

Written and Visual Culture About the Mosaic of Castulo: The Influence of Lucian's Works

Castulo Mozaïği Hakkında Yazılı ve Görsel Kültür: Lucian'ın Çalışmalarının Etkisi

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Abstract

This paper aims to investigate the new combination of two mythological legends with no apparent connection, the Judgement of Paris and Love of Selene and Endymion, listed as main scenes in a Hispanic mosaic found at Castulo in 2012. With this objective the peculiarities iconographic of both scenes, with an unpublished parallel Selene and Endymion, and their possible relation to different literary versions offered by ancient authors are analyzed, identifying the link between the protagonists of the two scenes on the Castulo mosaic in the works of Lucian, reflecting undoubtedly the semantic transformation of mythology and the influence of Written Culture in Visual Culture, in response to the extent of culture and the line of who commissioned the mosaic with critical ideas of Syrian author.

Keywords: *Judgement of Paris, Selene/Endymion, roman mosaics, Hispania, Lucian.*

Öz

Bu makale, 2012 yılında Castulo'da bulunmuş olan bir Hispanya mozaïği üzerinde yer alan ana sahnede; birbiriyle açık bir bağlantısı olmayan "Paris'in Kararı, Selene ve Endymion Aşkı" gibi iki ayrı mitolojik öykünün birleştirilmesiyle oluşan yeni bir araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla, her iki sahnenin ikonografik benzerlikleri, Selene ve Endymion'un yayınlanmamış paralelleri ve onların antik yazarlar tarafından sunulan farklı edebi versiyonlarıyla muhtemel ilişkisi, Lucian'ın eserlerinde Castulo mozaïği üzerindeki iki sahnenin kahramanları arasındaki bağlantıyı belirleyerek, şüphesiz mitolojinin anlamsal dönüşüm ve görsel kültürdeki yazılı kültürün etkisini yansıtan özellikleriyle, kültürün kapsamı ile çizgisine ve mozaik hakkında çalışmayı yapan Suriyeli yazarın eleştirel fikirlerine yanıt olarak analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Paris'in Kararı, Selene/Endymion, Roma mozaikleri, Hispanya, Lucian.*

In 2011 with the aim to aiding investigations into *Castulo*, *municipium of conventus iuridicus Carthaginensis*, corresponding to the province *Tarraconensis*, the archaeological FORVM MMX¹ was created, restarting the archaeological excavations, during which, in June 2012, was found in good state of conservation the so called mosaic of "Loves" (Fig. 1).

Since its discovery, both architectural remains and archaeological finds from the excavated area and, of course, said pavement have attracted considerable interest, being to emphasize the great work of scientific diffusion who initially held the team responsible archaeological excavation involved in the enhancement, *in situ*, such significant archaeological heritage.

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¹ See also the Archaeological Site Blog FORVM MMX. (<http://forvm-mmx.blogspot.com.es/>), the Monography, VV.AA, *Castulo en movimiento. Primer avance del proyecto FORVM MMX*, in *7esquinas. Boletín del Centro de Estudios Linarenses*, V, enero-junio 2014, núm. 6.

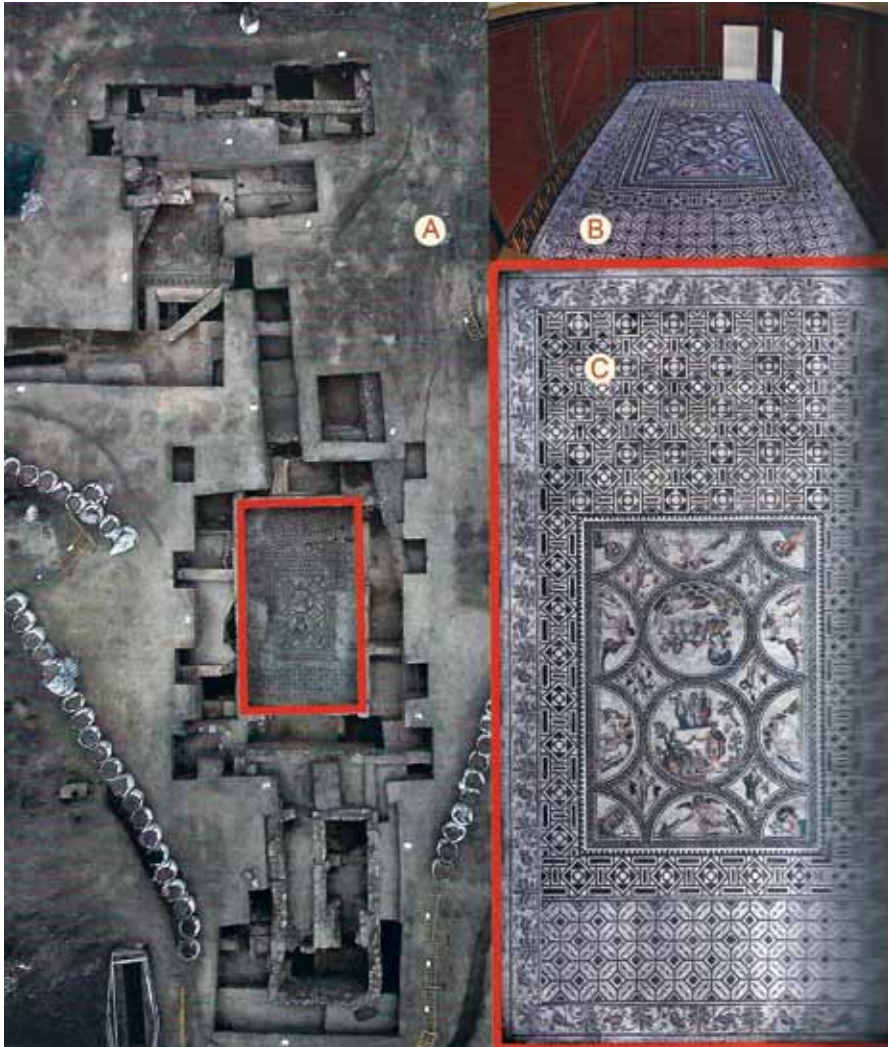


Figure 1
Mosaic of *Castulo* (Jaén).
Photo: (Pedrosa 2014: 116).

While archaeological campaigns continue at the site, the mosaic has been studied by J.M. Blázquez (Blázquez 2014: 109-116) who has identified the two main scenes, mythological subject, representing the Judgment of Paris and Selene and Endymion loves, and by G. López Monteagudo (López 2014: 117-126), which has particularly focused on the geometric composition and figures of hunters *erotes* and the four seasons, represented in the semicircles and quarter of circle of figurative field.

Castulo pavement analysis and in particular differences with representations of the same legends in Hispanic mosaics and the rest of the Empire or other artistic media demonstrates the singularity of compositional scheme and myths represented, whose combination is unique in the Roman mosaics.

For this reason, this paper deals the iconographic peculiarities and, in particular, consideration of the literary sources of Greek and Roman times, and in this sense, the alleged influence of a specified literary version in representing mythological legends in the mosaic of *Castulo*. In his study the diversity of stories and versions of the same legend is apparent in works of different character and different chronology, trying to show what passages from the works of some early writers (poets, tragic, philosophers, lyrical, political, mythographers) could have influenced mosaic representations and novel combination, perhaps in response the extent of culture and intellectual curiosity of who commissioned, resulting chronological approach.



Figure 2
Mosaic of *Castulo*.
Detail of the Judgment of Paris.
Photo: (Pedrosa 2014: 112).

In this regard, remember that, until the discovery of *Castulo* pavement, the representation of the famous legend of the “Judgment of Paris” (Fig. 2) was documented in only two Hispanic mosaics² - that of the *villa* “Alcaparral” in Casariche (Sevilla) (Blázquez – López – Neira – San Nicolás 1993: 279; López – Neira 2010: 107-109) and another discovered in Noheda (Cuenca) (Lledo 2011: 225-238), of the fourth century A.D., in *Caesarea* mosaic in the Museum of Cherchel (Algeria) (Albertini 1920: CLXXIII, CLXXIV, C LXXV; Albertini 1921: LXXVIII-LXXIX), in Sarmizegetusa pavement (Romania) (Lancha 1997: 325) and in two of the Eastern Empire, the Atrium House at Antioch (Baratte 1978: nr. 43), in the first half of the second century A.D., and the Baths of Cos (De Matteis 1999: 59-67), between the late second and early third century A.D..

In both Hispanic and in Antioch, the scene seems to reflect a later time to stage in *Castulo*, staying behind Hermes Paris, who thus acquires a greater role alongside the goddesses; while in Cherchel mosaic and Cos mosaic field, surrounded by a border decorated with *venationes* and in the longer sides, ten ornate compartments with the figure of Apollo and the representations of the nine Muses, well identified by a Greek inscription with his name, is Hermes who, in an attitude of making presentations, figure standing between Paris, sitting as usual, and goddesses whose beauty would judge, also identified all the characters under his own name by Greek inscriptions.

Despite the fragmentary state of the Judgment of Paris in Noheda, located at the left end of a large rectangular panel in which from left to right are figured other scenes, according to a narrative – among others, come on board of a young couple, identified as the flight of Helen and Paris, his arrival at Troy and the festive

² The representation of a male wearing a Phrygian cap on a fragment of mosaic *Caesaraugusta* preserved in the Museum of Zaragoza has been identified as Paris, but at the loss of the rest of the scene, it can be argued categorically that were part of a scene of Judgment.

welcome – comparative analysis leads to presuppose a certain similarity and the same arrangement, but in reverse, than in Cherchel and Casariche mosaics, where the Judgement is nevertheless the only representation in the mosaic field.

This the most common type of representation, which reproduces the same pattern of many of the paintings in Greek vases of archaic and classical times, a linear arrangement with the main characters of legend in the same plane.

As a novelty the scene on the *Castulo* floor reflects the above sequence of the episode, the same instant in which Hermes, on the express orders of his father, has come to the presence of Paris in Mount Ida to entrust the arbitration in the beauty contest between Athena, Hera and Aphrodite, making delivery of the prize to the winner, the so called “Apple of discord” – that read “surrender to the most beautiful” – launched by Eris, the personification of revenge, to be outraged at not being invited to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis; while the three goddesses, at the top of the circular space, instead of being captured at the time of the election with subsequent delivery of the apple to Aphrodite, await expectantly at a prudent distance.

In this regard, and although in most other media also dominates the linear arrangement, the most similar image is on a coin of Antoninus Pius from Alexandria, dated in the year 141 / 142-142 / 143 A.D. (Kossatz-Deissmann 1994: núm. 94), with the three deities at the top and Hermes Paris and at the bottom, but to the left, although this similarity lies more in the circular shape and arrangement of the goddesses that in the figures of Paris and Hermes, common to other representations including mosaics.

About the divergence between representations reflected in the known mosaics and documented in particular on pavement *Castulo*, to what extent these differences could correspond to written references of ancient authors in various works addressed the legend of Judgement and what could be attributed to the aforementioned scene due to the inspiration of a particular author version, as happens in relation to representations of other myths and legends in some mosaics.

Among the literary sources, the earliest mention of the Judgement of Paris is at the beginning of the chant XXIV of the Iliad (Hom.II. XXIV, 22-30), namely, when, looking at the reaction of Achilles dragging Hector’s body in order to avenge the death of his friend Patroclus, the gods criticize the unworthy behavior of son of Peleus and ask clemency for Priam’s firstborn son, trying to Apollo subtract the body of the ire of Achilles. The subtle manner in which it is mentioned the famous dispute seems to imply knowledge of the legend and even the familiarity of the subject first among listeners on oral transmission and then between readers, so that would not have been necessary to incorporate more details.

In this line, some researchers argue that the Judgement would have been treated by other contemporary authors of Homer. Surely, it must be remembered, between the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. was appeared in the *Kypria* - unfortunately lost work of Trojan cycle, known through the summary elaborated in the second century A.D. by the grammarian Proclus in his *Chrestomathia* (Severyns 1950-1951: 145-172; De Paco 2006: 737-745), object in turn by a summary in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, in the c. IX A.D. - in which context, the *Kypria*³, it must be linked to Trojan War, as an antecedent of *casus belli*. It is

³ The promises of the three goddesses to Paris, with the clear intention of influencing the verdict of the young pastor, still oblivious of its true origins, has come to us through another summary of Apollodorus in his *Bibliotheca*, Epitome 3, 2, mentioned below.

in this work which was narrated the unexpected appearance at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis of Eris, the Discord, who, feeling outraged at not being invited, have offered to all present golden apple to the most beautiful and consequent submission of candidatures of the three goddesses, an extremely delicate issue that Zeus would have eluded, ordering his son Hermes to convey to the young Paris its designation as judge in the beauty contest, giving rise to known episode.

In the 5th century B.C. Tragic retake the issues related to the Trojan cycle, particularly Sophocles and Euripides, whose works largely refer to the war and its protagonists. In the lost tragedies of Sophocles, *Eris* and *Krisis*, first seems to have an inclination towards moralizing (Damisch 1996: 121). But where it really becomes more important is the work of Euripides⁴, and also has a different scope, according Damisch (1996: note 22), testifies to the distance built by the tragic poetry in relation to myth, as hereinafter thought of as belonging to an outdated past, but nevertheless it was to be present in the minds, as a compromise to the tragedy collect his inheritance, to control it better. No longer had any desire to make it appear that it was Zeus who thought and dominated everything, but the mobile was still attached to the will of the gods, the distance between the dispute between the goddesses and long-term consequences of arbitration that a man was then called to pronounce, the disproportion between the choice of one and the ruin of all Euripides be offered as much as their characters the pretext for an ever renewed reflection about the domain that men can have on their own affairs and about their responsibility for their own misfortunes.

Much later, Ovid in one of his *Epistulae heroidum* (XVI, 51-72)⁵ with Helen and Paris as protagonists, makes an interesting reference to the impact it had on the still young shepherd the presence of Hermes guiding goddesses and the charge that it gives you in the name of Zeus, closely with the scene depicted in the mosaic of *Castulo*:

“My beauty and my vigour of mind, though I seemed from the common folk, were the sign of hidden nobility. There is a place in the woody vales of midmost Ida, far from trodden paths and covered over with pine and ilex, where never gazes the placid sheep, nor the she-goat that loves the cliff, nor the wide-mouthed, slowly-moving kine. From there, reclining against a tree, I was looking forth upon the walls and lofty roofs of the Dardanian city, and upon the sea, when lo! It seemed to me that the earth trembled beneath the tread of feet- I shall speak true words, though they will scarce have credit for truth- and there appeared and stood before my eyes, propelled on pinions swift, the grandchild of mighty Atlas and Pelione – it was allowed me to see, and may it be allowed to speak of what I saw! – and in the fingers of the god was a golden wand. And at the self-same time, three goddesses – Venus, and Pallas, and with her Juno – set tender feet upon the sward. I was mute, and chill tremors had raised my hair on end, when “Lay aside thy fear!” the winged herald said to

⁴ Iphigenia in Aulis; Andromache, 284-291; Helen, 676, en The Trojan Women 924-931.

⁵ Ovid, The Heroides, Loeb Classical Library (1914). Translation by Grant Showerman.

me; “thou art the arbiter of beauty; put an end to the strivings of the goddesses; pronounce which one deserves for her beauty to vanquish the other two!” And, lest I should refuse, he laid command on me in the name of Jove, and forthwith through the paths of ether betook him toward the stars.”

Already in the second century Hyginus includes back into his work the Judgement of Paris (Hyg.fab. 92):

“Jove is said to have invited to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis all the gods except Eris, or Discordia. When she came later and was not admitted to the banquet, she threw an apple through the door, saying that the fairest should take it. Juno, Venus, and Minerva claimed the beauty prize for themselves. A huge argument broke out among them. Jupiter ordered Mercury to take them to Mt Ida to Paris Alexander, and bid him judge. Juno promised him, if he should judge in her favour, that he would rule over all the lands and be pre-eminent wealth. Minerva promised that if she should come out victorious, he would be bravest of mortals and skilled in every craft. Venus, however, promised to give him in marriage Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, most beautiful of all women. Paris preferred the last give to the former ones, and judges Venus the most lovely. On account of this, Juno and Minerva were hostile to the Trojans (...)”⁶

In the same line Apollodorus (Apol. Ep. III, 2)⁷:

“For one of these reasons Strife threw an apple as a prize of beauty to be contended for by Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite; and Zeus commanded Hermes to lead them to Alexander on Ida in order to be judged by him. And they promised to give Alexander gifts. Hera said that if she were preferred to all women, she would give him the kingdom over all men; and Athena promised victory in war, and Aphrodite the hand of Helen. And he decided in favour of Aphrodite; and sailed away to Sparta with ships built by Phereclus”

More details about the order received by Hermes are offered by Lucian in *The Judgement of the Goddesses*, 1⁸:

*“HERMES, take this apple; go to Phrygia, to Priam’s son, the herdsman—he is grazing his flock in the foothills of Ida, on Gargaron—and say to him:
“Paris, as you are handsome yourself, and also well schooled in all that concerns love, Zeus bids you be judge for the goddesses, to decide which of them is the most beautiful. As the prize for the contest, let the victor take the apple.”*

⁶ (<http://www.theoi.com/Text/HyginusFabulae2.html#92>).

⁷ Apollodorus, *The Library. Epitome*, Loeb Classical Library, 1921. Translation by J.G. Frazer.

⁸ Lucian, *The Works of Lucian. III. The Judgement of Goddesses*. Loeb Classical Library, 1969. Translation by A.M. Harmon

And Lucian (*The Judgement of the Goddesses*, 7-8)⁹ adds the conversation the messenger god would have kept with a shocked Paris, in close connection with our mosaic:

*HERMES: "...Paris, and I am Hermes,
sent by Zeus—but why do you tremble and turn
pale? Don't be afraid; it is nothing terrible. He
bids you be judge of their beauty, saying that as you
are handsome yourself and also well schooled in all
that concerns love, he turns over the decision to you.
You will find out the prize for the contest if you
read the writing on the apple.*

PARIS: Come, let me see what it says; "The fairest may have me"

Also in the second century a very interesting example is provided by Pausanias (*Description of Greece* V, 19, 5)¹⁰ describing the representations of votive chest in ivory and gold of tyrant Cypselus Olympia in VII century B.C., where literally says:

*"There is also Hermes bringing to Alexander the son
of Priam the goddesses of whose beauty he is to
judge, the inscription on them being:
Here is Hermes, who is showing to Alexander,
that he may arbitrate
Concerning their beauty, Hera, Athena and
Aphrodite."*

Apuleius also offers us in his *Metamorphoses* (Apul.met. X, 30-34) a comprehensive account of a theatrical performance witnessed by *Lucius*, with the staging, among others, the Judgment of Paris, where are detailed the scenery, costumes and attributes of the protagonists, and the development of the staging. This is a very interesting document on adaptation and incorporation of mythological legends of Greek origin to theatrical performances in the Roman Empire, which reflect and explain the effect of myths in different contexts of classical antiquity.

But it is also of particular interest to the representation of the Judgment of Paris in the Castulo mosaic, in particular for the figures of Hermes and Paris in the following passage¹¹:

*"There stood a wooden mountain, constructed
with lofty craftsmanship to resemble the famous
mountain of which the bard Homer sang, Mount
Ida. It was planted with bushes and live trees, and
at its very peak, from a flowing fountain made by
the designer's hand, it poured river-water. A few
goats were browsing among the low grasses, and a
young man, beautifully attired like the Phrygian*

⁹ Lucian, *The Works of Lucian*. III. *The Judgement of Goddesses*. Loeb Classical Library, 1969. Translation by A.M. Harmon.

¹⁰ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*. II. Books III-V. Loeb Classical Library, 1977. Translation by W.H.S. Jones and H.A. Ormerod.

¹¹ Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*. (*Metamorphoses*), Volume II, Books 7-11, Loeb Classical Library 1989. Translation by J. Arthur Hanson.

shepherd Paris, with exotic robes flowing over his shoulders and a golden tiara covering his head, was feigning mastery of the flock. Then a radiantly beautiful boy appeared, naked except for an ephobic cape covering his left shoulder. He attracted all eyes with his blond curls, and from his hair projected little golden wings symmetrically attached; a caduceus and wand identified him as Mercury. He danced forward, carrying in his right hand an apple gilded with gold leaf, which he held out to the person who was acting Paris. Then, after indicating Jupiter's instructions with a nod, he quickly and elegantly retraced his steps and disappeared."

Having reviewed the literary sources about the episode, we conclude that, despite the antiquity of many authors who echoed legend Judgment of Paris, are Ovid and the authors of Roman imperial era, particularly those of the second century A.D., which offer more affinity with the scenes depicted in Roman mosaics and nearest in his account, in particular, Hyginus, Apuleius and Lucian of Samosata, the meeting and dialogue between Hermes and Paris documented in the *Castulo* pavement.

In the second center circle stands out, also in two planes, the figure of a young, beardless man, who appears fully reclining in a rural scenery between rocks and plants, sleeping on the lower part, while a female figure standing by the *biga*, a chariot with curve box, in profile to the right, looks towards the sleeper and contemplates enraptured.

The young man lies naked, alone with legs covered by a mantle, resting her head on his right forearm, in an attitude of deep sleep that reflects total unconsciousness, while his left hand, greatly affected by a lacuna which also looms on the feet, would hold the end of a *pedum*, attribute that relates to the pastoral field.

The female figure also shows his naked body, wrapped in a mantle that just covers her legs and back, puffing by wind arched over his head. It is noteworthy small horns protruding from her hair and whip carrying in his left hand in an attitude of guiding the *biga*, despite not figure standing on the carriage box, as if she had not started up or had stopped to watch the sleeping young man.

Following the discovery of the mosaic, this scene was identified as a depiction of the myth of Selene and Endymion (Fig. 3), protagonists both from an unusual legend of love, he, like the young pastor of great beauty that aroused the desire and amorous passion Selene, well identified by the pair of horns in allusion to the crescent moon in its iconography appears most frequent driving a car in reference to the lunar motion. According to the most famous version, at the request of Selene, Zeus promised to grant a wish Endymion, who had chosen to sleep in eternal slumber staying forever young. During the dream at night, Selene saw it and loved him.

Only in the mosaic of Piazza Armerina (Pace 1955: 50) Endymion appears awake, then, both the mosaic of Nîmes (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 5) as in italic pavement Isola Sacra (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 29) and two North African (*Thysdrus*, Blanchard-Lemée et al. 1995: 238; *Uthina*, Fantar et al. 1994: 219) the young pastor stays fast sleep, with *pedum* (Nîmes), a lance (*Thysdrus*, *Uthina*) or two (Isola Sacra), after the manner of several Pompeian paintings (Gabelmann 1986:



Figure 3
Mosaic of *Castulo*. Detail of
Selene and Endymion. Photo:
(Pedrosa 2014:115).

nr. 21-25) in the company of a dog (Nîmes, *Uthina* and Piazza Armerina) or two (Isola Sacra). In most of these representations, Endymion figure slightly reclining, but sitting, as in the Pompeian paintings without appearing lying as in the Gaul copy. In this regard, only the representation in the Gaul mosaic preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Nîmes, which shows the figure of the sleeping young almost completely lying, similar to the figures of Endymion in reliefs and sarcophagi (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 52-54, 58, 61, 63,64, 67, 69-70, 73, 77-78, 81, 83, 85, 92, 93, 94) is closest to *Castulo*.

On the pavement of Ostia as in the two mosaics from North Africa, Selene appears similarly to the Pompeian paintings as a female figure it approaches the young Endymion, as if descending in flight, preceded by a winged and naked *eros*, whose image reinforces the loving desire of the goddess, personification of the moon, in the Ostia mosaic, and on foot on land in the *Uthina* and *Thysdrus* mosaics, showing a very similar scene with protagonists in identical arrangement and with similar attributes - Endymion, a javelin, Selene, the characteristic crescent moon, with only slight variations. In this regard, the *Uthina* mosaic, the dream of Endymion is veiled by a dog that does not appear in the *Thysdrus* exemplary, although the major difference lies in the foundation of white cubes picture appeared in *Uthina*, indicating the diurnal character of the representation in contrast with the background of black tiles in *Thysdrus* that places the scene in the night, referring to dominion of *Luna*, whose crescent stands out in the great nimbus around his head.

In contrast to the above pictures, in *Castulo* pavement Selene is depicted beside a *biga*, according to the iconography more widespread in other media, particularly in the sculptural reliefs of the sarcophagi (Gury 1994: 706-715).

However, it is not the only of this kind in Roman mosaics, since, it is noteworthy, there is another representation of the loves of Selene and Endymion with the goddess associated with a *biga* in a mosaic, unpublished until this study,

although unfortunately unknown provenance and context. Put up for auction at Christie's in New York on June 10, 2010, according to the catalog¹², the mosaic measure 167.6 x 177.8 cm, is been dated to the third century A.D. and came from the antique market in London in 1979, being part of a private collection in California until the late 90s (Fig. 4).

In the lower part is the figure of Endymion, lying on a mantle that only covers his legs and completely asleep as usual, with his head resting on his left hand, while the right holder in the characteristic *pedum*. Despite its distinctive iconography, an inscription in Greek by the name of Endymion a lagoon that affects the third and fourth letter appears in the lower right corner in an area subject to a clearly restoration. To the young sleeping Selene goes enraptured with its characteristic crescent, however, also identified by an inscription in Greek in the upper left corner with her name – Selene – in a *biga*, which as only the edge of the curve box and eight-spoked wheel, driven not by two horses as in *Castulo*, but two bulls moving toward the right, as well documented in other images of Selene (Gury 1994: nr. 58-66). In a tough position, with bent knees, the goddess seems to be represented in attitude down the car, although she have not already done, or figure standing on land like in *Castulo* pavement.

But instead of devoting his gaze Endymion, Selene leads her eyes and a flaming torch (Gury 1994: nr. 58, 61, 66) to a naked winged *eros*, located in the upper right of the picture, whose index aims to draw attention of the goddess to the young Sleeping. It would not be surprising, if one takes into account the presence of a *eros* in Isola Sacra mosaic and several scenes documented among others in paintings and sarcophagi (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 52-54, 58, 61, 63,64, 67, 69-70, 73, 77-78, 81, 83, 85, 92, 93, 94), except that *eros* is identified as the protagonists by an inscription in Greek with the name of *Pothos*.

In this regard, remember that *Pothos* (Bazant 1994: 501-503) is mentioned as the son of Aphrodite and a member of his entourage by Aeschylus (*Suppliant Women*, 1035-1037), as son of *Eros* by Plato (*symp.* 197d) and Euripides (Eur. Hipp. 525-526), who also relates *Pothos* in another of his works (Eur. Bacch. 414) with the realm of Dionysus. However was Sophocles (*Thrac.* 631-632) the first author, who mentions him as the personification of love for someone absent. In this line Plato in his *Cratylus* (400d & 419e - 420b)¹³ further referred the name and clarifies the meaning of some *Erotes*, which, exceptionally identified with a name, are represented in vase-painting:

[Of the Loves:] ...The name *ιμερος* (longing) was given to the stream (*ρουν*) which most draws the soul; for because it flows with a rush (*ιμενος*) and with a desire for things and thus draws the soul on through the impulse of its flowing, all this power gives it the name of *ιμερος*. And the word *ποθος* (yearning) signifies that it pertains not to that which is present, but to that which is elsewhere (*αλλοθι του*) or absent, and therefore the same feeling which is called *ιμερος* when its object is present, is called *ποθος* when it is absent.”;



Figure 4
Selene, Endymion and Pothos.
Mosaic of unknown provenance.
Photo: (<http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=5321865>).

¹² (<http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=5321865>).

¹³ Plato, *Cratylus*. Parmenides. Greater Hippias. Lesser Hippias, Loeb Classical Library, 1911. Translation by Harold North Fowler.

Figure 5
Mosaico de Dionysus and
Ariadne. Shahba-Philippopolis.
Photo: Luz Neira .



In the same line that later Pausanias (*Description of Greece* I, 43, 6)¹⁴ to mention the statues located in the temple of Aphrodite in Megara:

“There is also Persuasion (Peitho) and another goddess whom they name Consoler (Paregoron), works of Praxiteles. By Scopas are Love (Eros) and Desire (Himeros) and Yearning (Pothos), if indeed their functions are as different as their names.”

No doubt, the significance given by Sophocles, Plato and followed by Pausanias about *Pothos*, as personification of amorous desire for someone who, being absent, cannot be filled, causing pain, suffering and longing along the lines indicated by Pliny (Plin.nat. XXXVI, 4.7), justifies the inclusion of *eros*, not anonymous, but identified as *Pothos* in this mosaic, because, in light of literary sources about the love of Selene and Endymion, their carnal intercourse would not have been consummated due of the eternal dream that was engulfing the young pastor.

It is noteworthy however the representation of another *eros* also identified by an inscription in Greek by the name of *Pothos* in the mosaic of Dionysus and Ariadne weddings found in *Philippopolis* (Fig. 5) that dated to the second quarter of the 4th century A.D. is preserved in the Museum of Shahba (Balty 1977: 50-56). Here, instead to personify the impossible love, suffering and pain to the absent love, *Pothos* is located between the couple, carrying a torch as symbol of a love that culminated in the celebration of weddings, well attested by literary sources and documented in countless representations. Probably, referring to the previous experience of love not filled with Theseus caused much pain and longing Ariadne, from which echoed much later Nonnos in his *Dionysiaca*, XLVII, 442:¹⁵.

¹⁴ Pausanias, *Description of Greece* I. Books I-II. Loeb Classical Library, 1978. Translation by W.H.S. Jones.

¹⁵ Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*. Loeb Classical Library, 1940. Translation by W H D Rouse; H J Rose; L R Lind. In other fragments, Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, Loeb Classical Library, 1956. Translation by Levi Robert Lind; Herbert J Rose. *Dionysiaca*, XXV, 150; 31, 103, where Pothos is a son of Zephyros

[Dionysos addresses his future bride Ariadne:]
 “Not for nothing did that fleet [of Theseus] sail
 from my Naxos [abandoning Ariadne on the island], but Pothos (Sexual
 Longing) preserved you for a nobler
 bridal.”

The presence of *Pothos* in Shahba-Philippopolis mosaic leads us to believe that the mosaic auctioned at Christie’s, with the love of Selene and Endymion, should come from the eastern part of the Empire, judging by its style, from the Antiocheia area in the ancient province of Syria, although a previous chronology, between the late second and the third century A.D..

Returning to the scene in *Castulo* and literary sources that could influence its representation, it should be recalled, in the myth of Selene and Endymion are noted, as happens in other myths of the Hellenic world, two different literary traditions, a Western and an Eastern, transmitted both fragmentarily (Chaparro 2000-2002: 232-235). Be recalled that the first reference to Endymion is in Hesiod, but without any reference to the love between them:

“In the *Great Ehoiai* it is said that Endymion was carried up
 by Zeus to heaven, but that he was seized by desire for
 Hera and deceived by the phantom of cloud, that
 because of this desire he was thrown out and went down to Hades.”¹⁶

Hesiod mentioned in the first part the privilege courtesy of Zeus receive the mortal Endymion to dispose of his death, choosing the young shepherd never grow old, so it goes into eternal slumber to preserve his youth. In the fragment below, the author refers to a trip of Endymion to heaven and his passion for Hera, why was punished in Hades. In none of these references the love between Endymion and Selene is mentioned.

It is in the Eastern tradition that comes to us through the work of Sappho, where the fable of love between Selene and Endymion is referred for the first time, as we know it today: during his nightly trips *Luna* saw the pastor, who remained asleep, and she fell in love with its beauty, falling for him.

Over time, these two traditions have fused and “*en su interpretación el mito fue identificando a Endimión con un sabio astrónomo de la Caria, que a menudo, llevado por la pasión de las estrellas, pasaba las noches en la cima de las montañas entregado a la observación y al cálculo de la marcha de los astros*” «(Chaparro 2000-2002: 235). *Luna*, during his long nights was illuminating the Sage that overcomes by sleep fell asleep. The allusion to eternal sleep refers to immortality achieved by knowledge and science.

and Iris; while, by contrast, *Dionysiaca*, XXXIII, 112, “[*Aglaia calls upon Eros to assist his mother Aphrodite:*]’*Allvanquisher unvanquished, preserver of life coeval with the universe, make haste! Kythereia [Aphrodite] is in distress. None of her attendants has remained with her; Kharis (Charis, Grace) has gone, Peitho (Seduction) has vanished, Pothos (Sexual Longing) the inconstant has left her; she had none to send but me. She needs your invincible quiver!*”

¹⁶ Hes. frag. 260. Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius, Arg. IV, 57= Hesiod, The Shield. Catalogue of Women. Other Fragment. Loeb Classical Library, 2007. Translation by Glenn W. Most, frag 198. According Margarita Rodríguez de Sepúlveda in Apollodorus, Biblioteca, I, 7, 5, Madrid: Gredos, 1988, note 95, “Lo único que nos aclara el escolio es la potestad de Endimión para administrar el momento de su propia muerte, puesto que, desde el punto de vista genealógico, nos llevaría a la dificultad de tener que optar entre su filiación paterna (Aetlio era hijo de Protógenea, hija de Deucalión) y su filiación materna (Cálce es una de las hijas de Eolo)”.

Alluding to the myth in a philosophical context it should be remembered a fragment of Plato's *Phaedo*, which puts into the mouth of Socrates reflection on the dream of Endymion. According to Chaparro (Chaparro 2000-2002: 237), this text later inspire references Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations*.

On the other hand, referring not only to dream and returning the love between Selene and Endymion, is noteworthy mention contained in Book IV of the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes (Apoll.Rhod. IV, 54-61)¹⁷, where Selene is shown as in love with shepherd, but not the only:

“And the Titanian goddess, the moon, rising from a far land, beheld her as she fled distraught, and fiercely exulted over her, and thus spake to her own heart:

“Not I alone then stray to the Latmian cave, nor do I alone burn with love for fair Endymion; oft times with thoughts of love have I been driven away by thy crafty spells, in order that in the darkness of night thou mightest work thy sorcery at ease, even the deeds dear to thee. And now thou thyself too hast part in a like mad passion; and some god of affliction has given thee Jason to be thy grievous woe. Well, go on, and steel thy heart, wise though thou be, to take up thy burden of pain, fraught with many sighs.”

And rereading Latin authors of the first century B.C., we find a first text in which the myth of Endymion and Selene is also inserted into elegiac and lyric contexts, associating analogy with other more complex myths. For example, Catullus alludes to this legend in his composition on *The Lock of Hair: Berenice*, LXVI: 1-14¹⁸:

“CONON, he who scanned at all the lights of the vast sky, who learnt the risings of the stars and their settings, how the flaming blaze of the swift sun suffers eclipse, how the stars recede at set seasons, how sweet love calls Trivia from her airy circuit, banishing her secretly to the rocky cave of Latmus -that same Conon saw me shining brightly among the lights of heaven, me, the lock from the head of Berenice, me whom she vowed to many of the goddesses, stretching forth her smooth arms, at that season when the king, blest in his new marriage, had gone to waste the Assyrian borders bearing the sweet scars of the nocturnal struggle he had waged to win the spoil of her virginity.”

¹⁷ Apollonius Rhodius, *The Argonautica*. Loeb Classical Library, 1980. Translation by R.C. Seaton. The witches with their arts could attract Luna (Cf. III 533), forcing her to visit the beloved also at night (so the phenomenon of eclipses was).

¹⁸ Catullus, *The Poems of Catullus*. Loeb Classical Library, 1976. Translation by Francis Warre Cornish; J P Postgate; J W Mackail; G P Goold; Tibullus.

On this occasion, Catullus uses the myth of Selene and Endymion to refer to a romantic way the phenomenon of eclipses of the sun and moon. It is a general indication of the myth in which the only recognizable elements are the location of the story in mount Latmos, mention of Luna and description of love between Endymion and the goddess as a sweet love, inserting the myth in an astronomical context which evokes that tradition of Endymion as astronomer Caria.

Another key fragment is the paragraph of *Tusculanae Disputationes* I, XXXVIII. This is the first of five dialogues that make the work cited Cicero, heavily influenced by the findings that appear already in the *Phaedo* about death. Cicero sought to defend his philosophical position with the reality of sleep and death and it uses the legend of Selene and Endymion¹⁹.

*“...Endymion, if we are inclined to listen
to fairy-tales, once upon a time fell asleep on Latmus,
a mountain in Caria, and has not yet awoke I fancy.
You do not think then that he is anxious over the
Worries of the moon, by whom it is thought he was
lulled to sleep, that she might kiss him in his slumber.
Nay, why should he be anxious who has not so much
as the power of sensation? You have sleep, death’s
counterfeit, and this you daily put on like a garment,
and you doubt the fact of there being no sensation
in death, though you see that in its counterfeit there
is no sensation?”*

On the other hand Propertius (*Elegies*. II, 15, 9-24)²⁰ can help us understand why in *Castulo* are found together in the same space the myths Judgment of Paris and Selene and Endymion:

*“(...) How we shifted our arms
in a variety of embraces! How long my kisses
lingered on your lips!
There is no point in spoiling love by movements
which cannot be seen: I’d have you know, the eyes
are love’s guides. Paris himself is said to have
burned at the sight of Helen naked, when she rose
from the bed of Menelaus; and it was naked that
Endymion enraptured Phoebus’s sister and naked,
they say, lay with the goddess. But if you persist in
going to bed clothed, you will, with your gown
ripped, experience the violence of my hands: indeed,
if anger drives me on still farther, you will have
bruised arms to show your mother. It’s not as
though sagging breasts bar you from fun and games:
leave that worry to her who knows the shame of
having given birth. While fate permits, let us feast
our eyes with love: a long night is coming for you
and day will not return.”*

¹⁹ Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*. Loeb Classical Library, 1927. Translation by J.E. King.

²⁰ Propertius, *Elegies*. Loeb Classical Library, 1990. Translation by G.P.Goold.

As we can see, the myths are mentioned in the elegy any efforts by the poet. The mythical story is used as an example, but in our case regain important to see that the presentation is made of myths have certain characteristics, such as the relationship on both of one or more goddesses with a deadly or pastor. In addition to talking about the nakedness of the bodies, reveals the erotic component. We can say therefore that the nucleus of mythological story is constituted by the loving relationship between goddesses and mortals, developed in the case of Selene and Endymion in a context of sleep and death.

Subsequently Pseudo-Apollodorus (Apollod. 1. 56) retakes the line witnessed in Hesiod fragments mentioned above:

“[Endymion] a man of unrivalled beauty, he was loved by Selene. When he was given a wish of his choice by Zeus, he chose to remain immortal and unaging in eternal sleep.”

Similarly, although more concise way, about the love of Moon and Endymion, Hyginus (*Fabulae*, 271, 1) states:

“Endymion, Etolo son, who loved the moon.”

Apuleius (Apul.met. I, 12)²¹ mentions very briefly Endymion, but, knowing the legend, as a synonym for young who slept without paying attention to his girlfriend, for this reason angry and eager for revenge, who name given to one of the personages of the novel called Socrates, according to the account of Aristomenes:

“Then shee which bare the sword sayd unto the other: “Behold sister Panthia, this is my deare and sweet heart (Endymion), which both day and night hath abused my wanton youthfulness. This is he, who little regarding my love, doth not only defame me with reproachfull words, but also intendeth to run away. And I shall be forsaken by like craft as Vlysses did use, and shall continually bewaile my solitarinesse as Calipso.”

About his death, Pausanias (V, 1, 5)²² contains two different traditions:

“Of his brothers they say that Aetolus remained at home, while Paeon, vexed at his defeat, went into the farthest exile possible, and that the region beyond the river Axius was named after him Paeonia. As to the death of Endymion, the people of Heracleia near Miletus do not agree with the Eleans for while the Eleans show a tomb of Endymion, the folk of Heracleia say that he retired to Mount Latmus and give him honor, there being a shrine of Endymion on Latmus.”

Yet in the second century and in connection with the foregoing centuries ago by Apollonius of Rhodes, is found the most famous play about love of Selene and Endymion, *Muscae encomium* 10, by Lucian²³, in which the goddess turns her rival called Mía on a fly:

“The story goes that long ago there was a human being called Muia, a girl who was very pretty, but talkative, noisy, and fond of singing. She became a rival of Selene by falling in love with Endymion, as she was for ever making the boy out and of his sleep

²¹ Apuleius, *The Golden Ass (Metamorphoses)*. Loeb Classical Library, 1958. Translation by W. Adlington.

²² Pausanias, *Description of Greece. II. Books III-V*. Loeb Classical Library, 1977. Translation by W.H.S. Jones and H.A. Ormerod.

²³ Lucian, *The Works of Lucian I. The Fly*. Loeb Classical Library, 1921. Translation by A. Harmon.

by chattering and singing and paying him visits, he became vexed at her, and Selene in anger turned her into the fly we know. So, in remembrance of Endymion, she begrudges all sleepers their repose, especially those of tender years; and even her biting and bloodthirstiness is not a sign of savagery, but of love and friendship. She gets what satisfaction she can and culls something of the bloom of beauty.”

Even more revealing, however, for the main representations *Castulo* mosaic is another text of Lucian (*Dial. Deorum* 19)²⁴, which plays a dialogue between goddesses Venus and Selene:

“Aphrodite: What is this I hear you’re up to, Mistress Moon? They say that every time you get over Caria, you stop your team and gaze at Endymion sleeping out of doors in hunter’s fashion, and sometimes even have your course and go down to him.

Selene: Ask your own son, Aphrodite; it’s his fault. Aphrodite: You need’nt tell me. He’s got a cheek right enough. See what he’s done to me, his own mother. First he brought me down to Ida after Anchises the Trojan...

...But tell me, is Endymion good-looking? If so, Your plight is sorry indeed.

Selene: I think he’s very good-looking, Aphrodite, especially when he sleeps with his cloak under him on the rock with his javelins just slipping out of his left hand as he holds them, and his right hand bent upwards round his head and framing his face makes a charming picture, while he’s relaxed in sleep and breathing in the sweetest way imaginable. Then I creep down quietly on tip-toe, so as not to waken him and give him a fright, and then- but you can guess; there’s no need to tell you what happens next. You must remember I’m dying of love.”

Once considered the literary sources, it seems clear that the representation of Endymion in the mosaic of Piazza Armerina is the only one that seems to refer to its link with the observation of the stars in Caria, expressly referred to by Catullus, because the young, identified as pastor to appear in the company of a dog appears awake directing his gaze skyward.

Seated appears Endymion in the mosaic of the necropolis Isola Sacra -which, however, it is documented Selene, preceded by a naked and winged *eros* - as represented in some of the most famous Pompeian paintings above (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 14, 19, 22, 24), although it could be awake as one of the paintings mentioned (Gabelmann 1986: nr. 14).

²⁴ Lucian, *The Works of Lucian VII. Dialogues of the Gods*. Loeb Classical Library, 1969. Translation by M.D. Macleod.

In contrast, the reflected scenes in the two mosaics in North Africa, probably in the gallo-roman pavement of Nîmes and in the mosaic of *Castulo* with Endymion asleep allude to eternal sleep already mentioned in Plato's *Phaedo*, by his own choice as Apollodorus and others, and evoke the legend of Selene's visit, hopelessly in love with the beautiful shepherd, as Apollonius of Rhodes, Apollodorus, Hyginus and others, even mentioning how Selene / Luna came every night to kiss him while he slept, as already Cicero points.

However, pictures of *Thaenae* and *Thysdrus* and, in particular, the representation contained in the *Castulo* pavement show a greater influence of the aforementioned dialogue between Venus and Selene goddesses of Lucian (*Dialogues of Gods* 19), since the first, with Selene approaching on foot towards the young, seem to reflect clearly the passage in which Selene reads:

*"Then I
creep down quietly on tip-toe, so as not to waken
him and give him a fright, and then- but you can
guess; there's no need to tell you what's happens
next. You must remember I'm dying of love."*

Although it is the scene *Castulo*, with the goddess standing beside the chariot as if he had come down to take a break, which clearly reproduces the initial passage of dialogue in which Aphrodite asks Selene:

*"What is this I hear you're up to, Mistress Moon?
They say that every time you get over Caria, you
stop your team and gaze at Endymion sleeping out
of doors in hunter's fashion, and sometimes even
have your course and go down to him."*

In this regard, the first scene mentioned in our study, the Judgement of Paris is highly original, since, as shown in the comparative analysis, the scene differs in composition from the other representations of Judgment documented in mosaics known to date (two Hispanics, one of North Africa and three in the *pars orientalis*), with the closest parallel the currency of time of Antoninus Pius, to elude the traditional linear plane to locate the two groups – Paris and Hermes first, the three goddesses other – in two imaginary registers.

Also, having considered the story of all literary sources in chronological order about the Judgement of Paris, this particularity responds to the staging of a previous moment to the episode usually more represented in vase-painting and mosaics - which often play the instant election of Aphrodite, through the delivery of apple from Paris to the graceful - recreated by Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* and especially by Lucian in his *Dialogue of the gods*, who impacted on the message of Hermes to Paris for order of Zeus.

The second scene, the myth of Selene and Endymion, is the only testimony in the Hispanic mosaics, with a very novel representation on the set of Roman mosaics of the Empire, since in any pictures documented on pavements known to date (*Ostia*, Nîmes, *Uthina*, *Thysdrus* and Piazza Armerina) Selene/Luna appeared next to a *biga*, association also reflected in unpublished mosaic of unknown origin, although with notable differences, such as position of the goddess, animals driving the chariot (horses or bulls) and the presence or not of *Pothos*.

In this sense, the study of written sources of Western and Eastern tradition of the myth of Endymion, ranging from the oldest references Hesiod and Sappho, the memory in philosophical and elegiac context and the legend of love with Selene

in Greek authors and Latin, of first century B.C. until the second century A.D., reveals again that such staging in *Castulo*, also in unpublished mosaic, is a clear reference to the influence of a text of Lucian, who, in his *Dialogue of the Gods*, explicitly mentions how Selene carriage stopped halfway and fell to closer to the young beautiful than she had fallen in love.

In this regard, the representation of the Judgement of Paris and the legend of Selene and Endymion in the two major circles of field *Castulo*, not only shows the one hand, a novel combination, until now no documented in a same floor not even in the context of a same iconographic program, but also testifies to the validity of myths and legends, in works of very different environment and different versions for different purposes during Classical Antiquity.

But it is not a simple reproduction of some myths. Should be considered the symbolism of these opposites loves in the composition, especially in reference to the desire, typical of all mortals, to maintain eternal youth and achieve immortality, which explains the myth incorporating both at the philosophical work of the *Phaedo* and *Tusculan Disputations*, as in lyrical work of Propertius and the *Dialogues* of Lucian.

As the most significant finding, the joint representation on the pavement *Castulo* reflects the influence or inspiration of the readings of the works of Propertius and, in particular, of Lucian of Samosata, revealing a fundamental document for the consideration of culture and intellectual preoccupations, in this case, who take care the mosaics decoration of *Castulo* residence.

Should be noted that both Propertius as Lucian of Samosata refer to Aphrodite and Selene, but the first, with the intention of inducing the love affair and passion, while the second, very critical, showed the disastrous consequences of the will of the gods.

Remember that even though today identified with the Second Sophistic, although not strictly a philosopher, Lucian²⁵ (125-181 A.D.) noted for his critical and ironic stance by making fun of people, beliefs and customs in his works, while showed great interest in astrology, devising a trip to the moon where Endymion appears like personage.

In this sense, despite the hypothesis offered by archaeologists of the site on membership of a public building in time of Domitian (81-97 A.D.), the connection with texts by various authors of the second century A.D. reflects a later chronology, from the end of century II A.D., which coincides with the dating of parallel exposed to the geometric composition and compositional scheme itself.

Remember as a great frame geometric composition tiles and white color, black ocher, which reproduces a grid drawn arranged bands, with square straight and square on the top, separated by rectangles, according to a similar scheme documented in a Gallic mosaic Clerval (Décor I: pl. 146c), dated to the early third century A.D. at the beginning of the Severian era (Stern 1963: 314 XXVIII, c), all painted figures *Castulo* with other geometric shapes - squares with four triangles, arranged on each corner of the square, defining a square in the center to turn a smaller square inscribed within a circle, rectangles contain a more elongated rectangle - which highlight to be a different color, giving peculiarity in the pavement *Castulo*, bands squares arranged on the tip on three sides of figurative field, while the side squares straight skirts one of the two shorter sides.

²⁵ About Lucian, see the recent publication *Portrait du sophiste en amateur d'art/Lucien de Samosate ; textes éd. par Sandrine Dubel. Paris : Rue d'Ulm Editions, 2014.*

Perhaps, according to the usual interrelationship between *opus tessellatum* and domestic spaces in private sphere (Neira 2009: 11-53), reflecting the intellectual concerns of a *dominus*, belonging to the most privileged sector of the *Carthaginensis conventus* in *Tarraconensis* during the Severian period.

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