris Synagogue*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2005.

Wilson, Lillian. *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938.

Zaqzouq, Abdul Rizaq and Marcelle Duchesne-Guillmin. "La mosaïque de Mariamin." *Annales archeologiques arabes syriennes* 20 (1970): 93-125.