

Suzana Kasovska

**BETWEEN THE TRADITION AND INNOVATION:
CHRISTIAN FLOOR MOSAICS AT HERACLEA LYNCESTIS
FROM THE FOURTH TO THE SIXTH CENTURY**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

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(Macedonia)

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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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External Supervisor

I, the undersigned, **Suzana Kasovska**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2007

Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACIAC-Actes du Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne
AJA- American Journal of Archaeology
ArchIug-Archaeologia Iugoslavica
ArchRep-Archaeological Reports
ATTI-Atti dell' Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico
BCH-Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
CA-Cahiers Archéologiques
CMGR-La mosaïque gréco-romaine, Colloques internationale.
CORSI-Atti dei Corsi internazionali di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina
DACL-Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie
DOP-Dumbarton Oaks Papers
GZFzF-Godišen Zbornik na Filozofskiot Fakultet vo Skopje
LA-Liber Anuus
MAA-Macedoniae Acta Archaeologica
SAS-Studies of Antiquity of Stobi
ŽA- Živa Antika
ZRVI-Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

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INTRODUCTION

Mosaics are among the most remarkable elements of the decorative art from antiquity. Their origin can be traced back to the fifth century BC, and they were used during the whole medieval period. Mosaics are architectural parts of buildings, the relationship of the pavement to the room in which it is situated is an important criterion for interpreting the function of the room. As Kitzinger says: “to fulfill their purpose completely all future corpora should provide the possibility to study mosaics not only as patterns and panels, but also as functional parts of architectural organisms.”¹ I would add that the true meaning of the mosaics, at least in case of Heraclea, can be discovered not only by treatment of the mosaics as artistic pieces (as it has been until now), but also as a part of the architectural complex where they are situated. Written sources alone are not sufficient and often even they are lacking.

The period of the mosaics studied here is often referred to as Early Christian. The whole complex of Early Christian buildings at Heraclea Lyncestis represents a remarkable document on the origin and evolution of the early Christian art, especially seen in the conjunction of the architecture and mosaics in the period between the fourth and the sixth centuries. Architectonic elements are richly decorated with stone carvings as well as floor mosaics. The process of the transformation of small Christian temples into monumental representative basilicas can be seen in this city.

This thesis has two main aims: to present the whole corpus of mosaics from the classical city Heraclea Lyncestis and to draw attention to an approach that has rarely been used as much as other approaches in the study of the Early Christian mosaics. Using this approach I plan to examine the mosaics as a part of the

¹ Ernst Kitzinger, “Stylistic developments in pavement mosaics in the Greek east from the age of Constantine to the age of Justinian,” *CMGR* 1 (1963): 351.

architectural “organism” of the buildings where they are found. It is also important to analyze the patterns and the style of execution in the framework of the question of whether the mosaic patterns were part of the decorative or non-decorative (symbolic) elements of the mosaics. This distinction is not easy to make, since some of the patterns took on an iconographic function when put in a special context. For my research it is important to make a distinction between them, and to take into consideration only the symbolic images a task which is not easy.

The mosaics at Heraclea Lyncestis, as in the whole province of Macedonia Prima and Secunda, have rich figural subjects. Compositions consisting of a combination of animals, trees, plants, and geometric patterns can be seen on all fourteen mosaics in Heraclea. I will discuss these mosaics with special emphasis on those which served a particular function connected with the social and civic interests of those who commissioned them or with religious and supernatural purposes. The direct intervention of a patron is only occasionally documented explicitly, and a line can seldom be drawn clearly between the operation of workshop traditions and of specific commissions.

The study of mosaics allows several different approaches. Mosaics can be regarded as artisan works having decorative functions. On the other hand, they can be regarded also as constituent parts of the building, closely linked to their architectural context. A mosaic removed from its original setting loses its real functional meaning.

The approach I am using here is twofold. On the one hand, for some of the rooms (like the so-called Episcopal Palace) the function is not known yet, so through the iconography of the mosaics which are situated in these rooms I will try to discover the function of these rooms. On the other hand, the iconography of the images in the mosaics is very complex and sometimes it is difficult to find the meaning of the

image, but usually the depictions have their own meaning when put together in a scene with other depictions.

The first chapter is about the history of the classical city Heraclea Lyncestis, as well as the history of the excavation on this archaeological site. The aim of this chapter is to give a brief overview of this archaeological site. This chapter is not written to give new information about the history of Heraclea, but as an introduction to the city. The next chapter deals with the architectural settings where the mosaics were discovered. It consists of three parts; the first part of the chapter provides a detailed description of the buildings, the second an interpretation of them, and the last a general topographical view of the city. An architectural-functional analysis of these buildings is important for the iconographic analysis of the floor mosaics, because it is necessary to know what function may have been attached to the rooms where the mosaics were found. It is essential to understand first the symbolic meaning of the rooms, and then to connect them with the symbolic meaning of the images depicted on the mosaics. In this way, this analytical chapter is a kind of pre-condition for the analysis of the mosaics. The third chapter is the main chapter in this thesis. It deals with the functional and architectural context of the mosaics from three Christian monuments in Heraclea. This chapter presents the main aim of this thesis. The choice of studying mosaics in Heraclea with this functional approach is based on several elements. These mosaics have previously been studied by many scholars, but with other approaches. Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević² has written several books and

² [Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević] Гордана Цветковић-Томашевић, *Рановизантијски подни мозаици: Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир* (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics: Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus Novus) (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, Katedra za istoriju umjetnosti, 1978); idem., “Рановизантијски подни мозаици у Епископском двору у Хераклеји Линкестис” (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics in the Episcopal Building at Heraclea Lyncestis), *Korpus Ranovizantijskih podnih mozaika* 1 (2002): 8-90; idem., “Мозаикот на подот во нартексот на Големата базилика. Опис. Стил. Иконографија. Симболизам” (The Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex of the Large Basilica. Description. Style. Iconography), *Herakleja* 3 (1967): 1-64; idem., “L’art médiéval du cercle byzantin-descendant et héritier du courant monumental de l’art antique,

articles on these mosaics. Her approach has been mainly iconographic she was trying to find the meaning of the imagery depicted on the mosaics. By interpreting the mosaic in the *narthex* of the Large Basilica as a cosmos, she succeeded in the detecting the most important iconographical element among the early Christian elements in general. Another scholar dealing with the mosaics in Heraclea was Peco Srbinovski,³ who dealt mainly with their stylistic elements and origin, while putting them in narrower and wider chronological frames. Ruth Kolarik⁴ was the scholar who dealt with the stylistic elements of the mosaics and their chronology. The fields of study of these scholars were directed mainly to the iconography, style, and chronology, putting the mosaics in context of other mosaics in the Balkan Peninsula.

The methodology I am dealing with is comparative. Every image carries a different meaning in Early Christian art. Images depicted on the floors of the churches have their own meanings, which could be different in another architectural context. There are no written sources for the function of these mosaics. That is why I think that the approach I am using can reveal some insights regarding these mosaics, like why certain images are placed in a certain room, and can a connection be made between the images and the space where they are located. I think that this is an important question, since until now no one has taken such an approach to these mosaics.

aujourd`hui perdu,” *Archlug* 11 (1973): 83-97; idem., “ Mosaiques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis” *CMGR* 2 (1971): 385-393; idem., “Није ли загонетни знак, првобитно представљен на једном ранохришћанском мозику, био, можда, монофизитски? Иконографија мозаика на подовима три маририја из VI века“ (Is it the Mysterious Sign, depicted on one Floor Mosaic Monophysite?” The Iconography of the Floor Mosaics depicted on three Martyriums from Sixth Century), *Saopštenja* 29 (1997): 9-15.

³ Peco Srbinovski, “Les mosaïques de la Pélagonie Origine-techniques-datation,” *CMGR* 3 (1980): 119-132; idem., “Подните мозаици во Пелагонија, појава и техники” (The floor Mosaics in Pelagonija, Appearance and Technics), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 47-67.

⁴ Ruth E Kolarik, “Sixth-century Bishops as Patrons of Floor Mosaics in the Balkan Peninsula,” *CMGR* 9 (2005): 1255-1267; idem, “The Floor Mosaics of the Eastern Illyricum : The Northern Regions,” *ACIAC* 10, No. 1 (1984) : 445-479.

At the same time I must note that, in general, studies on the mosaics in Heraclea are twofold. Even though Heraclea was an episcopal seat and one of the largest cities in the province, and most of these mosaics are well preserved, no textual sources can be found for them. They can best be treated as artisan works in an architectural context. On the other hand, this approach can be dangerous since it could lead to the tendency to find a meaning in every possible room of the Christian buildings with every decoration placed there. As I have mentioned, mosaic decorations, figurative as well as non-figurative, have their own meanings, which were perceptible for the viewers. It is also an important question to analyze the patterns and the style of execution in the framework of whether these patterns are part of the decorative or non-decorative (symbolic) elements of the mosaics. This distinction is not easy to make, however, since the patterns can easily change their meaning according to the scene in which they appear. In this period the use of the images, especially the figural ones, is a problematic issue that raises many questions. One thing that all the scholars agree on is that these images were directly influenced by the Church Fathers. This approach is twofold, and requires a cautious approach not to generalizing the results obtained from the research. I will try to suggest answers to some of the questions posed around the issue of the architectural context of the mosaics in Heraclea Lyncestis. I think that these questions regarding the meaning of the images and their architectural context will never have final answers and explanations, since different approaches give different answers. Some of them will prove to be useful and some not.

The next chapter deals with style, workshops, influence, patrons and the chronology of the Heraclea mosaics. Stylistic elements are an important part of every research on mosaics. This research usually allows finding the particular school(s) or

workshop(s) in one city, but this does not seem to be the case with the mosaics in Heraclea. Tracing workshop(s) in Heraclea is a problematic issue. With the lack of the written evidence, one can trace the workshops only by stylistic attributions, and even still this is quite difficult. Influence is also an important issue for understanding how artists and mosaicists communicated between each other. It is important to realize how trends developed and how they were employed and adapted in local settings.

The dating of mosaics in general is a difficult issue. Usually the scholars dealing with mosaics avoid to giving absolute dates, since mosaics, as archaeological material, rarely give enough evidence for dating them definitively. That is why usually in the dating used is *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem*. This is the same with the chronology of the mosaics in Heraclea. They are put in a wider chronological frame and dated according to the stylistic elements that occur on them.

I. HISTORY

I.1. HISTORY OF HERACLEA LYNCESTIS

The Classical city of Heraclea Lyncestis (Ἡράκλεια λύγκου) was the main center in the Macedonian province Lyncestida. Its past can be traced back to the late Bronze Age. The city was mentioned in sources as a city that was built in 359⁵ by the Philip II as a strategic center on the northwestern border of the Macedonian province of Lyncestida. After the Roman conquest in 168 BC, Macedonia was turned into a Roman province and separated into four regions (*merida*), where Heraclea became a part of the fourth region.⁶

Heraclea was an important station on the Via Egnatia road. It was mentioned for the first time by Polibius as a station on this road. Because of its position, the city was exposed to Roman influence more than other cities in the province. Also, another road led through the city, with the route going via Stobi and Pautalia to Serdica and connecting the Vardar valley with the main communication artery in Macedonia. Therefore, Heraclea appears in all the itineraries from that time, *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Itinerarium Burdigalense* as a station on the Via Egnatia, in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, on the map of the geographer Ravenski, and also as a station on the Heraclea-Stobi road.

⁵ Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1998), vol. 5, 363. In the Macedonian scholarship there is a doubt about these sources, since some scholars believe that the city was built by Philip V and not by Philip II. For more on this see [Ivan Mikulčik] Иван Микулчик, *Антички градови во Македонија* (Antique towns in Macedonia) (Skopje: Makedonska Akademija, 2000), 40. Archaeological evidence revealed remains from only the period of Philip V, but recently ceramics from the period of Philip II were discovered under the mosaics in the Episcopal Palace. The reports from this excavation are still not published.

The next information on Heraclea in written sources appeared in Caesar's book *The Civil War*.⁷ After the Civil War the number of the Roman inhabitants rose, which led Heraclea to obtain the status of municipality.

The city reached the peak of its urban development during the first centuries after Christ, when it obtained the status of colony.⁸ In this period the Eastern Roman Empire was still a Roman country and its life was pervaded with Roman elements,⁹ but with new Christian meanings.

Heraclea in the Late Antique period became a bishopric.¹⁰ In the rich written sources its name is mentioned several times. The whole list of bishops is not known, but some of them are mentioned in sources from the ecumenical councils.¹¹ The first bishop mentioned in these sources is Archbishop "Euagrius a Macedonia de Heraclea Lynco" from the acts of the council held in Serdica in 347.¹² The epithet Lynco was used for this city during the whole Roman period. The next bishop to be mentioned in the ecumenical councils was Quintilus Heracleae episcopus Heracleae. He was mentioned twice on the lists of the councils, at Ephesus in 449 and at Chalcedon in 451. An unknown bishop from Heraclea is mentioned at the council in 479.

The last information found in the written sources for Heraclea is that from the acts of the Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 553. In these acts for the first

⁶ Fanula Papazoglu, *Makedonski gradovi u rimsko doba* (Macedonian Towns in the Roman Period) (Skopje: Filozofski Fakultet, 1957), 194. (Hereafter: Papazoglu, *Macedonian Towns in the Roman Period*.)

⁷ Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2000), vol. 5, 363.

⁸ Papazoglu, *Macedonian Towns in the Roman Period*, 191.

⁹ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 42.

¹⁰ Inscriptions from the early Christian period show information on the structure of the secular authority; the administrative apparatus became more and more similar to that of the Byzantine court bureaucracy, for more information see [Anica Georgievska and Vesna Kalpakovska] Аница Георгиевска и Весна Калпаковска, *Животот во Heraclea Lyncestis преку епиграфските споменици*, (The Life in the Heraclea Lyncestis seen through the Epigraphic Monuments) (Bitola: Zavod za zastita na spomenicite, Muzej i Galerija-Bitola, 2001), 137. (Hereafter : Georgievska and Kalpakovska, *Epigraphic Monuments*.)

¹¹ See E. Honigman, "Neronias-Irenopolis in Eastern Cilicia" *Byzantion* 20 (1950): 356.

time Heraclea is mentioned with the epithet *Pelagoniae*, and not *Lynci*, as had been done until then. Among the members of this council was also *Benignus ep. Heracleotanae civitatis quae est primae Macedoniae*, who in another place is noted as *Benignus ep. Heracleae Pelagoniae*.¹³ The bishop of Heraclea was the head of the delegation from the province of Macedonia because of the absence of the bishop from Thessaloniki, who was usually absent from the councils owing to delicate quarrels.¹⁴ The fact that the bishop from Heraclea (at the councils at Ephesus and Constantinople) was twice the official of the archbishop of Thessaloniki shows that Heracela was one of the main bishop's sees in Macedonia Prima province. The last bishop mentioned in the ecumenical acts is Ioannes in 561. The name of the last bishop can be found on the fountain next to the theatre.¹⁵

The period from the end of the third century to the middle of the fourth century was a time of frequent barbarian assaults. After this warring period, there was a period of peace. In the fifth century Heraclea is mentioned in the sources in connection with the Eastern Goths' invasion of Iliric. In 472 Tiudimer came to Iliric and plundered the area between Naissus (Dardanie), Thessaloniki, and Larisa (Thessaly). Heraclea was one of the cities plundered during this invasion.¹⁶ Several years later, in 479, Theodoric came to Iliri, destroyed Stobi, and came to Heraclea. He did not destroy Heraclea immediately, because the bishop of Heraclea sent him many

¹² All the names are taken from the book of Fanula Papazoglu, because of the inaccessibility of the book of Lequien, *Oriens Christiana*.

¹³ It was written Pelagoniae to avoid misunderstanding, since the most famous and respected Heraclea was the Thracian Heraclea. Benignus marked his city more precisely on this list.

¹⁴ Charles Pietri, "La géographie de l'Illyricum ecclésiastique," in Collection de l'école Française de Rome 234 and *Christiana Respublica. Éléments d'une enquête sur le christianisme antique*, 1 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997): 578. (Hereafter: Pietri, "La géographie de l'Illyricum ecclésiastique."). He refused to participate in the council, with the exception of the provincial of Gortyne.

¹⁵ Georgievskia and Kalpakovska, *Epigraphic Monuments*, 87.

¹⁶ [Papazoglu, Fanula] Папазоглу, Фанула. "Хераклеја Линкестидска во светлината на книжевните и епиграфските текстови" (Heraclea Lincestis in the Light of Literary and Epigraphic Texts) *Heraclea* 1 (1961): 25. (Hereafter: Papazoglu, "Heraclea Lyncestis in the Light.")

different gifts. Theodoric stayed in Heraclea with his army, and buried one of his sisters there, who died during this stay. Later he decided to base his army at Dyrrachium and again asked the city for food and wine;¹⁷ when the inhabitants refused this request, he plundered and burned the city.¹⁸ After these invasions the city entered into a period of great prosperity again, however, it did not enjoy it for long. The invasions of the Avars and Slavs from the end of the sixth century to the beginning of the seventh century interrupted the urban life of the city forever.¹⁹

In the next centuries Heraclea was inhabited by Slavs and Avars.²⁰ Archaeological remains give evidence for their way of life. Their houses, made of stone and clay, demonstrate their rural way of life.²¹ Later, Heraclea was covered with dust and forgotten until the first archaeological excavations.

I.2. HISTORY OF THE EXCAVATION

Scholarly interest in Heraclea Lyncestis started in the first half of the twenty century. Rich written sources for this city, give evidence that the city was an important center in the *provincia* Macedonia Prima during the first centuries A. D. The first to identify the place of this Classical city was the scholar Fanula Papazoglu.²² Since no excavations had been done, she identified the site according to the written evidence and with the help of the epigraphic monuments found on the site.

¹⁷ Papazoglu, *Heraclea Lyncestis in the Light*, 25.

¹⁸ Idem., *Macedonian Towns in the Roman Period*, 193.

¹⁹ This can be seen especially from the archeological remains, where poor buildings made of stone and clay were erected above the theatre and the public buildings in the center of the city.

²⁰ For more on this see [Ivan Mikulčić] Иван Микулчиќ, “Барвари во Македонија во Доцната Антика” (Barbarians in Macedonia in Late Antiquity), *GZFF* 48 (1995): 249-253.

²¹ [Tome Janakievski], Томе Јанакиевски, *Микростанбена целина над античкиот театар во Хераклеја Линкестис* (Mikrouurban Complex above the Antique Theatre at Heraclea Lyncestis) (Bitola: Zavod za zastita na spomenicite, Muzej i Galerija-Bitola, 2000), 56.

²² [Fanula Papazoglu] Фанула Папазоглу, “Хераклеја и Пелагонија” (Heraclea and Pelagonia), *ŽA* 4 (1954): 308-347; idem., “Heraclea Lyncestis in the Light,” 7-34; idem., *Macedonian Towns in the Roman Period*.

Excavations at the site (called Siva Voda) started in the 1930s. Miodrag Grbić²³ directed the first excavation from 1936 until 1938. He discovered two Christian buildings, the Small Basilica and the Large Basilica, which was only partially uncovered, which he interpreted as a palace.

Excavations continued after the Second World War, from 1959 until 1972, under the direction of Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević.²⁴ During these excavations the whole Large Basilica was uncovered, and part of the Episcopal Palace.²⁵ After this excavation, from 1972 until 1974, the project turned to the conservation of the mosaics found in situ

At the same time there were excavations on the theatre, directing by Tome Janakievski.²⁶ Above the theatre was a small micro-urban structure consisting of houses made of stone and clay. After the excavation, these houses were removed, and the theatre was conserved. Other scholars, who excavated in Heraclea are Peco Srbinovski²⁷ and Elica Maneva.²⁸

²³ [Miodrag Grbić] Миодраг Грбић, “Откопавање у Хераклеји” (The Excavation at Heraclea), *Umetnički pregled* 8 (1939): 231-235; idem., “Ausgrabungen in Heraclea Lyncestis bei Bitolj in Subserbien,” Bericht Über den VI. Int. Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin (1940): 180-181; [Gjorgje Stričević] Ѓорѓе Стричевиќ, “Архолошките ископувања во Хераклеја Линкестидска 1936-1938” (The archaeological Exavations at Heraclea Lyncestis 1936-1938), *Herakleja* 1 (1961): 35-42; [Milka Čanak- Medić] Милка Чанак- Медик, “Ансамбл на базилика А од рановизантискиот период” (The Ansambl from the Basilica A from the Early Byzantine Period), *Herakleja* 2 (1965): 35-61.

²⁴ [Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević] Гордана Цветковић- Томашевић, “Рановизантијски подни мозаици у Епископском двору у Хераклеји Линкестис” (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics in the Episcopal Building at Heraclea Lyncestis), *Korpus Ranovizantijskih podnih mozaika* 1 (2002): 8-90 ; idem., “Мозаикот на подот во нартексот на Големата базилика. Опис. Стил. Иконографија. Симболизам” (The Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex of the Large Basilica. Description. Style. Iconography), *Herakleja* 3 (1967): 1-64; idem., “L’art médiéval du cercle byzantin-descendant et héritier du courant monumental de l’art antique, aujourd’hui perdu,” *ArchIug* 11 (1973): 83-97; idem., “Partie occidentale de la grande basilique et résidence épiscopale/monastère à Héraclée Lynkestis. Certains résultats des travaux de recherche, de conservation et de restauration,” *Saopštenja* 30 (2000): 21-33.

²⁵ Unfortunately, because of unresolved property problems, the entire Episcopal Court cannot be uncovered.

²⁶ [Tome Janakievski] Томе Јанакиевски. *Антички театри во Македонија* (Antique Theatres in Macedonia) (Bitola: Zavod, Muzej i Galerija-Bitola, 2000); idem., *Театар* (Theatar) (Bitola: Zavod, Muzej i Galerija-Bitola, 1987); idem., *Микроустанбена целина над античкиот театар во Хераклеја Линкестис* (Mikrouurban Complex above the Antique Theatre at Heraclea Lyncestis) (Bitola: Zavod za zastita na spomenicite, Muzej i Galerija-Bitola, 2000).

²⁷ [Peco Srbinovski] Пецо Србиновски, “Резултати од ископувањата во 1976 година”(Reports from the Excavations in 1976), *МАН* 5 (1979): 99-111.

Beside these buildings the public baths and the main square have also been uncovered at Heraclea. According to the epigraphic monuments in Heraclea, many other buildings have yet to be uncovered, like the curia, gymnasion, and other basilicas. Because of unresolved property problems, however, at the present time excavations are going on only in the main centre at the site.

Thus, until the present time the buildings excavated at Heraclea from the Early Christian period are the Small Basilica, the Large Basilica, and the Episcopal Court, all of which have well-preserved mosaic floors.

²⁸ [Elica Maneva] Елица Манева, "Доцнежноаретинска сигилата од Хераклеја" (Late sigilata from Heraclea), *МАН* 3 (1997): 67-77; idem., "Базилика Де од Хераклеја Линкестис" (The Basilica D from Heraclea Lyncestis). *Lihnid, Zbornik na Trudovi* 7 (1989): 51-65; idem., "Некропола од крајот на антиката од Хераклеја Линкестис," (The Necropolis from the End of the Antique period at Heraclea) *МАН* 10 (1985-86): 161-181; idem., "Резултати од заштитните ископувања extra muros во Хераклеја "(Reports from the protect excavations extra muros at Heraclea), *МАН* 7-8 (1981-82): 125-141.

CHAPTER TWO

II. CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS AT HERACLEA

The prosperity of the city Heraclea was due to its strategic location. Placed on two very important roads, the city`s develop rapidly in the Late Antiquity. The wealth of the citizens, and especially of the Christian community can be seen through the Christian monuments, who receive mosaic decoration, which was considered as expensive art.

The fifth and sixth centuries were marked by an upsurge of building activity in the eastern provinces.²⁹ This was true for Heraclea, because during this period three ensembles of buildings were built or rebuilt.³⁰ They are all placed one next to other and were in use at the same time. This means that Heraclea followed the example of other large, urbanized Byzantine centers, where large complexes were built at the same time one next to other with one principal basilica, usually a second one attached to the first, a baptistery, chapel, residence of the bishop and baths.³¹ There was always a problem with space in the masses in Rome during the reign of Constantine;³² that is why churches were enlarged.³³ In Heraclea the Small Basilica was enlarged, and later the Large Basilica was built. From among the ancient buildings, only baths and theatres were maintained.³⁴ In Heraclea, the baths were used until the sixth century³⁵

²⁹ Cyril A Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), 20. (Hereafter: Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*.)

³⁰ These are the buildings which have been excavated until the present time. The Episcopal Court is not yet entirely excavated, although the remains of other buildings were discovered in its western part. The results of these control excavations are still unpublished.

³¹ See Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 44.

³² Pietri, "La géographie de l'Illyricum ecclésiastique," 234.

³³ *Ibid.*, 32.

³⁴ Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 44.

³⁵ [Anica Gjorgjievska] Аница Ѓорѓиевска, *Хераклеја Линкестис, Водич* (Heraclea Lyncestis, Guide) (Bitola: Zavod, Muzej i Galerija-Bitola, 1998), 8.

and the theatre until the fourth century.³⁶ This means that the antique plan of the city was taken over by ecclesiastical establishments. According to the architectural and landscape position of the buildings, one can assume that the main building activity during these centuries was direct toward Christian public architecture

At the same time, it demonstrates that this city had a high level of culture and must have been an important ecclesiastical center which followed the main trends of larger cities. This further argues that Heraclea not only followed the main examples of the large cities in the Byzantine Empire, but at the same time the process of Christianity took root deeply in this city during Late Antiquity.

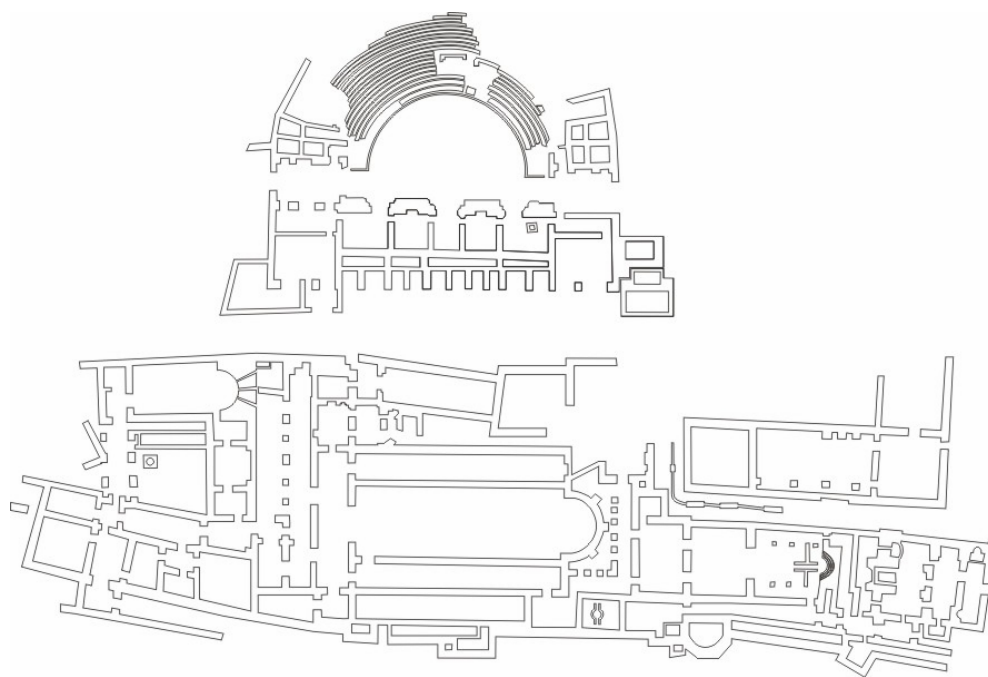


Figure 1

Plan of Heraclea Lyncestis

³⁶ See [Tome Janakievski] Томе Јанакиевски, *Театар* (Theatre) (Bitola: Zavod, Muzej i Galerija, 1987), 68 ; idem., *Антички Театри во Република Македонија* (Antique Theatres in Republic of

II.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS

II.1.1. The Small Basilica

The Small Basilica is a three-aisled basilica that comprises a nave and two aisles, with a *narthex* and *exonarthex* on the western side. It has an apse to the east, which has a round *subsellium* with three-rows and an outer rectangle on the inner side. The apse is decorated with a mosaic, *opus sectile*, and separated by a marble partition; the side naves are floored with bricks. Sculptured chancel slabs, pillars and capitals of various dates were found here;³⁷ many of which disappeared after the excavation.³⁸

The nave is divided into three naves by two colonnades. The dimensions of the nave are 10.85 m. in width and 9.83 m. in length. Two rooms west of the nave are in unusual positions in relation to the nave. The walls of the basilica on the western side were supported on the construction of the first, older, basilica, a Roman square room, which was included in the early Christian ensemble. The sides of this room are 10 m long. Circular pool (*piscina*) with a fountain were found in the centre of this room with a marble pipe (*phiale*) where the water ran out. The walls of this room were made of stones and mortar, 90 cm thick.

The floor of this room was covered with large marble tiles (about 20 cm square), traces of which are preserved only in the concrete floor bedding and a few small fragments in the corners of the room along the walls. From this room a tripartite entry led to the nave. Another room was added west of this room and that forms the

Macedonia) (Bitola: Zavod za zastita na spomenicite na kulturata, prirodnite retkosti, muzej i galerija-Bitola, 1998), 161.

³⁷ Ralph F. Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches in Macedonia and Southern Serbia: A Study of its Origins and the Development of East Christian Art*. (London: Macmillan, 1963), 160. (Hereafter: Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*.)

³⁸ The capitals disappeared due to neglect after the excavation.

end of this row of three rooms. This room was floored with a network of rectangular spaces covered with mosaic in *opus tessellatum*. In the middle of this room there is a channel, made of bricks, that leads to the first room. The walls of this room, 75 cm thick, are also made of stone and mortar.

II.1.2. The Large Basilica

The Large Basilica is a 36 m-long three-aisled basilica. It has an apse, semicircular inside and outside, supported by three buttresses, similar to those of the Basilica Extra Muros at Philippi.³⁹ It has a *narthex*, *exonarthex*, and portico on the western side. All nine rooms are floored with mosaics in *opus tessellatum*. There are two entrances into the *narthex*, and one entrance from the *narthex* into the nave, as well as one each into both aisles.

Southeast of the nave there is a *catechumenium*, which communicated with both the nave and the outside. It is a square room, decorated with mosaic in *opus tessellatum*. A baptistery (*baptisterium*) is placed next to the *catechumenium*. It is a square room with a round pool (*piscina*) in the middle, with stairs on the south and north side. It is also decorated with mosaics in *opus tessellatum*.

Basis (*stylobates*) carrying colonnades separated the nave from the aisles, but not effectively. The basis are too badly damaged to determine the position of the columns.⁴⁰ On the west of the north side of the basilica there is a chapel (*memoria*) with an entrance hall (*vestibulum*).

³⁹ Hoddinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 160.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 159.

During the conservation of the mosaics on the floor of the nave, archaeological excavations were made on the surface below the floor.⁴¹ At that time constructions of walls made of stones and mortar (ascribed to Gothic settlers)⁴² were discovered superimposed over the north basis of the Roman civil basilica. The south basis of the Roman civil basilica, however, had not been disturbed and the south basis of the early Christian basilica was erected above the Roman one. The Roman basilica is dated to the second century according to the number and appearance of the marble pilasters.⁴³

II.1.3. The Episcopal Palace

A large part of the Episcopal Court has been excavated, but not the western part. The court is surrounded by walls, which are excavated only on the eastern side. The walls differ in thickness; the wall on the north side is 90 cm wide, it was used partly as support against the slope. On the south side the wall was 2 m. wide and served as part of the city wall. On the south, the wall turns some 15 degrees to the north, and because of that the base of the court is trapezoidal.

There are two entries in the excavated part of the court. In the inner part of the Episcopal Court on the north side is a room with apses and a *narthex*, on the eastern side there is a row of four rooms, on the south side there is row with five rooms, and in front of them there is a hall. In the western part of this court, which is still not completely excavated, there are a few rooms with a different orientation and a portico with two rows of columns in front of them. In the middle of this court there is an

⁴¹ For these excavations see [Gordana Cvetković- Tomašević] Гордана Цветковић- Томашевић, *Хераклеја Линкестис* (Heraclea Lyncestis). (Bitola: Zavod, Muzej i Galerija-Bitola 1973), 36-39. (Hereafter: Cvetković, *Heraclea Lyncestis*.)

⁴¹ Hodinott, *Early Byzantine Churches*, 160.

⁴² Tiles, made of marble were laid above the Roman basilica, so the both, the layers of the Roman and early Christian basilica, can be seen.

atrium with a trapezoid plan; in the middle a well with a cylindrical marble wellhead was excavated. The atrium has access only from the western side, which is the side of the portico.

The first room of this ensemble is 11.40 m long and 7.50 m wide, a rectangular nave with an apse on the eastern side. The apse, 19 m², is semicircular on the inside and rectangular on the exterior. The nave of this room is rectangular and ends on the eastern side with an apse, a half circle from the inside and rectangular from the outside. Inside the room on the north wall, a basin was found, interpreted as being used for washing the hands.

The second room is a 4.80 m. x 6.90 m., rectangular, with a large niche on the eastern wall. The mosaic floor in this room is on the same ground level as the Large Basilica. During the excavation of this room many pieces of fresco in different colors were found; parts of the Greek letters, white on a red background, remained on many of them.⁴⁴

The third room is rectangular, 5.50 m long and of 4.78m wide, 26.30 m² in area. The mosaic floor in this room is only 15 cm above the level of the mosaic floor in the second room, which means that it is at the same level as the Large Basilica. The fourth room has a trapezoidal form because the oblique south wall of the city serves as its south wall. Its dimensions are: 8.30 m long and 7.50 m wide.

All four rooms of the eastern part, the first and second room and the two rooms with stairs, are on the same level as the Large Basilica, which is 1 to 2 m below the level of the rest of the Episcopal Court. This confirms stratigraphically that the

⁴³ Cvetković, *Heraclea Lyncestis*, 32.

⁴⁴ Only one larger piece of fresco survived, representing the head of a man, depicted enface, with big, round eyes and a Phrygian-chequered hat.

second room was built before the Episcopal Court and that it was a part of the Large Basilica before the erection of the Episcopal Court.⁴⁵

II.2. INTERPRETATION OF THE BUILDINGS

II.2.1. The Small Basilica

In the Early Christian period the basilica was used frequently in church architecture in the Balkans from the fourth to the sixth century. In this form of church architecture there was a tendency proportion of the nave to the aisles to be 2:1.⁴⁶ In the Heraclea Small Basilica the proportion of the width of the nave to the aisles is 2.5:1. This means that the proportions of this basilica were not made according to the early tendency of Christian architecture.

This basilica was probably built above the local *martyrium*.⁴⁷ During the excavation of this part of the basilica two marble fragments were found, one in the portico and the other inside the basilica;⁴⁸ they perhaps a part of the *signa mensae martyrium*.⁴⁹ They may have served as grave tiles for the funeral meal (*agape*), celebrated on the anniversary of the martyr's death or "heavenly birthday."⁵⁰ The two

⁴⁵ [Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević] Гордана Цветковић-Томашевић, "Рановизантијски подни мозаици у Епископском двору у Хераклеји Линкестис" (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics in the Episcopal Court at Heraclea Lyncestis), *Korpus Ranovizantijskih podnih mozaika* 1 (2002): 36. (Hereafter: Cvetković, "Mosaics in the Episcopal Court".)

⁴⁶ Paul Lemerle, *Phlippes et la Macédoine Orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine: Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie*. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 158 (Paris: Boccard, 1945), 345.

⁴⁷ [Blaga Aleksova] Блага Алексова, *Loca sanctorum Macedoniae. Култот на мартирите од IV до IX век* (Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae. The Cult of the Martyrs from the fourth to ninth century) (Skopje: Matica Makedonska, 1994), 213. (Hereafter: Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae*.)

⁴⁸ [Milka Čanak-Medić] Милка Чанак-Медић, "Ансамбл на базиликата А од рановизантискиот период" (The Ensemble from Basilica A from the Early Byzantine period), *Heracleja* 2 (1965): 55. (Hereafter: Čanak, "The Ensemble from the Basilica A.")

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁵⁰ Paul Albert Février, "À propos du repas funéraire: culte et sociabilité," *CA* 26 (1977): 29-45. See also *DACL*, 1, vol. 1 (1907), 440-452.

mensae do not date from the same period; one may have replaced the other when the church was altered.⁵¹

The first room (*narthex*) has been interpreted as a baptistery because of the remains of a pool (piscine) with a pipe (*phiale*)⁵² which were found in the center. *Phialai* usually stood inside the church *narthex* or in the western part of the nave.⁵³ A *phiale* was used during the feast of the Epiphany for blessing the holy water.⁵⁴

According to Aleksova, the ensemble of the Small Basilica was the old *martyrium*.⁵⁵ She argues this based on the fragments of altar tables (*mensae martyrium*) that were found in the basilica, which she connects with an old building of the *oratorium* belonging to a previous building phase. Later, the west room was arranged as a baptistery, while the eastern part of the church served as the *martyrium*. A bench (*subsellium*) found in the altar space, is a common architectural element in many churches' *martyria*. Many churches originally dedicated to martyrs or their relics later became urban and episcopal churches. This was the usual practice in churches in Constantinople, as well as in other provinces, and in early Christian churches in Macedonia.⁵⁶ Other examples are the Episcopal Basilica of Eustathius from the end of the fourth century in Stobi⁵⁷ and the cemetery basilica St. Erasmus near Lihnid.⁵⁸

⁵¹ There was an prohibition by the church on setting more than one altar in one church. This inprohibition lasted until the end of the sixth century.

⁵²[Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević] Гордана Цветковић-Томашевић, *Рановизантијски подни мозаици: Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир* (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics: Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus Novus) (Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, Katedra za istoriju umjetnosti, 1978), 30. (Hereafter: Cvetković, *The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics*.)

⁵³ Natalia B Teterniakov, "The Liturgical Planning of the Byzantine Churches in Cappadocia," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 252 (1996): 95. (Hereafter: Teterniakov, *The Liturgical Planning of the Byzantine Churches*.)

⁵⁴ See *DACL*, 382-469.

⁵⁵ Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae*, 214.

⁵⁶ Ivan Mikulčić, "Frühchristlicher Kirchenbau in der S. R. Makedonien," *CORSI* 33 (1986): 232.

⁵⁷ Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae*, 213.

⁵⁸ [Vlado Malenko] Вlado Маленко, "Св. Еразмо" (St. Erasmus), *Lihnid* 7 (1989): 6.

The unusual position of the baptistery and the church is determined by the remains of the old antique buildings on this space. As excavations have shown, later it was rearranged inside and a new arrangement of the rooms was established according to their function.⁵⁹

Thus, it seems that during the middle of the sixth century the Small Basilica was completely separated from the other episcopal buildings and would have been only for public use. An annex was built in front of the baptistery and the portico was opened for the new use of the room. The Large Basilica took on the function of the episcopal church and became the new cathedral of the city.

This church functioned from the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the sixth century.⁶⁰

II.2.2. The Large Basilica

The *narthex* of this basilica has the same length as the width of all three naves. It is the same with the basilica in Studenčišta, Lihnid.⁶¹ This feature is very common for sixth-century basilicas in the Balkans.

The placement of the *narthex* on the west side of the nave is standard in Byzantine church architecture.⁶² The liturgical functions of the *narthex* and porch were connected with the daily rites and devotional needs of the clergy and laity. The *narthex* or porch was the first place where every Christian prayed before entering the

⁵⁹ Aleksova, *Loca Sanctorum Macedoniae*, 214.

⁶⁰ [Gjorgje Stričević] Ѓорѓе Стричевиќ, “Архолошките ископувања во Хераклеја Линкестидска 1936-1938” (The archaeological excavations at Heraclea Lyncestis 1936-1938), *Herakleja* 1 (1961): 39. There is another dating of this basilica, according to the architectural carved decorations, found during the excavations inside the church, it was dated even earlier, end of the third century. See more [Ivanka Nikolaević-Stojković] Иванка Николаевић –Стојковић, *Рановизантиска декоративна пластика у Македонију, Србију и Црној Гори* (Early Byzantine Decorative Plastics in Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro) (Beograd: Stampa, 1957), 40-43.

⁶¹ [Vera Bitrakova-Grozdanova], Вера Битракова-Грозданова, *Старохристијански споменици во охридско* (Early Christian Monuments from the Ohrid region) (Ohrid: Narodni muzej, 1975), 68. (Hereafter: Bitrakova, *The Early Christian Monuments*.)

church.⁶³ A mosaic in *opus tessellatum* (discussed below) shows that this part of the church was important. The artist depicted this scene with great care and precision.⁶⁴ There are two entrances into the *narthex*, which perhaps reveal a difference in social classification.

There is one entrance from the *narthex* into the nave, and one each into both aisles. This means perhaps that different social ranks of people stood there during the liturgy.⁶⁵ That the aisles had their own exit doors means that they could be vacated without disturbing the congregation in the nave. The barrier separating the aisles from the nave, but not effectively, could be explained by this usage.

Early Christian churches in the Balkans before the time of Justinian were presumably basilicas with a single apse at the eastern end. No side rooms near the central apse are found in these churches.⁶⁶ This is not the case, however, with the Large Basilica, where there is a baptistery with a *catechumenium*⁶⁷ in the eastern part of the southeastern end of the basilica.

In the fourth century the *diakonikon*⁶⁸ was situated near the chancel⁶⁹ and was also the place where the faithful deposited their offerings. It is unknown whether or not at the time the species of the Eucharist chosen from among these offerings were prepared in a special ceremony before being brought to the altar; if so, the preparation took place in the *diakonikon*, which also served as the *prothesis*. This is not the case

⁶² Teteraitnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of the Byzantine Churches*, 145.

⁶³ It is the same in the Orthodox church today.

⁶⁴ This will be discussed in the third chapter.

⁶⁵ Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of the Byzantine Churches*, 125-126.

⁶⁶ See Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (London: Pennsylvania University Press & London, 1977), 11-41.

⁶⁷ A *catechumenium* was the place particularly created for the catechumens and penitents. They could see only the first part of the Mass, and for the second one they were sheltered in *catechumenium*, from where they could only hear the Mass. See "Catéchumène-catéchumènat," in *DACL*, vol. 2 (1910), 2580-2622.

⁶⁸ In Byzantine usage, by the eighth century the Gospels were kept in the *diakonikon*, the south room adjoining the chancel (the part of a church near the altar, where the priests and the choir sit during services). See "Diaconicum," in *DACL* 4 (1920), 734-735.

⁶⁹ Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 298.

with the Large Basilica at Heraclea where the *diakonikon* was not placed near the chancel, but on the southern side of the narthex. It followed the Early Christian regulations written in the *Testamentum Domini*, that the church should have three entrances and the *diakonikon* should be located to the right of the right entrance.

⁷⁰Until the sixth century, the *diakonikon* can be found on the western side of the nave, i.e., right or left of the *narthex* or atrium.⁷¹ In the sixth century, with the development of the liturgy, the location of the *diakonikon* changed to be situated closer to the altar.⁷² This tendency was not strictly followed, however, because examples can be found where it is situated on the north side of the narthex, like in the Large Basilica at Heraclea, the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi⁷³ and the polyconch church at Lihnid.⁷⁴

There was a tendency for the Early Christian baptisteries in Balkans to be erected on the north side (in some cases, however, also on the west or south) of the church. But, baptisteries erected on the south side of the church as is the case with the Large Basilica at Heraclea, can also be found in Lihnid.⁷⁵ This means that even though there was a tendency for the position of the baptisteries in basilicas, it was not always followed. The baptistery in Heraclea has a square plan. In the Eastern Illyric the baptisteries are usually cross shaped, but rarely may have a round form.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Joseph Patrich, "The Transfer of Gifts in the Early Christian Churches of Palestine: Archaeological and Literary Evidence for the Evolution of the "Great Entrance," in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'antiquité et le moyen âge*, (Paris: Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2006): 351.

⁷¹ Gordana Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines* (Paris : Klincksieck, 1969), 168.

⁷² [Đorđe Stričević] Ђорђе Стричевић, "Баконикон и протезис у ранохришћанским црквама" (The diakonium and prothesis in the early Christian churches), *Starinar* 4-5 (1958/59): 63.

⁷³ [Đorđe Mano-Zisi] Ђорђе Мано-Зиси, "Ископавања у Стобима 1934 године" (The Archaeological Excavations in Stobi in 1934), *Starinar* 10-11 (1935/36): 112.

⁷⁴ [Dimče Koco] Димче Коцо, "Археолошки ископувања во Охрид од 1959-1964 година" (The Archaeological Excavations in Ohrid from 1959-1964), *GZFF* 20 (1968): 234.

⁷⁵ Bitrakova, *The Early Christian Monuments*, 30.

⁷⁶ Like the baptistery in Basilica A in Teba, the basilica in Epidauros, the octogon in Philippi, see [Ivanka Nikolajević] Иванка Николјевић "Ранохришћанске крстионице у Југославији" (The Early Christian Baptisteries in Yugoslavia), *ZRVI* 9 (1966): 226; and A. Khatchatrian, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris: Imprimeur Nationale, 1962), 418.

The rooms on the north side were interpreted as a chapel and the room that is situated north of the *narthex* and west of the chapel as an annex of the chapel. In Early and Middle Byzantine times porches and *narthexes*, as well as the places near them, were used for burials.⁷⁷ This means that Heraclea followed the examples of other Byzantine church plans, since the chapel is placed near the *narthex*.

According to one depiction of a mysterious sign on the neck of the vase (*kantharos*) depicted on a floor mosaic, this room has also been interpreted as *martyrium* 1.⁷⁸ Tomašević argues that this sign is not a monogram nor a cryptogram nor a sigla, but a symbol of some Monophysite belief. Her reconstruction is that after the fall of the Monophysites in 519, the sign was made into a cross and at the same time relics were brought to *martyrium* 2, which is situated in the Episcopal Court, and the niche in the wall was covered. I think that this theory gives a good explanation for the function of the room at first and the modification of the room. But, it is still not known whether this image is a sign or simply a decorative element of the *kantharos*.

The church was richly decorated with architectural decoration; capitals with zoomorphological motifs in two zones were recovered. A comparison of the decoration showed that they were made by Constantinopolitan artists.⁷⁹ The Large Basilica was built at the end of the fifth century and took over the functions of the Small Basilica. It continued in use until the end of the sixth century as the Episcopal Basilica.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of the Byzantine Churches*, 161.

⁷⁸ [Gordana Svetković-Tomašević] Гордана Цветковић-Томашевић, “Није ли загонетни знак, првобитно представљен на једном ранохришћанском мозику, био, можда, монофизитски? Иконографија мозаика на подовима три мартирија из VI века“ (Is it the Mysterious Sign, depicted on one Floor Mosaic Monophysite?) The Iconography of the Floor Mosaics depicted on three Martyriums from Sixth Century), *Saopštenja* 29 (1997): 10. (Hereafter: “The Iconography of the Floor Mosaics”.)

⁷⁹ See Ivanka Nikolajević, “Zajednički motivi na podnim mozaicima i u skulpturi” (Similar Motifs in Floor Mosaics and Sculpture), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 219.

⁸⁰ [Gordana Svetković-Tomašević] Гордана Цветковић-Томашевић, “Мозаикот на подот во нартексот на Големата базилика. Опис. Стил. Иконографија. Симболизам” (The Mosaic Pavement

II.2.3. The Episcopal Palace

The Episcopal Palace is placed to the west of the two churches. It is trapezoidal in plan and resembles the plan of the *villae* or Episcopal Palace in Komopolis in Porphyreon.⁸¹ The atrium, placed in the middle of court, has access only from the western side. That shows that this atrium was not easily accessible, which further suggests that this part of the Episcopal Court may have had some special significance for the palace.

The room with the apses served as a *triclinium* and at the same time as a chapel.⁸² It was interpreted as such because of the apse on its eastern side and because of the tub for washing hands on the north side. The second room has a large niche on the eastern wall, where it is supposed that the relics from the *martyrium* 1 were brought.⁸³ That is why this ensemble is interpreted as a *martyrium*.⁸⁴ Tomašević argues this, and also that the iconography of the mosaics in these two rooms are also the same, almost replicas. It is true that the iconography of the mosaics in these two rooms is very similar, but at the same time, one can notice that many of the mosaics in Heraclea resemble each other, especially in their iconography. In my opinion, this is not concrete evidence on which one can base arguments for the interpretation of this room.

The third room is interpreted as the *narthex* of the *martyrium*.⁸⁵ The fourth room could have served various functions: office, library, guest chamber or been for

in the Narthex of the Large Basilica. Description. Style. Iconography), *Herakleja* 3 (1967), 34. (Hereafter: Cvetković, "The Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex".)

⁸¹ It was interpreted as *villae*, but because of the vicinity of the church some scholars argue that that is a small episcopal palace. More see Gerald Finkielsztein "Les mosaïques de la Komopolis de Porphyreon du sud (Kfar Samir; Haïfa, Israël): un évêché (?) entre village et cité," *CMGR* 9, No. 1 : 437 (fig. 1).

⁸² Cvetković, *The Early Byzantine Pavements Mosaics*, 14.

⁸³ Idem., "The Iconography of the Floor Mosaics," 10.

⁸⁴ Idem., "Mosaics in the Episcopal Court," 70.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 88.

the use of the bishop (*higoumen*).⁸⁶ To enter this room one has to pass two other rooms, perhaps waiting rooms, which suggests that this room had an important meaning for the palace because of the restricted access. According to the iconography of the mosaic that was found in this room, one can assume that the space was not for sacral, but for a profane use.⁸⁷

Analyzing the topography of the early Christian buildings of Heraclea one can affirm that there was great building activity in this period. The position of the Christian buildings, suggests that the antique buildings were replaced by ecclesiastical complexes. It must be remembered that under the Large Episcopal Basilica there is another, Roman, basilica of precisely the same size. These ecclesiastical buildings, as important public buildings, must have been situated in the center of the city. That is why these three ensembles abut one another; they were supposed to be in the center, but at the same time there was not enough space.

According to the position and topography of the buildings from the Early Christian period, it can be concluded that Heraclea Lyncestis during the fifth and sixth century followed the architectural plans of large Byzantine cities.

At the same time, it demonstrates that this city must have been an important center which followed the main trends of larger cities. The city must have been inhabited by rich and wealthy citizens. The wealth and the prosperity of the city can be seen through the mosaics, which were quite expensive, showing the wealth of the city.

CHAPTER THREE

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ This will be discussed in the third chapter.

III. THE FUNCTIONAL AND ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXTS OF THE MOSAICS

The mosaics in Heraclea, as one of the basic and multifactor elements for understanding the technique and style of decorating the interiors of Christian public structures, are essential to comprehending artistic movements and stylistic concept in the region between the fourth and sixth century. The three buildings in Heraclea are among the most splendid surviving ecclesiastical structures decorated with mosaics from Late Antiquity in the Balkans.

The flourishing of mosaic art in the Provincia Macedonia is related to its urbanization at the end of the fourth century and during the fifth century when intensive artistic activities were developed with a new taste in decoration. In this period the Eastern Roman Empire was still a Roman country and its life was pervaded with Roman elements,⁸⁸ but with new Christian meanings. Ecclesiastical persons and the rich aristocracy commissioned many luxurious works of art. Mosaics in Heraclea are of “signitive” kind,⁸⁹ where there was a “vast imbalance here between the weight and complexity of the message and the visual form that carried that message.”

Mosaics in the Late Antiquity were executed to perform different functions. The mosaics in Heraclea Lyncestis belong to the group of the mosaics that have religious and didactive function.⁹⁰ They were used to explain and to show the principles of the ideas made by the Church Fathers. Every image on the pavement is an intimidator between the person who made the idea and the persons who see that image. In this way the image makes a transmission of the ideas and the teachings,

⁸⁸ George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 42.

⁸⁹ Ernst Kitzinger, “Christian Imagery : Growth and Impact,” in *Studies in Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Western Art*, vol. 1 (London: The Pindar Press: 2002), 339.

where through the visual effect the believers can more easily understand and memorize it.⁹¹ Through this visual relation the communication between the church and the believer can be established.

The relationship of the pavement to the room in which it is situated is an important criterion realizing the real function of the mosaic as well as for the function of the building itself. On the other side there was a large content packed in the modest images. The language of images became a sign language. It was an art keyed “essentially to personal concerns,” it spelled assurance, protection, and peace, and therein lay its justification.⁹² Mosaic patterns have a symbolic or only decorative meaning. The function of the patterns changes, when put in a different context and different architectural setting. This depends on the context of the image where they are incorporated, as well as of the function of the room where they are executed. In my opinion when putting in one all these contexts of the mosaic, could reveal one unite real picture for the meaning and relation between the mosaic and room.

III.1. SMALL BASILICA

The mosaic in the *narthex* of the Small Basilica is the most elaborate, followed by the nave and then the aisles. The floors in this basilica are made of different materials. The floor of the *narthex* is covered with mosaic in the *opus tessellatum* technique; the floor of the nave is covered with mosaic in the *opus sectile* technique, while the floor of the aisles is covered with tiles. This means that at the same time in

⁹⁰ Marek-Titien Olszewski, “L’image et sa fonction dans la mosaïque byzantine des premières basiliques en Orient. L’iconographie chrétienne expliquée par Cyrille de Jérusalem (314-387),” *CA* 43 (1995): 9, 10.

⁹¹ In comparing with the frescoes in the churches, images depicted on the mosaics are more difficult to understand, since they are depicted as a signs.

⁹² Ernst Kitzinger, “Christian Imagery : Growth and Impact,” in *Studies in Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Western Art*, vol. 1 (London: The Pindar Press: 2002), 339.

one church the floors were decorated with different materials. It is the same with the basilica at Amphipolis⁹³ and Episcopal Basilica at Stobi.⁹⁴

In the 1960s, Dimče Koco expressed a hypothesis that the images depicted on mosaic floors are related to the place where they are located and to the places where the faithful and catechumens stood.⁹⁵ This theory lead him to the belief that in the nave the images are more complex because during the mass the faithful stood there, while in the aisles, where the catechumens stood, they are simpler. Macedonian scholars did not accept this idea and he did not go further in exploration of this question, although he was right about the levels of complexity of the church floor, though, regardless of the interpretation of it.

In my view it is not a question of the faithful and catechumens,⁹⁶ as Dimče Koco held, but rather the question of the visibility of the more important images. The first place that the person would see in the church is the *narthex*, and then he would enter the nave and from there the aisles. I believe that the complexity of the mosaics, is an issue of impressing the audience and that therefore the *narthex* was the place for the most spectacular mosaics.

III. 1.1. Exonarthex

The mosaic in the *exonarthex* in the Small Basilica shows the trends in the fourth-century style of mosaic decoration. The mosaic consists of small panels fulfilled with geometrical and figural decoration. This trend involved decoration with a geometrical and figural patterns, placed in a small boundaries and it can be found all

⁹³ Arja Karivieri, "Floor Mosaics in the Early Christian Basilica in Arethousa (Central Macedonia)," *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005): 372 (fig. 1).

⁹⁴ Blaga Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi," *CORSI* 33 (1986): 31 (fig. 4).

⁹⁵ Dimče Koco, "O simboličnom značenju podnih mosaika ranohrišćanskih bazilika" (About the Symbolical Meaning of the Pavement Floors in the Early Christian Basilicas), *Peristil, Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti i arheologiji* 13 (1957): 54.

over the Balkans. Many of these carpet mosaics are modest and unpretentious and thus serve particularly well to illustrate the widespread adoption of floral motifs as basic elements during this period. The images depicted on the mosaic in the *exonarthex* of the Small Basilica can be explained by the dating of this mosaic. The date of this mosaic is the first half of the fifth century, when the sacred composition still was in the process of forming.

In my opinion this mosaic on the whole has only a decorative meaning, but at the same time one can recall that this mosaic is the most elaborate all the mosaics in the Small Basilica. The same pattern can be seen in the main nave of the basilica at Philipopolis, where I believe is also in a decorative function.⁹⁷

III. 1.2. Nave

The nave and apse of the Small Basilica are the only *opus sectile* mosaic known at Heraclea. It is still not argued whether this technique was imported from Antiochia and Cyprus to Macedonia,⁹⁸ but there can be seen after its appearance, a great diffusion of it in this part of the Balkan Peninsula. The mosaic consists only of geometric patterns, with the patterns subordinate to the form of the marble from which the tiles were made. The mosaics in the *opus sectile* technique are difficult to analyze, and especially to find meaning in the patterns.⁹⁹ This mosaic is purely decorative, and I do not think that it is connected to the function of the room where it is placed.

⁹⁶ It is also not known where the place of the *catechumens* was during mass in the sixth century.

⁹⁷ Eléna Kessiakova, "Nouveaux pavements de mosaïque à Philippopolis," *CMGR* 4 (1984): 170 (fig. 80).

⁹⁸ Massimo Vitti, "Sectilia Pavimenta di Salonicco," *Nota Preliminare*, *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005): 699.

⁹⁹ For the *opus sectile* see: Mariorosaria Esposito, "Un pavimento in sectile nella chiesa dei Ss. Prisco Agnello a Sorrento," *ATTI* 10 (2004): 213-224; Laura Pasquini, "Il leone quadricoricorpore nel mosaico pavimentale della cattedrale di Otranto," *ATTI* 10 (2004): 467-478.

III. 2. LARGE BASILICA

III.2.1. Narthex

The church entrance was a place that has at once a practical, devotional and liturgical context.¹⁰⁰ The entrance had a complete complex pavement in polychrome mosaic. The mosaic in this room is richly ornamented and skillfully rendered, as shown by the innovative elements used. This mosaic depicts a fight between animals, placed between trees and deer placed between *kantharos*. Two deer frontally placed between the *kantharos*, represent the neophytes receiving the regenerative waters. This familiar image is derived from Psalm 41 (42): 1, “As a hart longs for flowing streams, so longs my soul for thee, O God.” Even sometimes the Word of God is interpreted as water in which the neophyte is immersed.¹⁰¹

In this period the floors of many churches have been covered by images of animals and plants.¹⁰² A fight between the animals is usually depicted in the *narthex* of churches in the Early Christian period. In the *narthex* in the Large Basilica there is a depiction of a fight between a lion and a bull and also a fight between a gephard and a deer. The fight between animals symbolizes the man’s fight and defense against the wild beasts¹⁰³ and hope from the unavoidability of death.¹⁰⁴ A lion can also have a funerary meaning connected with the symbol of Christ’s resurrection and can be seen

¹⁰⁰ Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of the Byzantine Churches*, 28.

¹⁰¹ Lois Drewer, “Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters,” *The Art Bulletin* 63, no. 4 (1981): 546.

¹⁰² Henry Maguire, “Christian, Pagans and the Representation of Nature,” in *Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1998), 140.

¹⁰³ André Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 53.

¹⁰⁴ Gerhart B Ladner, *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik*, (Stuttgart: Belser Verlag, 1992), 148-149; Hans Martin von Erffa, *Ikonomie der Genesis*, vol. 1, (Munich: Dt. Kunstverlag, 1989). 105-106.

in many crypts in the Early Christian period.¹⁰⁵ In Christian iconography the lion had several symbolic meanings, such as resurrection, reincarnation and God's mercy, but also the death.¹⁰⁶ But animals in the fight also can symbolize the earthly life, while depiction of the peaceful animals usually implies the paradise.¹⁰⁷ Four trees are depicted, each in a different manner, and each symbolizes one particular season.¹⁰⁸ The symbolism of the seasons is multiple and usually includes many meanings at the same time. According to Hanfmann,¹⁰⁹ the seasons have five meanings. That most applicable to the mosaic in the *narthex* is the change of seasons; it shows how other living beings grow up and are again dispersed into their particles following the designs of God. This process makes the eternal life of the universe and its immanent God, and also holds a platonic meaning: The change of seasons based on the movement of celestial bodies provided humans with the first intuition of the nature of God.

In whole the scene was interpreted as a cosmos, portrayed in four zones.¹¹⁰ The central symmetrical composition with the animals approaching the *kantharos* is the most holy zone, The Heavenly Kingdom. The composition with the peaceful animals and birds suggests the paradise, while the animals in fight present the earth. The frame with the water animals is the water.

In the early Christian period, catechumens and pagans as well had the right to be present at the first part of the liturgy in the *narthex*¹¹¹, where they were supposed to stop. This shows that the only part of the church which was visible for these classes of

¹⁰⁵ [Elizabeta Dimitrova] Елизабета Димитрова, *Најстариите христијански симболи* (The Oldest Christian Symbols) (Skopje: Makedonska Civilizacija, 1995), 159. (Hereafter: Dimitrova, *The Oldest Christian Symbols*.)

¹⁰⁶ See "Lyon," in *DACL*, vol. 12, part. 1 (1931), 402.

¹⁰⁷ Cvetković, *Mosaics in the Episcopal Palace*, 80.

¹⁰⁸ See "Arbres", in *DACL*, vol. 1 (1907), 2691-2709.

¹⁰⁹ George M A Hanfmann, "The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks", in *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 150.

¹¹⁰ Cvetković, "The Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex", 53.

believers was the *narthex*, the place that could be visited by all the people. I believe that this suggests why such a large and extensive mosaic was executed exactly in this part of the church. The commissioners, which probably were ecclesiastical persons,¹¹² wanted this mosaic to be easily visible to an audience from all the classes of believers, not only from one.

III.2.2 Nave and aisles

The nave in the Byzantine churches is a unified space meant to shelter both the clergy and the laity.¹¹³ The nave is the main part of the church, which is devoted to believers. Believers stood while the liturgy took place here. Usually naves are spacious, so they can hold many people.¹¹⁴ This happened in the first centuries of Christianity and why these rooms usually have the most splendid mosaic decorations.

The mosaic in nave is not as elaborate as the mosaic in the *narthex*. It depicts geometric and figural patterns. In the middle part of it there is an image of a so-called “composition in composition,” consisting of one circle placed in three rectangle, nested one inside the other. This composition is a depiction of the Christian universe,¹¹⁵ where every geometrical pattern (circle or rectangle) symbolizes one zone from the universe. This geometrical composition has the same meaning with the scene depicted in the *narthex* of the Large Basilica. Cosmos could be depicted with figural decorations, and with geometrical patterns, which is the case with this mosaic. This composition is depicted in the middle part of the nave, in front of the altar space.

¹¹¹ See “Narthex,” in *DACL* 12, (1924), 2583.

¹¹² Ruth E Kolarik, “Sixth-Century Bishops as Patrons of Floor Mosaics in the Balkan Peninsula,” *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005): 1263-1264. See the chapter about the patrons of the mosaics. (Hereafter: Kolarik, “Sixth-Century Bishops.”)

¹¹³ Teteriatnikov, *The Liturgical Planning of the Byzantine Churches* 27.

¹¹⁴ Because of not having enough space for the believers from the first centuries AD onwards, church naves were enlarged with more aisles. See: Pietri, “La géographie de l’Illyricum ecclésiastique,” 32.

¹¹⁵ According to Tomašević, the four spheres of the cosmos explain this composition in the composition by.

From the place where it is depicted it can be seen that when the believer entered the nave, the first imagery that he saw would be this composition. Thus, it makes a unity with the church, which can be regarded as the macrocosm.¹¹⁶ I think that this depiction is placed where it is because the believer, as a microcosm, could see and feel that he was in unity with the church and with a macrocosm. The same composition may be found on the same place in the basilica at Stobi.¹¹⁷ Another question is the possibility of whether an ordinary person would have had enough knowledge to recognize this complex “signitive” art of symbols, which were depicted on the floors of the churches during the beginning of the fourth to the end of the sixth century all over the empire.

In the nave, south and north aisles geometrical, floral patterns and marine animals are depicted in the panels. From the geometrical decorations are to be found mainly stars,¹¹⁸ while from the water animals, many panels consist fish. Fish are familiar motifs in the repertory of Early Christian mosaics. They are usually recognized as symbols of Christian souls.¹¹⁹ Fish and sea creatures presented in a water environment, also can be understood in the context of ideas of the Creation and the bountiful gifts of God, and the fructifying nature of living water.¹²⁰ In the other panels from the lateral naves also are to be found presentations of animals, like deer, and “symmetrical picture,” which presents two ducks placed between the “Tree of the

¹¹⁶ See Pauline Donceel Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie* (Louvain-la-neuve: É. Oleeffe: 1988), 136.

¹¹⁷ [Blaga Aleksova] Блага Алексова, “Епископската Базилика во Стоби во светлината на новите археолошки истражувања” (Episcopal Basilica at Stobi in the light of the new archaeological excavations), *MAA* 6 (1980), 93.

¹¹⁸ The same decoration is to be found in the basilica at Phillipi, see Παναγιώδα Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακα, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Θεσσαλονίκης, Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος III, Μακεδονία-Θράκη* (Thessaloniki : Kentro Buzantion Ereunon : 1998), (fig. 50).

¹¹⁹ See “Fisch, Fischer, Fischfang” in Engemann, *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. Engemann (1926), vol. 7, (1969), 959-1097; see „poisson,” in *DACL* 14 (1939): 1246-1254.

¹²⁰ Lois Drewer, “Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters,” *The Art Bulletin* 63, No. 4 (1981): 540.

life.” This composition in whole could suggest Creation and the nature of the world, depicted through the marine, floral, animal life and through the “symmetrical picture.” From this period there are other examples of such a treatment, like the basilica in Kourion (Cyprus),¹²¹ basilica in Epiphania.¹²²

An inscription is placed in the middle of this room in the most prominent part of the nave. The description is placed in *tabula ansata* with the notation:

VINICA DO

MESTICUS LA

BORAVIIT PRO

PECCATIS SUI(S)

(Vinica Domesticus has made [it] for his sins).

The place of this description is compatible with the other inscriptions from churches in this area and further, where usually the inscriptions are placed in the nave on a very visible place. I shall mention only some of those examples: the basilicas in Stobi,¹²³ Ohrid,¹²⁴ Suvodol,¹²⁵ Philippi,¹²⁶ Butrint,¹²⁷ basilica at Massuh,¹²⁸ Zizia.¹²⁹

The inscription in the nave is the only inscription written on Latin in Heraclea from

¹²¹ Phrini Hadjichristophi, “La basilique du bord de mer à Kourion (Chypre),” *CMGR* 9, No. 1 (2005): 405-411.

¹²² See Rafah Jouejuti-Madwar, “A mosaicist’s workshop in Epiphania (Hama, Syria) at the beginning of the 5-th century,” *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005): 777 (fig. 2).

¹²³ [Blaga Aleksova] Блага Алексова, “Старата Епископска Базилика во Стоби” (The Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi), *GZFF* 12 (1985), 43-67; idem., “The Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi,” *ArchIug* 22-23 (1982/83): 55 (fig. 2).

¹²⁴ [Dimce Koco] Димче Коцо. “Археолошки ископувања во Охрид од 1959-1964 година” (The Archaeological Excavations in Ohrid from 1959-1964), *GZFF* 20 (1968): 258 (fig. 2).

¹²⁵ The inscription, which is on Greek, is also placed in the nave in the most visible place. See [Tome Janakievski] Томе Јанакиевски Мозаикот на подот во централниот брод на ранохристијанската базилика кај локалитетот Суви Ливади с. Доленци –Битола” (The Floor Mosaic in the Nave on the Site Suvi Livadi s. Dolenci-Bitola), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 69 (fig. 2).

¹²⁶ Gilles Touchais, “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1984,” *BCH* 109, vol. 2 (1985) : 826 (fig. 152).

¹²⁷ John Mitchell, Oliver Gilkes,, and Dhimitër Çondi, “A New Christian Basilica at Butrint,” *Candavia* 2 (2005) : 118 (fig. 11).

¹²⁸ M. Piccirillo, “Una nuova chiesa nel villaggio di Massuh-Madaba,” *LA* 50 (2000): 65 (fig. 3); P.Kaswaller, “Ricerca Storico-Archeologica in Giordania XX –2000,” *LA* 50 (2000): 64 (fig. 1). (469-504)

¹²⁹ M. Piccirillo, “La Chiesa del Vescovo Giovanni a Zizia,” *LA* 52 (2002) : 20 (fig. 11).

this period, since the other inscriptions until the beginning of the fourth century are all written in Greek.¹³⁰

The decorations and inscriptions in these rooms nicely present how the commissioners wanted to express their beliefs in the Christian religion, and at the same time to express their donation to the church, as well as their authority.

III. 2.3. Chapel

The chapel was used for housing the relics of a martyr. There is a niche on the eastern side of the chapel, where the remains of the martyr were placed. The decoration of the mosaic in this room is geometrical, where it consists of net of squares filled with birds and geometrical designs. According to the pattern I think that the function of this mosaic was only decorative. It seems that these geometrical patterns were still fashionable in the beginning of the sixth century, although before they were transformed into figural depictions.¹³¹ There can be found examples for the geometrical patterns in the chapel in basilica in Rajib, Ajlun.¹³² In contrast, the mosaic in the annex of the chapel is richly decorated and includes not only geometric patterns, but also the figural decoration.

¹³⁰ See more in Geogievskaja and Kalpakovskaja, *Epigraphic Monuments*. This leads some scholars to think that the official language of the church in Heraclea was Latin. See more Peco Srbinovski, "Les mosaïques de la Pélagonie Origine-techniques-datation," *CMGR* 3 (1980): 129; [Rajko Bratoz] Pajko Bratoz "Ранохристијанската црква во Македонија и нејзиниот однос спрема Рим" (The Early Christian Church in Macedonia and its Relation to Rome), *Dijalozi*, Treta Programa na Makedonsko Radio, June, 1990.

¹³¹ Ernst Kitzinger, "Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian," *CMGR* 1 (1963): 349.

¹³² See Zaccania Al-Qudah, "Le nuove scoperte nella regione di Ajlun (Giordania) *CMGR* 9 No. 1 (2005): 455 (fig. 3).

III. 2.4. The chapel annex

An annex with a mosaic floor stands on the western side of the chapel. The annex of a chapel is the place where the believer was supposed to pass before entering the chapel of the church.

The scenes depicted on the mosaic in the annex of the chapel consist of a depiction of symmetrically placed deer between a *kantharos*. The *kantharos* symbolized the holy sphere,¹³³ and the vine leaves that ran from it were the leaves of life. The deer are the Christian believers, and together they symbolize the holiest part of the cosmos, paradise.¹³⁴ On this mosaic there is a depiction of a peacock and other small birds, like doves, shown pecking the grapes. This scene symbolizes paradise as an allegory of the new life gained through the blood of the Saviour and his resurrection.¹³⁵ The other half of the mosaic is a geometric decoration. Besides this there is a depiction of frame with meanders with swastikas. This design was employed by mural painters and mosaicists for borders in antiquity and the Early Christian period.¹³⁶ It emulates the perspective effects and it emphasizes more the central composition of the mosaic. The decoration is oriented towards the north, and there is a niche in the north wall. It is still not known why such a central presentation is depicted in the annex of the chapel. In contrast, the mosaic in the chapel only has geometric decoration.¹³⁷ These two mosaics could easily switch places, since the

¹³³ Vera Bitrakova Grozdanova, "Sur un thème se trouvant dans les mosaïques paléochrétiennes de la République Socialiste de Macédoine," *CORSI* 33 (1986): 129.

¹³⁴ The meaning of this composition, as well as the niche, on the north side of this room, led some scholars to think that the annex of the chapel in the Large Basilica is also a *martyrium*. For more on this see Cvetković, "The Mosaics in the Episcopal Palace," 42-50.

¹³⁵ Dimitrova, *The Oldest Christian symbols*, 139.

¹³⁶ Betty Al-Hamdani, "The Fate of the Prospective Meander in Roman Mosaics and its Sequels," *CA* 43 (1995): 35.

¹³⁷ All the types of geometrical patterns are gathered in the book: Catherine Balmelle, Michèle Blanchard-Lemée, and Jean- Pierre Darmon, *Le décor géométrique de la mosaïque romaine* (Paris: Picard, 2002).

mosaic with the *kantharos* is more appropriate for the chapel, as a holy place from the church, and the geometric mosaic in the annex is more suitable for the annex.

III. 2.5. Baptistry

Since the beginning of the Christianity the baptistry, because of its function, is an important room in every church.¹³⁸ The baptistry is the place where the candidates for baptism took the Christian religion.

The baptistry in Heraclea has three steps on south side and three on the north side. In the middle of the room there is a pool for water. The person entered the pool from one side and exited from the other side as a baptized person. The mosaic on the floor of the baptistry consists of grids fulfilled with geometric motifs in combination with water animals like geese, ducks, octopus, and fish. Fish are also seen as symbols of baptized souls in the writings of Tertullian.¹³⁹ On the mosaic in the baptistry in Heraclea the fish are presented only on the one side of the mosaic, and that is the northern half of the mosaic. I believe that the place of this depiction might be connected with the ritual of the baptism. The function of this room is further articulated in the choice of elements that fill the circles and the squares between them. Water animals, fish scales and little waves constitute ubiquitous motifs all over the pavement. The design of this room is concerned with the water of baptism in its soteriological and eucharistic aspects. Water symbolizes the process of transformation from one spiritual state to another in baptismal context.¹⁴⁰ This decoration might affect the perception of an observer or a participant in the rite. Examples of water animals and fish scales depicted in baptisteries can be found many baptisteries in the

¹³⁸ See "Baptistère," in *DACL*, vol. 2 (1910): 382-467.

¹³⁹ Lois Drewer, "Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters," *The Art Bulletin* 63, No. 4 (1981): 545.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 546.

Balkans and further, like: Ohrid,¹⁴¹ Butrint,¹⁴² Madaba¹⁴³ and Cap Bon.¹⁴⁴ In all these baptisteries the water animals produce a visual effect of water. In my view the choice of this decorations was clearly connected with the function of the room.

III.2.6. The diakonikon

The *diakonikon*¹⁴⁵ was the place where the offerings were placed for display, presumably on a table, or an altar, to be seen, or watched.¹⁴⁶ It is located on the right side of the right entrance.

The mosaic in the *diakonikon* is decorated only with geometric patterns. It consists of elements, which were fashionable at that time. This mosaic is stretched on the western side of the room because the room does not have a regular rectangular shape (on the western side the room is narrower than on the eastern side). The grid of grape vine, which is depicted in the outer border, could be connected with Jesus,¹⁴⁷ and depicts him as mystical vine and God's swirl.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, through the wine as a symbol for Jesus' blood, the depiction of the grapevine has the character of symbolically depicting the Eucharist. I think that this mosaic could be concerned with the Eucharist, which took place in this room. I believe that the grapevine in this room not only has a decorative function, but it also has a symbolic meaning: the Eucharist.

¹⁴¹ Bitrakova, *The Early Christian Monuments*, 112.

¹⁴² John Mitchel, "The mosaic pavements of the Baptistry," in *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994-99*, (Oxford: Oxbow books, Park End Place: 2004): 211 (fig. 11). I would like to thank him for providing me with these rare articles about the baptistry in Butrint.

¹⁴³ Michele Piccirilo, "Il mosaico bizantino di Giordania come fonte storica di un'epoca alla luce delle recenti scoperte," *CMGR* 1 (1963): 205 (fig. 5.).

¹⁴⁴ Where fish are also depicted in the baptistry, see Taher Ghalia "La production mosaïstique du Cap Bon (Tunisie) aux Ve et VI e siècles," *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005): 852 (fig. 4c).

¹⁴⁵ The Gospels were kept also in the *diakonikon*. See "Diaconicum" in *DACL III*, 1406-1414.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph Patrich, "The Transfer of Gifts in the Early Christian Churches of Palestine: Archaeological and Literary Evidence for the Evolution of the "Great Entrance," in *Pèlerinages et lieux saints dans l'antiquité et le moyen âge*, (Paris: Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2006): 351.

¹⁴⁷ Evangelically after John 15:1, "I am the true grapevine, and My Father is the vine-grower."

¹⁴⁸ Dimitrova, *The Oldest Christian symbols*, 138.

Also an extensive depiction of grape vine can be found in the *diakonikon* of the South Church of St. Sergius in Nitl.¹⁴⁹

I believe that the geometric decoration of this mosaic can be connected with the furniture that was placed in this room. Usually panel geometrical decorations of the early Christian churches are connected with the placement of the furniture in the same rooms.¹⁵⁰ In my view the geometrical patterns, placed in the middle of the floor of this room, is to have something in their origin with the tables, where the offerings of the faithful were placed. The same organization of the geometrical decoration and the border can be seen in the *diakonikon* in the north basilica at Nitl, Madaba.¹⁵¹ Furthermore can be conclude that the decorations in this room, although floral and geometrical might concern the practical usage of this room.

III. 2.7. The catechumenium

The *catechumenium* in Heraclea is sited next to the baptistery. Its position is practical, since there are two entrances to this room, one from the south nave, and the other from the outside. The *catechumenium* is the place where the catechumens and penitents, after the first part of the Mass, can follow hear, but at the same time not to see the Mass of the faithful.¹⁵²

The mosaic in the *catechumenium* is decorated only with geometric patterns. In the central part of the room is a shield of concentric rows of curvilinear triangles,

¹⁴⁹ Michelle Piccirillo, "The Church of Saint Sergius at Nitl. A Centre of the Christian Arabs in the Steppe at the Gates of Madaba," *LA* 51 (2001): 276, 277 (fig. 22).

¹⁵⁰ Noël Duval, "Notes sur l'église de Kabr Hiram (Liban) et ses installations liturgiques," *CA* 26 (1977): 87.

¹⁵¹ See Michelle Piccirillo, "Il mosaico pavimentale in Gordania come fonte storica di un'epoca-V (1997-2001)," *CMGR* 9, No. 1 (2005): 465 (fig. 8). (Hereafter: Piccirillo, "Il mosaico pavimentale in Gordania.")

¹⁵² See *DACL II*, 2579-2621.

where in the middle of this shield is a swastika.¹⁵³ The mosaic shows great artistic sensitivity, which produces a nice aesthetic effect. The patterns of this type are more than geometrical forms or one simple border.¹⁵⁴ They can be connected with the presentation of the new world¹⁵⁵ or the world seen through symmetry and order. This could be another dimension on the world. While listening to the Mass from this room, catechumens could not see the Mass, but only hear it. Viewing this pattern of shields gives an interesting visual effect and optical feeling. The colors are only black and white, without any shadows between them, so it further stresses the feeling of another dimension. I believe that is it possible that the artists made this pattern in this place because to stress the new vision of the world. The whole room is decorated with different patterns like a cross within a square, a cross within a circle, a swastika within a circle or a star within a circle. In the Christian monuments from the fourth to sixth century, the cross symbolized Jesus' crucifixion and his glory as the master of life¹⁵⁶ and death.¹⁵⁷ Crosses in combination with stars, as symbols of the heavens and cosmos,¹⁵⁸ may be seen as symbols for the eternal existence of Jesus.¹⁵⁹ The stars are the universe which true believers are seeking.¹⁶⁰ Again these depictions in combinations with the crosses, give a more complex spatial effects. I believe that this composition, executed in this room, might affect the perception of the observer.

¹⁵³ The same pattern is to be found in the narthex in the basilica at Ermion, see Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακα, Παναγιόδα. Στερεά Ἑλλάδα, Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων τῆς Ἑλλάδος II. Thessaloniki : Kentro Buzantion Ereunon : 1987, (fig. 62). Also it can be found in the naves in many churches in Giordan see Piccirillo, "Il mosaico pavimentale in Gordania," 461 (fig.1), 462 (fig. 3).

¹⁵⁴ Abraham Bar-Shay "Les modèles polaires (Analyse et Construction) La géometrie par la corde et les clous," *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005) : 838.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 846.

¹⁵⁶ Gerhart B. Ladner, *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik, Gott Kosmos Mensch* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1992), 99. (Hereafter: Ladner, *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik*.)

¹⁵⁷ Dimitrova, *The Oldest Christian symbols*, 25.

¹⁵⁸ Ladner, *Handbuch der frühchristlichen Symbolik*, 99.

¹⁵⁹ See "Croix and crucifix," in *DACL*, vol. 3 (1914), 3046-3143; Dimitrova, *The Oldest Christian Symbols*, 27.

¹⁶⁰ More for the stars on the mosaics see: Isabelle Morand, "Les mosaïques aux étoiles, observation du ciel et immortalité astrale" *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005): 1064.

Although geometrical, this pattern might have some greater meaning than merely decorative; in my view it was chosen purposely to emphasize the function of this room.

III. 3. EPISCOPAL PALACE

III. 3.1. Triclinium /Chapel

This room has a rectangular nave and an apse. The mosaic in the apse consists of panels decorated with a geometric pattern, while the nave displays geometric and figural decoration. Each panel of this mosaic consists of different images: “symmetrical images”, hunting animals, water animals, enclosed with friezes of different animals enclosed in border, and between swastika. The same decoration on the panels can be seen in the *narthex* in the basilica in Ermione¹⁶¹ and Pyrasos.¹⁶²

The function of this room was probably funerary, since it was chapel and *triclinium* at the same time. That further suggests a sacral space. This could also be seen through the patterns of the mosaics, which also reveal holy images like the “symmetrical image”, animals approaching a vessel, which is depicted on the mosaic in this room three times over. The second panels in the both rows, from the western part of the room, present fish and sea creatures swimming between the waves, which present water. Fish and sea creatures swimming in a fishpond also can represent Christian souls living at harmony within the Church or in Paradise.¹⁶³ Paradise is to be

¹⁶¹ Παναγιωδα Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακα, *Τα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα της Θεσσαλονίκης, Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων της Ελλάδος III, Μακεδονία-Θράκη* (Thessaloniki : Kentro Buzantion Ereunon : 1998), (fig. 61).

¹⁶² H. W. Catling, “Archaeology in Greece 1988-89,” *ArchRep* 35 (1989): 54 (fig. 72).

¹⁶³ Lois Drewer, “Fisherman and Fish Pond: From the Sea of Sin to the Living Waters,” *The Art Bulletin* 63, No. 4 (1981): 545.

seen also in the panels with the *kantharos*,¹⁶⁴ which further could suggest that the function of this room was sacral and connected with the Christian beliefs.

The central geometric panels, according to their form and dimensions, were usually connected with the placement of the interior furniture, for example in the *triclinia*.¹⁶⁵ They were covered with furniture and that is why the decoration is usually geometric, although figural motifs and geometrical are also depicted on the mosaic of the *triclinium* in Heraclea. In my opinion this decoration followed some furniture, perhaps a table. The panels, placed four each in two rows, form a unit in the shape of a rectangle. At the same time there is enough space for placing chairs between the ends of these panels and the walls of the room.

III. 3.2. Room 2

This square room has a huge niche on the eastern wall. Because of the niche, this room was interpreted as a *martyrium*. The mosaic in this room is not of great quality, as is the case for all four mosaics in the Episcopal Palace. This mosaic consists of *emblemata* in which there are depictions of three “symmetrical compositions:” two little deer at the bottom of the composition, in the middle two deer drinking water, and at the top of the composition two dolphins, one on each side of the fountain.¹⁶⁶ Having in one place the fountain of life, which symbolizes Christ,¹⁶⁷ as well as the symmetrically placed animals on each side, symbolizes the famous verse from the Psalm 41 (42): 1, “As a hart longs for flowing streams, so longs my

¹⁶⁴ For more on the meaning see “Calice” in *DACL*, vol. 2 (1910), 1596-1651.

¹⁶⁵ Noël Duval, “Notes sur l’église de Kabr Hiram (Liban) et ses installations liturgiques” *CA* 26 (1977), 87; Janine Balty, *Mosaïque antiques du Proche-Orient*, (Paris: Annales Littéraires de l’Université de Besençon, 1995), 48.

¹⁶⁶ The composition of this mosaic is similar to the scene depicted in the chapel annex, which furthermore leads some scholars to think that the annex of the chapel is also *martyrium*. See Cvetković, “The Mosaics in the Episcopal Palace,” 41.

¹⁶⁷ Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London: Routledge, 2000), 61.

soul for thee, O God,” or the “Fountain of Life.”¹⁶⁸ Also the border of this central composition is framed with three frames, of which the second one is the meanders with swastikas. This two-dimensional design gives the illusion of measured recession and it emphasizes even more the central composition. In my opinion the iconography of this mosaic implies a holy place. The same composition can be seen in the *narthex* of the basilica at Acrini.¹⁶⁹ This part of the Episcopal Palace was previously a part of the Large Basilica, since it is on the same stratigraphic level with this church.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore it can suggest that this mosaic was decorated with such symbolic decorative elements as a part of the church. I believe that the iconography of this mosaic reinforces the interpretation of the function of this room as a *martyrium*.

III. 3.3 Room 3

The mosaic in this room consists of two compositions; the western part consists of panels with different geometric and figural images, while the eastern part consists of only geometric patterns. Each field in the western composition consists of peaceful animals, a symmetrical picture or a geometric pattern. A symmetrical picture symbolizes the first and holy zone, God and religion, Jesus and Christianity.¹⁷¹ There is a door on the eastern side of the southern wall, which means that the composition was seen from the eastern side. Peaceful animals depicted in a scene are usually connected with paradise.¹⁷² This room was connected architecturally with the *narthex* of the Large Basilica as well as Room 2. Still, the function of this room in the first phase is not known. As part of the Episcopal Palace, this room could have been an

¹⁶⁸ More for the “Fountain of Life” see Paul A Underwood, “The Fountain of Life,” *DOP* 5 (1950): 41-139.

¹⁶⁹ Jean-Pierre Sodini, “Mosaïques paléochrétienne de Grèce,” *BCH* 94 (1970): 744 (fig. 14).

¹⁷⁰ Cvetković, “The Mosaics in the Episcopal Palace,” 42.

¹⁷¹ Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, (Rome: “L’Erma” di Bretschneider, 1971), 429.

¹⁷² Cvetković, “The Mosaics in the Episcopal Palace,” 135.

annex of Room 2, which is interpreted as a *martyrium*. Anyone who wanted to enter the *martyrium* would have had to walk through this room, since it makes one architectural unit with Room 2. As a part of the holy place, it must have been decorated with sacred images. The decoration of this mosaic fits the proposed function of this room as an annex of the *martyrium*.

III. 3.4. Room 4

The use of this room is still not known. Regarding the decoration in the mosaic in this room, I believe that this room was not for secular use. As I mentioned, the methodology in this study is twofold, which means that the rooms for which the usage is still not known the exact function of the room not always can be interpreted according to the iconography of the mosaics there. Animals among five fruiting trees, some of them standing peacefully, some chasing, and others being chased are depicted on this mosaic. Absence of the “symmetrical picture” implies a non-secular room. The figural composition of the mosaic is executed so as to be seen from the south part of the room, and this part is directed towards the door on the south side of the west wall.

A scene with animals usually is to be found in churches,¹⁷³ but sometimes it can be seen in non-sacral places. I believe that is the case with this room. There is no depiction of a symmetrical picture on this mosaic, which again implies that this room does not have the same holiness compared with the other rooms in this building. As I have already mentioned, one had to pass through another room to enter in this room, which implies an important function of this room, like an office, a library or some other use still connected with the function of this building in a whole. Unfortunately

¹⁷³ Many of the churches in Siria and Liban have this type of compositions usually in the nave or narthex. See Pauline Donceel Voûte, *Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie* (Louvain-la-neuve: É. Oleeffe: 1988), 183. 484.

the decoration of the mosaic itself does not give any obvious proof for the function of this room.

When taking all these rooms into consideration, I believe that the imagery in the Early Christian period have a different meaning, while put into different context. This is the case with the animals, where each figural image has a different meaning, but when put in one thematic scene of one mosaic, they have their own meaning.

Geometric patterns sometimes can have a symbolic meaning, which is the case with the decoration of the shield made of concentric rows of curvilinear triangles in the *catechumenium*. This might have been executed for special visual effects. Also I believe that the geometric decoration sometimes followed some movable furniture in the rooms where it is executed. In my view that is the case with the *diakonikon* of the Large Basilica and the *triclinium* from the Episcopal Palace. Sometimes the images fit in the context of the rooms, but unfortunately they are not always concordant with the function of the rooms where they are placed, which is the case with the chapel of the Large Basilica. Also in the case of Room 4 of the Episcopal Palace the depicted mosaic does not give any explicable clue for the function of the room.

The inscription in the nave revealed a high ecclesiastical person who wanted to express his donation in such a way. The composition in the *narthex*, as the most elaborate, was designed to show the authority of the wealthy ecclesiastic and it was placed in this room because of its visibility. I believe it is the same with the mosaics in *opus tessellatum* and *opus sectile* in the Small Basilica, where the preference for the particular technique was according to the visibility of the place where it was executed.

Having all these circumstances in one place, one can conclude that mainly the imagery depicted on the mosaics in Heraclea concerns the function of the rooms

where they are placed. The images can not always give a satisfactory explanation for the function of the room where they are placed, however.

CHAPTER FOUR

**STYLE, WORKSHOPS, INFLUENCE, PATRONS AND DATING
OF THE MOSAICS**

IV. 1. STYLE

The mosaics of the Balkans are among the most significant mosaics of their time. Their origin can be dated back to the fifth century BC.¹⁷⁴ The mosaics in Heraclea are dated between the fourth and sixth century, and are examples of the Early Christian art that was created in the Early Byzantine Period,¹⁷⁵ where many influences and trends from each following century can be seen on them. They belong to the second stage of the rise of Christian religious iconography or the stage “starting with the triumph of the Christianity under Constantine and continuing to the reign of Justinian, the great era of expansion.”¹⁷⁶ Mosaics in this period were clearly well connected with the dogma after the fifth century.¹⁷⁷ The innovation of the mosaics in Heraclea can not be seen through the changing of the patterns themselves, since the patterns had a long life even after their meanings changed. The repertoire of Greco-Roman motifs continued in Christian and Jewish art, but with different interpretations in the different epochs and religions. Innovation on these mosaics can

¹⁷⁴ See “Mosaik” in *Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopädie der Antike*, ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2000), vol. 8, 404-414; Valentin Müller, “The origin of mosaic,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 59, no. 2 (1939), 247-250. Although the earliest tessellated mosaics known are those found at Morgantina in Sicily and dated to the middle of the third century, most tessellated mosaics can be dated after the second century BC. For more on this see Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, “Technique and Materials of Hellenistic Mosaics,” *AJA* 83 no. 3 (1979): 265.

¹⁷⁵ Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London: Routledge, 2000), 9.

¹⁷⁶ Ernst Kitzinger, “Christian Imagery: Growth and Impact,” in *Studies in Late Antique, Byzantine and Medieval Western Art*. (London: Pindar Press, 2002), 334.

¹⁷⁷ In 427 Theodor issued an edict prohibiting representations of sacred persons on floor pavements, although there are many examples where the practice continued even after his edict, see Skender Muçaj, “Les mosaïques de Bylis” *Corso* 40 (1993), 593, 594, 603.

be seen, however, through the subjects of the scenes depicted on the mosaics, as well as the stylistic elements of their execution.

The mosaic in the exonarthex of the Small Basilica shows stylistic trends from the fourth-century style of mosaic decoration. This mosaic consists of small panels, filled with mainly geometrical and figural patterns, framed with a border. On this mosaic the transformation from the carpet and “aniconic” to figural mosaics can be seen. This trend involved a gradual replacement of geometric motifs by organic ones. The geometric decoration never disappeared entirely, but it had a special vogue in the fourth and fifth century. This period was followed by a period in which many mosaicists reformulated, enriched or transformed the geometric designs.¹⁷⁸ This stylistic phenomenon, where organic motifs, especially animals and birds, occupy first some and then all compartments of a geometric carpet can be seen in the *exonarthex* in the Small Basilica.¹⁷⁹ Such geometric floors with animal and bird panels are particularly common in Greece, the Balkans, and the Aegean islands, but the same evolution also took place in Syria and Palestine. This was an iconographic development involving a gradual breaking down of the “aniconic austerity” characteristic of the decoration of church floors in the late fourth century.¹⁸⁰

The mosaic in the nave of the Small Basilica is made in the *opus sectile* technique. This mosaic was common in the fourth century in the Balkans, used especially for the church floor mosaics, but it was popular also in the fifth century.

¹⁷⁸ Ernst Kitzinger, “Stylistic Developments in pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian,” *CMGR* 1 (1963): 346.

¹⁷⁹ Examples of this can be seen in the Christian buildings in the basilica at Stobi, the basilica at Curium, Cyprus, and the basilica at Delphi, see [Blaga Aleksova] Блага Алексова, “Старата Епископска Базилика во Стоби” (The Old Episcopal Basilica at Stobi), *GZFF* 12 (1985): 59.

¹⁸⁰ Ernst Kitzinger, “Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian,” *CMGR* 1 (1963): 346.

The technique was probably imported from Antioch and Cyprus, and it was brought to Macedonia through the Via Egnatia road.¹⁸¹

The remarkable mosaic in the *narthex* of the Large Basilica is an innovation for the fifth-century mosaics in this area. Every figure in the central field is executed with great precision and virtuosity, this further can be attributed to the culture of the patron.¹⁸² Perhaps the central composition was made by cosmopolitan artisans. The central mosaic may have been copied,¹⁸³ while the border was designed on the spot, since several anomalies can be seen in the layout of the mosaics. The symbolism depicted, as well as the way of execution of the figures, precision and naturalistic execution of the trees, was an innovation for the fifth-century mosaics in this area. The figures and trees are carefully rendered with precision and are treated in a manner closer to painting. According to the groups of style in the Early Christian art this mosaic belong to the “Alexandrian style.”¹⁸⁴ The other mosaics in the Large Basilica do not have the same precision as the mosaic executed in the *narthex*. They are less elaborate, and not naturalistic execution may be seen on the figures depicted.

The mosaics from the Episcopal Palace can be framed in one stylistic group. This is due to the stylistic elements of the mosaics as well as of their dating, since they are all dated to the same period-- from the second to the eight decade of the sixth century. According to their style of execution these mosaics were made even below

¹⁸¹ Massimo Vitti, “Sectilia Pavimenta di Salonicco,” *Nota Preliminare*, *CMGR* 9, no. 2 (2005): 699.

¹⁸² Ruth E. Kolarik, “Sixth-century Bishops as Patrons of Floor Mosaics in the Balkan Peninsula,” *CMGR* 9 (2005): 1264.

¹⁸³ According to Kolarik, the model could have been a mural or mosaic from a cosmopolitan center, while Tomašević argues that the model could as well have been a miniature from that period, see Tomašević, *The Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex*, 37. Kitzinger also believes is that the style of these mosaics was in related to book illustration, see Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making: Main lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd-7th century*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 67.

¹⁸⁴ See Charles Rufus Morey, *Early Christian Art: An Outline of the Evolution of Style and Iconography in Sculpture and Painting from Antiquity to the Eight Century* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1953), 35.

the standards.¹⁸⁵ They are less elaborate compared with the mosaics in the Large Basilica. The treatment of the figures is without any plasticity, they are depicted as flat surfaces. All the figures resemble each other in the treatments of the contours and are like plain silhouettes. The same execution of the figures can be seen on the mosaic in the basilica at Stobi,¹⁸⁶ and in the nave in the basilica at Edessa.¹⁸⁷

Other important elements for defining the style of the mosaics are the form and dimensions of the *tesserae*. The *tesserae* on the mosaics are small, from 0.8 cm up to 2 cm square. Their density per two square meters (dm 2) is from 45 to 62 *tesserae*. The *tesserae* are of irregular and different shapes, depending on the type of they were cut from. Therefore, the *tesserae* of natural material, like marble and black and green stone, are bigger and their dimensions usually are 1 to 1.5 cm square, while the *tesserae* made of artificial materials like glass paste are the smallest; their dimensions are usually 0.8 cm square.¹⁸⁸ All the *tesserae* have irregular shapes except those one made of ceramics with a coarse granular structure. This is due to the structure of the material, since some materials can be cut easily into different shapes¹⁸⁹ and some are difficult to cut into regular shapes.¹⁹⁰ According to all these stylistic elements, the mosaics in Heraclea can be placed in the group of second-rank mosaics. This group is frequent from the fourth to the seventh century, especially in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire.

¹⁸⁵ Tomašević, "The Mosaic in the Episcopal Palace," 75.

¹⁸⁶ Blaga Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi," *CORSI* 33 (1986): 21 (fig. 2).

¹⁸⁷ Jean-Pierre Sodini, "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce," *BCH* 94 (1970): 744 (fig. 13).

¹⁸⁸ For more on the dimensions and sizes of the *tesserae* see [Momčilo Petrovski] Петровски, Момчило. "Истражување на мозаични подови од техничко- технолошки аспект" (Analysis of the Pavement Mosaics from the technical aspect), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 241.

¹⁸⁹ Like the ceramics or some types of marble; grey marble, which is composed of crystals with middle-sized grains and graphite inclusions, or white compact marble with middle sized grains.

¹⁹⁰ From natural materials, marbles: black, with a crystalline structure, grey quartz porphyry with a crystalline structure, and quartz and iron ingredients, green serpentine, red with calcium and iron ingredients, as well as all types of glass paste. For more on the techniques of the mosaics see: [Milorad Medić] Милорад Медик "Техниката матерјалите и конзервацијата на мозаикот во нартексот во Големата Базилика во Хераклеја Линкестидска" (The Techniques, Materials and the Conservation of the mosaic in the narthex of the Large basilica at Heraclea Lyncestis), *Heraclea* 3 (1967): 94.

IV. 2. WORKSHOPS

Detecting a mosaic workshop on a site in general is quite difficult. Mainly that is due to the lack of written sources, since ancient authors were not interested in explaining the work of mosaicists and the material evidence does not provide much information on mosaic artisans.

Mosaic workshops are generally divided into two groups: the travelling workshop (*officina*), consisting of a *pictor* and assistants, and the local workshop, which tried to follow the style and trends from the large cities and combine them with the local taste. The mosaics in Heraclea are connected with the first group. Many scholars have tried to detect workshops in the Heraclea's mosaics.¹⁹¹

Can one speak of workshops for Heraclea's mosaics? Were these workshops active here and did the artists live here constantly or only come to work seasonally on the mosaics? I am aware of the problems of mosaic workshops and pattern-books that exist in present knowledge. If there is no inscription on the mosaic then it is difficult to establish the workshop in one place. On the mosaics in Heraclea it can be seen that many of the mosaics have the same patterns, which are similar or the same as patterns at nearby sites. This may support the conclusion that there were pattern-books according to which the images on the mosaics were made, not only in Heraclea, but in whole province.¹⁹² Perhaps the same patterns were used not only within one province, but further, like the grape vine from the mosaic in the Large Basilica at Heraclea, which has the same style and execution as the grape vines in the main nave in the

¹⁹¹ Gordana Cvetković-Tomašević, "L'iconographie des mosaïques sur les pavements des trois martyria du Vie siècle," *CMGR* 8, vol. 2 (2001); Rith E Kolarik, "The Floor Mosaics of Eastern Illyricum: The Northern Regions," *ACIAC* 10, No. 1 (1984): 445-479.

¹⁹² About the pattern-books in the Near East see Janine Balty, *Mosaïque antiques du Proche-Orient* (Paris: Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besençon, 1995), 37.

Giustiniana Basilica in Sabratha (Libiya).¹⁹³ Comparing the mosaics from Heraclea with those in Stobi,¹⁹⁴ Bargala¹⁹⁵ and Amphipolis,¹⁹⁶ clearly shows that the same patterns with the same executions were used. Another issue is existence of the plants, trees and animals and the possibility that the mosaicists were directly influenced by them. Some of them are known to have existed in these regions at the same time while the mosaics were executed.¹⁹⁷ This gives a good example of how twofold this issue is, and may lead to conclusions about how pattern books spread and the conclusion that the same workshop was active in many nearby cities.

Another question that can be raised here concerns the durability of the workshops. The ultimate problem is the fate of these workshops. What became of the craftsman and their pattern-books when they ceased exist? After the local demand had been met, the workshop had to look for a job at some other place and they probably traveled widely from one to another city. Christian mosaic pavements were astonishingly durable, they could far outlast the life of a generation. Clearly mosaicists looking for employment had a limited number of potential clients in this town and the surrounding countryside. They could not have expected to have work for many years; after that they would have had to move to another town, perhaps even another province.

¹⁹³ Rosa Maria Carra Bonacasa, "Tradizione pagana e simbologia cristiana nei mosaici Giustiniani delle chiese di Sabratha e Cirene (Libia)," *GMGR* 9, no. 2 (2005): 1349 (fig. 4 abcd); 1348 (fig. 3 ab).

¹⁹⁴ [Blaga Aleksova] Блага Алексова, "Стоби, Подните мозаици во Епископската Базилика" (Stobi, The Floor Mosaics in the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 33 (fig. 7).

¹⁹⁵ [Blaga Aleksova] Блага Алексова, "Баргала, Подните мозаици во Епископската Базилика" (Bargala, The Floor Mosaics in the Episcopal Basilica), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 40 (fig. 4).

¹⁹⁶ For the mosaics in Amphipolis see Marie Spiro, *Critical Corpus of the Mosaic Pavements on the Greek Mainland, Fourth/Sixth Centuries with Architectural Surveys*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1978), 587-611; Arja Karivieri, "Floor Mosaics in the Early Christian Basilica in Arethousa (Central Macedonia)," *CMGR* 9 (2005): 375 (fig. 8).

¹⁹⁷ [Nikola Hristovski] Никола Христовски, "Идентификација на некои животни и растенија од претставите на подните мозаици во Хераклеја Линкестис" (Identification of some of the Animals and Plants from the Images of the Pavement Mosaics at Heraclea Lyncestis), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 77-89.

Heraclea Lyncestis was an important center in Macedonia Prima province. From the epigraphic sources it can be concluded that there were many wealthy citizens in this town. But, could the city have supported such a workshop for more years? Mosaics in Heraclea are mainly dated to different decades of a century, from the fourth to the sixth century. According to the broad chronological framework of the mosaics and the size of their surface it can be concluded that Heraclea could not have supported a school of mosaicists and artists for long time. This further implies that the mosaics and artisans working on the mosaics in Heraclea must have been part of the so-called “traveling” workshops, who after finishing the job in one city moved to another one.

IV. 3. INFLUENCE

The mosaics in Balkans are quite similar, in both the iconography and decoration. Sometimes it is difficult to establish the direction of the influences in the Balkans. The mosaic technique was popular in this area from the Hellenistic and Roman periods,¹⁹⁸ therefore, Greek-Hellenistic influence on mosaics can be seen in Macedonia during Late Antiquity.¹⁹⁹ The *kantharos* depicted on the mosaic in the Narthex in the Large Basilica in Heraclea (Fig. 4) is the most similar to the Hellenic craters depicted on vessels. The mosaics in Heraclea must have been influenced by Roman Classical mosaics that were executed in this region in the Classical Period.²⁰⁰

Constantinople as the major city of the empire was the basis for most of the styles in art. It was where the styles originated and then spread through the empire.

¹⁹⁸ [Peco Srbinovski] Пецо Србиновски, “Подните мозаици во Пелагонија (појава и техники)” (The Floor Mosaics in Pelagonia [Origin and techniques]), *Materijali* 18 (1978): 47.

¹⁹⁹ G. Mano-Zissi, “La Question des différentes écoles de Mosaïques Gréco-Romaines de Yougoslavie et essai d’une esquisse de leur évolution,” *CMGR* 1 (1967): 287.

²⁰⁰ Peco Srbinovski, “Les mosaïques de la Pélagonie Origine-techniques-datation,” *CMGR* 3 (1980): 127.

One can not omit Constantinople in terms of the spread of mosaic style through whole Balkan Peninsula.²⁰¹ The only difficulty is not having preserved mosaics in Constantinople;²⁰² in this case the only possible mosaics for detecting the influence are the mosaics from the same province Macedonia, as well as the neighboring provinces Epir, Illyric and Dardania. After Constantinople, Thessaloniki was the second main center of the Byzantine Empire. The city was prosperous, which can be also seen throughout its architecture. I believe that this was the main influence on Heraclea because of the short distance between these two cities.

The important Via Egnatia²⁰³ led through these two cities, connecting the Adriatic Sea with Constantinople. The influence on the mosaics must have spread along this road. For example, the motif with two deer flanking a fountain or a vase was the most popular in Macedonian provinces from the second half of the fifth century to the sixth century; it spread to the whole area along the Via Egnatia when Thessaloniki was the capital of the prefecture of Illyric.²⁰⁴ The motif of peacocks flanking a vase or a fountain was common in a larger area, extending as far as Crete, Achaia and Thessaly.²⁰⁵ Symbolic motifs consisting of animals in heraldic pairs were a common theme in both Macedonian provinces.²⁰⁶ On the other side elaborately developed carpet designs like that in the aisles of the Large Basilica are to be found

²⁰¹ Byzantine influence can be seen even in Istria, for example in the basilica in Porec: see [Jovanka Maksimović] Јованка Максимовић, “Иконографија и програм мозаика у Поречу” (Iconography and program of the mosaics in Porec), *ЗПВИ* 8 (1964): 248- 249.

²⁰² The latest article about the only preserved mosaics in Constantinople is by Werner Jobst, “Das Palastmosaik von Konstantinopel Chronologie und Ikonographie,” *CMGR* 9, No. 2 (2005): 1083-1117.

²⁰³ On the roads leading through the Provinces Macedonia Prima and Secunda, Epirus Novus, and Dardania, see the article of Fanula Papazoglu, as well as the book of [Ivan Mikulčić] Иван Микулчић. *Антички градови во Македонија* (Antique towns in Macedonia) (Skopje: Makedonska Akademija na Nauki i Umetnosti, 1999).

²⁰⁴ Παναγιόδα Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακα, *Στερεά Ἑλλάδα, Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικών ψηφιδωτών δαπέδων τῆς Ἑλλάδος II* (Thessaloniki : Kentro Byzantion Ereunon : 1987), 56..

²⁰⁵ Arja Karivieri, “Floor Mosaics in the Early Christian Basilica in Arethousa (Central Macedonia),” *CMGR* 9 (2005): 376.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

elsewhere in the Balkans from the fifth and beginning of the sixth centuries.²⁰⁷ The main transport and connections between the towns in this part of the empire followed this road. The economy had been maintained through the main roads since Roman times. It was the same in this period; workshops could travel along the main roads because the main towns were situated there - that is how they developed into the main towns.

The same stylistic lines there can be seen in many mosaics in the cities from this part of the Balkan Peninsula. Sometimes one pattern can be seen to exist in many places, which was probably example of the same workshop or the same pattern-books. According to the stylistic comparative analyzes between the mosaics in this part of the Balkan Peninsula generally I believe that may be seen similarities between the mosaics executed in the basilicas in Bylis,²⁰⁸ Saranda²⁰⁹ Lyn,²¹⁰ Butrint,²¹¹ Ohrid²¹², and on the other side the decoration on the mosaics in Heraclea,²¹³ Stobi,²¹⁴ Amphipolis and Aretousa.²¹⁵ Mosaics itself reveal same stylistic elements and execution of the decoration. This may furthermore lead to the conclusion that influences on the mosaics spread within the same province and neighbouring provinces, going from Adriatic Sea to the mainland in the Provincia Epirus, following the Via Egnatia, on the other hand, another direction may lead through the Aegean Sea to the mainland of the Provincias Macedonia Prima and Macedonia Secunda,

²⁰⁷ Other examples are found in the south aisle of the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi, see Ruth Kolarik, "The Episcopal Basilica at Stobi," *SAS* 3 (1980): 72 (fig. 1).

²⁰⁸ Skënder Muçaj and Marie-Patricia Raynaud, "Les mosaïques des églises protobyzantines de Byllis (Albanie). Un atelier" *CMGR* 9 (2005): 394 (fig. 9).

²⁰⁹ Skënder Muçaj, "Les mosaïques des Bylis," *CORSI* 40 (1993): 602.

²¹⁰ Gianfranco Fiaccadori, "Note storiche ai mosaici di Lin (Albania)," *CMGR* 3: 187 (fig. 4).

²¹¹ John Mitchell, "The mosaic pavements of the Baptistry," in *Byzantine Butrint: Excavations and Surveys 1994-99* (Oxford: Oxbow books, Park End Place, 2004): 202-218.

²¹² Bitrakova, *The Early Christian Monuments*, 78.

²¹³ Cvetkovic, "Mosaic in the Narthex," 31 (fig. 32).

²¹⁴ Blaga Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas at Stobi," *CORSI* 33 (1986): 34 (fig. 8).

²¹⁵ Παναγιώδα Ασημακοπούλου-Ατζακα, *Στερεά Ἑλλάδα, Σύνταγμα των παλαιοχριστιανικῶν ψηφιδωτῶν δαπέδων τῆς Ἑλλάδος II*, (Thessaloniki : Kentro Byzantion Ereunon: 1987), 52.

following the road which leads through Heraclea to Stobi. Taking all these circumstances into account, one may conclude that influence among the towns led from Constantinople to Thessaloniki and spread in different directions in the provinces through Balkan Peninsula.

IV. 4. PATRONS

The pavements of Christian buildings often attest the activities of patrons and donors. Inscriptions in churches frequently record that the mosaics were gift of named individuals. They sometimes reflect the preference for particular motifs and subjects in the mosaic repertory that corresponds well to the taste and stylistic fashion of the time. Since the mosaics in Heraclea are mainly placed in ecclesiastical buildings the content of the mosaic decorations is sacral and therefore I believe they may have limited their choices, but they still could have had preferences within a smaller group of theologically appropriate motifs.²¹⁶

In order to interpret the meaning of the floor mosaics their context and the intentions of their creators must be taken into account, insofar as they are presented. The pavements of Christian buildings often attest clearly the activities of patrons and donors. Inscriptions in the churches very frequently record that the mosaics were the gifts of named individuals.²¹⁷ In Heraclea's mosaics only one mosaic inscription is preserved. According to subdivision of texts of mosaics²¹⁸ into different categories based on the nature of the text, the mosaic inscription in Heraclea can be placed in the

²¹⁶ The best example is the mosaic in basilica A at Nicopolis in Epirus, where the inscription explains the scene of the mosaic, which was interpreted as the wish of the patron so that the mosaic would be interpreted correctly. For more on this see Ernst Kitzinger, "Studies on Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics I. Mosaics at Nicopolis" in *Studies in Late Antique Byzantine and Medieval Western Art*, vol. 1 (London: Pindar Press, 2002), 188-243.

²¹⁷ Katherine M D Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), "324."

²¹⁸ Angelique Notermans, "Speaking mosaics," *CMGR* 8 (2001): 459.

first category, that is, texts which relate to the floor or the mosaic, such as signatures and dedications.

On the mosaic in the nave is an inscription: *Vinica Domesticus laboravit pro peccatis sui(s)*. “Domestic service” appears in the *Imperatoris Theodisii* codex and *Notitia Dignitatum* and means service connected with the cavalry and infantry (*domesticus equitum et domesticus peditum*) by the people from the rank of *virii illustres*, but at the same time it can be service to the church.²¹⁹ What exactly the service of *Vinica* comprised is not known. *Vinica* as a patron of this mosaic must have been a powerful and important person in the service of the bishopric, and at the same time with good financial resources, since making a mosaic was expensive work. This inscription followed the widespread tendency of the bishops and high ecclesiastics to record their donations in churches.²²⁰

The mosaic in the *narthex* of the Large Basilica contrasts with the rest of the mosaics in this city. The range of different color and small-sized *tesserae*, shows that the commissioners of this mosaic had enough resources for paying mosaicists and artisans. Furthermore, the themes of the mosaic could suggest that an ecclesiastical person was involved in the commissioning; according to Kolarik, this mosaic was commissioned by a bishop.²²¹ The bishops were wealthy citizens from the Late Antique cities. This can be seen also by the duration of the time they held the title bishop in the period of Late Antiquity.²²² The importance of the church, as well as the visibility of the place where the mosaic is placed, its virtuosity and the subtlety of its

²¹⁹ Georgievska and Kalpakovska, *Epigraphic Monuments*, 137.

²²⁰ For the Latin inscriptions see Paul Albert Février, “La lettre at l’image,” *CMGR* 4 (1984): 383-401.

²²¹ Kolarik, “Sixth-Century Bishops,” 1264.

²²² Late Antique bishops generally kept the title bishop longer than the bishops in the middle medieval period, see more E. Honigman, “Neronias-Irenopolis in Eastern Cilicia,” *Byzantion* 20 (1955): 56.

imagery relate it to the group of mosaics in the Balkans commissioned by bishops.²²³ I believe that these mosaics were executed as a sign of ecclesiastical authority.

This does not exclude that the donors on all the mosaics in Heraclea were only ecclesiastical persons. Although there is no testimony on the inscriptions on the mosaics in Heraclea, individual donors might also be patrons on some of these mosaics. From other epigraphic inscriptions²²⁴ it can be seen that the wealth of the citizens in Heraclea grew rapidly in Late Antiquity. These wealthy citizens could have been mosaic donors, just as the clergy were.

IV. 5. DATING

Dating the mosaics is one of the most important questions for every mosaic in general, but at the same time one of the most difficult. Having no written sources for mosaics makes these questions even more difficult to answer. On the other hand, by having plenty of archaeological documentation mosaics can be dated according to their archaeological contexts. Another approach for dating pavements is assessing the stylistic and artistic features, since for many mosaics no other approach can be used.

The mosaics in Heraclea can be placed in the second chronological period of the development of the early Christian art –the early Byzantine period from the mid-fourth century to the early sixth century.²²⁵ They were not all laid in one period. No date inscriptions exist on these mosaics, but with the archaeological documentation, at least the date *terminus ante and post quem* can be determined. The dating of the

²²³ Kolarik, "Sixth-century bishops," 1264.

²²⁴ All the inscriptions from Heraclea Lyncestis were published first in Papazoglu, "Heraclea in the Light of the Epigraphical Texts," but the latest compilation is by Kalpakovska and Georgievska, *Epigraphic Monuments*.

²²⁵ Generally the chronological framework of the development of the early Christian art is divided in two periods—first the late Roman or pre-Constantinian, which includes the third and early fourth century, and the second the Early Byzantine period from the mid-fourth century to the early sixth century. For more on this see Robin Margaret Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art*, (London: Routledge, 2000), 9.

mosaics in Herculeia was done mainly by the comparative approach, by trying to find some stylistic similarities and differences with the closer cities like Amphipolis, Philippi, Lychnid, Stobi, Bargala, Butrint, and Bylis. Many scholars have devoted articles to the chronology of the mosaics in Heraclea.²²⁶

Gordana Cvetković –Tomašević gives this chronology for the mosaics:

The nave and *diakonikon* of the Large Basilica date to the fourth decade of the fifth century.

The *narthex* of the Small Basilica dates to the end of the fifth century and beginning of the sixth century.

The annex of the chapel and the north and south aisles in the Large Basilica date to the beginning of the sixth century.

The mosaics in the baptistery and *catechumenium* date to the second decade of the sixth century.

The mosaic in the *exonarthex* of the Small Basilica dates to the third decade of the sixth century.

The chapel mosaic is the latest, dating to the ninth decade of the sixth century.

The chronological framework of the mosaics in the Episcopal Palace is the sixth century.

Room 2 dates to the second decade of the sixth century.

The *triclinium* dates to the middle of the sixth century.

Room 4 dates to the seventh decade of the sixth century.

Room 3 dates the latest, to the seventh or eighth decade of the sixth century.

Peco Srbinovski proposes this chronology for the mosaics:

²²⁶ Cvetković, *Mosaics in the Episcopal Court*, 74; idem. "The Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex," 47; idem, *The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics*, 56; [Peco Srbinovski] Пецо Србиновски, "Подните мозаици во Пелагонија (појава и техники)" *Materijali* 18 (1978): 58; Peco Srbinovski, "Les

The *opus sectile* mosaic in the nave in the Small Basilica dates to the fourth century.

The *exonarthex* from the Small Basilica dates to the first half of the fifth century.

The *catechumenium* and baptistery in the Large Basilica date in the middle of the fifth century.

The nave and *narthex* of the Large Basilica date in the second decade of the fifth century.

The aisles and *diakonikon* in the Large Basilica date to the second decade of the second half of the fifth century.

The mosaic in the chapel of the Large Basilica and the mosaics in the Episcopal Palace are all dated to the first half of the sixth century.

The both chronology are relative and based on stylistic approach and on the archaeological documentation and finds as well.

The mosaics in Heraclea Lyncestis can be put in one large chronological framework from the middle of the fourth to the end of the sixth century, when the mosaic art in this part of the Balkan Peninsula reached its zenith. They are firmly connected with the mosaics found in the neighboring provinces of Macedonia, Epirus, and Dardania. The workshops that created these mosaics shared similarities in both the stylistic elements of the patterns and iconography.

Detecting workshops in Heraclea is a question that until now has not yielded any results. According to the number, manner, and quality of the execution of the same motif, it can be concluded that this was a period when mosaic as a craft reached its peak and developed into a high quality of artistic expression. It did not last for a

mosaïques de la Pélagonie Origine-techniques-datation,"*CMGR* 3 (1980): 128-130; G. C. Tomašević, "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis" *CMGR* 2 (2005): 388-398.

long time, however, since the end of mosaic creation was connected with the invasion of barbarians at the end of the sixth century.

CONCLUSION

The floor mosaics in Heraclea, according to their designs, can be placed in a group of early Christian mosaics that marked the decorative art of Late Antiquity. While, antique mosaics are very luxurious, both in the scale of subject and decoration, the early Christian mosaics are not so rich in their scale of subjects. The use of this banal repertory is not because of economical reasons. It is consistent with the religious beliefs and the politics of the Late Antiquity. Mosaics in Heraclea belong to the signitive art, and are placed in the early Byzantine period of development of the art.

Mosaics in Heraclea have been found only in ecclesiastical buildings. Most of these mosaics are related to the group of religious mosaics which refers to the Christian doctrine. Christian beliefs consisted of a sophisticated and elaborated theology and of symbols and practices, echoes of which were used in mosaic art. Mosaics in Heraclea are not considered as pure geometrical or figural, since they incorporate both geometrical and figural decoration often found in one mosaic together. Figural, but particularly geometrical mosaics show a large repertory of designs on these mosaics.

When detecting the function of the imagery and its architectural concern, very important is to make a distinction between the decorative and symbolical patterns depicted on the Early Christian mosaics. Making this kind of distinction generally is very difficult. Taken in isolation, apart from a specific context, an image can be understood in many different ways; but its religious meaning can become more clear when it is considered as a part of a series of images, all serving the same

purpose. In my opinion the only safety way for making this distinction is by putting them in the context of the whole image and the architecture itself.

All the imagery with decorative and iconographic context must be considered in the framework of the building, place, and context in which they are depicted. For mosaics that are architecturally part of ecclesiastical buildings, the relationship of the pavement to the room in which it is situated is an important criterion of function.

By analyzing the mosaics in these monuments, one can notice many are of sacral character. The favorite figural composition was a symmetrical picture, with animals approaching a vessel with grapevines. As a symbol of the Eucharist, in the early Christian period this picture is seen on many mosaics in Heraclea: *narthex*, nave, annex of the chapel in the Large Basilica, *exonarthex* of the Small Basilica, as well as the *triclinium*, Room 2 and Room 3. It has a symbolical meaning, that can be traced in many basilicas in this area. As a sacral symbolical image, this pattern usually depicted in the basilica reveals a sacral space.

The mosaic in the *narthex* is the most elaborate one. It presents the four zones of the cosmos: earth, sea, sky, paradise and the holy zone. The central symmetrical composition of animals approaching a *kantharos* symbolizes the holy zone, peaceful animals and birds symbolize paradise, fighting animals and trees symbolize the earth, while the frame around the central composition depicts water. In my view such an extensive mosaic in both the theme and decoration was placed in the *narthex*, because of the visibility of the place. The patrons of this mosaic were probably ecclesiastics, and their wish was this mosaic be seen by as large an audience as possible to show their authority.

Geometric patterns can sometimes have symbolic context, as seen in the central decoration on the mosaic in the nave. This composition consists of four

geometrical patterns: a circle placed in three rectangles, nested one inside the other, and is purely geometrical composition. This so called “composition in composition” has the same meaning as the scene in the *narthex* of the Large Basilica and it symbolizes the cosmos. Each of the four zones is one zone from the universe. Also there is an inscription in the central part of the nave, placed in *tabula ansata*. I believe that the placement on this composition and inscription in the middle part of the nave, has its own meaning and that is how the commissioners wanted to express their faith in the Christian religion, and at the same time to express their vow to the church, as well as their authority.

Geometrical and floral patterns depicted on the mosaics mainly have a decorative function, but sometimes they can have also a symbolic meaning. It is difficult to make a distinction between these two meanings, and that is why the safest way is to take the patterns in the context of the architecture, since same patterns sometimes have different meanings when put in a different context. This is the case with the *diakonikon*, baptistery and *catechumenium*. In my view the water birds in the baptistery offer a special context in the viewer’s visual space. They imply to the water and bring a visual effect on baptism.

Also, the ivy scroll in the *diakonikon* is not only decorative, but it could also symbolize Eucharist. The scroll is placed in a frame, and I believe it was connected with the furniture, table or altar that was probably placed in this room. Further, this can lead to the conclusion that not only the offerings were placed here, but perhaps the Eucharist was also being held here.

Perhaps the most obvious example of how geometric patterns can play a symbolic role when put in a different context of space are the concentric rows of curvilinear triangles depicted on the mosaic in the *catechumenium*. This is usually

regarded as only decorative element of the mosaics, but I think that this design has a special meaning in this architectural context that changes the visual landscape of the room and brings another dimension and optical feeling for the observers. This pattern was used widely for spatial and optical effects in the fifth and sixth century, and it can be found in many churches from this period. In my opinion, mosaics might have been designed to mark the patterns of use of a room on the floor: the habitual location of furniture, the division into parts serving different purposes, the desired flow of movement or the visibility of the place.

Analyzing the pavement mosaics in the Small Basilica can lead to the conclusion that the visibility of the places where mosaics were placed played an important role in the decision where a particular mosaic was to be put. That can be seen through the position of different materials in the different places of the church; mosaic in *opus tessellatum* in the *exonarthex*, mosaic in *opus sectile* in the nave, and tiles made of clay tiles in the aisles. This combination of different techniques in one building, was often used in the fourth century in the churches, and particularly on Balkans.

I believe that the position of mosaics can be examined through their visibility and the function of the rooms where they are placed. In the most visible places, they carry the most sacred compositions, like the nave, *narthex*, *martyrium*, and chapel. On the other hand, the mosaics in the *catechumenium*, *diakonikum*, baptistery, and aisles in the Large Basilica present mainly geometrical patterns, but with symbolic meanings.

Accordingly it can be concluded that the most prominent and visible places in the church were decorated with symmetrical compositions, which imply the cosmos. The rooms that were less exposed to public view are decorated with mainly geometrical compositions, but even they have some special meaning.

Regarding the Episcopal Palace, the *triclinium*, and rooms 2 and 3 were probably public rooms. In all three rooms there is a depiction of a symmetrical composition and with mirror-image animals approaching a vessel. This further implies that this architectural part of this complex was regarded also as a holy part, and furthermore, it may implied that the function of this building was closely connected with the ecclesiastical buildings next to it. Room 4 of the palace has a less elaborate mosaic, without a depiction of a sacral composition, like the symmetrical picture. Unfortunately the decoration on this mosaic, can not give some specific meaning of the function of the room. It suggests only the conclusion that this room did not have the same function as the other three rooms. This is an example that not always the mosaics can give a concrete explanation of the function of the rooms where they are placed.

It must be remembered that these Christian monuments are placed in the very center of the town. They were some kind of “invaders,” since they were placed above the antic pagan monuments. Christianity, as the triumphing religion, expressed its ideas through the monuments on every possible place in the late antique towns. Oral and written expressions of beliefs were followed by a sacralisation of landscapes and physical surroundings by church buildings, the renaming of sacred places and the replacement of local deities by saints’ cults.

The stylistic elements of the Heraclea’s mosaics revealed a combination of traditional and innovative stylistic elements. Since the mosaics are dated in a larger framework from the fourth to sixth century, the transformation of the old trends by new ones can be followed on them. The mosaic from the *exonarthex* of the Small Basilica is a good example of the transformation from geometric to figural decoration. New trends came from the larger cities from East like Constantinople and

Thessaloniki. By putting all the mosaics from this part of the Balkan Peninsula in one broader framework, it can be concluded that there were two main directions of the spread of style. One leading from the Adriatic Sea to mainland in the Balkan Peninsula, following via Egnatia, and another one from Thessaloniki, coming from the Aegean Sea to the inland of the Balkan Peninsula. In my view mosaics from Heraclea were influenced mainly from Thessaloniki, since they show more stylistic similarity with the mosaics in Amphipolis, Aretousa, Thessaloniki and Phillipi.

Mosaics in Heraclea Lyncestis are dated mainly to the fifth and sixth centuries. They were made by a traveling workshop. Unfortunately they did not leave an inscription of the names of the artisans. Since no archaeological remains have been found, like making *tesserae*, the best conclusion is that these mosaics were made by a traveling workshop. They probably came from the larger cities, and introduced the new trends of into this decorative art.

Another important issue are the donors, through whom one can take a look in the social life of the town. Inscriptions on the mosaics do not give a full picture since there is only one inscription, in the nave of the Large Basilica. The patron of this mosaic was an ecclesiastical person, since his title *Domesticus* is also written on the mosaic. What exactly the service of *Vinica* was is not known, but he must been an authoritative person in the service of the bishopric in Heraclea. He followed the trend of the bishops and other ecclesiastics in recording their donations in the churches.

The mosaic in the *narthex* of the Large Basilica is described as a bishop's donation because of its mannerist style of the depiction of the figures. Furthermore, this may imply that the main patrons of these early Christian mosaics were ecclesiastical figures. For them it was important to present their wealth and authority in front of the public, and this is not surprising since in this period such inscriptions

can be seen on many mosaics from this area. That does not exclude lay people from donations of mosaic art, however, since in the period when these mosaics were made it is known from the epigraphic monuments that the citizens of Heraclea were wealthy. It is much harder to estimate how much the wishes of the donors were taken into account in designing these floors. They did not dictate how the images were to be represented, since the overall programme of decoration was clearly established by the ecclesiastical authorities, but the donors might at least have had a choice in some small range of depictions and formulae.

The aim of this thesis is not to resolve the whole iconography of the early Christian patterns on the mosaics, neither to resolve the question regarding the architectural context of them in general. The aim is to shed some new light of research on the Heraclea's mosaics and at the same time to turn in a new direction in the approach to the study of the mosaics in this area. It is important that such an approach be further developed since it has not been applied enough, especially not for the mosaics, which concern this thesis. I think that this methodology can lead to answering some of the main questions in the iconography of the images, as well as the functions of the rooms where they are placed.

This can be one of the directions for further research, since these questions seldom need received the systematic investigation that they need. I think that all the future mosaic corpora, especially those from sacral buildings, can and must be studied with this approach beside the others. This is an important methodology and it should be involved in scholarly research.

This question of research is closely connected with the archaeological remains. Another problem is that the site is not completely excavated.²²⁷ Further

²²⁷ This excavated buildings made up only around 10 % of the antique complex, that is waiting to be excavated.

excavation would give a new light not only on the city, but also on the mosaics as a architectural and decorative part of the buildings in this city. Even these mosaics have been analyzing in several books, I still think that further research is needed. This research must be interdisciplinary, and must bring together many approaches, so to give good results, like art history and archaeological results, especially the sources and history, since there is a lack of their interpretation. I firmly believe that only this kind of interdisciplinary approach can answer all the questions on this topic.

GLOSSARY

Basilica- rectangular church, usually divided by columns into nave and side aisles, and with an apse at the end.

Catechumenium- place particularly created for the catechumens and penitents. They could see only the first part of the Mass, and for the second one they were sheltered in this room

Chancel- the part of a church near the altar, where the priests and the choir sit during services

Diakonikon- in Byzantine usage, by the eighth century the Gospels were kept in the south room adjoining the chancel and place where the faithful placed their offerings

Emblema –a self-contained panel worked separately and set into the center of mosaic or other form of pavement.

Kantharos -wide-mouthed cup with handles, frequently used as mosaic motif.

Martirium (-on) -memorial church built over the saint's place of burial or martyrdom, or housing his/her relics.

Memoria-chapel

Narthex -entrance porch of church.

Opus (Latin 'work') -term used in combination with various other Latin words to identify types of construction.

Opus tessellatum- mosaic made of regular squared *tesserae* of cut stone

opus sectile -type of pavement or wall revetment formed from pieces of marble or other materials cut to the specific shapes of a design, and fitted together to form a smooth surface.

Piscina -round pool usually placed in the baptistery

Subsellium -bench, usually placed in the alter space of the churches

Tessara- piece of cut stone, but also of glass or other material, approximately cubic,
forming the basis material of a mosaic

Vestibulum-entrance hall

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CATALOGUE

I. THE SMALL BASILICA

I.1. THE MOSAIC IN THE EXONARTHEX (Fig. 3)

Description: The mosaic is damaged on the northeastern side. It consists of two rectangular compositions. The central register in the western composition consists of a net of cubes, which are placed fourteen per row in three rows. Only thirty-two fields are preserved from forty-two fields. Each field is decorated with a different pattern: vessels, crosses, zigzag lines, Solomon's knot, rosettes, empty baskets. A border closely surrounding the net of cubes is comprised of two interlaced lines, with a simple narrow line on the edge of the whole central register. The whole composition is enclosed within one frame, while on the western side there are two frames. The main frame consists of interlaced circles interspersed with squares after every two circles; the squares fall in the corners. Each of the circles and squares surrounds a different design motif, variations on birds and baskets filled with fruit. The eastern side of the mosaic consists of a rectangular composition and frame. The rectangular composition consists of a net of octagons with concave sides, placed in two rows (eighteen in each row). An elaborate frame separates the two compositions. It consists of symmetrical pictures, (near-mirror images) of which four are preserved in the frame between the two compositions and one is partially preserved on the south side of the composition. The symmetrical pictures are all different and they consist (from north to south) of a scene of two pheasants facing a *kantharos*, a deer and a bull approaching a *kantharos*, two ducks, and small birds approaching a *kantharos*. The last symmetrical picture from the frame between the eastern and western compositions is only partially preserved.

Type of technique: *opus tessellatum*
Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.
Dating: First half (Middle) of the Fifth century

Literature: [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић- Томашевић, Гордана.
Рановизантијски подни мозаици: Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир (
Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics: Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus Novus).
Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, Katedra za istoriju umjetnosti, 1978, fig. 42.

I. 2. THE MOSAIC IN THE NAVE

Description: The mosaic in the nave is the only one in the *opus sectile* technique found at Heraclea Lyncestis. The pavement is divided into small units consisting of three vertical zones. They consist of smaller rectangles of light-colored marble tesserae surrounded by triangles of local dark schist alternating with larger white slabs. An example of a similar composition can be seen in the central nave of the church in Amphipolis, as well as the basilica in Arethousa. East and north of these panels larger white marble slabs are surrounded by a row of narrow slabs of schist.

The main decorated zone consists of hexagonal pieces of white marble divided by triangular pieces of dark local schist and larger slabs of marble. In the middle of this zone a diamond made of white marble is framed by a border of dark local schist. It is further surrounded by triangles, placed on each side of the rhomb, made of white marble, that make a square and at the end the whole composition is embroidered by a zone made of white robs, encircles by triangles, made of black marble. The rhombs are made of white marble, while the triangles of dark local schist complete a square shape on this composition.

Between these three compositions is a frame made of large pieces of white marble. Also the lateral compositions are framed on the north and south sides with the same frame of large pieces of white marble.

Type of technique: *opus sectile*
Size of tiles: 3-5 cm
Dating: Second half of the fourth century.

Literature: Peco, Srbinovski. "Les mosaïques de la Pelagonie Origines-techniques-datations". *CMGR* 3 (1980), 456-468.

II. THE LARGE BASILICA

II. 1. MOSAIC IN THE NARTHEX (Fig. 4)

Description: The mosaic in the Narthex of the Large Basilica is the largest and most elaborate among the mosaics in Heraclea. Measuring 21.45 by 4.73 m, the surface area measures 156 cm². The central composition consists of animals, birds, and trees flanking a *kantharos* placed in the middle of the scene. The trees serve as informal dividers to separate different scenes; between the trees different animals are depicted, individually or in groups. Many of the images depict aggressive behavior. From left to right, a deer is depicted standing between first two trees. The tree to the left of the deer has large fruit and long clumps of leaves (it may represent a conifer of some kind); the tree to the right of the deer also has small red fruit. Between this tree and the next a bull and a lion are fighting. The tree to the right of the bull (through which the lion is jumping) bears fruit. To the left of the lion is another tree like that to the right of the first deer.

The center of the pavement is a large *kantharos* flanked by deer facing it, seeming to be male and female judging from the absence of antlers on the deer to the left of the *kantharos* and the presence of antlers on the deer to the right. Grapevines with leaves and fruit spring from the *kantharos* and twine in the background behind the deer. The mosaic is damaged on the right-hand side of the central motif; it appears that at least two more trees were depicted.

The next complete section, right of the visible base of a tree in the damaged section, is a snarling dog tied to what appears to be a fig tree. To the right of this tree

a leopard is depicted eating a deer under a somewhat smaller tree. The fruit on the tree suggest pomegranates.

Different birds are depicted among the trees in the upper part of the mosaic. They are all depicted in flight, with spread wings, with two exceptions -- the birds depicted between the second and the third trees, and the seventh and the eight trees.

The main mosaic panel is enclosed in two frames. The central composition is framed by simple red line on the inside and a black line, made of as single row of *tesserae*, on the outer side. Outside this is a frame of wave pattern, white and black, respectively. This frame is bounded with four simple lines: white, red, black, and white, respectively placed from the inner to the outer side of the zone around the composition. Another framed zone encloses these rather narrow borders; it consists of a grid of interlaced swastikas placed between hexagons. The octagons are filled with different water animals: dolphin, geese, fish, octopui, and swans, on white backgrounds. On southeastern side of the mosaic are the remains of another frame, the third and last one, consisted of yellow vine scroll, depicted on a white background.

Type of techique: opus *tesselatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 0. 6-1. 2 cm.

Dating: Second half of the Fifth century

Notes: The mosaic is in a good state of preservation, since it was conserved in 1975.

Subsequent repairs have been undertaken in the middle part of the mosaic, which is damaged. The damaged parts of the mosaic were filled with large marble tiles.

Literature: “Мозаикот на подот во нартексот на Големата базилика. Опис. Стил. Иконографија. Симболизам” (The Mosaic Pavement in the Narthex of the Large Basilica. Description. Style. Iconography). *Herakleja* 3 (1967): 1-64, Fig. 1-21.

II. 2. MOSAIC IN THE NAVE (Fig. 21, 22)

Description: The frame of this mosaic is consisted of rhombs interlaced with squares. Small circles are depicted inside the rhombs, while swastikas and cross shields there can be seen inside the squares. The mosaic is divided into two panels. One panel, placed on the western side of the basilica, consists of geometrical patterns only, consisting of *peltae*. In between the *peltae* in the middle of the nave there is a *tabula ansata* with an inscription that reads:

VINICA DO
MESTICUS LA
BORAVIIT PRO
PECCATIS SUI(S)

On the eastern part of the mosaic a network of squares enclosing four-sided stars can be seen, while in the middle of the mosaic there is a so called “composition in a composition.” This composition consists of four zones, which are all depicted one inside another; the first one is a circle, and the other three are rectangular. They are all nested one into another.

Type of technique: opus *tesselatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-1. 5 cm.

Dating: Middle of the Fifth century

Literature: Peco, Srbinovski. “Les mosaïque de la Pelagonie Origines-techniques-datations”. *CMGR* 3 (1980), 456-468.

II. 3. MOSAIC IN THE NORTH AISLE (Fig. 5)

Description: The mosaic consists of one central compositions and two frames. The rectangular one consists of thirteen panels. Each panel is filled with different ornaments, of which three have geometrical motifs, while the others have animal motifs. Two of the panels have been destroyed. Among the geometrical motifs there are depicted stars and squares, while among the animal depictions there are birds and

does. In the first panel a tree is depicted with a doe standing in front of it; in the second panel stars with four legs are depicted between stylized lotus buds; in the third panel is a tree with symmetrically depicted ducks; the fourth panel has been destroyed. In the fifth panel a tree is depicted with a bull in front of it; the sixth panel depicted flowers (roses) against a network of crosses and squares; the seventh panel shows a tree with symmetrically depicted ducks.

The third panel is similar to the sixth panel. In the eighth panel geometrical ornaments with two fish are depicted, placed in a diamond inside a circle inside a square. In the ninth panel a tree with a doe is depicted; the tenth panel has been destroyed. The eleventh panel shows a tree and two mirror-imaged ducks the twelfth panel shows fish and water depicted in waves, in the “asarotos” style. The last one, the thirteenth panel, depicts a duck.

Type of technique: *opus tessellatum*
 Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.
 Dating: Beginning of the Sixth century

Literature: Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana. “Mosaiques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis.” *CMGR* 2 (1971): 390-392.

II. 4. THE MOSAIC IN THE SOUTH AISLE (Fig. 6)

Description: Almost one half of this mosaic has not been preserved. The composition in the nave is almost the same as the composition in the north aisle. From thirteen panels only four have been preserved, which are situated in the western part of the nave. In the first panel is a depiction of a bird in a rhomb, in the second panel fish and waves with water in the “asarotos” style. The third panel is decorated with different zig-zag lines, and in the fourth panel, which is not well preserved, are remains of a “symmetrical scene” with birds facing a tree, one on each side.

Type of technique: *opus tessellatum*
 Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.

Dating: Beginning of the Sixth century.

Literature: Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana. "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis." *CMGR* 2 (1971): 390-392.

II. 5. THE MOSAIC IN THE BAPTISTERY (Fig. 7)

Description: The pavement consists of three rectangular compositions. The western composition consists of two zones: a framing zone of spindles with circles between them; the rectangular composition consists of intersecting circles. The second zone is filled with a fish scales and is divided in two by the piscine of the baptistery.

From the western composition only the north half of the mosaic is preserved, and only half of the frame from the rectangular zone. The frame zone is decorated with acanthus curles, while the rectangular zone shows a network of quadratic fields (aligned four by four in rows). In all, ten are preserved well and ten are preserved only partially. The fields are filled with different birds, vessels with fruit, baskets with fruit (in two fields), an octopus is in a one field, and a fish is shown in one field on the eastern corner of the mosaic. The frame zone consists of panels fulfilled with birds and fruits (apparently apple, pear and wayfaring).

Type of technique: opus *tesselatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.

Dating: Second half (Middle) of the Fifth century

Literature: [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић- Томашевић Гордана. *Рановизантијски подни мозаици: Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир* (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics: Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus Novus). Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, Katedra za istoriju umjetnosti, 1978.

II. 6. THE MOSAIC IN THE CATHEHUMENIUM (Fig. 8)

Description: The mosaic consists of three compositions. The first is a circle and consists of a Maltese cross which is framed by another circle that consists of black and white triangles situated adjacent to each other. The second zone consists of a

network of interlacing squares filled with a geometric grid pattern in four fields in two colors. The circles are also filled with grids. Each circle and square has its own independent inner frame of a simple line executed in a white *tesserae*. The third zone is the frame zone and it consists of crossing circles.

Type of technique: opus *tesselatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.

Dating: Second half (Middle) of the fifth century

Literature: Peco, Srbinovski. "Les mosaïque de la Pelagonie Origines-techniques-datations". *CMGR* 3 (1980), 130-132; Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana. "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis." *CMGR* 2 (1971): 393.

II. 7. THE MOSAIC IN THE DIAKONIKON (Fig. 13)

Description: The mosaic in the *diakonikon* has a trapezoidal shape because the form of the room is irregular. It consists of a central composition, framed by two borders. The central composition consists of intersecting circles, each filled with a diamond in which a circle is inscribed.

The first frame consists of *guilloche*, while the outer one consists of a vine scroll, white and red, respectively, placed on a white background. The second frame consists of a band of scrolling vine. Around this frame is a field with the scale-pattern (AIEMA No. 448).

Type of technique: opus *tesselatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.

Dating: Second half of the Fifth century

Literature: Peco, Srbinovski. "Les mosaïque de la Pelagonie Origines-techniques-datations". *CMGR* 3 (1980), 129-131; [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић-Томашевић Гордана. *Рановизантијски подни мозаици: Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир* (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics: Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus Novus). Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, Katedra za istoriju umjetnosti, 1978, Fig. 49.

II. 8. THE MOSAIC IN THE CHAPEL(Fig. 9, 10)

Description: The northern part of this pavement has been completely destroyed. The composition in the mosaic consists of one rectangular and one framing zone. The rectangular zone consists of a net of squares filled with birds and geometrical patterns, which are placed alternately straight and obliquely around crosses with cut ends (so-called Maltese crosses). The frame consists of a band of vine scroll.

Type of technique: *opus tessellatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.

Dating: First half of Sixth century.

Literature: [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић- Томашевић Гордана. *Рановизантијски подни мозаици: Дарданија, Македонија, Нови Епир* (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics: Dardania, Macedonia, Epirus Novus). Belgrade: Filozofski fakultet, Katedra za istoriju umjetnosti, 1978, Fig. 50.

II. 9. THE MOSAIC IN THE ANNEX OF THE CHAPEL (Fig. 9, 11, 12)

Description: The mosaic is divided into two compositions framed by a border. The northern composition consists of a “symmetrical picture,” which consists of a *kantharos* depicted at the base between a frontally depicted deer and doe. Above them, between the handles of the *kantharos*, two cocks and pigeons are depicted frontally and symmetrically on the each side of the *kantharos*. Above the mouth of the *kantharos* are two peacocks, again depicted frontally, and above them there is another pair of birds, cock pigeons, depicted facing each other above the *kantharos*. A grape vine scroll, scrolls out of the *kantharos* and forms a unit in the shape of heart, in the middle of which two peacocks eat a cluster of grapes.

The grapevine develops into other small branches placed all around the composition, with seven pieces on the left side and eleven on the right side. In each of them there is one grapevine. Between the branches the space is filled with birds, like pigeons.

The southern composition consists of a net with squares with rosettes in the middle of them. The frame consists of a wave band of lotus with water lilies.

Type of technique: opus *tesselatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 0. 8-2 cm.

Dating: Beginning of the Sixth century.

Literature: Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana. "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes récemment découvertes à Héracléa Lynkestis." *CMGR* 2 (1971): 391.

III. EPISCOPAL PALACE

III. 1. THE MOSAIC IN THE TRICLINIUM (Fig. 14, 18)

Description: The architectural setting of this room is a nave and an apse. The apse decoration consists of an inner composition decorated with a scale pattern, while the frame decoration is *guilloche* pattern.

The mosaic in the nave consists of one central composition and three frames. The central mosaic consists of eight panels (arranged four by four). All the panels (two by two) are filled with same or similar decoration, except the western one, where the decoration in both panels is completely different. In the eastern panels, which are placed next to the apse, "symmetrical pictures" appear in both rows. They are filled with the well known decoration of a fountain surrounded by animals in the lower part and birds in the upper part, symmetrically placed on each side of the fountain. In the next panel is a depiction of what seems to be a cyprus tree, and around it there is depiction of a grape vine branches and an apple tree full of fruit between two other small trees. Many animals are depicted chasing each other among the trees: a lion is chasing a wild boar; a dog is chasing a rabbit. The animals are depicted in two rows, one below the other, in the northern grid, in three rows in the southern grid.

The next grids are also with symmetrical compositions, and consist of different water animals, like fish, dolphin, octopus, ducks, geese, and a water monster.

They are depicted in the “asarotos” style and they are all dispersed over the surface of the composition. The western grids consist of different compositions. The northern one is only geometrical patterns, consisting of circles next each to another, intersected by rhombs, with a small circles inside them. The southern grid consists of a symmetrical picture, of a *kantharos* in the middle of the composition, with two grape vines carrying grapes emerging from it. Deer flank the *kantharos*, one on the left side and a smaller one on the right side. All the composition are executed on a white background, without any landscape or dimensional space.

The inner composition is surrounded by three frames. The first one, which is next to the inner composition, is *guilloche*, the middle one is a rolling wave, and the exterior one consists of twenty interspersed octagons and rosettes. All the octagons are filled with different animals, like water animals, fish, dolphins, and water birds: partridge, and one hunting scene in which a rabbit and dog are chasing a bird.

Type of technique: opus *tesselatum*
 Size of *tesserae*: 1-2 cm.
 Dating: Middle of the Sixth century.

Literature: [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић-Томашевић Гордана.“Рановизантијски подни мозаици у Епископском двору у Хераклеји Линкестис” (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics in the Episcopal Building at Heraclea Lyncestis). *Korpus Ranovizantijskih podnih mozaika 1* (2002): 14-41, Fig. 5-30.

III. 2. ROOM 2 (Fig. 15, 16, 17)

Description: The pavement of this room consists of one central composition in the middle of the mosaic, framed by three borders. In the center of the mosaic is a symmetrical picture consisting of a fountain placed in the middle of the composition, flanked by two deer and two lamb, which are placed frontally and symmetrically on each side of the fountain. Water runs from the fountain, into a vessel filled with water. Above this vessel two dolphins are depicted, flanking the fountain spout. Many

different trees are interspersed among the animals around the fountain, some of which have fruit of various kinds. There is also one tree with only leaves, and another one with roses. On the right side two partridges are depicted, while a duck and a dolphin are on the left side. At the bottom of the composition an enclosed garden can be seen. The enclosure looks like an altar partition; it consists of two parapet tiles separated by columns. The decoration of the enclosure consists of a scale pattern and a net of squares, depicted obliquely.

This scene is inside three frames. The inner one consists of three strand *guilloche* or braid (AIEMA No. 196), the next one is a band of meanders, black and white, and the outer frame is interlaced circles (AIEMA No. 148).

Type of technique: *opus tessellatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 1-2 cm.

Dating: First half of the Sixth century.

Literature: [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић-Томашевић Гордана. "Рановизантијски подни мозаици у Епископском двору у Хераклеји Линкестис" (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics in the Episcopical Building at Heraclea Lyncestis). *Korpus Ranovizantijskih podnih mozaika 1* (2002): 42-50, Fig. 31-35.

III. 3. ROOM 3 (Fig. 19)

Description: The pavement has two compositions. The eastern composition consists of one rectangle, framed with a border. The rectangle consists of circles and diamonds, placed next to one another and connected with a white line. The circles are filled with *peltae*, stars, Solomon's knot and simple flowers, while the diamonds are filled only with simple floral decoration. The frame is damaged, only two sides of it are preserved; it consists of an individual green band comprising a line.

The western composition consists of one square composition and two frames. The square composition consists of nine panels (arranged three by three), framed by *guilloche*. Five of them consist of figural motifs, and four have geometrical designs.

In the first row from the south (moving to the north) rosettes, a deer and a symmetrical image (a fountain between two ducks) are presented. In the second row of panels from the south the first panel is damaged, but one leg of some animal can be seen, which implies that an animal was also depicted in this panel. The second panel is filled with a deer, with a small deer in between its legs. In the last panel from this row there is only depicted only one deer. In the third row of panels the first panel is completely destroyed, on the second a stylized four-leaf rosette is depicted in a circle on a black background; the next panel is filled with a cross in a circle.

The inner frame consists of *guilloche*. The outer frame consists of intersecting octagons. (similar to AIEMA No. 350-352).

Type of technique: *opus tessellatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 1-2 cm.

Dating: First half of the Sixth century.

Literature: [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић-Томашевић Гордана. "Рановизантијски подни мозаици у Епископском двору у Хераклеји Линкестис" (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics in the Episcopical Building at Heraclea Lyncestis). *Korpus Ranovizantijskih podnih mozaika 1* (2002): 51-61, Fig. 36-44.

III. 4. ROOM 4 (Fig. 20)

Description: The pavement of this room consists of two central scenes framed by two frames. The northern composition consists of fruit trees with birds, and animals among them. The row of trees seems to consist of pear, apple, quince, and palm. The animals are depicted in three rows between pairs of trees, one above another: birds are in the upper part and animals are in the lower part of the composition. Among the animals are a lion, deer, doe, wild goat, a dog chasing a rabbit, a boar and mole, depicted from the eastern to the western side of the pavement. The birds are: ibis, pheasant and dove in the upper part of the mosaic and between the branches of the trees. The northern composition consists of a scale pattern in four different colors.

The inner frame consists of interlacing circles. The outer frame consists of grid of circles and squares, interlacing each other. The circles are filled with *peltae*, *peltae* facing each other, stylized four-leaf rosettes within circles, stars and simple geometrical patterns, while the squares are filled with stars, Solomon's knots, plastic cubes and diamonds with inscribed circles.

Type of technique: *opus tessellatum*

Size of *tesserae*: 1, 2-2 cm.

Dating: Second half of the Sixth century

Literature: [Cvetković-Tomašević, Gordana] Цветковић- Томашевић Гордана. “Рановизантијски подни мозаици у Епископском двору у Хераклеји Линкестис” (The Early Byzantine Pavement Mosaics in the Episcopal Building at Heraclea Lyncestis). *Korpus Ranovizantijskih podnih mozaika 1* (2002): 62-74. Fig. 45-55.

ILLUSTRATIONS

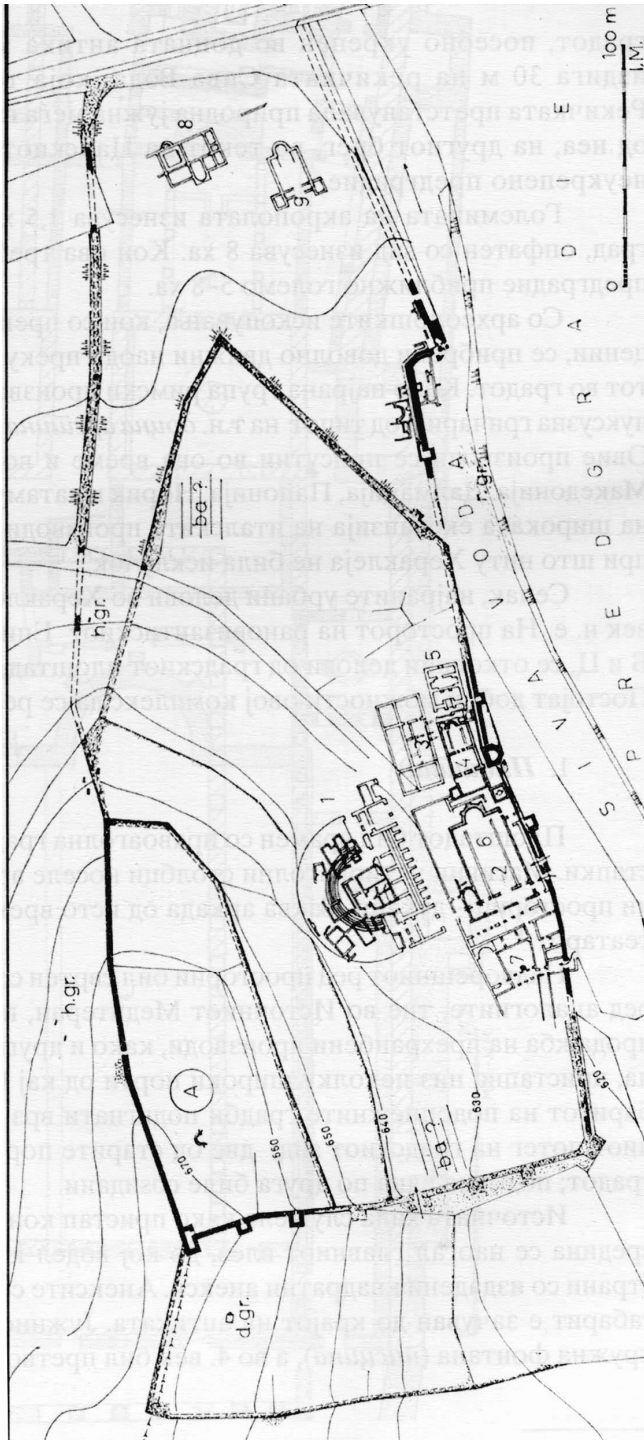


Figure 2
Plan of the city Heraclea Lyncestis

Figure 3
Mosaic in the *exonarthex* of the Small Basilica



Figure 4
Mosaic in the *narthex* of the Large Basilica





Figure 5
Detail from the mosaic in the north aisle of the Large Basilica



Figure 6
Detail from the south aisle of the Large Basilica



Figure 7
Mosaic in the baptistery of the Large Basilica



Figure 8
Mosaic in the *catechumenium* of the Large Basilica



Figure 9
Mosaics in the chapel and annex of the chapel of the Large Basilica



Figure 10
Detail from the mosaic in the chapel of the Large Basilica



Figure 11
Detail from the mosaic in the annex of the chapel of the Large Basilica



Figure 12
Mosaic in the annex of the chapel of the Large Basilica



Figure 13
Mosaic in the *diakonikon* from the Large Basilica



Figure 14
Detail from the mosaic in the *triclinium* from the Episcopal Palace



Figure 15
Mosaic in the Room 2 from the Episcopal Palace



Figure 16
Detail from the mosaic in the Room 2 from the Episcopal Palace



Figure 17
Detail from the mosaic in the Room 2 in the Episcopal Palace



Figure 18
Detail from the mosaic in the *triclinium* from the Episcopal Palace



Figure 19
Detail from the mosaic in the Room 3 from the Episcopal Palace



Figure 20
Detail from the mosaic in the Room 4 from the Episcopal Palace



Figure 21
Mosaic in the nave of the Large Basilica



Figure 22
Detail from the mosaic in the nave of the Large Basilica