

ÁKOS KISS

ROMAN MOSAICS IN HUNGARY

FONTES
ARCHAEOLOGICI
HUNGARIAE



AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ, BUDAPEST

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The book presents the mosaic material of that part of Pannonia which is situated in Hungary, from the point of view of archeology, and artistic values, by placing it in the relics of the Empire. Parallel with this, it offers aspects of the development in the style of Pannonian arts. The author examines how the emanation from the large centres of arts affected this area and establishes that Roman mosaic art in Pannonia was born out of a union of North Italian and East Syrian art trends. In analyzing the pictorial representations of the Pannonian mosaics he establishes that in conformity with the military situation of the province, the picture themes are in one way or another all associated with struggle or fight, the drinking contest of Heracles and Dionysos, the wrestlers and the boxers, clearly interdependent on the premises for which they were prepared. The effect of Hellenistic paintings can also be felt especially in the compositions of genre and still life paintings. The black-and-white decorations of public and military buildings are puritanical, colourless, geometric mosaics. An early christian burial vault at Pécs readily proves that mosaic art prevailed even after the collapse of the Roman rule in Pannonia. The simpler individual mosaics were prepared locally, others were made by travelling artists. On a few occasions, high quality masterpieces coming from far-off places were included later into the geometric flooring. The large mosaic of Balácsa born in the Severian concept of style means the artistic acme of this area; no similar example has yet been discovered in the Empire.



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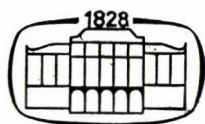
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ÁKOS KISS

ROMAN MOSAICS IN HUNGARY



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CONTENTS

Abbreviations	6
I. The history of the research	7
II. Description of the mosaics	9
III. Appraisal of the elements and structures of Pannonian mosaics	35
IV. General principles of the investigation	64
Index of mosaic sites	69
Index	71
Plates	73

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	Archäologischer Anzeiger
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archeology
<i>Acta Arch. Hung.</i>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest
<i>Arch. Ért.</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő, Budapest
<i>Blake I</i>	M. E. Blake: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. The Pavements of the Roman Buildings of the Republic and early Empire. 8 (1930)
<i>Blake II</i>	M. E. Blake: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Roman Mosaics of the 2nd century in Italy. 13 (1936)
<i>Blake III</i>	M. E. Blake: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Mosaics of the late Empire in Rome and Vicinity. 17 (1940)
<i>Bud. Rég.</i>	Budapest Régiségei
<i>Diss. Pann.</i>	Dissertationes Pannonicae ex Instituto Numismatico et Archaeologico Universitatis de P. Pázmány nominatae Budapestiensis.
<i>JDAI</i>	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts
<i>JÖAI</i>	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien
<i>PW</i>	Pauly—Wissowa Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft
<i>RM</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archeologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)

I. THE HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH

Our first information on Pannonian mosaics in Hungary¹ dates from the 18th century.² The excavations of the Governor's Palace at Óbuda, starting in the middle of the last century, brought to light

several of the floor mosaics of the large building already at an early date.³ At the end of the century a smaller pavement with a geometric design was published by K. Kárpáti from Savaria.⁴ At about



Fig. 1
Roman mosaic sites in Pannonia

¹ At the conference on mosaics held in 1963 in Paris an international scientific association, Association internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque antique (AIEMA) was initiated for the investigation of antique mosaic art. It has been directing the study of Greek and Roman mosaics, since the year of its formation (1965), and has evolved methods for their research and for the uniformity of their publication.

² P. Katancich: *Dissertatio de columna...*, Eszéki 1782, p. 87; S. Schönwisner: *Antiquitatum et historiae Sabariensis...*, Pestini 1791, p. 61; *Orvosok és természet-*

vizsgálók 1846. évi vándorgyűlése. Emlékkönyve (Itinerant meeting of physicians and observers of nature in 1846. Memorial Book); M. Haas: *Baranya. Memorandum*, p. 226; M. Haas: *Gedenkbuch*, Fünfkirchen, 1852, p. 11.

³ E. von Sacken: *Die römischen Bäder in Alt-Ofen, Mittheilungen der Central-Kommission* 2 (1857) pp. 165, 281–287; J. Szilágyi: *Az aquincumi helytartói palota* (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) pp. 81–97.

⁴ K. Kárpáti: *Sabariai leletekről* (On the finds at Savaria), *Arch. Ért.* 17 (1897) pp. 68–74, fig. 2.

the same time relics of this character were published from Aquincum by B. Kuzsinszky.⁵ Reports on minor, mostly fragmentary mosaic finds turned up in Hungarian archeological literature with an increasing frequency.⁶ The remains of the Baláca villa, some of whose richly decorated larger mosaics are among the most significant ones ever found in Pannonia, came to light in the first decade of the 20th century. Following the first brief reports of Gy. Rhé who conducted the excavation⁷ an important study was published by J. Wollanka⁸ on the large mosaic, placed in the Hungarian National Museum, which was mentioned with appreciation by international research on several occasions.⁹ This study was one of the first works in the literature to analyze in detail an antique mosaic according to its decorative elements. L. Nagy, who had the opportunity to observe several features of Pannonian art for the first time, published some important findings also in the field of mosaic art.¹⁰ Describing the mosaic found in the Savaria Capitolium and then the Aquincum mosaic

with a Dirce scene,¹¹ he still dealt primarily with questions of iconography. In 1928 he outlined the state and problems of the research of mosaics at that time. He was especially interested in the beginnings of the genre, the Greek times, which pose many problems even today.¹² He commented on the local mosaic art also in his discussions of late Roman art in Pannonia and Pannonian wall painting.¹³ Finally, in his work on the art of Aquincum, he summed up the Aquincum mosaics he knew.¹⁴

The remains of the large-size late Roman mosaic of Savaria discovered in 1938 were described by I. Paulovics and later by Z. Kádár.¹⁵ The largest number of Pannonian mosaics were brought to light by the excavations of the Aquincum Governor's Palace, which were resumed in 1941. On these J. Szilágyi reported several times.¹⁶ More recently, mosaics were found in the buildings of the canabae of the Aquincum camp. They include the finest mosaic relics perhaps not only of Pannonia but also of the European provinces (Fig. 1).

⁵ B. Kuzsinszky: A legújabb aquincumi ásátások. 1887—1888 (The most recent excavations at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 1 (1889) p. 104.

⁶ M. Haas: *Baranya. Pécs 1845. Memorandum*, p. 226; F. Várady—B. Posta: *Baranya múltja és jelene* (The past and present of Baranya), Pécssett 1896—97, Vol. II, p. 191; O. Szönyi: A pécsi püspöki múzeum kőtára (The lapidarium of the Episcopal Museum of Pécs), *Arch. Ért.* 27 (1907) pp. 175—178; P. Gerecze: *Arch. Ért.* 27 (1907) p. 178.

⁷ Gy. Rhé: *Balácsa*, Veszprém 1912, pp. 94—98, fig. 26, Pl. 8; idem: Római leletekről Balácsa pusztán (On the Roman finds at Balácsa), *Arch. Ért.* 27 (1907) p. 364.

⁸ J. Wollanka: Ein römisches Mosaik aus Balácsa, *JÖAI* 25 (1929); idem: Balácai mozaik a Nemzeti Múzeumban (The Balácsa mosaic at the Hungarian National Museum), *Magyar Művészet* 2 (1926) pp. 329—334.

⁹ D. Levi: *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 394.

¹⁰ L. Nagy: *A savariai capitoliumon 1791-ben talált mozaikpadló* (The mosaic pavement found in 1791 at the Savaria capitolium), Szombathely 1927.

¹¹ L. Nagy: Dirce bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon

(The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) pp. 77—99.

¹² L. Nagy: Az antik mozaikművészeti kutatások legújabb eredményei (Recent achievements of the research into antique mosaics), *Arch. Ért.* 41 (1927) pp. 192—196.

¹³ L. Nagy: *Pannonia Sacra. Szent István emlékkönyv* (Saint Stephen memorial book), Budapest 1938, p. 133; idem: Die römisch-pannonische dekorative Malerei, *RM* 41 (1926) pp. 79—131.

¹⁴ L. Nagy: *Budapest története, I/2. Művészetek* (History of Budapest, I/2. Arts), Budapest 1942, pp. 598—606.

¹⁵ I. Paulovics: *Savaria-Szombathely topográfiája* (The topography of Savaria-Szombathely), Szombathely 1943, pp. 25—38; Z. Kádár: *Savaria*, Budapest 1958, pp. 39—40.

¹⁶ J. Szilágyi: Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) pp. 81—97; idem: Római kori építmény az óbudai Hajógyárszigeten. (A Roman building of the Óbuda Shipyard Island), *Építészet* 3 (1951) pp. 550—559; idem: *Aquincum*, Budapest, 1956, pp. 99—100, Pls 63,65; M. Kaba: Az aquincumi helytartói palota mozaikpadozatai (Mosaic floor of the Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 18 (1958) pp. 79—98.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE MOSAICS

I. AQUINCUM

(a) The mosaics of the Governor's Palace

With a few exceptions the mosaics of the Transdanubian part of Pannonia are floor mosaics of the *opus tessellatum* technique. Their material originates from limestone and dolomite rocks of different colours from the Transdanubian Central Mountains, with little local basalt and occasionally with marble types of foreign origine, fragments of house ceramics and bricks, and opaque

glass. Departures from the dolomite and limestone material will be mentioned in the course of the discussion of the pieces in question.

More than a hundred years ago already considerable parts of Roman buildings were unearthed at the Shipyard Island of Óbuda.¹⁷ Among the remnants of walls mosaics were discovered already at that time. They have been for the most part

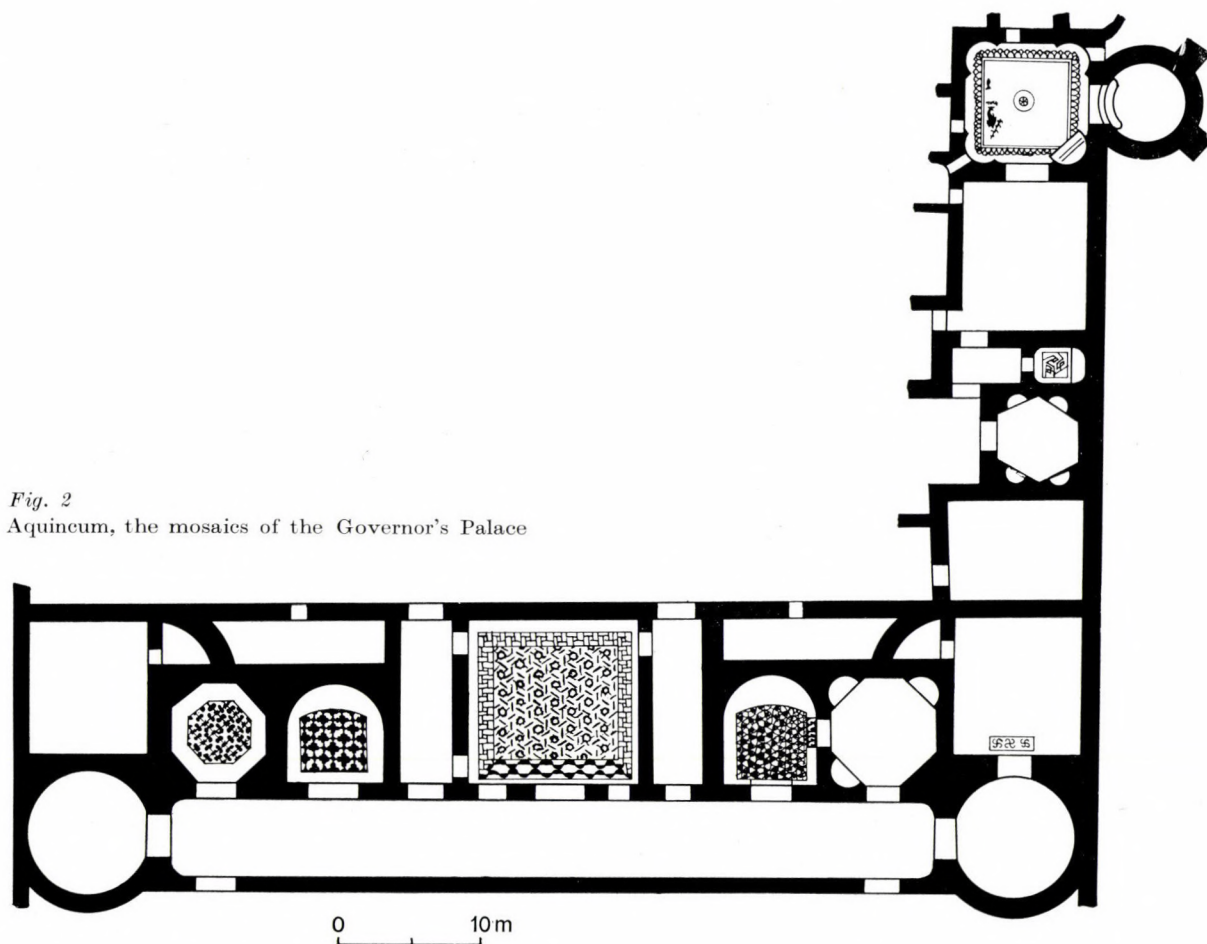


Fig. 2
Aquincum, the mosaics of the Governor's Palace

¹⁷ J. Szilágyi: Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) pp. 81–97; idem: A római kori ásatások fontosabb eredményei Budapest területén... (The most important

results of the excavations of Roman relics in the area of Budapest), *Bud. Rég.* 16 (1955) pp. 403–409; E. von Sacken: Die römischen Bäder in Alt-Ofen, *Mitteilungen der Central-Kommission* 2 (1857) pp. 165, 285–286, fig. 3.

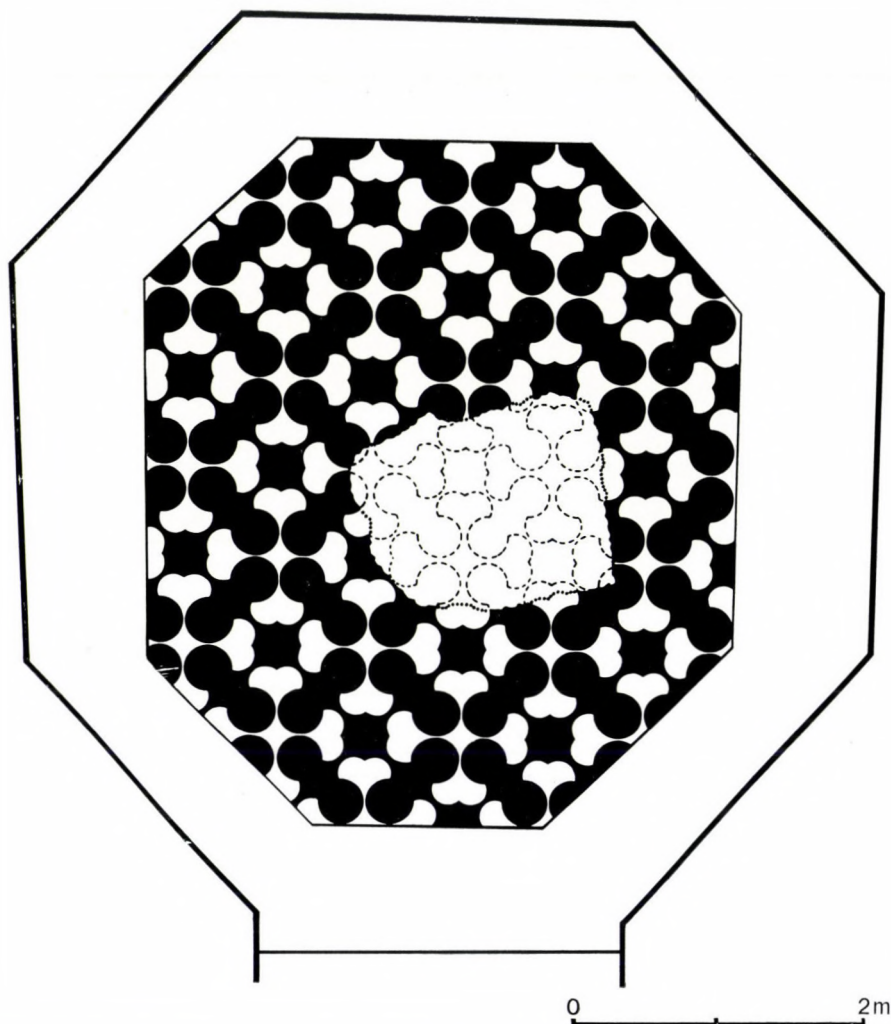


Fig. 3
Aquincum,
the Governor's Palace,
mosaic of room No. 2
(No. 1)

destroyed, since their patterns, with the exception of one mosaic, are known to us only from contemporary drawings.¹⁸

When, after a longer time, excavations were started here again in 1941, it turned out very soon that the island hid the remains of the palace of the Governor of Lower Pannonia (Pannonia Inferior). Several rooms with mosaic floors were discovered in rows of rooms mostly in the eastern wing of the palace complex, which was taking a more and more distinct shape as a result of the excavations renewed in 1951 (Fig. 2).¹⁹ Floor mosaics have survived in six rooms, while in one room a small part of a pavement was found at the entrance (room No. 8).

No. 1. In the order of the rooms beginning with the floor of the octagonal room No. 2 (Fig. 3, Pl. I/2), this mosaic — similarly to most of the others —

is black-and-white in colour. A large part of the surface is destroyed in the centre. White on black, with an all-over geometric decorative design similar to that of brick pavements made of small-size bricks of special shapes. Four heart-shaped fields with tapering sides meet in squares with concave sides.²⁰ Size: 4.4 m × 5.3 m. 2nd century.

¹⁸ J. Szilágyi: *op. cit.*, *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) fig. 49. They have partly been destroyed, some parts were brought to the Hungarian National Museum and others to Vienna. The piece belonging to the Hungarian National Museum was recently found in a defective state in Aquincum.

¹⁹ E. von Sacken: *op. cit.*; J. Szilágyi: *Az aquincumi helytartói palota* (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 18 (1958) p. 63.

²⁰ See notes 18 and 19.

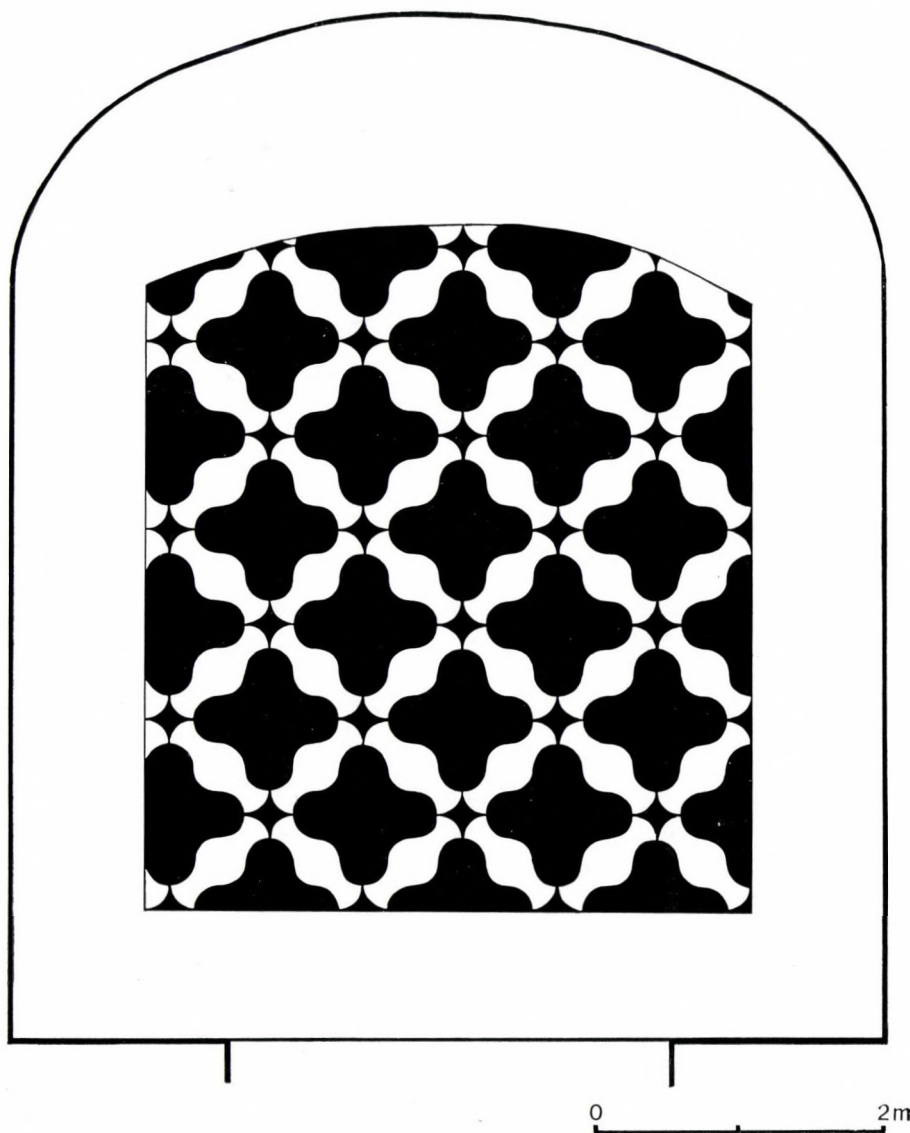


Fig. 4
Aquincum,
the Governor's Palace,
mosaic of room No. 3
(No. 2)

No. 2. The floor of the next room, No. 3 (Fig. 4), displays also an all-over geometric pattern of white on a black ground. The white finger-biscuit-shaped forms imitating floor bricks show distinctly against the dark base of the frameless floor design of the room which is closed down with a slight curve on the side opposite to the entrance. Rows of four such shapes, divided by small intermediate squares each, form a net-like grid pattern.²¹ Size: 4 m × 4.75 m. 2nd century.

No. 3. The mosaic of room No. 5 (Fig. 5) is centrally situated and approximately square shaped. Its decoration is more or less similar to the previous mosaics, differing from them only in its broad, simple, geometric framing. This frame is divided, it surrounds the main field only on three sides. Its internal field consists of a pattern of white curvilinear hexagons alternating with oblongs

with two outward curving narrower sides, emerging from the dark ground. Its framing has a clear linear design of squares and rectangles resembling the patterns of quadratic walls or flag-stone pavements. On the entrance side, along a double axis line there is a pattern of waves filled with black.²² With its surface of 37.5 square metres it is among the largest Pannonian mosaics. Size: 6 m × 6.25 m. 2nd century.

No. 4. The remains of the mosaic opposite to the entrance side of room No. 6 (Fig. 6, Pl. I/3) are among the larger ones. Considerable parts of this floor were destroyed during factory construction. The main field is surrounded by a broad, simple black

²¹ See previous note.

²² See notes 18 and 19.

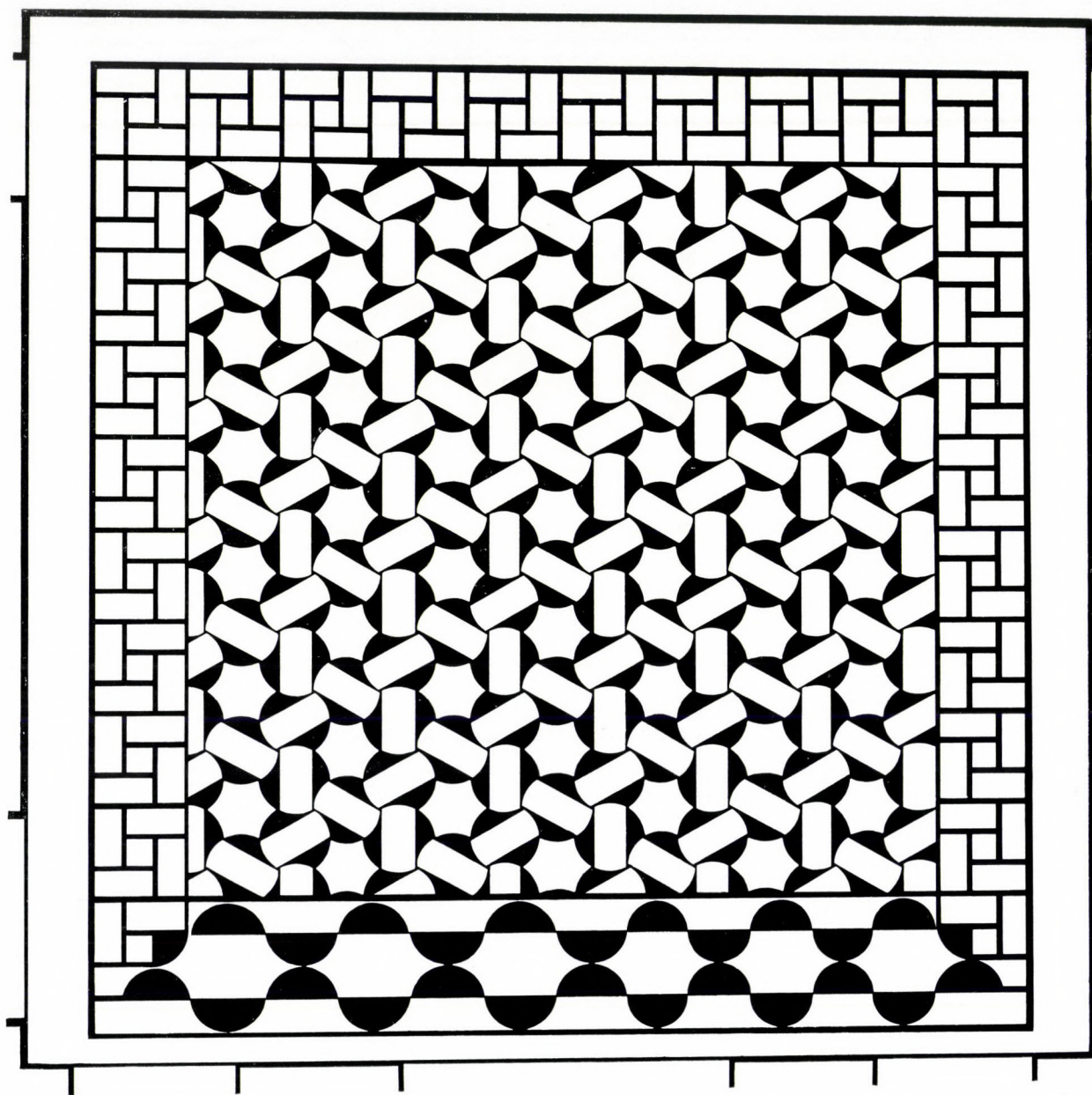


Fig. 5
 Aquincum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic of room
 No. 5 (No. 3)

0 5m

framing part. Its lively design consists of a complicated system of intersecting circles, part of them concentric. The framing cuts off the all-over pattern spreading in all directions. Light circle sections (lenticular motives) and curvilinear triangles formed of the former project from its black ground. This double circular pattern, nevertheless clear in its effect, conceals the actual composition in a clever way. At the two entrances of the room, one of them walled off later, we can find so-called thresh-

old motives. One of these consists of three simple members each of two opposite lines of leaves, with a circle in the middle. The other is quilloche-like, with black square in the middle of each section.²³ Size: 11.7 m × 11.7 m. 2nd century.

No. 5. In the northern row of rooms of the palace, turning at right angles room No. 45 (Fig. 7, Pl. I/1) is also decorated with a mosaic. This is also surround-

²³ See notes 18 and 19.

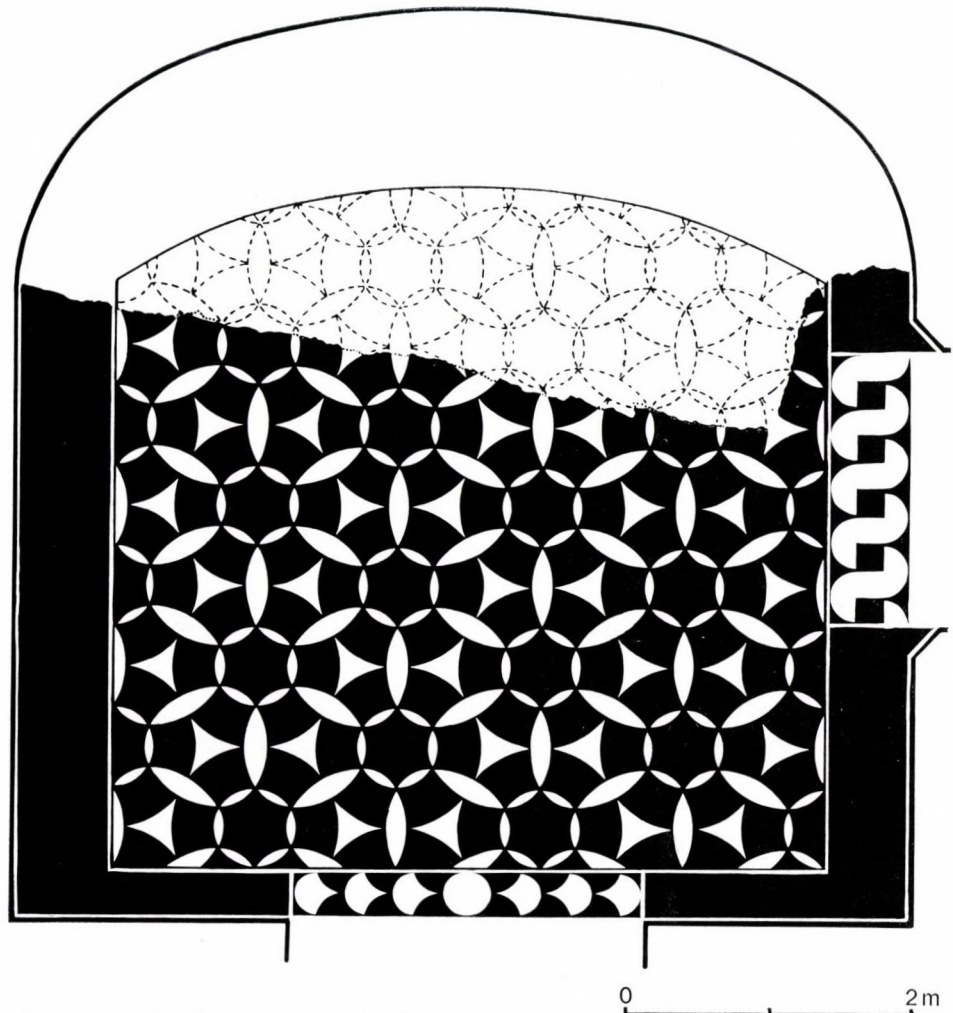


Fig. 6

Aquincum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic of room No. 6 (No. 4)

ed by a broad black frame, its design is, however, black on a light ground. In fact it is a single pattern, viz. three meanders meeting in perspective and suggesting three dimensions with their perpendicular planes converge in a cube form with differently shaded sides. The broad, dark framing follows the rounded-off corners of the room. The mosaic does not occupy the whole surface of the floor of the room, and leaves one fourth of the floor plain.²⁴ Size: 2.5 m × 2.75 m. End of the 2nd century.

No. 6. Of the mosaic of room No. 8 (Pl. II/1) only the coloured threshold tripe has survived. The quadrangular room which had had a full mosaic pavement was destroyed in the past few decades during factory construction. The single row of motives of the threshold fragment consists of three remaining pelta crosses. The lively peltas which seem to roll on like swastikas, are black in colour and emerge from a white base, bordered by black stripes on both edges of the threshold part; that

was the place where the pavement ended. The pelta crosses are filled in with double, complicated Solomon's knots, orange and ochre in colour.²⁵ Size: 0.75 m × 1.94 m. End of the 2nd century.

No. 7. The next mosaics of the palace came to light still at the time of the excavations of the middle of the last century. No. 7 was a circular pavement which, according to some earlier views, had decorated one of the small rooms of the bathing section, probably the circular *caldarium* marked No. 58 (Fig. 8). E. von Sacken, however, saw a pavement of floor bricks in the latter room.²⁶ J. Szilágyi assumes that the round mosaic which was

²⁴ See note 19.

²⁵ See notes 18 and 19.

²⁶ E. von Sacken: *op. cit.*; J. Szilágyi: *Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum)*, *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) p. 96, fig. 49; idem: *Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum)*, *Bud. Rég.* 18 (1958) p. 64.

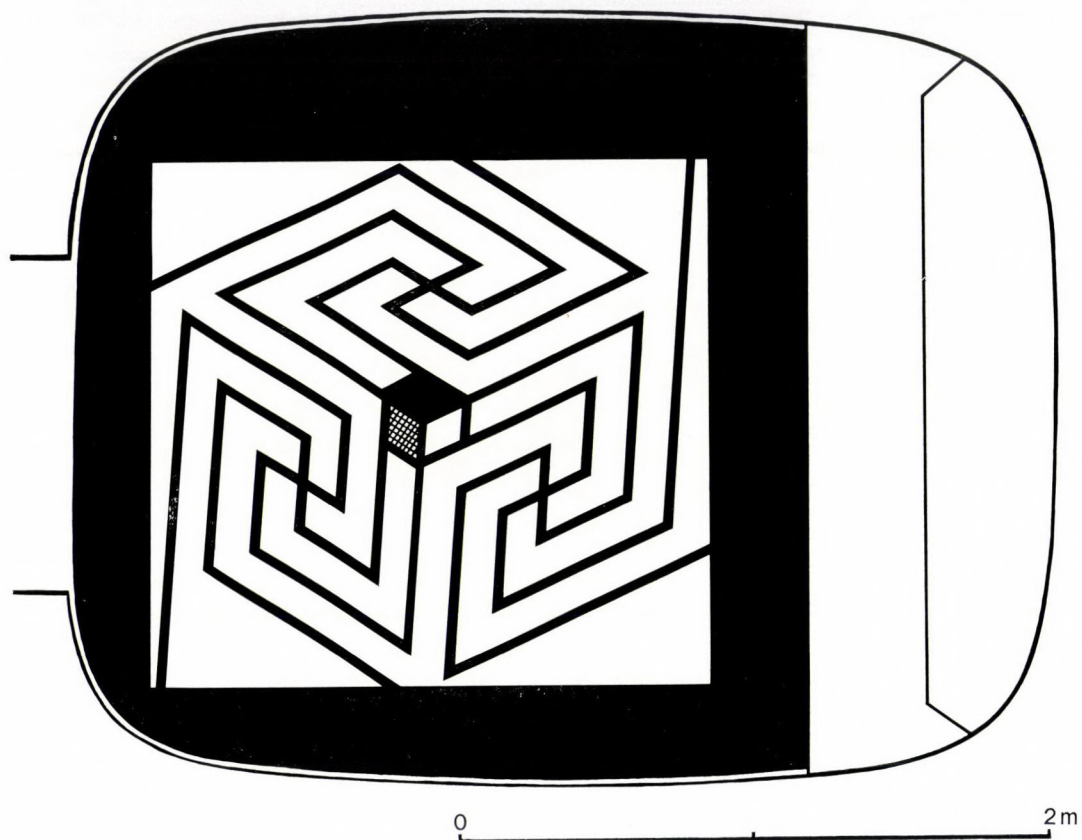


Fig. 7
 Aquincum, the Governor's Palace,
 mosaic of room No. 45
 (No. 5)

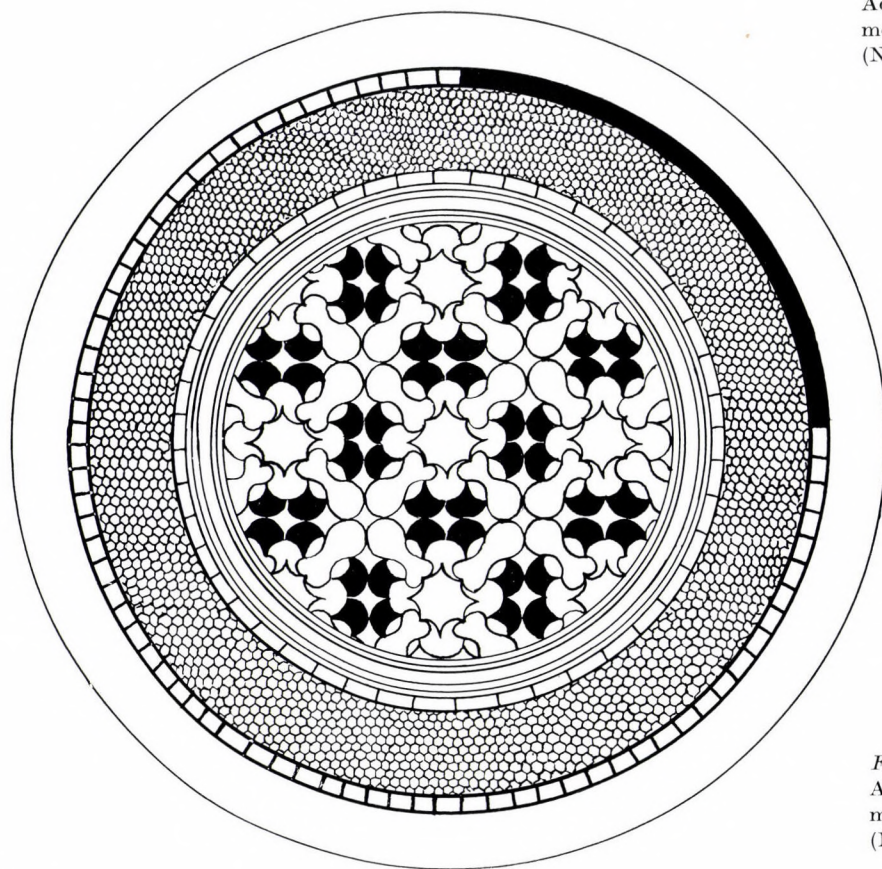


Fig. 8
 Aquincum, the Governor's Palace,
 mosaic of room No. 58 (?)
 (No. 7)

known already in the literature of the last century²⁷ could have been placed here at a later time. It is also filled in with an all-over geometric pattern, similar to the previous mosaics. In its inner part we can see in a system of circles two pelta-like figures each arranged with their backs to each other, or rather figures imitating floor bricks. Certain groups of these are black, while the base is of light colour.

dolomite would mark the white, while the basalt would represent the black colour. On the basis of the contemporary drawing this mosaic, too, was similar to the relics of the same character from the eastern wing of the palace.²⁸ Approximate diameter: 9.5 m. 2nd century.

No. 9. Circular floor, probably from the Governor's Palace (Fig. 10). Red and black in colour, with

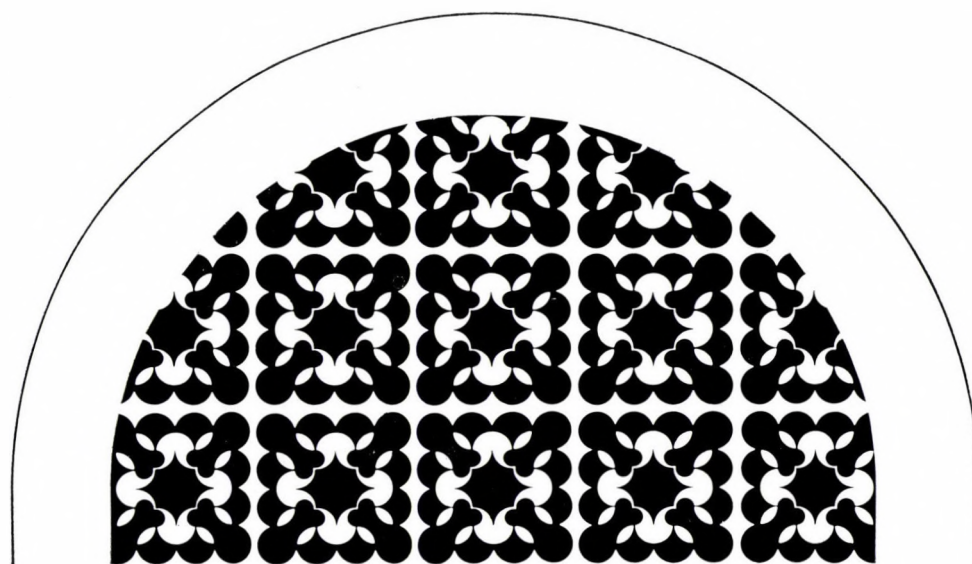


Fig. 9
Aqueinum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic from below the "Workshop of the Rough Blacksmiths" (No. 8)

The patterns resembling floor brick shapes show an affinity with mosaic No. 1. This mosaic, however, differs from the patterns of the eastern row of rooms mainly in its framing. The floor has been destroyed; certain parts of it were taken to the imperial collections of Vienna and to the Hungarian National Museum in the 1850s. 2nd century.

No. 8. One more mosaic is mentioned by E. v. Sacken from the Shipyard Island in 1856. Its design is similar to that of No. 7. It was discovered in a semicircular room with hypocaust, which was the semicircular closing part of a larger room. In this place, southeast of the bathing section discovered already in the Bach period, the so-called "Workshop of the Rough Blacksmiths" had stood (Fig. 9). Its design, similarly to those of mosaics No. 1, No. 2 and No. 7, imitates the floor brick structure; it is, too, an imitation of floors with finger-biscuit and pelta-formed pattern, however, it is arranged in a quadratic system. According to the description of E. v. Sacken its colours were yellowish and grayish. Of these the soiled yellowish-grayish

a white base, with traces of later burning. With its design being similar to those of No. 7 and No. 8, it forms a common group with them. It is an intricate pattern of interlacing curves, heart-shaped forms, peltas, semicircles, and concavely etching squares.²⁹ Diameter: 2.1 m. 2nd century.

No. 10. In the western part of the palace, in the octagonal bathroom No. 63 with a corner-niche, in the neighbourhood of room No. 58, a largely destroyed mosaic was found in 1952 (Fig. 10a, Pls II/2, III/1, III/2).³⁰ In contrast to the previous mosaics, this one is figural, with a marine scene. Only the borders of the mosaic have survived. The room in which it is situated has round corner-niches, and a small basin in its north-eastern corner, with

²⁷ E. von Sacken: Die römischen Bäder in Alt-Ofen, *Mitteilungen der Central-Kommission* 2 (1857) pp. 281–287.

²⁸ *Op. cit.* fig. 4.

²⁹ See note 27.

³⁰ M. Kaba: Az aqueinumi helytartói palota mozaikpadozatai (Mosaic floors of the Governor's Palace at Aqueinum), *Bud. Rég.* 18 (1958) pp. 85–97.

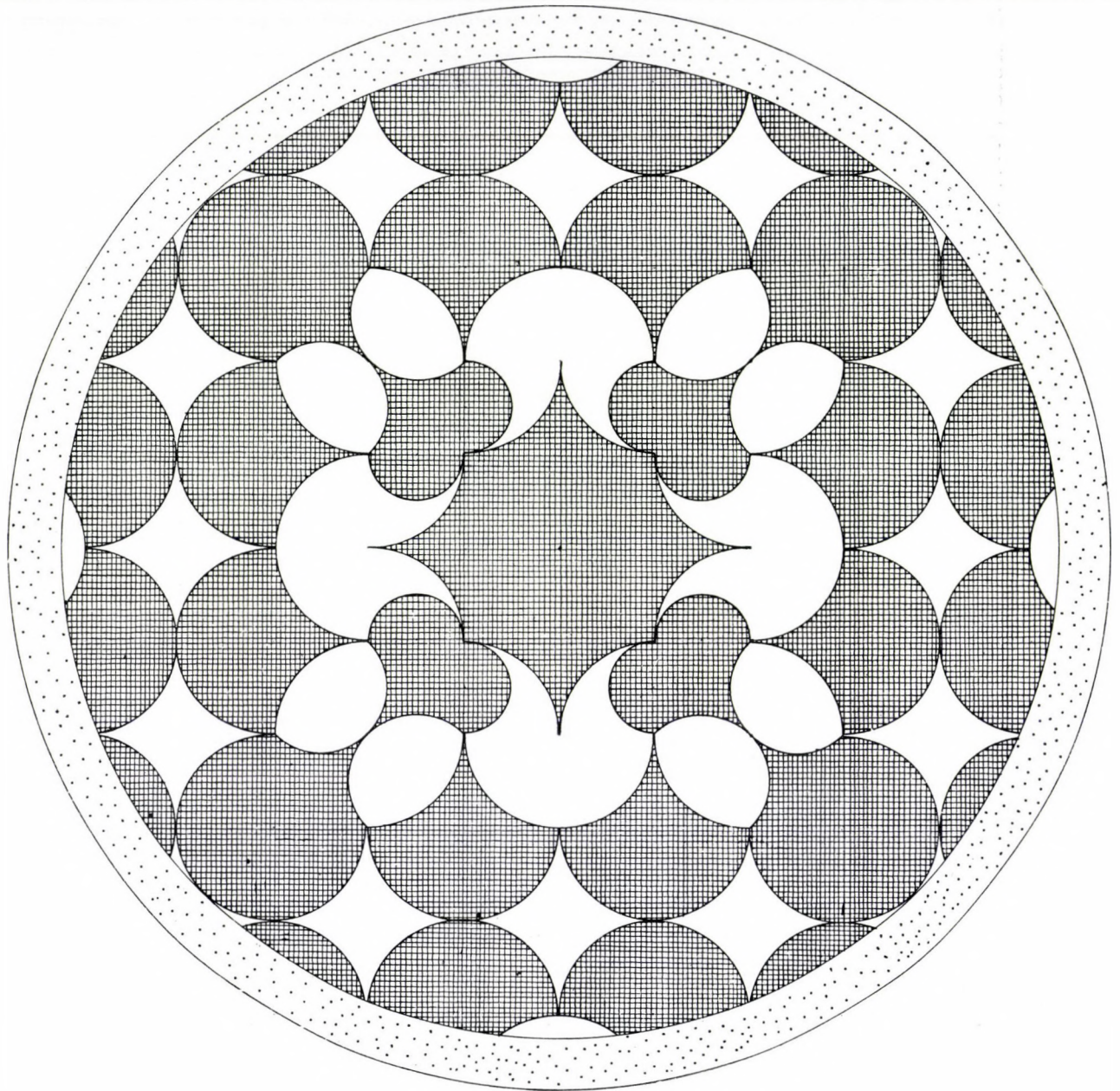


Fig. 10
Geometric pattern from the Governor's Palace (No. 9)

an open-work sink in its middle. Serving for bathing, the functional presence of water in the room created an interesting relationship with the theme of the floor mosaic. In the surviving border-parts a dolphin, a red goldfish, other smaller fish; a sword-fish chasing a carp-like fish, and pearl-oysters are swimming in the field representing the water surface. On the left side of the pictorial fragment we can see reed-grass and reeds with some kind of sea-weed around a tree-trunk. Beside the fish there is also a duck swimming about. This, together

with the tree-trunk and the vegetation, points to the fact that what the mosaic represents is not the open sea, but probably off-shore waters or a flooded landscape. In the other corner of the surviving picture-field there is a floundering dolphin with an arching body. Here too elements of water vegetation appear. The calm, glittering water surface, disturbed only slightly by a breeze, is represented around both groups of animals by rows of small black lines. Filled with similar elements, the picture field once covered the whole

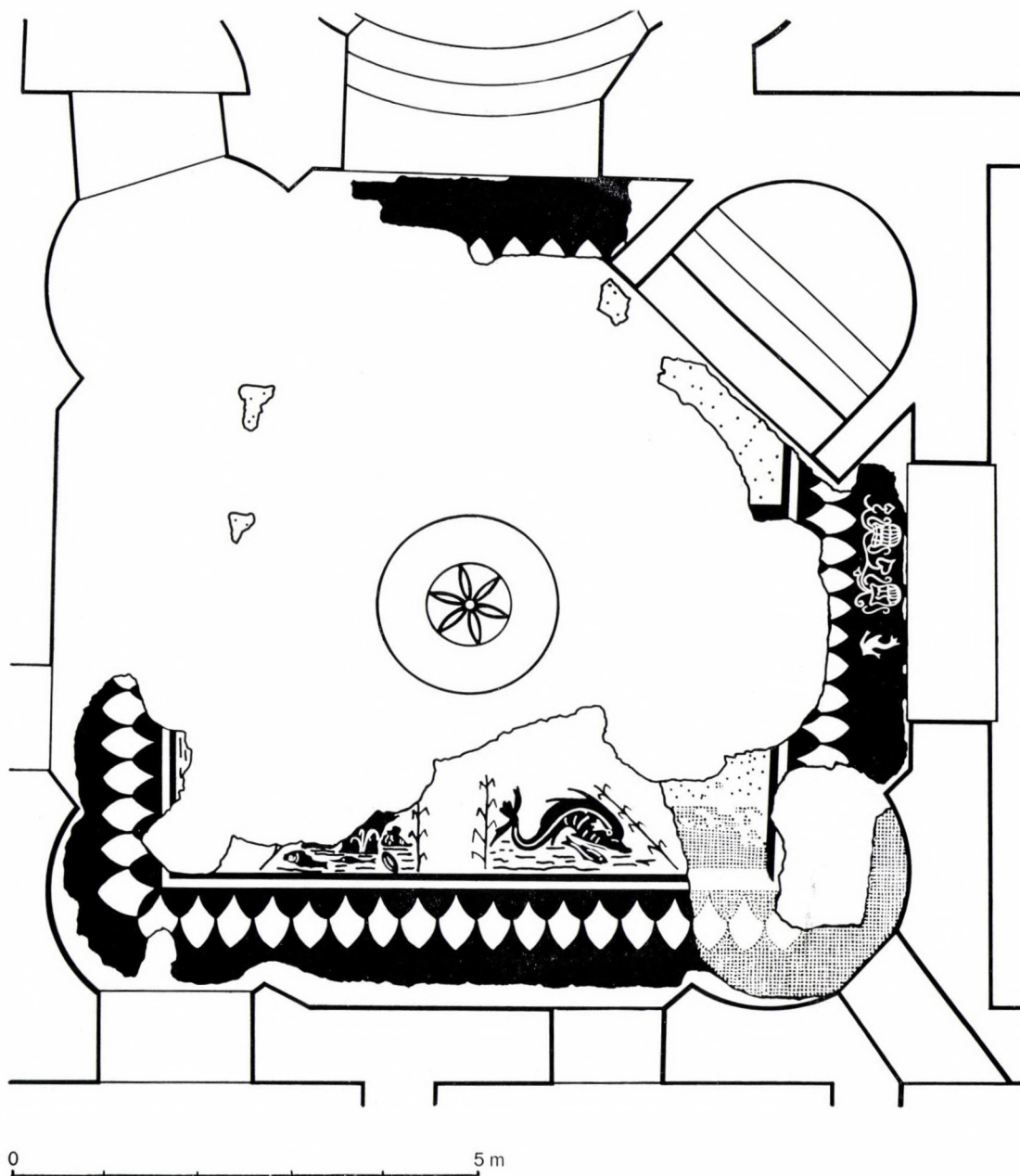


Fig. 10a
 Aquincum, mosaic fragment from the bath wing of the Governor's Palace (No. 10)

floor of the room. Its framing is simple: a narrow, black inside band is surrounded farther outside by a broader black frame. Traces of this can be observed on all four sides. A row of leaves consisting of large-size lotus petals emerges from the black ground, with white blanks. On the threshold part of the eastern entrance the drawing-like pictures of two canthari emerge from the black

ground, represented by lines of light colour. From both of these ivy scrolls growing together are spreading out, and to the right the white silhouette of a small dolphin can be seen. The whole part is asymmetrically shifted towards the left, and its laying method too differs from that of the other designs of the room. Size: 9.5 m × 9.5 m. Beginning of the 3rd century.

(b) Mosaics of the civic city

No. 11. The earliest of the mosaics of the civic city known so far was discovered in front of the Krempl Mill (Pl. III/3, colour supplement). It was the floor of the *Mithraeum* erected by C. Iulius Victorinus, the *decurio* of the *colonia*, previous to the year 198 A.D. If the sanctuary was part of a dwelling-house that had stood earlier, then perhaps the mosaic was not made in accordance with the requirements of the cultic place, but somewhat

while the remaining intermediate spaces were filled with eight rectangles each pressed to the sides of the octagonal *emblemata*. Between the stars, here too, there are the usual small squares. Thus it is only half-stars consisting of four lozenges with triangles between them that the edges of the inner field of the design cut in two. In some fields different individual leaf ornaments can be found. From the octagonal *emblemata* the guilloche frame of only one emblem has survived. The lozenge star system used to be broken by four

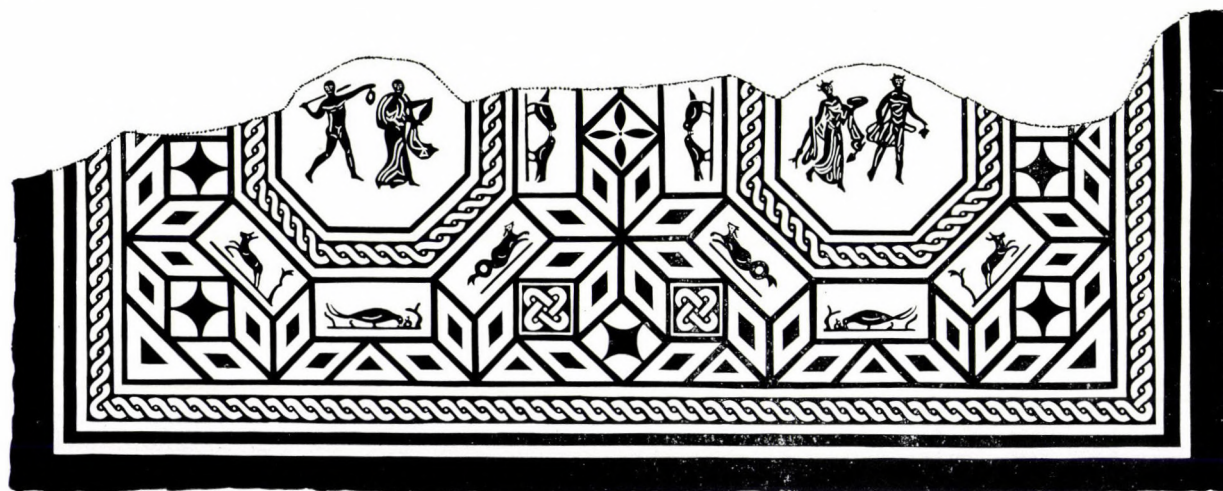


Fig. 11
Rome, the Via Tuscolana mosaic

earlier. However, B. Kuzsinszky speaks here definitely of a single, larger room, which points much rather to a cultic place.³¹ In that case the altar stone, which stood at the same place and was erected in 198 A.D., would mark also the date of construction of the floor.³²

The interior part of the mosaic is framed by a broad band of rather simple design, viz. a network of interlacing octagons. The idea of the interlacing circles returns here in an angular form. Furthermore, all the sections are filled in shades. The guilloche between the interior field and this exterior framing band is a less frequent motive; it is a two-strand guilloche. The octagonal interior *emblemata*, unfortunately fully destroyed, were also surrounded by such motives. The dimensions of this floor cannot be exactly ascertained. It was rectangular, like the room in which it was situated. A double band is running along one of its narrower sides and this may have been repeated also on the other side. The main field is filled with a lozenge-star pattern. From its only surviving section we can establish that full, eight-part lozenge stars alternated in it with octagonal ones,

such *emblemata*; they were the main decorative elements of the mosaic. It can be taken for certain that these panels were filled with pictorial representations. This is evinced also by the three rows of light-coloured *tesserae* of the surviving emblem fragment, apparently the white ground of the original picture. The threshold decoration is divided into two zones, the interior one is adorned with a flexible ivy scroll, while the adjoining field consists of a row of opposing double peltas. The peltas are also filled with red and black.

³¹ B. Kuzsinszky: *Az aquincumi muzeum és kőemlékei* (The Aquincum museum and its stone relics), *Bud. Rég.* 5 (1897) pp. 118–120; idem: *Funde aus Ungarn*, *JÖAI* 2 (1899), Beiblatt, pp. 55–56; L. Nagy: *A savariai capitoliumon 1791-ben talált mozaikpadló* (The mosaic pavement found in 1791 at the Savaria capitolium), Szombathely 1927, p. 113; L. Nagy: *Budapest története* I/2, *Művészetek* (History of Budapest I/2, Arts) p. 599; T. Nagy: *Vallási élet Aquincumban* (in *Budapest története*) (Religious life in Aquincum, in History of Budapest) I/2, Budapest 1942, p. 433; idem: *A pannoniai kereszténység története* (History of Pannonian Christianity), *Diss. Pann.* 1939, p. 28.

³² CIL III. 14344–6.

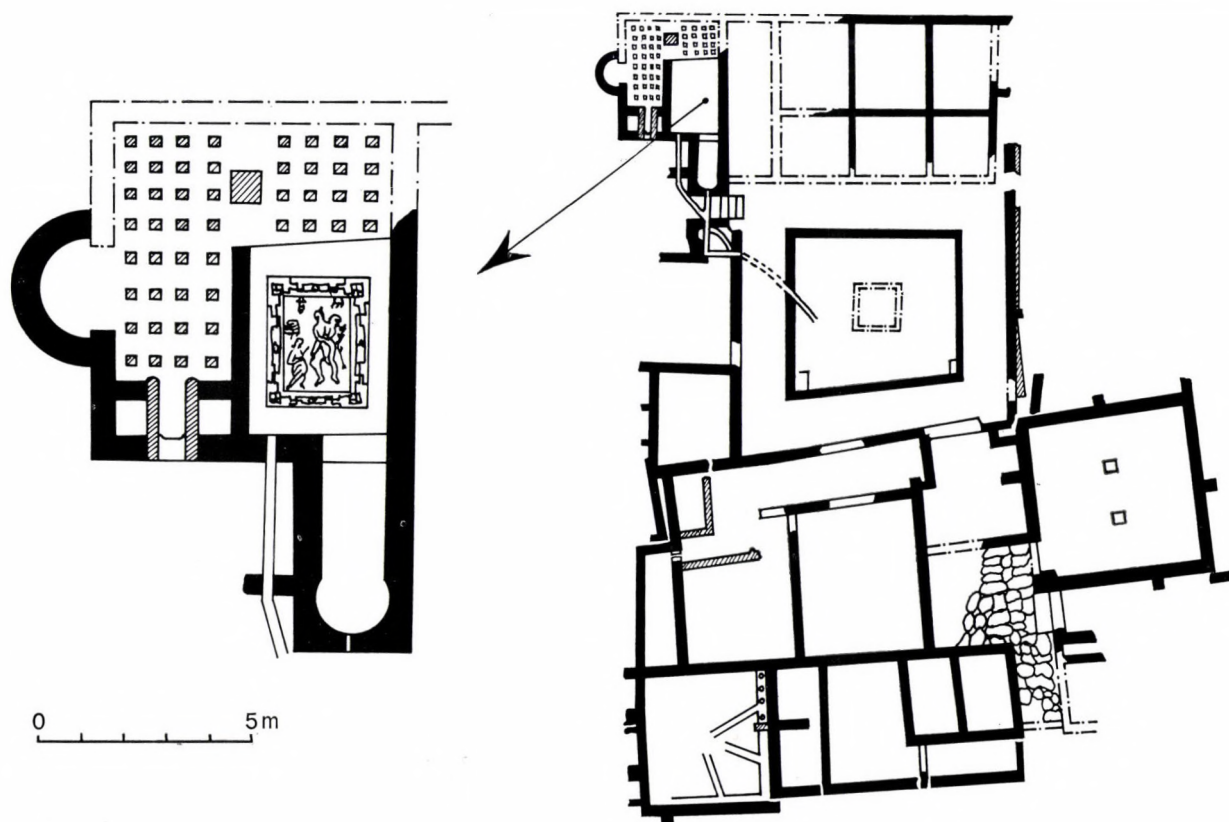


Fig. 12

Aquincum, Civic City, plan of the great dwelling house with the mosaic of the bath section (No. 13)

The colouring of the Victorinus mosaic results also from the peculiar technique of its making. Besides white and black we can also find green, red and yellow colours on it. The green is glass paste, while the red and the yellow are the usual pottery material of the local ceramic workshops. Thus this mosaic is not composed only of the usual dolomite-limestone material. The black colours do not originate from the most frequently used basalt material either, but from some kind of highly burnt, crumbling rock, or pottery broken into adequate pieces. We can also find here one of the less frequent technique of the mosaic art of the Imperial Age, viz. instead of *tesserae*, the main systems of lines of the design are filled with *terrazzo* material. These pinkish-reddish stripes are found mainly in the octagons of the outside geometric frame. The fact that the interior octagonal fields are emblemata is also shown by the circumstance that the preserved white base of very small cubicles, 5 millimetres in size, in contrast to the *tesserae* of the other geometric parts which are three times as big, with 1.2 centimetre long edges, exceeding the average size used in Pannonia. Size: 2.9 m × 6.25 m. 198. A.D.

No. 12. The coloured mosaic floor of one of the dwelling-houses represents the mythological scene of the punishment of Dirce (Pl. IV/1—2).³³ The pictorial emblem is surrounded by a broad, multiple geometric frame. It is of loose structure; the outside row of lenticular motives arranged in zig-zag lines is followed by a broader frame consisting of rows of squares and lozenges. In its squares double peltas, four-petalled rosettes and Solomon's knots alternate. Then a threefold inner frame of more compact structure follows which consists of a row of triangles, a line of running waves and a guilloche. This framing surrounds another interior zone, while the actual emblem surrounded with a double guilloche occupies a much smaller space. The interior framing band is surrounded on each of its four sides by one large

³³ L. von Nagy: Bestrafung der Dirke auf einem Aquincumer Mosaik, *RM* 40 (1925) pp. 51–65; E. Pfuhl: Der Farnesische Stier und das Mosaik von Aquincum, *RM* 41 (1926) pp. 227–228; L. Nagy: Dirke bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon (The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) pp. 77–99; idem: *Budapest története I/2, Művészetek* (History of Budapest I/2, Arts), Budapest 1942, pp. 598–599.

pelta containing a mask, by scrolls, and by shield-like elements in the corners. Characteristic are the L-shaped panels attached to the four corners of the emblem, which are filled with checkerboard patterns and rows of triangles.³⁴ The central compartment about one third of which has survived, represents the scene of the punishment of Dirce. It shows the story of Amphyon and Zethos, who took revenge for their mother by tying Dirce, their stepmother, to a bull to be dragged to death by the animal. The bull, rising on its hind legs, stands between the Dioscuri, while Dirce, who is lying on the ground, is being tied to the horns of the animal. Size: 5.9 m × 6.1 m, size of the emblem: 1.5 m × 1.5 m. 2nd quarter of the 3rd century.

No. 13. Another mosaic floor from the civic city is that of the bathroom of the large dwelling-house³⁵ (Fig. 12, Pl. V/1) representing wrestlers. The framing of the mosaic, showing gray and black colours on white ground, with very little red, consists of a geometric line design. Its lower left third has been destroyed. The design of the frame is a system of lines consisting of two rows of *tesserae*, forming meanders which cross each other in a swastika-like manner, and are arranged in the four corners a checkerboard pattern. In the wrestling scene of the interior panel, the black-bodied fighter on the left lifts his opponent from the ground by pressing him to himself from the front. In front of the wrestlers we can see the referee dressed in a gown and holding a stick in his hand; he is jumping here and there, watching the rapidly changing events. The picture catches one particular moment of the fight, and — if we accept the mythological explanation of the fight — it shows the climax, the phase when the struggle has already been decided. The few objects to be seen on the picture refer to the place of the wrestling-match. The branch of some plant may symbolize the prize of victory. Higher above three strigils are hanging, and behind the head of the referee on a prop-like supporter we can also see a vessel for oil. The two wrestlers are nude, their hair is gathered in a kind of knot (*cirrus*).

On the mosaic some rather crude repairs can be observed, made still in Antiquity, most probably in the 2nd half of the 3rd century. Size: 1.51 m × 1.85 m. 2nd quarter of the 3rd century.

(c) Mosaics of the Canabae

In 1958–59 several mosaics came to light in the area of the camp city, in Meggyfa Street, and according to the data of excavations made so far, from two dwelling-houses.³⁶

No. 14. The mosaic representing boxers was the sole decoration of the building in which it was found (Pl. VII/1). The nearly square picture is enclosed in a frame consisting of a single line made of two rows of *tesserae*. The ground of the space represented on the picture is marked; there are two figures on it, on the right the winner in an upright posture and beside him the loser, sitting on the ground, leaning on a stick, his head bleeding. To the left a palm branch, the prize of the winner, is propped against an ornate pedestal. On the left hand of both figures of the winner is fastened in a *cirrus* also here.

Black is not the only colour used by the maker of the mosaic on the white ground. The contours of the two bodies are black, but the framing, the ground represented in the picture and even the shadings of the bodies and the other objects are all of a broad, spot-like picturesque, fine faint ochre colouring. Size: 0.79 m × 1.84 m. Beginning of the 3rd century.



Fig. 13
Aquincum, Canabae, mosaic from Meggyfa Street villa

No. 14a. A further mosaic fragment came to light in a neighbouring house; near the right-angled corner part of its simple black frame set against

³⁴ We can show the work after the representation made by the painter E. Jeges on the basis of the directions given by L. Nagy.

³⁵ B. Kuzsinszky: A legújabb aquincumi ásátások (The most recent excavations at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 1 (1889) pp. 143–145, fig. 32; idem: *Aquincum, Ausgrabungen und Funde*, Budapest 1934, pp. 49–51, fig. 16; L. Nagy: *Budapest története I/2, Művészetek* (History of Budapest I/2, Arts) p. 599, Pl. 91/l.

³⁶ Regarding all of them (Nos. 14 to 18) see I. Wellner: *Az aquincumi mozaikok* (The Aquincum mosaics), Budapest 1962; idem.: The Hercules Villa in Aquincum, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 21 (1969) p. 245.

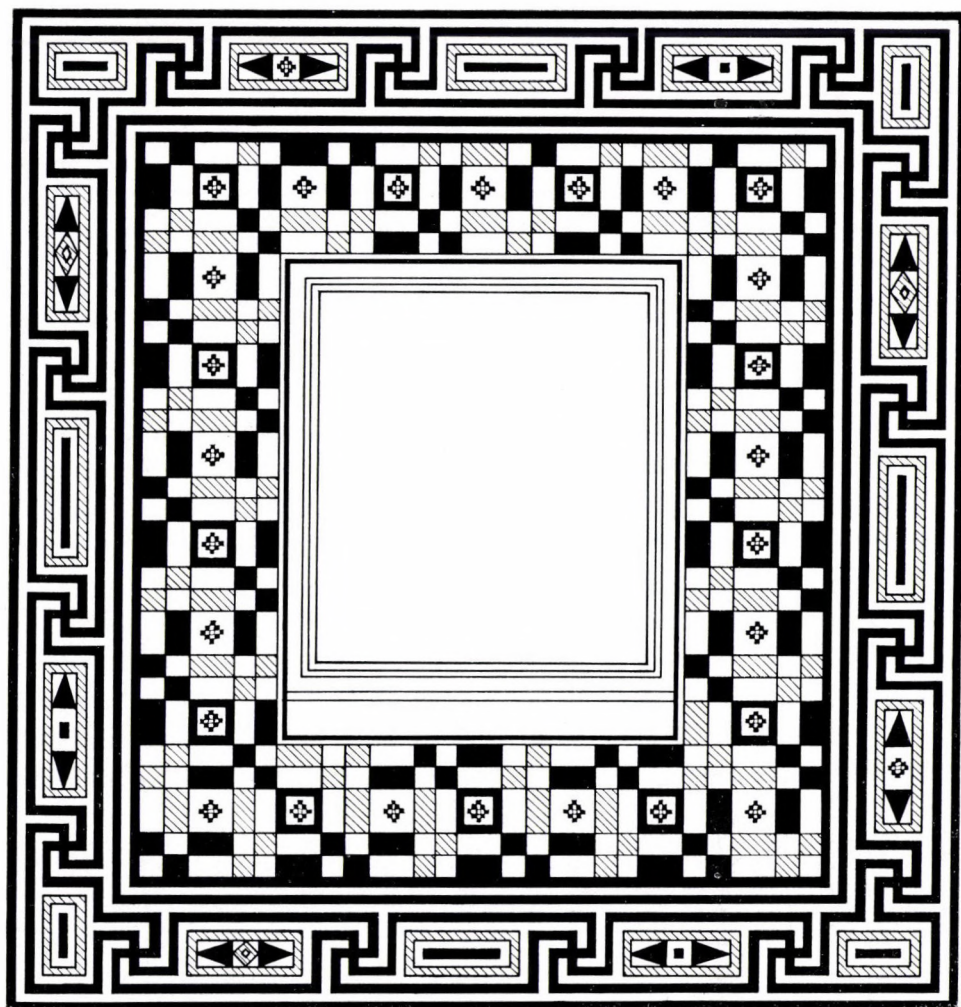


Fig. 14
Aquincum, Canabae, mosaic from room No. 2 of the Meggyfa Street villa (No. 16)

a white ground, details of the genius head and wings of a winged female figure can be seen. Beginning of the 3rd century (Fig. 13).

No. 15. In the neighbourhood of the building of mosaic No. 14 four mosaics were found in another villa. Three of them adorned the floors of adjoining rooms. The largest one, the fourth, is in a room with an apse. The first mosaic is one of the mythological scenes found in Pannonia (Pl. VI/1). From the story of Heracles and Nessus it shows the part when the hero shoots down with an arrow the centaur Nessus who is dragging Deianeira across the river. On the surviving upper half of the emblem, we can see Deianeira in the arms of Nessus, extending her arm in a movement asking for help towards Heracles who stands behind them and already aims his arrow at the centaur. In front Euanus, the river-god, with sceptre in hand, watches the tragedy with anxiety. The actual landscape,

the river, has perished with the lower part of the picture, but even so considerable parts of its background have survived. The mosaic has a broad, tripartite framing. This is laid out in much larger pieces than the emblem. The picture is encircled by a system of broad guilloches, sixfold above and a fivefold on the two sides. The next outer frame is an enormous astragal row. Strangely, on place of the intermediate pearl members we find here double peltas. The external frame consists of a network of red and yellow octagons with a warm colour effect on a light ground, with filled-up squares in between and with a swastika in each of the octagons. We can also find composite eight-pointed stars on both sides. Size: 4.7 m × 5 m, that of the emblem: 0.685 m × 1.24 m. Turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

No. 16. Of the mosaic of the next room (No. 11) only the geometric patterns have survived (Fig. 14,

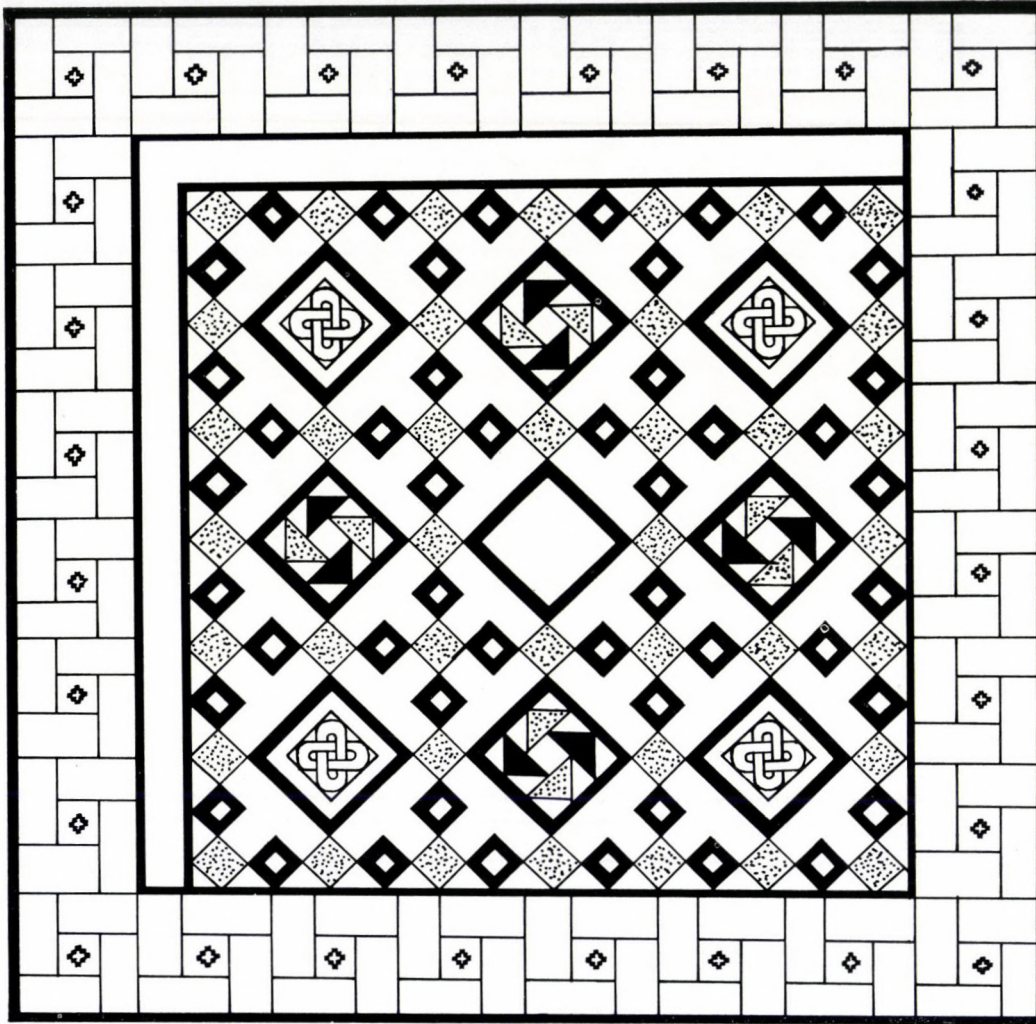


Fig. 14a
Aquincum, Canabae, mosaic from room No. 3. of the Meggyfa Street villa (No. 17)

Pl. VII/2). Its destroyed middle part used to be adorned by a quadratic emblem. The outer band of its broad, double geometric frame is a composite meandrical system. In spite of its simple design, besides its black and white colours it also shows red lines. The meanders join swastika-like, leaving room for rectangles in between. Every second of these is red, and inside the latter there are small squares set on the points of red triangles. The composite checkerboard pattern of the interior band is a more complicated system of square and oblongs resembling textile patterns, with yellow and black colours. In some larger, light fields there are also small stars. Size: 3.5×3.75 m. Turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

No. 17. The mosaic floor of the next room (No. 10), is entirely geometric (Fig. 14a, Pl. VII/3). Its framing border decoration is composed of the oblongs and squares already known from the motives

of the Governor's Palace, with a star in each of the squares. The interior of the mosaic is a quadratic-network system composed of rows of squares set on their edges, with one larger square each in the three times three fields. The small squares are alternatively red and black, the latter are white inside. The nine larger squares are filled partly with red and yellow Solomons' knots and partly with red and black forms composed of four triangles each. Size: 3.12 m×3.20 m. Turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

No. 18. The mosaic floor of the last, apsidal room of the villa (No. 7) follows the ground plan of the room (Pls VIII/1–2, IX/1–2). Of its two picture panels one is square and the other is arranged in the apse. Similarly to the previous ones, this mosaic too has a geometric frame composed of several bands. This consists mostly of designs imitating the quadratic work seen on the previous mosaic (No. 17).

On one side, however, the frame is broken in an asymmetrical way, making room for another characteristic motive which, however, occurs in Pannonia for the first time, viz. the lattice pattern. Breaking the frame, the grid-patterned field forms a so-called threshold motive. Besides this, the double emblem is also surrounded by a narrow ruffled stripe. The exterior, broader framing of the apse consists of fine, thin, floral scrolls, while the interior narrower frame is a twofold guilloche.

In the upper, broader space of the mostly destroyed squares picture panel, we can see two men leaning side by side, with a third figure behind them, and right and left of this group, towards the edge of the picture space still further figures can be guessed at. Only the lower half of their figures survived. Their attributes and postures betray their identity. Beside the nude figure, who is also supported by the third figure from behind, we can see a club. This is Heracles, beside him Dionysus is standing, clad in a gown to the loin, also in an unsteady position, supporting himself with his *thyrsus*, decorated with vine-leaves. Here the ramifying stem of yet another vine-stock can be discerned. The parts of human feet on both sides show that besides the two deities three further figures of the *thyrsus* also appeared in the picture. All this happens on a broad band representing a realistic scenery.

In the lower picture field we can see Cupid, teasingly extending a bunch of grapes towards a tiger. Size: 5.70 × 8.20 m, apse: 2 × 4 m. Turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

2. BALÁCSA

The *villa urbana* at Balácapusztá near Veszprém was excavated by the Veszprém Museum in the first decade of this century.³⁹ The mosaics covered the floors of four rooms of the villa which was built over the ruins of an earlier building erected at the end of the 1st century A.D., but destroyed during the Marcomann invasion. From both periods of the villa also significant wall paintings have survived (Fig. 15).

No. 20. The mosaic of room No. 8 with black-and-white geometric and vegetal patterns consists of a compound checkerboard pattern surrounded by a double contrasted foliate scroll frame (Fig. 16). The network of the checkerboard belongs to the all-over geometric designs and resembles the structure of coffered ceilings. At the crossings empty white spaces brighten the network-like patterns in whose enclosed white squares eight-pointed stars are

(d) Other Mosaics from Aquincum

No. 19. We know about the one-time existence of further mosaics in Aquincum.

(a) Such was for example the L-shaped mosaic floor of the *apodyterium* (room No. I) and basin of the divided public bath of the civic city, which came to light during the excavations conducted in the 1880s and which still existed about 1888. B. Kuzsinszky wrote: "for the most part it survives intact to the present". It was made of big whitish stones, which means that it had a white ground. In the middle a quadrangular reddish band pattern was running with reddish stripes on both sides. It had no other ornamentation. It had been damaged already in the Roman Age and was repaired with bricks and *terrazzo*.³⁷

(b) Several mosaic fragments were discovered in rooms E and F of the large dwelling-house of Aquincum. These showed geometric decoration. In room I pieces pointing to *opus sectile* floor were found. These, however, could eventually be part of the wall covering.^{37a}

(c) In the same place the mosaic of the "Factory Island" bath of the Governor's Palace, a purely ornamental one, was reported in the 1880s, which may not be identical with any of the floors described above. Its conservation was also planned at that time.³⁸

(d) An undecorated mosaic pavement, destroyed since, consisting only of black and white squares, is said to have existed in the *tepidarium* of the great bath of the legionaries' camp in Aquincum (Flórián Square).^{38a}

³⁷ B. Kuzsinszky: Az aquincumi mithraeum (The Aquincum Mithraeum), *Arch. Ért.* 8 (1888) p. 385; idem: A legújabb aquincumi ásatások 1887/1889 (Recent excavations at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 1 (1889) pp. 98, 104; idem: Az építkezés Aquincumban (Constructions at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 4 (1892) pp. 103–104.

^{37a} B. Kuzsinszky: A legújabb aquincumi ásatások 1887–1888. (Recent excavations at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 1 (1889) pp. 124–125, 134.

³⁸ I. Henszlmann: A műemlékek országos bizottságának működése (Activities of the national committee for historic monuments), *Arch. Ért.* 6 (1886) p. 185; B. Kuzsinszky: *op. cit.* p. 143.

^{38a} L. Nagy: *Budapest története* I/2 (History of Budapest I/2) Budapest, 1942. p. 540.

³⁹ Gy. Rhé: Római leletekről Balácsa pusztán (On the Roman finds at Balácsa), *Arch. Ért.* 27 (1907) p. 364; idem: *Balácsa Veszprém 1912*; Ákos Kiss: The Mosaic Pavements of the Roman Villa at Balácsa, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 11 (1959) pp. 159–236.

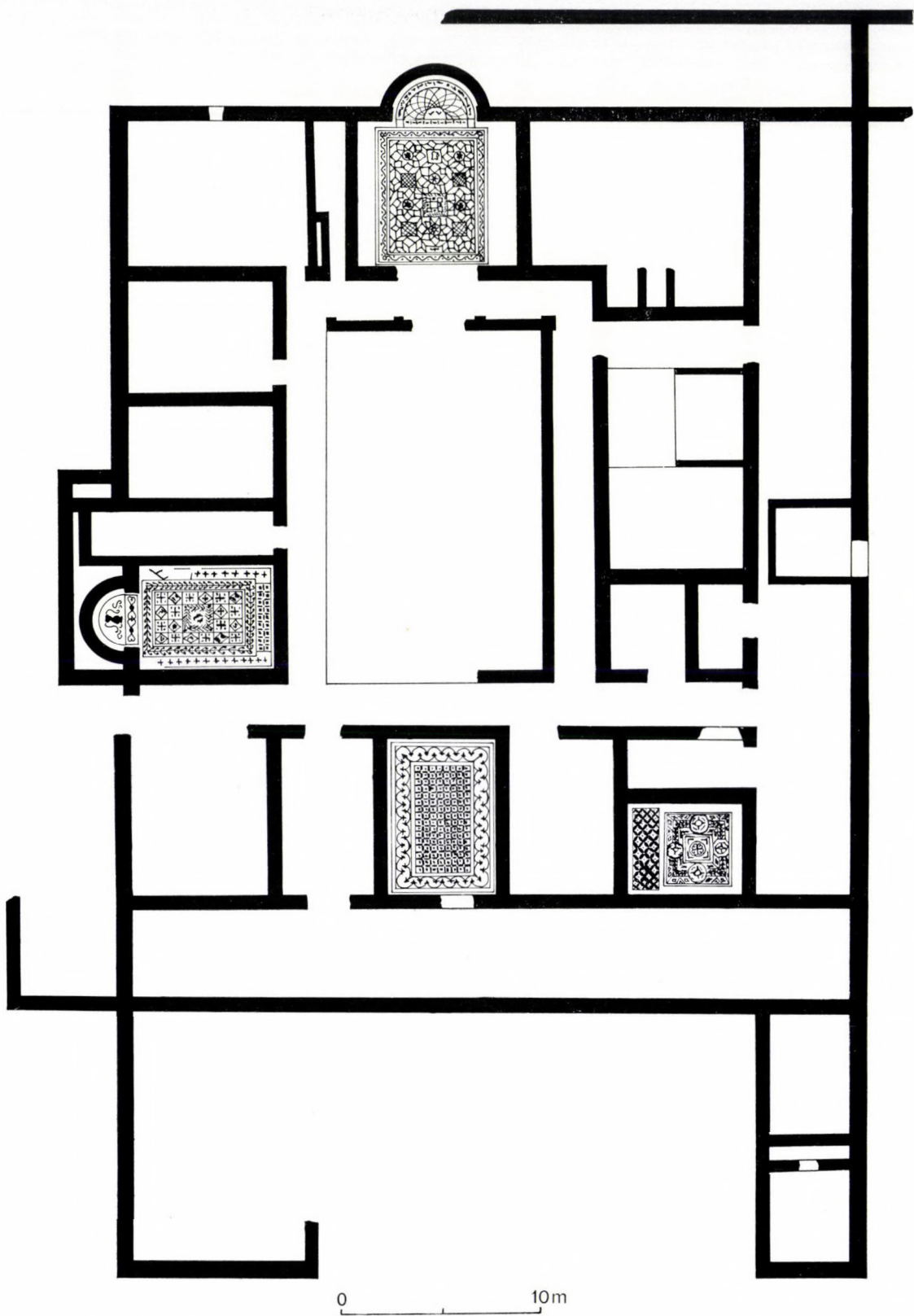


Fig. 15
Baláca, plan of the villa with the mosaics

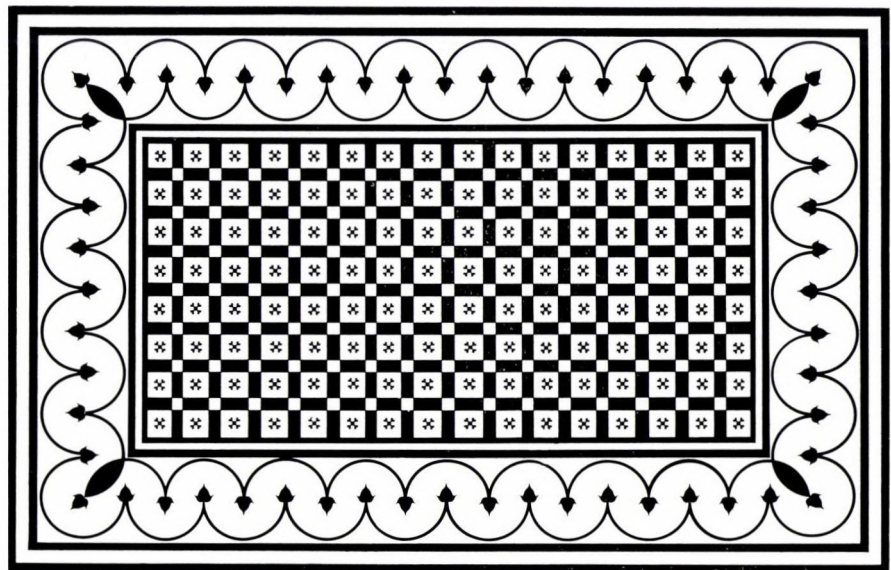


Fig. 16
Baláca, the mosaic of room
No. 8 (No. 20)



Fig. 17
Occurrences of the Baláca ivy leaf motive

set. The scrolls of the frame consists of a double row of opposite semicircles between black borders. At the junctions of the curves there are ivy leaves facing one another (Fig. 17).

The mosaics of the Baláca villa were made of the coloured dolomite-limestones of the Balaton Highlands. Their black material was furnished by the nearby volcanic hills, the Kab hill or the Halom hill. Glass pastes and coloured marbles from distant regions can be found only in the emblems and very seldom even there. Size: 5.33 m × 7.66 m. About 200 A.D.

No. 21. The mosaic has survived only in a smaller part of the 28 square metre area of room No. 10 (Pl. X/1–2). The collapse of the heating pipe under the flooring of the villa made most damage to this mosaic. The coloured part displays a geometric design, but the floor of the room was divided originally into two different patterns. Also floor fragments of a different decorative design have come to light from the same place.

The coloured geometric design covering the major part of the former floor has a larger square in its centre, surrounded by a frame of dentils pointing inwards. In the circle constructed inside the square the intersections of four interlacing smaller circles form a four-petalled red rosette, while with their four exterior sides they form green pelta shapes. The central square is surrounded on four sides by one octagonal field each. In these, there is a four-pointed green star within a sixteen-pointed starlike shape, the latter being the result of the interlacing of two squares. The octagons are linked by L-shaped fields filled with yellow and green triangles. The intermediate space is filled by red and green lozenges with triangles set between them.

The other design of the room consists of a black-and-white all-over pattern of intersecting circles. In the light spaces enclosed by the black circle segments there is one simple cross each. The circles are connected by small black squares.⁴⁰

Both designs are framed by a simple black linear border. Size of the coloured field: 1.7 m × 1.9 m, that of the black-and-white field: 1.02 m × 2.37 m. About 200 A.D.

No. 22. The floor of the room No. 31 consists of a rectangular main field and an apse (Fig. 18). Its multiple framing is complemented with rows of compound black stars and on the side of the entrance by a so-called threshold field. The latter repeats the design of mosaic No. 20. The main field is connected to the apse by a black, linearly decorated double foliate arabesque. In the narrow, dentate frame of the apse we can see a *cantharus* shaded with red, from this foliated ivy scrolls are spreading

out, forming leaves identical with the foliage of mosaic No. 20.

The frame consists of two black running waves set opposite each other, farther inside there is a double row of dentils and then a row of triangles (row of wolf's teeth). Thus framed, the main field is a network of four times six squares. The central compartment, equal to four squares, is occupied by an ornate pictorial emblem. Every second of the alternately filled squares contains a coloured cross-shape. In four of the squares between them silhouette-like black branches, in two diagonal pairs of peltas and in two fourfold heart shapes can be seen.

The pictorial central emblem is framed by a richly coloured opposing guilloche border on black ground. In the picture itself we can see a tree with green foliage and fruits (pomegranate or orange?) resembling ornamental shrubbery. On the tree, to the right, a pheasant cock with long tail-feathers and opposite to it its smaller mate are sitting. The portrayal of the birds shows good observation, the colouring of their feathers is composed of smaller pieces of marble of several reddish shades, including also tesserae with 2-millimetre edges. The greenish pieces are of glass paste. The manner of laying of the emblem is otherwise identical with that of the surrounding field. Size: 5.2 m × 8.66 m. About 200 A.D.

No. 23. The mosaic of room No. 20⁴¹ consists of a rectangular main field and an apse (Pls XI, XII/2–3). The former is surrounded by a fourfold guilloche, farther inside there is a narrower frame, obliquely entwined by a band. In the main field we can find a system of incomplete star structures formed by four lozenges each, with larger intermediate squares smaller circles and triangles. The large squares, functioning as *pseudo-emblemata*, are filled with more marked decorative elements. The inserted fields, squares and circles, are arranged in a pattern of three times four. The circles are filled with many-petalled rosettes, and in four squares we can see a guilloche system spreading out in a plane. In the square situated on the side of the apse, the leaves of the foliated ivy scrolls spreading out of the *cantharus* are identical in form with those

⁴⁰ Ákos Kiss: *op. cit.* pp. 178–180. Since the time of its description a drawing has been found in the Archives of the Bakony Museum, which confirms that the black-and-white mosaic with a design of interlacing circles originates from room No. 10.

⁴¹ J. Wollanka: Ein römisches Mosaik aus Balácsa, *JÓAI* 25 (1929) pp. 1–21; idem: Balácai mozaik a Nemzeti Múzeumban (The Baláca mosaic at the Hungarian National Museum), *Magyar Művészet* 2 (1926) pp. 329–334; Blake III, p. 101; D. Levi: *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 9.

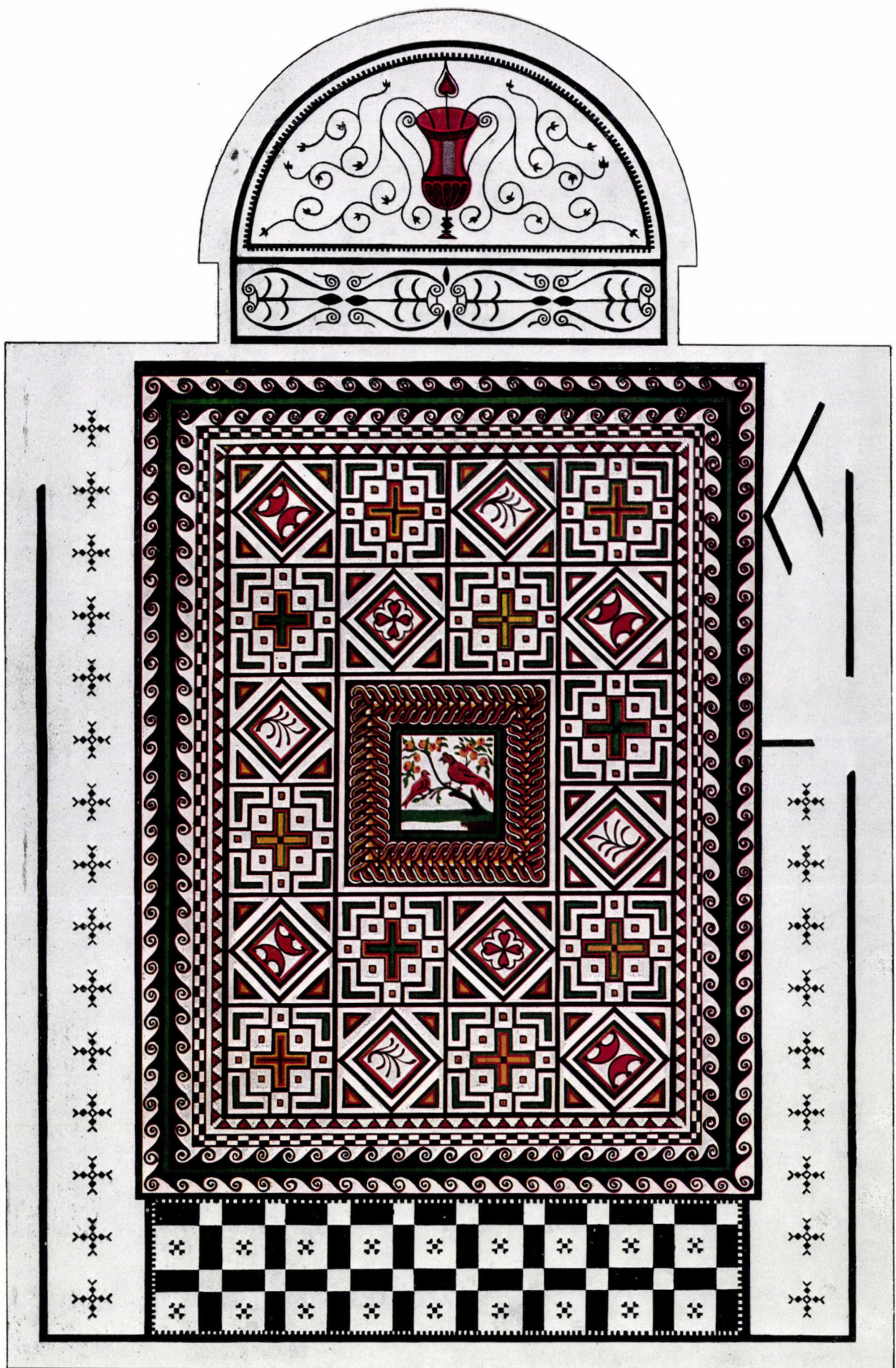


Fig. 18. Baláca, the mosaic of room No. 31 (No. 22)

of mosaics No. 20 and No. 22. The lozenges of the main field are shaded in four different colours and the smaller squares are filled in a manner suggesting perspective, as if they were sunken or raised. Besides these, in some squares there are four-petalled rosettes while in others there are Solomon's knots. To each of the four sides of the central emblem a pelta triangle is attached. The central emblem is framed by two guilloches, with the inner guilloche four times broken; the almost entirely destroyed pictorial representation of the

emblem was a parrot figure. At the entrance part we can see the oblong field with double black linear arabesques, already known from mosaic No. 22.

The apse is surrounded by a robust astragal member and is filled with coloured, curvilinear triangles formed by arcs multiply intersecting each other, giving a hemispheric impression. It also has a smaller semicircular pictorial section inside, also with a parrot, on a white ground. Size: 5.24 m × 6.79 m. About 200 A.D.

3. MOSAICS OF SAVARIA (SZOMBATHELY)

From Savaria the most developed settlement of the Hungarian part of Pannonia, whose art was more directly influenced by the nearby Italia, the discovery of mosaics was reported several times in past centuries. However, we know the designs of only five relics so far, and one of them only from a drawing which survived.⁴² Apart from these, we have information on fourteen fragments.

No. 24. The mosaic kept in the *lapidarium* of the Savaria Museum came to light in 1897 by the Szabó House, in Kossuth Lajos Street (Pl. XIII/1). Its original scale is shown by the room with an area of 77 square metres of which only a surface of 18 square metres has survived. Even of the latter only two thirds can be seen in its present place.⁴³ The design of the mosaic is fully geometric. It is framed by a multiple system of stripes and lines. The fragment consists of two parts. In its larger field the design of the apse of the Baláca (No. 23) *tablinum* returns, viz. concentrically arranged rows of small curvilinear triangles which, however, are completed here into a whole circle. In the smaller circle in the middle, whose ground is white, there is a six-petalled rosette, black with blank spaces left white. The rows of small triangles, alternating in the form of lighter and darker colour shades, also produce a kind of compound rosette. This effect was achieved by eight colour shades. The marble tesserae are red, green and deep yellow, in several lines.

The mosaic is complemented with a smaller field in a manner similar to that of floor No. 21 at Baláca. It has a simple design consisting of octagons and, between them, small squares stood on their points. The octagons contain squares shaded in various tints. Size: 2.10 m × 3.10 m. First third of the 3rd century.

No. 25. It was found in July, 1960 in front of the house No. 14–16 Köztársaság Square (Pl. XIII/2–3).⁴⁴ It consists of a doubly framed cellular network of hexagonal fields filled with different

geometric elements, Solomon's knots, fourfold peltae, checkerboard-like network, crosses, rosettes and stars. Their colours, besides the system of black

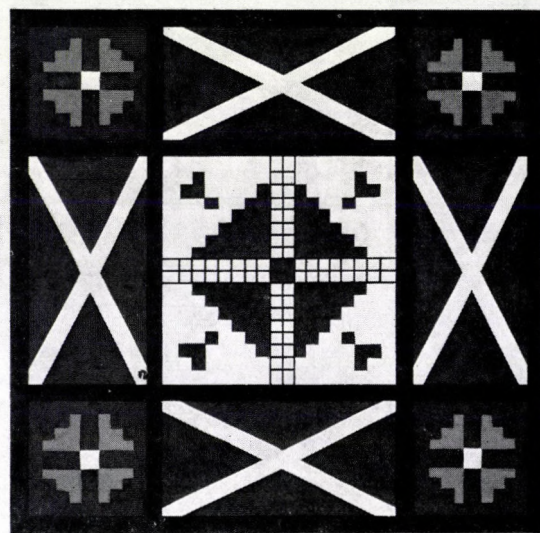


Fig. 19
Savaria, the mosaic from No. 6 Köztársaság Square (No. 28)

lines on a white ground, are green and red. The mosaic is considerably damaged, it was repaired in terrazzo still in Antique times, with a very

⁴² A. Mócsy: Savaria utcarendszerének rekonstrukciójához (On the reconstruction of the street system of Savaria), *Arch. Ért.* 92 (1965) p. 31, fig. 4. (On the sites of the mosaics of Savaria).

⁴³ K. Kárpáti: Sabariai leletekről (On the Savaria finds), *Arch. Ért.* 17 (1897) pp. 68–74, fig. 2; idem: Sabariai régiségekről (On the antiquities of Savaria), *Arch. Ért.* 19 (1899) pp. 130, 378.

⁴⁴ T. P. Buócz: *Savaria topográfiája* (The topography of Savaria), Szombathely 1967, pp. 59–60.; T. P. Buócz: *Savaria épületeinek topográfiája* (The topography of the buildings of Savaria), *Arch. Ért.* 90 (1963) p. 265.

compartment is square-shaped, while the narrower zones on both sides are divided again into three squares each. The central field with a light ground is filled in with a hexagonal network, with six-petalled rosettes in the hexagons. In each of the hexagons at the four corners of the field we can see the black silhouettes of a winged Genius. Silhouette figures are set also in two circular medallions at the end of the field; one is a centaur and the other the branch of some plant. The destroyed emblem had been in the middle of the field, in the double frame of a smaller square, within an interior square set on its edge. It must have been highly decorative. In each of the four corners of this there was a pelta. Of the three divisions of each of the two narrower side zones, the middle ones are filled with black-and-white scales cut in halves, while the two side divisions of each are filled with diagonal black-and-white checkerboards. In three of the latter there is one small circular emblem each with the silhouette of a dolphin. The emblems in the middle ones are square shaped, and in these small emblemata we can find winged sea-monsters.

The 18th century drawing naturally cannot reproduce all the possible details of the mosaic, but its main features are well discernible. According to the contemporary remark of the maker of the drawing the mosaic consisted of markable tesserae. Size: 4.3 m × 6 m. Second quarter of the 3rd century.

No. 27. Of the large mosaic of the early Christian basilica only border parts and a small part of the interior field have survived, but even so the main features of the mosaic can be reconstructed (Pls XIV, XV, XVI/1, colour supplement). In the building which housed the largest mosaic relic of Pannonia, I. Paulovics recognized the basilica built in memory of St. Quirinus, bishop of Siscia, who was martyred during the persecution of Christians under Diocletian and Galerius (in 303).⁴⁷ The features of the ground plan of the building, the associated finds, the time of its last period and also the design of the mosaic points indeed to a major early Christian cultic place, or at least to one that was later used for cultic purposes.

It is the broad frame of the mosaic of which the most survived. This surviving part is longer on the northern side. This 133-centimetre wide strip with acanthus rinceaux is bordered on its outer side still by a row of cubes made in perspective. Of the interior field only smaller parts have been preserved. This is mostly geometric, consisting of a system of cross-shaped fields with concavely arched sides, enclosing concave octagons and circles. These fields are separated by

a system of dark stripes, in which rows of light-coloured astragals are running. The interior fields are filled with shaded motives of ruffled waves, Solomon's knots constructed rosette-like, a row of triangles and interlacing polygons, and the smaller circles with Solomon's knots, guilloches, etc. The apse lies about half a metre higher than the level of the mosaic floor of the main field. This has been almost entirely destroyed, but from its remains we can conclude on its having been filled with some larger, shell-formed ornament.

Its material consists mostly of rocks occurring in the vicinity, but besides the black basalt the violet-coloured cubes too are of some volcanic rock, a kind of andesite. Among the whites there are marbles from the neighbouring Styria, but the white ground colour is formed also of varieties of limestone. The green cubes were made of Günsberg slate. The other — yellow and red — shades of colour are all limestone-dolomites. The cubes have mostly 15-mm long edges. Size: diameter 29 m, of the smaller part 9 m, surface area 662.5 square metres. Second quarter of the 4th century.

No. 28. Part of a mosaic floor came to light at No. 6 Köztársaság Square in 1936 (Fig. 19). Its geometric design consists of nine rectangular fields, with one central square, four side oblongs and four small corner fields. The central square and the four squares at the corners are filled with star-rosettes resembling textile patterns, while the oblong fields have a diagonal ornamentation. Besides black and white, the colours of the mosaic are red and yellow. The white and yellow colours originate from marble material, the black colour from basalt, and the red from broken fragments of bricks.⁴⁸ Its size is unknown. 3rd century.

The mosaic remains to be described in the following are known only from references in the literature.

(a) The mosaic from 11 Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Road.⁴⁹

(b) The simple gray mosaic from 2 Széchenyi Street, with an area of 420 square metres. It must have been the pavement of a partly open, interior ornamental court with pillars and a fountain in it.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ I. Paulovics: *Savaria-Szombathely topográfiája* (The topography of Savaria-Szombathely), Szombathely 1943, p. 25; idem: *Szent Quirinus savariai bazilikájának feltárása* (The excavation of St. Quirinus's basilica in Savaria), *Vasi Szemle* 1-2 (1938) pp. 138-152; idem: *La Basilica di S. Quirino nell' antica Savaria* (Szombathely), *Corvina* 1 (1938) pp. 219-230.

⁴⁸ T. P. Buócz: *Savaria topográfiája* (The topography of Savaria), Szombathely 1967, pp. 18, 57, 59.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.* p. 18. Without any closer description.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.* pp. 18, 79-80; T. P. Buócz: *Arch. Ért.* 90 (1963) p. 268.

(c) A 70 square metre mosaic from the side of the road marked No. 15 on the map of the inner city summarizing the topographic survey of Savaria. This was "coloured, ornamental".⁵¹

(d) The remains found at 1-3 Derkovits Gyula Street (Franciscans' Garden) in 1935.⁵²

(e) The remains from 162 Rumi Road, decorated with a bird figure and four rosettes.⁵³

(f) The mosaic fragments discovered in several rooms of the peristylar building of the cemetery in the area enclosed by Zhdanov Street — Móricz Zs. Street — Juhász Gy. Street — Vajda J. Street — Babits M. Street — Tóth Á. Street.⁵⁴

(g) The floor mosaic fragment from 27 Engels Street.⁵⁵

(h) The mosaic floor found at 1 Sebes György Street (Franciscans' Garden) in 1935.⁵⁶

(i) Fragment of the crude mosaic at 18 Thököly Imre Street.⁵⁷ (Isis sanctuary.)

(j) The mosaic mentioned by I. Schönwiesner from 1780; it was decorated with rich floral ornaments and some kind of migratory bird. It is possible, however, that this mosaic was identical with some part of the early Christian basilica from the 4th century (No. 27), or with the remains at 162 Rumi Road.⁵⁸

(k) In 1870 F. Rómer mentioned, without closer indication of the site, "a crude mosaic floor preserved in a rather good state".⁵⁹

(l) In Berzsenyi Square, beside the building of the County Council, coloured geometric and figural mosaics were found in smaller rooms among the remains of a Roman building (near mosaic No. 24).^{59a}

(m) Part of an uneven-surfaced wall mosaic of glass material is kept in Savaria Museum.

(n) In Szombathely a mosaic from an undefined site is mentioned from 1898.⁶⁰

4. THE MOSAICS OF SOPIANAE (PÉCS)

No. 29. Here a coloured mosaic with an all-over geometric design has survived (Fig. 21, Pl. XVII/1, colour supplement). At present we cannot even establish the full size of the preserved parts since the fragments are kept at different places, namely at the Hungarian National Museum, at the Janus Pannonius Museum, at the Cathedral of Pécs, in its *cella trichora*, and at the Roman Catholic parish.

Its design consists in a pattern of octagons and cross-shaped fields alternating with elongated hexagons. The cross-shaped fields are filled with guilloche crosses on a dark ground. In the hexagons, on a light ground we can find angular Solo-

mon's knots, ending in small quarter-stars at their corners. In the enclosed hexagonal fields there are also compound black and red star shapes. Besides black and white, it also has red and yellow colours. The size of the mosaic cubes is a uniform one square centimetre.

This mosaic was discovered in 1841 on the site of today's 6 Káptalan Street, during the construction of the house of the canon Pajnády, at a depth of about 3 metres.⁶¹ Earlier it was thought to be the floor of a bathroom, but later, on the basis of the increasing number of early Christian burial vaults found in Pécs, O. Szőnyi arrived at the

⁵¹ *Op. cit.* p. 18. I. Paulovics: *op. cit.* p. 6, Note 10. The incomplete sketch does not enable us to ascertain more closely the site of this mosaic.

⁵² *Op. cit.* p. 43; T. P. Buócz: *Arch. Ért.* 90 (1963) p. 264.

⁵³ *Op. cit.* pp. 20, 75.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 20.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 46.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 77.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 84.

⁵⁸ S. Schönwiesner: *Antiquitatum et historiae Sabariensis* . . . Pestini 1791, p. 61; idem: *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek* (Military and other notable stories), Vienna 1791, p. 235.

⁵⁹ F. Rómer: Szombathelyi közlemények (Reports on Szombathely), *Arch. Ért.* 3 (1870) p. 43.

^{59a} T. P. Buócz: *Savaria topográfiája* (The topography of Savaria), Szombathely 1967, p. 18.

⁶⁰ K. Kárpáti: Sabariai régiségekről (On the antiquities of Savaria), *Arch. Ért.* 19 (1899) p. 130.

⁶¹ M. Haas: *Baranya. Memorandum.* Pécs 1845, p. 226; *Orosok és természetvizsgálók 1846. évi vándorgyűlése.*

Emlékkönyv. (Itinerant meeting of physicians and observers of nature in 1846. Memorial book); F. Váradi — B. Posta: *Baranya múltja és jelene* (The past and present of Baranya), Vol. II, p. 191; O. Szőnyi: *Pécs, Útmutató* (Pécs, a Guide book), Vol. II, pp. 67-75; idem: *A pécsi ókeresztény sírkamra* (The early Christian crypt at Pécs), Budapest 1907, p. 10; idem: *A pécsi püspöki múzeum kőtára* (The lapidarium of the Episcopal Museum of Pécs) Pécs 1906, p. 44; idem: *A pécsi püspöki múzeum kőtára.* (The lapidarium of the Episcopal Museum of Pécs), *Arch. Ért.* 27 (1907) p. 176; idem: *A pécsi ókeresztény temető sírkamrái és kápolnája* (The Pécs early Christian cemetery, its crypts and chapel), *Magyar Művészet* 5 (1929) p. 544; Gy. Gosztonyi: *A pécsi Szent Péter székesegyház eredete* (Origin of the St. Peter cathedral of Pécs), Pécs 1939, p. 124; idem: *A pécsi ókeresztény temető* (The early Christian cemetery of Pécs), Pécs 1943, p. 36, fig. 15; A. Pleidel: *A magyar várostörténet első fejezete* (The first chapter of Hungarian urban history), *Századok* 68 (1934) p. 285; L. Nagy: *Pannonia Sacra, Szent István emlékkönyv* (Saint Stephen memorial book), Budapest 1938, p. 134.

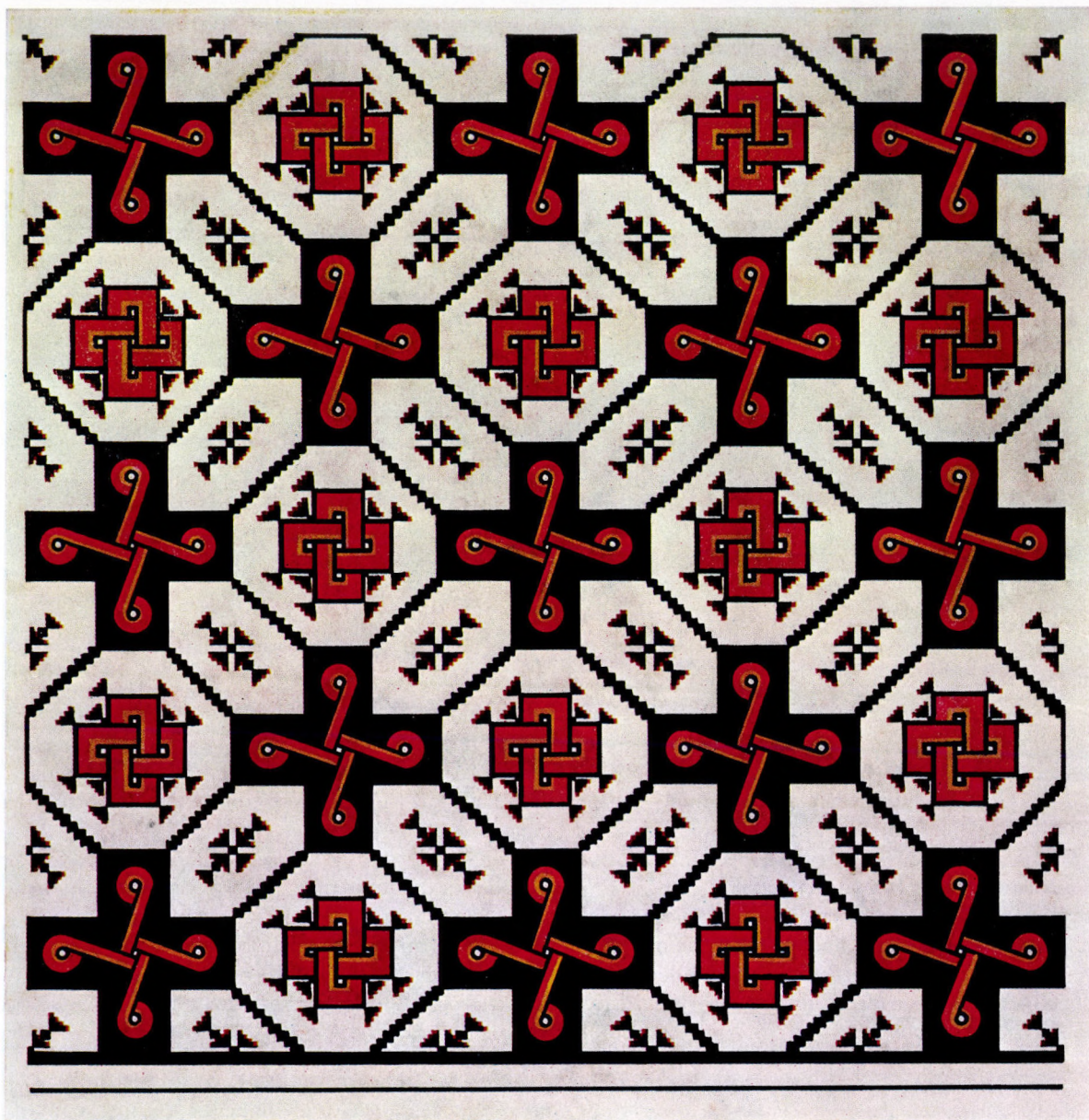


Fig. 21. Sopiana, the mosaic of the early Christian crypt (No. 29)

conclusion that this mosaic too was the pavement of a burial structure.⁶² End of the 4th century or beginning of the 5th century.

In Kővágószőlős, adjacent to Sopiana, a mosaic was found in 1890. According to the report this originated from the late Roman times.⁶³

⁶² O. Szőnyi: A pécsi püspöki múzeum kőtára (The lapidarium of the Episcopal Museum of Pécs), *Arch. Ért.* 27 (1907) p. 176.

⁶³ Data collected by the author on the spot.

5. ÖRVÉNYES

No. 30. Besides the Pannonian mosaics of Hungary, at present we know only of a single *opus sectile* floor in one of the Roman villas at Örvényes near Lake Balaton (Pl. XVII/3).⁶⁴ It consists of a checkerboard-like pattern of marble panels of differ-

ent colours (white, black, red, green, dark blue), their approximate size: 18 cm × 18 cm. Size 2 m × 2.35 m. 2nd third of the 4th century.

Of the mosaic remains to be mentioned in the following, only lesser fragments survive.

6. BRIGETIO (SZŐNY)

No. 31. Among the remains of the buildings of the large military centre of Brigetio (Szőny) no coherent mosaic floor has been discovered as yet, but the one-time existence of such floors is proved by a fragment (Pl. XVII/4). This features a long, thin-stemmed black ivy leaf on a white ground. Its age cannot be ascertained. On the basis of its rather poor

method of laying it can be dated approximately to the 3rd–4th centuries. Its considerably worn state renders the 3rd century more likely. It was in one of the buildings of the *canabae* beside the Járóka cemetery, but after its discovery it was not preserved.⁶⁵

7. FURTHER REMAINS

In Aquincum a mosaic with ornamental design was mentioned in 1889 from the Factory Island bath of the Governor's Palace. It may not be identical with any of the above-described mosaic floors from there.⁶⁶ It was mentioned in 1886 too, when its conservation was also planned.

(a) At Scarbantiae in 1954, the author of this book found some small, rather indistinctive mosaic fragments of a whitish colour among the remains of a large-size building equipped also with a bathing section in the course of his excavations in the cellar of the Ursula Convent.

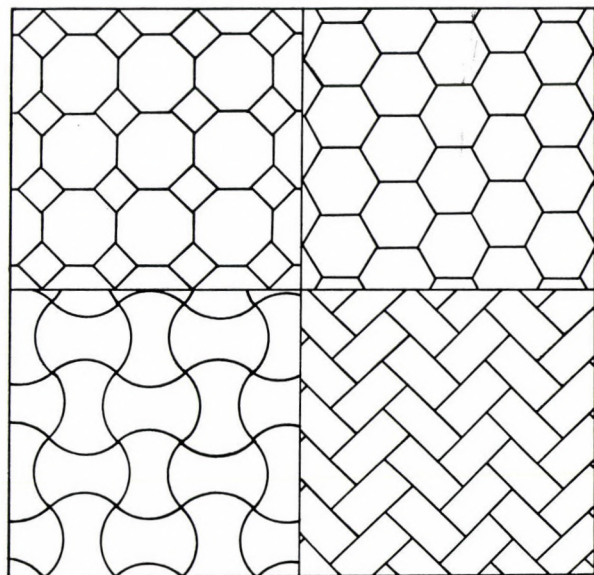


Fig. 22 Patterns of Pannonian brick pavements

⁶⁴ The excavations of the "Hosszú rétek" tract of land in Örvényes in the year 1962, under publication. For the present data I am indebted to T. Szentléleky.

⁶⁵ L. Barkóczy: Brigetio, *Diss. Pann.* II. 22. (1951) p. 8. Some pieces of the mosaic came into the Ö. Kállay collection of Szőny, and from there into the Kuny Domokos Museum of Tata.

⁶⁶ B. Kuzsinszky: A legújabb aquincumi ásatások, 1887–1888 (The most recent excavations at Aquincum, 1887–1888), *Bud. Rég.* 1 (1889) p. 104; I. Henszlmann: A Műemlékek Országos Bizottságának működése 1885. évben (The activities of the National Commission for Art Monuments in the year 1885), *Arch. Ért.* 6 (1886) p. 185.

(b) During the 1931 excavations of the *villa rustica* at Egregy near Hévíz, *tesserae* were observed among the remains of the building dated to the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries.^{66a}

(c) At Vigándpetend, north of the village, we have information on a "figure composed of tiny stones".^{66b}

(d) A mosaic fragment of unknown origin was found in Kádárta in 1932.^{66c}

(e-f) Two mosaic traces have been observed in Ságvár. One was the fragment of a pavement border from one of the inner buildings of the camp, and the other was in the south-eastern tower of the fortress.^{66d}

Finally we are introducing some of the floor brick forms most frequently occurring in Pannonia (Aquincum floors) (Fig. 22).⁶⁷

^{66a} L. Gerevich: *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája* (The archeological topography of Veszprém county), Budapest 1966, p. 66.

^{66b} *Op. cit.* p. 168.

^{66c} I. Éri, M. Kelemen, P. Németh and I. Torma: *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája. A veszprémi járás* (Archeological topography of Veszprém County. The Veszprém district), Budapest 1969, p. 114.

^{66d} Kind personal communications of Mr. E. Tóth.

⁶⁷ B. Kuzsinszky: A legújabb aquincumi ásatások 1887–1888 (The most recent excavations at Aquincum 1887–1888), *Bud. Rég.* 1 (1889) pp. 104, 143–145, fig. 32; idem: Az aquincumi ásatások, 1882–1884 és 1889 (Excavations at Aquincum, 1882–1884 and 1889), *Bud. Rég.* 2 (1890) p. 106, fig. 10; idem: Az építkezés Aquincumban (Construction at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 4 (1892) pp. 102–103, figs 23, 24/b.

III. APPRAISAL OF THE ELEMENTS AND STRUCTURES OF PANNONIAN MOSAICS

I. AQUINCUM

Governor's Palace. The characteristic feature of the mosaic floors in the eastern wing of the Governor's Palace is the use of black-and-white geometric designs, and within these the application of floor brick forms. These mosaic patterns are definitely of Italian origin and there they developed from the simple geometric art of the early times (already from the 2nd century B.C.). Placing these relics into the wider context of the whole of Roman mosaic art, our attention is drawn towards the urban geometric floors of the Italian peninsula. Recent research has laid increasing emphasis on the definite Roman origin of the black-and-white pattern systems,⁶⁸ whose simple, black-and-white tones and all-over designs are typical achievements of Imperial art. Underlying this simplicity is the tendency of Roman architecture to subordinate the interior decoration to the whole (Fig. 2). Here, in the Aquincum military building, these simple designs which, in contrast to the Hellenistic heritage, meant also a new way of artistic expression must have been regarded especially justified. Earlier it was doubted that they originate from a time B.C.⁶⁹ but in reality they were widespread from the early republican times up to the Constantinian era, but their popularity was changing in the different periods. They never disappeared completely, but in certain periods they were more preferred than in others. Concerning the mosaics of the Governor's Palace it is remarkable that in the period of Trajan, which was more inclined towards classicism and compact forms, these black and white patterns definitely came into prominence.

In connection with mosaic No. 1 (Fig. 3, Pl. I/2) just like in the case of the other floors of the eastern row of rooms, whose manufacture can be dated to the 2nd century A.D., and according to its stylistic features rather to its first half, already new features could be observed as compared to the black and

white designs of the 1st century. This genre was modified as from the end of the century. The earlier hard, clear structures, as are the relics of Pompeii, developed into more coherent, more organic and at the same time more flexible designs. The geometric mosaics of the Governor's Palace with their structures as well as with their unwavering lines and the features of their method of laying are clearly the products of earlier times. The very simple framing, confined only to bordering lines, or its absence, is highly characteristic of the 1st century A.D. and of the beginning of the 2nd century,⁷⁰ however, such simple borders consisting merely of black lines occur even in the 3rd century. The straightforward designs characterizing the Governor's Palace were used in Italy not only in the interiors of buildings. Although we know of a number of such geometric floors from the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries mostly from rooms of secondary importance in more significant Roman buildings, similar floor patterns from public squares of a higher quality and from palace courts testify that this manner of decoration was in general use for paving in the Imperial Age, especially in the earlier times. On more open spaces, however, the size of the stone cubes of these pavements also increased considerably and reached even the size of 4 square centimetres.

▮ The floor brick patterns to be seen on the mosaics of the eastern row of rooms are not frequent, but similar application of these figures (finger-biscuit, hexagon, octagon, oblong, and other figures) occurs even as late as the 3rd century.⁷¹ The all-over design of mosaic No. 1, just like those of mosaics No. 2 and No. 5, is cut off by the ground plan of the room without any delimitation of more detail. This gives more emphasis to the all-over character of these designs too. Mosaics closely analogous to No. 1 are known from Ostia from

⁶⁸ G. Becatti: Alcune caratteristiche del Mosaico bianco-nero in Italia, *La mosaïque gréco-romaine*, Paris 1965, pp. 15-26; H. P. L. Orange—P. J. Nordhagen: *Mosaik von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter*, München 1960, p. 16.

⁶⁹ *Blake I*, p. 108.

⁷⁰ Dr. H. Wirth-Bernards: Versuch einer Chronologie der Mosaiken in Boscéaz bei Orbe (Urba) . . . , *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde* 37 (1935) p. 195.

⁷¹ *Blake III*, Pls 1/2, 34/d.

about 120 A.D. Like the simple, all-over geometric designs in general, these too decorated mostly larger rooms serving for communal purposes.⁷²

The pattern of mosaic No. 2 (Fig. 4) consists also of floorbrick-like finger-biscuit shapes. Their application on mosaics is rather unfrequent, but their scanty predecessors can be found also in Italy. Their design resembles mostly an Ostian mosaic.⁷³ The Ostian design displays more open forms, in individual fields and this shows already the way of expression of the Severan age asserting itself in spot effects. From Ostia we know also other similar patterns⁷⁴ (Pl. I/4–5). The originally typical floor design was transplanted later also into wall painting decoration (in the lower church of S. Clemente in Rome). The divided design to be seen on mosaic No. 3 (Fig. 5) is frequent on Roman floor mosaics. Here too, it is a case of structural asymmetry. At the entrance the running bands of waves marking the function of the threshold break the unity of the frame. Close analogues of the framing of this mosaic imitating an ashlar structure with its linear geometry can be found in Italy. An identical design is dated to the 2nd century. The small middle panels of the Montegrotto mosaic, however, are already filled with dark colours.⁷⁵ These motives can be seen already in Pompeii, in Ostia,⁷⁶ and then on the mosaic of a later date from the *canabae* of Aquincum, here already with modified proportions. The patterns reveal two centuries of development in Roman geometric art, a latish phenomenon, the frame of mosaic No. 3, points back to the earliest geometric taste in contrast to which the Montegrotto patterns filled with dark colour originate from the period of the Flavian style, becoming general in the 2nd century. In the north we know of such a rectangular design from Padua,⁷⁷ and in the same area it also occurs in Vicenza, Brescia and Imola.⁷⁸ It became firmly established in Italy, as is shown by its long survival. Its 4th-century examples are known from the northern basilica of Aquileia.⁷⁹ Coming similarly from Italy, it was also widespread in Rhaetia.⁸⁰

The lively white spot effects arising from the black ground of the interior field of mosaic No. 3, which can be observed also on the other floors (No. 1, No. 2 and No. 4) of the eastern row of rooms, are the achievement of the Flavian period, just like the flexible, arched, quite “modern” design of the entrance zone. Compared to the fine, minute, more individualistic design of the Augustan–Claudian age, the decorative designs created by the Flavian baroque from the middle of the 1st century are less inclined to detail, their effect working mostly in larger surfaces, but at the same time they are more organic in their composition. These

designs reappeared at the beginning of the 3rd century. The ornament found here can be seen in an unchanged form of floors of the Severan period from the city of Rome.⁸¹ No fully analogous example of this structure is known; the manner in which they were laid, dates the similar ones in Ostia to a considerably later period.^{81a} These “baroque-like” motives came to settle in a more composed system later, during the calmer times of Trajan and Hadrian. Thus in the black-and-white geometry of the Governor’s Palace we can see the achievements of the Flavian baroque, consolidated and at the same time enriched by the classicistic trends of the first half of the 2nd century.

The designer of mosaic No. 4 (Fig. 6, Pl. I/3) arranged ingeniously this complicated, lively structure, successfully avoiding monotony. The motive of interlacing circles is known from ancient times. This design, which had been established in stucco since the Mesopotamian times, can be observed also in other ancient Oriental culture.⁸² Roman mosaic art had a liking for it ever since it had begun in the late republican period and it became more frequent among the simpler and more objective forms of northern Italy.⁸³ In the early times it appears without any interposed motives,⁸⁴ and later with an increasing number of secondary ornaments. It remained continuously in use also in its basic

⁷² G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Vol. IV, Rome 1961, pp. 186, Pl. 43. Insule delle volte Dipinte.

⁷³ Blake II, Pl. 10/4; J. Szilágyi: *Az aquincumi helytartói palota* (The Governor’s Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) p. 32, fig. 19.

⁷⁴ G. Becatti: *op. cit.* p. 36, Pl. 52.

⁷⁵ E. Ghislanzoni: *Montegrotto, Notizia degli Scavi* 7 (1931) p. 9, fig. 1; J. Szilágyi: *Az aquincumi helytartói palota* (The Governor’s Palace at Aquincum) *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) pp. 32, 86, figs 2, 37–39, 44.

⁷⁶ Blake I, Pl. 29/3; Blake II Pl. 13/1; G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Vol. IV. Rome 1961. No. 67, Pl. 55.

⁷⁷ Blake II, Pl. 28/4.

⁷⁸ Blake II, Pl. 13/1, 14/2, 29/1,3.

⁷⁹ G. Cecchelli: *Gli edifizii e i mosaici paleocristiani nella Zona Della Basilica. La Basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna 1933, Pl. 8/3.

⁸⁰ V. von Gonzenbach: *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz*. Basel 1961. The work from Seengen, No. 12, from the late 2nd century, and the Munzbach work, No. 81 from 150–200 A.D.

⁸¹ Blake III, Pls 17/2, 18/1–8.

^{81a} G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*. Vol. IV, Rome 1961, fig. 145.

⁸² G. Lippold: *Archäologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin — Sitzung des Arbeitskreises . . .*, *Arch. Anz.* 67 (1952) p. 194, figs 4, 6 (The Assur palace).

⁸³ F. Poulsen: *Die dekorative Kunst des Altertums*, Berlin 1914, p. 13, fig. 19.

⁸⁴ Blake I, pp. 97, 109, 115, Pl. 24/4.

form,⁸⁵ therefore we are mostly interested in that phase of its evolution when the interlacing simple circular patterns were replaced by more complex systems. That period is the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries, although in the form of polygonal systems this design is known already from the late period of Pompeii;⁸⁶ thus the development of this circle pattern into a more complicated design came about also in the sphere of the Flavian style. The system of circles of the Villa Hadriana,⁸⁷ similarly more complicated, is somewhat later than that of Aquincum, which thus can be regarded as an earlier example of this new design.⁸⁸ From the Villa Hadriana such more complex circular designs are known also on stucco ceilings. The synchrony of these patterns with the mosaic motives discussed here, and at the same time the popularity of this design in this period and last but not least the relationships of the systems of interior decoration are truly remarkable.⁸⁹ It spreads already to the west too, from Gaul we know a similar design from about 100 A.D.⁹⁰ A floor of this kind of the Sacello sul decumano of Ostia is dated already to about 150 A.D.⁹¹

Mosaics No. 1 to No. 4 fall into a common group also by the fact that all of them have white patterns on a dark ground. They are so to say the negative replicas of the more usual black designs on a white ground. This feature has not yet been given the attention it deserves. We definitely regard it as characteristic of the Italian early geometric style. In Pompeii such designs are known from the Casa del Centenario. This manner appears in the city of Rome also at the revival of the style in the Severan age, thus on the marine scenes of the Caracalla thermae. This way of expression of Italian origin can be found throughout the period from the 1st to the 3rd centuries.

The pattern of mosaic No. 5 is a rare one among the meandrical designs, themselves rather infrequent in the world of mosaic ornamentation. The one-rhythm design creates peculiar tension in the small room No. 45, and at the same time it also differs from the floors discussed so far, which form a closely related group. It is an Italian form. The use of a single element to fill the space is dated in Ostia already to the end of the 3rd century.⁹² However, farther to the north, in Aquileia, it appears several times also in the 2nd century.⁹³ The origins of the design go back to the 1st century; it suggests also the possibility of the maze design.⁹⁴

The pelta cross with Solomon's knot of mosaic No. 6 (room No. 8) is a mosaic motive widespread not only as a line pattern but also as an all-over one. Its origin points also towards Italy.⁹⁵ From the 2nd century it became especially frequent in

the Rhine region where it is known so far in well over a dozen instances,⁹⁶ and from here it spread also to Britain.⁹⁷ However, it was not from Germania that it came to Aquincum. The Italian priority is recognized also in connection with the Germanian examples.⁹⁸ In the case of the fragment discussed by us here, first of all the complex character of the Solomon's knots filling the pelta crosses is conspicuous. Such elements are entirely absent from the Germanian mosaics. The joining of the individual pelta crosses is also simple. Here we do not find the increasingly complicated methods of joining characteristic of the more advanced period, the 2nd century. However, the Germanian examples warn us not to attribute a more definite significance to these joinings of motives alone. The members of the row of peltas forming the frame of the apse of the Trier Monnus mosaic join each other in a plain manner, characteristic of the earliest times although this relic is hardly earlier than the middle of the 3rd century.⁹⁹ It is,

⁸⁵ Dj. Mano-Zissi: Mosaiken in Stobi, *Izvestia* 10 (1936) p. 277.

⁸⁶ *Blake I*, Pl. 23/4.

⁸⁷ *Blake II*, p. 83, Pl. 10/3.

⁸⁸ J. Szilágyi: Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) p. 32, figs 5, 12, 34–35.

⁸⁹ L. Canina: *L'architettura romana*, . . . Rome 1830–1840, fig. 7, Pl. 244.

⁹⁰ H. Stern: *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, Vol. II, Lyonnaise, Paris 1967, No. 175.

⁹¹ G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Vol. Rome 1961, p. 66, Pl. 40.

⁹² R. Calza—E. Nash: *Ostia*, Florence, s.a., fig. 8; G. Becatti: *op. cit.* Pl. 20.

⁹³ *Blake II*, Pl. 23/1–3.

⁹⁴ M. Kaba: Az aquincumi helytartói palota mozaikpadozatai (Mosaic pavements of the Governor's Palace at Aquincum) *Bud. Rég.* 18 (1958) p. 85; On the other hand, J. Szilágyi (*op. cit.* p. 55) places this room into period II/b and dates it to 120 A.D., hardly later than the time constructions were started here.

⁹⁵ P. Gusman: *La Villa Imperiale de Tibur*, 1904, p. 227, fig. 332; *Blake I*, p. 111, Pl. 35/3; *Blake II*, pp. 81, 203, pl. 12/2; S. Aurigemma: *Die Diocletians-Thermen und Museo Nazionale*, Rome 1954, p. 140, No. 343; K. Parlasca: *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1959, p. 132–134.

⁹⁶ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 132.

⁹⁷ R. G. Collingwood—M. V. Taylor: The Roman Britain in 1933 (*The Journal of Roman Studies* 24/1934), p. 204, Pl. 11; J. Szilágyi: Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) p. 95, fig. 47.

⁹⁸ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* pp. 132–133.

⁹⁹ G. Lafaye—A. Blanchet: *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, Vol. I. Gaule, Paris 1909, no. 1231; H. Stern: *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, Vol. I, Paris 1957, Pl. 20; K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* pp. 41–43, Pl. 47/1.

however, more or less true that these simple joinings are dated to early times, while the more and more complicated ones to later and later periods. The first occurrence in Italy of their motive can be dated between 100 and 125 A.D., these join still in a plain manner. M. E. Blake regards this motive definitely as an Italian invention and disputes its Hellenistic origin.¹⁰⁰ The period proposed by us is supported also by the floors of the Villa Hadriana; they are from after 120 A.D.¹⁰¹ According to the opinion of K. Parlasca the spreading of the pattern beyond Italy can be presumed only later.¹⁰² We do not say that the Aquincum pelta-cross pattern is contemporary with the earliest Italian appearance of the motive. Its colouring causes some problem, since the earlier relics in the west are only black and white. More and more colour appears in mosaic art in general with the progress of time. Judging this pelta mosaic, however, we must appraise, besides the very simple frame, the clear and pure character of the design, and the simple, direct joining of the individual members. Considering the development of the pattern in Italy, we do not date the Aquincum mosaic either to a much later time than the already mentioned Italian and other early black and white variants. This is supported also by further development. The designs of the Antonine period display an enrichment in several ways, with regard to both the intermediate fields and the way of joining.¹⁰³ The western character of the motive under discussion is underlined also by the fact that in the East it occurs only occasionally. On the basis of the complex structure of the Solomon's knots and their being filled with colour, we put the date of this mosaic to the more advanced decades of the 2nd century.¹⁰⁴ In Aquileia, which is always important from the viewpoint of Pannonian mosaic art, from the 2nd century onwards this motive is also very frequent,¹⁰⁵ it must have come to Aquincum from there.

Mosaics No. 7 to No. 9 (Figs 8–10) show the liveliness of the late Flavian geometry composed of larger spot elements. They are so to say the further development of the circular patterns of mosaic No. 4 and of the bands of waves at the entrance part of mosaic No. 3. Mosaics No. 8 (Fig. 9) and No. 9 (Fig. 10) form a group somewhat apart. The character of their geometry alone which continued to exist into the 2nd century does not allow a dating within narrow limits. However, the high degree of clarity and precision evinced by the line-play of their pattern systems place them, similarly to the other geometric mosaics of the Governor's Palace, well above their known Italian analogues, especially above those from the 2nd and 3rd centu-

ries. This difference points definitely to the presence in Aquincum of a highly trained Italian state workshop, and supports rather an early dating of most mosaics of the Governor's Palace (with the exception of No. 6 and perhaps No. 5), possibly before the Marcomann wars. A conspicuous common feature of several of them is the application of pelta-like floor brick figures to mosaic designs.¹⁰⁶ A similar design also imitating floor brick shapes on the mosaics of the *Insule delle volte dipinte* in Ostia is dated to 120 A.D.

Mosaic No. 10 (Fig. 10a, Pl. II/2) preserved in the bath wing of the Governors' Palace, whose details too are very characteristic, is similarly a typical product of Italo-Roman taste with regard to colouring, geometric design as well as the picture themes. Italian antecedents of its framing are known from the city of Rome and Ostia (palace of the Augustales).¹⁰⁷ This simple framing was traditionally used in Italy on black-and-white mosaics, also in later times in solutions avoiding colours. The contemporaneity of the mosaic¹⁰⁸ of the building section dated to the first decades of the 3rd century with the palace wing is explained also by the circumstance that the mosaicist took into consideration the earlier mosaics of the palace. He did not want to depart too far from their style. Thus the row of leaves in the border of this mosaic resembles the leaves in the threshold part No. 4. Besides, the mosaics of the eastern wing originate from the 2nd century, which served as an archetype for the Severan age.

The theme of this mosaic, aquatic life, was widespread in Roman mosaic art since the Hellenistic

¹⁰⁰ Blake I, p. 136 (According to him it occurs already in the 1st century A.D.)

¹⁰¹ *Enciclopedia italiana dell'Arte Antica*, Vol. I, Rome 1958, fig. 115.

¹⁰² K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 133.

¹⁰³ H. Stern: *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, Vol. II, Lyonnaise, Paris 1967, no. 184.

¹⁰⁴ K. Parlasca: *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1939, p. 134.

¹⁰⁵ O. Fasiolo: *I mosaici di Aquileia*, Rome 1915, p. 53, Pl. 8; G. Brusin: *Aquileia* 1929, p. 72, fig. 43; idem: *Kleiner Führer durch Aquileia und Grado*, Padova 1956, fig. 22; Blake II, pp. 10, 135–, Pl. 32/1–3; D. Levi: *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 418.

¹⁰⁶ Blake III, Pl. 11/2; G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Vol. IV, Rome 1961, fig. 1. Mitreo della casa di Diana, no. 186.

¹⁰⁷ Blake II, Pl. 31/1; R. Calza—E. Nash: *Ostia*, Florence, s.a. fig. 127; G. Becatti: *op. cit.* Pl. 42, no. 420.

¹⁰⁸ J. Szilágyi: Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945) p. 78; Idem: Az aquincumi helytartói palota. (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 18 (1958) p. 55.

beginnings. The coloured mosaic emblems of Delos, swarming with fish and other water animals, recur in Pompeii and then also in other places within Italian art.¹⁰⁹ In the broader genre of marine scenes within Greco-Roman mosaic art, the antecedents of the Aquincum water scene form a narrower, more definite group. The black-and-white, silhouette-like aquatic motives of Rome mean a new chapter in the history of this genre, transplanted into the sphere of Italian mosaic style. The Nile flood scenes and the themes of the marine *thyasus Dionysicus* concentrated around the portrayals of Dionysus, sometimes Neptune or other gods, even Arion, form two different types of the new Roman mosaic style coming into being at the beginning of our era. In order to understand the pictorial fields of the bathing hall of the Governor's palace we must be aware that they represent partly elements of the earlier marine genre, and at the same time they also suggest a later, simplified variant of the Nilotic landscapes. The Egyptian Hellenistic Nile flood scenes¹¹⁰ became conventionalized and their elements were fused with the marine scenes. An interesting moment of this process can be seen in the bathing hall of the Governor's Palace where as a result of the fusions of the model book the duck (Pl. III/1) and the dolphin are swimming about in each other's company. Duck representations had been known in Italy since the border with animal scenes of the Alexandros mosaic from the Casa dei Vettii. Together with the Nile scenes, the duck too came over to Italy from Egyptian Hellenistic paintings. It keeps appearing in Nilotic landscapes; it is there also on the Palestrina mosaic.

The other component of the Aquincum picture, the marine cycles, these characteristic themes of Italian art, were in fashion on mosaics between the 1st and 3rd centuries. Their popularity increased continuously up to the Antonine period when it reached its peak.¹¹¹ Our example represents its subject-matter in the Italian black-and-white manner. The increasing use of colour observable from the Antonine period polychromized this genre too in the Severan era,¹¹² but the traditions of the black-and-white water landscapes also survived. The mosaicist of the Governor's Palace chose the latter manner, having considered the already existing mosaics and perhaps also the more earnest function of the building. He could do that all the more as the Severan era, besides its increasing taste for colour, by reviving certain features of Flavian art, kept applying also the black-and-white forms, and besides geometry also the silhouette mosaics. Here we can refer mainly to a number of similar relics in Ostia, the city of

Rome and the adjacent Central Italian region.¹¹³ From the Severan period the further development of the Nile scenes was characterized by disintegration all over the empire. The picture compositions disintegrated into their components and appeared as independent pictures. This change can be followed mostly on the numerous African examples. They help to understand the aquatic scene of Aquincum too.¹¹⁴ The composition in the Governor's Palace clearly shows a pattern-book selection. Even the surviving part falls apart into two. The dolphin forms a separate unit from the duck, they actually move in opposite directions, and the vegetation too divides the representation into two in a rather inorganic manner. The 3rd century produced new picture combinations out of the earlier complexes of motives.

There is quite a difference between the method of laying of the earlier mosaics of the palace and of those of the picture with the water scene. The former ones reflect the precise, hard, more linear artistic thinking, with more prominent designs of the 1st and 2nd centuries. The marine mosaic uses less contrasts. The black silhouette effect is rendered more open-work like and fluid by the scattered, whitish tesserae, their looser laying and by the mortar appearing in the gaps between them. Following the spot effects of the Flavian times, the sharper and more graphical style of the first half of the 2nd century and the picturesque manner of the Antonine period, this mosaic, although otherwise prepared on the basis of carefully selected models, embodies the newer tendencies of the beginning of the 3rd century. This open-work-like, more blurred manner of representation can be observed also on contemporary Ostian mosaics with monochrome marine scenes. On the picture of the Therme Maritime and the Foro delle Corporazioni this was achieved by interior systems of

¹⁰⁹ J. Chamonnard: *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, Paris 1933, p. 40, fig. 12; D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pls 6/a—b, 182/b.

¹¹⁰ *Enciclopedia italiana dell'Arte Antica*, Vol. I, Rome 1958, pp. 335–336.

¹¹¹ *Blake II*, pp. 140, 154.

¹¹² R. Calza—E. Nash: *op. cit.* fig. 70; the polychrome marine mosaic of the Museo Nazionale in Rome, adorned with an Oceanous-head.

¹¹³ R. Calza: *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1912, p. 199; D. Vaglieri: *Scavi* 1913, p. 10; G. Moretti: *Scavi* 1925, pp. 127–132; *Blake III*, Pl. 17/3; C. C. van Essen: *Verslag van Wetenschappelijke onderzoekingen in 1950, Verricht Meded.* 3, R.8. 1954; R. Calza—E. Nash: *Ostia* Florence, s. a. fig. 69; *Bollettino Comunale* 1949–1950, pp. 167–173; *Bollettino d'Arte* 1961, pp. 152, 159; G. Becatti: *op. cit.* Pls 124, 144–145, 148, 154, 157, 162, 172, etc.

¹¹⁴ L. Foucher: *Les Mosaïques Nilotiques Africaines, La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1965, pp. 137–143.

small white lines. When setting up his dating system, van Essen saw in phenomenon one of the characteristics of the Severan style.¹¹⁵

With this mosaic too we must emphasize the clarity and unwavering certainty of the design which tells of a good deal higher quality of craftsmanship than that of most of the Italian examples known (city of Rome, Ostia) (Pl. II/3-4).

The *cantharus* representation of the threshold part is the result of a repair deviating from the whole of the work (Pl. III/2), the laying method of which is also different from that of the mosaic. This must have become necessary on account of the more intensive use of this part of the pavement. On the basis of its dynamic design, this repair must have been made still during the 3rd century, but in any case previous to the abandoning of the palace after 293 A.D.¹¹⁶

Both of the two main branches of Roman national mosaic art, viz. the all-over geometric design and the silhouette mosaic with marine scenes, are represented in the Governor's Palace. The latter is, however, already a novel achievement of beginning of the 3rd century, selecting in a simplifying manner from the earlier types and using the larger spot-like effects of the lightly expressive Severan manner.

Mosaics of the Civic City. The mosaic of the Mithraeum (No. 11) is dated to the year 198 A.D.¹¹⁷ (Pl. III/3, colour supplement). Therefore the analysis of its features is all the more important since by it we can also get a foothold for the appraisal of several relics of the age. Its importance goes therefore beyond the questions of Pannonian art. Its main characteristic is the lozenge star pattern on which E. Krüger has already based a system of definition and evaluation.¹¹⁸

The research of mosaics relying on a comparative analysis of the stock of motives will have to cope with difficulties until a larger-scale publication of the Italian material which is of central importance. Thus, considering our present information, Germanian and Gallic antecedents could also come into consideration defining the style of the floor of the Aquincum Mithraeum. In reality, however, this one too is a genuine Italian design, and the circumstance that it still shows stars consisting of a full eight lozenges does not give us enough direction for placing its style. In fact, well before the disintegration of the lozenge system — which was earlier dated to the 2nd century — we know examples for its loosening from Pompeii, already from the middle of the 1st century, while in many other places the pattern survived in its original form.¹¹⁹ A modification of the lozenge patterns took place already in the late Claudian period. The analogues

from the Rhine region originate from much later times.¹²⁰ There the earliest of mosaics with several *emblemata* enclosed between such lozenge stars are not earlier than the very beginning of the 3rd century, which could coincide with the time of the Aquincum mosaic. Regarding their main features, however, the Germanian lozenge mosaics are distant from the Aquincum one and they display at best such general agreements which, at least in the European territories, can be found everywhere. They differ first of all by their lush, fine geometry freer in its details. On the other hand, the Pannonian mosaics known so far, which are closer to the Italian examples, have more compact designs. The similar mosaics from northeastern Italy are much more likely antecedents. These could have served as models, considering their similarities in structure, manner of filling, drawing-like design and proportions. From Aquileia itself, we know such a floor, with a similar system of lozenge patterns and octagonal emblems and whose lozenge elements are filled in an identical way.¹²¹ Similar designs occur also in the neighbouring Altinum.¹²²

Also the geometric floors of Carnuntum with several *emblemata* show influences coming from Aquileia and northern Italy. On one of these also the representation of an octagonal emblem has survived.¹²³ Otherwise, the use of octagonal *emblemata* in Italy, as an Antonine achievement, began in

¹¹⁵ C. C. van Essen: *op. cit.* p. 77, Pl. 4.

¹¹⁶ Aurelius Victor: *Caesares*, 40, 9-10; J. Szilágyi: Az aquincumi helytartói palota (The Governor's Palace at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég.* 14 (1945), p. 55.

¹¹⁷ CIL III. 14344-6; B. Kuzsinszky: Az aquincumi múzeum és köemlékei (The Aquincum museum and its stone relics), *Bud. Rég.* 5 (1897) pp. 118, 120; idem: Funde aus Ungarn, *JÖAI* 2 (1899); Beiblatt 55-56; L. Nagy: A savariai Capitoliumon 1791-ben talált mozaikpadló (The mosaic pavement found in 1791 at the Savaria capitolium), *Orsz. Magyar Régészeti Társ. Évkönyve* (Annals of the Hungarian National Archaeologists' Society 2 (1923-26) p. 113; idem: *Budapest története I/2. Művészetek* (History of Budapest, I/2. Arts). Budapest 1942, p. 599; T. Nagy: A pannóniai kereszténység története (History of Pannonian Christianity), *Diss. Pann.* 1939, p. 28; idem: Vallási élet Aquincumban (Religious life in Aquincum), *Budapest története I/2* (History of Budapest I/2.) Budapest 1942, p. 433.

¹¹⁸ E. Krüger: Römische Mosaiken in Deutschland, *AA* 48 (1933) p. 655-.

¹¹⁹ A. Niccolini: *Casa e Monumenti di Pompeji*, Naples 1854-1891, 28. fasc. Pl. 84.

¹²⁰ K. Parlasca: *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1959, p. 58, Pl. 57/4.

¹²¹ G. Brusin: Nuovi Mosaici di Aquileia, *Aquileia Nostra* 1941/19-20, fig. 8/a. He puts it to the 2nd century.

¹²² *Scavi* 1930, p. 463, fig. 3.

¹²³ S. Frankfurter-W. Kubitschek: *Führer durch Carnuntum*, 1923, p. 67, fig. 29.

the middle of the 2nd century, first as a stucco ceiling design.^{123a}

Another interesting feature of the mosaic from the Mithraeum is that it has a foliated ivy scroll like the one seen on the Baláca mosaic.

Full analogues of this mosaic are yielded by central Italy. We can rely especially on the mosaic of the Via Tuscolana in the city of Rome, to be dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century, which has actually all the important elements of the Aquincum mosaic.¹²⁴ Its composition, although in black-and-white, is also identical. Similar is one of the mosaics of Serravalle Scrivia,¹²⁵ from the second half of the 2nd century. These examples show the development of the motive system in the Antonine period. The same structure appears in a more advanced form, and already with shaded colouring, by the large mosaic of Baláca (No. 23).

The beautiful, flexible foliate scrolls of the mosaic of the Mithraeum reminds us of the similar motives of Pannonian stone carving, of the ornaments of grave aedicula side slabs dated to the 2nd century.¹²⁶ These show the inter-effects of the pattern books of different branches of craftsmanship. The establishment of priority will be the task of future research.

On the basis of its technical features, mosaic No. 11 is the product of an inferior local workshop, which started to work in the municipium of Aquincum not long after the end of the wars of Marcus Aurelius. No other work of this workshop is known to us so far. It is conceivable that the other two mosaics of the municipium, viz. the mosaic with the Dirce scene and the one with the wrestlers (Nos. 12 and 13) were produced by the same workshop a few decades later.

In the dry, apparently superfluous multiplications of the loose and poorly organized borders on white ground of the mosaic featuring the punishment of Dirce (No. 12) (Pl. IV/1–2) the later decades of the 3rd century are manifest. The East was inclined to such exaggerations also earlier. In the European provinces the period of these rather inorganic, light, sketchy forms set in as from the second quarter of the 3rd century. The relationship or eastern origin of these two characteristics has not been proved. Besides white and black, reddish, brownish and claret tints of colours appear on the framing field and the pictorial part alike, and with these comparatively few variants the mosaicist achieved a fairly picturesque effect. The exact black systems of lines, still widely in use not long ago, are absent from the geometry, giving place to a more indistinct, coloured line-play. The partial elements of the framing are still the usual ones, but no similar arrangement is known to us so far. Therefore we

regard it as the invention of the local workshop. The triangle-checkerboard combinations touching the corners give an especially clumsy effect. These are in a sharp contrast to the picture made after good models, the laying of which, however, is also far from being perfect. The floor is considerably damaged and worn, and so the technique of laying cannot be properly observed.

In connection with the central picture it must be stressed that it shows more uniformity with the framing field. Here the differences are already mostly dissolved. According to L. Nagy the representation can be traced back to an unknown Greek archetype from the end of the classical period,¹²⁷ which could be the common antecedent of both our emblem and the Farnese group of statues with the bull in the Museum of Naples.¹²⁸ The theme was wide-spread in Antiquity, it is represented on a number fine art relics.¹²⁹ We know several parallel treatments of it already from the classical times. Among these two main types can be observed, viz. the representation of the preparations (the Aquincum mosaic belongs to this category) and the picture type showing the punishment. Thus beside the assumed archetype, the painter of the Dirce vase-painting from the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.¹³⁰ rendered the scene in a different conception, so that we must presume the existence of a still earlier antecedent at the beginning of the classical period or eventually still at the end of the archaic period, which united the features of all known variants. On the other hand, recent research is inclined to trace back this archetype only to the Hellenistic times.¹³¹ It is characteris-

^{123a} O. Wulff: *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Vol. I, Potsdam 1936, p. 55.

¹²⁴ Scavi 1905, p. 72

¹²⁵ Scavi 1922, p. 372, fig. 6.

¹²⁶ G. Erdélyi: *A pannoniai síremlékek ornamentikája* (Ornamentation of Pannonian tombs), Eger 1929, pp. 30–33, 44–45; idem: *Kőemlékek* (Stone monuments), *Intercisa* I, Budapest 1954, p. 171.

¹²⁷ L. Nagy: Bestrafung der Dirke auf einem Aquincumer Mosaik, *RM* 40 (1925) pp. 51–65; idem: *Budapest története I/2. Művészetek* (History of Budapest I/2, Arts), Budapest 1942, pp. 598–599; idem: Dirke bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon (The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) pp. 77–99.

¹²⁸ F. Studniczka: *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 14 (1903) p. 171, fig. 6.

¹²⁹ The representations with Dirce scenes were systematized already by O. Jahn; *Archeol. Zeitung* 11 (1853); *PW* V, pp. 1169–1170; H. Schaal: *De Euripidis Antiope*, Berlin 1914, pp. 53–82; L. Nagy: Dirke bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon (The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) p. 88.

¹³⁰ C. Caprino: Dirce, *Enciclopedia italiana dell'Arte Antica*, Vol. III, Rome 1960, pp. 136–137.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

tic of the popularity of the theme that it is known from coins,¹³² including *contorniates*,¹³³ vases,¹³⁴ gemmae,¹³⁵ reliefs,¹³⁶ and at least from four wall painting variants from Pompeii and Herculaneum alone.¹³⁷ It also appears on Etruscan ash-urns and ivory carvings.¹³⁸ On an Etruscan urn from Cortona we can find a representation close to the antecedents of the Aquincum picture. On this two men are busy with the bull, while Dirce, lying between them on the ground is being tied. Still closer is the Volterra urn on which the posture of Dirce already approaches that of Aquincum.¹³⁹

L. Nagy underlined the classic, one-dimensional, calmer representation of the Aquincum Dirce picture as compared to the Hellenistic treatment of the theme on the painting in the house of the Vettii, composed in depth in a more complicated manner.¹⁴⁰ However, it must be mentioned that the mosaic pattern books were simplified according to the demands of the plane arts, their way of expression being more inclined to planar vision than that of painting. At the time when the Aquincum mosaic was made, in the second quarter of the 3rd century, the theme must have been existing on the pages of mosaic pattern books already for a longer time. On the basis of its extending in single plane it would be difficult to single out definitely as prototype any one of its antecedents, with their line covering five to seven centuries at the time. Among other things E. Pfuhl raised also the possibility that Tauriscus, who had been active also as a painter, had treated the theme also on an easel painting and this played a role in the later development of the picture type.¹⁴¹ Up to recent times the Aquincum Dirce was the only known treatment of the theme on a mosaic. In 1959, however, another mosaic floor featuring the punishment of Dirce was discovered in Pola (Plate IV/3). The execution of its geometric border is finer, and in its conception than that of Aquincum. This work is earlier and comes from about the middle of the 2nd century. Some of the fields of its geometric border display the further evolution in the Antonine times of the stylized foliate scroll systems characteristic of the age of Hadrian. The peculiarity of its large, nine-panel picture division of oriental taste is that it is similar to one of the mosaics of the House of Psyché in Antioch. Another reason to compare the Dirce mosaic of Aquincum with that of Pola is that it makes clear how independent the selection of the emblem was from the surrounding frame. Otherwise, the picture itself of the Pola mosaic is very near to the Aquincum one. It also portrays the preparatory phase of the punishment, near to its completion. On the Pola picture, however,

Dirce is lying in the opposite direction. Amphyon was also put on the opposite side, and the whole appears as if it were a mirror image of the Aquincum picture. Otherwise the Pola picture, surviving in a very good condition, seems to justify some minor modifications also of L. Nagy's reconstruction of the Aquincum mosaic. Thus Amphyon does not grip the bull by its nose but he holds it by the horns also with this hand while Zethos can finish off fastening the rope. Earlier, however, L. Nagy on the basis of this reconstruction proposed the modification of the Naples group of statues in the form recommended also by Studniczka.¹⁴² After the discovery of the Pola mosaic it has also become questionable whether the bull, similarly to the Farnese group of statues, rose on its hind legs to such a height also on the Aquincum picture. For on the Pola mosaic the position of the Dioscuri and that of the bull is more or less of the same height. Similarly to the Aquincum mosaic, the Pola mosaic also treats the originally three-dimensional composition borrowed from other branches of art form in a planar—mosaic-like—interpretation. The background is not represented on any of the two mosaics. The designer of the Aquincum mosaic turned to the northeast Italian (Aquilaia region) pattern book

¹³² Thus on a Thyatera medal. L. Nagy: *Dirke bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon* (The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) fig. 20.

¹³³ H. Cohen: *Description historique des monnaies...* Leipzig VIII. no. 282, no. 301.

¹³⁴ W. Helbig—W. Amelung: *Führer...* Vol. I, Leipzig 1912, pp. 273–274, no. 426. An alabaster ossuary.

¹³⁵ O. Jahn: *op. cit.* Pl. 56; E. Maionica: *Mitteilungen* CC. 14 (1888) pp. 257–259; A. Furtwängler: *Die antiken Gemmen*, Berlin 1900, Pls 25/22, 41/44; G. Brusin: *Aquilaia* 1929, p. 101, 156–. These gemmae show already rather the execution of the punishment.

¹³⁶ H. Bulle: *Bestrafung der Dirke*, *RM* 8 (1893) p. 246; F. Studniczka: *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst* 14 (1903) fig. 6.

¹³⁷ On the mural of the Casa de Vettii; in the Casa del Granduca; G. Rodenwaldt: *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde*, Berlin 1909, p. 52—fig. 6; C. Dilthey: *Archeol. Zeitung* 36 (1878) pp. 42–54, Pls 7, 8, 9/a—b; A. Maiuri: *Ercolano*, Rome 1954, Pl. 27.

¹³⁸ L. Nagy: *Dirke bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon* (The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) p. 93; C. Caprino: *op. cit.* pp. 136–137.

¹³⁹ S. Reinach: *Répertoire des Peintures Grecques et Romaines*, Paris 1922, Pls 21/4, 450/1.

¹⁴⁰ L. Nagy: *Dirke bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon* (The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) p. 96.

¹⁴¹ E. Pfuhl: *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Vol. II, München 1923, pp. 787, 819; idem: *Der Farnesische Stier und das Mosaik von Aquincum*, *RM* 41 (1926) pp. 227–228.

¹⁴² L. Nagy: *op. cit.* pp. 98–99; on the other hand E. Pfuhl: *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 787, 819; similarly G. Lippold: *Zum farnesischen Stier*, *JDAI* 29 (1914) pp. 174–177.

from which later also the Pola master was to borrow only for the solution of the central pictorial scene, otherwise he designed the framing field more independently. The possibility that behind the Aquincum Dirce representation the art of the nearest part of northern Italy (Veneto Aquileia) is hidden could be presumed even before the discovery of the Pola relic. The extensive painting-like figural representation and the mythological theme allow also the assumption that the oriental taste came to assert itself on both mosaic pictures through Aquileia the port-emporium opening towards Hellenistic art.¹⁴³ Although the closest analogue of the framing fields of the Pola mosaic is known from Antioch, as regards its details it shows still the symmetrically arranged Italic foliate scroll system of the Hadrianic period. This — enriched with other elements — indicates how the partial use of earlier designs influences the subsequent stylistic periods. The Dirce theme itself must have been adopted by the northern Italian pattern book during the Antonine period.

The desultoriness of the frame points much less to the state of geometric art in the 3rd century, than to the interior level of the local workshop. This framing is sharply separated from the geometry of the mosaic of the Mithras sanctuary (No. 11). This is one of the reasons why we date the Dirce mosaic farther in the 3rd century, viz. to the later years of its flourishing first half, to about the 240s. The mosaic was dated by L. Nagy to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.¹⁴⁴ We rely in our dating first of all on the excessive multiplicity and disorganization of the framing which was typical of the post-Severan times.

Relics with subjects taken from sports and arena contests, becoming more frequent in the Severan age, have survived both in the municipium and the *canabae* of Aquincum (Fig. 12, Pl. V/1). The wrestlers' mosaic in the bathing compartment of the large dwelling-house of the municipium tells its story in the Italian line-work and the black and white style (No. 13). Its simple, meander-ornamented frame belongs to the light, loosely knited structures following the style of the Severan age. It shows some kinship with the framing of the Dirce mosaic (No. 12). The square corner fields filled in a checker-board-like manner are also similar on both mosaics. Although these black-and-white, expressive patterns of a spot-like effect had been known since Hadrian's time, the period when they were spread widest was the end of the 2nd century. They appeared throughout on pavements of a more or less secondary role, as is shown by several examples in Ostia, for instance on the mosaics of the Foro delle Corporazioni.^{144a} On the frames of a 3rd-cen-

tury mosaic from Stolác we can see this structure in an enriched form. It displays some other seldom occurring motives known, however, also from Aquincum.¹⁴⁵

On the pictorial scene the body of Heracles is black, while the bodies of the other two figures are light in colour. The mosaicist, in a way reminiscent of wall paintings, represented the weaker, smaller figures (which, frescoes include also the women) with light colours and the more powerful, greater figures generally with darker colours. This method can be regarded already as a kind of characterization. It is not mere chance either, that on this mosaic too the figure of Heracles is black.

The characteristically Roman *palaestra* representation of the wrestlers, however, is not a simple contest of athletes. The fight of Heracles and Antaeus was recognized behind it already by L. Nagy. The picture shows the vulgarization of the mythical theme in a remarkable way. The setting with the sporting instruments, the referee of the gymnasium, the cirrus, the olive branch and the absence of Heracles attributes transform the representation into an actual, everyday sport scene. That the Aquincum wrestling scene involves the image, dimmed in its direct meaning of the mythical duel becomes clear when tracing back its antique antecedents.¹⁴⁶ The fight with Antaeus does not belong among the canonized feats accomplished by the hero¹⁴⁷ and is one of the comparatively less frequently represented deeds of Heracles. A symbol of barbarism, King Antaeus, cruelly ruling beyond the African horizons of the antique world, was defeated by Heracles in a fight arranged according to the Greek rules of wrestling. During the evolution of the picture type, the fight was represented by the various branches of antique art in its different phases, in the form of wrestling on the ground in a lying

¹⁴³ B. Kuzsinszky: A legújabb aquincumi ásatások 1887–1888 (Recent excavations at Aquincum), *Bud. Rég. I* (1889) p. 144, fig. 32; *Blake II*, p. 133.

¹⁴⁴ L. Nagy: *op. cit.* p. 93.

^{144a} G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia, Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Vol. IV, Rome 1961, p. 74, no. 107, Pl. 37.

¹⁴⁵ Dj. Mano-Zissi: La question des différentes Ecoles de Mosaïques Gréco-Romaines de Yougoslavie..., *La Mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1965, fig. 6.

¹⁴⁶ Lucianus: *Anacharsis* 24, (905); E. N. Gardiner: *Athletics of the ancient world*, Oxford 1955, p. 186, no. 154, figs 164, 192.

¹⁴⁷ E. N. Gardiner: *Greek athletics sports*, Oxford s.a. p. 474, fig. 174; O. Schröder: *Der Sport im Altertum*, s.a., 126–, fig. 32, Pl. 61/1; C. Robert: *Heldensage*, pp. 514, 516; V. von Gonzenbach: *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz*, Basel 1961, pp. 60–63.

position, e.g. on the crater with red figures by Euphronius in the Louvre, and on an Athenian relief from the 5th century B.C.¹⁴⁸ On numerous vase paintings other phases of the fight can be seen which are of lesser interest to us. From the point of view of the antecedents of the picture discussed it is important that on a vase by Andocides kept in Berlin (from about 540 B.C.) this theme appears already in two scenes.¹⁴⁹ On the front side of the vase we can see the lifting up, while on the opposite side there is the earlier phase of the wrestling match. Here, beside the wrestlers still fighting in standing face to face, the figure of the referee holding a stick can also be seen. This means that the scene where Heracles is lifting up Antaeus from the ground during their duel had developed already in the art of the end of the archaic period. The picture of the Andocides vase may decide at the same time also the mythical character of the Aquincum mosaic. A. Furtwängler, who still did not know this vase, dated the portrayal of the moment of the lifting up to the end of the classical period.¹⁵⁰ He found the theme for the first time on Tarentum dioboli. According to literary data Praxiteles,¹⁵¹ Polycleitus and Lysippus¹⁵² already treated the subject. The theme of Apelles' painting also points to the fact that the scene was widely known,¹⁵³ this can be followed also on the murals and statues of Pompeii. But as testified by Philostratus and others, the fight with Antaeus was popularized also by literature.¹⁵⁴ Sculptures did not fail to use the theme later on either. The bronze group of Lixus (Mauretania) renders the scene most probably on the basis of a known work by one of the important artists mentioned above.¹⁵⁵ We can see the moment of the lifting up on two marble statues with attributes too and a small bronze sculpture of the Uffizi,¹⁵⁶ on *gemmae*,¹⁵⁷ on many coins from the Imperial Age and even on bronze vases.¹⁵⁸ The Antaeus representations of the other branches of art discovered in the European provinces are not indifferent either. Among those relics on which, similarly to the Aquincum and Avenches mosaic pictures, Heracles lifts up the giant in front of himself, we can mention the altar relief of Stuttgart, the Naples relief and the silver patera in the British Museum. On the latter there is also an attribute pointing to Heracles, while in other cases this is generally missing.¹⁵⁹ We see the scene in the same way also on the Trier glass cup from the 4th century, as well as on several coins (those of Antonius Pius, S. Severus, Gaeta, etc.) from the 2nd and 3rd centuries.¹⁶⁰ It is important from our point of view that the fight with Antaeus is known also from an Aquileia marble fragment.¹⁶¹

Among the mosaic treatments of this topic¹⁶² the one to be seen on the grave of the Nasos in Pompeii does not lead us too near to the Aquincum example.¹⁶³

The nearest place to Pannonia where a mosaic with this theme was discovered was Rhaetia (Avenches). This is close to the Aquincum one. It has the same planar character stressed by black-and-white technique, although the Avenches mosaic, dated between 225 and 250 A.D., expresses its subject-matter with deep, wide spots of shades as compared to the linear representation of the Aquincum mosaic.¹⁶⁴ The mosaic prototypes of the Pannonian and Rhaetian pieces can be found in Italy. The 2nd-century mosaics of the Villa Lancelotti in Tusculum feature wrestling scenes in black on a white ground, among these is also a wrestling duel with a figure lifted up from the ground and with a referee in flapping toga, holding a stick (Pl. V/2).¹⁶⁵ This work also proves that the arena-sports scenes which became popular by the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries had developed within the black-and-white style of the 2nd century, showing

¹⁴⁸ W. H. Roscher: *Ausführliches Lexicon*, Leipzig I, pp. 362–364, 2207, 2230, 2245, 2249; F. Winter: *Zu Euphronios*, *JDAI* 3 (1900) pp. 131–132; *L'Art et l'Homme*, Paris 1957, p. 275; *PW* I, p. 2339. Antaios.

¹⁴⁹ C. Blümel: *Sport der Hellenen*, Berlin–Friedenau 1936, p. 30, fig. 98.

¹⁵⁰ W. H. Roscher: *op. cit.* Herakles, pp. 2249–2250.

¹⁵¹ Pausanias: IX. 11. 6; G. Lippold: Herakles-Mosaik von Liria, *JDAI* 37 (1922) pp. 1–12.

¹⁵² Strabo: Book X, p. 459.

¹⁵³ Pliny the Elder: *Hist. Nat.* Book XXXV, p. 93; H. Dütschke: *Antike Bildwerke*, Leipzig 1875, Vol. II, 18, No. 37; Ch. Dahremberg—E. Saglio: *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, Vol. I/1, Paris 1873, pp. 282, 328.

¹⁵⁴ Philostratus: II. 21; *Anthol. Palat.* Vol. IX, 391; Libanius: Ekphr. IV. p. 1082.

¹⁵⁵ *Enciclopedia italiana dell'Arte Antica*, Vol. I. Roma 1958, Anteo, p. 410; *Fasti Archaeologici* 5 (1950) p. 4526, fig. 112; Ch. Dahremberg—E. Saglio: *op. cit.* p. 1343, fig. 4622.

¹⁵⁶ A. Furtwängler: *Die antiken Gemmen*, Berlin 1900, p. 2245; On the basis of sculptures in the Uffizi and Pitti collections known already since the 16th century, Michelangelo also thought of creating a work of this kind, or at least completing some similar, fragmentary antique work.

¹⁵⁷ Niederle: *Sammlung*, p. 768.

¹⁵⁸ E. Babelon—A. Blanchet: *Catalogue des Bronzes antiques*, Paris 1895 no. 1420, fig. 574.

¹⁵⁹ S. Reinach: *Répertoire des peintures Grecques et Romaines*, Paris 1922, II. pp. 87, 480, III. 75.

¹⁶⁰ V. von Gronzenbach: *Die Römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz*, Basel 1961, pp. 60–63.

¹⁶¹ A. Furtwängler: *op. cit.*

¹⁶² Smith: *Coll. Ant.* II. p. 22; *Seavi* 1923, pp. 252–254.

¹⁶³ A. Furtwängler: *op. cit.*

¹⁶⁴ V. von Gronzenbach: *op. cit.* pp. 60–63.

¹⁶⁵ *Blake II*, Pl. 38/1.

also that the theme must have been adopted by mosaic art on Italian soil and at this time. These representations remained in evidence all the time (e.g. the S. Severa athletic mosaic).¹⁶⁶

The mosaic of the large dwelling-house of Aquincum combines the two subjects in an interesting way: the sports scene wide spread on Italian soil is mingled with the cult of Heracles which was especially popular in Pannonia. Thus the styles of the age and the region are crossed in the work. Local characteristics also show their effect, because earlier the stress was laid on the connections of Pannonian relief art with the Gallic liking for mythology,¹⁶⁷ while this relic shows less Gallic—Germanic motives, since the western territory is much poorer in Heracles representations than Pannonia.¹⁶⁸

The theme of the fight of Antaeus occurs here and there also in the Balkans, from about the same period, thus for example on the lid of a sarcophagus from Plevna.¹⁶⁹ This is important from the viewpoint of the interpretation of our example because on it Gea observes the fighters in a sitting position, just like on the Via Nomentana mosaic in Rome, proving that the scene—unlike the representations without a more specific meaning—renders a mythical duel. In Antioch the subject occurs already in the Constantine period.¹⁷⁰

The Aquincum picture is entirely without a background. The figures and the few objects referring to the setting are placed into some kind of ideal space. These are features characteristic of the picture composition of the European territories of the Imperial Age, which, in contrast to the eastern taste in pictures, have never given too much scope to the themes of Hellenistic Greek painting, asserting themselves also in the world of the mosaics. The choice between black-and-white and coloured mosaics was influenced by the taste and regional origin of the person who commissioned the making of the work, but also by the function of the premise. In the 3rd century the Italic members of the civil community would rather decide, regarding the bathing room of a private house, in favour of the black-and-white solution, which was closer to their taste, also fashionable (it was the style of the period!) and last but not least, cheaper.

The painting-like effect of the broad narrative style of the other sport scene, canabae that of the No. 14 (Pl. VII/1), is enhanced by the fact that its black contours do not follow fully the outlines of the bodies, in some places the forms are expressed with ochre colour. This method, developed in the late Antonine times, with its broader zones, is rather reminiscent of certain types of modern graphic art,

to its form-fusing movements or to the effects of the linoleum engravings. Thus the Aquincum picture is a significant relic of the Severan art of Pannonia. What we explained in connection with the wrestlers' mosaic applies also to this subject (No. 13). Such boxing scenes are known also from Italy. On the S. Severa athletic mosaic we can also find the palm branch and the vessel.¹⁷¹

The frame of the Deianeira mosaic (No. 15, Pl. VI/1) is inconceivable to have come from before the Severan times. With its broad pearl members, its heavy triangle and lozenge systems it is far inferior to the balanced and elegant geometry of the Baláca works (No. 20 to No. 23). Its large homogeneous spots give a typical reproduction of the features of the more second-rate designs of the age. The earlier drawing-like details were replaced now by surfaces with shaded colouring. No closer parallel can be drawn between the Aquincum and Baláca (No. 23) pelta rows, although equally large in size. Both are the products of the same stylistic period. The Deianeira mosaic seems to be somewhat later. This is at the same time more provincial with its hitherto unknown, individual use of the pelta members. Also the large pear-members of the astragal row, rising from the black ground, lean rather heavily on the fine central picture. The compound star pattern of the exterior framing field, reminiscent of textile designs, testifies to the increasingly complex forms of the new art appearing by the end of the 2nd century.¹⁷²

The emblem represents a Heracles story which is not too frequent in antique art. This is the second Aquincum mosaic featuring the figure of Heracles whose cult in Pannonia was definitely supported

¹⁶⁶ R. Engelmann: *Metallcestus*, *JÖAI* 6 (1903) fig. 26.

¹⁶⁷ G. Erdélyi: *Kőemlékek* (Stone monuments), *Inter-cisa* I, Budapest 1954, pp. 177, 180; A. Hekler: *A Nemzeti Múzeum ásatásai Dunapentelén 1912-ben* (Excavations of the Hungarian National Museum at Dunapentele in 1912), *Arch. Ért.* 32 (1912) p. 412; L. Nagy: *Dirke bűnhődése az aquincumi mozaikon* (The punishment of Dirce on the Aquincum mosaic), *Bud. Rég.* 13 (1943) pp. 79–80; idem: *Művészetek. Budapest története*. I/2. (Arts. History of Budapest) 1942, pp. 481, 605; idem: *A savariai capitoliumon 1971-ben talált mozaikpadló* (The mosaic pavement found in 1791 at the Savaria capitolium), Szombathely 1927, p. 81.

¹⁶⁸ V. von Gonzenbach: *op. cit.* pp. 60–63.

¹⁶⁹ S. Ferri: *Arte romana sul Danubio*, Milano 1933, figs 369, 499; *Bulletin de la Société Archeol. Bulgare* 2 (1911) pp. 277, 279, fig. 14: fragment of the lid of a sarcophagus from Plevna, kept in Sofia.

¹⁷⁰ D. Levi: *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 256, fig. 95.

¹⁷¹ R. Engelmann: *op. cit.* fig. 26.

¹⁷² *Blake III*, 85; D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 438, fig. 167.

for state and political reasons;¹⁷³ it became general all over the empire, especially in the times of Commodus.¹⁷⁴ The theme of Heracles shooting an arrow at Nessos because of the injury suffered by Deianeira is known also from the Madrid mosaic picture which has turned out to be false.¹⁷⁵ The Madrid mosaic, behind which we can presume a lost antique work, probably the mosaic of the Villa Hadriana or Artemon's Hellenistic painting, represents the scene in the broader framework of a wide landscape. The mural painting of the Casa del Menandro in Pompeii shows already a composition like the one in Aquincum. The Aquincum emblem itself is more compact. On it, beside the four figures, the vaporous-cloudy "atmospherical" background broken by foliage is noteworthy. The close relationship of this mosaic with the Hellenistic paintings is also remarkable. Its lively, diagonal structure, the figures emerging plastically from the pictorial plane in more than one direction, and the atmospheric phenomena were not conceived in the style of mosaics. The widely expanding single larger central picture, in contrast to the already developed multi-picture system of the European provinces, is in itself an eastern feature. The structures of the Italian-European mosaic floors were produced by a western sense of proportion, which took into account the viewpoint of the people walking on the floor. The infinite number of possible viewpoints speaks rather in favour of the system of several smaller pictures. The liking for extensive, painting-like surfaces points to the eastern-Hellenistic preference for pictures. These extensive pictures can be enjoyed only from certain viewpoints on the floors. In fact their application to walking surfaces is not justified.

The airy style of the Deianeira picture which suggests perspectives in the way easel paintings, points back to that period of Greek art which — in a manner reminiscent of the Italian cinquecento — regarded as its main purpose the achievement of an atmospheric effect and a virtuosic handling of enamel-like, glittering colours. That level was reached by Greek painting at the end of the classical age, with the art of Appelles.¹⁷⁶ The zenith was passed at the end of the classical age when Greek painting arrived at the limit of its possibilities of expression; then the Hellenistic "baroque" began which strove for richness and a lively effect in its themes as well as in its style. The manner in which the picture was conceived, representing the scene from a short distance — "cutting it out" as it were of the surrounding landscape — is also a sign of the inclination towards this "baroque". We believe that the painting serving as the antecedent of the Deianeira picture, a more

direct variant of the theme, dates back only to the Hellenistic period.

The atmospheric phenomena of its background may help to place the picture into its proper stylistic period. From the cloudy and vaporous landscape the foliage of some vegetation emerges. Above the river-god a bushy hill can also be seen. This atmospheric landscape can be found much more often on the mosaic pictures of the East, which were modelled on the Hellenistic paintings,¹⁷⁷ than farther to the West. Among the mosaics of Antioch which are well explored, such works are known from a time as early as the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., thus for instance on the mosaic emblem of the Atrium House representing the judgement of Paris.¹⁷⁸ This, with its fine, gobelin-like tones and exquisite balance, is still distant from the representation of the atmosphere on the Deianeira emblem. But also in the East, the careful, thorough representation of the background was usual only up to the Trajan-Hadrian period.¹⁷⁹ The emblem of the House of Narcissus, dated to the Antonine times,¹⁸⁰ whose background shows wide, large spots, takes us already closer to the features of our emblem. Then the rich *emblemata* of the Severan times, reflecting the style of local painting are conceived already in a more rugged (expressive) manner, with surfaces divided into more extensive, homogeneous spots. The figures, on the other hand, are still represented with definite lines. This period was the last to try to

¹⁷³ A. Brelich: Aquincum vallásos élete (Religious life of Aquincum), *Laureae Aquincenses* Vol. I, Budapest 1938; A. Alföldi: Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser, *RM* 50 (1935) p. 106; T. Nagy: Vallási élet Aquincumban (Religious life at Aquincum) *Budapest története* I/2, (History of Budapest) Budapest 1942, pp. 412-413; the same is suggested also by the altar inscription of CIL III. 10406.

¹⁷⁴ G. Rodenwaldt: Zur Kunstgeschichte der Jahre 220 bis 270, *JDAI* 51 (1936) p. 83.

¹⁷⁵ S. Reinach: *Répertoire des Peintures Grecques et Romaines*, Paris 1922, fig. 189/4; K. Parlasca: Mosaikfälschungen, *RM* 65 (1958) p. 177. In the Museum of Madrid, inventory No. 3610; but they also mention a pictorial work from the Villa Hadriana which was transferred to the Capitolium Museum; Pliny the Elder: XXXV, p. 138. According to him in the Hellenistic period the painter Artemon depicted Heracles and Deianeira in a form not known to us.

¹⁷⁶ Pliny the Elder: XXXV, pp. 79-83.

¹⁷⁷ D. Levi: *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 10.

¹⁷⁸ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. I, from a time previous to 115 A.D.

¹⁷⁹ As the Atrium House and the pictures of the House of Polyphemos in Antioch from the beginning of the 2nd century; D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 590.

¹⁸⁰ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 10/b.

reproduce light and shadow forms on mosaics, although already in a coarser manner. This can be seen also on the picture of the House of Dionysus and Ariadne.¹⁸¹ It was in the same way that the Aquincum master expressed the phenomena of nature. Not only the clouds and the sloping of the landscape are represented by homogeneous spots, but the foliage too, although crenated, is a homogeneous plane, in contrast to the fine detail of the representations of the 2nd century which reproduced even the texture of the leaves. These partial phenomena of the Severan period can be observed also on the relics of the western provinces, but all this is seen much better on the large pictures of the East. The large and broad background spots of the Aquincum picture, enclosed by contours, convey the impression of atmospheric phenomena fading into one another only if they are lodged at from a distance. This solution, to be seen also on the Pyramus and Thisbe mosaic of Cyprus¹⁸² shows that this method survived for a long time during the 3rd century. (Pl. VI/2). This feature appears to be one of the most characteristic manifestations in Pannonia of the Severan style on its summit. Its closeness to the Syrian material is enhanced by the circumstance that in spite of the atmospherical background the vegetation and the landscape elements, the picture has no realistic space. This is quite apparent, despite the destruction of the lower part of the picture. However, keeping its assumed model in mind, the definite rendering of space on the Madrid forgery points to the fact¹⁸³ that this picture type was not unknown in western mosaic art either. With its help we can draw some cautious conclusions on the formation of the style in the western territories. The phenomena of the Aquincum picture resemble mostly the characteristically Severan-Oriental style of the lower mosaic layer of the Antioch Buffet Supper, which is definitely from a time before 235,¹⁸⁴ and fits into the new stylistic period, lasting for about four decades, which started at the end of the 2nd century.

The baroque-like character of the style of the picture is manifest also in the dramatic manner in which the moment preceding the fulfilment of the tragedy is represented. This concentration is supported also by the converging glances. Besides the direct oriental motives of the picture we must raise the possibility of a role played by Aquileia. Besides Italian motives arriving from here, Pannonia may have received also oriental motives interpreted in Aquileia.¹⁸⁵

The fineness of the execution of the Deianeira picture, with its small tesserae is remarkable. This feature alone is sufficient to refute those earlier views according to which in this late period there

was already no difference between the execution of the pictorial field and the surrounding frame.¹⁸⁶ The former differs a great deal from the latter. While the size of the cubicles in the frame is 1 square centimetre, in the picture field we find *tesserae* with edges of 3 to 5 millimetres. Thus the emblem with its fine detail, rich tones and painting-like effect appears rather alien to the broad, cursorily designed geometric frame. The two ways of laying are quite distinct from one another. The full, warm colours of the picture, its many reddish tints are well-known features of Hellenistic and also classical Greek painting. The Severan age again preferred these warm tints. The fine qualities of the Deianeira picture are hitherto unparalleled even among similar Italian works from the same age. In our opinion the beautiful emblem had either been made in a distant eastern workshop from where it was transported here, or it was created here by an artist belonging to an oriental workshop or school. The possibility of transport by waterway seems rather to support the former assumption. That it might have been an independent work of art brought here fully finished is also suggested by the possible circumstance that the given small size of the emblem which made the designer of the frame surround it with a third, interior guilloche.

The further geometric mosaics of the villa of the *canabae* display the more complex, increasingly colourful design of later times (Nos. 16 and 17, Figs 14, 14a, Pls VII/2–3). The meandrical pattern enclosing squares and rectangles in mosaic No. 16 (Fig. 14, Pl. VII/2) was known since the very beginning of Italian mosaic-making.¹⁸⁷ Apart from its colours, its later origin is shown by the fact that its design is complemented with triangles and squares. The powerful geometry of the interior checkerboard pattern with its broadly framed intermediate squares manifests the more complicated, new tastes of the Severan style. This design is reminiscent of the less well-organized, expressive geometry of the 3rd century, with the floor of the Clodius Hermes grave of the S. Sebastianus catacomb in the city of Rome

¹⁸¹ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 154/a–b.

¹⁸² Unpublished.

¹⁸³ K. Parlasca: *Mosaikfälschungen*, *RM* 65 (1958) p. 177.

¹⁸⁴ D. Levi: *op. cit.* pp. 545–546, Pls. 23/c and 25–26.

¹⁸⁵ *Blake II*, p. 133; D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 503.

¹⁸⁶ P. Gauckler: *Musivum Opus*, in Ch. Dahremberg—E. Saglio: *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines* Paris 1904, pp. 2110–2111.

¹⁸⁷ A. Kaiser—H. Hermann: *Herculaneum und Pompeji*, Hamburg 1841. Pl. 13.

as its typical example.¹⁸⁸ Although the geometric design of the latter belongs to the sphere of Italian taste, the meandrical field enclosing rectangles is known also from the East,¹⁸⁹ and its destroyed emblem might have been oriental in character, similarly to the Deianeira mosaic.

The system of the exterior framing of mosaic No. 17 (Fig. 14a, Pl. VII/3), giving the impression of natural stone inlay, is a long-lived, extensively used motive, permanent since Pompeii¹⁹⁰ which we know already from the Governor's Palace. It is also known from the first half of the 1st century from Ostia. It remained in use all the time, and can be found later also in Aquileia.¹⁹¹ The rather infrequent interior pattern, the wave ruffle member, is familiar already from the Italian mosaic art of the 1st century A.D. This pattern occurs in Pompeii several times.¹⁹² It established itself in northern Italy for a long time. In Iulium Carnicum it occurs even in the 4th century.¹⁹³ The Aquincum design, however, was not necessarily made on the basis of a northern Italian model; its antecedents may have appeared also in the model books of eastern pictorial mosaics. In Germania on two floors in Trier and on one in Niedaltdorf it appears as a product of the Severan times.¹⁹⁴ An example from Grand (Vosges) originates from the third quarter of the 3rd century.¹⁹⁵

The two-emblem mosaic (No. 18) (Pls VIII/1–2, IX/1–2) of the apse of the villa is the first Pannonian representation of this character of the drunken Heracles who came into the Dionysiac circle.¹⁹⁶ On vase paintings the theme is known since the 6th century B.C.,¹⁹⁷ and later the drunken demigod appears in the first half of the 3rd century on Campanian and Sicilian vases, in the company of satyrs and maenads.¹⁹⁸ The two drinking and feasting figures appear on vases from kurgans in south Russia as well as on Greek and Etruscan graves.¹⁹⁹ The increasing closeness of the two deities to one another is connected with those ideas in which, with a gradual fusion of their personalities, also their deeds became partly identified. We are thinking here of the assimilations of the Indian triumphal marches of Heracles and Dionysus (e.g. the representation on the Rennes gold patera).²⁰⁰ The drunken Heracles occurs also on plastic representations, thus for instance on two examples from Naples. Portrayals of the drunken, staggering Heracles in the Dionysiac procession,²⁰¹ include also mosaic works, and a representation on a bronze jug (Pl. VIII/3) from the beginning of the 4th century discovered in Pannonia (Sopianae).²⁰² Among these a distinct group is formed by the ones which depict Heracles in a drinking contest with Dionysus. The drinking contest linked up the figure

of Heracles more and more with wine. In the Hellenistic period the Athenian *ephebi* marched to the statue of Heracles with wine.²⁰³ The drunken roving of Heracles and Dionysus must have been a frequent subject of the popular and widespread adventure and travel stories of Antiquity. Ridiculing these, and referring to Euhemerus, Lucian speaks of a wine-island in the Atlantic Ocean on which an inscription tells that it was the farthest point reached by Heracles and Dionysus. Based on Hellenistic representations, the figure of the wine-drinking Heracles appears also on the wall-painting of Pompeii.²⁰⁴

Regarding the origin of the Aquincum picture it is not indifferent that in Antioch, Heracles, drinking contest with Dionysus appears on two mosaics. On the floor of the Atrium House, originating still from before the year 115, the scene is depicted with the stylistic marks of the Flavian age and with atmospheric background, and it is said to have the character of genre-painting.

¹⁸⁸ Blake III, Pl. 13/4.

¹⁸⁹ M. Chehab: *Mosaïques du Liban*, Paris 1958, Pl. 31.

¹⁹⁰ Blake I, Pl. 29/3; Blake II, Pl. 13/1; Scavi 1931, p. 9, fig. 1; G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia*, p. 208, No. 394. Pl. 13.

¹⁹¹ G. Cecchelli: *Gli edifici e i mosaici paleocristiani nella Zona della Basilica. La Basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna 1933, Pls 8/3, 104, beginning of the 4th century.

¹⁹² Blake I, Pl. 30/3–4; E. Pernice: *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, Berlin 1938, Pl. 49/5.

¹⁹³ R. Egger: *Historisch-topografische Studien in Venezien*, *JÖAI* 21–22 (1922) Beiblatt pp. 325–326, fig. 152.

¹⁹⁴ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 27. 30. figs. 2–5, Pl. 2/2.

¹⁹⁵ H. Stern: *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule*, Vol. I. Province de Belgique, Paris 1957, p. 75, Pl. 44.

¹⁹⁶ G. Erdélyi: Bacchikus jelenettel díszített bronzkorsó a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban (Bronze jug with a bacchic scene in the Hungarian National Museum), *Arch. Ért.* 46 (1932–33) pp. 39–43.

¹⁹⁷ A. Frickenhausen: *Das Herakleion von Melite, Mitteilungen, Athenische Abteilung* 36 (1911) p. 136.

¹⁹⁸ W. H. Roscher: *Ausführliches Lexicon*, Leipzig I/2, p. 2249 (A. Furtwängler: Herakles); O. Benndorf: *Griechische und sizilianische Vasen*, Wien, s. a. Pl. 44.

¹⁹⁹ S. Reinach: *Répertoire des peintures grecques et romaines*, Paris 1922 Vol. I/1, p. 189/4, Vol. II. p. 39, figs 3, 74, 346, no. 44.

²⁰⁰ E. Babelon: *Cabinet des antiques*, Paris s. a., Pl. 7; Millin: *Gall. Mythol.* pp. 126, 469.

²⁰¹ H. Dütschke: *Antike Bildwerke*, Vol. III, Leipzig 1878, No. 382, and Vol. IV. No. 125; K. Kübler; *Eine dionysische Szene der Kaiserzeit*, *RM* 43 (1928) p. 103–.

²⁰² G. Erdélyi: Bacchikus jelenettel díszített bronzkorsó a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban (Bronze jug with a bacchic scene in the Hungarian National Museum), *Arch. Ért.* 46 (1932–33) pp. 39–43, figs 8–9; for further variants of the group of themes see *op. cit.*

²⁰³ A. Frickenhausen: *op. cit.* pp. 136–137.

²⁰⁴ S. Reinach: *op. cit.* fig. 186/2.

It is also brought in connection with comedies.²⁰⁵ The subject of the drinking contest appears next on an Antioch mosaic from the Severan period. The picture on the floor of the House of the Drinking Contest repeats the century-old work in the Atrium House.²⁰⁶ Both are close to the Aquincum emblem, and with it they form a separate group. The similarity of the two Antioch scenes in spite of their distance in time shows well the lasting survival of the Hellenistic traditions in the big oriental metropolis. On the other hand, the models of the art of the Severan period were especially the relics of the Flavian age.

The two appearances of themes in connection with Heracles on the mosaics of the Aquincum villa (No. 15 and No. 18) may indicate not only the particularly strong cult of Heracles in the province of Pannonia; the repetition of the theme may have served also to enhance the uniformity of the decoration of the building. Situated in the lower row, however, the surviving picture detail does by far not fill the surface of the whole possible picture field. Therefore we must raise the possibility of the existence of a cycle of pictures also in an upper zone of this work, which, however, by its position, must have had an important theme too. A *thyasus* detail of secondary importance is less probable.

The picture of Cupid teasing the tiger (Pl. IX/1) in the foreground of the drinking-contest emblem is also one of the oriental Dionysiac picture elements. The tiger was imported here from the animal representations of the East. One of its sources are the Dionysiac pictures, and the other the hunting scenes which became frequent more or less at about this time and kept occurring there up to the end of the Hellenistic culture²⁰⁷ in Antioch, in Daphne, on the recently found Constantinople wall mosaics, on the murals of Dura Europos, etc.

It is worth mentioning that the wall-paintings of the Kiscelli Street villa in the Aquincum *canabae* also borrowed from these traditions.²⁰⁸ The firm establishment of these oriental picture types and structures in this centre of Hellenistic traditions explains also their strong irradiation.²⁰⁹ The elongated homogeneous spot representing the space of the scene is different from the atmospheric background of the Deianeira emblem, but in the western areas even such a representation of space is hardly imaginable. There only the small spot-like shadows of the figures of the small pictorial sections convey some slightly perceptible reference to the otherwise ideal space. Here, on the other hand, besides the marking of the ground, also such quite dark shadow spots can be observed. In the same province,

on the pictorial emblems of Aquincum and Baláca which are closer to western types, we find neutralized backgrounds in the same period.

The surviving parts of the picture indicate a large-scale composition hardly any parallels of which exist west of Pannonia, both with regard to its extensive themes and dimensions. The exceptional few large pictures of Gaul also show overseas, African influences. The tiger figure below the human group came to be so much below the feet of Dionysus and Heracles only in the one-dimensional art of the mosaic. On the Hellenistic painting which served as a prototype this detail had also been composed in depth.

By right of the fineness of its laying this picture could have a place among the better Syrian works of the Severan period. In comparison with the generally 1 square centimetre *tesserae* of the surrounding geometric parts, the pictorial sections are composed of much smaller ones. Regularity characterizes the arrangement of the rows of *tesserae*, in contrast to the freer laying of e.g. the Baláca emblems. This alone would not permit us to conclude on some more sophisticated oriental technique, although the Meggyfa Street group shows a rather uniform picture in this respect. On the pictorial mosaics of Germania both laying methods can be observed parallel to each other.

The more important central parts of the other picture in the apse have been destroyed, but even so the fine representations can be discerned. Spots suggesting space can be observed here too.

The light, loose framing of the mosaic is also definitely of oriental taste. The border with grid pattern occurring as a threshold motive appears in Pannonia for the first time on this mosaic. The origins of this pattern which developed from the specific technique of mosaic-making have not yet been fully clarified. It does not belong to the geometric motives given from the very beginning. According to D. Levi this one too is of Italian origin; it is known from the mosaics of the city of Rome,

²⁰⁵ D. Levi: *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 21, Pl. 1; it is also mentioned by Aelius Aristides: *Or.* XL, 19.

²⁰⁶ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 158, Pl. 30/a–b. In contrast to D. Levi's dating to the early Severan period, relying on A. Rumpf, K. M. Swoboda dates this work to the Antonine period. *Kunst der Spätantike, Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen* 3 (1958) p. 78.

²⁰⁷ D. Levi: *op. cit.* pp. 323–345, Pls 75 to 80; A. Rumpf: *Stilphasen der spätantiken Kunst*, Köln 1955, pp. 30–31.

²⁰⁸ Sz. K. Póczy: *Római épületek Óbudán a Kiscelli u. 10. sz. alatt* (Roman buildings in Óbuda at No. 10 Kiscelli Street), *Bud. Rég.* 16 (1955) 49–52, fig. 43.

²⁰⁹ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 256, fig. 147.

Pompeii and Ostia (Piazzale delle Corporazioni).²¹⁰ Later it seems to have developed further in the East. In Antioch it is known as from the middle of the 2nd century.²¹¹ The grid patterns of Pompeii may be the predecessors of this grid pattern.²¹² This would mean that later centuries of the Imperial Age inherited this motive too from the Italian evolution of forms. The pattern spread with the new stylistic trends which were in the making in the second half of the 2nd century, as it can be seen on the mosaics of the East from this age.²¹³ Otherwise it survived in the East and in Africa up to the 6th century A.D.²¹⁴ In the opinion of O. Wulff the pattern which was used also on early Christian wall-paintings derives from the Hellenistic textile motives.²¹⁵ Its early and frequent appearance in Aquileia tells of the oriental relations of that city. It is known here as from the Severan times.²¹⁶ At any rate, even if its Italian origin were proved, it must have developed in the East where a wider scope was given to textile effects. From there we know its more complete variants already as from the Hadrianic period.²¹⁷ It developed further along these two lines from the end of the 2nd century, thus for example on another Dionysiac mosaic of the Severan period from Byblos.²¹⁸ The grid pattern as a decorative element is more characteristic of later times. Its long survival in the East points to its lasting establishment there.²¹⁹ This more and more uncertain wavering movement of lines is also one of the initial signs of the evolution which reached its summit in the rainbow style.²²⁰ A similar grid pattern appears in Pannonia on a wall-painting in the 4th century.²²¹

The other pattern of the frame, the network of rectangles and squares is known also from mosaics No. 3 and No. 17. The picture is surrounded by a plastically shaded wavecrest decoration. After

the hard, compact and plastic geometry of the Augustan–Claudian age, in the Severan period three-dimensional trends came again into the fore with a new, more sophisticated approach and this band of waves is also the result of this plasticity.²²² The fineness of its *tesseræ* shows a transition already towards the more detailed technique of the pictorial field. On Syrian floors the two motives, the grid pattern and these wavecrests can be found jointly for a long time.²²³ The fine spirals of the scroll border surrounding the apse are characteristic of the further development in the 3rd century of the stylized scrolls of the 2nd century. In western Europe they are practically unknown on mosaics, while in the areas of Aquileia and Pannonia they occur several times, thus for instance on the centaur mosaic of Carnuntum.²²⁴ These delicate, slender scrolls with their sparse spiral flowers are known mainly in Syrian areas, and therefore, along with the other geometric motives, they definitely indicate an eastern influence also regarding the framing system.

The apsidal mosaic (Nos. 18, 19) with its extensive pictorial fields and its geometry, gives a definitely oriental impression. Its structural features also originate from this direction. This mosaic derives from the same sources of oriental art in the Imperial Age as the mosaic of the Antioch Calendar House which shows that this complex pictorial structure developed there already in the Hadrianic period, and then it produced widely various forms. Such as at the same place the apsidal mosaic with two pictorial fields from the Severan layer of the House of the Buffet Supper.²²⁵

The mosaics of the villa of the Aquincum canabae were made immediately after the end of the Marcomannian Wars. Their construction is dated to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

²¹⁰ Blake I, Pl. 19/4; Blake III, p. 86, Pl. 14/4; D. N. Wilbur: *Bullet. Iran. Art and Archeol.* 5 (1937) pp. 22–26; D. Levi: *op. cit.* 398; G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Vol. IV. Rome 1961. Pl. 60/357.

²¹¹ D. Levi: *op. cit.* pp. 39, 53, fig. 65. Pls 14/a, 19/a, 21/a–b, 44/b.

²¹² Blake I, p. 81, Pl. 19/2. she thought it to be a cancellum motive.

²¹³ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 105/d (from the House of Meander), Pl. 21/a (from the House of Iphigeneia), Pl. 14/a, fig. 39 (from the House of the Red Pavement), from the House of the Triumph of Dionysus; we know from there whole series of similar designs from the Severan period, fig. 53; Blake III, p. 86, Pl. 14/4.

²¹⁴ D. Levi: *op. cit.* fig. 65.

²¹⁵ O. Wulff: *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst* Vol. I, Potsdam 1936, pp. 57–58.

²¹⁶ O. Fasiolo: *I Mosaici di Aquileia*, Rome 1915, Pl. 8; G. Brusin: *Aquileia*, 1929, p. 72, Fondo Candussi, fig. 43; Blake I, Pl. 32/2. She also stresses the Hellenistic character.

²¹⁷ D. Levi: *op. cit.* pp. 36–37, fig. 12.

²¹⁸ M. Chehab: *Mosaïques du Liban Paris*, 1958. Pl. 4.

²¹⁹ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 74/a. Bath F, Pl. 92/a.

²²⁰ *Op. cit.* p. 378, fig. 12.

²²¹ F. Fülep: *Pécs rómaikori emlékei* (Roman monuments of Pécs), Budapest 1964, p. 23.

²²² D. Levi: *op. cit.* pp. 396, 454; Ákos Kiss: The mosaic pavements of the roman Villa at Balácsa, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 11 (1959) pp. 226–227.

²²³ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pls 51/d, 105/d.

²²⁴ A. Barb: *Randbemerkungen . . . , Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 6 (1937) p. 7.

²²⁵ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 23/a.

2. BALÁCA

Mosaic No. 20 of the *Baláca villa* (room No. 8) (Fig. 16) is a characteristic product of the Italian black-and-white style. Complex checkerboard designs are known from there as from the 1st century A.D. Such a mosaic without stars has come to light also from that part of the Palatine palaces which originates from the time of Domitian.²²⁶ A number of similar mosaics could be mentioned from the towns around the Vesuvius and from Ostia.²²⁷ This panelled checkerboard pattern in which oblongs and squares alternate, and which is traced back by several researchers to the imitation of coffered ceilings, is known also in Aquileia, which is so important from the aspect of Pannonia, already from the 1st century A.D.²²⁸ The popularity of these simple patterns in interior decoration lasted more or less to the Hadrianic period.²²⁹ Regarding the further development of the design of this floor, some guidelines are offered by the stars of the enclosed square fields. In our opinion the compound, eight-pointed stars appeared with the new stylistic trend developing at the end of the Antonine period.²³⁰ This alone, quite apart from the wall paintings of the villa which point to the first third or the 3rd century and of other time-determining circumstances, would place the mosaic into the period following the wars of Marcus Aurelius. These black-and-white floors became more frequent in any case of the Severan times, and their new popularity lasted through most of the 3rd century, as can be observed also in the city of Rome.²³¹ The border decoration of this mosaic deserves special attention because — rather uncharacteristically among mosaic motives — it is found in a comparatively more closely definable area, viz. in northern Italy and eastern Noricum-southwestern Pannonia, and furthermore in Dalmatia (Fig. 17). The leaf pattern of peculiar design is known also from the city of Rome and its vicinity, thus also from Trefontane, etc.²³² An example occurs also in the material of the museum of Naples, however, with its closer provenance unknown. In any case, the latter mosaic originates from the Antonine period and thus it does not come from the towns of the Vesuvian region. A Tunesian occurrence on a mosaic with an Italian antecedent with many *emblemata* from the 2nd century is noteworthy.²³³ The application of this pattern became more frequent in northern Italy. In north-eastern Italy it occurs systematically already from the beginning of the 2nd century in Imola, Fossombrone, Brescia, Este, Verona, Cividale, Altinum and other places.²³⁴ This means that it developed already in these early times. Its Aquileian occurrence

was dated by M. E. Blake still to the 1st century A.D.²³⁵ Also the corner design of this latter mosaic is identical with the Baláca one. But the pattern occurs also on the Dirce mosaic of Pola, and later also on two mosaics from the Constantine period in Poetovio.²³⁶ The pattern appears again on one of the mosaics of the Virunum bath section with a corner form identical with those at Baláca and Aquileia. This work too is thought to originate from the 4th century(?).²³⁷ The leaf form is found in Dacia on the Apulum mosaic dated to the end of the 2nd century.²³⁸

The restriction of a characteristic pattern variant to a well-defined area can seldom be observed in the art of mosaic-making. Perhaps only the minute foliate elements of a different kind from Germania and Gaul stand so much apart, considering their limited occurrence in the above territories. However, we can hardly presume such a long survival of this leaf pattern in the delimited area. The mosaic with foliated borders, dated by M. E. Blake to the 1st century, originates in our opinion from the first half of the 2nd century; this is supported also by the manner in which its interior is filled. This would mean that the leaf pattern lived in the 2nd and 4th centuries in the above-mentioned area, provided that the 4th century datings are correct. Thus it seems to have survived for no less than a whole quarter of a millenium. This points to the firm local traditions of certain designs of the central and northern Italian mosaic centres and of

²²⁶ Blake I, p. 102.

²²⁷ A. Kaiser—H. Hermann: *op. cit.* Pl. 8.

²²⁸ Blake I, Pl. 39/4.

²²⁹ G. Lugli: *Bollettino Comunale* 1927, p. 191, fig. 27.

²³⁰ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 374.

²³¹ Blake III, pp. 82–83, Pl. 16/2, from the Lateran palace.

²³² In the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, but there is a mosaic with a similar leaf pattern also in the Vatican Museum.

²³³ L. Foucher: *Découvertes archéologiques a Thyssdrus en 1960*, Tunis, s.a. Pl. 2/b.

²³⁴ Scavi 1928, p. 22, fig. 8; Scavi 1930, p. 463, fig. 3; Blake I, Pls. 2/4, 3–4, 35/2, 38/1; Blake II, pp. 106, 198, 203, Pls. 14/2, 20/3–4, 21/1; Blake III, Pl. 35/2; E. Pernice: *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, Berlin 1938, pp. 17–18, Pl. 6/3; Scavi 1965, fig. 20; a similar design can be seen on the Flavian mosaic of the Museo Civico in Brescia.

²³⁵ Blake I, p. 113, Pl. 39/4.

²³⁶ S. Jenny: *Poetovio*, Wien 1896, figs 10–11, Pl. 6.

²³⁷ C. Praschniker—H. Kenner: *Der Bäderbezirk von Virunum*, Wien 1947, pp. 50–55, figs 37–38.

²³⁸ I. Berciu: *Mozaicurile Romane din Apulum* 4 (1961) p. 188, Pl. 10.

the model books of these workshops. A more thorough knowledge of the Italian mosaic material will perhaps provide us with more data on this very characteristic pattern, which in itself gives us reason to believe that relying on it we shall be able to speak about the specific features of the mosaic art of Western Pannonia and the region of the Adriatic coast as a unit in its own right in mosaic-making. In any case this leaf pattern appears on two more mosaics of the villa (No. 22 and No. 23). Considering all the circumstances, the Baláca pattern cannot be assigned an earlier date than the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.²³⁹ These observations give points of reference also to the dating of the other mosaics of the villa. The new stylistic trend manifests itself much more markedly on the polychrome mosaics.

The double-field, divided design of the mosaic in room No. 10 (No. 21) (Pl. X/1–2) is not infrequent in Roman mosaic art. It can be observed in cubicula, triclinia, and other rooms of a definite function that the mosaic design of the floor was adjusted also to the permanent, built-in resting-place and other furniture of the rooms. Thus also this smaller room has some definite furniture.

Its coloured, geometric part displays the complex, polychrome geometry of the Severan period. This too grew out of lozenge-star systems, but the latter survive here only in the two quarter stars adjoining each other.

Its main compartment occupying a central position is a so-called pseudo-emblem, substituting the pictorial emblem. These central panels framed by rows of dentils pointing inside became perceptibly more frequent on Italian floors from the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Their use in northern Italy can be observed increasingly from the Antonine period.²⁴⁰ In the circles, the four peltas surrounding the four-petalled rosette represent a typical Italian pattern. In the north we can find it several times, viz. in Brescia on a 2nd-century mosaic, and nearer on a 3rd-century floor in Poetovio.²⁴¹

How long some patterns survived in roughly the same area is shown also by the four peltas arranged around a four-petalled rosette. This motive, hardly known anywhere else, can be found also in Aquileia, in the main section of the floor of the Fondo Tullio anonymus basilica from the 4th century. This circumstance, along with some other phenomena we have observed, makes Aquileia, or, at least the area of northeast Italy, one of the Empire's important design-creating centres in the mosaic art of the Imperial Age, one which also conveyed the motives of the Mediterranean composed here towards the north and the northeast.

Another peculiarity of the geometric field is the use of octagonal panels. These are known on Italian geometric mosaics since Pompeii, where they occur also together with the enclosed four-petalled star shape.²⁴² From Italy they also spread over to Noricum. The octagons became considerably more frequent from the Severan times.²⁴³ The row of triangles is also a typically Italian feature. There it occurred from the very beginning and then spread over also to the European provinces.²⁴⁴ We can also find it in the municipium of Aquincum as the corner decoration of the Dirce mosaic (No. 12). The composition of the mosaic under discussion as a whole shows a marked agreement with one of the later Poetovio mosaics. However, in its design the colour fields are not composed in shades as yet, but of homogeneous partial elements. Not even these small details filled with colours could be imagined before the Severan period. The work is a product of the more complex Severan geometric taste which, further developing the achievements of the Antonine period, brought a new kind of enrichment into the art of the mosaic, and at the same time it shows Roman geometric designs at the height of their maturity. The closest affinity with the mosaic discussed here is shown by the coloured geometric floor of the Roman Museo Nazionale from the beginning of the 3rd century.²⁴⁵

The all-over design of interlacing circles of the other mosaic part in the room represents a typical Italian motive, well known since the Republican times, which occurs in large numbers among the simpler designs of northern Italy.²⁴⁶ During the times this too underwent some enrichment, partly in its interior filling — the small crosses in the present case — and partly with small inserted members. The latter solution is less frequent and is characteristic of the later years of the 2nd century and even more of the 3rd century.

The coloured mosaic of the apsidal room No. 31 (Fig. 18), which still has a light general effect (No. 22), displays a system of black lines on a white ground. The multiplying designs of its framing indicate

²³⁹ *Blake III*, p. 85.

²⁴⁰ *Blake II*, p. 188; *Blake III*, p. 111.

²⁴¹ S. Jenny: *op. cit.* Pl. 8; a similar design can be seen on the above-mentioned mosaic of the Museo Civico in Brescia.

²⁴² *Scavi* 1923, p. 238–244; *Scavi* 1926, p. 220, fig. 2; *Scavi* 1942, p. 239, fig. 3; *Blake I*, p. 103, Pl. 42/4.

²⁴³ P. Gauckler: *Musivum opus*, in Ch. Dahremberg — E. Saglio: *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris 1904, p. 2112.

²⁴⁴ *Scavi*, 1913, p. 463; *Blake I*, p. 88, Pls 11/2, 42/4, 44/2.

²⁴⁵ *Blake III*, Pl. 14/3.

²⁴⁶ *Blake I*, p. 109.

the new stylistic trend of the beginning of the 3rd century.²⁴⁷ In contrast to the simple black-and-white design of the frame and the apse, the interior parts have a light and serene colour effect. These belated phenomena point back still to the increasing use of colours in the preceding Antonine period. The gradual development of the fully coloured Roman mosaic, proceeding from the inside, from the emblem, towards the borders, took nearly two centuries.²⁴⁸

The system of squares in the main field, as it can be seen frequently on more complex works, adopted the panel system of coffered ceilings.²⁴⁹ Its archetype can be found on the Teramo mosaic in Central Italy from the Augustan period.²⁵⁰ This shows already the full structure together with the central emblem, however, in accordance with the period of its making, it still uses perspectival forms of expression. Important from our point of view is the floor design of the Via dei Vigili in Ostia which, similarly to the one of Baláca, is divided into squares²⁵¹ and in its middle a space of several squares is occupied also by an ornate emblem. Besides, here too the pattern is repeated in every second square panel. The mosaic of Serravalle Scrivia with a square-panel structure was made already under the new artistic circumstances starting at the end of the 2nd century.²⁵² In the 2nd century Italy produced a series of mosaic designs with quadrature divisions. A common feature of all such designs is that the forms taken from the gradually increasing stock of mosaic patterns were arranged by the *musivarius* in the square panels in more and more diversified ways. This square-panel system is a true Italian-western invention.²⁵³ In the East more undivided space was required for the unfolding of the pictorial surfaces. In the West there are similar compositions in Gaul, also from the Severan period.²⁵⁴ A whole series of such mosaics are known in the Rhône region.²⁵⁵ Closest to the Baláca mosaic is the one at Nîmes, which agrees with the former in all important features and whose similarly framed central compartment represents the scene of the wedding of Admetus.²⁵⁶ The huge Sainte-Colombe mosaic is also of similar structure,²⁵⁷ but its outsize dimensions upset the right proportions. The Gallic mosaics, especially the one last mentioned, are less organic and sometimes overcrowded with minor elements. The Baláca mosaic is closer to the more balanced, well-organized Italian works. That this large-scale, ceiling-imitating (lacunar) structure could be brought to Pannonia must be attributed to the role of Aquileia. The mosaic design of one of the apsidal rooms of the Fondo Cal is reminiscent of the floor of room No. 31 at Baláca.

The details of the main field show agreements with Aquileian and other northeast Italian mosaics. The cross form is a less frequently occurring motive; its being filled with various colours points already towards the shading of colours. This pattern, still unknown among the earlier, classical forms, is a forerunner of those motives of later times which were close to textile designs. The other ornaments are arranged within the interior squares set on their corners, which are enclosed in every second inserted square. Among them the double pelta is known already since Pompeii.²⁵⁸ Another filling element of these squares is a silhouette-like foliate branch pattern. The separate application of a vegetal silhouette element can be seen already on the Teramo mosaic.²⁵⁹ In the 2nd century Italian mosaic art turned more and more to the decorative values of independent vegetable motives of branches and leaves, while later development proceeded exactly in the direction of the arabesque-like world of symmetrical, stylized motives. These patterns are the independent achievements of Roman decorative taste. However, the motive of the vegetable branch is not too frequent in Italy either. In Aquileia it occurs several times (Pl. XI/1).²⁶⁰ Its spreading is marked by Este,²⁶¹ Trieste²⁶² and then Emona.²⁶³ The vegetable branch pattern was used

²⁴⁷ H. Wirth—Bernards: *Versuch einer Chronologie . . . , Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde* 37 (1935) p. 195.

²⁴⁸ In Pompeii on the large mosaic of the House of Lucullus, which is from the period of style IV.

²⁴⁹ D. Levi: *Antioch mosaic pavements*, Princeton 1947, pp. 382, 396, 400, etc.; K. Parlasca: *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1959, p. 112.

²⁵⁰ *Blake I*, p. 131.

²⁵¹ *Scavi* 1912, p. 207, fig. 4.

²⁵² *Scavi* 1914, p. 120, fig. 5.

²⁵³ On the mosaics of Falerone, Gubbio, Bologna etc., *Scavi* 1898, p. 135; *Scavi* 1925, p. 127–132; *Blake II*, pp. 100, 195, Pl. 19/4; *Blake III*, p. 100, Pls 14/2, 20/6.

²⁵⁴ G. Lafaye—A. Blanchet: *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*. Vol. I. Gaule, Paris 1909. On a mosaic in Orange, No. 113.

²⁵⁵ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* 88, Pl. 85/2.

²⁵⁶ P. Gauckler: *op. cit.* 2111, fig. 5248.

²⁵⁷ G. Lafaye—A. Blanchet: *op. cit.* I. Nr. 198.

²⁵⁸ In Pompeii, on the mosaics of the Casa di Orfeo; A. Kaiser—H. Hermann: *Herculanum und Pompeji*, Hamburg 1841, fig. 19; *Blake I*, pp. 102, 104, Pls 30/4, 36/3.

²⁵⁹ *Blake I*, p. 135.

²⁶⁰ *Blake II*, pp. 192, 202, Pl. 22/1; G. Brusin: *Nuovi Mosaici di Aquileia, Aquileia Nostra* 19–20 (1941) pp. 27–30, fig. 8a.

²⁶¹ *Blake II*, p. 103, Pl. 20/1.

²⁶² *Blake II*, p. 110, Pl. 19/1.

²⁶³ W. Schmid: *Emona, Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 7 (1913) p. 95, fig. 21.

also on the Savaria capitolum mosaic (No. 26).²⁶⁴ The third decorative element of the diagonally placed squares is the fourfold heart-pattern with points facing each other. This does not belong to the classical decorative heritage, and made its appearance on the soil of Italy. In Pompeii it is known from the 1st century A.D., and it can be observed regularly also in the 2nd century (Tivoli, Ancona, Bologna).²⁶⁵ Spreading over to Gaul and Germania²⁶⁶ it became a decorative element of the western provinces. Small, curvilinear, stylized vegetal forms (tulip shapes, hearts, flowers grouped in fours) were definitely popular in Gaul. Nearer to Pannonia it is known in Poetovio.²⁶⁷

The main field is connected with the apse by a black-lined arabesque stripe. The longitudinally twice repeated volute scroll decoration originates still from the Hellenistic stock. The arabesques of the Insula Occidentalis in Pompeii are rooted in the Augustan decorative taste which had Greek antecedents.²⁶⁸ They also spread over to Italian stucco art.²⁶⁹ These were further developed by the fine classicistic stylizations of the Hadrianic and early Antonine period. On a large, typically Antonine mosaic (in the Vatican) from Ostia the details of this character are in a complete agreement with the Baláca patterns.²⁷⁰ In the Severan period we can mention it only as a survival. This pattern reappears on the large mosaic of room No. 20 of the villa (No. 23) in an almost identical form.

The ivy leaves spreading out from the *cantharus* of the apse of the mosaic are entirely identical with the leaves of the frame of the mosaic from room No. 8 (No. 20) and the leaves of the *cantharus* in room No. 20 (No. 23). The light, sparsely arranged pattern of the apse differs from the more compact structure of the main field and similarly to the framing, it is less colourful. The extremely tapering base of the *cantharus* with red shading and the rigid leaf growing out above show the separation of the new style from the classical style. The same leaf form in the shape of the above-mentioned stylized branch is known to us also from Emona,²⁷¹ in fact as the fusion of the two elements.

The twofold guilloche frame of the emblem consists of claret-yellow tints and white colour, with green claret and white pink stripes more to the inside. Known in Europe since prehistoric times, this motive was used in metal, and then in stucco and other crafts and was widely applied also to the framing of *emblemata*. In the Imperial Age it was frequently used as the pronounced frame of important central pictures. In fact it is a row of opposite heart, forms its colouring from the Severan period onwards is more shaded and fuller.²⁷²

The pair of birds in the central emblem was a rather popular theme in the world of ancient mosaics. Behind the Baláca and the other similar bird representations there stood a Hellenistic genre painting. This popular archetype which will probably never be known of its variants, must have come into being at the end of the Greek classical age or perhaps at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Hellenistic genre paintings were popular in Rome since the end of the Republican period.²⁷³ The early appearance of the bird scene discussed here can be observed on the Pergamum mosaic with a pair of birds and following it, on the Capitolum mosaic.²⁷⁴ In the latter instance the Hellenistic theme came to the surface through the Greek eclecticism of the Hadrianic period.²⁷⁵ These Greek subjects were adopted by the early times almost unchanged, so that works of this character were preserved by Roman art almost in their original form.²⁷⁶ The many small mosaic *emblemata* representing pairs of birds in vegetable surroundings, brought into the Vatican collection from the Villa Hadriana and Ostia, point to a Hellenistic origin. But besides mosaic relics, we know a whole series of wall-paintings with similar themes from the towns of the Vesuvius region,

²⁶⁴ L. Nagy: *A savariai capitolumon 1791-ben talált mozaikpadló* (The mosaic pavement found at the Savaria capitolum in 1971), Szombathely 1927, p. 102.

²⁶⁵ E. Brizio: IV. Bologna, *Scavi* 1898, p. 135; *Monuments Piot* 21 (1913) p. 91, figs 1-2; P. Marconi—L. Serra: *Il Museo Nazionale delle Marche in Ancona*, Rome, s.a., p. 36.

²⁶⁶ G. Lafaye—A. Blanchet: *op. cit.* I. nr. 217; R.P. Hinks: *Catalogue of the Roman Mosaics in the British Museum*, London 1933, p. 116, fig. 130.

²⁶⁷ S. Jenny: *Poetovio*, Wien 1896, Pl. 8.

²⁶⁸ A. Kaiser—H. Hermann: *Herculaneum und Pompeii*, Hamburg 1841, figs 13, 15; In Pompeii in the Casa di Buennario this motive can be seen already as a threshold from the period of style III.

²⁶⁹ The stucco ornaments on the façade of the Isis temple in Pompeii, between 63 and 79 A.D.

²⁷⁰ B. Nogara: *I mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, Milan 1910, Pls 69 and 70; *Blake II*, p. 125, Pl. 26/1; G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*, Vol. IV. Rome 1961, p. 296, Pl. 69.

²⁷¹ W. Schmid: *op. cit.* 94-95. fig. 21.

²⁷² Ákos Kiss: The mosaic pavements of the Roman Villa at Baláca, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 11 (1959) pp. 213-215.

²⁷³ Vitruvius: 6, 7, 4. p. 150, 15.

²⁷⁴ E. Pfuhl: *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Vol. II, München 1923, p. 862; W. Otto—R. Herbig: *Handbuch der Archäologie. Malerei und Zeichnung*, München 1953, p. 166, Pl. 56/2.

²⁷⁵ E. Pernice: *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, Berlin 1938, Pl. 1/2.

²⁷⁶ B. Pace: *I mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, Rome 1955, p. 106.

some at their original site, viz. at the house of the Vettii, and others — wall-paintings in 3rd and 4th Pompeian styles in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. Pointing in the direction of still-lives, genre works were rather more characteristic of these periods of Hellenistic and also Roman art which veered off from the classical ideals and tended towards a looser "anticlassicism". At times like the Flavian or the Severan periods these themes were while in others they were less popular.²⁷⁷ It was also in the Flavian period that these themes spread over to more remote areas of the Empire.²⁷⁸ It is characteristic of their later frequency that they can be found even among the very few wall-paintings of the post-Pompeian times, thus on the wall of the Clodius Hermes grave of the S. Sebastianus catacomb.²⁷⁹ In the Severan times, in a definitely Italian conception, the pair of birds appears already on a Cologne mosaic.²⁸⁰

On the Baláca emblem there is already hardly any reference to space which is entirely neutral, only the ground is marked by a somewhat darker patch. The picture was conceived in an Italian manner, and it is there that its parallels can be found. On the nine-emblem mosaic which was brought from the Villa Hadriana to the Quirinal all the pictures are such bird scenes.²⁸¹ The nearest Italian analogue so far has been found on mosaic at Ostia (Palazzo Imperiale).²⁸² On this the two birds stand opposite to each other on the rim of a flower-basket. However, its execution is much inferior to the Baláca emblem, and its laying is also more uncertain. Considering the technique and style of the Baláca bird picture it is virtually certain that not only the model book or cartoon serving as its prototype was Italian, but also its maker, a travelling artist, had come from there. The work reaches the level of the finest Italian mosaics of the period.

On the mosaic (No. 23) of room No. 20 (Pls XI, XII/2–3), the tablinum of the villa, whose advanced style differs in its main features from those in the other three rooms, the rich, warmly shaded, many-fold guilloche frame itself already indicates a later period. The exceptional interior frame which is interwoven with a band also enhances with its plasticity the earnest, solemn effect of the work. It is characteristic that this rare, hardly appraised form decoration of Italian origin can also be found in the vicinity of Aquileia.²⁸³ It is a product still of Hellenism and served as a fine and moderate frame for both paintings and mosaics. It appears already on a mosaic of the Villa de Misteri which is related to the second style. Similar is the frame of the large *opus sectile* floor in the Capo di Monte palace at Naples, which originates from Capri, from the

period of Trajan. These plastic framing forms can be observed again from the Severan period onwards.²⁸⁴

The structure of the main field shows the Italian lozenge star system in an enriched and loosening state. Observable since the Antonine period, this process inserted panels of different sizes and forms in place of the originally equal squares enclosed between stars. In the course of the 2nd century these were filled with diversifying partial elements. The fact that in the 2nd century the main line of the development was in Italy is shown also by the circumstance that in Syria and Asia Minor (Ephesus) traditional lozenge systems were still produced in the 3rd century.²⁸⁵ The main feature of the large mosaic at Baláca is that among the variegated inserted panels the larger ones took the role of pseudo-*emblemata* and with their alternating filling they brighten the basic lozenge system. Thus the rhythmic insertion of these smaller and larger squares and circles brought about a new system. Lozenge patterns occur in considerable numbers also in northern Italy and in the intermediate areas towards Pannonia²⁸⁶ (Emona, Carnuntum). Such are the mosaic of the Aquincum Mithraeum (No. 11) and the mosaic of room No. 10 of the Baláca villa (No. 21). In the development of this system a significant phase is represented by the magnificent mosaic of the Palazzo Imperiale at Ostia, originating from the end of the Antonine period,²⁸⁷ whose design abounds in geometric *emblemata*. The small-patterned, homogeneous fillings of this and other similar mosaics set the trend also for one of the main

²⁷⁷ S. Reinach: *Répertoire des Peintures Grecques et Romaines*, Paris 1922, fig. 368.

²⁷⁸ S. Aurigemma: *L'Italia in Africa*. I. I. Rome 1960, Pl. 100; D. Levi: *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 590, Pls 2/b–c, 178. The bird scene of the mosaics in Antioch in the House of Polyphemus.

²⁷⁹ P. Marconi: *La pittura dei romani*, Rome 1929, fig. 141; P. Ducati: *Die italo-hellenistische und römische Malerei*, Wien 1941, Pl. 117.

²⁸⁰ F. Fremersdorf: Das neugefundene Kölner Dionysos-Mosaik, *Germania* 25 (1941) p. 61, Pl. 62; K. Parlasca: *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1959, p. 77, Pl. 77.

²⁸¹ B. Nogara: *I mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano*, Milan 1910, p. 19, figs. 8, 9, Pl. 76; *Blake II*, p. 175, Pl. 41/1.

²⁸² B. Nogara: *op. cit.* Pl. 68; G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei. IV.*, Rome 1961, p. 315, Pl. 102. He dates it to 150 A.D.

²⁸³ G. Brusin: *Aquileia e Grado*, Padova 1956, p. 145

²⁸⁴ K. Parlasca: Doro Levi, "Antioch Mosaic Pavements" (a review) *Gnomon* 26 (1954) pp. 111–114.

²⁸⁵ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 30, Pl. 101/a–b; F. Miltner: *Ephesos*, Wien 1958, p. 85.

²⁸⁶ *Blake II*, p. 105, Pl. 22/1.

²⁸⁷ *Blake II*, p. 125, Pl. 26/1.

groups of Gallic mosaics. On the Ostia mosaic, however, in place of the disintegrating intermediate lozenge star network we find oblongs filled with arabesques like those to be observed on mosaics No. 22 and No. 23 at Baláca. Another example indicating this development is the mosaic of the Vigna Brancadoro, kept in the Vatican.²⁸⁸ The lozenges of its disintegrating star system are filled with small interior fields which are darker but still not homogeneously shaded. Concerning the floors of Ostia, recently systematically analyzed, we can find that the disintegration of these systems was continuous there since the Antonine period.²⁸⁹ The darker interior parts can be regarded as fore-runners of the shading. This structure became very frequent also in Germania, as can be seen on the Pionius mosaic at Trier and on a mosaic at Westenhofen.²⁹⁰ However, we cannot establish any closer relationship between the Westenhofen and the Baláca mosaics.²⁹¹

An interesting feature of the mosaic discussed here is the colouring of the individual small sections divided up by deep and warm yellowish-red tints. This solution, a very remarkable phenomenon in respect of the decorative arts of the late period is a step forward in the direction of shading and through it, towards the rainbow style.²⁹² It determines the colour effect of the whole work. The lozenges and square contain four small interior colour fields each of which are not separated by dividing lines. These full, deeply shaded darkening tones are among the main characteristics of mosaic art in the Severan period and show that, as opposed to the other mosaics of the villa (Nos 20–22), this floor is at the head of the artistic development of the age, while the others, with their harder, black lined and light, homogeneous structures point back still to the 2nd century. Darkening, slightly shaded lozenge shapes from this period can be found in Antioch.²⁹³ Also according to some recent views this warm, reddish-yellow tonality points to the new style which set in by the end of the 2nd century.²⁹⁴ However, we should keep in mind that these warm, reddish colours were characteristic features already of Greek paintings, and then they became the main tints used also on the painting-like mosaics of Hellenism.

Another peculiarity of this mosaic is its perspective geometry. The tendency towards plastic effects characteristic of the early times (Pompeii, Teramo) became again prominent in the new style of the Severan period.²⁹⁵ On the mosaic of room No. 20 we can see forms which appear sunken as well as ones which seem to project. Similar relics in Antioch show how far the influence of Italian art trends extended even in this period.²⁹⁶ Such

elements can be found, however, also on the floor of the Roman villa in Eleusis, to be dated in our opinion to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.²⁹⁷ The latter is especially close to the large mosaic at Baláca, but here the lozenge system appears still in its complete form, not yet disintegrating. Most of the filling elements are identical (guilloches, perspective cubes, etc.). This suggests a unity in imperial art in this period, or at least the diffusion of some of its main features over large areas. Among the filling elements of the inserted fields the many-petalled rosettes known since Pompeii²⁹⁸ stand out by the new shaded way in which they are coloured. The guilloche systems of the squares, spreading out in space, are typically Italian. These can be observed from the 2nd century onwards. To the other European provinces they spread more slowly, for instance they reached Germania only in the later decades of the 3rd century.

O. Wulff thought that the filling of the lozenge designs with shaded colouring and the similarly shaded polychrome guilloche systems — in fact the so-called rainbow style — originates from Syrian book illustrations. His assumption, supported by him also with examples from the Vienna Dioscurides codex, can be regarded as fully outdated, on account of the very early and widespread appearance of the rainbow style in mosaic art.^{298a}

The four times broken interior guilloche frame of the emblem can be found on Italian mosaics from the 2nd century (Prima Porta) but also on Coptic textiles.²⁹⁹ These motives too developed in the earlier Italian decorative art. The destroyed parrot figure of the picture field reappears on the small emblem of the apse. This theme is a Hellenistic survival whose early example may be the Pergamum parrot. It can be found on several mosaics

²⁸⁸ Blake II, pp. 119–120, 180–181, Pl. 25/4.

²⁸⁹ G. Becatti: *op. cit.* p. 132, Pl. 26.

²⁹⁰ K. Parlasca: *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1959, pp. 44–46, 123, Pl. 42/2.

²⁹¹ Ákos Kiss: *Mosaïques de Pannonie, La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, Paris 1965, pp. 297–302.

²⁹² K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 378.

²⁹³ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 101/a—b.

²⁹⁴ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 113.

²⁹⁵ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 396; K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* 121.

²⁹⁶ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 35/b.

²⁹⁷ E. P. Blegen: *News Items from Athens*, AJA 41 (1937) figs 9–10.

²⁹⁸ Blake I, pp. 76, 81, Pl. 20/4.

^{298a} O. Wulff: *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Vol. I, Potsdam 1936, pp. 290–291, fig. 273.

²⁹⁹ O. von Falke: *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913, fig. 21; Blake II, p. 193, Pls 18/2, 25/3; D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 101.

of Italy, thus also in the towns of the Vesuvian region.³⁰⁰ The parrot was a popular motive also in Aquileia, and it occurs even as late as on the mosaic of the crypt beside the Theodorus basilica, which originates from the time of the Tetrarchy.

The huge astragal member of the apse is a comparatively rare motive in the world of mosaics and it is known also from oriental areas. Its appearance in the Villa Hadriana shows that this design too was used on Italian mosaics already in early times. It appears on the Deianeira mosaic at Aquincum (No. 15) and then on the pavement of the Savarian basilica (No. 27). In the East it is known from Alexandria, Pergamum, Delos, Epidaurus and Olympia.³⁰¹ The curvilinear triangles of the apse, made up of multiply interlacing arcs are another achievement of Italian art (seen in Pompeii from the Augustan period). Fields filled in the same way occur as floors of apses both in semicircular and circular forms. The sober art of northern Italy was especially favourable for the spreading of this motive, as can be seen on mostly 1st-century mosaics at Piacenza, Forum Iulii, Cividale, Aquileia and Trieste and on a 3rd-

century one in Milan.³⁰² This was the way it came to Pannonia too. The Emona pavement is already the product of the Constantine period.³⁰³ The mosaic in room No. 20 has more shades of colour than the other three. It displays nine shades altogether, viz. greens, reds, clarets and several lines of yellow.

Created at an early date and in a remote region (Fig. 15), this mosaic is one of the most mature examples in the whole Empire of the new style of the Severan period, the art trend appearing in the second half of the 2nd century; no counterpart of it is known as yet even in Italy. Although it differs from the other mosaics of the villa in its main features, it still shows a remarkable affinity with them in certain details, like the cantharus with ivy scrolls, the leaf forms and the small arabesque section. Therefore we have no reason to doubt that the four mosaics were made at the same time, during the rebuilding of the villa after the war of Marcus Aurelius, at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. L. Nagy dated the wall-paintings of the second period of the villa to the years 180 through 210.³⁰⁴ The decoration of the villa with mosaics can be put to the same time.

3. SAVARIA

We have touched upon the question of the design of the geometric mosaic (No. 24) (Pl. XIII/1) in the Savaria Museum when discussing the apse of floor No. 23 at Baláca (room No. 20). This motive consisting of rows of triangles formed by interlacing circles was known in Italy in the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century still in black-and-white. With the increasing use of colour in the Antonine period it became widespread also on polychrome limestone-dolomite mosaics. Highly popular in Europe it appeared in northeast Italy (Imola, Cividale) also at an early time.³⁰⁵ In Gaul too it is most frequent in Narbonnensis which was exposed already early to Italian influences. In Italy its centre is frequently filled instead of simple rosettes with figural representations, with Gorgon-heads, etc. In the Roman villa in Corinth this motive is filled in with similar shades.³⁰⁶

On the basis of the shaded colouring and wide scale of colours of its details this Savarian mosaic can be dated to the beginning of the 3rd century.

The hexagonal pattern of the mosaic from Köztársaság Square 14–16 (No. 25) (Pl. XII/2–3) also originates from Italy. In Ostia similar mosaics are known already from the Republican period.³⁰⁷ The early floors, however, are blank, unfilled. I regard it as one of the oldest Italian floor patterns; in a simple form it occurs already in the 2nd century

B.C.³⁰⁸ The similar floor of Alba Fucens is also very early.³⁰⁹ On the similar mosaic in Rhaetia — from the middle of the 2nd century A.D. — similarly to the Savarian mosaic, we find a hexagonal system with small patterns.³¹⁰

³⁰⁰ Rome, Museo Nazionale. The Nilotic mosaic from the Severan period originating from the Aventine House.

³⁰¹ E. Pernice: *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, Berlin 1938, p. 86, Pl. 38/5.

³⁰² *Scavi* 1923, pp. 316–317; *Scavi* 1948, pp. 10–11, 13, figs 6–7; *Blake I*, p. 116, Pls 4, 38/1; U. Tarchi: *L'Arte Etrusco-Romana nell'Umbria e nella Sabina*, Milano s.a., Pl. 251.

³⁰³ W. Schmid: Emona, *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* 7 (1913), p. 133, fig. 49.

³⁰⁴ L. von Nagy: Die römisch-pannonische dekorative Malerei, *RM* 41 (1926) pp. 96–97.

³⁰⁵ *Blake I*, Pl. 38/1–4; Ákos Kiss: The mosaic pavements of the Roman villa at Baláca, *Acta Arch. Hung.* 11 (1959) pp. 232–233, fig. 44.

³⁰⁶ W. Wrede: Archäologische Funde des Jahres 1925, *AA* 41 (1926) p. 410, fig. 5. The mosaic which could originate at the earliest from the 2nd century is dated by him erroneously to about 50 A.D.

³⁰⁷ G. Becatti: *Scavi di Ostia. Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei*. IV. Rome 1961, Pls 5/27, 21/226.

³⁰⁸ *Blake I*, pp. 108–109, Pls 26/4, 27/2, 32/1, 37/7; E. Pernice: *op. cit.* p. 135.

³⁰⁹ *Fasti Archeologici* 10 (1957) fig. 106.

³¹⁰ V. von Gonzenbach: *Die römischen Mosaiken der Schweiz*, Basel 1961, Pl. 8.

Regarding the age of this mosaic we can get a clue from its filled compartments. In contrast to its traditional network system which points to earlier times, on some of its motives we can already observe the signs of shading. Its complex stars resembling textile patterns also indicate the very beginning of the Severan period.

The framing of the mosaic of the Savaria capitolium (No. 26) shows the new style which set in during the 3rd century. The multiplying, broad frame with its loose patterns too points to the Severan period in itself. From its motives the row of leaves is known to us already from the Aquincum marine mosaic (No. 10). The tripartite division of the main field was quite popular in Italy in the 1st century A.D. (Pompeii).³¹¹ It reached the Transalpine regions in the 2nd century but it can be found also in Africa (Zliten).³¹² Although this mosaic composition has been known so far rather from the Rhône group of Gaul from the 2nd and 3rd centuries (rather the 3rd in our opinion)³¹³ the Italian origin of the three section structure is doubtless. In mosaic No. 26 it is interesting to observe the enrichment of the earlier black-and-white geometric structure in the Severan period, and the way in which the stock of mosaic motives increased with the use of vegetal and figural elements.

The less frequently occurring scale motive is one of the earliest among the Italian geometric patterns. It is known also in *opus signinum* form. The floor of the capitolium shows the modification of the new style manifesting itself in powerful, expressive spot effects. The hexagonal network of the central part resembles the hexagons of mosaic No. 25. According to L. Nagy the vegetal element, the fern of the circular emblem, is of a Dionysiac character which refers perhaps to the thyrsus. That means that the group of stylized branches of Baláca–Emona–Trieste–Aquileia could be interpreted in the same way. A. Alföldi, on the other hand, thought to discover the symbol of the Scorpion of the Zodiac in the pattern which is hard to identify on the basis of the drawing.³¹⁴ The dolphins and the sea-monsters can also be brought into connection with the sea adventure of Dionysus. No direct Dionysiac meaning was assumed to lie behind the usual motives of the Imperial Age by L. Nagy either, and he too took notice of the random selection. This was explained by him with the capriciousness of the *musivarius* who adopted designs at random even from the fields of other crafts. Thus for example marble *oscillae*, these early Italian relics, could serve as antecedents for the small circular dolphin *emblemata*. The genius symbols of the four seasons in the hexagons

of the central part were widespread. The absence of the fourth dolphin emblem points to the later repair of a defect.

The relative calmness of the designs induced L. Nagy earlier to date this relic to the middle of the 2nd century.³¹⁵ The more advanced research methods of recent times make it possible, by collating the features of its geometry with the Italian relics, and also on the basis of other information, to date this mosaic definitely to the 3rd century. A date earlier than the beginning of that century is contradicted also by its several small, enframed pictorial panels. The surviving Italian black-and-white geometry — in contrast to the Gallo-Germanic mosaic structures which are composed of a multitude of minute partial elements — brought about a simple, clearer, Italianate style which one could call Danubian. It is possible that the mosaic discussed here reflects already the relative tranquility of the “post-Severan” period following the Severan times. In this case it could be dated to the period between 230 and 240. The style known as the “Severan Baroque” did not last till the end of the period from which it gained its name. Already in the late part of the period a new calmness can be observed. On the basis of its multiple but unified frames, K. Parlasca dates the work to the second third of the 3rd century,³¹⁶ but on account of the historical events taking place around 240 this dating can be narrowed down to the preceding decade.

The perspective cubes on the large mosaic of the Savaria basilica (No. 27) (Pls XIV, XV, XVI/1) came into use again with the Severan times and are among the plastic elements applied from the on. The colourful, bright, red, yellow and greenish scrolls of the huge acanthus border running on a whitish ground are among the finest and most developed relics of their kind in the mosaic art of Antiquity. Belonging also to the plastically inclined frames, this motive

³¹¹ W. Spinazzola: *Le Arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale de Napoli*, Milano–Roma, 1928, Pl. 176.

³¹² K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 122.

³¹³ S. Lafaye–A. Blanchet: *Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule et de l’Afrique*, Vol. I, Paris 1909, p. 199; H. Stern: *Recueil générale des Mosaïques de la Gaule*, Vol. I Paris 1957, p. 73, Pl. 39/109.

³¹⁴ A. Alföldi: *Pannónia rómaiságának kialakulása*. (The evolution of the Roman character of Pannonia), *Századok* 70 (1936) p. 139.

³¹⁵ L. Nagy: *A savariai capitoliumon 1791-ben talált mozaikpadló* (The mosaic pavement found in 1791 at the Savaria capitolium), Szombathely 1927.

³¹⁶ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 123, note 9.

appears after the early times, viz. Pompeii³¹⁷ and then the Flavian–Trajanic period (the Atrium House in Antioch),³¹⁸ in the Severan period.³¹⁹ It seems that the complicated, highly artistic designs of the acanthus scrolls, which required a high degree of craftsmanship, were more popular in the “beautiful” periods. From among the periods of the late Imperial-age art, finely shaped acanthus scrolls appeared again in the Constantine period which followed the rugged style of the Tetrarchy.³²⁰ Especially characteristic of the art of the age are the magnificent acanthus scrolls of the Constantinian villa at Antioch arising colourfully from the dark base (Pl. XVI/4).³²¹ Among numerous relics of similar character from this age, the most significant are the Bethlehem Nativity³²² and several African mosaics, thus for example a month representation from Carthago and a Tunisian relic (in the British Museum).³²³ In these late times, in the more important places of the Empire, where the conditions of a high-level art were still existing, these broad acanthus borders became rather autotelic too. An example for this is also the mosaic floor of the Constantinople imperial palace, from the first half of the 5th century. The large acanthus scroll in Savaria thus belongs to a very distinguished group of motives, reappearing vigorously from the beginning of the 4th century, and to be found in the late period in several places, especially in more important centres. The mosaics of the 4th-century basilicas in Aquileia which played such an important mediating role in conveying the art of Italy are lightly important from the viewpoint of the appraisal of the Savaria acanthus frame but also of the whole work. The idea was raised several times that a marked analogy exists between the acanthus designs of the early 4th-century Theodorus basilica at Aquileia and the Savaria cultic place (Pl. XVI/2).³²⁴ However reasonable the assumption that this emporium, important also in this age, may have had an inspiratory role also in this case, and however strong the relationship between the mosaics of the Savaria and Aquileia basilicas, no such close ties can be established in respect of the acanthus frames.³²⁵ In fact, the acanthus frames of Aquileia are more advanced and show more abstract forms; according to C. Cecchelli they reach the final stage of refinement.³²⁶ The Savarian work must have been made in the second quarter of the 4th century. That it had its antecedents in Aquileia can be taken for certain, but no direct models are known so far from there. Their late origin is shown only by the marked way in which the scrolls coil backwards. This phenomenon already heralds the subsequent trends of late Roman art³²⁷ in which the acanthus scrolls took a greater and greater

role, in fact right till the time when this branch of art ceased to exist.

All things considered, the Savarian acanthus composition with its full, yet delicate, shaded colours and its flexible plasticity still in its full vigour, belongs to those works which conveyed the traditions of earlier times towards the more and more autonomous mosaic culture of the late centuries.

The arched shapes of the interior design with the intermediate circles are based on earlier Italian antecedents and, according to K. Parlasca, they imitate ceilings.³²⁸ The earliest known design of this character originates from the Villa Hadriana.³²⁹ This motive was regarded by M. E. Blake as a 2nd-century achievement of Italian mosaic art.³³⁰ The design appears on a Cremona mosaic (Pl. XVI/3) from the middle of the 2nd century indeed already in its fullness.³³¹ Thus, the more and more complicated and colourful Italian geometry of the Antonine period is the artistic source from which, about one and a half centuries later, also the Savaria work sprang. In the city of Rome from the Antiquarium, and farther to the north from Bologna

³¹⁷ Blake I, p. 96, Pl. 19/2; D. Levi: *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton 1947, p. 492, figs 179–180, 222; W. Spinazzola: *op. cit.* Pls 21/b, 22 (especially the beautiful stone frame decorated with scrolls of the Pompeii Eumachia.)

³¹⁸ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pls 1/b, 2/a. (The piece of the Antiquarium in the city of Rome.)

³¹⁹ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 497, Pl. 20/a.

³²⁰ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pls 66, 67/a–b.

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palatine 5* (1935/36) Pls 38 to 44.

³²³ R. P. Hinks: *Catalogue of the Roman Mosaics in the British Museum*, London 1933, p. 90–, Pls 98–105/29; *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Vol. II. Rome 1959, p. 367, fig. 539.

³²⁴ I. Paulovics: *Savaria-Szombathely topográfiaja* (The topography of Savaria-Szombathely), Szombathely 1943, p. 37–; Z. Kádár: *Savaria*, Budapest 1958, pp. 39–40; Z. Kádár–T. A. Horváth–Gy. Géfin: *Szombathely*, Budapest 1961, pp. 80–82, figs 74–75.

³²⁵ M. M. Roberti: *Considerazione sulle Aule Teodoriane di Aquileia*, *Studi Aquileiesi* 1953, p. 226, fig. 7; *Aquileia Nostra* 29 (1958) pp. 87–90, figs 1–2.

³²⁶ G. Cecchelli: *Gli edifici e i mosaici palaeocristiani nella Zona della Basilica. La Basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna 1933, Pls 26/2, 28; D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 499, fig. 183.

³²⁷ F. Wickhoff: *Römische Kunst*, Berlin 1912, pp. 60–64.

³²⁸ L. Foucher: *Une Mosaïque de Triclinium trouvée a Thysdrus*, *Latomus* 20 (1961) Pl. 11; K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 122.

³²⁹ *Enciclopedia italiana dell'Arte Antica* Vol. I. Rome 1958, fig. 115.

³³⁰ Blake II, p. 199, Pl. 19/2.

³³¹ Blake II, p. 128, Pl. 30/1. In the Museum of Cremona.

and Brescia, we know a whole series of similar works from the 2nd century.³³² But the fine and colourful Acholla design also originates from the century. From this time onwards, it survived throughout the Severan period, but then it occurred already also in Gaul³³³ and Germania, here on the Bacchus mosaic at Trier from the second quarter of the 3rd century.³³⁴ In Italy (Ostia) it is known also from the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries.³³⁵

Certain pavements of the Theodorus basilica in Aquileia are close to this design (Pl. XVI/2). These, however, reproduce the pattern in a simple, abstracting way, only with systems of thinnish lines.³³⁶ The figural elements are arranged in these compartments. The Savaria mosaic, on the other hand, reflects rather the north-central Italian geometry of earlier times; its unfolding elements fill the space still with colourful, manyfold shading reminiscent of the 3rd century. Everywhere in the intermediate sections astragal rows are running. Guilloches between the small sections can be seen already on the Bologna mosaic. This, hitherto unusual application of the astragal part is a newer development and an achievement of the Constantine period. Later it occurs also elsewhere, thus on the floors of the Theodorus basilica in Aquileia and then on the vault mosaics of the church of Santa Constanza in Rome.³³⁷ The fillings of the two-centuries-old design also remained largely unchanged. In spite of the lapse of time, there are definite similarities between the Cremona and the Savaria patterns. It became very popular also in the African and oriental provinces as from the 4th century. Besides Antioch, we can find nearly identical designs in Africa — however with more powerful African colours — viz. on the mosaics of the House of Months from Thysdrus³³⁸ and especially on those Hadj Ferjani Kacem³³⁹ from the time of the Tetrarchy. These phenomena convincingly show the sharing of motives, to be observed as from the 4th century, between distant territories which were linked together by their accessibility by sea even in these hard times.

On the Savaria mosaics the basket (Pl. XVI/1) and fish representations are of special importance. Either without a specific meaning or within the symbolics of the seasons, the basket appears already in the 3rd century and in a few cases even earlier.³⁴⁰ On the wall-painting of the Lucina crypt, from a long before the Constantine period, the basket can be seen in a somewhat broadening form with the loaves of bread (together with fish and wine bottle)³⁴¹ already with a definite symbolic meaning. The similar representations on the four-protome mosaic of the Vatican collection, originating probably from the Villa Hadriana, show the fruit-basket already

at the beginning of the 2nd century. It was adopted by the mosaic art of the Imperial Age as a detail of Hellenistic genre works. From the 4th century onwards, the curvilinear, bulging basket has a definite symbolic content. We can see it in this way on the wall mosaic of the S. Maria Maggiore, on the picture representing the sacrifice of Melchizedek and in several other cases. From Africa we can mention the basket-bread representation of El-Tabga from the 4th century.³⁴² The 4th-century art of Pannonia contributed the sarcophagus of Szekszárd to the series of these relics. Several basket-bread representations of this kind appear also on the floor mosaics of Aquileia.³⁴³ On these

³³² Blake II, p. 101, Pls 19/2, 29/1; Scavi 1921, pp. 23–24 fig. 13.

³³³ H. Stern: *op. cit.* I/1, Pl. 21/75a.

³³⁴ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* pp. 40–41, Pl. 40.

³³⁵ G. Becatti: *op. cit.* No. 418, Pl. 61 (from the building of the Augustales); this was earlier thought to be from the 2nd century, thus R. Calza – E. Nash: *Ostia*, Florence s.a., fig. 130.

³³⁶ G. Brusin: *Aquileia*, s.a., pp. 306–308, figs 233–256; A. Gnirs: *Zur Frage der christlichen Kultanglagen . . .*, *JÖAI* 19–20 (1919), Beiblatt 191; G. Cecchelli: *op. cit.* Pl. 16/1–2. We must note that some authors see differences of time up to a century between the floors of the Theodorus basilica. Thus G. Brusin and P. L. Zovatto (*Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado*, Udine 1957, p. 64, figs 25–26) dated to the period between 300 to 320, while the other mosaics are dated to the end of the 4th century; G. Bovini (Osservazione sul fronte del "Palatino" di Teodorico figurato nel mosaico di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna, *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger*, Vol. I, Wien s.a., fig. 3) dated it after the year 313; according to H. Kähler it can be dated to 326 (*Die Stiftermosaik in der konstantinischen Siedkirche von Aquileia*, Köln 1962 p. 8.)

³³⁷ J. Wilpert: *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien, der kirchlichen Bauten von IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg 1916, II. p. 737, Pl. 6; G. Brusin: Il posto dell'altare in chiese palaeocristiane del Veneto e del Norico, *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger*, Vol. I, Klagenfurt 1952 p. 212–.

³³⁸ L. Foucher: Une mosaïque de Triclinium trouvée à Thysdrus, *Latomus* 20 (1961) Pl. 28/1.

³³⁹ *Op. cit.* Pl. 37/2.

³⁴⁰ P. Calza – E. Nash: *op. cit.* fig. 47; Blake III, p. 100, Pl. 20/6; A. Carandini: *Ricerche sullo stile e la cronologia dei Mosaici della Villa di Piazza Armerina*, Roma 1964, Pl. 32/2; B. Pace: *I Mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, Rome 1955, fig. 35.

³⁴¹ J. Wilpert: *op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 3, Pls 8, 27, 28; L. Nagy: *Pannonia Sacra, Szent István emlékkönyv* (Saint Stephen memorial book), Budapest 1938, figs 14–16; Z. Kádár: *Pannónia ókeresztény emlékeinek ikonográfiája* (The iconography of early Christian monuments in Pannónia), Budapest 1939, p. 45.

³⁴² Z. Kádár: *op. cit.*

³⁴³ G. Cecchelli: *Gli edifici e i mosaici palaeocristiani nella zona della Basilica. La Basilica di Aquileia*, Bologna 1933, Pl. 39.

mosaics we can discover several similar details among the small pictures arranged in the small compartments. Their meanings convince us of the cultic content of the Savaria representations. The meaning of the other early Christian symbol, the two fish facing each other, is all too well known.³⁴⁴ Tertullian and Ambrose write about the role of the fish,³⁴⁵ initially a symbol of Christ, which later began to signify rather the flock of the believers. The number of these fish representations increased in the early Christian era.³⁴⁶ Their symbolic meaning is sometimes explained also by the inscription $\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$. We know of a tombstone also from Pannonia (Környe) on which two fish facing each other are represented. This duality points already to the believers and shows the originally heathen-cultic features of the antithetical bird and animal figures used already in preceding times as aesthetic elements.³⁴⁷ The cultic meaning is proved by the representations of early Christianity, thus for example in Ravenna and Parenzo. The inscribed fish representations of Africa (Bardo) do not leave any doubt about their contents.³⁴⁸ The large-scale symbol systems of the Theodorus basilica in Aquileia contain such fish representations both in the numerous variants of the compartments of the ornamental system and in the pictorially composed fields showing fishing-scenes. However, on the strength of our knowledge of the stock of motives of the Imperial Age, we can be fairly certain that the fish representations were not only decorations without meaning. The use of such figures as mere decorative element is unknown in the mosaic art of Antiquity.

In one considerably damaged circular emblem of the interior field the birds picking from a basket are also early Christian symbols. Here we can also find the motive of the bread.

It may be far-reaching to attribute some kind of symbolic meaning also to the apple-like fruits of the acanthuses in the border decoration, although there are examples for the use of such motives as symbols. The features of the spiral, rosette-shaped element seen in one of the circles close to the acanthus frame would in themselves not be convincing enough to prove its being a bread symbol, if a similar schematized representation on the wall mosaic of the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna representing the sacrifice of Melchizedek would not definitely symbolize bread. Among the interior sections the largest are the ones with concave curvilinear sides, in the four ends of which shell forms surround an interior square with cut-off corners. An example of this element, known since the 2nd century, can be mentioned from Bologna.³⁴⁹ The shaded circle

with ruffled edge in the squares occurs also in the smaller circles. The manners of shading which appeared at the beginning of the 3rd century were revived again at the time of the Constantine "beautiful style". These framing fields with a similar design can be found also in Aquileia.³⁵⁰

In the art of the western provinces in the Constantine period we can hardly imagine any work similar to the large mosaic of Savaria. I. Paulovics assumed also an inscription in the composition of the large interior field. According to his opinion, this was referred to. S. Quirinus, Bishop of Siscia.³⁵¹ The almost entirely destroyed design of the apse must have been filled with the kind of shell forms which can be seen on the mosaic at Schweich near Trier from the Severan period, representing Venus and Adonis.³⁵²

Both the conception and the execution of the work show the new marks of the Constantine period, which brought a new kind of consolidation as compared to the preceding, post-Severan period (235–280) and the period of the Tetrarchy. Something survived from the shadings and fine colour transitions, while the structure points back also to the Antonine–Severan times. That the art of the Constantine period favoured reaching back to earlier periods sometimes to the degree of copying was observed already earlier.³⁵³ The progress of times is marked by the many small motives arranged in a new way in the structures and by certain technical shortcomings of the execution. However, instances of high-level workmanship are known also from this period. However, most characteristic of this period's striving for beauty is the highly artistic acanthus design of this mosaic. Many good traditions of the past converge here with the aspirations of the new times, as evidenced by the

³⁴⁴ F. J. Dölger: $\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ *Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit*, Rome 1910; I. Paulovics: *Savaria-Szombathely topográfiája* (The topography of Savaria-Szombathely) Szombathely 1943, p. 37.

³⁴⁵ Tertullianus: *De Bapt. C. I. opera*; Ambrosius: *Patr. Lat.* XV. 1717.

³⁴⁶ Dr. F. J. Dölger: *Die Fischdenkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik, Malerei und Kleinkunst*, Münster 1922, Pl. 71.

³⁴⁷ *Op. cit.* Pl. 43.

³⁴⁸ F. Cabrol—H. Leclercq: *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, XII. 1. Paris 1935. Mosaïque, pp. 57–332.

³⁴⁹ *Blake II*, Pl. 19/2.

³⁵⁰ K. von Lanckoronsky: *Der Dom von Aquileia*, Wien 1906. Pl. 9.

³⁵¹ I. Paulovics: *op. cit.* p. 31.

³⁵² K. Parlasca: *Die römischen Mosaiken in Deutschland*, Berlin 1959, pp. 29–30, Pl. 28/1.

³⁵³ A. Rumpf: *Malerei und Zeichnung*, W. Otto—R. Herbig: *Handbuch der Archäologie*, Vol. VI. München 1953. 12.

new spiral scrolls inclined again to greater refinement, as compared with the crude way of expression of the Tetrarchy.³⁵⁴ On the basis of its common features with the mosaics of basilica No. I of Aquileia, this mosaic was dated by I. Paulovics to a time not much after the year 313. According to A. Maiuri the artists who made the mosaic may have been the two early Christian itinerant painters of the tombstone in the Savaria Museum. This statement was based by him also on the similarities of the marble material of the tombstone and the mosaic.³⁵⁵ The Savaria work surpasses the later mosaic of the Aquileian basilica — which has recently been dated to about 400 A.D. — both in the fullness of its structure and the quality of its expression. The large floor mosaics of Aquileia were composed mostly of the simple, austere, drawing-like elements of the Tetrarchy, which departed from the antique ideals of beauty. The Savaria work relied on older forms of beauty.

4. SOPIANAE (PÉCS)

The mosaic of the early Christian grave structure of Pécs (No. 29) (Pl. XVII/1) belongs to that kind of Imperial-age designs which show features close to the pattern of ceilings and lacunars.³⁵⁶ It points back to the disintegration of the lozenge star system in the 2nd and 3rd centuries,³⁵⁷ and is a late achievement, developed in the period of the Tetrarchy, of the geometric mosaic style. It appears in a definite form already in the cryptoporticus of Diocletian's palace in Salonae (about 305) (Pl. XVII/2).³⁵⁸ The two mosaics of similar design at Paphos in Cyprus, the Pyramus and the Dionysiac work, are also its early manifestations, still from the end of the 3rd century (?).³⁵⁹ We do not actually regard the cross motive as a Christian symbol, although short after this it was applied on early Christian relics, perhaps with this meaning. In Aquileia we can meet the forms of the Sopianae design several times, but there the filling elements are richer. In the large Adriatic centra the design existed for a long time, one of its examples is the mosaic details of the anonymous basilica at Fondo Tullio originating from the period of the Tetrarchy. The filling of this also shows a close affinity with that of Pécs.³⁶⁰ The extensive patterns of the floor of the crypt can be dated already to 400. The ornaments of the large pavement of the Fondo Cossar are also similar. In Pannonia the design is known with some slight differences from Pándorfalu (Parndorf). This too is dated to a time about 300 A.D.³⁶¹ Its occurrences in both periods of the cultic buildings of Aquileia, as well as the Salonae and Burgen-

On the basis of this the mosaic of the Savarian basilica may be dated rather to the second quarter of the 4th century.

Its technical features tell of an accomplished master of the age, but even so, a certain amount of unevenness can be observed. At more important places, we can still find the fine small tesserae reminiscent of earlier times, thus in the basket motive symbolizing the Eucharist, which underlines in this manner the significance of the detail. In contrast to the more simple execution of the interior field, the dynamic, strong composition of the large acanthus border is noteworthy. On the basis of this the latter can be attributed to a more accomplished master. The patterns of the interior parts must have been made by one or more other *musicarii*. The tesserae are a great deal larger than the 1 square centimetre size usual in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. In this respect they are very similar to the tesserae of the Theodorus basilica.

land relics together with that of Sopianae — all from the 4th century — point to the fact that this design developed with the powerful new style of the Tetrarchy. Then, a short time later, with the spreading of Christianity, it came into great prominence, possibly on account of the cross form, in the Christian cultic buildings which were erected at a great speed.^{361a}

³⁵⁴ I. Paulovics: *op. cit.* p. 37; idem: *Vasi Szemle* p. 1–2 (1938) pp. 146–148; A. Rumpf: *op. cit.* pp. 14–15; Z. Kádár—T. A. Horváth — Gy. Géfin; *Szombathely*, Budapest 1961, pp. 81–82; *Archives of the Hungarian National Museum*, p. 128. III.

³⁵⁵ *Archives of the Hungarian National Museum* p. 128. III.

³⁵⁶ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 382; K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* p. 112.

³⁵⁷ D. Levi: *op. cit.* p. 413, note 4.

³⁵⁸ F. Bulić: *Kaiser Diocletians Palast in Šplit*, Zagreb 1929, p. 164, fig. 69; C. Gurlitt—G. Kowalczyk: *Denkmäler der Kunst in Dalmatien*, Wien 1910, I, Pl. 52; D. Levi: *op. cit.* fig. 156.

³⁵⁹ V. Karageorghis: Ten years of archeology in Cyprus. 1953–1962, *AA* 1963, p. 596, fig. 60. It is dated erroneously to the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

³⁶⁰ G. Cecchelli: *op. cit.* Pls 42, 104; L. Nagy: Pannonia Sacra, *Szent István emlékkönyv* (Saint Stephen memorial book), Budapest 1938. p. 134; D. Levi: *op. cit.* pp. 412–416.

³⁶¹ B. Saria: Der Mosaikenfund von Parndorf zwischen Parndorf und Bruckneudorf, *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 13 (1951) pp. 59–61; idem: Zweiter vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen nächst dem Heidenhof zwischen Parndorf und Bruckneudorf, *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 14 (1952) p. 100.

^{361a} O. Wulff: *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, Vol. I. Potsdam 1936, p. 145, fig. 133.

The previous patterns of its development, viz. the cruciform fields, octagons, etc. were popular in this region already from the 3rd century onwards.³⁶² One of its earliest appearances is also in Ancona.³⁶³ Its application in early Christian crypts can be seen in the Roman S. Pietro e Marcellino catacomb,³⁶⁴ but it occurs also on the vaults of the Santa Costanza.

The crosses of the design, both in their early and more compact later form (which appears for the first time on the Salonae floor and to which also the Sopianae floor belongs) are all filled with cruciform guilloches. In the cross-shaped panels of the Sopianae mosaic, however, we can see only looped cross figures with hooked ends. These were compared earlier by J. Wollanka — with not much justification — with certain guilloche patterns of the mosaic of the Baláca tablinum (No. 23.)³⁶⁵ The complex stars of the hexagons too indicate a later period. D. Levi who made a comparative study of these star systems derives the pattern from textile techniques and places it to late times.³⁶⁶ In our opinion, however, it developed already at the beginning of the Severan period. The angular Solomon's knot is known also from the mosaic at Köztársaság Square (No. 25) in Savaria. There counterparts are found also on Coptic textiles from the 5th century.³⁶⁷ The Sopianae designs reappeared several times in the course of the later great equalizations, thus also with shaded fillings in Antioch.³⁶⁸ On the basis of these the Sopianae

mosaic can be placed within the wider frames of the period between 305 and 425. Among the style changes of the late period this relic can be dated, beyond the classicizing Constantine "beautiful style", to the transitional period in the third quarter of the century.³⁶⁹ Also the rather careless laying of the mosaic, to which in itself no closer chronological meaning can be attributed, would rather justify a dating to the second half of the 4th century. On the basis of its advanced stylistic features, however, it can be dated at least to the middle of the 4th century or to the times following it. The angular Solomon's knot designs of Gallic and north-African floors do not seem to support a dating earlier than the 5th century either. The fall of the Roman rule in Pannonia after the year 370 does not give a *terminus ante quem* of full value in this case because — as it can be observed — the material culture of early Christianity survived the political fall in several places.³⁷⁰ As regards its function, it can be taken for certain that it was the floor of an edifice similar to the early Christian crypts around the cathedral.³⁷¹ Its limited dimensions could also point to this. Thus this latest known mosaic work of the Roman province of Pannonia tells of the art of the Empire at the time of its political disintegration, and furthermore it proves the existence of a local style which developed along the upper coastal region of the Adriatic, and maintained kinship with the eastern territories.

5. ÖRVÉNYES

The simple design of the *opus sectile* floor (No. 30) (Pl. XVII/3) of the Roman villa had appeared already several times among the *opus sectile* works of Republican Pompeii (since Sulla),³⁷² and was adopted in an unchanged form to mosaics.³⁷³ The simple checkerboard pattern on mosaics can be followed from Delos.³⁷⁴ Pliny the Elder still regarded this ornament a novelty.³⁷⁵ After the early times its popularity decreased, but from the 3rd century onwards it spread again. Among the *opus sectile* floors of Italy the ones which have lively colours are dated regardless of their designs definitely to later times, to the period of the Tetrarchy and the following periods. From Ostia, a highly colourful *opus sectile* floor with such a simple network of squares is dated to the 4th century.^{375a}

Relying on the concomitant archeological evidence and on that of its richly coloured marble material which points to late times, we date the Örvényes *sectile* floor to the second third of the 4th century.

³⁶² Scavi 1922, p. 355, fig. 7; Scavi 1929, p. 147; *Fasti Archeologici* 9, No. 4920, fig. 116.

³⁶³ *Il Museo Nazionale delle Marche in Ancona*, Rome s.a., p. 36.

³⁶⁴ Blake III, pp. 122–123, Pl. 33/1.

³⁶⁵ J. Wollanka: Ein römisches Mosaik aus Balácsa, *JÖAI* 25 (1929) 14, fig. 4. He did not know the origin of the mosaic from Pécs.

³⁶⁶ D. Levi: *op. cit.* pp. 436–438, figs 166–167.

³⁶⁷ O. Wulff – W. F. Volbach: *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe*, Berlin 1926, Pl. 3.

³⁶⁸ D. Levi: *op. cit.* Pl. 112/b, Pl. 123; b – c.

³⁶⁹ A. Rumpf: *op. cit.* p. 17.

³⁷⁰ A. Radnóti: *Pannóniai városok élete a korai feudalizmusban* (Life of Pannonian cities in early feudalism), Budapest 1951, p. 507; T. Nagy: Comments on the previous item, *Ibid.* p. 519.

³⁷¹ Gy. Gosztonyi: *A pécsi Szent Péter Székesegyház eredete* (Origin of St. Peter's Cathedral in Pécs) Pécs 1939, p. 124.

³⁷² L. Canina: *L'architettura Romana*, Rome 1840, Pl. 244.

³⁷³ K. Parlasca: *op. cit.* pp. 50–51, Pl. 51/1.

³⁷⁴ *Monuments Piot.* 1908, fig. 64.

³⁷⁵ A. Tschira: Pavimente, *RM* 55 (1940) p. 53.

^{375a} G. Becatti: *op. cit.* No. 342, Pl. 208.

IV. GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE INVESTIGATION

While surveying the mosaics of the Hungarian part of Pannonia on the basis of the principles of objective research, I was also making an attempt to fit this material into the whole of the art of the Empire. This approach may furnish some more general points also to the stylistic development of the other branches, or even to that of the whole, of Pannonian art. The process of its evolution can be approached by taking into consideration the whole art of the Imperial Age as well as a number of particular facts related to the art of mosaic-making. It is therefore necessary to take a look at those most essential features of the mosaic art of the Imperial Age, which cannot be disregarded even when analysing the relics of the province alone, giving at the same time also an account of the principles of our investigation.

The Roman mosaic is an art of ornamental character rather than one of painting-like pictures. Ornamental-decorative taste is one of the main features of Roman national art which — apart from a few cases — borrowed its elements from Hellenistic antecedents, taking over even full complexes of elements, from which, however, it developed something new and different. In the art of mosaics the priority of ornamentation is manifested also by the fact that the changes in style can be followed much better on geometric-vegetable stylizations than on pictorial *emblemata*.

We have no opportunity here to outline the process in the course of which these mainly geometric systems of ornamentation created by an Italo-Roman taste in the wake of the art of the Hellenistic picture mosaic and ornamentation evolved. The earliest mosaic relics of Pannonia known to us originate from the Trajanic times. Our task is to examine the problems of the epoch beginning from this time.

The mosaic as an art form of definitely Roman national taste was born out of, and characterized by, a decorative-theatrical manner of expression, seeing in plane. On account of its mainly decorative character, the mosaic art of the Imperial Age adhered more closely to the other branches of decorative art (stucco, decorative painting, archi-

tectural ornaments) than to the contemporary achievements of painting proper, although it reflects also the influence of the great works of painting which were lost.

We regard it characteristic that the mosaic-making artists did not take over all the motives of decorative art, some of whose elements were more applicable to wall-paintings, others to stucco decorations, and again others in the world of mosaics. In this respect too the European mosaics are more moderate, while the border decorations of the oriental mosaics which gave preference to pictures were frequently borrowed from the more architectonic world, with a fixed point of view, of wall-paintings and other decorative arts.

The relics of this mosaic art form in themselves a complete whole (autonomous microcosm), giving a unique experience. However, the geometric compositions of Imperial-age mosaics, in contrast to the Hellenistic concentric pictorial ones, developed more and more in the direction of the so-called all-over geometric, and less frequently vegetable designs.

The question can be raised whether this geometric continuity was not eventually the forerunner of the art of the continuous picture cycle which, after some earlier antecedents, established itself in the Severan period. The shifting from the individual towards the additive continuity of all-over patterns heralds at the same time the way in which, after the Hellenistic heritage, Roman art developed its own conscious identity. Similar phenomena occurred at this time also in other fields of art (architectural decorative crafts). The actual place of the progress was set by Italy. As compared to her, the various other regions of the Empire played in the early times the role of the recipient. Their newer phases were inspired by initiatives reaching them from the Roman centre. Local features asserted themselves more distinctly from the last quarter of the 2nd century onwards. The decorative culture of Italy, which held the initiative, was joined by a more cumulative kind of geometry in the West and by local Hellenistic antecedents in the East.

The emanations of the oriental artistic region became significant later, and this had an influence also on the evolution of the Pannonian mosaic style. The sphere of this influence ranged, especially from the 3rd century onwards, over the Balkans, reaching even Aquileia, the Italian emporium opening towards the East. The latter was influenced, it seems, also earlier. Nevertheless, Aquileia conveyed mainly genuine Italian features towards the Alpine and Danubian provinces which lay to the north. Earlier, up to the beginning of the 3rd century, this priority had been general. Mosaics of Italian taste are found even in the territory of Greece. Then, as a result of the cross between Italian and oriental influences, an intermediate area came into being which comprised Pannonia, a considerable part of the Balkans and in general the upper coastal region of the Adriatic.

Roman mosaic art, however, was characterized throughout by many universal features. In fact, what is common in it is much more than what divides it. The changes of style of the cultural centres were duly followed also in the distant provinces. By the progress of time, as from the 4th century, however, differences were largely evened out again.

The development of the mosaic itself followed the lines of the decorative-covering principle of Roman architecture. With Imperial art finding its own identity, mosaics embodying this principle also began to spread rapidly. The increase in the number of Roman mosaic relics from century to century is remarkable. The tendency to create highly decorative surfaces meant at the same time a growing affinity to plane arts as well as a departure from Hellenistic features. Roman mosaics deserve our attention not only because they constitute one of the most characteristic branches of the increasingly anti-plastic forms of expression of late Antiquity, but because they help us to recreate the one-time state of some of the less durable branches of art (stucco, wall-painting) which survived in lesser numbers, and give therefore fewer opportunities to direct observation.

Mosaic being in the first place an art of geometric decorative elements, vegetal elements were used in the beginning in a smaller degree, mostly as border decorations (Nos 18 and 20). Enframed pictures, emblemata, came into use in the Imperial Age by and large from the 2nd, and more frequently from the 3rd century. Besides this the practice of blenching figural elements with ornaments also spread gradually. The mosaics of Pannonia too show that this form of art achieved its autonomy gradually during the Imperial Age, through the organic co-existence of geometry, vegetal and

figural elements. This development ranged over the 2nd and 3rd centuries and was completed in the 4th century (mosaic of the Savaria basilica, No. 27).

Observing Roman mosaics, the features that meet the eye first are those of their decorative elements and compositions. We have pointed out several times the similarities between decorations of ceilings and the divisioning of floor mosaic designs. Textile ornamentation, little-known as it is, also shows many agreements with the mosaic forms, although Pannonia must have adopted such analogous structural elements and details already in a finished form. In any case, also on the basis of the present dating of the eastern (Egyptian) textiles known, the mosaics seem to have been the donor party. The "rainbow style" of mosaics (No 23.) as well as the similar textile-like characteristics represent such connections between mosaics and the textile crafts which are still to be clarified.

As regards individual elements, we must stress that the majority occurred from the very beginning, yet their variations and combinations or — in case they are multiplied or form all-over patterns — the drawing-like character of their outlines, their coloration, dry linear system, or, contrary to this, their shading and plasticity can all serve as important chronological factors. Besides the primariness of the structures, the analysis of the individual works can rely mainly on a meticulous investigation of their geometry, and of its associations. However, the widely occurring part elements alone do not give any *emblemata*, their transportability from distant places and their having a life of their own all suggest the priority of the investigation of the geometry of mosaics. The Pannonian relics too show very convincingly that assemblies formed of decorative elements have a significant style-determining value, but the ways of their blending and in general their application are also characteristic. Thus for example the huge astragal row framing the Deianeira mosaic in Aquincum (No. 15) could hardly be imagined in the 2nd century. The disintegration of systems composed of lozenge star patterns could be observed in Pannonia in several instances. However, the traditional early lozenge structures could return even in the Constantine period. Among the decorative details we can find also motives known from some definite area, as are here the characteristically modelled ivy leaves and vegetal branch motives (Nos 11, 20, 22, 23 and 26).

A considerable part of the motives was given already from the very beginning, but not all of them, and moreover the extent to which the individual

periods made use of certain decorative elements is also characteristic. The ornamenting art of Pannonia too shows, together with the increase in the stock of motives in the 2nd century, a considerable modification of style in the Antonine period. The new style of the turn of the century took shape during the Antonine decades and the new taste of the Severan period appears already in a final shape in the last two decades of the 2nd century. The western motives used in Pannonia originate from Italy. Their difference as compared with other regions becoming independent during the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Gaul, Germania) is distinctly visible. In the course of the development Italian elements took different shapes in the Rhine region and in Transdanubia.

We cannot hope much result from examining the motives on their own, separated from their contexts, yet the importance of partial observations cannot be emphasized enough. Observations arising from the comparison of material from larger and larger areas will have an increasing significance in the near future.

Summing up the problems of geometry, they appear at present as follows: it has to be investigated where the certain motives appeared earliest, how long they were in use and what were the areas where they mainly flourished. We must observe their forms and their characteristic local variants. The following step will be to examine the ways in which the individual elements combine, which has an effect also on the variants of forms. The colouring of the motives, the way in which they are filled, their shaded or dry, linear execution are also characteristic first of all of the period.

The few animal motives occurring in Pannonia show the Aquileian origin of these themes.

The most rewarding field of research is represented by the problems of structure, difficult but solved with more and more success today. Mosaic pavements have sufficient space for the unfolding of the structures. They are characterized by a great freedom of creation and movement, and only in a few exceptional cases can we see even approximately identical examples, based on the model books behind them. It applies also to the Pannonian mosaics that the pavements of the Imperial Age with their compositions of decorative elements extending carpet-like, frequently with all-over designs, represent the real awakening of the art of the Roman mosaic. This corresponds also to its functional character as pavement.

The earlier Italian mosaic style showed a closer adherence to clear, drawing-like designs. The new, more picturesque style inclined to shading, which

set in with the Severan times, and which has led researches to presume inspirations from the direction of textiles, may have heralded the coming of a new, oriental taste. However, it must be noted that this carpet style can be observed less in the western provinces. The remarkably high quality of the colour culture of certain Pannonian pieces sometimes surpasses the average level of Italian mosaics (Nos 15 and 23). The quality of the Baláca bird pair (No. 22) is quite conspicuous as compared to the similar representations from Ostia and elsewhere in Italy, as is also the outstanding richness in tones of the Deianeira picture.

In Pannonia too, the development in the Imperial Age favoured all-over, carpet-like combinations of motives which formed an organic whole. However, some different features, like for instance the threshold-like entrance fields, also survived for quite a long time (No. 22). As examples for the composition of picture mosaics of Italian taste with an all-over viewpoint we can mention the bath mosaic of the Governor's Palace (No. 10), the multi-picture mosaic of the Savaria capitulum (No. 26) and to some extent the enclosed pictorial elements of the large basilica in Savaria (No. 27). Thus the developments of the 4th century can in no way be regarded as a decline, but rather as the real unfolding of an autonomous branch of art according to its own rules.

About one third of the 31 mosaics discussed here 10 in number, show figural-pictorial representations. Three have Heracleian and two Dionysiac subjects (not speaking of more general Dionysiac references) thus half of them, altogether five, have mythological themes. The picture themes with Italian connections are genre-works and bird representations typical of the Severan times. Mythological themes appear definitely on works of oriental character (No. 12, No. 15, No 18) in keeping with the fact that with a few exceptions, the numerous mosaics known from Syria have similar themes in this period. It seems that here in the northeast the preference for sports-arena scenes of the Severan period was intercrossed with the liking for oriental-mythological pictures. These works may have been true-to-detail copies of certain famous Hellenistic paintings. Some of the picture types were fully developed already at the end of the Greek classical period.

The picture themes must have been a great deal dependent on the premises for which they were prepared. Connections between the style and the subjects of the pictures may also be raised (No. 18). The picture themes of Aquincum are in one way or another all associated with struggle or fight, thus the pictures of Deianeira (No. 15), Dirce

(No. 12), the drinking contest of Heracles and Dionysus (No. 18), the wrestlers (No. 13), and the boxers (No. 14). As regards the Heracles representations it poses a problem that their frequent appearance falls to the Severan period which, reaching its peak at the time of Commodus, promoted the cult of the hero all over the Empire. On the other hand, the province of Pannonia is well known for its strong cult of Heracles, and therefore his appearance on three out of the altogether five mythological mosaics is no mere chance.

The taste of those who ordered the mosaic played a role in the selection of the pattern, in the subject of the picture as well as in its style. The picture symbols of the large mosaic from the Savaria basilica point clearly to a cultic place (No. 27).

Mosaic-making did not split up into an art of the higher strata and a co-existing lower-grade "popular" trend to such a degree as can be observed with some other branches of art in the Imperial Age, viz. with sculpture and decorative stone carving. This can be a new evidence for the existence of separate group styles (*Gattungsstilen*). Thus the art of the mosaic developed along the lines set by its own particular features as a genre of art. It seems that mosaic floors were throughout a luxury of the most affluent persons and of the communities.

The black-and-white floors (Nos 1 to 5 and No. 20) may also be considered to have less important functions. Such designs adorned public squares as well as the interiors of public buildings in large cities. Examples for this modest manner of decoration of public buildings are the puritanical, colourless, geometric mosaics of the Governor's Palace and the Baláca villa (No. 20).

If we consider the mosaics of Pannonia according to the time of their origin, it is apparent that, with the exception of the Governor's Palace, nearly all were made in the fifty-year period between the end of the 2nd century and the first four decades of the 3rd century. Later than these are only the floor mosaics of the Savaria basilica (No. 27) and the early Christian burial place of Pécs (No. 29), the latter perhaps already from the 5th century. By and large, this is characteristic of the whole Imperial Age. It may be said that this craft became truly general after the later decades of the 2nd century, in the Severan period and the decades following it. The Savaria mosaics have been erroneously dated by several authors. I. Paulovics, for instance, believes the mosaics he knows (Nos 24, 26) to have been made in the first half of the 2nd century, while T. P. Buócz dates the mosaic be-

neath the sanctuary of the cathedral to the period of the 1st and 2nd centuries.^{375b}

The components of Pannonian art have not yet been explored, therefore we must be very cautious in our assumptions. The local character of mosaic art prompts us to observe its local schools and styles. In the western provinces of Europe, the activity of Italian as well as Greek masters has already been noticed. It would be difficult to ascertain in what measure this import of art towards the interior of the European continent was based on the activity of more permanent schools and on that of itinerant artist. Earlier, A. Alföldi attributed a much higher level art to southern Pannonia than to the rest of the province. However, in view of the remarkable qualities of the art of Baláca, and then especially of Aquincum, this opinion could hardly be maintained today. In fact Alföldi was fast in recognizing, precisely in connection with mosaics, "the outstanding position of the province regarding the remarkably high number of good-quality mosaic floors as a result of the role of itinerant artists" . . . He goes on: ". . . masters coming from the south settled here and maintained permanent workshops in the larger cities". He also held possible that works of art manufactured in big central workshops had been imported to Pannonia.³⁷⁶

As to the question of workshops and model books, it is very likely that from the 2nd century onwards Savaria had a mosaic workshop which existed till the end of the Roman rule. The model books must have been brought here from northeast Italy, from Aquileia. The taste they represented established itself here, developing the trend received from the southwest along independent lines. On the basis of the surviving relics from the 4th century it seems now that at times Savaria even surpasses the qualities of similar works known from Aquileia so far (No. 27). The mosaics of the Baláca villa (Nos 20 to 23) are the works of Italian itinerant artists. Their origin could be more closely defined only after a large-scale publication of the relics of northern Italy. Until that we must regard also these of Aquileian origin. Having accomplished its task in Aquincum, the military workshop of the Governor's Palace very likely did not remain in the garrison city. In the civil community a more

^{375b} I. Paulovics: *op. cit.* p. 6; T. P. Buócz: *op. cit.* p. 20.

³⁷⁶ A. Alföldi: Pannónia rómaiságának kialakulása (The evolution of the Roman character of Pannonia), *Századok* 70 (1936) pp. 135-139; C. Praschniker: Die kapitolinische Trias von Ódenburg-Sopron, *JÖAI* 30 (1937) pp. 131-132.

permanent local mosaic craft came into being only a short time after the wars of Marcus Aurelius. The kinship in style between the athletic mosaics of the civic city (No. 13) and the canabae (No. 14) points to the nearness of their making. Concluding from their different techniques, the colourful, fine emblemata of the canabae, especially the Deianeira picture (No. 15), were not prepared simultaneously with the surrounding geometric parts and in the case of the latter we can discern even the dividing line where it was laid in. On the basis of the differing works of Aquincum in the Severan period, we can presume here workshops operating independently from each other. A different workshop manufactured the Mithraeum mosaic which is (No. 11) based on continuous Italian traditions, and another stylistic circle stands behind the geometry of the canabae (No. 15 and No. 18). The mosaics of the canabae preserve the plasticity and three-dimensional aspirations of Hellenistic painting, that is "non-mosaic-like features". On the other hand, the Baláca emblemata which imply a different stylistic approach were created in the spirit of western plane arts. An investigation of provincial mosaic-making down to the details of schools and workshops would be very useful, and what is more, the artistic position and the connections between various regions will be clarified mostly by the investigation of the mosaic relics. From a cautious examination of the Aquincum mosaics by workshops we may draw the conclusion that besides giving the outlines of the representations, the model books used here gave directions also regarding the methods of shading and colouring, although they were probably not fully coloured.

Earlier L. Nagy assumed the existence of mosaic workshops also in Poetovio, Emona and Carnuntum.³⁷⁷

As regards technique, several conclusions offer themselves. Compared to the early relics, the laying of the Aquincum wrestlers' mosaic (No. 13), the Dirce mosaic (No. 12) and especially the late mosaic of Pécs (No. 29) is a great deal less careful. The Dirce (No. 12) and Deianeira (No. 15) pictures which were produced in the same city with no more than one or two decades between them are good examples for the impossibility of drawing final conclusions regarding the age of mosaics from the technical level of their laying alone.

Techniques react upon style. With mosaics this is evident especially when the manner of laying has a role in modelling. Thus the backgrounds are decided by the way of laying. Simple laying in rows resulted in a transparent effect in contrast to the undulating or semicircular and radial laying of the background, suited to the line-play of the pictures. It is the manner of laying which makes the bath mosaic of the Aquincum Governor's Palace (No. 10), otherwise still firm in its lines, so light and transparent in comparison to the similarly black-and-white but a full century earlier geometric floors. The major part of the work were laid using the so-called negative cartoon technique.

The material of the mosaics discussed was, as usual with antique floor mosaics, selected from local stones, from the coloured limestones and dolomite of the Transdanubian Central Mountains. Dark-gray, bluish and black colours were furnished by basalt. They all stand for black colour. In the case of finer picture emblemata at Baláca (No. 22) and Aquincum (No. 15) marble was also used, and even some glass paste, especially to render such shades of green, pink and dark-red, which were not provided by natural rocks. In Savaria the closeness of Styrian marble made possible the application of coloured marbles even to the geometric parts (Nos 24–25, Nos 27–28). With the advance of time a tendency to use finer sorts of stones and more costly, distant kinds of marble is distinctly visible also in Pannonia.

Roman mosaic art in Pannonia — the picture outlined here will perhaps not be fundamentally affected by future discoveries — was born out of a union of Italian and oriental art trends. The mosaic relics known from here originate from the emanation of distant art centres whose influence was felt all over the empire. Just like in Germania, no special *limes* mosaic art came actually into being here either.³⁷⁸ Even in Aquincum alone we can encounter the artistic achievements of places distant from each other. This province was at the crossroads of western and oriental art.

The present work is to be regarded only as a cautious attempt at an analysis before more solid foundations can be laid to all what has been said by a more complete knowledge of the material of Italian mosaics. Accordingly, some of my findings may be modified in the future.

³⁷⁷ L. Nagy: Az antik mozaikművészeti kutatások újabb eredményei (Recent results of the investigation of antique mosaics), *Arch. Ért.* 41 (1927) pp. 192–196.

³⁷⁸ H. Schoppa: *Die Kunst der Römerzeit in Gallien, Germanien und Britannien*, München–Berlin 1957, pp. 30, 32.

INDEX OF MOSAIC SITES

1. Aquincum
 - (a) Governor's Palace 1–10
 - (b) Civic City 11–13
 - (c) Canabae 14–18
 - (d) Further Aquincum mosaics 19, a–d
2. Baláca 20–23
3. Savaria (Szombathely), 24–28, a–n
4. Sopianae (Pécs) 29
 - Örvényes 30
 - Brigetio (Szőny) 31
5. Further remains 33–34, a–f

INDEX

(A) (*Ancient authors*)

Aelius Aristides 49
Ambrosius 61
Aurelius Victor 40
Libanius 44
Lucianus (Lukianos) 43
Pausanias 44
Philostratus 44
Pliny the Elder 44, 46
Strabo 44
Tertullianus 61
Vitruvius 54

(B) (*Referred authors*)

Alföldi, A. 46, 58, 67
Amelung, W. 42
Aurigemma, S. 37, 55

Babelon, E. 44, 48
Barb, A. 50
Barkóczy L. 33
Becatti, G. 35, 39, 43, 48, 50, 54–57, 60, 63
Benndorf, O. 48
Berciu, I. 51
Blake, M. E. 26, 35–39, 44–45, 47–48, 50–57,
59, 61, 63
Blanchet, A. 37, 44, 53–54, 58
Blegen, E. P. 56
Blümel, C. 44
Bovini, G. 60
Brellich, A. 46
Brizio, E. 54
Brusin, G. 38, 40, 42, 50, 53, 55, 60
Bulič, F. 62
Bulle, H. 42
P. Buócz, T. 28–31

Cabrol, F. 61
Calza, R. 37–39, 60
Canina, L. 37, 63
Caprino, C. 41–42
Carandini, A. 60
Cecchelli, G. 36, 48, 59–60, 62
Chamonnard, J. 39
Chehab, M. 48, 50
Cohen, H. 42
Collingwood, R. G. 37

Dahremberg, Ch. 44, 47, 52
Dilthey, C. 42
Dölger, F. J. 61
Ducati, P. 55
Dütschke, H. 44, 48

Egger, R. 48
Engelmann, R. 45
Erdélyi, G. 41, 45, 48
Éri, I. 34
Essen, C. C. van 39–40

Falke, O. v. 56
Fasiolo, O. 38, 50
Ferri, S. 45
Foucher, L. 39, 51, 59–60
Frankfurter, S. 40
Fremersdorf, F. 55
Frickenhausen, A. 48
Furtwängler, A. 42, 44, 48
Fülep, F. 50

Gardiner, E. N. 43
Gauckler, P. 47, 52–53
Géfin, Gy. 59, 62
Gerecze, P. 8
Gerevich, L. 34
Ghislanzoni, E. 36
Gnirs, A. 60
Gonzenbach, V. v. 36, 43–45, 57
Gosztonyi, Gy. 31, 63
Gurlitt, C. 62
Gusman, P. 37

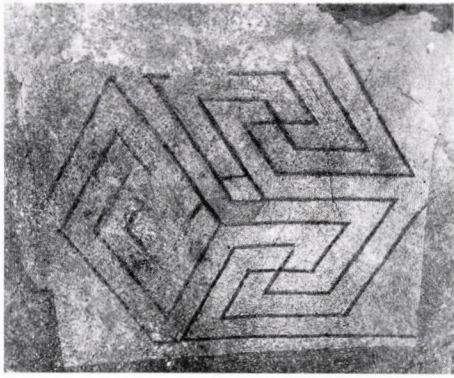
Haas, M. 7–8, 31
Hekler, A. 45
Helbig, W. 42
Henszlmann, I. 23, 33
Herbig, R. 54, 61
Hermann, H. 47, 51, 53–54
Hinks, R. P. 54, 59
Horváth, T. A. 59, 62

Jahn, O. 41–42
Jeges, E. 20
Jenny, S. 51–52, 54

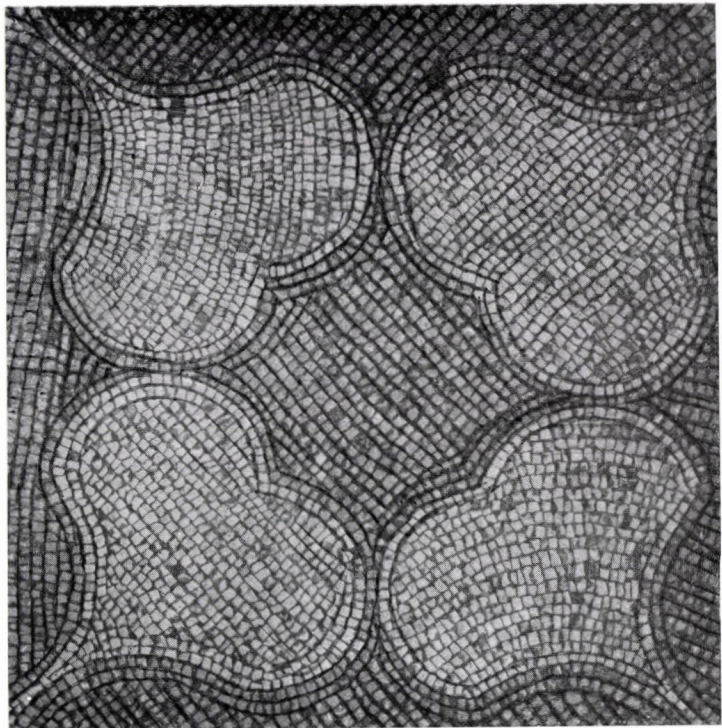
Kaba, M. 3, 15, 37
Kádár Z. 8, 59–60, 62
Kaiser, A. 47, 51, 53–54

- Kállay, Ö. 33
 Karageorghis, V. 62
 Kárpáti, K. 7, 28, 31
 Katancich, P. 7
 Kähler, H. 60
 Kelemen, M. 34
 Kenner, H. 51
 Kiss, Á. 23, 26, 50, 54, 56–57
 Kowalezyk, G. 62
 Krüger, E. 40
 Kubitschek, W. 40
 Kuzsinszky, B. 8, 18, 20, 23, 33–34, 40, 43
 Kübler, K. 48
- Lafaye, G. 37, 53–54, 58
 Lanckoronsky, K. v. 61
 Leclercq, H. 61
 Levi, D. 8, 26, 38–39, 45–47, 49–50, 53, 55–56, 59, 62–63
 Lipp, V. 29
 Lippold, G. 36, 42, 44
 Lugli, G. 51
- Maionica, E. 42
 Maiuri, A. 42
 Mano-Zissi, Dj. 37, 43
 Marconi, P. 54–55
 Millin 48
 Miltner, F. 55
 Mócsy A. 28
 Moretti, G. 39
- Nagy, L. 8, 18–20, 23, 29, 31, 40–43, 45–46, 54, 57–58, 60, 62, 68
 Nagy, T. 18, 40, 63
 Nash, E. 37–39, 60
 Németh, P. 34
 Niccolini, A. 40
 Niederle 44
 Nogara, B. 54–55
 Nordhagen, P. J. 35
- Orange, H. P. L. 35
 Otto, W. 54, 61
- Pace, B. 54, 60
 Parlasca, K. 37–38, 40, 46–48, 53, 55–56, 58–61, 63
 Paulovics, I. 8, 30–31, 59–62, 67
 Pernice, E. 48, 51, 54, 57
 Pfuhl, E. 42, 54
 Pleidell, A. 31
 Sz. Póczy, K. 49
- Posta, B. 8, 31
 Poulsen, F. 36
 Praschniker, C. 51, 67
- Radnóti, A. 63
 Reinach, S. 42, 44, 46, 48, 55
 Rhé, Gy. 8, 23
 Robert, C. 43
 Roberti, M. M. 59
 Rodenwaldt, G. 42, 46
 Römer, F. 31
 Roseher, W. H. 44, 48
 Rumpf, A. 49, 61–63
- Sacken, E. v. 7, 9–13, 15
 Saglio, E. 44, 47, 52
 Saria, B. 62
 Schaal, H. 41
 Schmid, W. 53–54, 57
 Schoppa, H. 68
 Schönwisner, S. 7, 31
 Schröder, D. 43
 Serra, L. 54
 Smith, D. J. 44
 Spinazzola, W. 58–59
 Stern, H. 37–38, 48, 58, 60
 Studniczka, F. 41–42
 Swoboda, K. M. 49
 Szentléleky, T. 33
 Szilágyi, J. 7–13, 15, 36–38, 40
 Szőnyi, O. 8, 31–32
- Tarchi, U. 57
 Taylor, M. V. 37
 Torma, I. 34
 Tóth, E. 34
 Tschira, A. 63
- Vaglieri, D. 39
 Várady, F. 8, 31
 Volbach, W. F. 63
 Wellner, I. 20
 Wickhoff, F. 59
 Willbur, D. N. 50
 Wilpert, J. 60
 Winter, F. 44
 Wirth-Bernards, D. H. 35, 53
 Wollanka, J. 8, 26, 63
 Wrede, W. 57
 Wulff, O. 41, 50, 56, 62–63
- Zovatto, P. L. 60

PLATES



1. Aquincum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic of room No. 45, detail (No. 5)

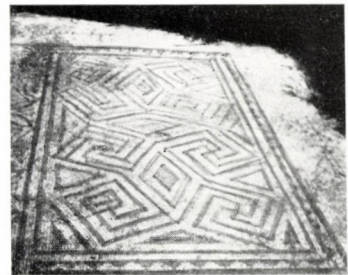


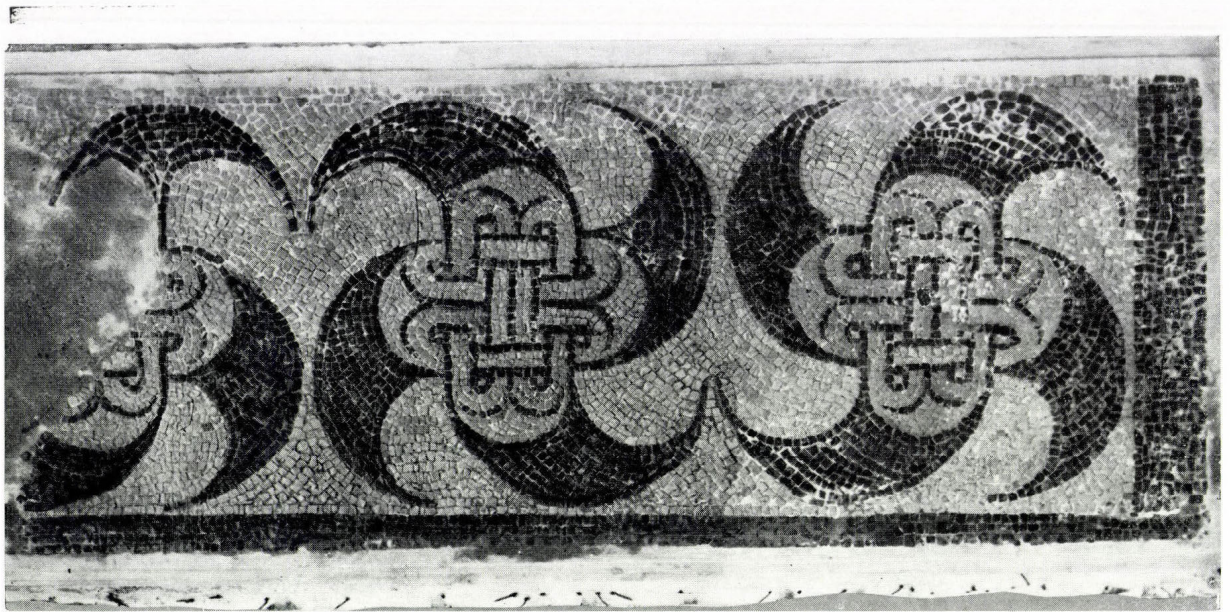
2. Aquincum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic of room No. 2, detail (No. 1)



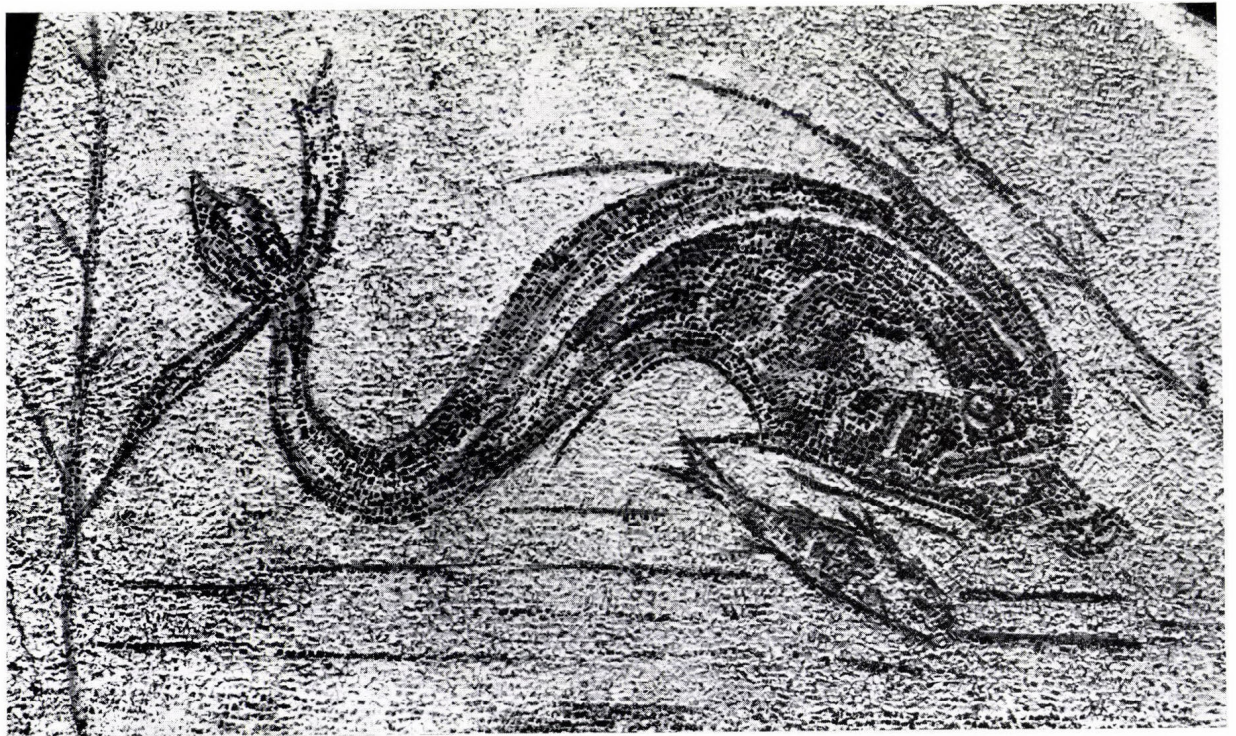
3. Aquincum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic of room No. 6, detail (No. 4)

4-5. Mosaics from Ostia and Aquileia





1. Aquincum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic fragment from room No. 8 (No. 6)



2. Aquincum, the Governor's Palace, mosaic from room No. 63 in the Bath Wing (No. 10)



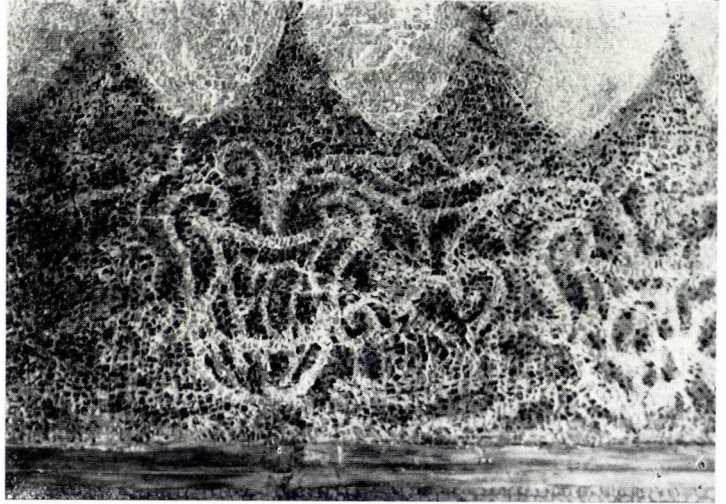
3. Rome, Museo Nazionale, mosaic from the late 2nd century



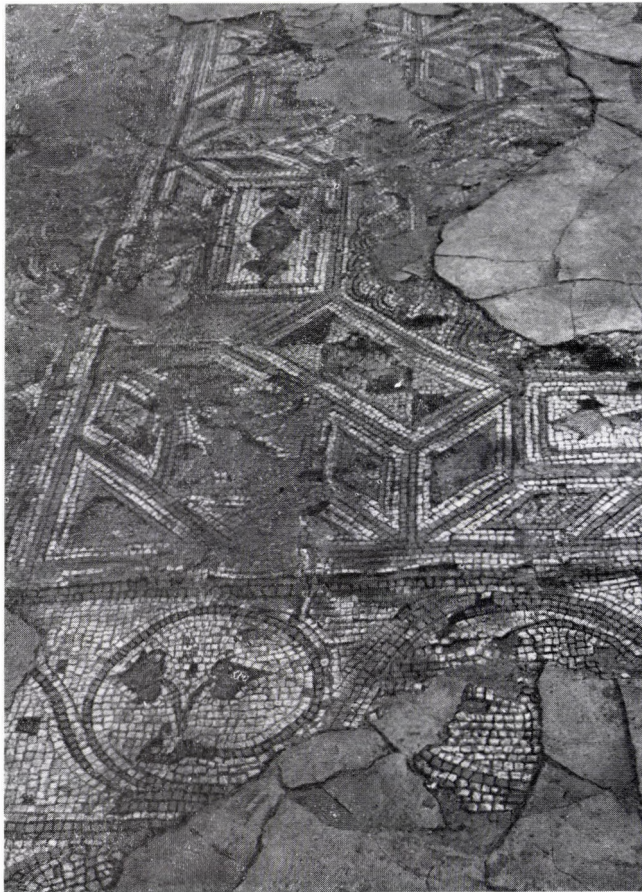
4. Ostia, mosaic from the late 2nd century



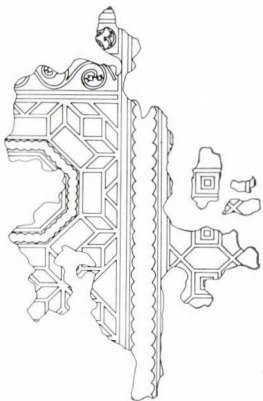
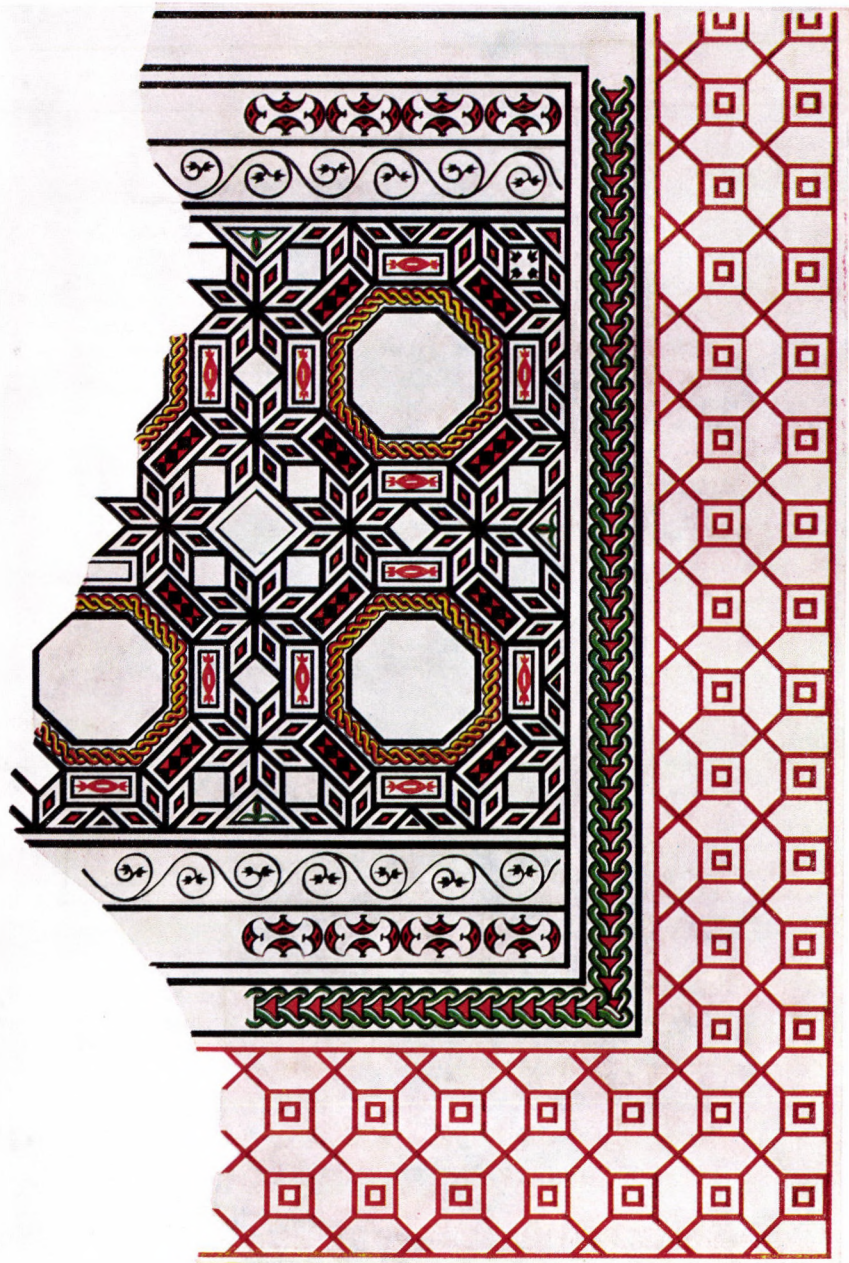
1. Aquincum, the Governor's Palace,
mosaic from room No. 63
in the Bath Wing, detail (No. 10)



2. Aquincum, the Governor's Palace,
border design of the
mosaic from room No. 63 in the Bath Wing,
later repaired (No. 10)



3. Aquincum, Civic City,
mosaic
from the Krempl Mill,
corner detail (No. 11)

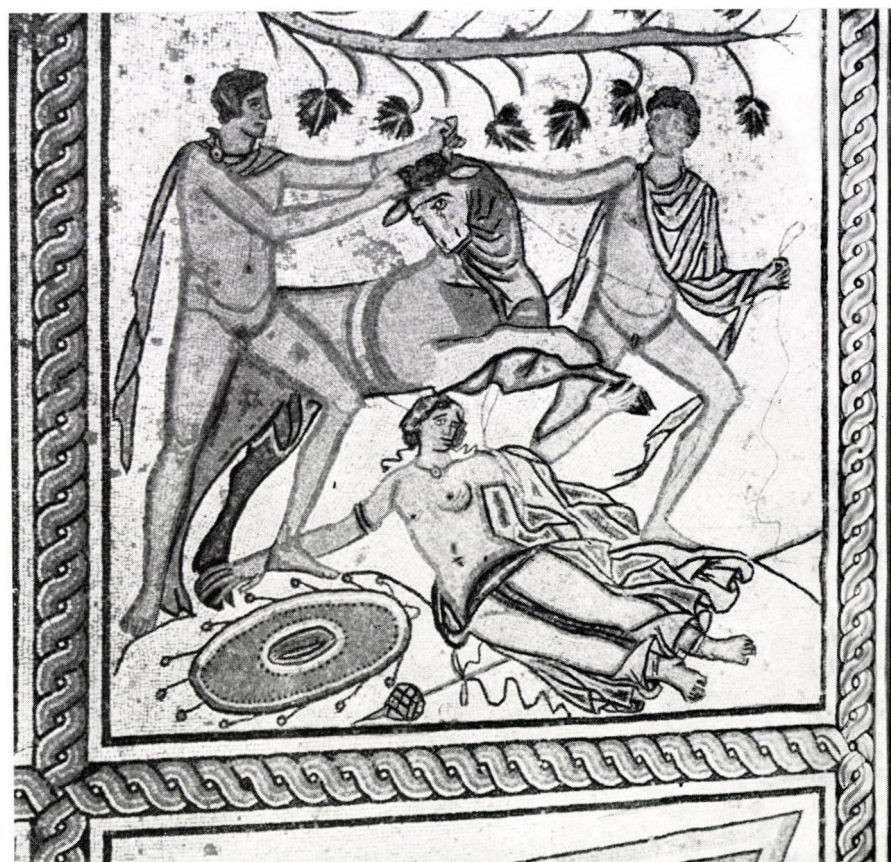


4. Aquincum, Civic City, mosaic from the Kreml Mill (No. 11)



1. Aquincum, Civic City, the Punishment of Dirce (No. 12)

2. Aquinum, Civic City,
the emblem of the Dirce mosaic
(No. 12)



3. Pola, emblem
of the mosaic representing
the punishment of Dirce



1. Aquincum, the Wrestlers' mosaic from the bath of the great dwelling house (No. 13)



2. Tusculum, the Villa Lancelotti mosaic



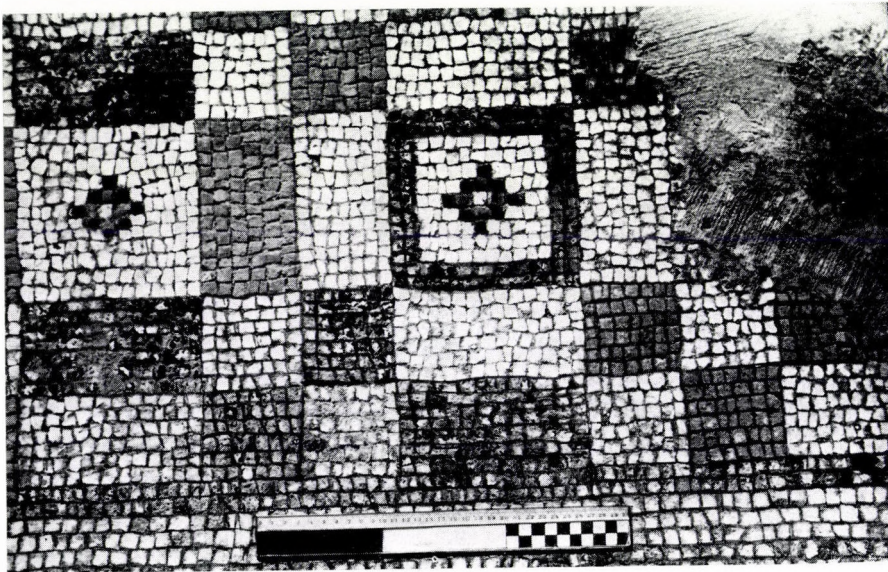
1. Aquincum, Canabae, Heracles and Deianeira (No. 15)



2. Paphos, Cyprus,
Pyramus and Thisbe



1. Aquincum, Canabae,
the Boxers' Mosaic (No. 14)



2. Aquincum
mosaic room No. 2 of the
Meggyfa Street villa
(No. 16)



3. Aquincum, Canabae,
mosaic from room No. 3
of the Meggyfa Street villa,
detail (No. 17)

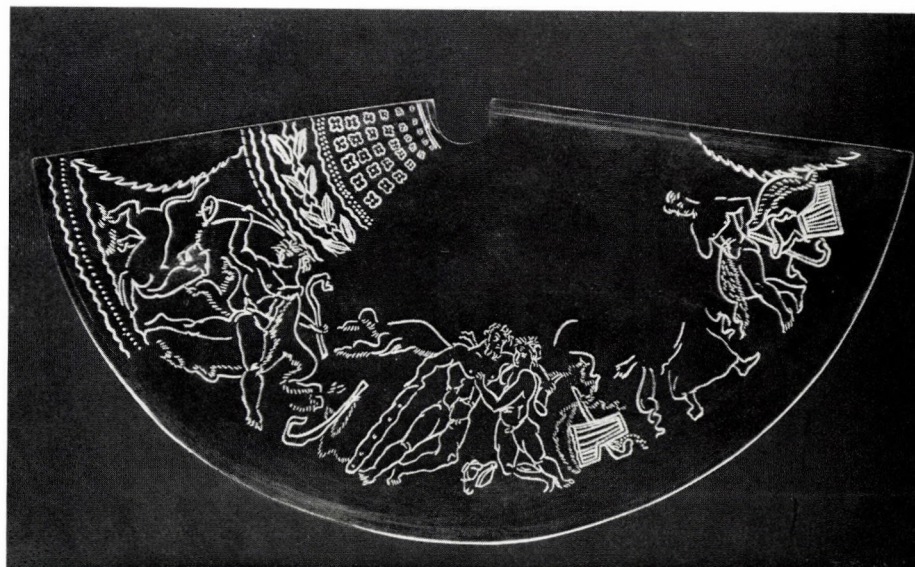
1. Aquincum, Canabae,
mosaic from room No. 4
of the
Meggyfa Street villa
(No. 18)

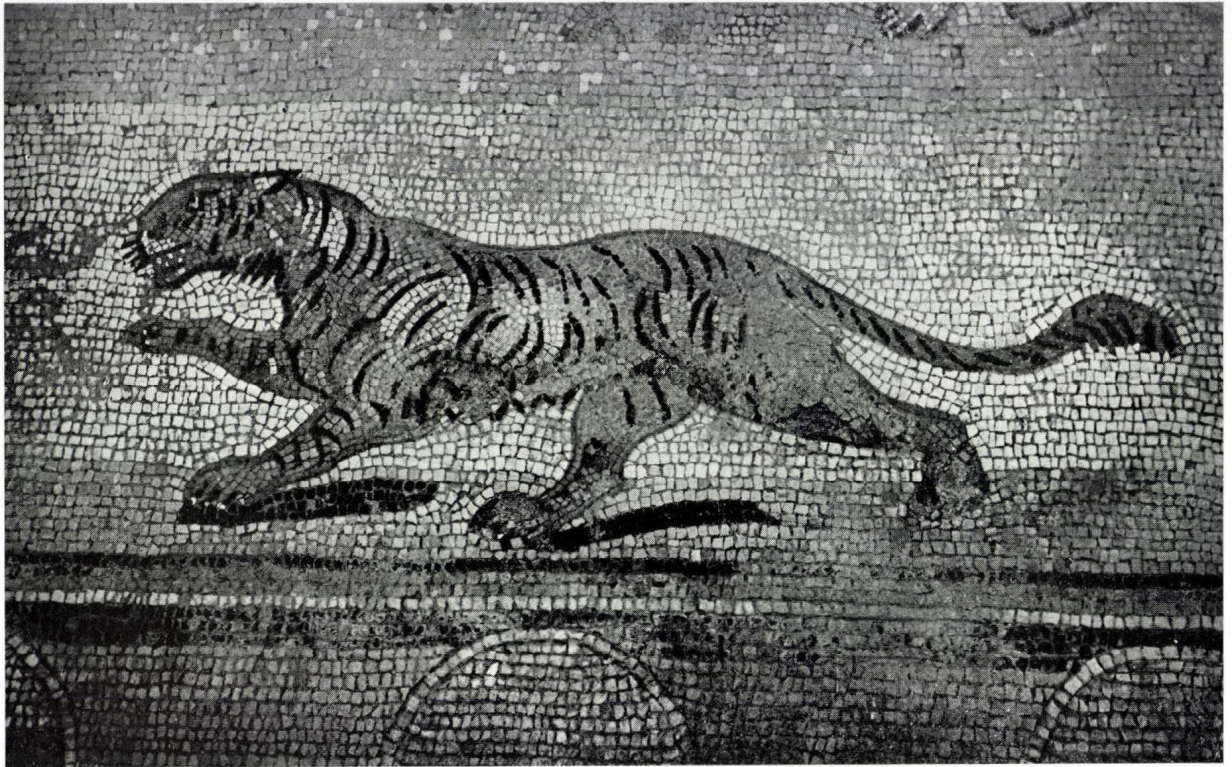


2. Aquincum, Canabae,
mosaic from room No. 4
of the
Meggyfa Street villa,
detail (No. 18)



3. Decoration
of the Pécs bronze jug,
Hungarian National
Museum



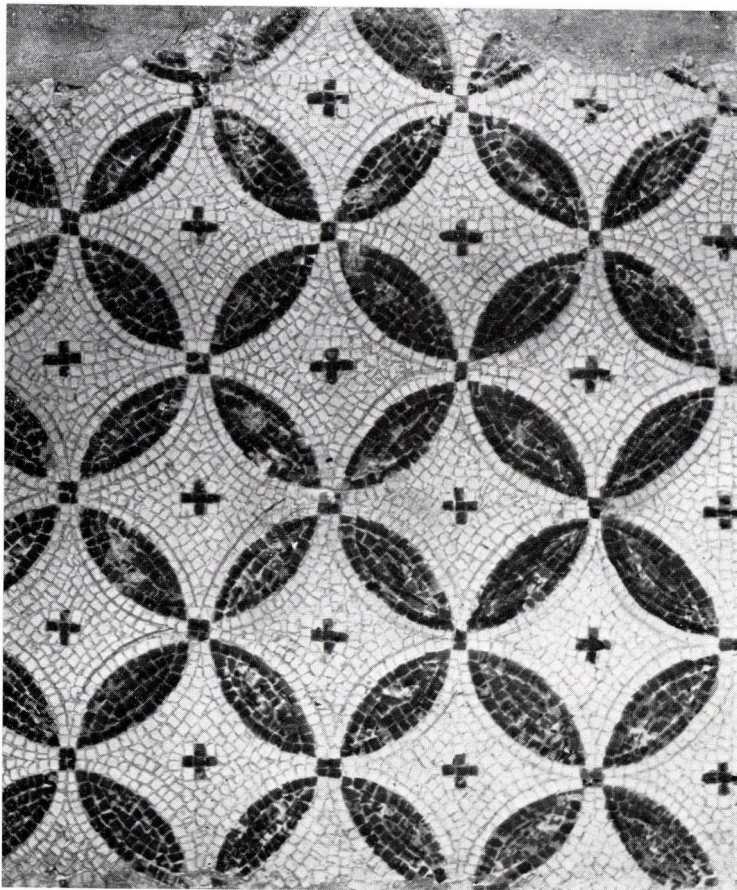


1. Aquincum, Canabae, detail of room No. 4 of the Meggyfa Street villa (No. 18)

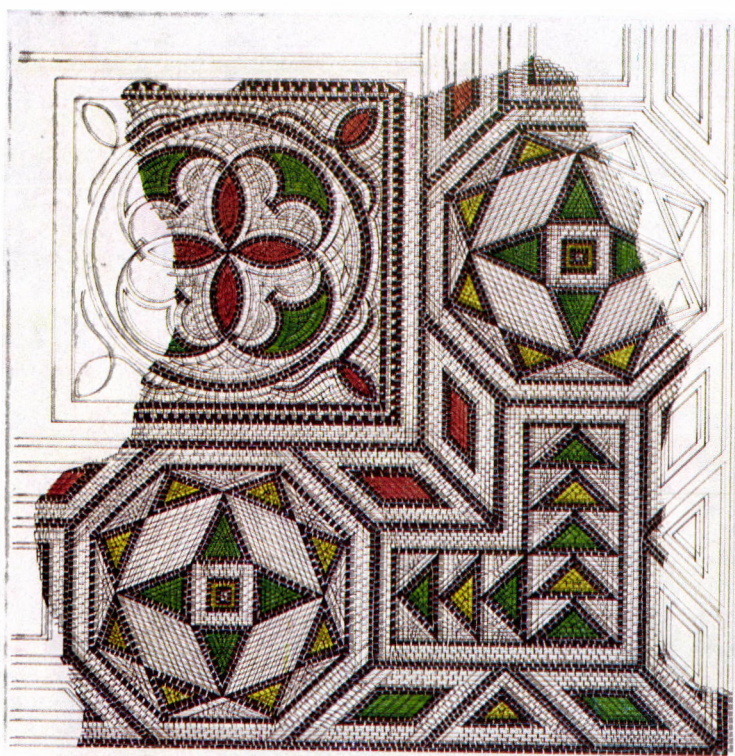


2. Aquincum, Canabae, mosaic from room No. 4 of the Meggyfa Street Villa apse (No. 18)

1. Baláca, mosaic of room No. 10,
detail (No. 21)



2. Baláca, mosaic of room No. 10 (No. 21)



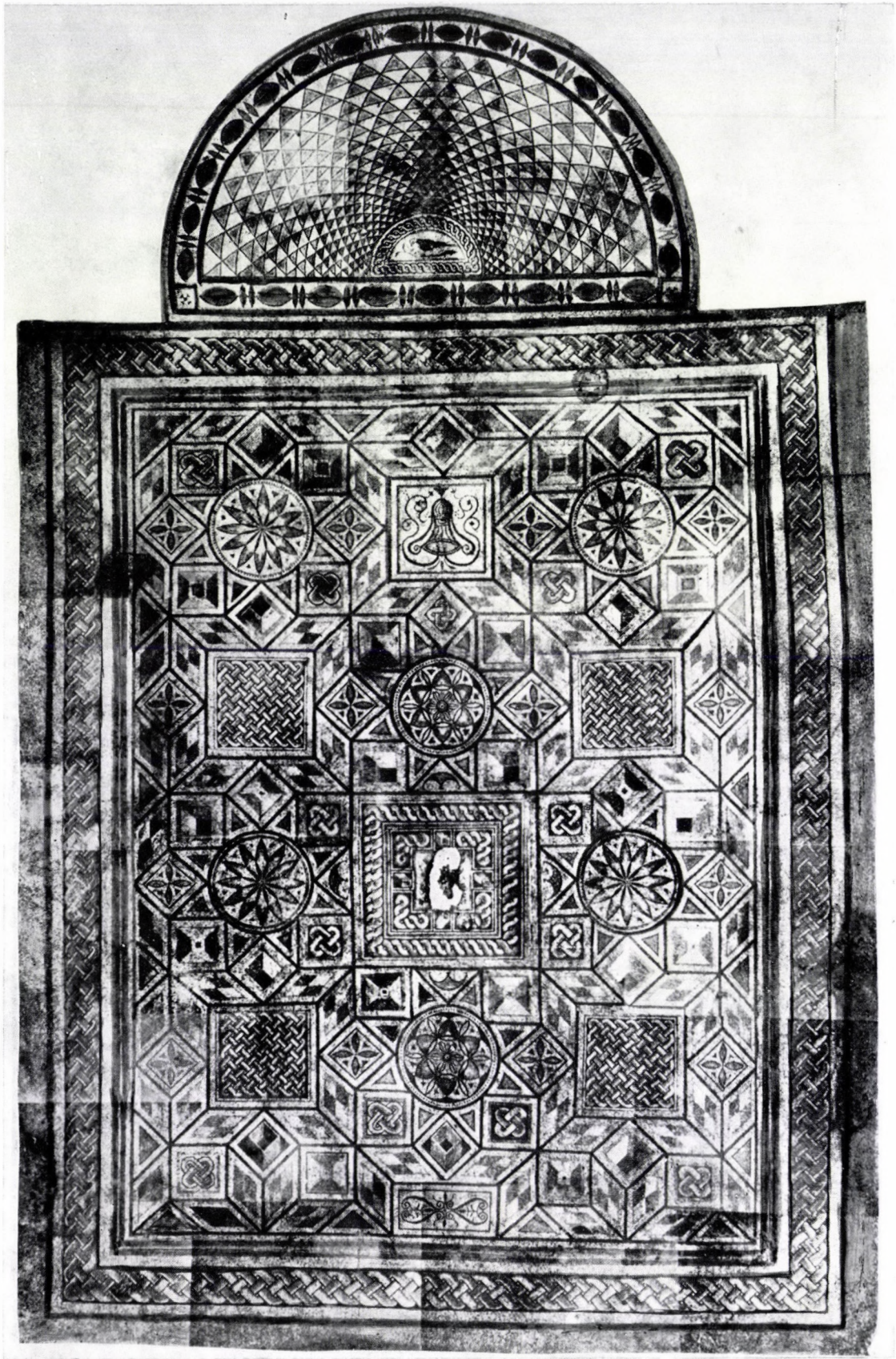


Plate XI

Baláca, mosaic of room No. 20 (No. 23)

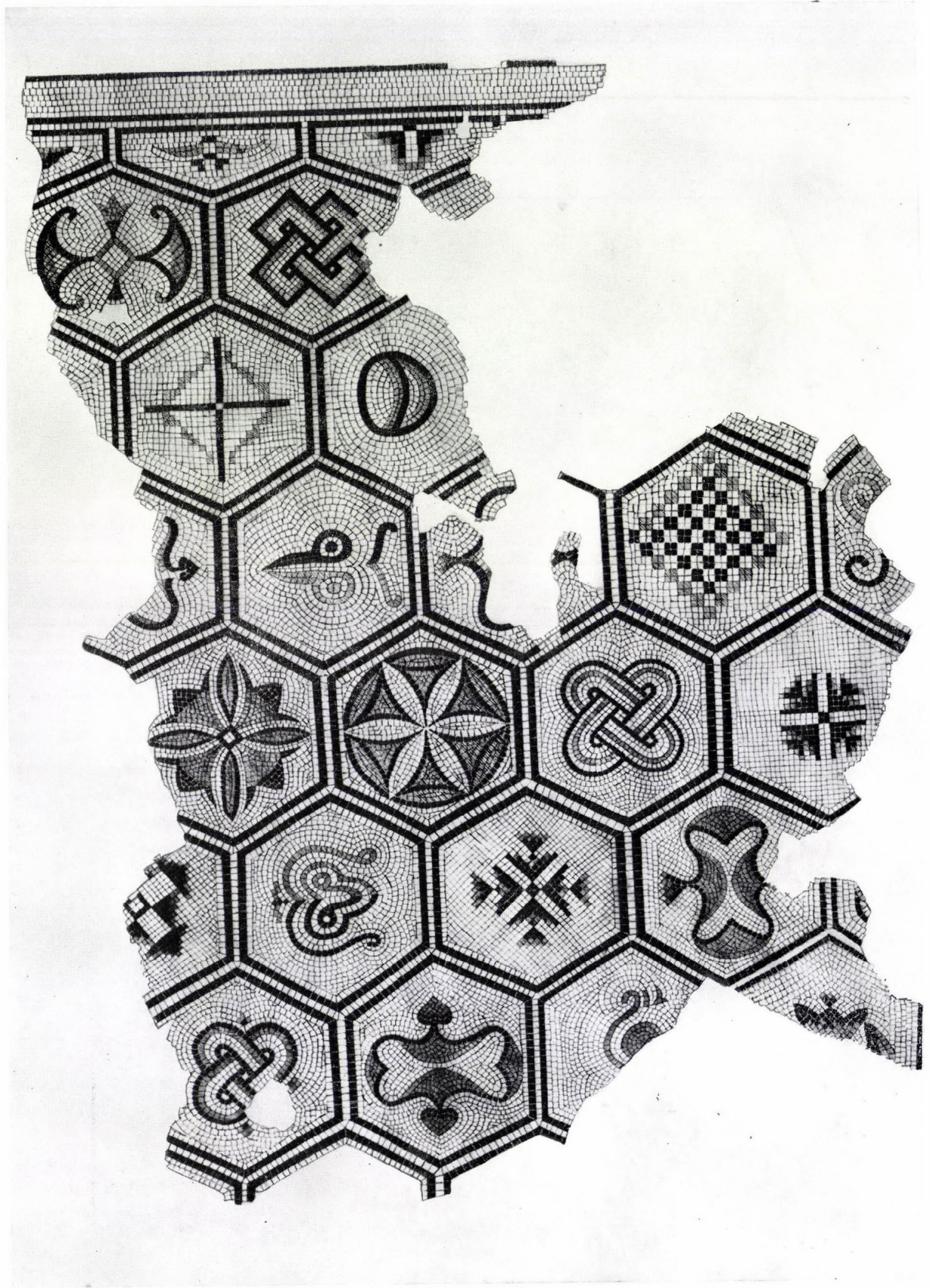
1. Aquileia, mosaic pavement, the Aquileia Museum



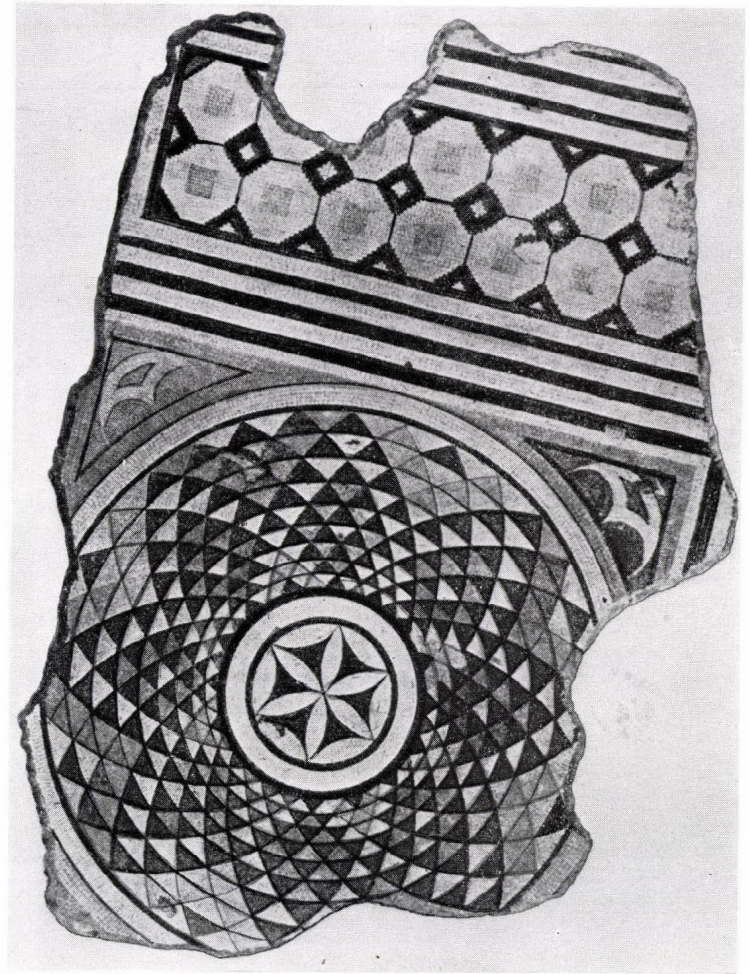
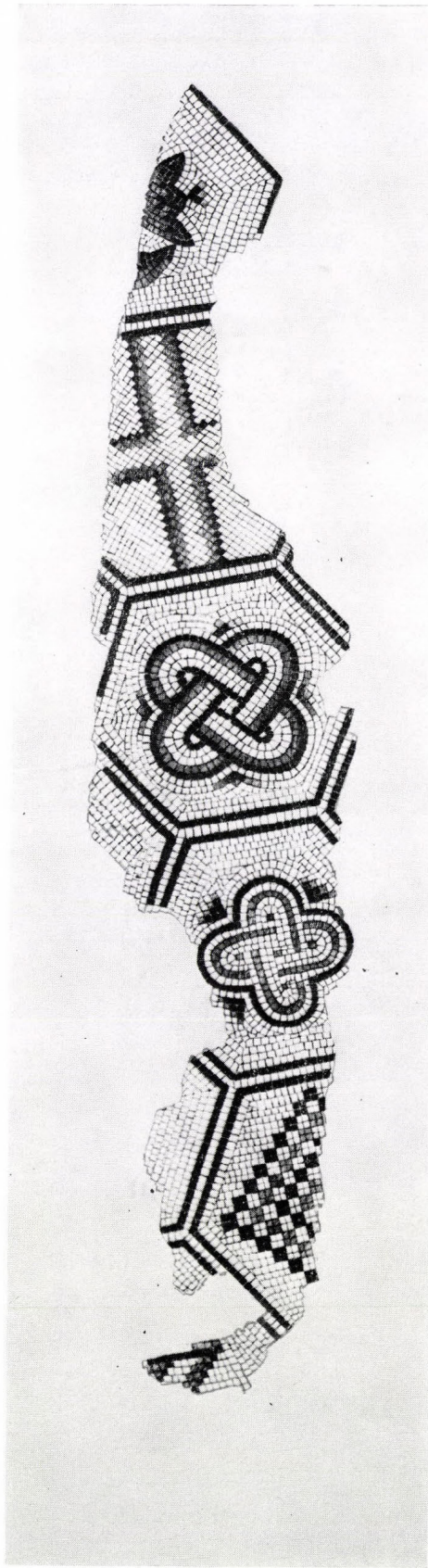
2. Baláca,
mosaic of room No. 20, detail (23)



3. Baláca,
mosaic of room No. 20,
middle part
with pseudoemblemata
(No. 23)



3. Savaria, the mosaic from the No. 14—16, Köztársaság Square (No. 25)



1. Savaria, the mosaic of the Savaria Museum,
Szombathely (No. 24)

2. Savaria, the mosaic from No. 14-16,
Köztársaság Square (No. 25)



Savaria, the mosaic of the early Christian basilica, corner detail (No. 27)



Savaria, the mosaic of the early Christian basilica



Savaria, the mosaic of the early Christian basilica, border detail (No. 27)



1. Savaria,
the mosaic of the early Christian basilica,
detail (No. 27)



2. Aquileia, Mosaic of the Theodorus basilica, border detail



3. Cremona,
mosaic from the Cremona museum

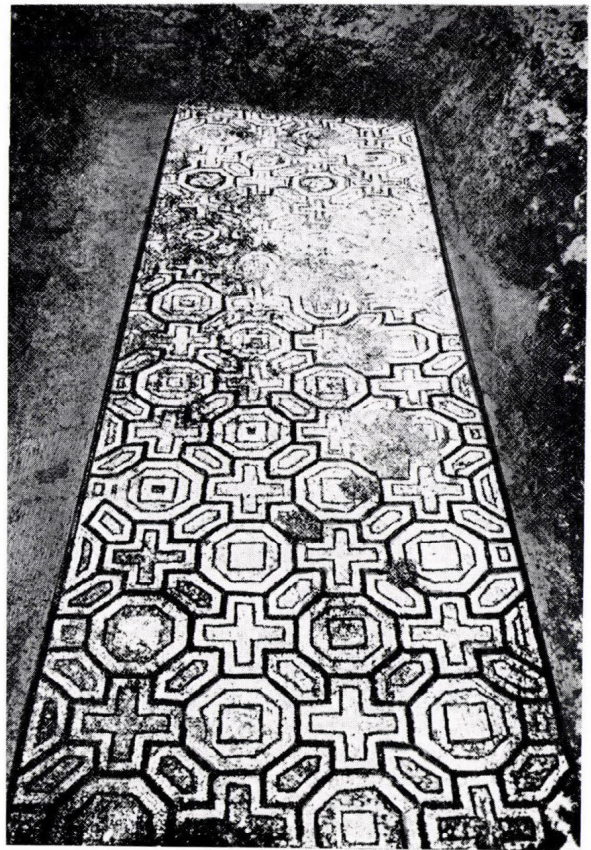


4. Antioch, mosaic of the Constantinian Villa, detail

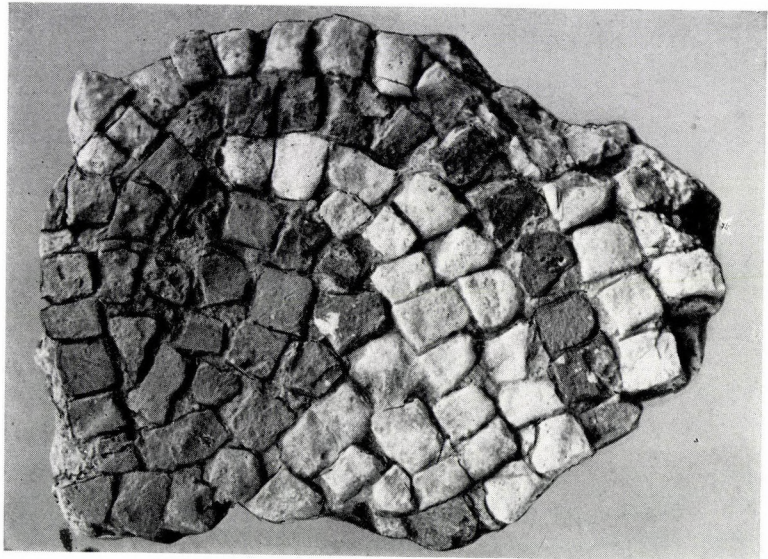


I. Sopianae, mosaic of the early Christian crypt, detail (No. 29)

2. Salonae,
mosaic of the cryptoporticus of Diocletian's Palace



3. Örvényes,
opus sectile pavement
from the Roman villa (No. 30)

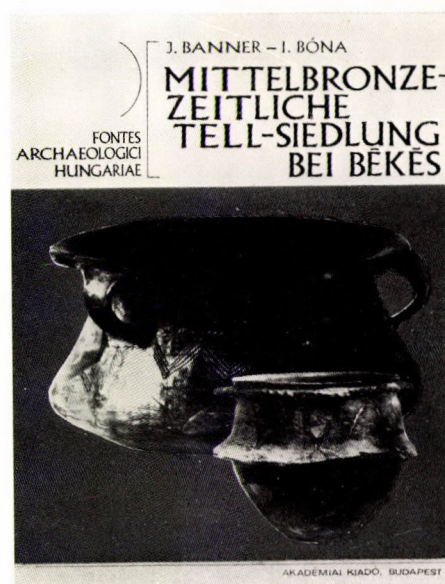
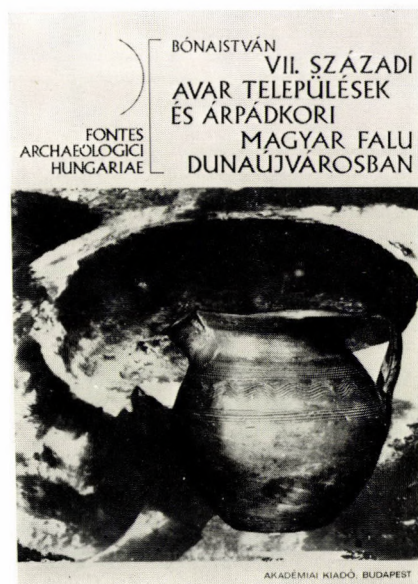
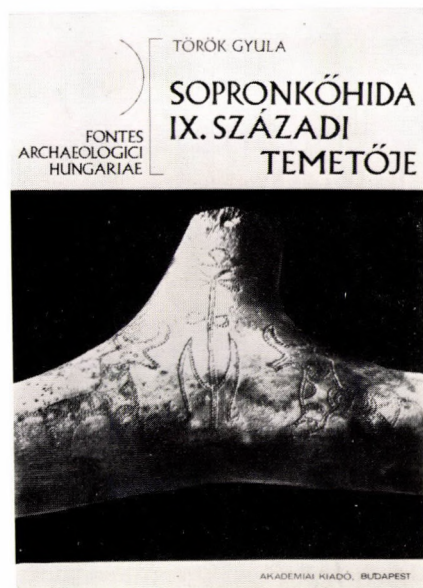


4. Brigetio, mosaic fragment from one of the buildings
of the Canabae (No. 31)

FONTES ARCHAEOLOGICI HUNGARIAE

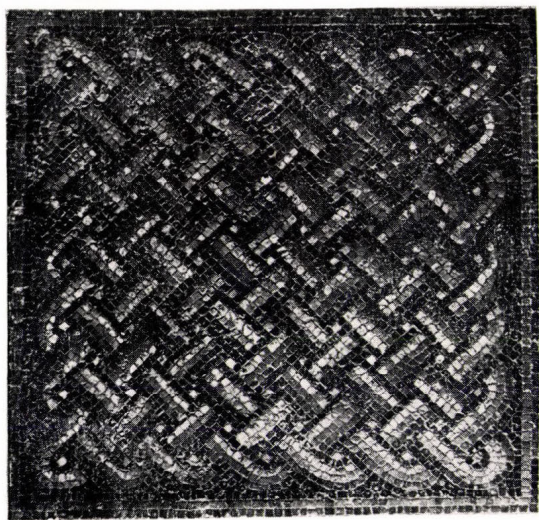
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ÁKOS KISS was born in 1911. He started his scientific career in the Museums of Aquincum, Veszprém and Tata. Later he worked in the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts. Between 1963 and 1965 he participated in the direction of the care of monuments under the leadership of the Ministry of Education. In 1965 he returned to the Museum of Applied Arts as the Head of the Department for Guiding of the Collections. His papers and studies deal mainly with the Imperial Arts (mosaics, architecture, etc.). He is the member of the Association Internationale pour l'Etude de la Mosaïque Antique (Paris).



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