

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΣΕΙΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΤΕΛΩΝ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΝ

2

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα

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ΣΤΗ ΜΝΗΜΗ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΑ ΚΟΛΛΙΑ

Περιεχόμενα
ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ ΣΕΙΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΤΕΛΩΝ ΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΝ 2 (2014)

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Η επιστημονική έρευνα σχετικά με τους πρώτους αιώνες της Χριστιανοσύνης στη Δωδεκάνησο αποτελούσε ανέκαθεν ένα ζητούμενο, όχι μόνον για την ακαδημαϊκή κοινότητα, αλλά και για την Ιερά Μητρόπολη Ρόδου και τον λαό της Δωδεκανήσου.

Σταθερή και αμετάκλητη υπήρξε η βούληση προς αυτό τον σκοπό εκ μέρους της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Ρόδου, η οποία ενίσχυσε ενεργά την έρευνα προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση τα τελευταία χρόνια.

Ο ανά χείρας τόμος, με τίτλο «Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνη στα Δωδεκάνησα κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα», αποτυπώνει με τον πιο επιστημονικό και τεκμηριωμένο τρόπο τα αποτελέσματα της ομώνυμης ημερίδας που έλαβε χώρα στη Ρόδο στις 19 Νοεμβρίου 2011 και έρχεται ως το επιστέγασμα της από του 2011 έρευνας του Τμήματος Μεσογειακών Σπουδών στο πλαίσιο του ερευνητικού προγράμματος «Παλαιοχριστιανικές Βασιλικές Ρόδου», που χρηματοδότησε εξ ολοκλήρου η Ιερά Μητρόπολις Ρόδου.

Για πρώτη φορά, σε ένα συλλογικό έργο παρουσιάζονται με άρτιο τρόπο και επιστημονικό κύρος, από τους καθ' ύλην ειδικούς επιστήμονες, πτυχές της ιστορίας, της θρησκευτικής και κοσμικής τέχνης, καθώς και της καθημερινής ζωής της Δωδεκανήσου κατά τους πρώτους Χριστιανικούς Χρόνους και την Πρώιμη Βυζαντινή Περίοδο.

Συγχαίρουμε τους αγαπητούς πανεπιστημιακούς δασκάλους και ερευνητές Νεκτάριο Ζάρρα και Μανόλη Στεφανάκη για την πρωτοβουλία τους και την ολοκλήρωση του δύσκολου έργου τους και ευχόμαστε η παρούσα έκδοση να αποτελέσει την αφετηρία για την εις βάθος μελέτη του Παλαιοχριστιανικού και Βυζαντινού υλικού πολιτισμού και ιστορίας της Δωδεκανήσου, πολλές πτυχές των οποίων παραμένουν ακόμη άγνωστες.

Ο ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ

† Ο ΡΟΔΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΣ

ΧΑΙΡΕΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΪΣΤΑΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΦΟΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑΝΗΣΟΥ

Το 2011 η 4^η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, αποδέχτηκε, ως όφειλε, την πρόταση του Τμήματος Μεσογειακών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου να συμμετέχει στη διοργάνωση της Ημερίδας «Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνη στα Δωδεκάνησα κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα» για τρεις λόγους: Πρώτον, ως περιφερειακή μονάδα του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού, είναι υπεύθυνη για την έρευνα, τη μελέτη, την ανάδειξη, την προστασία και τη διαχείριση εκατοντάδων παλαιοχριστιανικών μνημείων και συνόλων στα Δωδεκάνησα. Δεύτερον, διότι οι Εφορείες Αρχαιοτήτων, ως ενεργοί φορείς και με διττό, διοικητικό και επιστημονικό ρόλο, στελεχώνονται από αξιόλογους και κατηρτισμένους αρχαιολόγους με πολυετή ανασκαφική εμπειρία και πλούσιο συγγραφικό έργο σε θέματα αρχαιολογίας και τέχνης της ύστερης αρχαιότητας. Τρίτον, διότι η δράση αυτή, έδινε στους εμπλεκόμενους επιστημονικούς φορείς, μια πρώτη ευκαιρία έμπρακτης συνεργασίας, και άνοιγε προοπτικές υλοποίησης νέων σχεδίων, σηματοδοτώντας την απαρχή ενός κύκλου συνεργασιών της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας με τα Πανεπιστήμια και άλλα ερευνητικά κέντρα. Μια σύμπραξη φορέων που εμπεριέχει τα στοιχεία της επικοινωνίας και της ανταλλαγής τεχνογνωσίας και ιδεών, μέσα σε ένα πλαίσιο ισοτιμίας και συλλογικότητας, όπου ενισχύεται η έρευνα και ο διάλογος και καλλιεργείται η γνώση και η δημιουργικότητα. Τέτοιες δράσεις συμβάλλουν και προωθούν την έρευνα, γίνονται αφορμή να δημιουργηθούν σε έναν τόπο επιστημονικοί πυρήνες και είναι επωφελή όχι μόνο για τους συμμετέχοντες φορείς και τα μέλη τους αλλά και για τη τοπική κοινωνία.

Οι εισηγήσεις των έγκριτων καθηγητών και οι εμπεριστατωμένες ομιλίες των συναδέλφων αρχαιολόγων της Υπηρεσίας και του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου, που μελετούν επί σειρά ετών θέματα τοπογραφίας, αρχιτεκτονικής, γλυπτικής, νομισματικής, κεραμικής και είναι γνώστες των μνημείων της Ρόδου και των άλλων νησιών, και οι οποίες εγγυήθηκαν τότε την επιτυχία της ημερίδας, δημοσιεύονται σήμερα στον ανά χείρας τόμο, δημιουργώντας ένα πρώτο συλλογικό «εργαλείο» για την περαιτέρω μελέτη της ύστερης αρχαιότητας στα Δωδεκάνησα.

Ευχαριστίες απευθύνονται στον Αναπληρωτή Καθηγητή του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου, κ. Μανόλη Στεφανάκη και τον δρ. Νεκτάριο Ζάρρα, αρχαιολόγο, διδάσκοντα στο ίδιο Πανεπιστήμιο, για τον συντονισμό και την επιμέλεια των πρακτικών.

Αρωγός, πολλαπλά, στο εγχείρημα αυτό υπήρξε η Ιερά Μητρόπολη Ρόδου και προσωπικά ο Σεβασμιότατος μητροπολίτης κ.κ. Κύριλλος, ιεράρχης εγνωσμένου κύρους και ανοικτών πνευματικών οριζόντων.

Δρ. Μαρία Μιχαηλίδου

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΔΟΣΗΣ

Η Ημερίδα με τίτλο «Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνη στα Δωδεκάνησα κατά την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα», τα Πρακτικά της οποίας περιλαμβάνονται στον παρόντα τόμο, αποτέλεσε το επιστέγασμα του ερευνητικού προγράμματος που υλοποιήθηκε από το Τμήμα Μεσογειακών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου σε συνεργασία με την 4^η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων και με αποκλειστική οικονομική στήριξη της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Ρόδου¹. Η κοινή δράση των δύο φορέων αποτελεί γεγονός πρωταρχικής σημασίας, διότι αναδεικνύει τα κοινά ενδιαφέροντα του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου και της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας Δωδεκανήσων και κυρίως τις δυνατότητές τους στην οργάνωση επιστημονικών προγραμμάτων, τα οποία στοχεύουν στην αξιοποίηση και προβολή του αρχαιολογικού πλούτου της νησιωτικής Ελλάδας. Ήταν, λοιπόν, σχεδόν αυτονόητο ότι μέσα από αυτή την επιστημονική συνάντηση θα τιμούσαμε τον άνθρωπο που αφιέρωσε τη ζωή του στην ανάδειξη και προστασία των πρωτοχριστιανικών και μεσαιωνικών μνημείων των Δωδεκανήσων και έναν ερευνητή που εκτιμούσε την αξία των επιστημονικών συνεργασιών, τον Ηλία Κόλλια. Αρκετά από τα πορίσματα που παρουσιάζονται εδώ αποτελούν συνέχεια των προσωπικών του επιστημονικών ερευνών, αλλά και των ευρύτερων προσπάθειών για την ανάδειξη και μελέτη όχι μόνο του μνημειακού πλούτου των Δωδεκανήσων, αλλά και του σημαντικού υλικού που φυλάσσεται στις αποθήκες της 4^{ης} ΕΒΑ, όπως αρχιτεκτονικά γλυπτά, κεραμική και νομίσματα.

Στα Πρακτικά περιλαμβάνονται δέκα μελέτες, από τις δώδεκα συνολικά ανακοινώσεις που παρουσιάστηκαν στην Ημερίδα, οι οποίες καλύπτουν ένα αρκετά ευρύ φάσμα για την αρχαιολογία και την τέχνη στα Δωδεκάνησα κατά την ύστερη αρχαιότητα. Την πρώτη μελέτη με γενικότερο περιεχόμενο για την εξέλιξη της αρχιτεκτονικής την περίοδο αυτή ακολουθεί η σύντομη παρουσίαση νέων παλαιοχριστιανικών βασιλικών στην ύπαιθρο της Ρόδου. Για τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα αφιερώνονται δύο άρθρα: στο πρώτο, εξετάζονται οι σχέσεις των ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων των νησιών του Αιγαίου με τις γειτονικές περιοχές της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου, με την προσθήκη νεότερων στοιχείων και νέου φωτογραφικού υλικού. Στο δεύτερο, επιχειρείται η συνολική εξέταση των διακοσμητικών φάσεων της βασιλικής Χατζηανδρέου στους περισσότερο τεκμηριωμένους χώρους της βασιλικής με βάση τα ανασκαφικά στοιχεία από τη μελέτη των ημερολογίων και τη δημοσίευση νέου υλικού από το φωτογραφικό αρχείο της 4^{ης} ΕΒΑ. Η γλυπτική αντιπροσωπεύεται με μία μελέτη, στην οποία εξετάζονται συγκεκριμένοι τύποι κιονοκράνων, όπως τα «λυρόσχημα» και τα ιωνικά με συμφυή επιθήματα από τη συλλογή γλυπτών της 4^{ης} ΕΒΑ. Ακολουθούν τρεις μελέτες για την κεραμική, οι οποίες εξετάζουν σημαντικά ζητήματα της σύγχρονης έρευνας, προσφέροντας νέα στοιχεία για: α) την κυκλοφορία στο Αιγαίο συγκεκριμένων ειδών εισηγμένης, αλλά και τοπικής κεραμικής, β) την

¹ Για το ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα, βλ. Μ.Ι. Στεφανάκης - Ν. Ζάρρας - Ε. Παπαβασιλείου, «Η ύστερη αρχαιότητα στη Δωδεκάνησο: Παλαιοχριστιανικές βασιλικές της Ρόδου. Μια ερευνητική συνεργασία του Τμήματος Μεσογειακών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου και της 4^{ης} Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων», *ΔωδΧρ* 25 (2012), 162-180.

κυκλοφορία των κυπριακών λυχναριών στη Ρόδο και τις αλλαγές στις αγορές του Αιγαίου που επέφερε η ανάπτυξη των ροδιακών λυχναριών και γ) την τυπολογία και την παραγωγή των δωδεκανησιακών εργαστηρίων κεραμικής με αφορμή τα παραδείγματα που έχουν εντοπιστεί στην Κω. Η παλαιοχριστιανική Κάλυμνος είναι το θέμα της επόμενης μελέτης, στην οποία παρουσιάζονται τα νεότερα πορίσματα της έρευνας για τους παραθαλάσιους οικισμούς, τις βασιλικές, τις λουτρικές εγκαταστάσεις και τους τάφους και ο τόμος κλείνει με το άρθρο για τη νομισματική μαρτυρία στα Δωδεκάνησα από τον 4^ο μέχρι τον 7^ο αιώνα.

Η έκδοση των Πρακτικών πραγματοποιήθηκε χάρις στην οικονομική ενίσχυση της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Ρόδου, που ενσαρκώνεται στο πρόσωπο του αρωγού σε αρκετές από τις αρχαιολογικές δραστηριότητες του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου, μητροπολίτη Ρόδου κ. Κυρίλλου. Τον ευχαριστούμε θερμά. Ευχαριστούμε επίσης την προϊσταμένη της Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Δωδεκανησου Δρ. Μαρία Μιχαηλίδου για τη στήριξή της, τόσο κατά τη διοργάνωση της Ημερίδας όσο και κατά τη διάρκεια επιμέλειας των Πρακτικών, καθώς και τη συνάδελφο αρχαιολόγο στην ίδια Εφορεία, Ελένη Παπαβασιλείου για τη συμμετοχή της στην οργάνωση της Ημερίδας. Ιδιαίτερος ευχαριστούμε τους συγγραφείς του τόμου για την ανταπόκρισή τους στην πρωτοβουλία μας να προχωρήσουμε στην έκδοση των Πρακτικών και για την άψογη συνεργασία μας σε όλο αυτό το διάστημα της προετοιμασίας της έκδοσης. Πολλές ευχαριστίες απευθύνονται, τέλος, στην Προϊσταμένη του Τμήματος Δημοσιευμάτων του ΤΑΠΑ, κα. Ελένη Κώτσου, η πολύτιμη εμπειρία της οποίας συνέβαλε κατά πολύ στην ολοκλήρωση της παρούσας έκδοσης.

Νεκτάριος Ζάρρας – Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης

EARLY BYZANTINE MOSAIC PAVEMENTS FROM THE CHATZIANDREOU BASILICA («GREAT BASILICA») IN RHODES*

The discovery of the «great basilica» in the city of Rhodes, in the late 1960s, was of major archaeological importance not only for the island but also for the Dodecanese. Excavations in the Chatziandreou plot (fig. 1), at the junction of Cheimarras and Pavlou Mela streets in the west part of the modern town of Rhodes, were conducted intermittently between 1968 and the early 1980s, under the supervision of the late Elias Kollias, to the memory of whom the present volume is dedicated. These brought to light the remains of a three-aisle basilica with transept, narthex, atrium, baptistery and outbuildings¹. The church, including the narthex, was over 60 m. long and 23 m. wide. These measurements make the Chatziandreou basilica the largest in the Dodecanese and one of the largest in Greece.

Unfortunately, this monument's fortunes were inversely proportionate to its size and value. The complex stratigraphical problems that arose in the course of excavating the basilica, due to the serious disturbance of the strata, demanded continuous and systematic research in order to distinguish and to date its building phases as accurately as possible, and to enhance the importance of its art. To the contrary, under the tremendous pressure to release the plot for real-estate development, the excavators were only able to carry out brief investigations, uncovering important remains of the architectural, sculptural, painted and mosaic decoration, many of which were buried under tonnes of cement when blocks of flats were erected on top of the basilica.

*I wish to thank primarily the head of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese, Dr. Maria Michailidou, for permission to study and publish the mosaics of the Chatziandreou basilica. My involvement with the mosaic pavements gave me the opportunity of getting to know an outstanding scholar and a wonderful person, Professor Emerita Panagiota Atzaka. I thank her for our long discussions during the writing of this paper. I also thank Mrs Alexandra Doumas for editing the English text.

¹ For the Chatziandreou basilica, see I. Kontis - G. Konstantinopoulos, «Ανασκαφικά έρευνα εις την πόλιν της Ρόδου», *ΠΑΕ* 1960, 281-282; G. Konstantinopoulos - E. Kollias, «Παλαιοχριστιανικά και βυζαντινά έρευνα εις την Ρόδον», *ΑΑΑ* 1 (1968), 262, fig. 1; *ΑΔ* 23 (1968), Χρονικά, 442, pl. 411α-γ [G. Konstantinopoulos]; *ΑΔ* 24 (1969), Χρονικά, 464-467, dr. 8, pl. 470 [G. Konstantinopoulos]; *ΑΔ* 25 (1970), Χρονικά, 527 [E. Kollias]; *ΑΔ* 26 (1971), Χρονικά, 552-555, dr. 8, pl. 561α-γ [E. Kollias]; D. Pallas, *Les monuments paléochrétiens de Grèce découverts de 1959 à 1953*, Città del Vaticano 1977, 236-239; Στ. Πελεκανίδης - Π.Ι. Ατζακά, *Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος*, Ι. Νησιωτική Ελλάς, Θεσσαλονίκη 1988, 89-91, pls. 55-59 (henceforth: Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I.); E. Kollias, «Η παλαιοχριστιανική και βυζαντινή Ρόδος. Η αντίσταση μιας ελληνιστικής πόλης», in *Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψή της από τους Τούρκους (1523)*, Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο (Ρόδος, 24-29 Οκτωβρίου 1993), Β', Athens - Rhodes 2000, 299-301, fig. 1.

The picture of the Chatziandreou basilica, resulting from the excavation data, can be summarized as follows: First, three building phases are distinguished, the earliest dated to around the mid-fifth century and the latest to the reign of Justinian². In my view, the second phase, which has not yet been defined, should be linked with the catastrophic earthquake that struck Rhodes in 515/16, also causing severe damage on the Asia Minor coast³. The excavation data actually corroborate this view, as an extensive destruction layer was found between the first and second stratum⁴. The church was probably violently destroyed during the Arab incursion in the mid-seventh century, when worship here ceased⁵. The basilica was built on top of an earlier edifice, possibly a sanctuary, from which important mosaics dating from the third century BC to the second-third century AD were recovered (figs. 2-3)⁶. Second, the transept was formed probably in the second building phase and was completed by the arrangement of the three aisles in the third phase of the basilica according to the excavation data⁷. The two phases of the transept are confirmed also by the corresponding layers of the mosaic pavements in its south part, while it seems that there was also a third pavement, of *opus sectile*, in the transept⁸. Third and last, the east part of the basilica was most probably roofed by a vault⁹, as is deduced from the increase in size as well as the reinforcement of the piers at the point of intersection of the transept with the central aisle.

The evidence available for the art of this important monument is meager and includes only a very few fragments of the mural decoration¹⁰ and a few architectural sculptures. The mosaic pavements are the only artworks that can offer a more integrated picture, albeit still begging many questions. Given the piecemeal nature of the excavation data, due in large part to the lack of clear chronological indicators for the stratigraphy, such as coins, it is not possible to include the corpus of mosaics securely in the building history of the monument. Nor is it possible to date them confidently, with the exception of some mosaics from the narthex. It is possible to group and to date only certain mosaics that present close stylistic similarities and a common conception in the organization of the compositions.

Consequently, aim of the present study is first of all to publish this important

² Kollias, *op.cit.*, 301.

³ For the earthquake of 515 and other earthquakes that occurred in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, see E. Guidoboni, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th Century*, Rome 1994, 301-302, 312. See also, M.-P. Raynaud, *Lycia: Xanthos*, I, Part 1: *The East Basilica*, in M. Şahin - D. Parish - W. Jobst (eds.), *Corpus of the Mosaics of Turkey*, Bursa 2009, 144, n. 47.

⁴ Excavation daybooks 4.1.1, and 7.1.2.

⁵ E. Kollias, *Η μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου και το παλάτι του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου*, Athens 2005³, 97; *idem*, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 303.

⁶ The superb mosaic with Triton, presently exhibited in the Rhodes Archaeological Museum, is dated to the 3rd century BC. For the dating of the mosaic, see D. Salzmann, *Untersuchungen zu den antiken Kieselmosaiken: von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Tesseratechnik*, Berlin 1982, 110, no. 112, pl. 47.

⁷ According to the excavation daybook (4.1.1, 185-186), the wall separating the central from the west part of the transept trespasses on the earlier pavement, parts of which were found under the wall. See also, *ΑΔ 24* (1969), Χρονικά, 466 [G. Konstantinopoulos].

⁸ Excavation daybook, 4.1.1, 2-3.

⁹ This view, expressed by Prof. Giorgos Velenis at a colloquium, boosts the hypothesis that the church of St. John at Ephesos functioned as model for the «great basilica» of Rhodes. See Kollias, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 301.

¹⁰ Kollias, *Η μεσαιωνική πόλη*, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 109-110.

material, which despite its fragmentary nature constitutes the unique¹¹ in extent corpus of mosaics known from Rhodes. Together with the exploration of the relations and reciprocal influences between the mosaics from the Chatziandreou basilica and mosaics from elsewhere in Greece and the West, as well as with mosaics produced in the major artistic centres of the Eastern Mediterranean, these are the basic reasons for studying this material from the Rhodian monument.

MOSAICS IN THE NARTHEX

The mosaics in the narthex are exceptionally interesting because, in contrast to those from the other spaces, they were revealed over a wide area and offer important data on the monument's art. They belong to two phases of decoration: the first phase is visible in a small part of the composition dated by Pelekanides and Atzaka to the mid-fifth century¹², while the second and better preserved phase, covering a large part of the narthex, is dated to the sixth century and correlated possibly with the earthquake of 515/16.

The composition covering a large part of the narthex (fig. 4) is divided lengthwise into three panels of unequal size, determined by the extent of their decoration. It comprises a central panel, exactly in the space of the threshold of the entrance to the central aisle of the church, where a small part of the first phase of decoration is preserved, and on either side of it two larger panels of parallelogram shape, the decoration in which is linked with the second phase. From the first phase in the central panel, which survives in fragmentary state, is the shield of triangles motif within a circle inscribed in a square (fig. 5). Depicted in the northwest spandrel of the square is a vase from which sprouts a vine branch¹³. On the lateral sides of the square are twisted column motifs (fig. 6), the one on the south side represented in detail with imitation Corinthian base and capital. The shield of triangles¹⁴, a motif known from Roman times, appears

¹¹ It is indeed unfortunate that Rhodes, despite its importance, lacks an integrated programme of systematic excavation research in the countryside, even though many and important basilicas have been located. However, investigation of these monuments was not only patchy but scientifically inadequate, as a result of which the few finds recovered from them remain undocumented and deprived of scientific data for dating them precisely. The situation is the same for the mosaic pavements of Rhodes. The few and fragmentary finds known so far from the countryside of Rhodes, because they have not been dated cannot be utilized as secure comparative material and can only offer supplementary evidence for the iconography in the already dated mosaic pavements from systematically studied monuments in the Eastern Mediterranean. From the undocumented excavations from which parts of mosaic pavements are published, see indicatively I. Volanakis, «Παλαιοχριστιανικές βασιλικές Μεσσαναγρού», *AAA* 13 (1981), fig. 7; idem, «Η εις Κολύμπια Ρόδου παλαιοχριστιανική βασιλική», *Actes du Xe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne (Thessalonique 28 septembre - 4 octobre 1980)*, Thessaloniki 1984, B', figs. 6-7; idem, «Παλαιοχριστιανικές βασιλικές Μεσσαναγρού Ρόδου», *ΔωδΧρ* I (1984), figs. 8, 10; idem, «Früchristliche Monumente auf der Insel Rhodos: Ein überblick», in *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Periods*, Helsinki 2004, fig. 44.

¹² Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, 90-91.

¹³ For this motif, see P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Τα παλαιοχριστιανικά ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα του Ανατολικού Ιλλυρικού», *Actes du Xe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne (Thessalonique 28 septembre - 4 octobre 1980)*, Vatican City-Thessaloniki 1984, 433 with further bibliography.

¹⁴ C. Balmelle - M. Blanchard-Lemée - J. Christophe - J.-P. Darmon - S. Gozlan - M.-P. Raynaud, *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine*, II, *Répertoire graphique et descriptive des décors centrés*, II, Paris 2002, pl. 327b, 328a (henceforth: Balmelle et al., II).

frequently both in secular buildings and in Early Christian basilicas, as for example in Thessaloniki¹⁵, Antikyra and Lamia¹⁶, and Aegina¹⁷, and fairly frequently in Eastern Mediterranean regions. Columns are not a common subject in mosaics and are encountered very rarely in Greece, as at Megalopolis¹⁸, whereas they occur more frequently in Eastern Mediterranean mosaics.

In the basilica at Deir esh-Sharqi (5th century) and the church of St John (540) at Oum Hartaine in Syria¹⁹ columns are combined with iconographic subjects from the animal kingdom, while in the composition with columns in the Hors-les-Murs basilica in the area of Dibli Faraj in northern Syria, which is dated 429, the architectural conception is clear:²⁰ four fluted columns are depicted in line, linked by pointed arches. Last, of interest too is a category of representations in which pairs of columns are joined in arcade, between which are praying female personifications²¹.

Preserved also in the central panel is part of the repair to the mosaic, made in the second decoration phase of the narthex. The damage to the mosaic at this point, which was perhaps caused by the collapse of part of the roof, was repaired hurriedly by an artist who tried to continue the initial composition, but without success. This is obvious both in the simplified rendering of the motif of intersecting circles forming quatrefoils, exactly above the shield of triangles of the first phase, and in the motif of tangent peltae with central Solomon knot (fig. 7)²² to the right of the threshold of the entrance to the central aisle. Although the artist saw the subject in the surviving part of the mosaic, he was unable to replicate it and from the point of destruction it is continued completely distorted. The combination of peltae and Solomon knot²³ is known from Roman times in

¹⁵ P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος*, III.1. *Μακεδονία - Θράκη. Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Θεσσαλονίκης*, Thessaloniki 1998, 198, 219-220, 245, pls. 38-39, 88β, 89β and 90β (henceforth: Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, III.1).

¹⁶ In the basilica at the site of Palatia and the basilica of the Holy Apostles. See P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος*, II. *Πελοπόννησος-Στερεά Ελλάδα*, Thessaloniki 1987, 149, 176-177, pls. 235, 236α-β, 301 (henceforth: Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, II).

¹⁷ In a building in Pavlou Aiginitou Street. See Pelekanidis - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, 101-102, πιν. 69.

¹⁸ A column base survives in a building identified as a house. See Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, II, 73, pl. 86β.

¹⁹ P. Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie*, Louvain-La Neuve 1988, 131, 202, εικ. 93, 168, 181, dr. 11 (henceforth: Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*); eadem, «Syro-Phoenician mosaics of the 6th century», in R. Ling (ed.), *Fifth International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics (Bath, England September 5-12, 1987)*, Part 2 (JRA Supp. Series 9), Ann Arbor 1994, fig. 1.

²⁰ Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, 83-84, dr. 2. Four columns with epistyle imitating a presbytery screen are depicted in the mosaic in the diakonikon of the basilica at Khaldé-Choueifat. A similar architectural composition decorates the mosaic housed in the Museum of Beirut. See. M.H. Chéhab, *Mosaïques du Liban*, 1-2, Paris 1957, 110-111, pl. LXII; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, 364-365, 483, fig. 54, dr. 15 and fig. 453.

²¹ E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum - J. Ward-Perkins, *Justinianic Mosaic Pavements in Cyrenaican Churches* (Monografie di Archeologia Libica, XIV), Rome 1981, pl. 83. 1-2.

²² Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, pl. 56β.

²³ C. Balmelle - M. Blanchard-Lemée - J. Christophe - J.-P. Darmon - A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets - H. Lavagne - R. Prudhomme - H. Stern, *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine*, I, Paris 1985, pl. 223a-b (henceforth: Balmelle et al., I).

mosaics from both eastern and western Illyricum²⁴.

Represented in the panels on either side of the central one are circular compositions formed by geometric shapes interloped in such a way as to create composite formations in rich colours. Most of the panel to the left of the central one is filled by a rare pattern of adjacent octagons decorated by a rectangular guilloche tangent to the opposed peltae, alternately upright and recumbent (fig. 8). Among the earliest examples of this pattern²⁵, which is known from the Roman period, is that in the House of Leukaktios at Ptolemais in Libya, dated to the last quarter of the third century²⁶. It is not known from anywhere else in Greece, whereas it has been identified on part of a mosaic from a secular building in the North African town of Sousse, which has been dated to the late fifth or the early sixth century²⁷. It is interesting that in Rhodes, in addition to the Chatziandreou basilica, exactly the same subject was identified in the neighbouring apsidal building in Cheimarras Street²⁸, prompting the view²⁹ that both mosaics were created by the same workshop, as well as in a basilica in the area of Ialysos³⁰. The composition of tangent octagons is framed by bands of polychrome round-tongued double guilloche opened to form eyelets, running in opposite directions, and a bichrome band of tangent horizontal spindles and pairs of vertical spindles. Preserved to the east of this composition is a small part decorated with the pattern of poised tangent octagons forming four-point stars with an axially inscribed square (fig. 9)³¹. The colours alternate, creating the effect of an orthogonal pattern of tangent hexagons, while the pattern creates the illusion of intersecting 16-sided polygons. This subject, known already from Early Roman times, is encountered in the eastern and western Illyricum,³² as well as in the wider area of the Eastern Mediterranean³³.

Of interest is the geometric composition decorating the panel to the right (south) of the central one. The main pattern is of poised tangent octagons (fig. 10) defining a four-point star decorated at its centre by smaller octagons. The tangent octagons bearing

²⁴ See for example mosaics in the Iberian peninsula (R. Hidalgo-Prieto, «Mosaicos de la villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba)», in *VI Coloquio internacional sobre mosaic antiguo (Palencia-Mérida, Octubre 1990)*, Guadalajara 1994, fig. 2), in Lycia (Raynaud, op.cit. (n. 3), fig. 15) and in Ephesos (V. Scheibelreiter-Gail, *Die Mosaiken Westkleinasiens. Tessellate des 2. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. bis Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (OAI, Sonderschriften Band 46), Wien 2011, 228-229, 255, figs. 122, 204-206 with bibliography).

²⁵ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 165b.

²⁶ The composition decorates the triclinium, at the centre of which is a panel with the personification of Victory or Nike. See M.T. Olszewski, «Mosaïques de pavement de la 'maison de Leukaktios' à Ptolémaïs en Cyrénaïque (Libye). Essai d'identification des pièces», *Archeologia* LXIII (2007), 94, figs. 1-2.

²⁷ L. Foucher, *Inventaire des mosaïques. Feuille n° 57 de l'atlas archéologique, Sousse*, Tunis 1960, 27-28, n° 57.058, pl. XIV.

²⁸ Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, 89, pl. 60a.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30, n. 82; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, III.1, 92, n. 149.

³⁰ In the Kambouropoulos plot. Unpublished (personal observation).

³¹ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 186b-c. See also, Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, op.cit., 133 with bibliography.

³² See Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, II, 149-150, pl. 2388; eadem, *Σύνταγμα*, III.1, 133-134, 234, pls. 119-120, XXIIβ-XXXIII, notes 382-386 with several examples. See also, L.-M. De Matteis, *Mosaici di Cos*, Athens 2004, pl. XCII-3 (henceforth: De Matteis, *Mosaici*).

³³ For example in Lycia (Raynaud, op.cit. (n. 3), 80-81, fig. 81 (south aisle) and in Palestine. See R. and A. Ovadiah, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel*, Rome 1987, 47, pl. XXXVII.2 (Caesarea Maritima, room in the building west of the theatre).

a circle inscribed with a variety of geometric motifs, such as a six-point star with central knot (fig. 11), single eight- or twelve-petal rosettes (fig. 12), wreath-like pattern within a circle and around a circle of eight small circles interlooped tangentially, orthogonal pattern of quasi-tangent poised quadrilobes of peltae tangent to a central inscribed quatrefoil saltire in another colour (fig. 13)³⁴, cross bearing simple guilloche set among spindles³⁵, intersecting squares, etc. Geometric filling motifs are repeated in the small octagons too. The pattern of tangent octagons defining four-point star motifs³⁶, in the south panel of the narthex of the «great basilica» in Rhodes, although known from early Roman mosaics is most unusual in Greece. In southern Greece it is depicted identical in a mosaic uncovered in the Loukous monastery at Astros, Kynouria, which probably originates from the Early Christian edifice³⁷. In the Aegean, outside Rhodes it is encountered in Cos³⁸ and in a mosaic in the Archaeological Museum of Bodrum (anc. Halikarnassos)³⁹.

To the south of the narthex, in a rather indeterminate space that perhaps belonged to an outbuilding, part of another mosaic with geometric decoration was revealed. Although badly damaged, it is quite clear that this is a work of the same artistic conception and the same stylistic quality as the rest of the narthex mosaics. Here too there are tangent octagons, which include an assortment of rare geometric subjects, such as the radial motif (fig. 14).

The mosaics of the second phase of decoration of the narthex are distinguished by the quality of their craftsmanship and the rarity of their subjects. Characteristic of the dominant artistic conception is the density in the arrangement of subjects on a continuous surface and the diversity of motifs filling the geometric shapes that make up the mosaic compositions. The resultant effect resembles an elaborate carpet.

SOUTH AISLE

Two mosaic compositions were brought to light in the south aisle: the first, with a

³⁴ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 229a. The motif is encountered identical in the basilica of Salona, Dalmatia (E. Dyggve - R. Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, III: *Der altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac*, Vienna 1939, pl. 72. J/18) and similar in the mosaics of the Public Building at Kourion (M. Michaelides, *Cypriot Mosaics*, Nicosia 1992, 94, pl. 52a).

³⁵ Balmelle et al., II, pl. 286d; Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, pl. 57γ. The same pattern is used for the decoration of the tangent octagons in the great basilica of St Stephen at Kephelos on Cos. See De Matteis, *Mosaici*, pl. XXVII.1.

³⁶ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 178a.

³⁷ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, II, 71, pl. 76α; eadem, «Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα των νησιών του Αιγαίου», in the present volume, 49, n. 75

³⁸ In the Gymnasium (L. Laurenzi, «Nuovi contribute alla topografia storico-archaeologica di Co», *Historia* 5 (1931), 612, εκ. 2) and in the basilica of Kapama (A. Di Vita, *La basilica di Kapama a Co. I mosaici di Hermes Balducci*, Atene-Roma, 1996, pl. IV; De Matteis, *Mosaici*, op.cit., pls. XVII-XVIII.1; eadem, «The Mosaics of the Early Christian Basilicas on the Island of Kos», in M. Şahin (ed.), 11th *International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics (Bursa, Turkey October 16th - 20th 2009). Mosaics of Turkey and Parallel Developments in the Rest of the Ancient and Medieval World: Questions of Iconography, Style and Technique from the Beginnings of Mosaic until the Late Byzantine Era*, Istanbul 2011, figs. 11-12. See also, Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα των νησιών του Αιγαίου», in the present volume, 48-49, n. 69.

³⁹ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα των νησιών του Αιγαίου», in the present volume, 49, n. 70 with further bibliography.

border of a simple guilloche opened to form eyelets, has intersecting circles forming quatrefoils as central pattern. The centre of the circles is decorated with small squares and the centre of the foils of the quatrefoils with concave squares (fig. 15)⁴⁰. This variation of the common pattern of intersecting circles is unusual in Greece. Amongst the earliest examples is the mosaic from the house at 90 Kassandrou Street in Thessaloniki (late 4th century)⁴¹, while the subject appears later in the baptistery at Hypate and the basilica at Daphnousia⁴². In a similar manner, the motif is encountered in the Eastern Mediterranean, as in basilicas of Cyprus⁴³ and Syria⁴⁴. The same motif was used also in Judaic iconography⁴⁵. The second composition consists of two panels: the first filled with a rectangular pattern of scales (fig. 16) and the second with intersecting octagons defining squares (fig. 17)⁴⁶. The compositions are separated by a border decorated with tangent quatrefoils formed by interlooped circles. The mosaics in the south aisle most probably belong to the same phase of decoration as those of the second phase in the narthex, in which case they should be dated to the sixth century.

To the east of the south aisle, the geometric composition of tangent concave octagons defining poised squares and containing smaller concave octagons was revealed (fig. 18). This pattern⁴⁷ is very common in the geometric repertoire of mosaic pavements, in the eastern and western Illyricum.

SOUTH TRANSEPT

The mosaics in the transept, and specifically its west part, belong to two phases. The earlier layer, with purely geometric thematic repertoire, is preserved in relatively good condition, offering research important evidence for the art of the Chatziandreou basilica. As in the narthex, here too the compositions are distinguished by the density in the arrangement of motifs over a continuous surface, creating a carpet-like effect. The basic composition consists of tangent octagons defining poised squares. The sides of the octagons and the squares are decorated by a simple guilloche (fig. 19). The motif, known from Roman pavements⁴⁸, is virtually unknown in Greek mosaics, with the exception of

⁴⁰ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 238d.

⁴¹ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, III.1, 133, 235, pl. 118a-b.

⁴² Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Τα παλαιοχριστιανικά ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα», op.cit. (n. 13), 383-384; eadem, *Σύνταγμα*, II, 173-175, 178-179, pls. 292a, 296, 310.

⁴³ See for example the mosaics in the Hagia Triada basilica at Gialoussa and in the Annexe of Eustolios dated to the 5th century. See W.A. Daszewski - D. Michaelides, *Mosaic Floors in Cyprus* (Biblioteca di «Felix Ravenna», 3), Ravenna 1988, figs. 12, 50.

⁴⁴ In Antioch, house of the Rams' Heads (D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, I, Princeton-London 1947, 350, pl. CXXXIIIId) and in the Oum Hartaïne basilica (Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, 197, fig. 175, dr. 11). See also, P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «The Iconography of the Mosaic Pavement of the Church at Tell Amarna», in Ö. Tunca - T. Waliszewski - V. Koniordos, (eds.), *Tell Amarna (Syrie) V, La basilique et ses mosaïques*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole Ma 2011, 112, pl. 4.22b (henceforth: Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Tell Amarna»).

⁴⁵ See e.g. the Sepphoris synagogue mosaic. Z. Weiss - E. Netzer, *Promise and Redemption: A Synagogue Mosaic from Sepphoris*, Jerusalem 1996, figs. on pp. 13 and 41.

⁴⁶ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 169a.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 163c.

⁴⁸ The pattern of tangent octagons forming squares or other geometric motifs is known from Roman mosaics of the 3rd and 4th centuries in Britain (D.J. Smith, «Roman mosaics in Britain before the fourth century», in H. Stern - M. Le Glay (eds.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine II, Actes du IIe Colloque International*

the mosaic in the building at 75 Athinas Street in the Koule Kafe neighbourhood of Thessaloniki, where it is present in simplified form and is dated to the second half of the fourth century⁴⁹. The pattern is encountered in a more composite form, enriched with a variety of geometric motifs displaying affinity to the Chatziandreou mosaic, and also with figural motifs, in Early Byzantine mosaics of the Eastern State, as for example in Syria⁵⁰ and in Cyprus⁵¹, which are dated mainly to the fifth and sixth centuries.

The octagons of the composition in the transept, like those in the narthex, present a wide variety of rare geometric ornaments, which are not repeated. Some of these are simple, such as the eight-petal rosette, while others are quite complex, such as the octagon bearing intersecting squares with inscribed circle, or the octagon bearing a circle with inscribed concave square enclosing a circle forming quatrefoils (fig. 20). The close relation between the mosaics of the first layer of the south transept and those of the second layer of the narthex is obvious in the iconography, the style and the artistic conception in general. For these reasons, I believe that they date to the same years of the sixth century and should probably be attributed to the same workshop.

The mosaic composition of the second phase, found exactly above the first, consists of four panels (fig. 21) orientated north-south, enclosing the following subjects: in the first panel, octagons defining squares and enclosing birds and floral decoration; in the second poised tangent squares enclosing smaller squares⁵²; in the third intersecting circles forming quatrefoils and containing small circles (fig. 22); and in the last panel, tangent octagons and crosses forming hexagons (fig. 23). Inscribed in the octagons of the last panel are various probably faunal motifs, hardly any of which have survived, such as the dolphin with trident tail, a particularly popular subject in Hellenistic mosaics⁵³. The panels are bordered by ivy scroll. Particularly interesting among the aforesaid subjects, due to its rarity in Greece, is the combination of tangent octagons and crosses⁵⁴. The

pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque antique (Vienne-Isère, 30 août - 4 septembre 1971), Paris 1975, 281-285, pls. CXXIII-CXXVI), at Vienne in France (S. Tournenc, «La mosaïque des 'Athlètes vainqueurs'», *ibid.*, pls. XLIX-L, LII-LIII) and in Africa (M. Ennaïfer - N.-B. Lazreg, «Les mosaïques des thermes de Nasr Allah (Tunisie)», in H. Morlier (ed.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine IX.1-2 (Rome, 5-10 novembre 2001)*, 1, Rome 2005, 520-521, figs. 2-3; N. Jeddi, «Les mosaïques de la Maison des Eschalières à Douga», *ibid.*, 536-538, figs. 7, 13).

⁴⁹ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, III.1, 220-221, pls. 88β, 89α-β, 90α.

⁵⁰ S. Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (Subsidia Mediaevalia, 15), Toronto 1988, 16-17, pl. 66 (Bath D).

⁵¹ In the mosaics from the presbyterium of the Forty Saints (Hagioi Saranta) basilica (second phase, 6th c.), where the octagons are filled with figural subjects. See A.M. Foulis, «The Basilica of Agioi Saranta/Kirkklar Tekke in Cyprus and its Mosaics», in M. Şahin (ed.), *op.cit.* (n. 38), 384, figs. 6-13.

⁵² This particular variation of tangent squares is rendered in a very similar way in the Eastern Mediterranean. I cite indicatively the church of Kh. Samra in Israel (R. and A. Ovadiah, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel*, Rome 1987, 98-99, pl. CV.2), in Syria the basilica-Martyrium Hors-les-Murs in Dibsî Faraj (Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, figs. 51, 53) and very often in Antioch, Kaoussie Church, east of Bath 'F' and in the House of the Calendar (Campbell, *op.cit.*, 45, 51, 60, pls. 135, 155, 176-177) and the church of St Peter in Jordan (M. Piccirillo, *The Mosaics of Jordan* (American Center of Oriental Research Publications, 1), Amman 1993, figs. 606-607).

⁵³ Among the most characteristic examples are the dolphins in the House of the Dolphins on Delos. See K.M.D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, Cambridge 1999, 33-34, figs. 34-35, with further bibliography.

⁵⁴ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 180b.

motif is known from third- and fourth-century Roman mosaics⁵⁵, the earliest examples being those at Aquileia⁵⁶, Rome⁵⁷ and in Africa.⁵⁸ In the same period it was used also in the northern part of Eastern Illyricum⁵⁹, in Thessaloniki⁶⁰, Antikyra and Klapsi⁶¹, as well as elsewhere in Greece.⁶² In the sixth century it was used in important regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Crete⁶³, Cyprus⁶⁴, Lycia⁶⁵, Antioch⁶⁶ and Jordan⁶⁷, from where it spread also to the Aegean islands⁶⁸.

SOUTHEAST OUTBUILDING

A small piece of mosaic, now in the Rhodian church of Our Lady of the Castle (*Panagia tou Kastrou*), comes from the southeast outbuilding of the Chatziandreou basilica. The central composition consists of tangentially interlooped circles and squares

⁵⁵ J. Balty, «La place des mosaïques de Jordanie au sein de la production orientale», in N. Duval (ed.), *Les églises de Jordanie et leurs mosaïques*, Beyrouth 2003, 167-168.

⁵⁶ B. Forlati-Tamaro - L. Bertacchi - L. Beschi - M.C. Calvi - L. Bosio - G. Rosada - G. Cuscito - G. Gorini (eds), *Da Aquileia a Venezia: Una mediazione tra l'Europa e l'Oriente dal II secolo a.C. al VI secolo d.C.*, Italy 1986², fig. 34, dr. on p. 174; M. Donderer, *Die Chronologie der Römischen Mosaiken in Venetien und Istrien bis zur Zeit der Antonine* (Archäologische Forschungen, 15), Berlin 1986, 26, pl. 7.4. The motif is encountered also in the nearby city of Grado. See Ling (ed.), op.cit., 53; Forlati-Tamaro et al., op.cit., dr. XXVIII (church in Piazza della Corte).

⁵⁷ This motif appears in the frescoes of the Catacomb in the Via Latina (sale N). See A. Barbet, «Rapport entre peinture murale et mosaïque: les plafonds peints des tombeaux romains du Nord de la Jordanie», in R. Ling (ed.), op.cit. (n. 19), fig. 13b-c.

⁵⁸ Foucher, op.cit. (n. 27), pl. 64, n° 57.135, pl. XVIII, c.

⁵⁹ For example in Split. See Barbet, op.cit., 53-54, fig. 14. See also D. Mano-Zissi, «La question des différentes écoles de mosaïques gréco-romaines de Yougoslavie et essai d'une esquisse de leur évolution», in G. Picard - H. Stern (eds.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine, Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique (Paris, 29 août - 3 septembre 1963)*, I, Paris 1965, fig. 11.

⁶⁰ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, III.1, pl. 142.

⁶¹ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, II, 149, 166, pls. 236δ-237ε, 281β.

⁶² P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «The Mosaic pavements of the Aegean Islands during the Early Christian Period», *CorsiRav* 38 (1991), 54-55; eadem, *Σύνταγμα* III.1, 138-139, n. 400 with further bibliography.

⁶³ R. Farioli-Campanati, «I mosaici pavimentali della basilica di Mitropolis a Gortyna nell'ambito della produzione musiva di Creta», in D. Paunier - Ch. Schmidt (eds.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine VIII, Actes du VIIIème colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique et médiévale (Lausanne [Suisse], 6-11 octobre 1997)*, Lausanne 2001, fig. 1.

⁶⁴ In the basilica of St. Spyridon at Tremetousia, in the Annex of Eustolios and in a secular building at Lambousa. See Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, pl. 126α; Daszewski - Michaelides, *Cyprus*, op.cit. (n. 43), figs. 43-44. In Cyprus the motif is used also in Roman mosaics, as in the Pyramus and Thisbe mosaic in Paphos, and in the House of Dionysos (west portico of peristyle). See C. Kondoleon, *Domestic and Divine: Roman Mosaics in the House of Dionysos*, Ithaca-London 1995, figs. 89-90; Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, op.cit. (n. 53), fig. 240.

⁶⁵ Raynaud, *Lycia*, op.cit. (n. 3), 51, figs. 18, 42, 44 (south portico).

⁶⁶ See indicatively, the basilicas of Hors-les-Murs (429) at Dibs Faraj and of Karm el-Arabis in Homs (first phase end of 4th-beginning of 5th c.) (Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, 82-83, 135-136, drs. 2, 7), in Bath D, (room 8), (Levi, *Antioch Mosaic*, op. cit. (n. 44), 429, fig. 164; Campbell, op.cit. (n. 50), 16, dr. IV 5f, pls. 53, 55).

⁶⁷ See e.g. the Basilica of St. George (south church, 529/30) in the complex of the three churches and the Basilica of Procopius (526) at Gerasa of the Decapolis. See Piccirillo, *Mosaics of Jordan*, op.cit. (n. 52), 289, 292, figs. 535-536, 560.

⁶⁸ See e.g. in Cos in the square of Agios Ioannis Theologos, in the basilicas at Zipari and Kardamaina and in the mosaic at Platanistas. See Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, pl. 33β; De Matteis, *Mosaici*, pls. XLV, L.1, LIII. 1-2, G.1-2 and H.

(fig. 24) enclosing faunal and marine motifs. The border is decorated with the usual motif of tangent quatrefoils that are formed from interlooped circles. The pattern⁶⁹ is encountered in Eastern Illyricum⁷⁰ and in Greece. During the sixth century it was widely diffused in the Eastern Mediterranean region⁷¹, where it persisted for a long period⁷². It is known from two mosaics found in buildings in central Athens⁷³ and mainly from basilicas in the Dodecanese, of St. Anastasia in Carpathos⁷⁴ and at Kapama in Cos⁷⁵. The pattern is found also in the northern provinces of Eastern Illyricum⁷⁶ and in the Eastern Mediterranean, from where it presumably influenced the mosaicists working in Carpathos.

NORTH AISLE AND NORTHWEST BAY

Only scant remains of mosaics are known from the north part of the basilica. Preserved in the northwest bay is the pattern of tangent octagons and crosses forming hexagons. The octagons are decorated with birds and vessels (figs. 25-27). The same pattern appears in the mosaics of the first layer of the south transept, where too the decorative conception is the same. The similarity not only with regard to the grid but also to the use of the octagon motifs, as well as the stylistic similarities between the two mosaics, generates the hypothesis that they belong to the same phase of decoration.

Certain mosaics uncovered in the north aisle of the basilica, and presently kept in the garden of the *Panagia tou Kastrou* in the Old City of Rhodes, also date to this phase. The composition on these consists of eight panels enclosing the following motifs (fig. 28):

⁶⁹ Balmelle et al., I, pl. 219f.

⁷⁰ In the basilica of the episcopal complex at Herakleia Lynkestis. See G. Cvetković-Tomašević, *Corpus des mosaïques paléobyzantines de pavement*, Fascicule no 1, *Mosaïques de pavement paléobyzantines dans le palais épiscopal à Hérakléa Lynkestis*, Beograd 2002, figs. 45-46.

⁷¹ For example, in a secular building at Olympos of Lycia (M. Öztaşkin, «Building with Mosaics of Olympos: Mosaics of Late Ancient Era - Early Byzantine Period», in Şahin, op.cit. (n. 38), 712, figs. 12-13), in the basilica at Kahlde-Choueifat in Lebanon, dated to the end of the 5th century (Chéhab, *Mosaïques*, op.cit. (n. 19) 110-111, pl. LXII, LXV.1; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, 364-365, 369, dr. 15), in the basilica Beit-Mery (Chéhab, op.cit., pl. CV, dr. 12; Donceel-Voûte, op.cit., 342-343, figs. 321, 327), in the Kafr Kama (north chapel) in Israel (R. and A. Ovadiah, *Mosaic Pavements*, op.cit. (n. 42), 88-89, pl. CI.3-4) and in the church of Khirbet ed-Deir in Jordan (R. Talgam, «The Mosaic Pavements», in Y. Hirschfeld (ed.), *The Early Byzantine Monastery at Khirbet ed-Dair in the Judean Desert: The Excavations in 1981-1987*, Qedem (Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 38), Jerusalem 1999, figs. 2-8. For similar examples from these regions, see P. Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «The Mosaic Pavements of the Aegean Islands during the Early Christian Period», *CorsiRav* 38 (1991), 37, n. 94; eadem, «Tell Amarna», 108-109, pls. 4.11, 4.12a, 4.14-4.15.

⁷² As in the basilica of St Stefan in Jordan (M. Piccirillo, *Chiese e mosaici di Madaba*, Jerusalem 1989, figs. on pp. 273 and 283; idem, *The Mosaics*, op.cit. (n. 52), fig. 383), the mosaics of which are dated to the 8th century.

⁷³ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, II, 128-129, pls. 197α-β, 198β, 199α-γ.

⁷⁴ G. Jacopich, *Edifici Bizantini di Scarpanto. Mosaici ed iscrizioni*, Rhodes 1925, 11-21, figs. 7-16; Pelekanides - Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, I, 58-59, pls. 19-20; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα των νησιών του Αιγαίου», in the present volume, pl. 44.

⁷⁵ In this mosaic the circles and the squares enclose geometric motifs. See Di Vita, *La basilica di Kapamà*, op.cit. (n. 38); De Matteis, *Mosaici*, pls. VIII-IX.

⁷⁶ E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou - M. Michaelides, *Η βασιλική της Αγίας Παρασκευής στην Κοζάνη. Παρατηρήσεις σε ένα μνημείο του β' μισού του 6^{ου} αι.*, Thessaloniki 2002, 16, figs. 28-30. See also, Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα των νησιών του Αιγαίου», in the present volume, 50-51.

intersecting circles forming quatrefoils, rectangle inscribed with four-point star motif, tangent circles defining concave squares, eight-petal rosette in a circle inscribed in square, adjacent imbrications, bands of stacked triangles in combination with a rectangular pattern of spaced swastika-meander with recessed reverse returns, intersecting circles, and in the last panel a square with loops and a sinusoid interlaced in a shaded band (fig. 29)⁷⁷. The border of the panels is decorated with a simple guilloche.

In conclusion, according to the photographic material and the limited data from the excavation daybook, the decorative phases of the mosaic pavements of the Chatziandreou basilica can be summarized as follows: the earliest mosaics of the fifth century are preserved fragmentarily in the narthex. The greater part of the decoration in the narthex, the mosaics of the first layer in the south transept, as well as the mosaics in the other spaces of the basilica, belong to the second building phase, which is associated with the earthquake in 515/16. The four-panel composition of the second layer in the transept is dated to the reign of Justinian. The mosaics of the basilica are an important body of material for studying tessellated pavements in the Aegean islands, because they fill in gaps in our knowledge of the artistic relations of the islands with the other regions of the Byzantine Empire. Rhodes, along with the rest of the Aegean islands, was not an artistic centre of the first order. Nevertheless, thanks to its strategic geographical location on the maritime trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean⁷⁸, it had the privilege of following current artistic developments taking place in the important centres of the period. As emerges from the foregoing examination, the place of the Chatziandreou basilica mosaics in the artistic production of the Eastern Mediterranean can be summarized as follows: the first and general conclusion is that the mosaics bear witness to the assimilation of the *koinē* of artistic expression with the domination of geometric decoration, which from the fourth century onwards exerted considerable influence on notable workshops of Syria, as well as of other major Eastern Mediterranean centres⁷⁹. It is characteristic that no human figure appears in the extant mosaics, while the few figurative motifs from the animal world do not interrupt the unity of the aniconic decoration. The preference for interlacing geometric patterns, the rendering of familiar geometric patterns in an imaginative way over the surface of the floor, the combination and the variety of the filling motifs, which create a vibrant colourful carpet, especially in the narthex, are traits of accomplished Syrian workshops, which created compositions of this kind in splendid monuments of the last quarter of the fourth century⁸⁰. As has been observed, the variety of motifs filling the geometric shapes making up the mosaic compositions of the second layer in the narthex and the first layer

⁷⁷ Balmelle et al., II, pl. 339a.

⁷⁸ For the involvement of Rhodes in commerce, see G. Deligiannakis, «The Economy of the Dodecanese in Late Antiquity», in Ch. Papageorgiadou-Banis - A. Giannikouri (eds.), *Sailing in the Aegean. Readings on the Economy and Trade Routes*, *Μελετήματα* 53, Athens 2008, 219-223; A. Katsioti, «Aspects of the Economic and Commercial Activity of Rhodes During Late Antiquity: The Case of Lamps», *ibid.*, esp. 194-196. See also, De Matteis, «The Mosaics of the Early Christian Basilicas», *op.cit.* (n. 38), 347-348.

⁷⁹ Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, «Tell Amarna», 117.

⁸⁰ The church at Kaoussie (387), the synagogue at Apameia (391/2) and the church at Khirbet Mûqa (394/5).

in the transept is typical mainly of Late Antique mosaics in both East and West⁸¹. These mosaics express common artistic conceptions, are dated to the sixth century and in all likelihood were made by the same workshop.

The second conclusion that emerges from study of the Chatziandreou basilica mosaics is that they attest the importance of local workshops constantly on the artistic alert, which enriched their repertoire with rare motifs that impart vitality and durability to their works, setting them off from the rest. Thus, it is shown that workshops active in Rhodes, as well as in other islands such as Cos, reproduced iconographic motifs directly from leading artistic centres of the Eastern Mediterranean, with which they were in constant contact, keeping abreast of developments in art⁸². In this way the mosaicists who worked in the «great basilica» of Rhodes made a significant contribution to the development of local production, which although not distinguished by the successful rendering of motifs, nonetheless sought out and used different and novel ones. This gives an insight into the inquiries and, in the end, the artistic personality of their provincial creators. The surviving mosaics from the Chatziandreou basilica form a small corpus displaying significant characteristics, which express the artistic trends and the relations between Rhodes and the wider Eastern Mediterranean region. Furthermore, they create by no means groundless expectation that future systematic research on the island will bring to light other important mosaics, so giving Rhodes a more important place in the production of tessellated pavements in this geographical area of exceptional artistic importance.

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⁸¹ Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, op.cit. (n. 53), 291-296, esp. 293; Donceel-Voûte, *Les pavements*, 261; Assimakopoulou-Atzaka, *Σύνταγμα*, III.1, 82 with further bibliography.

⁸² See also, B. Poulsen, «Identifying mosaic workshops in Late Antiquity: epigraphic evidence and case study», in T.M Kristensen - B. Poulsen (eds.), *Ateliers and Artisans in Roman Art and Archaeology, JRA Suppl. 92*, Portsmouth 2012, 129-144.



Fig. 1. The Chatziandreou plot at the junction of Cheimarras and Pavlou Mela streets



Fig. 2. South aisle (;) of the basilica. Mosaic pavement from the Roman period



Fig. 3. South-eastern part of the basilica. Mosaic pavement from the Roman period



Fig. 4. Narthex. General view from the south

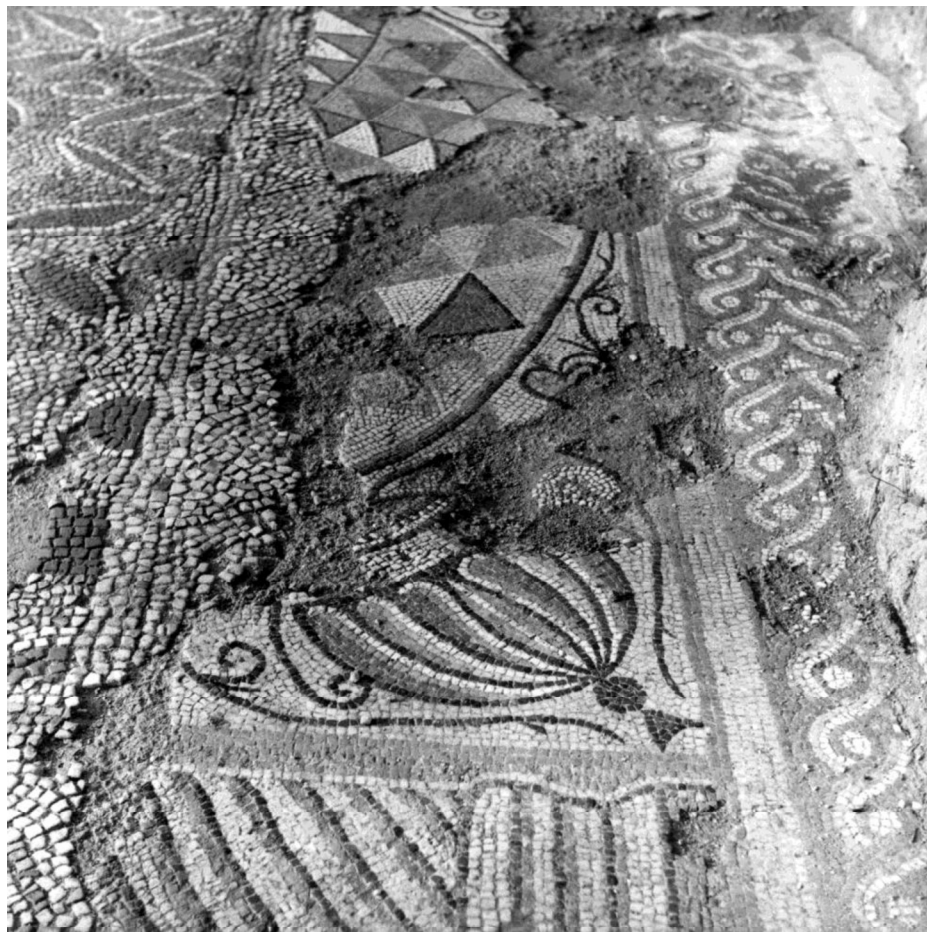


Fig. 5. Narthex, first phase. The motif of the shield of triangles



Fig. 6. Narthex. Detail from the mosaic of the first phase



Fig. 7. Narthex. The motif of peltae with the Solomon's knot of the first and second phase



Fig. 8. Narthex, northern part, second phase. Adjacent octagons



Fig. 9. Narthex, second phase. Poised tangent octagons



Fig. 10. Narthex, southern part, second phase. Tangent octagons with geometric motifs



Fig. 11. Detail of fig. 10



Fig. 12. Detail of fig. 10



Fig. 13. South of the narthex. Geometric motifs

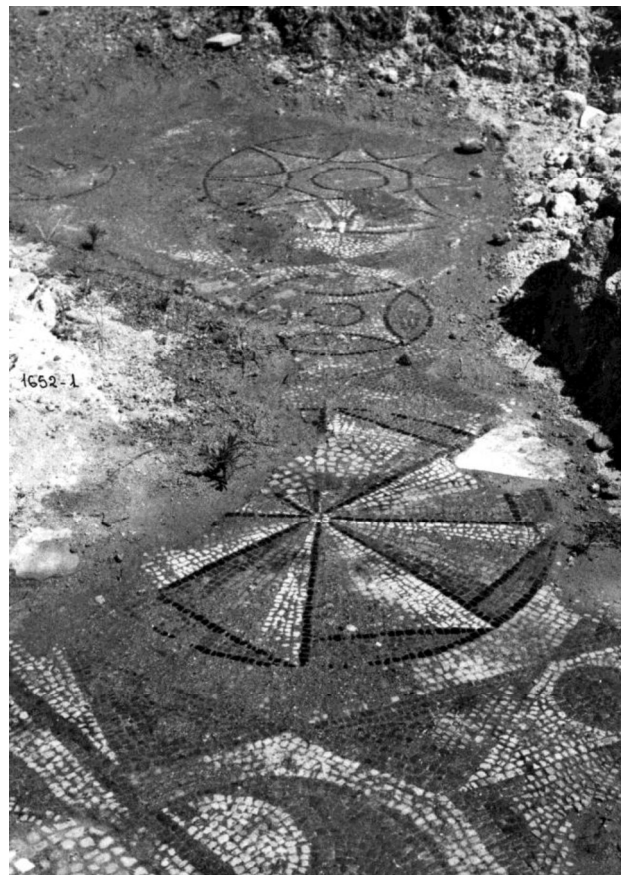


Fig. 14. South of the narthex. Geometric motifs

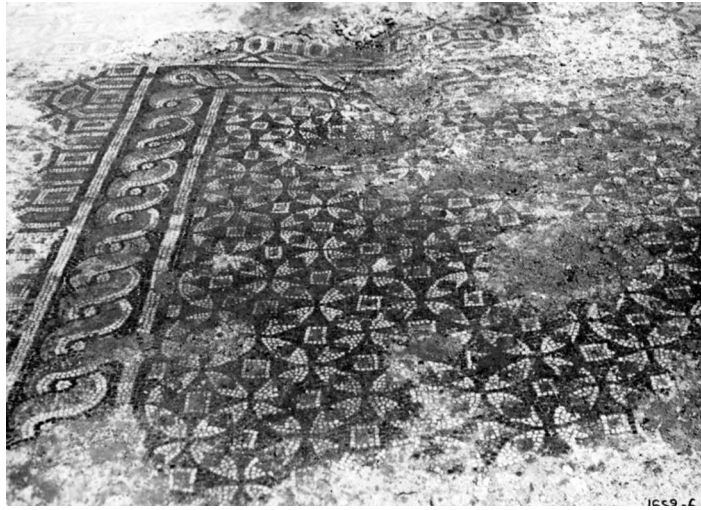


Fig. 15. South aisle. Intersecting circles forming quatrefoils

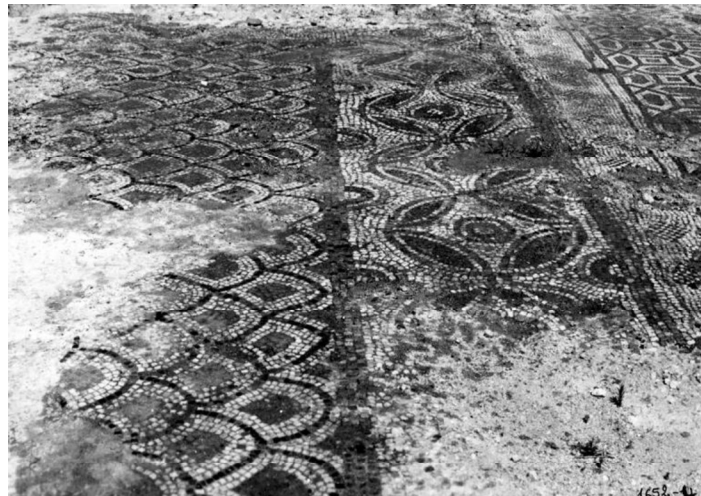


Fig. 16. South aisle. Geometric motifs



Fig. 17. South aisle. Geometric composition



Fig. 18. Eastern of the south aisle. Geometric composition



Fig. 19. South transept. The geometric composition of the first phase



Fig. 20. Detail of fig. 19



Fig. 21. South transept. The mosaic panels of the second phase



Fig. 22. South transept. Geometric motifs of the second phase



Fig. 23. Detail of fig. 22



Fig. 24. Southeast outbuilding. Interlooped circles and squares

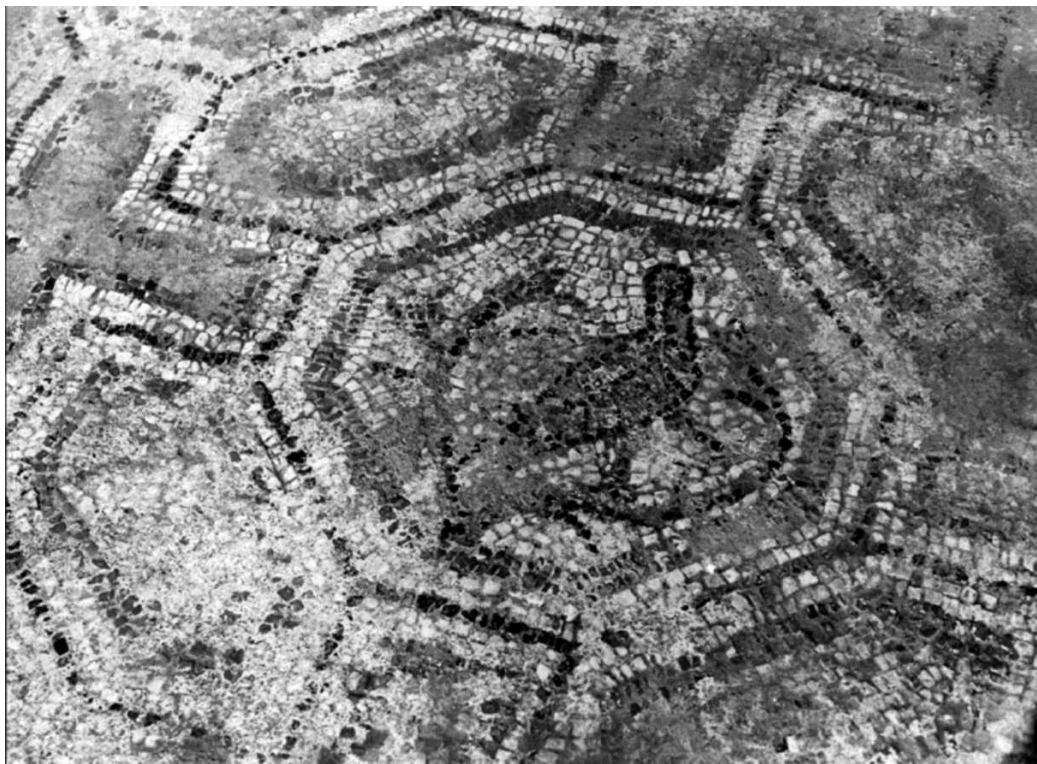


Fig. 25. Northwest bay. Tangent octagons and crosses forming hexagons



Fig. 26. Northwest bay. Tangent octagons and crosses forming hexagons



Fig. 27. Northwest bay. Tangent octagons and crosses forming hexagons



Fig. 28. Rhodes, Panagia tou Kastrou, mosaic panels from the north aisle(;)



Fig. 29. Detail of fig. 28