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Ph.D DISSERTATION

**IMAGE AS ARTIFACT:
A SOCIAL-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS
OF FEMALE FIGURES WITH CUPS
IN THE BANQUET SCENES FROM THE CATACOMB OF
SS. MARCELLINO E PIETRO, ROME.**

**submitted
by**

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ABSTRACT

IMAGE AS ARTIFACT: A SOCIAL-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF FEMALE FIGURES
WITH CUPS IN THE BANQUET SCENES FROM THE CATACOMB OF SS.
MARCELLINO E PIETRO, ROME.

"In imagine veritas."

This study examines and interprets eight funerary banquet frescoes (wall-paintings) dating c. 280-320AD from the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Rome for visual evidence of women's roles in ritual in early Christian communities in the city of Rome.

It pioneers the use of a ground-breaking socio-historical method known as "Visual Hermeneutics" (the term was coined by Dr. Margaret Miles in Image as Insight [1985]) on visual data from early Christian Funerary Art. The method, (1) challenges presuppositions often brought to the study of this visual data and (2) identifies preconditions for understanding visual art, making it available to the cultural historian as a source of historical information. Thus the phrase: "*In imagine veritas.*" : There is truth to be found in images.

By this method I demonstrate that a gender bias is evident in the interpretative writings of past and contemporary scholars on female figures in early Christian Funerary Art. This finding is important because previous research in this field has uncritically interpreted female bodies found in this earliest form of Christian visual representation as 'abstract signs'. On the other hand, unknown male figures in early Christian Funerary Art (with the exception of the Good Shepherd) are frequently interpreted as real or actual individuals. Such an *a priori* reading disallows historical interpretation for any female figure that appears in early Christian Funerary Art. This interpretative bias is particularly relevant for, though by no means limited to, female figures which do not correspond directly to a textual reference in any of the books of the New Testament. In addition, by applying this method, I show that even where a female figure in early Christian Funerary Art has a textual referent in the New Testament (as is the case in the story of the Samaritan Woman at the Well, John 4: 7-42), the Samaritan woman's translation into a female figure in early Christian Funerary Art has been enough to interpret her as a 'Symbol' --

specifically a personification (ex. the Christian congregation) -- by contemporary male scholars.

In order to interpret the eight banquet scenes, which have both male and female figures, more accurately I re-establish the images in their original archaeological and social-historical settings using a comparative analysis with pagan Roman Funerary Art and Inscriptions. This comparison reveals that a Roman understanding of 'Ordinary' (sequential) and 'Mythical' (ritual, eternal or non-sequential) time is at work in the eight banquet scenes and that these modalities are in the process of being redefined.

The recognition that ordinary and mythical time function in new ways in these images, both in the speech-action of the inscription (painted on the fresco) and in the image-action of the visual narrative, confirms the Christian identification of the wall-paintings. It also suggests that far from being personifications, the female figures raising cups in the banquet scenes of SS. Marcellino e Pietro are representations of historical (real) ritual agents who mediate the care of their deceased relatives in the after-life through these private funeral feasts for the Christian dead.

Finally, this study offers a new interpretation of these eight banquet frescoes which places early Christian women in Rome at the centre of funerary rituals as the leaders and co-leaders of a cup-offering rite on behalf of the Christian dead.

**Janet H. Tulloch
University of Ottawa
May 11, 2001**

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Conceptual Framework

1.1.1 Visual Works as Historical Evidence

Religious Studies, a discipline which grew out of the study of theology, is predisposed toward the study of texts for its primary sources of knowledge. Ancient manuscripts are ordered within a hierarchy of trustworthiness; those seen as most trustworthy of representing a certain doctrine or philosophy, achieve the status of a canon. The practice of ordaining texts as the primary means of understanding religious history has left the study of religion as expressed in material culture to other specialists. However, the investigation of religion in material culture (mosaics, glassware, pots, paintings, architecture etc.) can reveal information that is not available in written sources, or in some cases has been suppressed, misrepresented or omitted by textual records. Historically, the discipline of Religious Studies wrongly dismissed or ignored data from material culture as insufficiently reliable (compared to written evidence) to be treated as a firm source against which theories could be tested. However fifteen years of post-modernist theory has taught scholars that the scientific model¹ does no more apply to written texts than it does to the visual products of material culture.²

Despite its flaws, post-modernist theory succeeded in demonstrating that both written texts (fictional and non-fictional) and visual works fall into the category of 'discursive representations'³. Both written texts and visual works are products of material culture that tell stories. Both written texts

¹A positivist ethos or frame of meaning which is not perceived as a frame of meaning over the data by those who use it.

²Indeed, it may not even work for science.

³I am well aware of the debates and artistic practices over the last quarter century that attempt to recast visual works as 'text' or written texts as 'visual fragments'. By and large this debate has been most helpful in the area of breaking down assumptions as to what constitutes the categories of 'art' and 'text' in artistic production. It has been frequently suggested that the word 'text' be used as a generic term for any cultural product, whether music, art or a novel. The term 'text' in my opinion is far too culturally charged to be used as a neutral category. Rather, I suggest that we approach a product of the human imagination, whether it be a photograph, an artifact, or a dance, with the knowledge that it has been realized in a form that "performs meaning". Hence the term, 'discursive representation'. My thinking on this matter has been stimulated by critical theorist Mieke Bal especially her book, Reading Rembrandt: Beyond the Word-Image Opposition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

and visual works incorporate imaginative elements, thought structures and historical traces of social patterns that are shaped by those cultures that produce them. Indeed, the historical imagination is part of the make-up of *any* humanly produced data. Written texts, like visual works, must be approached by scholars with the knowledge that these sources are constructed in value-laden and imaginative contexts. Equally important, both sources of data (texts and images) cannot help but be interpreted against a backdrop of value-laden and imaginative contexts. Despite historical attempts to reduce or exclude the human imagination from academic scholarship⁴, scholars now take up the challenge of constructing methods and approaches that take the human imagination in their data into better account.

Use of visual works as historical evidence in the discipline of Religious Studies was first presented as a source for historical research by Margaret Miles in Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture (1985). In this book Miles argues that if we are to adequately understand the life and worship of historical people, visual imagery must be an integral part of the scholars study. While texts connect the historian with the perceptions and ideas of a handful of educated elites, visual imagery complements this approach by offering the historian access to the social conditions of a broader spectrum --especially its women -- of the historical community⁵. As evidence, Miles argues, imagery gives us access to communications of certain attitudes, values, feelings and ideas in historical communities through a shared range of affectivity or sensory experiences defined by the image itself. These values, feelings and ideas however can only be read inasmuch as the literary evidence supports them.⁶

There are those voices, which rightly caution us in the use of this approach. Jas Elsner, an art historian, states that "because art forms the setting where the fantasies and ideals of a society may be represented,

⁴Except in those disciplines in which it was seen as appropriate, i.e. Literary and Film Studies, Drama, Art History, Visual Arts, etc.

⁵Unfortunately imagery can be as elitist in its social conditions as written records since those who can most afford to have pictures made are typically the well-to-do.

⁶Margaret R. Miles, Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture. (Boston, 1985) 30. The author of this study places less emphasis on the need for literary evidence to uphold the ideas and values in visual material.

imagined, negotiated, it is, for that reason, a dangerous guide to actuality."⁷ As I argued above, written texts can also form the setting in which "the fantasies and ideals of a society may be represented, imagined, negotiated." I agree with Elsner that one cannot (or one cannot often) determine from art the precise facts of the social reality to which a visual work alludes. But can one ever determine from any cultural representation, including texts, the precise facts of any given social reality? The best any scholar can do is to approximate that social reality, understanding that her/his approximation is also a cultural construction. Provided proper care is taken, the range of probable meanings for an image can be narrowed, and the improbable and the impossible meanings eliminated.

Visual works as a source of historical data should be viewed not simply as a reinforcement of, or as a corrective to, written texts but as a legitimate source of historical data with its own integrity, special considerations and approaches. Other academic disciplines ex. Classics, Ancient Art and Archaeology, typically employ visual and material culture as a legitimate source on which to base statements about religious practices of historical peoples. The issue for Religious Studies scholars is not a question of the primacy of images or texts as competing modes of knowledge, but rather that we overcome our predisposition to: a) see texts as the standard for knowledge; and b) disparage images by viewing them as illustrations of texts.

1.1.2 Visual Imagery and the Historical Roles of Women in early Christianity

This study forms part of a specific discourse on the question of early Christian women and religious leadership. Although the question has been considered extensively by textual scholars in the literature on women and early Christianity, this study argues that image-based information can be particularly revealing with respect to the historical roles of women, given the interests of the early Church to suppress, ridicule or omit references to women's religious authority in written texts.⁸ Specifically, I argue that

⁷Jas Elsner, Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph: The Art of the Roman Empire AD 100-450 (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 91.

⁸See, Elizabeth Schüssler-Fiorenza, "Introduction to the Tenth Anniversary Edition: Remember the Struggle" in In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins, (New York: Crossroads, 1994, 1983) xx-xxii, xxvi; Elizabeth Schüssler-Fiorenza, But She Said: Feminists

evidence of women in leadership roles in early Christianity can be found by examining historical documents from visual culture such as frescoes and sarcophagi in Late Antiquity.

My own efforts focus on the Art of early Christianity found in or near Rome, as this city was unquestionably a major centre for the new religion from the East. Rome's ancient necropolises, in which thousands of early Christian dead are buried, offer an abundance of material with which to work. My main theoretical framework adopts the parameters outlined by Bernadette Brooten in "Early Christian Women and their Cultural Context: Issues of Method in Historical Reconstruction"⁹.

Brooten's article describes the "shift of emphasis" required in historical practice that must take place when the scholars subject is the participation of women in early Christianity. "If we want to reconstruct the history of early Christian women ...we will need to place women in the center of the frame."¹⁰ This shift involves the reconfiguration of women from what was typically history's backdrop to the centre of the historical stage. This shift in perspective seems like a simple *modus agenda* to actualize: it is not. It sets in motion a rethinking of the categories, historical periods, canons of art and literature, and sources typically used in the construction of historical reality. Written records of events made by those who lived through them typically serve as the primary evidence used by historians attempting to reconstruct and explain historical events. For scholars of women's history in early Christianity, such written records are not available. As Brooten states: "The lack of [written] sources on women is part of the history of women".¹¹ This absence of women in western history has been

Practices of Interpretation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992) 62-68; Ross Kraemer, "Heresy as Women's Religion: Women's Religion as Heresy" in Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 157-173; Margaret Y. MacDonald, Early Christian Women and Pagan Opinion: The Power of the Hysterical Woman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

⁹Bernadette J. Brooten, "Early Christian Women and their Cultural Context: Issues of Method in Historical Reconstruction." in Feminist Perspectives on Biblical Scholarship, Adela Yarbro Collins, ed., (Chico, California, 1985) 65-91.

¹⁰Ibid., 65.

¹¹Ibid., 66.

explained by some historians as a purposeful omission. "What was missing before was the will to know. There can be no history of women unless women are taken seriously and gender relations are believed to influence events and social changes."¹²

1.2 Woman as Myth: The Female Body as Sign in early Christian Texts and Art

With the exception of four known texts¹³, remaining written sources on women in early Christianity have all been authored by men. Patristic scholar Elizabeth A. Clark has cautioned us not to interpret these male-authored sources as *realistic* portraits of early Christian women. In her analysis of the writings of the Church Fathers, she demonstrates the operation of what she calls an "ideology of gender" through which, "the *history of women* in early Christianity has been flattened to the *myth of woman*."¹⁴ This observation is upheld by James Arlandson in his study on women, class and society in early Christianity. Arlandson states that the existence even of prominent women "is known only through inscriptional and numismatic evidence, which almost always contradicts the literary and philosophical writings about women."¹⁵

The concept of 'ideology' as Clark points out, is an important one for historians who bring a feminist critique to their work. The term is not simply another word for 'worldview' but rather encompasses an "implied critique of power relations".¹⁶ According to Clark, the operation of *any* ideology in texts

¹²Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot, eds., History of Women in the West Vol. 1-5, (Cambridge, 1992) Vol. 1, xv.

¹³See: Patricia Wilson-Kastner et. al. A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church. Lantham, New York and London: University Press of America, 1981. In this book the authors include the following four texts with commentary: "The Martyrdom of Perpetua", c.203 AD, "Proba's Cento", c.351 AD, "The Pilgrimage of Egeria", c.404-717 AD, and the "Martyrdom of St. Cyprian", c. 5th C. AD.

¹⁴Elizabeth A. Clark, "Ideology, History, and the Construction of Woman in Late Ancient Christianity" in Journal of Early Christian Studies, (Vol.2, No.2, 1994) 170. Italics added.

¹⁵James Arlandson, Women, Class and Society in Early Christianity: Models from Luke-Acts, (Peabody Mass: 1997) 35.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 157. Concepts such as "strategies of containment", "structural limitation" and "ideological closure" which Clark borrows from Fredric Jameson, The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act, 1981, are all characteristic features of the meaning implied in the term, ideology.

functions to "naturalize and universalize its subjects... obscur[ing] the notion that ideas and beliefs are particular and local, situated in specific times, places, and groups".¹⁷ The effect smoothes over differences and obscures historicity. Clark argues that the harm of gender ideology is that it insidiously renders "meaning in the service of power".¹⁸ In patristic literature, the operation of *gender*¹⁹ ideology is most evident in the "Church Fathers exhortations to and chastisement of women, based on nostalgia for the ideals of female behaviour in an earlier era rather than on the laws and customs pertaining to women in their *own* day."²⁰

As the reader is aware, women's prominence in leadership roles in early Christianity is still a controversial area in contemporary scholarship. Despite the explosion of learning demonstrating a more active role for women in early Christianity (Brown, 1981; Cloke, 1995; Fiorenza, 1994; MacDonald, 1996), Ramsey MacMullen, as recently as 1997, summarized the participation of women in early Christianity in this way:

As to the women, the churches made special provision for widows, presided over not by male officers but, to avoid scandal, by deaconesses; and there is a very occasional priestess attested, too. Otherwise, women were valued for the renunciation of their sex or of their wealth, while barred from worshipping in groups at a saints martyrdom or entering to offer their prayers (they must use male

¹⁷Ibid., 160.

¹⁸Ibid., 158-159. Clark borrows this definition of ideology from John B. Thompson, Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Theory in the Era of Mass Communication, 1990.

¹⁹For a discussion of how the category of gender is understood in Christianity and Judaism in late antiquity, see Daniel Boyarin's essay, "Gender" in Critical Terms for Religious Studies, Mark Taylor, ed. (Chicago and London, 1998) 117-135. Boyarin suggests that at the level of a metaphysics of substance in late antique Christianity, the notion of an ideal human being as "a universal spiritual self that is above the differences of the body and its sexuality ... seems to produce an androgen who is always gendered male." 125. In contrast, Rabbinic Judaism from the same period, "insists on a twoness of humanity in the flesh from the very beginning [i.e. the originary human being as dual sexed, as two sexes joined in one body] from the conception by God, as it were." 129. The latter view Boyarin argues "portends enormous dangers for women, the dangers, precisely, of essentialism, while [the] universalism [of Christianity] seems to threaten an end to woman entirely." 132.

²⁰Clark, 161.

intermediaries); likewise, they were forbidden to approach the altar or to teach or preach.²¹

Such limited estimations of women's participation in early Christianity by prominent scholars has persuaded many to believe that women did not play important historical roles in the development and practice of the new faith. Ross Kraemer judiciously reminds us that "the whole issue of women's leadership roles in early Christianity cannot be divorced from the larger framework of *conflict* over women's roles and alternatives."²²

The conflict over women's roles among scholars of texts in early Christianity has no parallel in the scholarship on early Christian Art. Until recently, very few studies in early Christian Art have even taken a contextual approach toward the data.²³ This lack of debate over women's roles as depicted in Christian Art is a result of different factors at work, one of which is an unconscious gender ideology in the interpretative writing. Male scholars have dominated this field for almost two hundred years: to my knowledge a gender imbalance or bias in the interpretative writing on early Christian Art has never been raised as an issue.

Historians of Christian iconography would benefit from applying Clark's model of analysis on the writings of the Church Fathers. The operation of an ideology of gender in the interpretive texts on female figures in early Christian Art produces a similar allegorical construct. Female figures in early Christian Art are frequently interpreted as either symbols or signs.²⁴ This is especially the case, in interpretations of those visual images of women, which do *not* refer to identifiable female characters in the New

²¹MacMullen, Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eight Centuries (New Haven and London, 1997) 7. Given such conditions, MacMullen questions whether women of the Roman empire would likely have perceived the Christians as a more receptive community for their needs and desires than the traditional cults to which they were accustomed.

²²Ross Kraemer, Her Share of the Blessings, (New York and Oxford, 1992) 174. Italics added.

²³ A serious critique of scholarship on early Christian Art was brought forward by art historian Thomas Matthews in The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art Princeton, 1993. His book received only lukewarm reviews.

²⁴Some 20th century scholarship has contested this view in ways that will be elucidated below and in Chapter Three.

Testament (i.e. Mary, Mary Magdalene, the Samaritan woman or the Woman at the Well etc.). Indeed, most past scholarship on female figures in early Christian Art seems to imply that female figures which do not represent specific Biblical characters can *only* be interpreted as rhetorical constructs i.e. either personifications of abstract moral ideals such as piety or as *symbols* of the Christian church (i.e. ekklesia). The claim here is that there is nothing about female figures which can be historical unless the figure refers to a story in the New Testament.

This method of interpretation denies *a priori* the possibility of ascribing historical reality to not easily identified female figures found in early Christian Art. Indeed, historian Paul Corby Finney contends that the received method for studying early Christian iconography only allows for the possibility of Christian meaning in art by means of "symbol-specific imagery". Using this narrow approach, an identification of 'Christian' for visual material can only be ascribed when an image is clearly derived from Christian scripture. This rule has a greater negative impact on historical Christian women than men due to the social condition of male-driven textual evidence to reinforce the patriarchal status quo. Using this approach a female figure in early Christian Art that does *not* refer to an identifiable character from the New Testament (and who is clearly not a portrait of the deceased), is not allowed the possibility of being Christian in origin. In this scheme, female figures cannot even be symbolic constructs. This approach, which Finney calls the "minimalist perspective", has been in his opinion ". . .elevated to a principle of hermeneutical correctness" in the work of scholarship on early Christian Art.²⁵ It is a viewpoint which must be squarely challenged if we are to recover historical women from early Christian Art.

For those scholars who did not follow the narrow identification of imagery based on scripture, the female figure as symbolic construct was still an option for interpretation. In those cases in which we have a female figure in early Christian Art with no easily identifiable historical referent (and there are many) the figures have been conflated and identified as their gesture. The phenomenon of female figure as gesture is most prominent in

²⁵Paul Corby Finney, The Invisible God: The Earliest Christians on Art, (New York and Oxford, 1994) 188.

the history of interpretative writing on the *orans* ²⁶ (the prayer gesture of raised arms).

While it may be possible that the prayer gesture of raised arms was used in art to represent a specific meaning --no one really knows-- past scholarship has followed the credo that every unidentifiable female figure²⁷ drawn in this position is, by extension, a symbol.²⁸ The female figure could *not* be, for example, a representation of a historical woman from a congregation who offered prayers on behalf of her community. Nor could she be a depiction of a female saint well known to the Christian community (but unknown to us) who buried their dead at a particular catacomb. Both of these interpretations would clearly ascribe authority (earthly or celestial) to historical women in early Christianity. Although both men and women are found drawn in this prayer position in early Christian Art, by far, the majority of *orantes* are female.²⁹

1.2.1 Woman as Symbol in early Christian Art - Then...

In order to illustrate the operation of a gender ideology in the interpretative writing on early Christian Art, I have summarized a few of the more notable (notorious?) interpretations of the unknown female figure

²⁶A masculine figure is known as an 'orant', a female figure as, 'orante'. Some scholars including myself use the term 'orans' to designate a figure of either sex. The plural of this singular Latin term is 'orantes'.

²⁷To my knowledge, there has been no studies of male figures in this posture.

²⁸Not only are these female figures seen as symbols, they are seen as inert signs. Despite their suggestive location (in many cases painted under the arch of the arcosolium directly facing the sarcophagus of the deceased) there is no hint of their function as an apotropaion (something capable of repelling evil) in the literature. In a culture in which cult images were thought to contain the presence of the deity, it is highly unlikely that such Christian images were placed over graves to be decorative only. On the history of the power of images, see David Freedberg's The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response, Chicago and London, 1989.

²⁹Up to 153 examples of this representation had been found in the catacombs at the time of the publication of the second volume of Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie by dom Henri Leclercq and dom Fernand Cabrol in 1925. See "Art des Catacombes", Vol. II, Col. 2472. For a numerical breakdown of Biblically-identified subjects of the pre-Constantinian era in early Christian art, see Graydon F. Synder, Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine, (Mercer University Press, 1985) 43.

(known as the *orante*) from the work of four esteemed scholars of early Christian Art (late 19th and early 20th centuries).

Acknowledging a difference of opinion among archaeologists, Henri Leclercq (1869-1945) declared that in the opinion of his colleagues (now known as the Roman school³⁰), the *orans* "symbolizes the spirits of the deceased who are in the bosom of heavenly bliss praying for the salvation of those who are close to them still living on earth."³¹ According to Leclercq, this meaning is consistent for all *orantes* which appear by themselves. Other figures, in the context of a group, express the idea of prayer more clearly by symbolizing God's elect, already in possession of eternal joy who, while awaiting the resurrection of all, offer intercessory prayers on behalf of others.³² Signore G. B. de Rossi, (1822-1894) the scholar who is credited with co-founding the Roman school, believed that the oldest representations of the female *orante* figure in the Roman catacombs depicts an abstract symbol which stood for the church, especially when configured in relation to "le bon Pasteur", a male figure dressed as a shepherd holding a lamb around his neck.

The view of the *orans* as an "allegory of the soul of the pious believer" was also held by André Grabar (1896-1990). While Grabar was not a member of the Roman school of interpretation, his readings of Roman Art in the early Christian era are from within the Christian tradition and begin, as suggested by Laurence Kant in his critique of Grabar's *Christian Iconography*, with the *a priori* identification of the figure not only as Christian, but dogmatically so. Grabar "assumes the priority of Christian dogma [in his interpretation of the art] and seems to formulate a position that views early Christian visual images as signals that teach abstract theological ideas"³³. Characterizing

³⁰While the Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana did not officially open until 1925, Guiseppe Marchi (1795-1860) and Giovanni B. de Rossi (1822-1894) are generally credited as the founders of the science of early Christian archeology.

³¹Leclercq, *Dictionnaire* Vol. 12, col. 2299. Translation: J. Tulloch.

³²*Ibid.*, col. 2300ff.

³³Laurence H. Kant, *The Interpretation of Religious Symbols in the Graeco-Roman World: A case study of Early Christian Fish Symbolism*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1993) 101.

the "visual images as signals" is a reference to Grabar's tendency to identify the early frescoes in the catacombs as "image-signs". According to Grabar, these image-signs appeal primarily to the mind in that they correspond to ideas beyond what is represented by the image.³⁴ He considers them difficult to interpret because their meanings have been condensed into single forms (e.g. fish or *orans*) which function much in the same way as schematics (line drawings which refer to more complex structures). The *orans*, like other image-signs in his view, condense complex cognitive ideas. For reasons which are not clear, Grabar suggests that the *orans* is a compact symbol of the virtue of *piety*. Grabar suggests that the image-sign, *orante* refers to the piety of the deceased Christian.³⁵ Pietas however is so clearly a Roman notion associated with sacrifice and proper respect to family and state.

Finally, Lucien de Bruyne (1902-1978) interpreted the art of the Roman catacombs in light of the Christian doctrines of faith, baptism, and the Eucharist, a triptych of Christian religious practice which he suggested was united under the overarching idea of initiation. De Bruyne interpreted the *orante* as an important *symbol* of "heavenly beatitude". According to this view the *orante*, as an abstract symbol, proclaims her faith through adherence to doctrine, emphasized especially by her appearance with "le Bon Pasteur" in teaching scenes found on sarcophagi. It is her faithful discipleship in life, which culminates in her heavenly happiness. Even in contexts where the *orante* appears alone, she recalls *the memory* of her faith to which she owes her saintly happiness.³⁶

In contradistinction to the female figure as symbolic construct, a group of German scholars, known as the Bonn school³⁷ of interpretation, suggested that the figure of the *orans* is not a generalized symbol at all but rather a specific person, usually a woman, who is a portrait of the deceased.

³⁴André Grabar, Christian Iconography: A Study of its Origins, (Princeton, 1968) 8.

³⁵Ibid., 11.

³⁶de Bruyne, "L'initiation chrétienne et ses réflets dans l'art paléochrétien" in Revue des Sciences Religieuses. (Vol. 36, Nos. 3-4, 1962) 40-42.

³⁷Originally under the leadership of Hans Lietzmann (1875-1942), a historian and Franz Joseph Dölger (1879-1940), a scholar of material culture. For more information on the Roman and Bonn schools of interpretation see: Synder (1985) 3-7.

Theodor Klauser (1894-1984) considered this interpretation to be especially apt when the *orans* is carved on a sarcophagus. Of interest, Klauser considered the prayer position of the figure to be empty of all Christian meaning. "The image [of the *orans*] scarcely ever conveys an explicitly Christian (i.e. biblical) meaning but instead carries the meanings given it in pre-Christian or non-Christian contexts."³⁸ Ironically, where these scholars find historical elements in the *orans*, they conclude the figure is non-Christian.³⁹

Except for Klauser, the above interpretations on the *orante* contend that her meaning is symbolic in the strictest understanding of the word. Opponents of Klauser's view have challenged his claim that the meaning of the *orante* is pre-Christian, but do not decide whether the figure is historical or symbolic or both.⁴⁰ Klauser himself for the most part considered the *orante* to have an historical referent.

Although the particulars are different for each scholar, one does not have to venture very far to discover why 19th and early 20th century Christian archaeologists and art historians had so much difficulty associating the terms, female, history and Christianity. First, the disciplines of archaeology and art history were perceived by their male practitioners as

³⁸Paul Corby Finney writing on Klauser's interpretation of the *orans* in the Encyclopedia of Early Christianity. (New York, 1997) 831-832.

³⁹The history of the *orans* posture is very old and widespread in ancient Mediterranean, Egyptian and Old European cultures. Richard Brilliant identifies the gesture of 'lifting up the hands' as a "well established type of Greek religious iconography common all over the ancient world." Gesture and Rank in Roman Art (New Haven, 1963) 15. Earlier artifacts of female figurines, often showing the breasts or the entire body nude, date back as early as 2000 BC. See "Lilith", c.2000BC, terracotta bas-relief from Sumer, "Goddess with Poppy Seeds in her Crown", c.1350 BC, clay, Knossos in Elinor Gadon's The Once and Future Goddess (New York, 1989) figs. 82 and 67. Of interest, there is a 15thC. BC fresco from the palace shrine at Knossos which shows a bare-breasted female figure with hands lifted up approached by lines of men, some of whom carry rhytons. At least one male figure carries a vase and another, a small wide bowl for drinking. See Gadon (1989) fig. 63. Female figures in the *orans* posture sometimes hold objects such as snakes or sheaves of wheat in their hands thus earning them the designation of 'Fertility Goddesses'. My own view is that the 'lifting up of hands' gesture is related more to offering than to prayer with later more stylized figures and figurines omitting the objects offered.

⁴⁰Diane Apostolos-Cappadona includes both historical and symbolic meanings for the *orans* in Dictionary of Women in Religious Art. (New York and Oxford, 1998) 278-279.

transcendent i.e. timeless and ahistorical. A very circumscribed notion of history lay beneath each of their 19th century conceptual frameworks. Like religion, history was understood to be fixed and transcendent and therefore infinitely stable as a field of inquiry. Methodological apparatus were considered to be culturally neutral tools of scholarly investigation. Secondly, Christian Archaeology was subjugated to Christian theology while Art History still paid homage to the assumed relatively high cultural status of Christianity. Members of the Roman school "fairly consistently read the [archaeological] data against the backdrop of ecclesiastical tradition."⁴¹ Their method subordinated archaeological data to the biblical and patristic literary tradition (which, as suggested by Clark, had its own gender ideology problems) using archaeological evidence to enhance and supposedly prove the correctness of Christian literary reconstruction.⁴² In cases where the archaeological data and literary texts disagreed, the text was assigned ultimate authority. Such a procedure produced a glaze of Christian symbolism over the pigment of Roman catacomb art. Third, a very circumscribed notion of human nature formed part of the cognitive maps of 19th and 20th century male scholars. Freud's development of psychoanalysis as a method for analyzing the human mind and his resulting hierarchical models of male & female behaviour dominated western notions of appropriate sex-roles late into the 20th century. Flesh and blood females, even those dead for more than 1700 years, have little place in the rarefied coordinates of academic reality.

Given the eras in which the above scholars lived, it is likely that they were not even aware that a gender ideology was at work in their own scholarship, since their assumptions about proper sex roles would have been so uncritically accepted (i.e. so naturalized). Unfortunately, the same apology cannot be made for contemporary male scholars practicing in the field of early Christianity and early Christian Art. Sex and gender as categories of analysis have become important classifications in scholarship. They can no longer be ignored in interpretative writing on female figures in early Christian Art.

⁴¹Snyder (1985) 6.

⁴²Ibid., 6.

1.2.2. Woman as Symbol in early Christian Art -- Now...

When demonstrating an ideology of gender at work in an academic field, it is important to review contemporary interpretations of the same or similar subject matter to determine if the operating ideology in past scholarship was simply an accident of history. Of the contemporary literature by male scholars which touches on female figures, it is important to note three trends. The first is that gender is still not an important category of analysis:

Il faut plutôt y voir l'effet d'une indifférence: peu importe que l'on représente un homme ou une femme, l'essentiel est l'attitude d'orant et la signification quelle exprime.⁴³

The second is that scholars of early Christian Art shy away from conflict involving the status and function of female figures. Commenting on a scene⁴⁴ found in the crypt of one of Rome's oldest catacombs, in which a man and a woman stand on either side of a tripod table with food on it (the female figure in the orans posture stands closest to the table), Paul Corby Finney writes:

The simple but lamentable truth is this: no one (myself included) has the foggiest idea what the scene left of the central sigma is supposed to represent. The table is clearly the visual and hence symbolic center of the scene....For [Franz J.] Dölger the table was a secular object, a piece of household furniture....If (as is more likely) the table had been intended as a piece of cultic furniture, then the *Vorgang* involves the cultic display of bread and fish. To claim anything more than this seems to me unwise.⁴⁵

We note that the focus of the scholarly debate is on the status of the furniture (secular or cult table?) and not on the status or the function of the female figure, who may be the *key participant* in the scene because of

⁴³Pierre Prigent, "Les orants dans l'art funéraire du christianisme ancien." in Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, (Vol. 73, 1992/3) 265.

⁴⁴From cubiculum "A3", in the catacomb of S. Callixtus, Rome -- a Christian cemetery founded before 200 AD.

⁴⁵Finney (1994) 216.

her closer proximity to the table than the male figure. (See my catalogue, fig. 16b.)

Three, the female body in early Christian Art is still interpreted as a sign. As demonstrated in Snyder's Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life before Constantine (1985), even a female figure which *does* represent a specific Biblical character, the Samaritan woman or the Woman at the Well [John: 4: 4-42], when reconstituted in the realm of art, is interpreted as a personification, in this case: the Congregation of Christians.

The Samaritan woman, or the Woman at the Well (John 4), occurs twice in our [visual] material. At Dura-Europos she simply is standing next to the well. In St. Callixtus she appears as an Orante by the well while Jesus points to it. The scene is the New testament counterpart to Moses Striking the Rock. Jesus 'delivers' the woman by granting her an unusual accession to the water. After Constantine the more frequent scene was Peter Striking the Rock. Presumably the difficulty for the woman was not a great thirst. Consequently, as with Moses and Peter, *it would be appropriate to see here a cultic symbol* in which Jesus grants the water of life to *the congregation*, which could refer to baptism, the agape, or both.⁴⁶

1.3 Women as Interpreters of early Christian Art

At this point readers of this study might be asking: are there any female interpreters of early Christian Art and if so how does gender ideology play out in their scholarship? The answer is yes there are some female scholars who have written on the subject of female figures in early Christian Art. To date however, their work has not been celebrated in the same way as their male contemporaries. Their scholarship is not part of the written canon on early Christian Art produced by either the Roman or Bonn schools of interpretation. Nor is their work particularly feminist in its analysis.

Three scholars come to mind as part of that first generation⁴⁷ of female academics in this century to complete graduate studies in Art history and archaeology: Alice Mulhern, who was a Professor of Christian

⁴⁶Snyder (1985) 61. My emphasis.

⁴⁷ There is a second generation of female scholars writing about early Christian Art. Robin Jensen's Understanding Early Christian Art. London and New York: Routledge, 2000, for example, is a thoughtful study on the verbal and visual modes of religious expression in early Christianity. Like this study her book also addresses the status of images by scholars who have approached history through the text mode.

Archaeology at the Pontificio Istituto Regina Mundi, Rome⁴⁸; Sister Charles Murray, a British theologian of early Christian Art; and Elisabeth Jastrzebowska, a student at the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology, Rome, in the late 1970's⁴⁹. I will be considering Jastrzebowska's work in the main body of my study, so I will omit an overly long treatment of her scholarship here. The scholarship of Sister Charles Murray makes a point which I stress in this chapter: the problem of an *a priori* point of view overlaid on early Christian Art. I will begin by considering her work.

Sister Charles Murray will most likely be remembered as a terrorist with a pen by the established scholars who meet at the International Congresses of Christian Archaeology every few years. Her essay "Art and the Early Church" is a biting condemnation of past scholarship, and a thorough refutation of what she terms "the hostility theory".⁵⁰ toward art in the early Church. Her essay makes a major contribution to the history of interpretation of early Christian Art starting with the *acceptance of art* by early Christians in their liturgical spaces. She refutes the hostility theory as a trajectory of careless scholarship which over time became canonized into "established truth".⁵¹ In her scholarship, Sister Murray is not interested in the unmasking of gender ideologies. Her work however does challenge preconditioned theories about early Christian Art, a problem which is squarely faced in this study.

Her other work, Rebirth and Afterlife (1981) is a compilation of essays based on her view that Christian funerary art from the pre-Constantinian

⁴⁸Sadly, Professor Mulhern died shortly after the publication of her article on the *orante* in Dossiers d'Archéologie. See note 54.

⁴⁹After her excellent study on banquet scenes in late antiquity, Professor Jastrzebowska went on to do research in a different area.

⁵⁰The theory that for the first two centuries of the common era, Christians rejected the visual expression of their faith because of the second commandment forbidding the making and worship of idols.

⁵¹Sister Charles Murray, "Art and the Early Church" in Art Archaeology and Architecture of Early Christianity, Paul Corby Finney, ed. (New York and London, 1993) 215. This article was originally published in the Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. Vol. XXVIII, Pt. 2, October, 1977. As with early Christian texts, canons form around interpretations of early Christian Art.

period expresses a diversity of "personal interpretations of Christian teaching"⁵² while acknowledging an exchange of ideas between the art and the literature of the early Church. She arrives at this conclusion through an examination of three famous motifs in early Christian funerary art: the "Christian Orpheus", the "Christian Helios and the Vine", and the "Christian Ark of Noah". In her view these three motifs are reinterpretations (and somewhat critical appropriations) of certain pagan funerary motifs and eschatological ideas which have been cleverly modified to agree with Christian theology. The essays in Rebirth and Afterlife are a clear demonstration of her approach as stated in the conclusion of "Art and the Early Church": the material remains of the early Church should be interpreted within the context of the history of early Christianity, parallel to and not as the handmaiden of literary remains.⁵³

Writing at about the same time as Murray, Alice Mulhern published an article on the significance of the *orante* figure in early Christian Art.⁵⁴ This article, based on her unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, surveys the variety of orantes, male and female, depicted in the posture of prayer. Mulhern concludes that the figure of the *orante* is metaphorical but not necessarily ahistorical given that the gesture of the orante seems to be reserved primarily for the representation of dead persons.⁵⁵ What puzzled her most about this ubiquitous figure⁵⁶ was its "disappearance" during what Art

⁵²Sister Charles Murray, Rebirth and Afterlife: A study of the transmutation of some pagan imagery in early Christian funerary art, (Oxford: BAR International Series 100, 1981) 113.

⁵³Murray (1993) 257.

⁵⁴Alice Mulhern, "L'Orante, vie et mort d'une image", in Dossiers d'Archéologie, (No. 18, Sept-Oct, 1976) 34-49.

⁵⁵Ibid., 46.

⁵⁶Ibid., 40. The orante (female version) is found in all artistic media and across the vast spaces of the Roman empire -- so much so that it is uncontested as the most distinctive visual form produced by early Christianity. According to Mulhern, it is the presence of the orante at ancient monuments from late antiquity which allows archaeologists to interpret a site as having had a liturgical use. She cites the ancient house church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Rome underneath the modern basilica by the same name as one example of her argument. I have visited this site: the orante she refers to is indeed large (approximately 60 x 90 cm.), definitely female (she is wearing jewelry), veiled, barefoot, and is located on the upper portion of a wall to the left of a large archway.

Historians call the "Byzantine period".⁵⁷ According to Mulhern, scholars can come to some understanding of the meaning of the *orante* figure for early Christians only if we are able to explain why this figure disappeared. Here again we are reminded of Brooten's comments with which we began. A rethinking of categories, historical periods, and current canons of art and literature is necessary for a construction of historical reality when we place women in the centre of the frame. For those scholars interested in taking up Mulhern's challenge, a survey of how religious roles changed for women from the Jesus movement through the period of the early church to the beginning of the middle ages could prove very revealing and perhaps answer her question as to why the female orans disappeared.

Lastly, in the late 1970's Elisabeth Jastrzebowska compiled a comprehensive listing and scholarly analysis of 144 banquet scenes from Late Antiquity for the purpose of comparing Christian and pagan scenes. The main difficulty with this study is that Jastrzebowska grouped her data into "*scènes chrétiennes et païennes*" *before* she analyzed her material. She does however provide a rationale for her classifications under the section, "Interpretation" (beginning on p. 60), signaling to the reader that she is aware that classification is also an act of interpretation. A second difficulty with this study is Jastrzebowska's heavy reliance on physical context for determining her data as Christian. This is especially true for the paintings she analyses stating that the distinction between "*des scènes peintes chrétiennes et d'autres non chrétiennes est relativement facile; elle se base sur leur provenance (catacombes chrétiennes de Rome) et sur leur contexte iconographique (présence d'autres scènes chrétiennes)*".⁵⁸ The first condition is problematic: we know pagan graves and tombs exist in what later become Christian cemeteries, ex. catacomb of St. Sebastian, Priscilla, to name a couple. Her second condition begs the question -- by what means does she know these other scenes are Christian?

⁵⁷According to most art historians, this style in art begins sometime in mid 6th century European and eastern Christian Art and declines in the early Middle Ages.

⁵⁸E Jastrzebowska, 61.

1.4. The Problem: Preconditioned Readings of Banquet Frescoes in the Catacomb of Marcellino e Pietro, Rome.

The frescoes of eight banquet scenes found in the funeral context of the catacomb known as SS. Pietro e Marcellino in Rome have never been satisfactorily interpreted. Like the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, they have been saturated in the brine of wave after wave of masculinist readings, rereadings and cognitive distortions.⁵⁹ Germane to my argument that visual art can be revealing with respect to the historical roles of women in early Christianity, is the presence of female figures with cups who occupy a prominent visual role in these representations. That is, within these frescoes, female figures recline, stand and/or sit, but in each case the figure raises a cup up in front of the banqueters while the other figures at the sigma (a c-shaped couch) sit and make gestures of various kinds.

The interpretation of these female figures in what are considered to be *Christian* banquet scenes⁶⁰ has been debated by scholars for almost two hundred years. Given the frescoes were painted within a ritual space (a tomb of the dead), there is *general* agreement among the interpreters that they have some relationship to death, funerals and the tradition of the commemorative meal as it was practiced in Late Antiquity. There is also general agreement that these frescoes are dated in a brief period between the late 3rd century and the early 4th century AD. To my knowledge, there has never been any attention paid to the cup-offering pose of the female figures in the published literature on the frescoes. My analysis of these images addresses the following questions: (1) Is there anything historical with regard to the female figures recorded here? (2) If so, what is it? (3) Whom did the images serve?⁶¹ and (4) What did these images do? The interpretation of these frescoes is complicated by the presence of inscriptions written in Latin on all of the wall paintings. It is clear from an

⁵⁹I slightly misquote Brent Shaw, "The Passion of Perpetua," in *Past and Present* (Vol.139, 1993) 45, who wrote: "From the very start [the text] was buried under an avalanche of male interpretations, rereadings, and distortions."

⁶⁰The question of the religious identity of these feasts will be taken up in Chapter Five.

⁶¹For the relevance of this question to Religious Studies writ large, see Margaret R. Miles, "Image" in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, Mark Taylor, ed., (Chicago and London, 1998) 160-172.

examination of the works that some of the inscribed texts have faded over time. While there are other images of banquet scenes extant elsewhere in the vast network of Roman catacombs, these representations of banquets appear to be unique for the prominence of female figures with cups in central roles. While each of the eight frescoes fall into the category of a banquet scene, there are many important differences between them, the details of which will form part of my analysis of their iconographical elements in Chapter Three.

1.4.1. Profile of Historical Interpretations of Female Figures

The female figures in the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro have been analyzed by past scholars following three main lines of inquiry:

- 1) Female Servants or Meal Participants?
- 2) The Connection between the Inscriptions and the Female Figures
- 3) Personifications or Persons?

These three lines of inquiry were suggested by Peter Dückers, a German scholar, in a 1992 article published in the Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum.⁶² Dückers article makes a positive contribution to the debate on the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro by summarizing and clarifying the history of their interpretation up to the end of the 20th century.⁶³ According to Dückers two main theories of the female figures have emerged. In one explanation, the figures are considered to be historical people. In the other, the figures are perceived as personifications of the Christian virtues of Love/Charity (AGAPE) and Peace (IRENE). The real person theory has been most persuasively argued by the German historian Franz Joseph Dölger (1879-1940) and his student Theodor Klauser amongst others. Among scholars who subscribe to the personification theory, the argument has been most notably defended by the Italian scholar of Christian

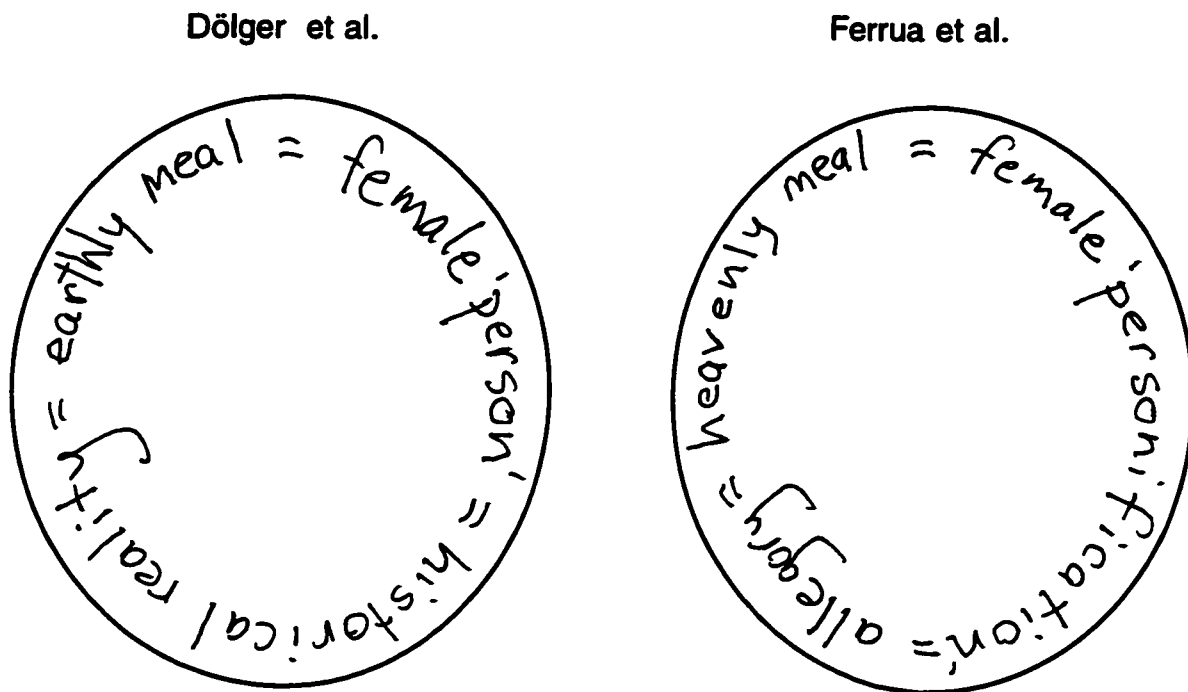
⁶²Peter Dückers, "Agape und Irene. Die Frauengestalten der Sigmamahlszenen mit antiken Inschriften in der Katakomben der Heiligen Marcellinus und Petrus." (Agape and Irene: The Female Figures in the Scenes of a Sigma Meal with Ancient Inscriptions in the Catacomb of the Saints Marcellinus and Petrus in Rome), in Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, (Jahrgang 35, 1992) 147-167.

⁶³A detailed outline of the history of the interpretation of the figures along with a critique of the interpretations will be presented in Chapter Three.

& Roman archaeology, Antonio Ferrua (1901-). According to Dückers this debate has now arrived at a stalemate primarily due to the dualistic model of interpretation in which the two sides are locked. I have created a diagram of this model below:

Dölger et al.	Ferrua et al.
female person = historical reality earthly funeral repast = historical reality	female personification = allegory heavenly meal = allegory

There is a further interpretative complication to this model that can only be shown by another diagram for each side of the debate:



The above circular diagrams illustrate what I have discovered in my research: that both sides of the argument have become circular and closed.

What Dückers article fails to do is to make it clear to the reader that there are really two **sets** of theories (historical and allegorical) and within

each, nuanced subsets. Not all scholars, for example, understand the term 'personification' to mean the same thing. Or, in another example, the same scholar might interpret some of the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro to be historical and some of the banquet scenes to be allegorical. Others might interpret some scenes as both, and so on. For the sake of clarity I have provided a visual diagram of the theories and their subsets in Chapter Three. More importantly however, Dückers article fails to comment on the significance of the cup-offering pose of the female figures. Nor does he refer to how the debate has been constrained by the operation of an ideology of gender. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Three, it is the ideology of gender problem that has reduced the discussion of the female figures in the frescoes to one of female servants vs. female personifications.

Dückers, like most of the scholars before him, is implicated in the ideology of gender problem himself. In his article he cautions the reader that s/he should not make an attempt to unequivocally determine the role or the function of these women (the female figures) because they may act as a link between the meal participants and the ordinary servants.⁶⁴ This is a spurious argument. As previous scholarship has shown, there is an underlying conflict between the function and the status of the female figures with cups in the banquet scenes that is worth investigating. Dückers' wariness toward interpretation of the figures is reminiscent of Finney's difficulty with the *orante* figure (female *orans*) who stands beside what might be a Christian cultic table in the catacomb of Callixtus.⁶⁵

Dückers concludes his article by informing the reader that he finds the personification theory vis à vis the female figures more convincing. He then adds what I suppose is a way out of the current theoretical stalemate:

Entgegen der häufig anzutreffenden Neigung, die Deutung der Frauen
zur Interpretation der ganzen Szene heranzuziehen (indem Personen

⁶⁴Dückers, 160-161. "Vielleicht ist es am einsichtigsten, in den Frauen ein Bindeglied zwischen Mahlgenossen und einfachem Dienstpersonal zu sehen. Dabei sollte man gar nicht erst den Versuch machen, die genaue Funktion oder Aufgabe der Frauen näher zu bestimmen."

⁶⁵See p. 15. One wonders if there is any deeper significance to the pattern(?) in contemporary male scholarship on early Christian Art of backing away from visual representations of women which might shed light on women's participation in early Christian ritual practices.

als Hinweis auf ein irdisches Totenmahl, Personifikationen als Hinweis auf das himmlische Mahl gewertet werden) oder die Interpretation der Szene auf die der Frauen zu übertragen, muß festgestellt werden, daß die Beantwortung der Frage, ob die Beischriften oder Aufforderungen an AGAPE oder IRENE in den Mahlszenen realistisch oder symbolisch zu erklären seien, für die Deutung dieser Bilder letztlich unerheblich ist.⁶⁶

Two common tendencies are either to use the interpretation of the women to understand the entire scene (thus if they are persons, then we are dealing with an earthly funeral repast; and if they are personifications, that points to a heavenly meal); or to apply the interpretation of the scene to the women. To the contrary, however, we must realize that the answer to the question of whether the inscriptions or invitations to AGAPE or IRENE in these scenes are of realistic or symbolic significance is, in the final analysis, quite insignificant for the interpretation of these paintings.⁶⁷

With this conclusion Dückers attempts to side step the conflict caused by the discrepancy between the function and the status of the female figures with cups. Yet, what exactly is he claiming here? That the identification of the banquet scenes as having a celestial or terrestrial setting is irrelevant to the identification of the figures? That the real or allegorical status of the female figures with cups is not in some way a key to unlocking the interpretation of the banquet scenes? That an interpretation of the cup-offering pose in these frescoes is not important? That the repeated inscriptions of "AGAPE" and "IRENE" on at least seven of the eight wall paintings is not significant? For historians of women's history, the interpretation of the inscriptions, their relationship, if any, to the female figures with cups is extremely relevant.

1.5 Hypothesis

I argue that the *female figures with cups* in the banquet scenes found in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro are neither real-life household servants nor visual personifications of the Christian virtues of 'Love/Charity' (AGAPE) or 'Peace' (IRENE). On the contrary, I argue that the prominence of the *female*

⁶⁶Ibid., 166-167.

⁶⁷Ibid., 166-167. Translation by Dr. Peter Beyer, University of Ottawa, Canada.

figures with cups in these banquet scenes is conspicuous evidence of women's religious leadership in early Christianity in Rome.⁶⁸ While some scholars agree that these frescoes are unique, it is not enough to simply claim their uniqueness. One must discover in what ways they are unique in relation to the Roman artistic and cultural traditions that surrounded them.

I argue that by contextualizing the iconographical elements and the inscriptions from the frescoes in the cultural and social-historical dimensions of Roman Funerary Art and Inscriptions, the abundance of historical elements in the paintings becomes obvious. Like their Roman counterparts these frescoes depict earthly funeral banquets to honour the deceased. By comparing the inscriptions found on the frescoes with similar Roman funerary inscriptions, I demonstrate that the words painted on the frescoes are a type of funerary formula represented by the Latin phrases, "AGAPE MISCE MI" or "IRENE PORGE CALDA" and their variations. The repetition of the inscriptions up to seven times on the wall paintings strongly suggests the interpretation of the frescoes as a rite which takes place in 'Mythical Time' and/or 'Ordinary Time'.⁶⁹ I demonstrate that it is the interpretation of how time is constituted within the scene that determines whether the depicted event takes place in Ordinary or Mythical Time or both. It is my view that it is the misunderstanding of how time is constituted in these frescoes which has caused the endless unresolvable debates (ex. celestial vs. terrestrial location).

By showing what elements in these frescoes are discontinuous from the Roman cultural tradition that surrounded them, I demonstrate that it is the discontinuous elements in the iconography and the expanded function of the funerary inscriptions that distinguishes these scenes from those similarly constituted in Roman Funerary Art with inscriptions. These differences establish the frescoes' identity as scenes in transition from Roman Funerary Art to early Christian Art. Once a Christian identity for the frescoes has been established (even one in transition), the question becomes one of what type of rite is depicted in the banquet scenes? In most of the selected frescoes, the *female figures with cups* play either a leadership or

⁶⁸For the purpose of this study, reference to funerary banquet meals includes the anniversary meals celebrated on the day of a martyr's death.

⁶⁹For definitions of 'Mythical and Ordinary Time', see section 1.7.4.

co-leadership role. The role does not appear to be gender specific as male figures in the frescoes are also depicted as performing the same action. Of special interest, of these selected images, the rite is never depicted as performed by male figures only. Based on my analysis, I conclude that the female figures in the frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro are in the process of leading or co-leading a cup-offering rite (or libation ritual) to honour the deceased. It is this unnamed cup offering rite which is the small fragment of women's history that I have recovered from early Christian Funerary Art. We can be sure this rite is highly significant for early Christianity in Rome given that men are shown in the frescoes as equal participants.

1.6 Method: Visual Hermeneutics⁷⁰

1.6.1. Contextualization and a Comparative Method:

Reintroducing Contexts to the SS. Marcellino e Pietro Banquet Frescoes

I illustrate this hypothesis by reintroducing some of the physical and social-historical contexts of the visual data. In cataloguing the frescoes, I reintroduce the physical environment of the burial chamber in which the paintings are found. In each catalogue entry, I record the information known about each fresco and carefully describe the painting and its archaeological context. I perform the same task for samples of my most important comparanda.

By using a comparative method, I reintroduce common Roman motifs in constructing funerary monuments by searching for:

1) shared visual elements with other banquet scenes in similar burial sites; and

2) shared elements of inscriptional formulae.

To do this, I separate the analysis of the inscriptions from the iconography of the frescoes. In Chapter Three, I compare the female figures with cups in the eight banquet scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro with banquet scenes and fragments of banquet scenes from other Roman catacombs. Secondly, I

⁷⁰Visual Hermeneutics is the name I associate with the approach I use to discover the structures of a gender-based ideology in the cognitive processes that have and are still being used to interpret female figures in early Christian Art. The inspiration for this term is derived from Margaret Miles' section on "A Hermeneutics of Visual Images" in Image as Insight (1985) 27-29.

compare my eight banquet scenes with other categories of Roman Art, specifically:

- (1) banquet scenes from elsewhere within the Roman empire;
- (2) Roman offering and libation scenes; and
- (3) Roman serving scenes.

I also make a brief but important comparison of the iconography of the female figures in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes with known representations of AGAPE and EIRENE in Greek Art. In Chapter Four, I analyze the meanings of the words in the inscriptions painted on the frescoes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro and compare them to similar pagan Roman funerary inscriptions. In Chapter Five I recombine my images and inscriptions and give my interpretation of each fresco using image theory informed by scholarship on the 'Archaeology of Religious Cults' and the 'Representation of Mythical and Ordinary Time in Ancient Classical and Roman Art'.

1.6.2. Problems with the Contextualization of Visual Data

One consideration when reintroducing historical contexts to visual data is the need to strike a balance between the dynamics of representation and those of historical context. Dynamics of representation are those interpretive strategies used by painters to transform and interpret an idea or an event onto a two-dimensional surface. For example, how is movement rendered in a static medium? How is time depicted in a static medium? What gestures can be used to show merriment? ritual? desire? How much of the setting should be indicated? How does one indicate the most important moment or activity? and so on. The dynamics of historical context are those external elements that can be used by the researcher in her attempt to ground the representation in social reality.

Like any method used in the study of the history of religions, the model I am using is not perfect. It behooves us to anticipate the most important of the pitfalls. First, an image or artifact cannot bear the full burden of interpreting a historical situation. The danger here is that the historian will colonize the image with every last piece of information that might possibly be related to the representation. The image is then read as standing for the whole whatever that whole might be. Given the paucity of written sources,

this is somewhat harder to do when ones subject is the history of women in early Christianity. The temptation in this case is to make one fragment stand as the representative for an imaginary whole. As Peter H. Feist so eloquently states: "Looking only for cultural generalities we may be in danger to underrate [or overrate] the singular cases and the irregular events."⁷¹

Second, one must be cautious about the use of *context* as an anchor for meaning. As Norman Bryson argues in "Art in Context"⁷², context is no more of "a given" or "a series of givens" than is a written text or an artwork: both are produced by subjective processes. Context is constructed by strategies chosen precisely for the purpose of stabilizing the meaning of a text or work of art. "The evidence classed as context is placed, by the text-context hierarchy, as not requiring to be *read* in the same fashion as the verbal or visual text [image] in question...."⁷³ Instead of the term 'context' Bryson suggests the word 'frame'⁷⁴ might be a more appropriate term for the historian to use. It is a reminder to us of something one does, not something one finds.⁷⁵ Considering that many fragments of inscriptions, funerary monuments and paintings are no longer found *in situ* but sit on museum shelves (and the majority not even on display), the historian is frequently in the position of having to reconstruct or frame the original *physical* context of a work. Context therefore can never be used as a "legislative force" to order the disorder and ambiguities of artworks and texts but must be used as an *aid* that assists the historian to position herself and the work historically.⁷⁶

⁷¹Peter H. Feist, "History of Art and History of Culture" in Problemi di Metodo: Condizioni di Esistenza di una Storia dell'Arte, Lajos Vayer, ed., (Bologna, 1979) 67.

⁷²Norman Bryson, "Art in Context" in The Point of Theory: Practices of Cultural Analysis, Mieke Bal and Inge E. Boer, eds., (New York, 1994) 66-78.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 67.

⁷⁴After Jonathan Culler, Framing the Sign: Criticism and its Institutions, (New York and London, 1988) xiv.

⁷⁵Bryson (1994) 67.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, 78.

In any human context, one must also keep in mind the polyvalent views of gender and class differences: "Different social classes and groups have constituted clearly distinct social spheres in their use of the arts."⁷⁷ Though rich or poor, male or female, humans who have experienced a shared religious faith, differ in their ability to express that faith through material ways, ex. funerary monuments. These manifestations of faith would have been shaped by the individual or family's access to finances, decision-makers, craftspeople etc. Context, therefore, can never be assumed to be homogenous.

There is also the problem of recognizing historical reality within the artwork. As with any kind of evidence, the historian must keep in mind that the work may be a pastiche of historical elements and so may not represent a single event but rather a selection of moments assembled together to make a very different statement -- perhaps a presentation of the important moments from an individual's life. No matter how historically accurate a painting is, no matter how realistically painted, as a historian one must recognize that an artwork or an artifact is always at one level, an *interpretation* of something else, the image-maker being the first interpreter. The actual event or person is long gone and whether our evidence be written texts, architectural fragments or a painting, the historian is left only with the traces of an event or an individual and not the event or thing itself.⁷⁸

1.7 Image Theory

In the process of contextualizing art in its social-historical and cultural milieu, the importance of iconography is sometimes downplayed. Iconography, the practice of interpreting meaning through the identification of gestures, figures, motifs and forms, is an important element of my method. In this study a comparison of iconographical elements between Pagan and early Christian banquet scenes helps to identify important changes in the latter. But while iconography relates to part of the meaning of a work, it is silent on

⁷⁷Feist (1979) 65.

⁷⁸Unless the representation is functioning in mythical time. See section on "mythical and ordinary time" below.

the overall function of a painting. Critical theorist Mieke Bal brings insight to this problem by suggesting that meaning in pictures is rendered to a viewer as a type of *visual performance*. Art or artifacts are understood to *perform* meaning(s) not simply embed them⁷⁹. The other part of this equation is of course how the viewer receives the meaning(s). Neither the artifact nor the viewer is a value-free agent. Much depends on the contexts of both with regard to how the object's meaning will be received.

1.7.1. Image as Artifact

This section might best be handled by an explanation of what is meant by the phrase, 'image as artifact' as it is an abbreviation of the philosophy behind my methodological approach and an important aspect of the title of this study.

My own thinking about the idea of 'image' has been informed by the scholarship of W. J. T. Mitchell who (even if one does not agree with him) brings tremendous clarity to a subject which suffers from ontological confusion. According to Mitchell, there are many different applications for the meaning of image, but presiding over them all, is a "parent concept" which he calls, "as such, the phenomenon whose appropriate institutional discourses are philosophy and theology."⁸⁰ Thus, he argues for an ontological status of the term that belongs to the world of theologians and Platonists, that is the world of forms. While a definitive ontological status for image is not my concern, it has alerted me to the privileging in western thought of the idea *in* the painting (some would say *behind* the painting) which the image is considered to carry in opposition to the materiality⁸¹ of the painting itself. Consider for example how a reader might perceive Christian scripture differently if it were printed on cheap newsprint and stapled together in the upper left-hand corner. This observation with regard to how material mediates meaning is extremely useful when working with images of any sort - in our case paintings that were drawn in burial chambers. The tendency in

⁷⁹Bal (1991) 270-271.

⁸⁰W.J.T. Mitchell, Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology. (Chicago and London, 1987) 11.

⁸¹By materiality, I am referring to the work's physicality -- the medium which transmits and mediates the images represented.

the interpretive literature on early Christian Art is to make the leap from visual artifact to abstract idea as quickly as possible. I suspect that much of the prejudice in favor of doctrinal symbolism in the interpretive writing on early Christian Art stems from this privileging of image as the most important element of the painting. All the message is seen as being tied up in the image and little regard has been paid to how material or context also mediate meaning. As a way of bridging the divide between image and materiality, David Morgan has suggested that images are "a unique category of material object, a category characterized by the special ability to mediate imaginary, linguistic, intellectual and material domains."⁸² Interpreters must work with the knowledge that both the image and its medium create and shape the meaning of an object.

According to Margaret Miles, the notion of image in Late Antiquity was a linchpin of metaphysical thought. "Plotinus and the Christian theologians influenced by him used the term, image, to define the metaphysical status of living beings and the visible entities of the natural world in relation to God."⁸³ Whether Christian or non-Christian in perspective, image in Late Antiquity was always understood in relation to a superior model. Whether that model was real (i.e. historical) or ideal (i.e. symbolic), an image was understood as having a referent. In the case of Christianity, Gillian Cloke has suggested that women were considered by the Church Fathers to be twice removed from the *imago dei* given that Paul's statements in 1 Cor. 11, confirmed the second view of the creation of man and woman in Gen. 2:21-22. As such, actual women, on an existential level, would have been seen by Christian theologians of Late Antiquity as "imitations of an imitation".⁸⁴

How painted figures of men and women in the late 3rd and early 4th century would have been perceived by Late Antiquity viewers is difficult to

⁸²See David Morgan, Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images, (Berkeley, 1998) 8.

⁸³Miles (1998) 160.

⁸⁴See Gillian Cloke, This Female Man of God: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350-450, (London, 1995) 26.

determine. It is certain however that the physical context of the image would have mediated their perception to some degree. A catacomb in which thousands of dead are buried suggests some possibilities. Figures painted on the walls of tombs may have been understood by visitors to the tomb as among any of the following:

1) funerary portraits;

2) living family members associated with the deceased;

3) representations of entities from the vast realm of the supernatural world. Some, all or none of these meanings could be mixed into a single painted burial site. It is possible that images of people in a tomb may simply have been decorations in an otherwise gloomy environment. This interpretation is unlikely however as artists had a large repertoire of abstract decorations from which to draw if pure decoration is what was required by the client.

Important also to consider in a discussion of ancient modes of viewing is the probability that images (painted figures or sculpture) were seen as enlivened in some way -- either with the presence of the deceased or with a supernatural entity that gave the image divine powers.⁸⁵ Visitor responses to these images may have been one of attraction or of fear or both. Regardless of the reaction evoked, the ordinary viewer from Late Antiquity interacted with images in a way that moderns would scornfully label as superstitious. This theory is aptly demonstrated in Freedberg's book, The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response, 1989.

In considering the idea, artifact as image, a problem arises when the scholar makes the assumption that material remains or artifacts give us

⁸⁵On the topic of ancient viewing see David Freedberg, The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989; Jas Elsner, Art and the Roman Viewer: The Transformation of Art from the Pagan World to Christianity, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; James A. Francis, "How to Look at Art: Plato, Julian the Apostate, and Pierre Bourdieu Explain it All to You." A paper delivered at the American Academy of Religion in Boston, 1999. Quoting David Freedberg, Francis points out that scholars who study early Christian art have forgotten that we are studying images before the time, "the god had departed from the image." Quoting texts from both literate pagans and christians from late antiquity, Francis demonstrates that Pagan & Christian viewer alike perceived the image and its referent as collapsed in the case of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria (295-373AD) and somewhere "between animism and art", in the case of the Emperor Julian (361-363AD).

direct evidence of cultural practices from the past. This type of perspective may be seen in the work of Dorothy Irwin and in the earlier work of Bernadette Brooten. While I sympathize with their desire to find "no ideology"⁸⁶ in the monuments of early Christianity, we *cannot* safely approach this material as though it were unmediated physical remains.

The idea of the artifact as an unfettered specimen of an earlier civilization is very appealing to a historian who has little other evidence with which to reconstruct a model. Artifacts, it is recognized, have been touched and used by ancient people. They were among the people and places that historians can only imagine. They imply a strong human presence. Indeed, they are in one way the direct *links* if not the direct *evidence* from us to them -- from people of the past to ourselves. As such, they exert a powerful force upon our imagination. The artifacts under study in this study are by no means in a pristine state. While it is true that the wall paintings are still in their original locations, they have been visited by many an interloper between the time they were originally painted and today. Relatives of the dead, pilgrims, grave-robbers, archaeologists and museum collectors (to name only a few), have all been through these catacombs disturbing the various sites and removing important objects such as glass and earthenware containers and cups, inscription plaques and so on.

The meaning of an object is also constructed through the perceptions of endless intermediaries who interpret and respond to the object on the viewer's behalf. A whole host of ideas are brought to a work by an army of interpreters: the maker, the users, the archaeologists, art historians, museum curators, etc. While well-meaning these individuals frequently overlay artifacts with intellectual as well as physical weight. When we confront an artifact, we are faced with a visual rhetoric⁸⁷ that is passed on

⁸⁶Dorothy Irwin, "The Ministry of Women in the Early Church: The Archaeological Evidence," in The Duke Divinity School Review. (Vol. 45, No.2, 1980) 76. See also Brooten (note 2) who suggests that archaeological remains are "without male bias." 89.

⁸⁷In art historical writing, 'rhetoric' is used to imply ornament or embellishment with regard to a style of a painting. The Baroque period, for example, was known for producing lavish works of art in which every square inch of the painting seemed to drip with ornament and thus seen to be highly rhetorical. Rather than adopt this definition of rhetoric, I prefer the definition advanced by Mieke Bal. Rhetoric, she argues, has been traditionally theorized as divided between decoration and argumentation. Rather, rhetoric should be understood as a singular mode of expression combining both decorative and

to us through its medium and form, the history of its interpretation, and by drawings which might appear on its surface. All of these elements attempt to persuade the viewer as to an object's uses and meanings. An artifact therefore is never free from the cultural brine from which it has emerged.

Another consideration when we approach an artifact is to keep in mind its relationship to people. As David Morgan has pointed out, material objects play an important role in the construction and maintenance of a sense of self in the modern world.⁸⁸ For Mediterranean societies in the late 3rd and early 4th centuries, this statement is equally true. Much has been written on how the concepts of honour and shame are intricately bound up with personal reputation and identity in Late Antiquity. What Morgan says about the relationship between artifacts and selfhood in modern life could be applied with some modifications to the honour-bound culture of the Mediterranean basin in Late Antiquity. For example, material things become important registers of one's honour because they provide concrete evidence of a person's status in the web of social relations; they display power, rank and social status. Thus artifacts help to assert identity and maintain honour in the face of change. And most importantly, they secure the continuity of self and honour over time.⁸⁹

In summary if we are to understand the meaning of the frescoes in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro without privileging either an abstract image *or* a material artifact as some type of *pure form* (idea or matter), then we have to consider the possibility that 'image' *and* 'artifact' are not mutually exclusive terms but rather have qualities that converge in the meaning of a work of art. Image and artifact each have an intellectual and social history that affects and mediates the other. The phrase 'image as

argumentative aspects of speech. Applied to a visual work of art, decorative speech refers to the visual spectrum of beauty -- from the grotesque to the beautiful. Argumentation refers to visual compositional strategies, ex. illusion of the real in a painting or a sculpture. The two aspects of rhetoric are profoundly integrated in any single work of art. Combined, this "visual rhetoric" acts as a force of "real persuasion" on the viewer. See, Bal (1991) 60-93.

⁸⁸Morgan (1998) 5.

⁸⁹Morgan (1998) credits the studies of social thinker Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi with the basic formation of these ideas. I have further modified Morgan's reading of Csikszentmihalyi and suggested how the concept of honour might be added to his basic schema.

artifact' then, from the point of view of a philosophy of image, is an attempt to capture the notion that a fresco in a cave of the dead is a visual artifact which carries meanings beyond ideas and decoration. It is also a value-laden object which mediates meaning between the image, its cultural milieu, the identity of the individuals depicted and their place in the ancestral lineage. Lastly, while amongst archaeologists, artifact is the term used to refer to portable objects from a site, and 'feature' is the term assigned to mean permanent objects at a site, the reader should keep in mind that the frescoes of Pompeii, for example, were at one time permanent features of the excavated buildings until someone came along and decided, for the purpose of conservation and study, that these so-called features should be removed to museums and catalogued along with the other artifacts.

1.7.2. Art and Ritual

While well-known anthropologists such as Victor Turner, Stanley Tambiah, Maurice Bloch and Clifford Geertz⁹⁰ turned their academic attention to the relationships between art and ritual, none has explicitly focused on Jane Ellen Harrison's identification of *desire* as the connecting bridge between the two practices. While Turner, for example, conceptualizes an exchange between an "oretic pole" of *desire and appetite*, and an "ideological pole" of *normative values* in ritual *action*, he does not bring an understanding of desire as the raw expression of need to his analysis of how art objects function in ritual. Rather he views works of art as material objects which "communicate meaningfully when the artworks are recognized as culturally specific symbols *to be decoded* and set in their proper celebratory context."⁹¹ Turner, like other western intellectuals, holds up an idealized notion of both art and artists as is evident from the following quotation: "Works of art are vastly unlike many expressions of political experience, which lie under the power of selfish and partisan interests, and hence suppress, distort, or counterfeit the products of *authentic* experience. Artists have no motive for deceit or concealment, but strive to find the

⁹⁰For a review of scholarship in this area see Kathleen Ashley's introductory article, "Art in a Ritual Context" in Journal of Ritual Studies, (Vol. 6, No.1, 1992) 1-12.

⁹¹Turner as quoted in Kathleen Ashley (1992) 4.

perfect expressive form for their experience."⁹² Art viewed from this utopian perspective becomes a formula for attaining the transcendent -- stripped of all historical context and unadulterated by human vice.

In Ancient Art & Ritual, Jane Harrison argues that both ancient art and rituals are presentations of human desire to a transcendent being. "In ritual, the thing desired, ... is acted, in art it is represented."⁹³ It is desire that each has in common, the desire "to utter, to give out a strongly felt emotion or desire by representing, by making or doing or enriching the object or act desired."⁹⁴ The common purpose of art and ritual in what Harrison calls "their beginnings" is caught up with the *production and reception of eros* between human and deity and not with the creation of objects for the objects sake. As Harrison states, it is only when emotion has expired (or the human context has been lost) that we tend to think of ritual as a "dull and formal thing" and, I would add, art as a dead and fixed thing.

1.7.3. The Archaeology of Religious Cult

British archaeologists Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn state that in order to recognize an archaeological site as a *ritual* site, it is important to keep in mind the supernatural object to which the cult activity is directed, given that "religious ritual involves the performance of expressive acts of worship towards the deity or transcendent being."⁹⁵ The term ritual however has become such a problematized category for Religious Studies scholars in the last few years that in the recent publication of Critical Terms for Religious Studies, (1998), the category, 'Ritual' was excluded altogether in favour of the term, 'Performance'.⁹⁶ This decision suggests that ritual as a category

⁹²Victor Turner, From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play, (New York, 1982) 15. Italics added.

⁹³Jane Harrison, Ancient Art and Ritual, (Original publication, 1913; this edition: Bradford-on-Avon, 1978) 6.

⁹⁴Ibid., 10. The notion of utterance in Harrison's model is in agreement with Bal's theory of visual rhetoric discussed above. Italics added.

⁹⁵Renfrew and Bahn, Archaeology: Theories Methods and Practice. Second Edition, (New York, 1996) 390.

⁹⁶See Catherine Bell, "Performance", in Critical Terms for Religious Studies, Mark Taylor, ed., (Chicago and London, 1998) 205-224.

of analysis within the discipline of Religious Studies is now primarily interpreted as action. Theories to describe it can be grouped as "performance approaches to the study of religion."⁹⁷ The problem with a theory that defines ritual as performance (i.e. in the sense of a theatrical or social drama) is that the so-called static arts such as painting, sculpture etc. lose their potential to be perceived as participating in the transmission (to the viewer) of part or all of the ritual depicted. Mieke Bal's theory that visual art performs meaning, not simply embeds it, moves interpretation of static art away from an interpretative model of fixed meaning. Her theory may be extremely useful for interpreting religious art which is all too frequently locked into a frame of religious dogma in which only one set of logics is seen to be operative. Bal's approach allows religious art to be seen in all its complexities including the animation of the holiness of a space as well as the partaking of that holiness.

1.7.4. The Representation of Mythical and Ordinary Time in Classical Greek and Roman Art

According to Classics Professor Martin Kilmer, who, for more than 30 years has studied the problem of how time is represented in Archaic, Classical Greek and Roman narrative visual art⁹⁸, there are at least three modes of time which can be clearly identified and applied to a reading of an image with inscriptions where the inscription can be identified as speech. Each mode of time implies a set of logics which flow from the chronological relationship of the words to the image-action of the scene(s). These modes are: (I) speech occurs before the implied image-action of a scene; (II) speech occurs at the same time as the implied image-action of a scene; (III) speech occurs after the implied image-action of a scene. In addition, in this mode, a person outside the physical frame of the narrative scene may be invited to participate in the mythical time of the speech-action implied in the inscription. In some narrative art, a fourth and fifth mode may be detected:

⁹⁷Bell (1998) 205.

⁹⁸Kilmer's studies include Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art. See, Martin F. Kilmer, "Repeated Figures in Mythological Narrative: Etruscan Relief and Roman Illustration", 2000 (in press) and Greek Erotica, London: Duckworth, 1993.

(IV) any or all of the above three modes of time may be operating in the scene, occurring concurrently or in combinations; and (V) any or all of the above modes of time occur concurrently and/or in combinations. In addition, in MODE (V), in parallel with MODE (III), a person outside the physical frame of the narrative scene may be invited to participate in the mythical time of the speech-action implied in the inscription. In addition, a person outside the physical frame of the narrative scene may be invited to participate in the mythical time **implied by the image-action of the scene**. The person addressed may be either a (usually mythical) character who doesn't happen to be included physically in the scene, or the viewer him/herself.

Based on these modes of time that can be identified in Classical Greek and Roman Art (elaborated below), we can define 'Ordinary Time' as a mode of time represented in the image which is the same for each figure in the scene. This usually means that when the image is made, all the figures in the scene are portrayed as though they were all alive and acting 'at the same time' -- that is, at a congruent moment in sequential time.⁹⁹ Second, 'Mythical Time' can be defined as a mode of time which does not follow an ordinary logical time sequence.¹⁰⁰ For example in mythical time as

⁹⁹Dr. Martin Kilmer describes 'Ordinary Time' this way:

"a) Time as it is perceived and/or constructed by humans in the course of their day-to-day lives. This is not assumed to be a unitary phenomenon for all individuals within one culture, let alone across all cultures.

b) Ordinary Time as it is to be understood/reconstructed in visual art: a work of art interpreted as though it were a segment taken out of a culture's understanding of ordinary time and reconstructed in some physical medium.

In both of these understandings of time, the expected logics are those of time as most of us (westerners) live it: cause precedes result; action precedes reaction; bilocation is not a possibility. Scenes made within the Roman world during Imperial times (first to third centuries AD) which appear to present images of daily life can be most easily understood as following ordinary chrono-logic: cause precedes event; thus the results shown happening in the scene are predictable." Communicated to the author by email, November 7, 2000.

¹⁰⁰Dr. Martin Kilmer describes 'Mythical Time' this way:

" a) Time as it is presented in story (written or spoken). The place of the event in the order of narrative need not conform to its place in the logic of ordinary time. I can tell you about the result before I tell of the cause; I can speak of the start of the result, segue to the cause, and then finish off the result -- or leave it to your imagination. I may further complicate such chrono-logics by assigning all or part of the narration of a set of linked events to characters who themselves belong to the story: characters Q, X, and W each know only a portion of the events which 'cause' (or 'which result in') the outcome.

b) Time as it can be imagined for a mythical world (a world of the imagination, which may have much direct and clear connection to one's ordinary world or may be largely independent of it). Events in such a world may dispense more or less completely with the logics appropriate for one's concept of ordinary

represented in Roman funerary art, it is possible for a deceased figure to speak and to interact with a living figure. This mode (as represented in visual art) may also be known as Ritual or Non-ordinary time.

The following section describes the different modes of time in detail and outlines the sets of logics which flow from the chronological relationships -- what we will call the 'chrono-logic' of the relationship of the words to the image-action of the scene (that is the action within the image-frame).

1.7.4.1. Time modes in Classical Greek and in Roman Art with Inscribed Speech¹⁰¹

MODE (I): Speech occurs before the implied image-action of the scene.

Here the logics of ordinary time and image-action apply. It is clear that when the rules of ordinary time apply, the speech is directed to a figure inside the image-frame. The words must refer to the image-action in the scene; they cannot refer to anything outside the image-frame. The speaker of the inscriptions is also within the image-frame. Participants (figures) within the image-frame are all representations of persons who are alive in the time of the action depicted: *i.e.*, the image-frame presents a consistent time mode for all figures. There are no deceased figures acting within the image-frame. (Deceased figures or supernatural beings who look and act like living human beings can only exist in a mythical time mode.) In **MODE (I)** no participants respond to either the speech or the image-action outside of the image-frame.

MODE (II): Speech occurs concurrently with the implied image-action of the scene.

time: time as narrated can behave as though it were time as lived; or events may move under a different set of rules or 'logics' from those of 'ordinary time'."

Communicated to the author by email, November 8, 2000.

¹⁰¹This author has been working very closely with Dr. Kilmer to expand and carefully explain the five different modes of time represented in the visual art of the late Republic, Early Roman Empire and Late Antiquity.

The logics of ordinary time and image-action still apply. Again, since the rules of ordinary time apply, the speaker of the inscribed words is still within the image-frame. The words must refer to the image-action in the scene; they cannot refer to anything outside the image-frame. Participants (figures) in the image-action of the scene are representations of persons living at the time the speech and the image-action present. There are no participants outside of the image-frame who respond to either the speech or the image-action.

MODE (III): Speech occurs after implied image-action of the scene.

The logics of speech-action could be those of either ordinary time or mythical time. The logics of image-action could be those of either ordinary time or mythical time. In this chronological mode the speech may be directed to a figure inside the image-frame or to a person outside the image-frame. The form of the verb (using the example of funerary art) may require the presence of a viewer/visitor to the tomb who can carry out the request made by the inscription. Mythical time is implied by the speech-action of the inscription. For example, the words of the inscription which ask a living person who reads the inscription to perform some kind of task, are written in the voice of the deceased and usually in the present tense. **MODE (III)** does not commonly require the viewer/visitor to step mythically into the image-action of the scene, only into the mythical time of the speech-action. That is, the viewer/visitor responds to the request by complying with what is asked. Any MODE which does not follow an ordinary logical time sequence can take place only within mythical (ritual or non-ordinary) time. Participants (figures) in the image-frame of the scene may be representations of living persons or of persons already deceased at the time the image is made (i.e. **time may not be the same for all of the figures in the image-frame**).

Participants outside the image-frame are limited, in this mode, to living persons. The speaker of the inscriptions may be either living or dead at the time of installing the monument, and is typically represented as engaged in the image-action of the scene.

MODE (IV): This mode may include combinations of the first three modes, including simultaneous use of all three.

With regard to speech-action, the logics of ordinary time apply alongside the logics of mythical time. With regard to the logics of image-action the logics of ordinary time apply alongside the logics of mythical time. The speech may be directed to a figure inside the image-frame or to a dead person, a mythical character, a living person or a supernatural entity whether represented or residing outside the image-frame. The participants (figures) within the image-frame of the scene are in both ordinary and mythical time. They may be all living or all deceased or a mix of both at the time the fresco was painted. The participants outside the image-frame are also both in ordinary and mythical time. They may be all living persons or all deceased, or a mix of both. They may include mythical characters or supernatural entities whether represented or residing outside the image-frame. A viewer/visitor to the tomb can be asked to respond to the speech-action implied by the inscription but typically is only an observer to the image-action implied by the scene (i.e. the scene does not require the viewer/visitor to act). With regard to any other participant outside the image-frame (i.e. a dead person, a mythical character, or a supernatural entity), considering they are not human (or at least not alive) and thus in our way of thinking exist only in mythical time, they can be respondents to both the speech-action of the inscription and/or the image-action implied in the scene. In **MODE (IV)**, the inscription can be spoken by anyone within the image-frame or by a voice whose originator is not shown (for example, a deceased person or mythical entity outside the image-frame).

MODE (V): This mode may include combinations of the first four modes, including simultaneous use of all four.

The logics of ordinary time no longer apply: there is only mythical time. This means an engaged living viewer/participant in the tomb is invited both to participate in the mythical time of the speech-action and to participate through the mythical time implied by the image-action of the scene. That is, living participants are invited to participate in the meal depicted in the

banquet scene. **MODE (V)** is different from **MODE (IV)** in the following ways: 1) there is only mythical time; 2) a viewer/visitor to the tomb is invited both to participate in the mythical time of the speech-action and to participate in the image-action of the scene.

These modes are complex, and are difficult to follow without concrete examples. I will return to them in Chapter Five in the interpretation of the eight frescoes from the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro.

1.8 Chapter Conclusion

In summary what Elizabeth Clark has called the "myth of woman" problem in early Christian writings, we might term the "woman as symbol" problem in early Christian Art. Early Christian women as represented in early Christian cultural artifacts, but restricted by 19th and 20th century scholarship to the symbolic function alone, have been robbed of the potential for their lives to be known to history. As demonstrated by Clark in her study of patristic texts, flesh and blood women have been written out of the history of these times, to be retained only as myths by the structural limitations and universalizing effects of the operations of a gender ideology. Similarly, the "woman as symbol" problem in the interpretation of female figures in early Christian Art has produced static symbols as a stand-in for flesh and blood historical women. In the absence of a significant body of written material about women (and by women) in early Christianity, representations of female figures offer one of the few untapped untapped sources of data available to scholars of women's history. Therefore, an important aim of this study is to unmask the "woman as symbol" problem and to test whether in these so-called female symbols or image-signs we can detect any of the social-historical reality known to early Christian women. It is only when the distorted bias of earlier scholarship is cleared away that we are able to perform this task.

2.0 THE VISUAL DATA

The catalogue of 33 visual works assembled here contain monuments from Late Antiquity which have been published elsewhere --several times in some cases as is evident from the extensive bibliography for specific artifacts. What is new about the collection I have assembled is the *emphasis* on visual information which depicts the motif of 'female figures with cups'. As well, I have included important details both archaeological and iconographical which have been passed over in previous catalogue descriptions. As will be evident from the catalogue bibliography, much of this material has not been available to English readers before.

In reaching back almost 2000 years, one becomes acutely aware of the many gaps in material evidence. In the final analysis what the researcher is left with can best be described as 'traces' of evidence, indicators which point to activity which has long since finished or been forgotten. The first task for a historian of visual culture is to determine if there are enough traces of evidence to warrant her/his attention to remaining material and secondly, to determine if there are any meaningful patterns to be found amongst those traces. What follows are my criteria for including certain artifacts in my catalogue and excluding others. The reader should think of my criteria as a template that I have placed over some material remains of Late Antiquity.

2.1 Selection Criteria

1. An image must refer to a banquet or sacrifice/offering scene¹⁰².
2. Banquet scenes must be found in a funeral context.¹⁰³
3. When a banquet scene includes a female figure, that figure must *not* refer to a woman in an Old or New Testament story (i.e. no writing in the picture calls her by an OT or NT name¹⁰⁴).

¹⁰²Only a handful of extant Roman sacrifice/offering scenes are represented in my catalogue. A slightly larger selection can be found in Appendix C.

¹⁰³Two scenes which show the iconography of figures who serve are not from a funeral context. The first, a Roman serving scene from a tavern wall in Pompeii (my catalogue, Fig 24) and the second, a mosaic from a hall leading to a dining room from the Casa de Baco in Spain, have been included in Chapter Three Table 3.3vii. Group 5 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes: (a) Serving Scenes.

¹⁰⁴For some scholars of early Christian Art, this criterion is enough to render the subject matter non-Christian. See Chapter One:1.2 'Woman as Myth' in early Christianity.

4. The time-frame of the artifact must correspond to the early Christian era i.e. 30 - 600AD.
5. There must be a number of indicators either in the image or its physical context to suggest the presence of 'religious cult' as listed in the "Archaeological Indicators of Ritual" in Appendix B of the study.
6. The primary visual data and comparanda must be from Rome or its immediate surroundings.

2.2 Scenes from Late Antiquity

Under the city of Rome, there is a vast network of caves, cut from soft volcanic rock, or *tufa*, where non-Christian Romans and early Roman Christians buried their dead. These underground cemeteries or catacombs, frequently referred to as "Roma Sotterranea", were built underneath or in close proximity to Roman necropolises located outside of what were then the city limits of Rome. Like the Etruscans before them, the Romans decorated the tombs of the dead with elaborate wall paintings.¹⁰⁵ If a tomb was large enough and the family rich enough, it was sometimes decorated to look like a room from a villa, complete with mosaic tiles on the floor, intricately molded ceilings, benches for *refrigeria* ¹⁰⁶ (refreshment meals for the dead) and in larger mausoleums, areas for food preparation.

Almost all extant Roman art which depicts banquet scenes from Late Antiquity (both sculpture and wall paintings) were found in or near burial sites. One major exception to this rule is the banquet scenes that were found in the homes at Pompeii and Herculaneum. A large number of the wall paintings and other artifacts from these two cities, buried under the volcanic ash of Mt. Vesuvius in 79AD, may now be found in the collection of the National Museum of Archaeology in Naples, Italy. Many wall paintings such as the famous frescoes from the 'Villa of Mysteries' are still *in situ*.

¹⁰⁵The practice of decorating tombs goes back much further than the Etruscans, whose culture was most vibrant around 600 BC. Indeed drawings on tomb walls associated with the dead are a practice which precedes the Etruscans by 2500 years when one considers the tomb art of the Egyptians.

¹⁰⁶The Latin name by which funeral banquets are known in the ancient literature. For a review of the etiology of the word, 'refrigerium', and where it is used in early Christian literature, see: G. van der Leeuw, "Refrigerium" in *Mnemosyne*, Series III, (3, 1935-36) 125-148. More will be said about this term in Chapter Four

In the Roman catacombs, aside from banquet scenes, the wall paintings depict scenes of male & female human figures in dramatic situations such as lions prowling about a naked male body or three figures inside a fiery furnace. As well, there are repetitive scenes of doves carrying olive branches, animals grazing, anchors, fish, ships, and vases of fruit. In a few catacombs, one also finds a seven-branch candlestick. Single figures in painted frames are the most common image found in the catacombs. Most prevalent are the female figures with their hands extended upwards (*orante*), and images of a shepherd carrying a sheep. Funerary urns which held the ashes of the deceased and sarcophagi, a type of stone coffin which held bodies, were also found richly decorated.

2.2.1. Female Figures with Cups in Banquet Scenes

As stated in chapter one, the purpose of my study is to test certain visual evidence depicting female figures with cups in what appears to be a leadership role at a banquet to: (1) determine if there is anything historical recorded there; (2) if so, to determine what it is; (3) determine the images' functions; and 4) determine whom the images may have served. Given the term, 'banquet scene' is of primary importance to this study, some space is given over here to explaining its origin.

The banquet scene has a long history in art. The earliest known banquet scene, found in what is today south-western Iran, depicts a standing figure offering a container to a seated figure and dates from the 4th millennium BC.¹⁰⁷ From the very beginning, both male and female figures were depicted in banquet scenes. It is generally thought they represent either royalty or supernatural beings and their earthly representatives. Early banquet scenes illustrated many different types of ritual feasts e.g. victory in war, the hunt, an honouring of special members of the community, but gradually they became associated with funeral meals. Some scholars suggest that the iconography of the funeral meal originated in Egypt, and was

¹⁰⁷See figure 1, Dominique Collon, "Banquets in the Art of the Ancient Near East," in Res Orientales: Banquets d'Orient, Vol. 4, R. Gyselen, ed. (Bures S/Y, 1992) 23.

adopted in Near Eastern iconography around 1000 BC.¹⁰⁸ The reclining banquet motif known as the 'klinè meal' first appears at about 650 BC. in the Near East (Assyria)¹⁰⁹ and is characterized by a seated female figure and a male figure who reclines on a klinè couch (one or two person bed).

Attendants who carry food and drink are often included in such scenes. They are usually depicted as smaller in scale than the main figures who recline on the bed. The funeral banquet scenes from the Near East typically show the lady of the house seated on an elevated chair at the end of the klinè.¹¹⁰ Early Etruscan klinè scenes (6th to early 5th century BC), in painting and sculpture, show both a female and a male reclining typically with the female in front. The Etruscan banquet scene with a seated female figure at the end of the klinè is not found in painting or sculpture until sometime after the middle of the 5th century BC.

Evidence for the reclining banquet motif is found in Greek art by the Archaic period (550-460 BC)¹¹¹ on surfaces such as household goods e.g. pots and cups but after the 5th century also on Attic grave stelae. During the time of the Roman Republic and early empire, the klinè funeral banquet motif could be found on stelae throughout the Roman empire. Scholars of Greek banquet scenes have typically separated the Sacrificial Meal, the *thysia*, the ritual practice of Greek blood-sacrifice, from the *Symposium*, the time after the meal when drinking takes place as a kind of aristocratic male-bonding ritual. According to Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, scholars have tended to see one or the other scenes as representing the key institution of early Greek civic life. Schmitt-Pantel however argues that the iconography of commensality scenes in the Archaic period cannot be so easily divided. Through a study of context for both of these scenes, Schmitt- Pantel shows

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 28. See also, Firatli, Nezih, Les Stèles Funéraires de Byzance Gréco-Roman (Paris, 1964) 20-22 on "l'origine des banquets funèbres" and "diffusion du motif".

¹⁰⁹See the "Garden Party", c.668-627 BC. in Dominique Collon, "Banquets in the Art of the Ancient Near East," in Banquets d'Orient: Res Orientales Vol IV, R, Gyselen, ed., (le Groupe pour l'Etude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1992) 27-28, fig.8.

¹¹⁰These are dated by Nezih Firatli as somewhere between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century AD; Op.Cit. 44.

¹¹¹Collon, 28; Firatli, 20.

that some vases combine both banquet and sacrifice scenes on different sides of the same vessel. Or for example, her examination of the different elements of the banquet scenes (objects on the tables, diners' gestures, etc.) showed that representations of meat, typically associated with sacrifice, had great visual significance (i.e. size of portions) in scenes which depict *divine* banquets (Dionysos or Herakles in attendance).¹¹² Schmitt-Pantel's analysis suggests that the sacrificial meal and the symposium, at least for the Archaic period, have elements of meaning which overlap and complement each other.

Roman klinè scenes from the Republic period to 3rd century AD show male and female figures reclining on a klinè couch individually or with each other. There are a number of klinè banquet scenes from third century Roman Art which show a male figure at the back of the klinè couch and the female figure in front. There are also some which show the reverse. A more important motif however is to show the male with a cup whether he reclines at the back or the front of the klinè couch.¹¹³ A small three-legged table is typically found in front of the klinè, on top of which is a platter of food, usually a roast or a fish. Jugs or flasks of wine in baskets are found beside the table.

Scholars generally agree that representations of klinè funeral banquets on Roman stelae are historical representations of the deceased along with his/her spouse who, at the time the monument was made, could still have been alive. Their servants and children were frequently depicted along with family pets, e.g. dogs and pet fowl. While the figures are considered to depict actual people, often the settings the figures were placed in were idealized. For example, pastoral scenes with rustic wagons and

¹¹²Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, "Sacrificial Meal and *Symposion*: Two Models of Civic Institutions in the Archaic City?" in Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium, Oswyn Murray, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 14-33.

¹¹³More is said about this iconographical pattern in Chapter Three Table 3.3vi. Group 4 Comparanda: Selected Roman Banquet Scenes: Outside the Roman Catacombs under Findings and in Chapter Five: Interpretation of the Data.

horses typically represented an ideal of the good life -- a sign to those who visited the graves that the interred led a prosperous and productive life.¹¹⁴

A second type of banquet scene known as the 'sigma-meal' was first introduced in art around the reign of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD). A painting from the Columbarium of the Villa Doria Pamphili shows a group of six figures sitting on the ground in a semi-circle.¹¹⁵ Some of the figures are holding cups and there is a platter of food on the ground in front of them. The sigma-couch or stibadium, as it was also called, was originally a large semi-circular cushion or set of cushions used for outdoor banquets. Classics scholar Katherine Dunbabin contends that the stibadium banquet fashion "derived at first from the numerous religious festivals in the Roman, and earlier in the Greek world, which called for outdoor feasting."¹¹⁶ It is not clear at what point this eating fashion moved indoors. Direct archaeological evidence¹¹⁷, for this eating configuration indoors in the form of rooms marked out through a c-shaped floor pattern¹¹⁸ is found only in late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. What began as an informal meal on a cushion became an elaborate indoor feast by the Severan period (193-211 AD) as evidenced by the curved floor mosaic from the remains of a house in Antioch known as the "House of the Buffet Supper". The outer part of the mosaic shows a variety of dishes arranged on silver platters that include: eggs, artichokes, pigs'

¹¹⁴See Rita Amedick, "Klinen-Mahl" 11-24 in Die Sarkophage Mit Darstellungen Aus Dem Menschenleben: Vita Privata, Berlin, 1991.

¹¹⁵See Elisabeth Jastrzebowska, "Les scènes de banquet dans les peintures et sculptures chrétienne des IIIe et IVe siècles," in Recherches Augustiniennes, (Vol XIV, 1979) fig.16.

¹¹⁶K. Dunbabin, "Dining in a Classical Context". in Dining in a Classical Context, William J. Slater, ed., (Ann Arbor: 1991) 134. According to Dunbabin, the Greek word *stibades* literally means the foliage on which people reclined.

¹¹⁷This is a problematic expression for a Religious Studies scholar who is trying to demonstrate the validity of paintings as primary historical evidence to her field. Perhaps Archaeologists need to reconsider what assumptions underlie the distinctions between the terms 'direct' and 'indirect' much in the same way that Religious Studies scholars have had to rethink the question of 'authenticity' in relation to 'the text' and 'the visual image'. Visual images because they are perceived as products of the imagination have traditionally been considered as interesting but unreliable as historical documents for the study of religions with sacred texts. This begs the following questions: (1) Do historical texts have to be without imagination to be considered as valid evidence? (2) How are the visual products of an historical imagination less authentic as documents of religious belief?

¹¹⁸See Dunbabin, figs. 21-25.

feet, fish, ham, fowl and cake. Bread and cups are spread throughout the floor picture of the feast.¹¹⁹ It is this sigma-meal formation that we find in the banquet scenes in Roman catacombs.

Though frescoes of sigma-meals are found above loculi and on sarcophagi, scholars are of mixed opinion as to the banquet scene's relationship to the deceased. Some view the scene as a heavenly meal attended by the dead, others see the scene as a representation of an actual *refrigerium* or funeral banquet given in honour of the deceased. Some Christian scholars see the banquet scenes in some tombs as an allegory for the Eucharist. I present these interpretations in detail in Chapter Three. In this chapter, I am purposely setting aside the question of the relationships between the visual images and specific religious ceremonies or rites that may be depicted in the banquet scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro. This discussion is reserved for Chapter Five.

2.2.1.1. Frescoes

In subterranean Rome, frescoes of banquet scenes are found in the catacombs of SS. Marcellino and Pietro, Priscilla, Callixtus, Coemeterium Maius, the tomb of Claudius Hermes beneath S. Sebastian, the hypogeum of Vibia, and the hypogeum of the Aurelii family. Some tomb paintings originally from Rome, though not many, are now part of collections in museums. These include the banquet scene from the Vigna Codini¹²⁰ now found in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; the scene from the Columbarium from the Villa Doria Pamphili¹²¹ now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome; and a banquet scene from the columbarium called "dei Claudii" from Ostia, near Rome, now in the Gregorian Profane Museum of the Vatican Museums. Other banquet scenes, recorded by archaeologists¹²² at the beginning of the 20th century,

¹¹⁹Dunbabin, 130.

¹²⁰Originally found in a chamber next to a columbarium. See E. Jastrzebowska, 36.

¹²¹Ibid., 43.

¹²²In the case of the catacomb of Domitilla, the scene was known to exist in the entrance to the catacomb, and while badly damaged, prompted Christian archaeologist Horace Marucchi to write the following in 1904: "On peut reconnaître encore deux personnages assis devant une table à trois pieds portant un poisson et des pains, et à côté un serviteur, le 'dapifer', qui tient un plat. Cette peinture est du II^e siècle." H. Marucchi, Vol 1, 1905, 299. A drawing of this scene which depicts a klinè meal

are known to have existed in the catacombs of Domitilla, SS. Marcellino e Pietro¹²³, Maius and the Giordani. Today these scenes either no longer exist or are too faint or very badly damaged.¹²⁴

The total number of known frescoes of banquet scenes in near complete form in the Roman catacombs is twenty-two.¹²⁵ Of the twenty-two, thirteen clearly include female figures. Eight of the thirteen are found in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Of the remaining five which have figures of women, one is found in the Catacomb of Priscilla, one in Coemeterium Maius, one in the tomb of Vibia, one in Callixtus, and one in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme. As this last fresco is dated from the reign of Augustus (27 BC.- 14 AD.), it does not meet the selection criteria for the catalogue.

2.2.1.2 Sculpture: Sarcophagi and Reliefs

Of the published scenes of surviving sarcophagi from the catacombs in Rome with images of sigma meals, only a few include female figures as part of the scene. Of interest, more female figures seem to be preserved in iconography of klinè meal scenes from the first to third century, AD.¹²⁶ There are, of course, many surviving sarcophagi with female figures but these usually form part of a visual program depicting New Testament stories, a female *orans*, or a portrait of a deceased woman.¹²⁷ These female

similar to figure 25 in Section III of this catalogue (with the seated and standing figures reversed) can be found in Théophile Roller, Les Catacombes de Rome, Vol. 1, Paris, 1881, opposite p. 58, no. 5.

¹²³Jean Guyon lists the number of banquet scenes in Marcellino and Pietro as 15. See fig. 95D: "Les peintures des sujets des classes 4 a 6 dans les cimetières de Rome," in Le cimetière aux deux lauriers: Recherches sur les catacombes romaines, (Rome, 1987) 164.

¹²⁴Some of these scenes, now accessible to us as drawings made by early archaeologists and their assistants are included as part of the analysis of the comparanda in Chapter Three.

¹²⁵This number could be slightly higher or lower depending on selection criteria. For example E. Jastrzebowska includes the 'Marriage of Cana' from the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro in her count of banquet scenes. I have included it in Group 1 of my comparanda.

¹²⁶Typically however the female figures, if reclining, do not hold cups. See 3.4.8., "Banquet Meal Iconography".

¹²⁷An example of a sarcophagus in very good condition with a portrait of two women enclosed in the circle may be found in the museum of S. Sebastian, directly above the catacomb of the same name.

figures are not included in my analysis as they are not part of the banquet scene collection.

2.3 Catalogue¹²⁸

As anyone who has ever prepared a catalogue is aware description of a scene can easily elide into interpretation. I have therefore refrained from referring to any of the figures in the scenes as 'servants' or 'participants', before an analysis of the figures' status can be undertaken. I have attempted to be as clear and descriptive (i.e. non-interpretative) as possible. Scholars familiar with these images will be surprised therefore to discover new details included in the descriptions which have not been pointed out in previous catalogues. The image corresponding to each entry may be found in numerical order in Appendix A of the study.

¹²⁸To construct the catalogue for this study, I have drawn on the work of archaeologists and art historians as well as my own research at the Archivio Fotografico of the Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Città del Vaticano; the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome; the Vatican museums; the catacombs of Callixtus, Domitilla, Priscilla, Sebastian, St. Agnes (Coemeterium Maius); the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, Rome; the Musei Capitolini, Rome; the tituli churches of San Clemente, SS. Giovanni e Paulo, and Santa Pudenziana. I also carried out research in countless other small libraries and museums in Rome. Of the archaeological reports on SS. Marcellino e Pietro, there are two which are exceptional, that of Jean Guyon, Le cimetière aux deux lauriers: recherches sur les catacombes romaines, Rome, 1987 and that of J. G. Deckers, H. R. Seeliger, G. Mietke, Gesamtverzeichnis der Malereien in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. La catacomba dei Santi Marcellino e Pietro. Repertorio delle pitture. Die Katakomben>>Santi Marcellino e Pietro<< Repertorium der Malereien, Città del Vaticano/Münster, 1987. I have made extensive use of both. With regard to the dimensions of each painting from SS. Marcellino e Pietro, I have followed the catalogue information in Peter Dückers, "Agape und Irene. Die Frauengestalten der Sigmamahlsszenen mit antiken Inschriften in der Katakomba der Heiligen Marcellinus und Petrus," in Jahrbuch für Antike Und Christentum (Jahrgang 35, 1992) 147-167. In building the principal bibliography for the banquet scenes, I have consulted those of Deckers et. al. Op. Cit., and Elisabeth Jastrzebowska's "Les scènes de banquet dans les peintures et sculptures chrétiennes des IIIe et IVe siècles," in Recherches Augustiniennes (Vol XIV, 1979) 3-90. In identifying each fresco from the Catacomb of Marcellino e Pietro, I follow the system of the Archivio Fotografico which assigns a three letter prefix corresponding to the name of the catacomb before each numbered site. For example, images from the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro are identified by the catacomb's other name of "inter duos lauros" corresponding to the prefix, "Lau". An image from chamber 75 of SS. Marcellino e Pietro is therefore identified as Lau 75. While seemingly arcane, the system is followed by most archaeologists and therefore allows for the easiest method of referencing.

2.3.1. Bibliographic Key¹²⁹

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¹²⁹With a few exceptions, only principal scholars from the 20th century have been included in this bibliography.

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2.3.2. Description Criteria

Funeral banquet images from the Catacomb of Marcellino e Pietro are most relevant to my study and have been included in Section I (figs. 1-9) of the catalogue; funeral banquet images not located in Marcellino e Pietro but found in *Roma Sotterranea* (under the city of Rome) and its immediate surroundings have been listed in section II of the catalogue (figs.10-18). Section III contains comparanda to sections I and II. Seven images which are not in Rome or whose origins are unknown are included in this section due to their iconographical significance to my subject matter¹³⁰.

The reader will find that for the sake of descriptive clarity, I have numbered the figures (1,2,3,4 etc.) in each of the images on a black and

¹³⁰Namely: figs. 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32a-32b, 33.

white print-out for ease of identification. This system assumes the perspective of the viewer and follows a left to right reading sequence.

To avoid confusion of the terms, *orant*, *orantes*, *orans*, I have used the following standard in my text:

- orant = male figure in prayer posture
- orante = female figure in prayer posture
- orans = Latin name depicting a single figure (either male or female or sex unknown)
- orantes = Latin name, plural of orans.

2.3.3 SECTION I: Scenes under Study

2.3.3.1. Catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro: Dating of banquet scenes

Four of the eight fresco scenes described below are found in the region of the catacomb designated as "I" and four are found in the region designated as "A"¹³¹. Two of the eight fresco scenes are found in chambers which contain mensae or stone tables.¹³² A further painting is found in a chamber which is nearby another chamber with a mensa. The first excavation of these regions is estimated to have taken place in the latter years of the 3rd century when an underground hydraulic system no longer in use was converted into a cemetery. The chronology of the banquet scenes painted within these regions cannot be definitively determined. Art historians L. de Bruyne and J. Kollwitz made exhaustive studies of the frescoes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro in the 1960's based on artistic conventions of style and iconographical references.¹³³ These scholars proposed two different chronologies of the same paintings: De Bruyne dated them from c.280AD to the early Constantinian era. Kollwitz dated them later -- beginning *after* the period of the Tetrarchs (284-312AD). Studies of Roman female portraiture

¹³¹The regions designated as "A" and "I" in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro follow the nomenclature assigned to the different sections of the cemetery in the topographical study by Jean Guyon, 54-86. Areas "A" and "I" are two of the last sections of the catacomb to be developed, around the beginning of the 4th century. See the floor plan of the catacomb in Appendix D.

¹³²Altogether, 33 mensae have been documented in this catacomb.

¹³³Guyon, 95. The author states that both scholars ignored the evidence of topography.

in sculpture made by Diana Kleiner¹³⁴ suggest to me that almost all of the hairstyles of the women in the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino and Pietro are typical of those of upper class women during the period of the Tetrarchs (284-312AD).

Based on his topographical study of the regions and the fact that these regions contain the highest concentration of Greek inscriptions,¹³⁵ Guyon dates the paintings *before* the last persecution (303-305).¹³⁶ He admits however that there is one major topographical contradiction to this dating. While the construction of the chambers which house the paintings shows an architectural maturity which coincides with the turn of the 4th century, it appears that the rich clients who owned these chambers used them until about the year 320AD, at which time they transferred their allegiance from the underground cemetery to the spacious surface mausoleums constructed when Constantine built the basilica to commemorate the two martyrs SS. Marcellino e Pietro (finished c.320AD). Given that recent archaeological digs have confirmed the existence and the importance of these buildings, Guyon cautions that "pour les époques antérieures [aux bâtiments constantiniens] la marge d'approximation reste grande."¹³⁷ Based on the evidence above, I have therefore assigned opening and end dates to the frescoes of c.280-320 AD.

One further example will serve to underline Guyon's word of caution around dating any artifact found at an archaeological site. While Region X of the catacomb has been determined to contain evidence of the oldest Christian graves in the catacomb (second half of the 3rd century), many loculus inscriptions from this region have been dated c.313AD and later despite the general pattern of burying fourth century Christians in the newer sections of the cemetery. Guyon explains the discrepancy between the dates

¹³⁴See: Diana Kleiner, I. Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome, New Haven, 1996 and Diana Kleiner, Roman Sculpture, New Haven, 1992.

¹³⁵It is generally accepted by archaeologists of the catacombs that Greek inscriptions predate Latin ones.

¹³⁶Jean Guyon, "La topographie et la chronologie du cimetiere 'inter duos lauros'" in Deckers et. al., Op. Cit. (91-131) 130.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, 129.

of the graves and the date of the excavated section as follows. According to Christian tradition, the martyrs, Marcellino and Pietro, were transferred from their original burial site and buried at *inter duos lauros* in Region X sometime after they were martyred under Diocletian's persecution of 303 AD and before the peace of the church.¹³⁸ What probably accounts for the late inscription dates in the oldest section of the catacomb is the Christian practice of *ad sanctos* (burying the dead as close to the graves of saints or martyrs as possible in order to benefit from the holiness of the site). In the case of SS Marcellino e Pietro, the martyrs' relics were interred in one of the oldest sections of the cemetery most probably for ease of access: The families of Christians who died after the translation of the saints' relics to the catacomb attempted to secure a place for their loved ones as close as possible to the martyrs' tomb. Therefore, before attempting to narrowly date archaeological remains, one must remain aware that there may be a wide divergence of historical activity in any single archaeological 'sub-site'.

FIGURES: 1a, general; 1b = drawing, Bosio (1632); 1c = nos. 1-3; 1d = nos. 4-6; 1e = no. 6; 1f = nos. 2-3; 1g = no. 1 (Lau 39)

LOCATION: Gallery arcosolium, lunette, west region of the catacomb: Region A¹³⁹.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Just north of chamber 38 in which there is a mensa approximately .85m high made with stone, coated in plaster with a painted design. The banquet scene of this arcosolium is the focal image for a viewer standing directly in front of the sarcophagus. It was bracketed by images of birds only one of which remains. The arch of the arcosolium is also painted. The scenes have been interpreted as follows: (from viewer's left to right): Jonah vomited out by the whale; personification of season or genius; the good shepherd, centre; personification of season or genius; Jonah at rest. [figure 1b]

DIMENSIONS OF BANQUET SCENE: 0.62m high x 0.83m wide

¹³⁸The practice of transferring the remains of Christian saints and martyrs to proper Christian burial sites is known from as early as the mid third century AD when the relics of Hippolytus were brought back to Rome from Sardinia most probably under the direction of Fabian, bishop of Rome, 236-250. It would appear that the transference of martyrs' relics became such an active trade by the fourth century that an edict issued by Gratian, Valentinian II and Theodosius I in 386 AD, forbade any further disturbance of martyrs' relics allowing instead the building of martyria at or near the site of their original burial. See Stevenson, 37.

¹³⁹As per Guyon's nomenclature, Le cimetière (1987).

DESCRIPTION: In this fresco, there are five figures who are seated, three males¹⁴⁰ behind the sigma-couch and two females at either end in front of the couch. A child (no. 6) holds a cup in her/his right hand. She/he stares at it intently. Some scholars suggest that the child is a boy servant.¹⁴¹ The figures *in cornu sinistro* (meaning "left-hand corner" -- the right side from the perspective of the viewer), the seated woman and the child (nos. 6 & 5) are partially obscured by damage to the fresco. The woman *in cornu dextro* (meaning "right-hand corner" -- left from the perspective of the viewer) has her right hand raised and extended. It is in a cupped position. In front of the sigma-couch is a small tripod table with food on it --meat of some kind. Between the tripod table and the woman *in cornu dextro* is an amphora with two handles which is standing on the floor. The man to her left (no. 2) is looking at the centre figure (no. 3). The centre figure looks to his right as though at the inscription IRENE . DA . CALDA. The man (no. 4) looks straight ahead. The pointed leaf-shapes around his ears suggest he is wearing a funeral wreath¹⁴². No. 2 possibly wears a *vitta* (woolen band) indicated by traces of a dark line across light-coloured hair. All three men (nos. 2,3,4) have short cropped beards. On their bodies nos. 2 and 3 wear tunics pinned together by fibulae (brooches) at each shoulder. The sleeves are narrow and are marked by double *clavi* (stripes). Figure no. 4 wears a wide sleeved tunic also with double *clavi*. A single stripe on the left side of his torso starting at the neckline(?) and ending under his left upper arm suggests he may be wearing a dalmatic like the female figures. Woman no. 1 wears a long dalmatic with double *clavi* on the front and on her wide sleeves. Her elaborate hairstyle¹⁴³ hangs loose at the side behind the ears while the rest of the hair is swept up into three(?) rolls and fastened at the crown of her head. It is probable that the woman across from her (no. 5) wears a long dalmatic too. Her hairstyle is less distinct but seems to follow the general pattern of female figure no. 1.

INSCRIPTIONS: Within the plane of the image, there are two, two line inscriptions in black letters. On the viewer's left, above figure no. 2 are the words:

¹⁴⁰In the publication of the fresco in 1632 [figure 1b], the centre figure behind the sigma-couch is drawn as a female. Also, in this drawing, the two women on either end of the sigma couch are shown as sitting on cathedrae chairs.

¹⁴¹Dückers, 149;

¹⁴²For an example of such a funerary wreath with stylized laurel or myrtle leaves see: Diana Kleiner, *J. Claudia*, catalogue no. 144, 197.

¹⁴³Almost all of the female figures in the banquet scenes of Marcellino and Pietro sport hairstyles considered very stylish during the period of the Tetrarchs (284-312): waved across the forehead but falling loosely behind the ears with a roll or rolls at the crown of the head. See "Female Portraiture under the Tetrarchs", Diana Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture*, 408.

**IRENE.DA
CALDA**

On the viewer's right, above figure no. 4 are the words:

**AGAPE
MISCE. MI**

Along the upper arc of the image, in a different script are the words: **VOLSCVS, RVFEVS**¹⁴⁴, **POMPONIVS, FABIVS**. The word **FABIANVS** appears in smaller letters at the centre, just above the word 'IRENE' and lined up with the word, 'AGAPE'.

DATE: 280-320 AD

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975: Vol. 6, p.88, no. 15942;

BIB: Bosio, 1632; Roller, Vol.2, pp.10-13; Wilpert, 1891:p.62; Matthaei, p. 10 no.4, 22, 26, 28f., 35,38; Kaufmann, pp.198-199, fig. 27; Wilpert, 1903: pl.157,1; Von Sybel, p. 207; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.I:col.843f., fig.88; Leclercq, 1907: p.560; Besnier, pp.210-212; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.V,1, col.2625f.; Bendinelli, p.242f; Klauser, 1927: pp.147-148 (pl.21,2); Klauser, 1928, p. 602; Wilpert, 1938, p.288f.; Leclercq, 1939 DACL: Vol.XIV, 1 col.1002f.; Dölger, ICQUS Vol.V:pp.492-500, Vol.IV:pl.262,1; Stuiber, p.132; Morey, p. 269, fig. 52; Laurent, p.64; De Bruyne, p.209; Kollwitz, p.63; Nestori, p.53, no.39; Vogel, pp. 74-77; Février, 1977: p.29f., fig.3; Jastrzebowska, pp.26-27, no.XVII; Engemann, 1982: p. 245, 250; Guyon, Deckers et. al., pp.255-257, pl.24:b, cpl.12:a,b; Guyon, pp.198-200; Prigent 1988, 335-336; Dückers, pp.147-150, 1.1 Lau 39, pl.6:a.

PHOTO CREDIT: 1a: Deckers et. al., pl.24:b; 1b: Deckers et al. pl.24a; 1c-1g: Deckers et al., colour pl.12:a,b.

FIGURES: 2a general; 2b = nos. 1-2; 2c = no. 1; 2d = nos. 5-6; 2e = inside arch of the arcosolium
(Lau 45-2)

LOCATION: Chamber 45, main wall of chamber, opposite the entrance, lunette, west region of the catacomb: Region A. A number of dead were buried in this chamber.

¹⁴⁴The 'E' could also be an 'F' but in either case, not a typical spelling of the Latin name, 'RVFVS'.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Contains a crude 1/4 circular mensa in the east side of the chamber. Approximately 1.05m high. Made with stone. The "tranche" of a green glass plate is still visible. Painted design on surface. Most likely installed after the frescoes were added.¹⁴⁵ In this chamber the banquet scene is located on the wall directly opposite the entrance. In the arch of the arcosolium directly above the lunette are painted scenes which have been previously interpreted as follows (from viewer's left to right): Jonah resting; the ascent of Elijah into heaven; Jonah vomited out by the whale. On the same wall above the arcosolium to the viewer's right is a scene of a mare with a colt. The ceiling of this chamber was also painted however only a fragment is still decorated. In this fragment are a number of vignettes in circular or semicircular frames including goats and personifications of the seasons or genii. The vignettes are separated by abstract designs. On the left wall as seen from the entrance is an image of a seated man extending his arm toward a small table(?) with a plate on top of it.

DIMENSIONS OF BANQUET SCENE: .67m high x 1.70m wide

DESCRIPTION: In this scene, there are seven figures altogether, five adults and two children. The three men and two children sit behind the sigma-couch. The woman *in cornu sinistro* (no. 7) is probably standing in front of the couch. Her body is in a full frontal position with a slight turn to her right. She carries something rectangular, possibly a box, a tablet or codex in her right hand.¹⁴⁶ Her left hand is held over the centre of her chest. Her eyes look to the male figure reclining in the centre position (no. 4). The man to her immediate right (no. 6) is looking at the woman *in cornu dextro* and is reaching out his hand toward the platter of food. The head of the female figure *in cornu dextro* (no. 1) faces the viewer with a slight turn to the right. Her body is turned to show her profile. In her extended and raised right hand she holds a drinking cup. She appears to be behind the sigma-couch and is probably reclining. The man immediately to her left (no. 2) is gazing at the inscription AGAPE . MISCE . NOBIS. The male¹⁴⁷ figure in the centre of the scene (no. 4) appears to be drinking out of a cup (his left hand is lifted up towards his mouth--now defaced). Flanking him are two children of indeterminate sex (nos. 3 & 5). The female figure on the viewer's right (no. 7) is wearing a dalmatic with single wide *clavi* at the front and double *clavi* on the sleeves. Her hair is parted in the middle and waved, with two small rolls pinned at the top. The garment on the female figure to the left (no. 1 -- see figure 2a) appears to have a *limbus* (a purple band sewn onto the hem). Her curled hair is parted in the

¹⁴⁵Guyon, Le Cimetière, fig. 200, 'Tableau des mensae du cimetière', no. 5, 332.

¹⁴⁶ Dückers tells us that her left hand is touching her breast and the right hand is grasping the handle of a little jug. 150.

¹⁴⁷Jastrzebowska identifies this figure as a female. 24.

middle, and partially covers her forehead, falling loosely behind the ears. A section of her hair has been braided(?) and neatly fastened to the top of her head with the aid of a *vitta* (woolen band) or a hairnet. The men are wearing tunics pinned with fibulae. At the centre of the arch of the arcosolium is a fresco (2e) which is typically interpreted as Elijah and the heavenly chariot ascending into heaven.

INSCRIPTIONS: There are two inscriptions approximately 3cm. high. On the viewer's left between the female figure *in cornu dextro* and the male figure (no. 2 -- see figure 2b), we find:

**AGAPE.MISCE
NOBIS**

written in two lines as above. On the viewer's right, directly above the head of male figure no. 6, we find a very faint inscription which says,

**IRENE
(P)ORG(E)
C(A)LDA**

DATE: 280-320 AD

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975: Vol 6, p. 88 no.15943

BIB: Roller, Vol 2, p.11f.; Matthaei, 10f.,14, 28-30, 35, 38; Kaufmann, p. 200, fig. 28; Wilpert, 1903: pl.133,2; Von Sybel, 207f., 222; Leclercq, 1907: p.560; Besnier, pp.210-212; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.I: col.845, fig.88; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.V,1 col.2625f.; Klauser, 1927: pp.136-137, p.139, p.148; Bendinelli, p. 243, no.21; Leclercq, 1939 DACL: Vol.XIV,1 col.1001; Styger, p.202f.; Wilpert, 1938, p.288f.; Dölger, Vol.IV, pl.262,2, Vol.5 p.493, pp.498-500; Stuiber, p.127, p.135; Testini, p.294; Klauser, 1928, p. 602; Klauser, 1967: p.86 no. 24, p. 89; De Bruyne, p.162f., .203-205; Kollwitz, p.63,71; Grabar, p.112; 314; Nestori, p.54, no.45; Vogel, 74-77; Février, 1977:30, 32, fig.4; Février, 1978: p.241f.; Jastrzebowska, p.24, 62-64, 68f., 82, 89, XIV; Engemann, 1982: p.246, 250; Deckers et. al. pp.266-270, pl.30:b, cpl.20:a,b; Guyon, pp.198-200; Prigent 1988, 331, 335-336; Dücker, p.150-151, 1.2 Lau 45-2, pl.6:c.

PHOTO CREDITS: 2a: Grabar, p. 112, no.111; 2b-2d: Deckers et. al., colour pl. 20:a,b; 2e: Deckers et al., pl. 30b detail.

FIGURES: 3a-3b general; 3c = nos. 1-2; 3d = no. 1; 3e = no. 5 (Lau 47)

LOCATION: Gallery arcosolium, lunette, west region of the catacomb: Region A.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Found in one of the most luxuriously decorated areas of the catacomb, just north-east of chambers 50 and 51, both of which have a mensa. The banquet scene of this arcosolium is the focal image for a viewer standing directly in front of the sarcophagus. Above the arcosolium in which the banquet painting is found is a *loculus* which was once covered with an abstract floral design. In the arch of the arcosolium, the remains of the painted scenes have been interpreted as follows (from viewer's left to right): Damaged surface, left; Noah and the Ark, centre; Jonah resting, right.

DIMENSIONS OF THE BANQUET SCENE: .74m high x 0.67m wide

DESCRIPTION: There are four figures visible in this fresco, three men who sit behind a sigma-couch and a woman (no. 5) who is standing in front of the couch on the viewer's right. The woman is holding a drinking vessel in her right hand which is extended and raised above her head. Her eyes look up at the cup (see 3e). Her left arm is at her side but the viewer is unable to see if she holds anything in her hand as the fresco is damaged. Another figure who originally was standing opposite to her on the viewer's left (no. 4) is now barely visible. In front of the three male figures is a tripod table supporting a platter of food. The man on the viewer's left (no. 1) is holding a drinking vessel in his left hand which rests on the couch. His right arm is extended, the hand raised to about the level of his head as he looks to his neighbour on his left (no. 2). His neighbour (no.2) in the centre of the sigma-couch, looks down and points to the plate of food. The figure to his left (no.3) is also reaching out to the platter of food. The woman (no. 5) is wearing a marigold yellow dalmatic with two dark *clavi* on each side of the frontispiece, and two *clavi* on the large wide sleeve. On her head, she wears a diadem. Her hair covers most of her forehead, but it is not clear whether the side hair is ornamented in some way (with a marigold yellow vitta or veil? [see Figure 3e]) or if it just hangs loosely by her face. Her torso turns slightly to her right, as does her head. The men wear different colour tunics (from left to right: marigold, lemon-beige, black and ?) with fibulae at the shoulders.

INSCRIPTIONS: Above the head of the male figure on the viewer's left (no. 1), approximately 3cm high and written in two lines are the words:

**AGAPE
(PO)RGE CALDA**

(See figures 3b, 3c.) Above the head of the male figure on the viewer's left (no. 3), again in two lines are the words:

**IREN(E)
MISCE**

Unlike the letters of the other banquet inscriptions, the letters of these Latin inscriptions are written in a Greek-like script.

DATE: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB:Ferrua, 1975: 15944;

BIB: Matthaei, p.11, 22, 28-30, 35, 38, 45; Kaufmann, p. 201; Wilpert, 1903:pl.157,2; Besnier, pp.210-212; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.I:col.845f., fig.190; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.V,1 col.2627; Klauser, 1928, p.602; Wilpert, 1938, p.288f.; Leclercq, 1939 DACL:Vol.XIV,1 col.1003-1005; Dölger, Vol.V:pp.492-500, Vol.IV: pl.263,1; De Bruyne, p.201f.; Kollwitz, p.70,73; Nestori, p.54, no.47; Février, 1977 p.32, fig.5; Jastrzebowska, p.25, 62-64, 68f., XVI; Guyon, pp.198-200; Deckers et. al. pp.272-273, pl.33:c, colour pl.22:a,b; Dückers, pp.151-152, 1.3 Lau 47, pl.6:b.

PHOTO CREDITS: 3a: J. Wilpert, pl.157,2; 3b: Dölger, pl.263,1 after de Rossi; 3c-3e: Deckers et. al., colour pl.22:a,b.

FIGURES: 4a-4c general; 4d = nos.3-4; 4e = nos. 1-2; 4f = no. 7
(Lau 50-2)¹⁴⁸

LOCATION: Chamber 50, main wall of chamber, opposite the entrance, lunette, west region of the catacomb: Region A. Installation of a long rectangular loculus has removed the lower portion of the fresco.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Contains a rectangular stone mensa approximately .9m high. The mensa is partly demolished but there are remains of a groove for a facing of stone (placage). No painted design. Most likely installed after the frescoes were painted. The banquet scene is found in the arcosolium across from the entrance. Directly above and flanking the banquet scene are cupids holding a garland. Many orantes were also painted in this particular chamber. For example, in the arch above the arcosolium one finds the following figures (from the viewer's left to right): a female veiled orante; a male orant (centre); a female veiled orante. Both female

¹⁴⁸Example of two names, AGAPE & IRENE and only one adult female figure.

figures are wearing wide-sleeved dalmatics with single(?) *clavi*. The male orant wears a short tunic with a cloak, possibly a *paenula*. On the entrance wall, at the sides of the doorway are orantes, an orant (left) and an orante (right). The female wears a diadem in her hair but does not wear a veil. She is also wearing a wide-sleeved dalmatic with single *clavi* the length of the gown and double *clavi* on the sleeves. According to de Rossi, on the left wall of the entrance where there are no loculi, there is an inscription¹⁴⁹ (to the right side of the orant) rendered in a light style and grooved into the wall. It reads:

**GAVDEN
TIA VIVA(S)
IN**

DIMENSIONS: (of fresco) .51m high x .93m wide

DESCRIPTION: There are seven figures in this meal scene, five behind the sigma-couch and two in front, probably standing. There are some faint marks *in cornu dextro* of the sigma-couch which may have been the outline of another figure, but the area is now too badly damaged for clear determination. The woman in the foreground to the viewer's right (no. 7 -- see figure 4f) holds a cup in the hand of her outstretched right arm. The cup is at the level of her shoulder. Her hair is combed back behind her ears and fastened in a bun. Unlike those reclining on the sigma-couch her garment is a dark rust colour, as is her skin. Across from her on the viewer's left, are the head and shoulders of another figure (no. 6), probably a male, who is carrying a round platter. From the viewer's left to right behind the sigma-couch are the following figures. The first (no. 1) holds his right hand to his head. His left arm rests on the sigma-couch. From his short hair and narrow-sleeved tunic, the figure appears to be male. Of extreme importance is the trace of a cup which sits on his lap. The lip of the cup is denoted by two gray lines painted closely together, a thicker one on the bottom and a thinner line, slightly shorter, above it. (For best view of cup see figure 4e, no. 1) The figure to his immediate left (no. 2) who also wears a narrow-sleeved tunic reaches for the platter of food with his right hand. His left arm appears to

¹⁴⁹ "Gaudentia, live on in Christ (Chi-Rho symbol)". See G. B. de Rossi, 1882, 117f. I have followed de Rossi's visual rendering of the inscription but have exchanged the 'U' for a 'V' in keeping with Deckers et al. archaeological description of the chamber. See Deckers et al., (1987) 281. Gaudentia is an uncommon female Latin name. This inscription appears to be contemporary with the age of the crypt, late 3rd early 4th century.

be resting on the sigma-couch. The figure to his immediate left (no. 3 - the centre figure behind the couch), lifts a cup to his lips with his right hand. He is reclining and his head is turned to the viewer's left. The next figure to our right (no. 4) appears to be female from the longer hair and more delicate features (see figure 4d). It is not clear from figure 4d where the arms of no. 4 are placed. There is also a shadowy figure of a small figure (no. 4'a') toward whom her body is turned (our right). Her head looks to our left. Next to the shadowy figure, is a figure whose sex and attire are impossible to determine (no. 5).

INSCRIPTIONS: In very faint red letters approximately 4 cm high, the words¹⁵⁰ :

**AGAPE
DACA
LDA**

are written to our left of the first figure (no. 1 -- see figure 4c). The inscription,

**IRE(NE).
M(I)SC(E)**

is written to the right of no. 5 at the edge of the picture plane. The faded letters, written in two lines, are approximately 4cm. high.

DATE: 280-320 AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975: 15945;

BIB: Matthaei, pp.10-11, 22, 28-30, 35, 38,45; Kaufmann, pp.200-201; Wilpert, 1903, pl.160,1; 184, 185,1.3; Besnier, pp.210-212; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.1 col.835f., fig.184; Leclercq, 1923 DACL: Vol.V,1 col. 2625-2627; Leclercq, 1939 DACL: Vol.XIV,1 col.1003; Klauser, 1927, p.139; Klauser, 1928, p.602; Wilpert, 1938, p.288f.; Dölger, Vol.V :pp.492-500, Vol.IV: pl.263,2; Stuiber, p.135; De Bruyne, p.202f.; Kollwitz, p.63, 69f. 72f. 120, pl.22; Nestori, p.55, no.50; Février, 1977, p.32, fig.6; Jastrzebowska, p.25, 62-64, 68f., 82, 89, no. XV; Engemann, 1982: p.246, pl.20a, 250; Guyon, pp.198-200; Deckers et al. pp.278-281, colour pl.27:a,b,c; Prigent 1988, 334-336; Dückers, pp.153-154, 1.4 Lau 50-2, pl.6:d.

¹⁵⁰I agree with Dückers who suggests that the 'D's' in DA and CALDA are rendered backwards on the wall painting. 154.

PHOTO CREDITS: 4a: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, rep. 50; 4b: J. Wilpert, pl.184; 4c: Dölger, pl. 262,2 after de Rossi; 4d-4f: Deckers et. al., colourpl.27:a,b,c.

FIGURES: 5a general; 5b = nos. 2-5; 5c = no. 1; 5d = no. 1(Lau 75)

LOCATION: Gallery arcosolium, lunette, west and extreme south region of the catacomb: Region I.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Most of the paintings in this arcosolium have been destroyed except for the well-preserved banquet scene. The arch of the arcosolium depicts a vine. Mensae are located in chambers 71 and 72 directly southwest of the site.

DIMENSIONS: .60m high x 1.79m wide

DESCRIPTION: There are five figures in an outdoor scene. Both the figure on the viewer's left and the tripod table cast shadows to the viewer's right. The long dalmatic on the standing figure to our left (no. 1, figure 5d) suggests that the figure is a girl. (The short tunic usually denotes a boy.) Her belt is tied just below the ribs. She wears a bow tied at the top of her forehead. In her raised and extended right hand she holds a drinking vessel and in her left hand a jug with a handle. To her right is a *caldarium* which was used for keeping water hot. On the tripod table in front of the sigma-couch is food - a roast of meat of some kind? There are also a jug and a pan on the ground. To the left of the tripod table are two cylindrical wicker baskets which may contain wine bottles or possibly *volumina*. The gestures of the male figures behind the sigma-couch present a very animated scene in contrast to the stillness and composure of the female figure. The bearded male figure *in cornu dextro* (no. 2) raises his arm towards the female figure as he looks toward those with whom he is reclining. He is wearing a long dalmatic (as the others may be). Unlike the other males he wears a laurel wreath on his head. (See 5b.) His garment is also a distinctively different colour (light gold) from that of the other three figures whose colour most probably is meant to be white. Nos. 3 and 4 are not bearded. No. 5 is the only reclining figure to hold a cup which he grasps in his left hand.

INSCRIPTION: Above and between the female figure and the male figure *in cornu dextro* of the sigma-couch, are the words,

SABINA . MISCE

the letters ca. 3.5cm in height.

DATE: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975: 15948

BIB: Ferrua 1970, pp.32-39, 81-83, fig.22; De Bruyne, p.186, fig. 145; Nestori, p.61, no.75; Février 1977, p.32; Jastrzebowska, pp. 22-23, 62f., XII; Engemann, 1982: p.245, 250; Guyon, pp.198-200; Deckers et. al. pp.336-338, pl.55:a; colour pl.55:a,b; Prigent 1988, 335-336; Dückers, pp.154-155, 1.5 Lau 75, pl.7:a.

PHOTO CREDITS: 5a: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, rep. 75; 5b-5d: Deckers et. al., colour pl.55:a,b.

FIGURES: 6a-6b general; 6c = no.1; 6d = no.4; 6e = detail of inside arch of arcosolium

(Lau 76-2)¹⁵¹

LOCATION: Chamber 76, main wall of chamber, opposite the entrance, lunette, southwest region of the catacomb: Region "I".

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Directly northwest of our Figure 5 (Lau 75). Like the other banquet scenes in chambers, this banquet scene is located on the wall directly across from the entrance and is painted above the space for the sarcophagus. It is flanked by frescoes of peacocks, the images of which only partially remain due to a horizontal loculus that was dug out after the painting was made. In the arch of the arcosolium the frescoes have been interpreted as follows in a clockwise direction: an unidentified female figure standing beside a *caldarium*, and holding a small jug (9 o'clock). She is wearing a wide-sleeved dalmatic with *clavi* and is barefoot. Moving clockwise, a personification of one of the seasons (10 o'clock). The good shepherd is at 12 o'clock. A second personification of a season is at 2 o'clock and a male orant wearing a tight-sleeved tunic with *clavi*, sandals and a *paenula* is at 3 o'clock.

DIMENSIONS: .38m high x .67m wide

DESCRIPTION: In this scene, there are four figures, three of whom are seated. The figure on the viewer's left (no. 1) is probably standing. She holds a cup in her extended right hand. Her eyes are fixed on the cup in front of her. From the lines beneath her eyes, she appears to be an older woman and not a girl.¹⁵² Her elaborate hairstyle is parted in the middle and rolled neatly

¹⁵¹In this example there are two female figures and one name, Irene.

¹⁵²Dückers describes her as a young girl (1992)155. I don't agree given her hairstyle is more typical of those of the other adult female figures in this series of frescoes and not typical of those styles that adorn the heads of young girls (see figure 5d). No. 1's short height may be due to the artist's placement of her in front of the sigma couch so that she is more in the foreground of the picture plane.

at the nape of her neck. A second section has been rolled and pinned at the top of her head. This section could also include an added hairpiece or a diadem. The young woman (no. 4) sitting across from her (near *in cornu sinistro*) has curlier hair with a slight wave evident over her forehead. The sides fall in loose curls about her chin. Rather than a hairpiece, she appears to be wearing a diadem on the crown of her head as a piece of jewelry to go with her large earrings of semi-precious stones (opals?). She extends her right arm towards the platter on the tripod table. She folds her left arm across her breast. Behind the couch, sit two male figures, a bearded older man wearing a tunic with fibulae (no. 2) and a boy (no. 3) wearing a narrow-sleeved dalmatic with double *clavi*. The male figure on our left sports a short-cropped beard. His right arm is extended towards the female figure to his right. Something, cloth? seems to be attached to the thumb of his right hand. This man's other arm reaches behind the boy. The boy wears a dalmatic like those of the female figures, but with narrower sleeves and *clavi*. The boy's arms rest on the sigma-couch. His hair is short and is combed forward. The eyes of the older male figure appear not to be directed to any particular spot. Within the curve of the sigma is a tripod table holding a fish. The table has very ornately carved legs in the form of a mythological beast, possibly a sea serpent or dragon. Hanging outside the painted frame on both sides of the image is a garland with two dark-coloured, long-neck birds, probably peacocks, head feathers sticking up, facing the banqueters. It would seem from the hairstyle and the dalmatic tied under the bust (unlike no. 4's which is not tied) that the female figure in figure 6e is the same female figure in figures 6a, 6b, and 6c, namely no. 1.

INSCRIPTION: Above the head of the female figure to the viewer's left (no. 1), on two lines are the words:

**MISCE. MI.
IRENE**

DATE: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975: 15949; 16536; 16556b; 16814 .

BIB: De Bruyne, p. 185, fig. 142; Ferrua, 1968, 29; Ferrua, 1970, 21-29, 81-83, fig.15,16,17,18; Nestori, p.61, no. 76; Février, 1977, p. 32,34, fig.9; Jastrzebowska, pp.21-22, 62-64, 68f., XI; Engemann, 1982: p.245, 249f., pl.18b; Guyon, pp.198-200; Deckers et. al. pp.338-340, colour pl.57:a,b; Prigent 1988, 335-336; Dücker, pp.155-156, 1.6 Lau 76-2, pl.7:b,c.

PHOTO CREDIT: 6a: Engemann, 1982, pl.18b; 6b-6e: Deckers et al., colour pl.57:a,b.

FIGURES: 7a-7b general; 7c = no. 1; 7d = nos. 4-5; 7e = no.4; 7f = nos. 2-3; 7g = no. 7

(Lau 78-2)

LOCATION: Chamber 78, main wall of chamber, opposite the entrance, lunette, south-west region of the catacomb: Region I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: In this large chamber there are two *arcosolia* and approximately 20 loculi. The banquet scene described here is, like most of them, found in the lunette of the arcosolium opposite the entrance (Lau 78-2). The other scene (Lau 78-3) is found in the lunette above the arcosolium directly to the left of a viewer standing in the entranceway. The ceiling in this chamber is ornately decorated: a figure of the good shepherd at the zenith enclosed within a square frame enclosed within a circular frame. Surrounding this framed figure are eight vignettes enclosed in semicircular frames, whose curved base lines form the perimeter of yet a larger circular frame. Outside of this circle are small busts of what are probably personifications of the seasons occupying the four corners of the ceiling. The vignettes have been interpreted as follows: Noah in the Ark; the multiplication of loaves and fishes; Daniel in the lion's den; the healed paralytic; Moses striking the rock; Jesus raising Lazarus from the dead; a baptism; and Job. Above the fresco in the lunette are images of two orantes: a female (left) and male (right). The female is veiled and wears a wide-sleeved, long dalmatic with *clavi*. The male wears a wide-sleeved, short dalmatic with *clavi* and a *pallium* over his left shoulder and arm. A locus has been dug out in the visual register above the two orantes. See the following entry for a description of the banquet scene, Lau 78-3.

DIMENSIONS: .85m high x 1.73m wide

DESCRIPTION: There are seven figures altogether in this meal scene. By the short column, shrubs and rocks on the viewer's left, one is meant to believe that the scene is taking place outdoors. Five figures sit with solemn facial expressions behind the sigma-couch. All five wear tunics with fibulae. From the position of the thumb and forefinger, the two figures at the viewer's left (nos. 2 & 3) hold what appear to be translucent glass goblets, as does the male(?) figure in the centre (no. 4) as is shown by the whitish ellipsis between his fingers. The sex of this figure is difficult to determine given s/he wears the attire common to males but has long, curly hair similar to that of contemporary women. S/he is clearly beardless. The next figure to our right (no. 5) reaches out to the tripod table with his right hand. The male figure sitting off on his own (no. 6) also appears to be holding a wineglass in his right hand. His left arm rests on the sigma-cushion. At least three of the male figures wear short cropped beards (nos. 3, 5 & 6). The three figures behind the sigma-couch to our right (nos. 4, 5 & 6) face the centre and are possibly watching an attendant bring in a platter of food. The two male figures on our left

seem to look across the table towards the standing female figure (no.7, see figure 7g). She wears a long dalmatic with double *clavi* on both sides of the front of the gown and on the wide sleeves. Her dalmatic is gathered by a high belt underneath the bustline. Her hair is waved across her forehead and over her ears, with sections of the hair rolled and pinned at her crown. Her hair and facial features have been emphasized by a secondary application of a dark colour as have some of the male faces. From the whitish opaque stem she holds in her extended right hand, she appears to be holding a small wine glass. She cradles a jug in her left arm. Her body is turned slightly to her right and her eyes look toward the male figure bringing in a platter (no. 1). He wears a short tunic and is barefoot. He is moving forward in long strides and is also carrying a long piece of fabric over his left arm. (Perhaps with each new dish, a fresh tablecloth is brought in.) His head is turned slightly towards the viewer. In front of the sigma-couch, there is a large table covered by a cloth. It holds a platter of food.

INSCRIPTION: Above her head and to the viewer's left of no. 7 is the word:

**IRE
NE**

written on two lines, the letters approximately 3cm high.

DATE: 280-320AD

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975: 15946; 16249 and 16288a.

BIB: Ferrua 1968, p. 29, pp. 46-65; De Bruyne, pp. 182-184, fig. 137; Kollwitz, p.76; Nestori, p.61-62, no.78; Brandenburg, p.134; Février, 1977, fig.8; Jastrzebowska, pp.19-20, 62-64; 68f., 82, 89, IX; Guyon, pp.198-200; Engemann, 1982, p.250; Deckers et. al., pp. 343-348; pl.63, pl.64a; colour pl.63a,b,c,d; Prigent 1988, 331, 335-336; Dückers, pp.156-157, 1.7 Lau 78-2, pl.8:a.

PHOTO CREDIT: 7a: Deckers et al., pl.63; 7b:Deckers et al., pl.64a; 7c-7g: Deckers et al. colour pl.63a,b,c,d.

FIGURES: 8a general; 8b = nos. 1-3; 8c = nos. 4-5; 8d = nos. 4-5; 8e = no. 5; (Lau 78-3)

LOCATION: Chamber 78, left-hand wall from main entrance, lunette, south-west region of the catacomb: Region I

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: See entry for figures 7a-7g for a general description of the chamber. This is the only burial chamber in SS. Marcellino e Pietro to have two extant banquet

scenes. The arcosolium is surrounded by two large and three smaller loculi. The entire wall is decorated with abstract leaf and scroll designs. In the arch of the arcosolium, there is an abstract vine design.

DIMENSIONS: .74m high x 1.63m wide

DESCRIPTION: There are five figures altogether in this meal scene. The male figures sitting behind the sigma-couch, except for no. 2, are all pointing with their right index fingers to the plate with food which sits on top of the table. In the left hand of the male figure *in cornu dextro* is a *patera* or shallow libation dish which he balances by placing his left elbow on the cushion and holding his hand out flat. His eyes and the eyes of the centre figure (no. 3) are fixed on the *patera*. The male figure between them has his eyes averted and seems to stare off into space. The male figure no. 4, appears to be looking straight ahead at the plate on the table. The male figures are beardless and three wear dalmatics with single *clavi* down the front and double stripes on their narrow sleeves. The centre figure, however, wears a tunic pinned together with fibulae. The female figure wears a dalmatic with single *clavi* down the front and double stripes on her wide sleeves. Like the female figure in catalogue 7 (no. 7 -- see figure 7g), her dalmatic is tied underneath the bustline. Unlike the female figure in 7g, the female figure (no. 5) in this scene wears a diaphanous veil over her luxuriously styled coiffure (see figure 8c). She also wears a bead necklace at the base of her neck. Her hair, waved across her forehead but falling loose behind the ears with a roll sitting at the crown of the head was considered very stylish during the period of the Tetrarchs (284-312)¹⁵³. She extends and raises her right arm, balancing a shallow bowl on the tips of her fingers. In her left hand, she holds a small brown object, possibly a bun or fruit (see figure 8e). Her eyes are fixed firmly on the dish in her right hand. Her facial expression is intense: fear, nervousness or a combination of both.

INSCRIPTION: Directly above the head of the female figure are the words:

AGAPE.

MISC

E

written in three lines, the letters are approximately 3cm. high.

DATE: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975: 15947; 16249; 16288a.

¹⁵³See figure 375 in Diana Kleiner, Roman Sculpture. 408.

BIB: Ferrua 1968, p. 29 pp. 49-65; De Bruyne, p. 183; Nestori, p.61-62, no. 78; Brandenburg, p.134; Février, 1977, fig.7; Jastrzebowska, pp. 20-21, 62-64; 68f., 82, 89, X; Engemann, 1982: p.245f., 250, p.19b; Guyon, pp.198-200; Deckers et. al. pp. 343-348, pl.64b; colour pl.62a,b; Prigent 1988, 331, 335-336; Dückers, pp.157-158, 1.8 Lau 78-3, pl.7:b.

PHOTO CREDIT: 8a: Deckers et al., pl.64b; 8b-8e: Deckers et al., colour pl.62a,b.

FIGURE: 9a: drawing (after Bosio, 1632)

(Lau 52)

LOCATION: Gallery arcosolium no. 52, above the arch. West region of the catacomb, Region A.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: To the right of chamber 51 in which there is a rectangular mensa. Pictures remaining under the arch have been described as follows: (from left) Moses bringing water from the rock; Lazarus raised from the dead; Adam and Eve; the sacrifice of Abraham in a central circle frame; decorative vine; and a female orans.

DIMENSIONS: approx. 30cm. high x 1m. wide

DESCRIPTION: Unusual depiction of a meal scene. Bosio described it simply as "Un convito funerale". There is a rectangular table covered in a cloth. A female figure stands or sits behind the table in the centre and shows a large empty bowl to the viewer. There are two small empty bowls on the table and what appear to be a few lids. The male figure to her right (no. 2) hands a bowl to a figure, possibly a traveler (sex unclear) as denoted by the walking stick. To our right of the central figure, an older man holds out his left hand towards no. 5, in a pointing gesture. No. 5 hurries back toward the table carrying a platter.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: 280-320AD.

BIB: Bosio, 1632, p.395; Wilpert, 1903, p. 176, fig.1, p.306, fig.27; Klauser, 1927, p.139, fig.148; Leclercq, 1939, col.999f.; Dölger, 1943, p.501; Nestori, p. 55, no.52; Jastrebowska p.27f., 62, 64, 82, 89; Deckers et. al., pp. 285-287, pl.39a.

PHOTO CREDIT: Deckers et al., pl.39a.

2.3.4 SECTION II: Selected Comparanda: **(Near) Complete Banquet Scenes: Other Roman Catacombs**

2.3.4.1. Catacomb of Priscilla

The catacomb of Priscilla is located in the northern quarter of Rome at the modern address of 430 Via Salaria. Like the catacomb of SS. Marcellino and Pietro, it is likely that the crypt first served the inhabitants of Rome as a water-reservoir before serving them as a burial site. The name of Priscilla refers to a certain upper class Roman woman who, identified through an inscription found in the catacombs, was of senatorial rank. Whether she or members of her family were the original owners of the land in which the catacomb is located is unknown. Nevertheless by the 4th century, Christian liturgical records referred to a cemetery known as Priscilla¹⁵⁴ in which certain saints were buried. The *Index Coemeteriorum*¹⁵⁵ also refers to the cemetery of Priscilla on the Via Salaria. As at the catacomb of SS. Marcellino and Pietro, martyrs were also buried in Priscilla including the body of Marcellinus, Christian leader in Rome from 296-304. On the first level of the catacomb is an area known today as the "Greek Chapel". The name derives from the architectural form of the space which resembles a small chapel with a passageway about 2 metres wide, a stone bench attached to one wall which ends in three arched niches, one larger and two smaller, and from two Greek inscriptions¹⁵⁶ painted on the surface of one of the recessed walls.

¹⁵⁴In the Christian liturgical documents, *Depositio Episcoporum* and *Depositio Martyrum* Christians Sylvester, Felix and Philip are cited as being buried in this catacomb. See Sandro Carletti, *Guide to the Catacombs of Priscilla*, trans., Alice Mulhern (Città del Vaticano, 1982) 9.

¹⁵⁵A 9th century document according to "I Catacombe" in *Grande dizionario enciclopedico UTET*, Vol IV, p. 257. According to the encyclopedia article, the index was compiled in the 9th century, but a more precise date is not indicated. It is not listed among various publications in the bibliography that appear at the conclusion of the article.

¹⁵⁶These inscriptions are transcribed (Mulhern, *Op. Cit.*, 31) as follows:

*OBRIMOS PALLADIO / GLYKYTATO ANEPSIO SYNSKOLASTE MNEMES KAREN

(Obrimos to his most charming cousin and fellow student, Palladius, for the sake of memory) and:

OBRIMOS NESTORIANE / MAKARIA GLYKYTATE / SIMBIO MNEMES KARIN

(Obrimos, to his sweetest wife Nestoriana, for the sake of memory). The English translation has been changed somewhat from Mulhern's with the assistance of Dr. Martin Kilmer, Department of Classics and Religious Studies, University of Ottawa.

FIGURES: 10a general, 10b = no. 5; 10c -10g general; 10h = nos. 1-3; 10i = nos. 3-4; 10j = nos. 5-7¹⁵⁷

LOCATION: "Greek Chapel", first underground level of catacomb.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: The fresco known as "Fractio Panis" (the Breaking of the Bread) is painted across the structural arch of the central niche which faces the viewer when entering the chapel. This relatively open area of the catacomb contains many frescoes. They have been previously interpreted as follows: (1) The Adoration of the Magi (on the middle structural arch of the passageway); (2) Resurrection of Lazarus (back of the middle arch); (3) three youths in the furnace (facing towards "Fractio Panis", back of entrance wall); (4) Susanna and the Elders (episodes on both side walls, upper registers, middle of passageway); (5) Sacrifice of Abraham (viewer's left niche from "Fractio Panis"); (6) Daniel and the Lions (right niche from "Fractio Panis"); (7) Four orantes (ceiling, right niche); (8) Healing of the Paralytic (ceiling, near entrance); (9) Phoenix on the Pyre (right wall, near entrance); (10) personification of Summer (ceiling, near entrance).

DIMENSIONS: .38m high x 1.7m wide

DESCRIPTION: 10a) after the restoration of 1998; 10b) computer enhanced image of no. 5; 10c) before the restoration of 1998; 10d) before the restoration of 1998; 10e) during the restoration of 1952; 10f) before the restoration of 1952; 10g-10j) the "Fractio Panis" as Wilpert saw it, 1896. This fresco was uncovered by J. Wilpert in 1894 (10f-10i); When discovered, it had been covered in a thick layer of white paint.¹⁵⁸ There are seven figures altogether in the painting. Six (nos. 2-7) are reclining on the sigma-couch and one (no.1), the figure farthest to the viewer's left, sits in front. Except for the figure on the viewer's far right (no. 7), the artist has painted the figures in couples with some interaction going on in each pair. Due to the overlay of white paint on this fresco, it is virtually impossible to identify what type of garment each figure is wearing since the restorer apparently chose to leave some of the white paint as a way of distinguishing the figures from the red background. Given the poor condition of the fresco, I will describe each figure as carefully and cautiously as possible, beginning with the figure on the viewer's far left (no. 1). This figure is barefoot and from her/his smaller size, is probably a youth. In the painting before the 1952 restoration (10g), it is possible to see that she/he is carrying a small round object in her/his extended hands and is wearing a garment with folds

¹⁵⁷This fresco has gone through many restorations. I have therefore included photos of the fresco both before and after the various restorations that have been documented.

¹⁵⁸Given this layer of overcoating, one cannot be sure whether the white of the garments is the original colour or has been left by restorers to make the figures more visible against the red background.

indicated across the right leg.¹⁵⁹ In the painting after Wilpert's cleaning (10f), it would appear that the material across her/his legs is a towel or cloth of some kind. This figure is typically interpreted as having a very long beard.¹⁶⁰ The figure to her/his immediate left (no. 2) stares at her/him intently. By the oval shape of the face and the layered hairstyle, this figure is most likely female. She is reclining and her right arm rests in front of her on the sigma couch. From the dark stripe on her right shoulder, she is possibly wearing a dalmatic. By the turn of their heads, the figure to our right of her (no. 3) interacts with the figure to her/his left (no. 4). Both reach for the plate in front of them. The figure (no. 3) wears either a tunic or a dalmatic. The sex of no. 3 is not clear¹⁶¹. By the slight shoulders and hairstyle (the suggestion of a braid around the hairline), no. 4 is probably a female figure. The following pair of figures (nos. 5 and 6) can more easily be identified as female. No. 5 wears a scarf-like veil or possibly a *taenia* (ribbon) in her hair, an accessory that was used to tie up long hair and keep it close to the head.¹⁶² No. 5's right arm rests on the sigma-couch and she is holding an object in her right hand -- a cup? (See computer enhanced image, 10b. Also see 10c, no.5.) Her neighbour (no. 6) also wears her hair swept up and knotted at the back. The figure on the viewer's far right (no. 7) wears a dalmatic or tunic. It is not clear from the hair and facial features whether the figure is male or female. The figures are animated, talking with each other and reaching for the platters as the meal is about to begin. While there is lots of arm and head movement there is no wild gesticulating of any kind. At least six baskets can also be seen in this fresco.

INSCRIPTION: None reported, however it is clear that there are letters underneath the newly painted blue frame and above it.

DATE: First half of 3rd century [Grabar, 1968]

BIB: Wilpert, 1896: pl. III, XIII, XIV; Wilpert, 1903: pl. 15,1; Marucchi, Vol.I, p.296; Nestori, p.28, no.39; Leclercq Vol.I: col.797f., Vol.VI: col.2105; Leclercq, 1907, p.571f.; Styger, p.140f.; Dölger, Vol.V: p.503f., Vol.IV: pl.261,1; Février, 1959, p.20; Kollwitz, p.93f.; Testini, p. 166f., fig.126; De Bruyne, 1970, pp.292-330; Tolotti, pp.258-75, fig.12,5; Jastrzebowska, pp.17-18, V; Tristan, p.225-237, fig. 21.

¹⁵⁹Roman freeborn children generally wore the *toga praetexta*, a toga with a broad purple stripe, thought to protect them from harm.

¹⁶⁰A highly suspect interpretation!

¹⁶¹It is not clear whether the figure's hair is short or simply piled up on top of his head.

¹⁶²In Late Antiquity, the long ribbon is associated more with the fashions of Greek-speaking Romans. See: Verena Paul-Zinserling, *Women in Greece and Rome*, (New York: A. Schram, 1973) plate 47.

PHOTO CREDITS: 10a: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome; 10b: Media Services, University of Ottawa; 10c: Grabar, p.112, (no.110); 10d-10f: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome. 10g-10j: Wilpert, 1896, pl.XIII-XIV.

2.3.4.2. Catacomb of Callixtus

Scholars today contend that Callixtus located at 102 Via Appia Antica in Rome is the oldest official Christian cemetery with tombs dating back to the end of the second century. Many 3rd century bishops of Rome were buried there. Thought to be named after a Roman deacon who was later appointed bishop of the church in Rome (217-222), Callixtus is one of the largest ancient cemeteries in Rome. Excavations began in the latter half of the 19th century. G.B. De Rossi gradually unearthed the crypts of 9 bishops. On either side of the entrance to the 'crypt of the popes', graffiti invoking two bishops, St. Sixtus (257-258) and St. Pontian (230-235), may be found. The so-called 'cubicula of the sacraments', where many of the banquet frescoes are located, are considered to be part of the 'original' cemetery. According to Paul Corby Finney, the many scenes depicting figures were most likely painted by wall-painters given the possible lack of funds in the Christian community and given the poor anatomical quality of the figures. While Finney believes the frescoes of the catacomb to be Christian, he argues against the notion of an organizing principle or iconographic program in the oldest extant chambers of the catacomb. Figure 11, located on the ceiling of the *cubiculum* in chamber A2, has been included in the catalogue for its obvious pictorial similarities to the catacomb's various banquet scenes.¹⁶³ According to Finney, conservative¹⁶⁴ Christian scholars of Callixtus' frescoes do not consider this figure to be a vehicle of any religious meaning, Christian or non-Christian.

FIGURES: 12a general; 12b = nos. 1-7; 12c = nos. 1-7 close-up

Banquet Scene with 7 figures and at least 10 baskets.

LOCATION: "Crypt of the Sacraments - Gallery A, Chamber 6"

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Last open chamber of gallery A which opens a stairway from the outside. Part of a group of family crypts, all of which have frescoes and are known as the "Crypts or Cubicula of the Sacraments" due to interpreters' readings of some frescoes as depictions of the sacraments of Christian initiation: the Eucharist and baptism. Other paintings

¹⁶³ It has not received a separate entry however due to its absence of human figures.

¹⁶⁴Those who subscribe to the minimalist theory of identification as discussed in chapter 1.

in crypt A-6 have been described as follows: Moses striking the rock, the raising of Lazarus (on wall opposite entrance), Jonah and the whale on the left wall from entrance. The banquet scene is on the right wall from the entrance. The image is located between two loculi above and below the fresco.

DIMENSIONS: 40 cm high x 1.72 m wide

DESCRIPTION: Seven figures of mixed sexes sit behind a sigma-shaped couch. At least one figure can be identified with certainty as female (no. 6). A platter of fish is set in front of her. She wears her hair swept off her face and probably tied at the back. She also wears a *palla* or rectangular shawl over her *chiton* which is pinned or tied at the front. A similar outer garment may be found on the female figure (no. 3), third from the viewer's left in Figure 13a of Appendix A. In this example, the woman apparently holds her garment together with her right hand. In 12c, the right hand of this female figure touches the arm of the male figure to her right (no. 5). The figures flanking her (nos. 5 and 7), gesture with their right arms extended. The figure sitting second from the left (no. 2) may also be female, though her hairstyle and garment are less defined. No. 2 sits behind a platter holding a fish, the head and tail of which are barely visible. On each side of the banqueters are at least 5 baskets.

INSCRIPTION: SERGIVS ALEXANDER - CAECILIAE FAVSTAE - COIVGI SVE BENE - MERENTI FECIT¹⁶⁵ (in situ?)

DATE: early 3rd century [Finney, 1994]

BIB: Wilpert, 1903, pl.15/2; Dölger, Vol V, pp.534-540, Vol.IV, pl.261-2; Testini, pp.61-69, 154, pl.127; Carletti, p.25; Nestori, p. 103, no.25; Jastrzebowska, p.16, IV; Baruffa, pp 79-83, p.80; Finney, pp.146-228.

PHOTO CREDIT:12a) Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome; 12b-12c) Premiers siècles chrétiens, dossier no.7028: documentation photographique, no. 15, "Le thème du banquet", p. 36.

2.3.4.3. Coemeterium Maius

Located at 6 Via dell'Asmara about 30 km north-east of the Vatican, Coemeterium Maius (Larger Cemetery) is one of the most interesting of all the catacombs for its abundant material evidence of *refrigeria*: numerous underground crypts possess 'cathedrae', chairs carved out of

¹⁶⁵Translation: "Made by Surges Alexander for his virtuous wife Cecilia Faust." Sandro Carletti, The Catacomb of St. Callixtus, English Edition, Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archaeology, Rome, no date, 25. The English translation has been changed somewhat from Carletti's with the assistance of Dr. Martin Kilmer, Department of Classics and Religious Studies, University of Ottawa.

the tufa rock¹⁶⁶. Alongside these cathedrae, 13 of which have been found to date, are stone benches. The dating of these stone banquet benches and chairs found on the oldest level of the catacomb (i.e. the upper level) is difficult to determine and imprecise. Archaeologists have suggested a date of early fourth to mid fourth century based on the paintings in the nearby *cubicula* and on an inscription dated at 388 AD in the mortar seal of a grave found in the newer, deeper level of the catacomb.¹⁶⁷ Although the catacomb is also richly decorated with frescoes, there are very few extent banquet or *refrigeria* scenes. The cemetery was first excavated in the 19th century. Only three banquet scenes have been documented. Of those three, two have women present. One banquet scene with seven female figures has been interpreted as the story of the wise virgins (Matt. 25:1-13). Given the story of the wise and foolish virgins refers to 10 women, 5 wise and 5 foolish, the fresco may not represent this story at all. Unfortunately, this fresco is now so badly damaged it is impossible to read. The other banquet scene from Coemeterium Maius (included in this catalogue) depicts male & female figures sitting behind the sigma couch. It has been interpreted as the multiplication of the loaves and fishes story. It is included in this catalogue because its interpretation is ambivalent and may *not* only relate to a Christian mythological story in the New Testament.

FIGURE: 13 (drawing)

LOCATION: Ceiling and lunette of arcosolium.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Original is badly damaged.

DIMENSIONS: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: The image is now known to scholars through earlier drawings only. From the drawing provided by Dölger, we discern seven banqueters (three women & three men and one whose sex is indefinable [no. 4]) seated together in stibadium fashion. Two of the women (nos. 1 and 6) are wearing dalmatics with single-stripe *clavi* and tight sleeves. The third (no. 3) wears a *palla* which she holds together with her right hand. With her left index finger she points to the object in front of her (a loaf of bread?). Three plates and two small loaves of bread sit on top of the *pulvinum* (cushion). At the base of the lunette seven baskets and two large jugs are drawn within an inset lunette frame. Three of the male figures have their fingers in their mouths. The one to our far right (no. 7) points to the plate with his left index finger. It is not

¹⁶⁶See fig. 14a in my catalogue.

¹⁶⁷Styger, 219.

clear whether the middle figure (no. 4) is male or female. He/she wears a loose sleeved dalmatic without *clavi* over a tunic with long, narrow sleeves. There are no cups on the cushion.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: first half of 4th century

BIB: Wilpert, 1903, p.280f.; Leclercq, 1907, p.565f.; Dölger, Vol.5, pl. 317,1; Styger, pp. 216-221; Nestori, p.34f, no. 16; Jastrzebowska, p. 18; no. VI.

PHOTO CREDIT: Dölger, Vol.5, pl. 317,1 after Garrucci.

FIGURE: 14

LOCATION: Coemeterium Maius, 6 Via dell'Asmara, Rome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Cathedrae in tombs in Mediterranean culture are an ancient tradition, as many have been found in Etruscan crypts from 6th century BC on. This particular room is located on the deeper level of the Coemeterium Maius, Rome. Maius is a long catacomb with 2 levels and contains an archaic underground basilica. Martyrs by the names of Papia, Alexander, Felix, Maurus and Victor are known to be buried here.

DIMENSIONS: Chamber with a cathedra and stone benches: approx. 2m high x 2m wide. Stone bench: back wall width 35 cm; side panels, 30 cm wide. Cathedra dimensions are below.

DESCRIPTION: The name of the catacomb appears in St. Jerome's Martyrology. This photo depicts a room thought to be especially set aside for *refrigeria*, with the cathedra reserved as a place of honour for the soul of the deceased.¹⁶⁸ There is space for approximately eight people on the stone benches which flank the chair. The bench is somewhat lower than the cathedra chair. The size and number of cathedrae varies among the chambers. The one in this chamber measures as follows: 44 cm wide, 43 cm deep and 46 cm high. The distance of the front edge of the seat from the wall is 49 cm. Height of the arm is 19 cm. The deceased was most likely buried in the sarcophagus behind the cathedra, with paintings on the lunette and arch of the arcosolium. Many of the refrigerium rooms in Maius are decorated with frescoes of Old and New Testament themes. The plaster of the lunette of this particular chamber is no longer there.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: 4th century. [Styger, 1933]

BIB: Before 1900's: 1.G. Marchi, Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive nella metropoli del cristianesimo. Architettura, Roma 1844, p. 189, pl.35; 2.M. Armellini, Scoperta della cripta

¹⁶⁸ Cathedrae are not always placed in the centre of the room but are also found at the sides of sarcophagi. See, T. Klauser, Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike, (Münster, 1927) plate 23-2.

di santa Emerenziana e di una memoria relativa alla cattedra di San Pietro nel Cemeterio Ostriano, Roma 1877, pp. 37ff. pl.2; 3.M Armellini, Gli antichi cimiteri di Roma e d'Italia, Roma 1893, p.278, pl.1. After 1900's: A. Profumo, "La memoria di S. Pietro nella regione Salario-Nomentana", in Röm. Quartalschrift. Supplementheft 21 (Rome, 1916) pp. 100f.; Klauser, 1927; Styger, pp.216-221, pl. 40. Mancinelli, p.44.
PHOTO CREDIT: Styger, pl.40.

2.3.4.4. Tomb of Vibia

The tomb of Vibia is found on the Via Appia Antica near a cluster of 8 catacombs in the southern suburbs of Rome. These cemeteries include Lucina, Callixtus, and Domitilla, three of the oldest catacombs in which Christian tombs are found. The crypt is the burial site for a couple, Vibia and her husband Vincentius, who, according to the inscriptions in their hypogeum, were devotees of Bacchus Sabazius. From the banquet scene with the inscription, 'Seven Pious Priests', it would seem that Vincentius was an actual priest of the cult which incorporated aspects of star worship into Bacchus festivals. As in Christianity, eschatological salvation was a central preoccupation of the cult.

FIGURES: 15a general; 15b = close-up; 15c = fresco found in same chamber

LOCATION: Lunette in an arcosolium, Gallery of Vibia, Rome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: In this hypogeum, there are two banquet scenes. The one described below (15a-15b) is extant in the lunette of the arcosolium. The other, found on the ceiling of the same arcosolium, depicts seven male figures behind a sigma couch with the inscription:

SEPTEM PII SACERDOTES

written above them. Figure 15c, also found in the chamber, depicts Vibia being judged after her death. There is a *titulus* marked on the arcosolium which reads¹⁶⁹:

¹⁶⁹ (Vi)ncenti hoc o(pus re)quies quot vides (id est hoc opus quod vides requietis est Vincentii). -- Plures me antecesserunt, omnes expecto. -- Manduca, viba (id est bibe), lude e(t) beni (id est veni) at me; cum viba (id est vives), bene fac; hoc tecum feres. -- Numinis antistes Sabazis Vincentius hic e(st, q)ui sacra sancta deum mente pia co(lui)t. --As per the supplement by Mommsen in CIL. Translation by Dr. Martin Kilmer, Dept. of Classics & Religious Studies, University of Ottawa: The work that you see here is the resting place of Vincent. Many have gone before me, I await all. Eat and drink, play and come to me. While you are alive, do well. This is what you bring with you. Vincentius, high priest of Sabazius who took care of the sacred rites of the gods with the proper attitude.

...NCENTI V HOCQ....QVETES V QVOTVIDES V PLVRES ME V ANTECESSERVNT V OMNES V EXPECTO V
 MANDVCAM BELVDEEBENIAT ME V CUMVIBES V BENEFAC V HOC V TECVMFERES V
 NVMINIS V ANTISTES V SABAZIS V VINCENTIVS V HICE ...VISACRA V SANCTA V
 DEVM V MENTEPIA V CQ..T V

DIMENSIONS: 1m high x 2.12m wide

DESCRIPTION: A veiled female figure (no. 1, see figure 15b) wearing a long tunic and standing beneath an arched entrance way is greeted by a male figure wearing head and neck wreaths with red flowers over his long tunic. To the viewer's right are figures (nos. 9-11) who are busy carrying platters, chatting and cleaning the grounds. Six figures sit behind a sigma-cushion wearing tunics with *clavi*. Three of these have their left arms raised. Round platters of food are on the ground in front of the banqueters. To the viewer's right is a small tripod which holds an amphora. The meal is taking place outside.

INSCRIPTIONS: The word, **INDUCTIO** is written above the arch, **VIBIE**, within it. **ANGELUS BONUS** is written above the male figure. at the entranceway. **VIBIA** is written above the head of no. 5. The words **BONORUM IUDICIO** are placed at about the middle of the fresco at the top of the lunette, and **IUDICATI** is written above the head of no. 6.

DATE: 4th century [Grabar, 1968]

INSCRIPTION BIB: IURL, Vol. 6, Pars Prima: Inscriptiones Sacrae, p. 23, nos. 142b, 142c, 142d, 142e.

BIB: Wilpert, 1903: pl. 132,1, 133,1; Cumont, pp. 60-62; Styger, pp. 310-311; Dölger, Vol. 5, pp. 485-91, pl. 264,4; Morey, p.266, fig. 38; Grabar, p. 221, p.223, pl. 245; Ferrua, 1971, pp.7-63; Nestori, p.97, no. 1; Stevenson, pp. 120-122, pls. 95-97; Engemann, 1982: pp.243-244; Jastrzebowska, pp. 38-39, no. XXV; Engemann, 1986: pp.91-94; Dunbabin, p. 132, fig.29.

PHOTO CREDIT: 15a-15b: Stevenson, pls. 95-96; 15c: Grabar, p.223, pl.245.

2.3.4.5. Orante with banquet scene

The following three images have been placed in sequence according to the above category rather than with the banquet images from the same catacomb in order to make comparison more straight-forward.

(i) Callixtus

FIGURES: 16a general; 16b = standing figures nos.1-2; 16c = seated figures nos. 1-7

LOCATION: "Crypt of the Sacraments", *Cubiculum A-3*, Catacomb of Callixtus, Rome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Household goods such as ceramic wine cups may still be found in this chamber. The frescoes exist as part of a series painted between four loculi (two above and two below) in a large crypt. They are located on the wall directly across from the main entrance. The original frescoes are badly faded, but water-colour drawings of the originals were commissioned by G. Wilpert and published in 1903. It is the original frescoes that are described below based on my own observations in the chamber.

DIMENSIONS: (16a) context shot of *cubiculum*; (16b) two figures on either side of a tripod table: approx. 30cm high x 25cm long; (16c) seven seated figures behind a sigma-couch in painted frame: approx. 30cm high x 1m long.

DESCRIPTION: (16b) The male figure on the viewer's left is in a 3/4 stance toward the table in front of him. His head looks slightly toward the viewer's left. His right hand reaches towards the objects on the small table. His left arm extends from the waist also toward the table. The lower half of his tunic is badly damaged, but we see his feet emerging at the bottom of the fresco. The female figure is wearing a *chiton* without sleeves, and a himation or hood is pulled up over her head. Her arms are extended upwards in a prayer position. She appears to be barefoot. There are objects on the tripod table but it is impossible to discern what they are. (16c): To the viewer's right of the female figure, seven figures recline behind a blue sigma-cushion. The sexes of the seven figures are difficult to determine, but the centre figure (no. 4), who wears a toga out of which his large muscular right arm reaches towards the platter of fish, is definitely male. The other figures, grouped in threes to either side of the central figure, rest their arms on the cushion. No. 1 touches the right shoulder of no. 2 with her/his right hand. In front of them are two platters of fish; there are four baskets full of bread at each end of the sigma couch. No wine cups are visible.

INSCRIPTION: None recorded.

DATE: c.200-225 AD [Finney, 1994]

BIB: G. Wilpert, 1903, pl. 41; Leclercq, DALC: Vol.12, 2298f.; Dölger, Vol.IV pl.259,1 (after Roller); De Bruyne, 1963, p.12f; Testini, p.269f.; Nestori, p.102, no. 22; Finney, (16a): pp. 215-216, pl.6.47; (16b): p.196, pl.6.30.

PHOTO CREDITS: 16a: context photograph: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome; 16b: G. Wilpert, 1903, pl. 41 (water color of the original); 16c: G. Wilpert, 1903, pl. 41 (water color of the original).

(ii) Anonymous Catacomb

There are many anonymous catacombs in Rome. Some such as the anonymous catacomb on the Via Anapo off of the Via Salaria (near the catacomb of Priscilla) include richly decorated frescoes. The fresco described below is from an anonymous catacomb near Tivolato in the south-east part of Rome.

FIGURE: 17

LOCATION: Anonymous Hypogeum on the Via Latina, Rome. "Rossa"

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: This hypogeum is known as "Cava della Rossa"¹⁷⁰. The tomb takes its name from a red arcosolium and picture with much red pigment. The bottom register of the fresco depicts a banquet and is the subject of the description below. The upper register of the fresco depicts the good shepherd between two trees as the central motif. Large containers for wine, similar to those depicted in fig. 17 flank the trees. To the left of the wine container are two figures. The extreme left figure appears to be kneeling. The standing figure beside him reaches his right arm out toward the kneeling figure's left shoulder. To the extreme right, a bird nests near the tree. There is also a lion lying down with a bird sitting on top of its back. To the extreme right of the upper register, there is a large container for wine. The scene has been described as Daniel in the lion's den and beside it, Noah receiving the olive branch.

DIMENSIONS: approx. 30cm high x 1m wide.

DESCRIPTION: The lower register of the lunette depicts a number of scenes. They have been described as follows: (from l-r) 'Jonah thrown into the sea'; 'a female orante', 'a eucharistic banquet', 'the Saviour who multiplies the bread', 'Jonah deposited on the earth by the whale' and 'Jonah resting'.¹⁷¹ The original fresco is in very poor condition. The female orans stands to the viewer's left of 11 seated banqueters¹⁷². The female figure is wearing a wide sleeved dalmatic and either has long hair or is veiled. A male figure dressed in a tunic (no. 13) stands to the right of the banqueters and holds a wand in his right hand. A line making the shape of a lunette has been drawn over the female figure in the orans position, the banqueters and the male figure with the wand visually grouping them together. On the other side of this line, somewhat higher than the heads of the two standing figures, two large vessels with handles have been painted. Whether these are meant to be chalices or containers is not clear from the painting. They are not drawn in proportion to the rest of the picture.

¹⁷⁰Nestori, 81.

¹⁷¹R. Kanzler, "Di un nuovo cimitero anonimo sulla via Latina," in Nuovo bullettino di archeologia cristiana, (Vol. 9, 1903) 177.

¹⁷²Kanzler tells us there are twelve, 177.

INSCRIPTION: None published.

DATE: Middle of the 4th century. [Wilpert, 1903]

BIB: Wilpert, 1903, pl. 265-267; Kanzler, R. "Di un nuovo cimitero anonimo sulla via Latina: Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana (Vol. 9, 1903) 173-186, pl.6; Nestori, 81.

PHOTO CREDIT: Wilpert, 1903, pl. 267 (water colour of the original).

(iii) Museo Pio Cristiano - The Vatican

FIGURES: 18a general; 18b = nos. 1-4; 18c = nos. 3-7; 18d = nos. 5-9; 18e = nos. 7-9

Orante with banquet scene, sarcophagus lid fragment.

LOCATION: Vatican Museums, Museo Pio Cristiano.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT:

DIMENSIONS: 28cm high x 95.5cm long

DESCRIPTION: There are nine figures on this panel. From the viewer's left, the panel begins with a female figure (no. 1) dressed in a *chiton* covered by a *palla* and holding a scroll in her left hand; her right hand is raised and holds her *palla*(?). The seated figure who follows, a male (no. 2), displays an open scroll. He is followed by a female figure (no. 3), her hands in a prayer gesture. She too is wearing a *chiton* with a *palla*. At her feet are three bundled scrolls. It is not clear whether the two female figures (nos. 1 & 3) are veiled or simply have long hair. The male figure to her left (no. 4) turns his head towards these three figures (nos. 1,2,&3) while his body is turned toward the figures who are eating. He also holds a scroll in his left hand. His right index and middle fingers cover the top of the scroll. He is bare-chested; his *pallium* covers his left shoulder & arm. The figure to his left (no. 5) extends a loaf of bread to the first seated male figure behind the sigma couch (no. 6). These male figures are not bare-chested. The middle figure (no. 8) drinks out of a drinking horn(?) while his companion to his right (no. 7) points with two fingers towards the fish on a small tripod table. The figure to his left (no. 9) is about to break his loaf of bread. The drilled holes in the heads of the figures are apparently a stylistic feature to depict curly hair.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: Late 3rd century. [R. Amedick, 1991]

BIB: Marucchi, 1910, p.22, pl.28,7; Dölger, Vol.3, pl.63, Vol.5, p.462f.; Gerke, p.337,15, pl.32,1; Klauser, 1960, p.133, No.1; Deichmann, Bovini, and Brandenburg, p.97, pl.34, No.151; Himmelmann, p.61, No. 24; Jastrzebowska, p.32f. pl.1.3; Amedick, Rita, pp.169-70, Cat.295, pl.30,1.

PHOTO CREDIT: Janet Tulloch

2.3.5 SECTION III: Selected Comparanda:

Banquet Scene Fragments, Serving Scenes and Offering & Sacrifice Scenes

FIGURE: 19 Fragment, grave marker (now lost).

LOCATION: Catacomb of Cyriaca or of St. Lawrence on the Via Tiburtina, Rome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: The catacomb is reported named after the estate of the widow Cyriaca, who had the martyr St. Lawrence buried on her property. The Basilica of S. Lorenzo was later built on the site by Constantine. Grave markers such as this one typically covered a loculus, a grave for someone without much money or status. A drawing and a name on the marker indicates that the grave inhabitant or his/her relatives were not entirely without financial resources.

DIMENSIONS: approx. 20cm high x 20cm wide.

DESCRIPTION: The following description is based on a drawing of the fragment that was published in Klauser, 1927 and copied after C.M.Kaufmann in Handbüch der altchristlichen Epigraphik, Freiburg, 1917 (p.51, fig.43). A youngish reclining female figure holds up a large cup in the hand of her extended right arm. The cup is at about face level. She is leaning on her left elbow and has her right leg bent for stability. Her left arm is wrapped around a mid-sized jug. She wears bracelets and a long flowing tunic but the garment shows little detail. Her coiffure is similar to those of the female figures in the Pietro and Marcellino frescoes, i.e. hair piled up in a roll at the back of her head and loose with some curl at the sides.

INSCRIPTION:

VINCENTIA.IN

PACE

DATE: Late 3rd - early 4th century. [T. Klauser, 1927]

INSCRIPTION BIB:

BIB: C. M. Kaufmann, Handbüch der alterchristlichen Epigraphik (Freiburg, 1917) p. 51, fig. 43; Klauser, 1927, p.138 (pl.22,1).

PHOTO CREDIT: T. Klauser, p.138 (pl.22,1).

FIGURE: 20 Fragment, grave marker.

LOCATION: Originally from a Roman catacomb, possibly St. Callixtus. Now in Anagni, Italy.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Brought to Anagni, Italy c. 1720 by G. Maranconi to decorate a hall designated by him and M.A. Boldetti, two 18th century Italian archaeologists, as the 'Cistercian cloister of Rome'. The grave plaques in the collection are all considered to be Christian in origin.

DIMENSIONS: approx. 25cm x 40cm.

DESCRIPTION: A figure reclines on a klinè couch raising a large cup in her extended right hand while her left arm rests on the arm of the couch. The cup is held slightly higher than her head. A bird sits on the lap of the figure, whose left hand holds it.

INSCRIPTION:

FRODISA

DATE: 2nd C AD [T. Klauser, 1927]

INSCRIPTION BIB:

BIB: M.A. Boldetti, Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri dei santi martiri ed antichi christiani di Roma (Rome, 1720); Klauser, 1927, p.137 (n.144), p. 138 (n. 146), pl.22,2.

PHOTO CREDIT: Klauser, 1927, pl.22,2.

FIGURE: 21a-21b Etruscan urn lids. Female and male reclining figures.

LOCATION: Museo di Volterra

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: 21a: From the Inghirami Tomb, necropolis of the Ulimeto, Volterra, Italy. Principle Chamber 21' x 20'. The main chamber, a circle around a central square pillar, was hollowed out of tufa rock. A bench around the perimeter held the urns when the tomb was reopened in 1861. About 70 urns were found, most made of alabaster.

DIMENSIONS: 21b: 56cm long x 37cm high

DESCRIPTION: 21a: Three reclining figures. No.3, a male, holds a *patera* in his right hand. A veiled female, no. 2, holds what is probably a mirror. 21b: A veiled female reclines with a mirror in her right hand. The figure wears earrings and has rings on her left hand.

INSCRIPTION: Illegible in published photograph.

DATE: 21a: 2nd C BC¹⁷³; 21b: 6th-5th C. BC.

BIB: Laviosa, Clelia. Scultura Tardo - Etrusca di Volterra. Firenze: La Strozziina, 1964; Sprenger, Maja and Gilda Bartoloni. The Etruscans: Their History, Art and Architecture. Robert Erich Wolf, trans. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1983.

¹⁷³Museo Archeologico, Firenze.

PHOTO CREDIT: 21b: Laviosa, pl. 49.

FIGURE: 22 Fragment of a sarcophagus lid.

LOCATION: From or near a place known as the Vigna Codini, along the Via Latina in the suburbs of Rome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Three columbaria were found in a place called Vigna Codini in the outskirts of Rome, in the mid 19th century. Each columbarium held cinerary urns along with busts depicting some of the dead. Based on inscriptions in columbarium II, describing the dead as belonging to Livia, wife of the first Roman emperor, the tombs can be dated back to Augustan times and are believed to have been used by families well into the Julio-Claudian era. The sarcophagus was probably placed alongside the road near the underground tombs at a later date.

DIMENSIONS: 45cm high x 55cm long

DESCRIPTION: Kline meal. Two figures lying on a couch, one of which has her? right arm over her head¹⁷⁴. The other figure (whose head is missing) holds a cup in his left hand. The short standing female figure on the right wears a long tunic with a tie under the bust and wears her hair long and loose. In her right hand she extends a cup toward the reclining figures and in her left hand she holds a small jug. A basket-flask is to her left. Above it, is a shelf? with three cups. The tripod table with fish and bread sitting in front of the couch is missing its legs. There is a bird underneath the couch.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: c. 280-290 AD [R. Amedick, 1991]

BIB: Dölger, Vol.3, pl.54, Vol.5, p.417; Himmelmann, p.51, no. 22, pl. 36a; Amedick, p.158, Cat.228, pl.18,1.

PHOTO CREDIT: Amedick, pl.18,1. Inst. Rome 33.1303; Neg. 39,181

FIGURE: 23 Sarcophagus fragment.

LOCATION: Church of San Gavino, Porto Torres, Sardinia.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: irretrievable.

DIMENSIONS: 30cm high x 213cm long

¹⁷⁴Himmelmann interprets this figure as male. N. Himmelmann (1973) 51.

DESCRIPTION: Sarcophagus lid with scenes of vintaging and banqueting. Klinè meal on right-hand side of relief. One figure lies on the klinè couch with a cup in his/her hand. With the other hand he/she touches the fish on the lion-foot tripod table. Beside the table is a double basket-flask. The figure on the couch whose face is now lost is dressed in a tunic and mantel. To the viewer's right of the couch are two figures; the nearer (no. 8, whose face is now lost) wears a short tunic and carries a plate of food, the other, a female figure with long loose hair, wears a long, loose sleeved tunic tied under the bust. She carries a wine cup in her right hand and a small jug in her left hand. Five figures are also visible to the left of the klinè couch, three with short tunics carrying various implements for a banquet and two figures, partially destroyed, who stand behind the couch.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: 284-312 AD. [R. Amedick, 1991]

BIB: Wilpert, 1929-36, II, p.342, pl.164,2; Dölger, Vol.5, p.427, pl. 309,2; Gerke, p.365, VI I C 15; Pesce, p.104, No.59, figs. 118, 121, 122; Himmelmann, p.53, No.28, pl.33; Kampen, p.49, fig.26; Amedick, p.142, Cat.124, pl. 12,8, 14,2.

PHOTO CREDIT: Kampen, fig. 26; Amedick, pl.14,2. Deutsches Arch. Inst. Rome, neg.66.2188.

FIGURE: 24 Fresco: tavern scene (non-funerary)

LOCATION: Naples, National Museum of Archaeology (Inv. no. 111482)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Tavern painting, detail of one of four scenes within a painted frame. From left to right the scenes depict: two people embracing; two figures approached by a female figure with a drinking cup (shown in catalogue); two figures playing a board game; and two figures fighting as a third tries to stop the fight. Pompeii tavern wall.

DIMENSIONS: .58m high x 2.03m long (includes all four scenes)

DISCRIPTION: In this detail of the faded mural painting, two seated figures are approached by a woman wearing a *tunica* and *palla* and carrying a drinking cup.

INSCRIPTION: Over the figure to the viewer's left is written,

HOC

NON
MIA . EST

QUI . VOL
SUMAT .
OCIIANE .
VIINI . BIBII.

DATE: Circa 63 AD. [N. Kampen, 1981]

BIB: Kampen, Cat. 48 (fig. 27) pp. 50, 103, 155.

PHOTO CREDIT: Kampen, (fig. 27).

FIGURE: 25 Fresco

Two figures recline on a klinè, served by a smaller female figure with a cup.

LOCATION: Near the gates of Maggiore, in Rome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Over the door of a columbarium.

DIMENSIONS: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Klinè meal. The fresco is badly damaged. A small figure on the viewer's left holds a cup in her extended right hand. Her garment has long sleeves. Two adult figures recline on a couch. It is difficult to make out the sex of the two figures but most likely the one on the viewer's left (no.2) is a woman. The silhouette of her hairstyle, her arm gesture and her position on the couch which is typical of Roman klinè scenes, suggest the figure is female. Both figures are dressed in dalmatics with *clavi* on the front and sleeves of the same material. Figure no. 2 reclining closest to the young girl appears to be holding a cloth? in her left hand. The figure behind her rests his hand on her shoulder. A cup sits on the three-legged table.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: 1st to 2nd century AD [Roller, 1881].

BIB: Théophile Roller, *Les Catacombs de Rome*, Vol. 1-2, Paris, 1881. Vol. 1, pp. 65-66, opposite p. 299, pl. 1; Dölger IV, pl.246,2.

PHOTO CREDIT: Dölger IV, pl.246,2 (after Roller).

FIGURE: 26 Stone Fragment

LOCATION: Ostia, Museo Nazionale, (Inv. 135)

DIMENSIONS: Unknown.

DESCRIPTION: Two figures, a bearded-male figure (no. 1) and a female figure with shoulder length hair (no. 2) sit behind a table with four legs. The female¹⁷⁵ figure standing in front of them holding a cup in her left hand wears a long tunic belted at the waist, and has a cap on her head. To the right of the figure, part of a *dinos* ?

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

¹⁷⁵Kampen reads the standing figure as: "male(?)" p.48, n.52.

DATE: second half of the 3rd century [Amedick, 1991]

BIB: Calza, no. 135; Kampen, p.48, no. 52; Whitehead, p.320; Amedick, p.136, cat. 87, pl. 109,2.

PHOTO CREDIT: Amedick, pl. 109,2. Foto Soprintendenza Archaeologica d'Ostia Neg. series D, no.80.

FIGURE: 27 Tavern Scene, Italian marble

LOCATION: Ostia (near Rome). Museo Delle Navi, Magazzino/ Inventory 1340.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Originally from Necropolis of Isola Sacra. Grave No. 90.

DIMENSIONS: .62m.high x 1.4m.long x 0.33m wide.

DESCRIPTION: Sarcophagus front with scenes of a harbour and a tavern. Two men are behind a table. One drinks and one is served a drink in a cup while a small dog looks on. Drilled hair is featured on one of two male figures (no. 4). The female figure who extends the cup is of some anatomical interest. While her muscular arms and legs suggest a male figure, the long hair, diaphanous clinging tunic and suggestive exposed foreleg, imply a female. Kampen accounts for this enigma by stating that a male figure was probably carved first, the feminine details added later to match the sex of the deceased. While this was a common practice in sarcophagi workshops, there may be other explanations. A cupboard with drinking cups is just barely visible behind her. In the left half of the fragment (not shown here) is a ship being guided by a pilot boat into port. Each boat sports a male nude figure. A lighthouse divides this scene from the one described above.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: c 300-310AD [R. Amedick, 1991]

BIB: Calza, 1940, 203f., 351f., fig.107; Casson, pp.208, 212, fig.16; Passini, fig.8; Kampen, pp.20, 44f., 69, 74, 79f., 83, 89, 138f. Cat. 2 (fig.18); Koch, Sichtermann, pp.122, 125, 278, fig. 132; Whitehead, p.55, No.9, pp.114f, 164, 188f., 317f.; Amedick, p.138, Cat. 97, pl.49,1, 49,2, 109,1.

PHOTO CREDIT: Amedick, pl.49,1, 49,2, 109,1

FIGURE: 28 Sarcophagus lid, detail. Female figures with male banqueters.

LOCATION: Sesto Fiorentino, Palazzo Comunale.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Unknown.

DIMENSIONS: Approx. 20cm high x 2m long; this detail, less than 1m.

DESCRIPTION: On the left side of this sarcophagus lid, is a rustic wagon ride scene. On the right-hand side, a sigma meal scene. A small rectangular section between the two scenes, probably the space left for an inscription, is now blank and is supported by two winged figures, one on either side (no. 1). In the sigma meal scene, a female figure on the viewer's left (no. 2) stands behind the sigma-couch filling the cup of the middle figure (no. 4). In front of the couch are a double basket-flask, a tripod table with fish, and a small dog. The reclining figures (nos. 3-6) wear long tunics and make active gestures with their hands. There are two standing figures with long tunics at the right: no. 5'a' with a missing head and no. 7. No. 7 carries a round container and some bread. In front of the couch are a double basket-flask, a tripod table with fish, and a small dog. A garland hangs above them. The two scenes (the one shown in the catalogue and the one not shown) are flanked by masks of the moon on the left (not shown here) and the sun on the right.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: First quarter to mid 4th C.

BIB:Dölger, Vol 5, p.430, pl. 310,3; Himmelmann, pp.38, 43, 63, No.38; Jastrzebowska, p.51f. No.47, pl.6,2; J. Engemann, 1982, p. 244f. pl.16c; Amedick, p.160, Cat.244, pl.35,2.

PHOTO CREDIT: Amedick, pl.35,2. Deutsches Arch. Inst. Rome, neg. 75.307-75.309.

FIGURE: 29 Middle relief from a frieze on the Tomb of the Secundinii Family, meal scene. Sandstone.

LOCATION: Igel, near Trier, Germany.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Grave monument, the family of the Secundinii, found about 7 km from Trier on the Roman road, Metz-Dalheim-Wasserbillig-Trier. The monument, a square sandstone tower, known as the "Igel column", is approximately 23 m in height and is made up of numerous Greek and Roman mythological reliefs, historical friezes of family life and professional life, and inscriptions describing the family of the Secundinii. Four reliefs make up the series of meal and kitchen scenes: (i) figures preparing the meal; (ii) figures pouring wine into jugs; (iii) figures washing up the dishes; and (iv) the family meal scene (as depicted in Appendix A). These scenes are small relative to those found on the column above which show the livelihood of this wealthy family which dealt in the making and trading of cloth.

DIMENSIONS: 70 cm high x 360 cm wide (The measurement includes all three scenes. The fourth scene occurs on a different side of the column.)

DESCRIPTION: Two male figures (nos. 2 and 3) recline on a klinè with two female figures (nos. 1 and 4) seated in wicker? cathedra chairs on either side and in front. The male figures pass their wine cups back to the female figures as they prepare to eat the contents of the plate on

the table and the basket that sits in the lap of the female figure on the viewer's right. At the peak of the pyramidal roof of the monument is an eagle carrying a young man with a cup toward heaven (Ganymede abducted by Jupiter).

INSCRIPTION: (Description of:)The monument was erected by two brothers, Lucius Secundinius Aventinus and Lucius Secundinius Securus in honour of deceased family members and themselves.

DATE: First half of 3rd C AD. [D. Kleiner, 1992]

BIB: Dragendorf, p.73f.; Zahn; Cüppers et al., p.178, p.265, Cat. 118, (fig. 224); Kleiner, 1992, pp.345-349, pls. 313, 314, 315.

PHOTO CREDIT: Jacques André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine à Rome*, 1961, pl. VII.

FIGURES: 30a-30b Lid fragment from Sarcophagus.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Unknown.

LOCATION: Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums, Rome (inv. n. 1966).

DIMENSIONS: 12cm high x 80cm long.

DESCRIPTION: Sarcophagus lid with meal scene. From the viewer's left there is a partial male figure (no. 1) lifting a wineskin?, next a missing fragment, a reclining female figure (no. 2) who wears a *chiton* without sleeves, her hair pulled back and pinned up, followed by four male figures (nos. 3-6) and finally a badly damaged figure (no. 7) at the right end of the couch. No. 6, whom we see in profile, has his right arm lifted over his head and is holding a cup in his left hand. The next figure to our left (no. 5) wears a cap on his head. All four seated figures look toward the figure with the arm up (no. 6). The four preserved male figures wear cloaks pinned at the base of the throat over their bare chests.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: 180-190 AD.

BIB: Amelung, p.394, n.129, (pl.42); Robert, n.269; Dölger, IV, (pl.257,2); Koch, pp.125-126, n.127, (pl.114d); Gerke, p.333, n.IVB 9; Andreae, I.3, p.74, (pl.835).

PHOTO CREDIT: Dölger, IV, pl. 257,2. Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums, Rome.

FIGURES 31a-31b: Relief panel from a commemorative arch. Septimius Severus (193-211 AD) and Julia Domna sacrifice.

LOCATION: Inner passageway relief on the Arch of the Argentarii, Forum Boarium, Rome.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: The Forum Boarium was originally a cattle dealers' market in ancient Rome. Thought to have been erected by the Forum Boarium *collegia*. Inscriptions contain

alterations and erasures. The names, Geta (Severus and Julia Domna's other son), Plautilla, and Plautianus have been removed. Consists of eleven visible horizontal and vertical panels and reliefs honouring the Severan dynasty.

DIMENSIONS: Relief panel: approx. 3' wide x 5' high

DESCRIPTION: While still standing on its original site, the east side of the arch has been incorporated into the wall of the church S. Giorgio in Velabro, Rome. The relief panel shown in figures 26a-26b depicts the Emperor and his wife sacrificing to the penates (deities of the household and state overseeing the provision of food) over a small tripod table. Severus is dressed as the chief priest with his head veiled. His outstretched right arm holds a *patera* over the table which appears to hold the head of a bull. Beside him stands his wife, Julia Domna, also veiled, and wearing a tiara in her hair. Her right hand drops incense onto the altar. To her left is the top of a caduceus. This relief has been reworked to eliminate a figure who once stood to the left of Julia Domna, probably Geta. The relief below this one shows a scene in which a bull is about to be sacrificed.

INSCRIPTIONS: (Description of:) Names and titles of gates' honourands, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, and Caracalla, their son. Argentarii and negotiantes are also mentioned as dedicants (patrons).

DATE: 204 AD [Kleiner, 1992]

BIB: D.E.L. Haynes, and P.E.D. Hirst, Porta Argentariorum, London, 1939. M. Pallottino, L'Arco degli Argentarii, Rome 1946; A. Bonanno, Portraits and Other Heads on Roman Historical Relief up to the Age of Septimius Severus, Oxford, 1976, pp.147-149. Kleiner, 1992, pp.334-337, pls. 300, 301, 302, 303.

PHOTO CREDIT: Kleiner, 1992, pl.300, 302.

FIGURES: 32a-32b Gold plate of Pietroasa, Romania. Facsimile?

LOCATION: Archaeological Museum, Bucharest.

DIMENSIONS: Inner base of the main frieze measures 66.2 cm; centre statuette has a head to body ratio of 1:3; head to body ratio of figures in the large frieze, 1:4.

DESCRIPTION: Possibly a reproduction of the original bowl. [von Heland, 1973] After its discovery in a farmer's field, some scholars believe the original was taken to Russia during WW I and melted down. By whom, or where and when the so-called reproduction was fabricated is not known. The existing bowl is 20 karat gold and weighs 18 kilograms. Except for the layer of plaster of Paris underneath the statuette, it is all gold. The bowl is flat & open with a seated female figure in the centre. The figure wears a *chiton* girdled at the waist. Her hair is parted in

the middle and the sides are braided away from her face towards the back of her head in a Hellenistic style. She is barefoot and holds a tall narrow vessel in both hands. The inner surface of the bowl consists of two friezes, a small one which contains a man reclining with various animals (lion, spotted large cat, lamb) either standing or lying down around the central female figure, and a larger frieze which consists of a lively procession of male & female figures engaged in various movements and carrying assorted objects.

INSCRIPTION: None reported.

DATE: Original plate (now thought to be lost): mid to last quarter of 4th C AD [von Heland, 1973]

BIB: D.E. Strong, Greek and Roman Silver plate (London, 1966) p.185; E. Dunareanu-Vulpe, Der Schatz von Pietroasa (Bukarest, 1967); M. von Heland, The Golden Bowl From Pietroasa, (Stockholm, 1973); R. Harhoiu, "Tezaurul de la Pietroasa: A. Odobescu," Opere 4 (Bukarest, 1976); The fifth century AD treasure from Pietroasa, Romania, in the light of recent research, British Academy in Rome, Supplement 24 (Oxford, 1977); Gerda Schwartz, "Der Gotterfries auf der spatantiken Goldschale von Pietrosa," in Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, (Jahrgang 35, 1992) 168-184, pls. 9a,c.

PHOTO CREDIT: Schwartz, plate 9a,c.

FIGURE: 33 Fresco, detail.

LOCATION: Monastery of St. Apollo, Bawit, Egypt.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: Chapel 17. Part of a large fresco program in late antique monastery. Also part of the chapel but not seen here are 5 figures, identified as the Virgin with four persons presented in a visual zone above her, probably martyrs.

DIMENSIONS: Not published.

DESCRIPTION: Fresco. Bust of female figure dressed as a Queen with a nimbus and martyr's crown on her head. The female figure holds a large cup in her hands. Her right index finger points up and over the edge of the cup. The left hand cradles the stem of the cup. Small horned animal on the left looks at figure.

INSCRIPTION: In Coptic, vertical on either side of the figure's nimbus. To the left of the female figure's nimbus: +HGIA; To the right of her nimbus: ...TMAP+EKKLESIA. There is also a third inscription poorly preserved between the two standing figures at about neck height: ...ANI....¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶Dr. Martin Kilmer, Department of Classics and Religious Studies, University of Ottawa with the assistance of Mark Dawoud, has transcribed and translated the inscriptions as follows: +HGIA = Holy, Blessed; ...TMAP = (???) +EKKLESIA... = Church (the case of the word cannot be determined

DATE: After 500 AD. [G. A. Wellen, 1960]

BIB: J. Clédat, 1904; J. Clédat, 1999; G.A. Wellen, 1960.

PHOTO CREDIT: G.A. Wellen, 1960, p. 172.

because the final letters are lost); ...ANI... = ? (too little information). The lower case '+' here does not signify a cross but rather the female personal pronoun.

3.0 A Critique and A Fresh Start: Banquet Scene Iconography

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present previous interpretations of the female figures holding cups in the banquet scenes of SS. Marcellino and Pietro, Rome (my catalogue, figures 1-8) and critique these readings. I accomplish this task by describing the theories on the significance of the female figures in the banquet frescoes and the theories regarding the occasion the banquet scene is thought to represent. In both cases I use tables to summarize and clarify this information. In the first case, I use tables to show the chronology of scholars who subscribe to each major theory and its subsets. In the second case, I present six interpretations, in visual format, of the occasion the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro are thought to represent. I then examine and critique these interpretations.

Following this discussion, I analyze the iconographical elements of the banquet scenes (my catalogue, figures 1-8) from SS. Marcellino e Pietro using a table format to separate the important elements of the frescoes and to facilitate comparison with other banquet scenes. I then perform the same analysis for the following seven sets of visual comparanda:

- 1) Other (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes: SS. Marcellino e Pietro: "The Marriage of Cana".
- 2) Selected Banquet Scene Fragments: From SS. Marcellino e Pietro
- 3) (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes: Other Roman Catacombs
- 4) Selected Banquet Scene Fragments: Other Roman Catacombs
- 5) Selected Roman Banquet Scenes: Outside the Roman Catacombs
- 6) Selected Roman Art Scenes: (i) serving scenes
(ii) offering & sacrifice scenes
- 7) Two scenes from Greek Art: (i) ΑΓΑΠΗ and (ii) ΕΙΠΗΝΕ.

As to the question of the analysis of the inscriptions found on the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, I leave this exercise for Chapter Four.

3.1.1. Theories on the Female Figures with Cups in SS. Marcellino e Pietro.

The two hundred year history of the interpretation of these frescoes has produced a trail of writings, which when assembled in one place, looks something like the labyrinth in the *aedificium* of Umberto Eco's novel, *Name of the Rose*. Like Eco's character, William of Baskerville, I attempt to navigate this labyrinth to discover a better explanation. . . .

I begin with the recognition that there are two main theories operating with regard to the female figures with cups (my catalogue, figures 1-8). The first is a set of allegorical theories; the second is a set of historical reality theories. In the first set, the female figures are perceived as indices of an allegorical scene. Except for no. 1, fig. 5, my catalogue, the female figures who hold cups are ascribed the status of 'personifications'. This ascription is based on the presence of the words, 1) "IRENE" and 2) "AGAPE", which form part of longer inscriptions painted directly on seven of the eight banquet scenes. According to this view, the female figures with cups in the frescoes are meant to be visible representations of the concepts expressed by the words, "AGAPE" and "IRENE". These Greek words, written in Latin, are interpreted by scholars who subscribe to this view as names for the Christian concepts of 'Peace' (IRENE) and 'Love/Charity' (AGAPE).

Subsets of the allegorical theories include:

- (i) the personifications are servants at a meal;
- (ii) the personifications are participants in a meal;
- (iii) the personifications are present at a meal which (other than their own presence) stands for physical reality;
- (iv) the personifications are present at a mythical meal;
- (v) the personifications are present at a meal which stands for both physical and mythical 'realities'.

The other theoretical position (i.e. the historical reality theories) identifies the female figures holding cups as 'real people'. According to this view, the frescoes depict a banquet scene similar to those which actually took place in physical reality a few days after or on the anniversary of the

death of a loved one. The banquet scenes are considered to represent people who actually lived in Rome at approximately the beginning of the 4th century.

Subsets of the historical reality theories include:

- (i) the female figures are servants at a meal;
- (ii) the female figures are participants in a meal;
- (ii) the female figures are links between the meal participants and the servants at the meal;
- (iv) the servers, including the female figures, are the surviving children of the deceased who serve their dead parents at a meal (which is seen either as mythical or real or as something in between).

The personification theories were very popular among scholars who were active in the late 19th and early 20th centuries¹⁷⁷. Seven important modern scholars¹⁷⁸ also subscribe to personification theories.

¹⁷⁷ Page numbers for the scholars listed in the tables may be found beside their names in the specific bibliography that accompanies each catalogue entry (1 - 8). If the name does not appear in a particular bibliography, it is because the scholar in question had no published comment on the entry.

¹⁷⁸ See Table 3.1b.

Table 3.1.1a A chronological listing of earlier scholars who subscribe to 'Personification' Theories for the female figures with cups in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro Banquet Scenes

Roller (1879/81)
de Rossi (1882)
Lefort (1883)
Kaufmann (1900)
Wilpert (1903, 1938)
Marucchi (1905)
Cumont (1922/1959)
Leclercq (1923)
Bendinelli (1931)
Gerke (1940)

Table 3.1.1b A chronological listing of modern scholars who subscribe to 'Personification' Theories for the Female Figures with cups in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro Banquet Scenes

Table 3.1.1b Personification Theories (Modern Scholars 1953-1992)
Morey (1953)
Ferrua (1968, 1970, 1975)
Évrard (1977)
Guyon (1977-78)
Engemann (1982)
Prigent (1988)
Dückers (1992)

At least twelve scholars subscribe to some variation of the 'real people' theory. The reader will note four names appear on both 'sides': Leclercq (1923); Bendinelli (1931); Ferrua (1975); Engemann (1982).

Table 3.1.1c A chronological listing of scholars who subscribe to 'Real People' Theories for the Female Figures with cups in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro Banquet Scenes

Matthaei (1889)
Leclercq (1923)
Klauser (1927)
Bendinelli (1931)
Szygier (1933)
Delger (1943)
Strüder (1957)
De Bruyne (1968)
Ferrua (1975)
Vogel (1976)
Jastrzebowska (1979)
Engemann (1982)

Starting with the view that the female figures with cups are personifications of Christian virtues, three of the seventeen scholars listed in Tables 3.1.1a and 3.1.1b, argue that the status of the female figures with cups is one of 'participant' and not 'servant' (see Table 3.1.1d). On the right hand side of the table, I have listed the names of five scholars who think that at least some of the depicted female figures with cups are both meal participants and real people.¹⁷⁹ Table 3.1.1d Female figures with cups as 'Participants' in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro Banquet Scenes

Author	Year
Matthaei	(1899)
Kardmann	(1900)
Klauser	(1927)
Bendinelli	(1931)
Stuiber	(1957)
Ferrua	(1975)
Prigent	(1988)

¹⁷⁹ H. Matthaei (1899, 30): "(für Lau 39, 45-2, 47, 50-2), der einen Bezug zwischen den Inschriften und den dargestellten Frauen leugnet und deshalb meint, "Agape und Irene, Liebe und Frieden, werden von den das Mahl Feiern den herbeigewünscht, um ihrer Gemeinschaft das Gepräge zu geben und dasselbe in seiner Stimmung zu kennzeichnen. Diese Gedanken kleiden sich in die beim Mahl geläufigen Acclamationen. Quoted in Dückers, 1992: 165 n. 108. (For catalogue figs. 1,2,3,4): " ... who denies that there is a relation between the inscriptions and the women depicted [in the picture]; and therefore believes that 'Agape and Irene, love and peace, are being invoked by the celebrants (of the meal) so that they [agape et irene] may infuse their [celebrants] communion and give it their [agape et irene] characteristic ambiance. These thoughts take the form of acclamations that are typical for the [this sort of] meal." Translation by Peter Beyer, Dept. of Classics and Religious Studies, University of Ottawa. Klauser states (referring to figure 1 of my catalogue) that this fresco provides evidence that at least some cathedrae (stone armchairs) found in the catacombs were for the purpose of offering a place to sit for the female participants at the meals for the dead. Die Cathedra, 1927: 148, pl.21,2. Stuiber's view is that the female figures are participants who occasionally serve. See Refrigerium Interim: Theophaneia 11, 1957/1980, 132. Where women sit at the end of the sigma couch as in figures 1 and 6 of my catalogue, Ferrua refers to them as family members, i.e. daughters of the family. "Irenem et Agapem non esse ministrantes, sed ad mensam sedere ut filias-familias". See Dückers p. 160, n. 92.

Starting with the view that the female figures with cups are real people, seven of the twelve scholars think that the figures depict servants (see Table 3.1.1e). On the left hand side of the table, I have listed six scholars who think that the female figures with cups are both servants and personifications. Like Bendinelli (1931) in Table 3.1d, Leclercq (1923) and Engemann (1982) in Table 3.1.1e, think that the female figures are both real and symbolic at the same time. Bendinelli (1931) thinks that they are meal participants; Leclercq (1923) and Engemann (1982) subscribe to the view that the female figures' status is that of servant.

Table 3.1.1e Female figures with cups as 'Servants' in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro Banquet Scenes

Wipac (1983)	
Leclercq (1923)	Leclercq (1923)
	Stygar (1993)
	Dalget (1972)
	Bo. Bruyn (1982)
	Vogel (1978)
Eckrice (1977, 1978)	
Guyon (1977/78)	
	Isakzhowich (1978)
Engemann (1982)	Engemann (1982)
Dickens (1992)	

Prigent, a scholar who subscribes to the personification theories (see Table 3.1.1b), considers it important to differentiate the iconography of the 'servants' from that of the female figures with cups in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro frescoes.

¹⁸⁰ Although Deckers views only the female figures in my figs. 5 and 6 (no. 1 and no.1) as servants, he uses the word 'Dienerinnen' in other picture descriptions.

One can identify them [the servants] easily since they carry a plate or a cup. They are frequently short in stature and wear short tunics as though they could be children. These figures must not be confused with the standing female figures who sometimes raise a cup, as servants also may do, as their costume, accessories and the nobility of their attitude distinguishes them from the servants.¹⁸¹

Both the 'personification' and 'real people' theoretical positions are of chief interest to this study. If we suppose for the sake of argument that the frescoes represent Christian banquets, then the higher number of scholars who subscribe to some type of personification theory, confirms my view, as laid out in Chapter One, that female figures in Christian art are subject to an ongoing 'woman as symbol' interpretative problem. Of the twenty-five different scholars listed in Tables 3.1.1a, 3.1.1b and 3.1.1c, thirteen restrict the interpretation of the female figures with cups to the symbolic function alone. While twelve scholars hold the view that the female figures are real people, four of them, Leclercq (1923) Bendinelli (1931), Engemann (1982) and Ferrua (1975), rank the figures as both real and symbolic.¹⁸² Of the twenty-five, that leaves only eight scholars who interpret the female figures with cups as intended to represent 'real people'. Of these eight, three scholars, Matthaei (1899), Klauser (1927) and Stuibler (1957) interpret at least some of the female figures with cups as both real people and as meal participants.

3.1.2 Theories of the occasion thought to be represented in the Banquet Scenes: previous interpretations

Though sigma-meal frescoes are found above loculi and on sarcophagi, scholars are of mixed opinion as to the banquet scene's relationship to the deceased. Its placement above the corpse in the lunette of an arcosolium or on an arch over a gallery (as in the case of catalogue no. 10 in the catacomb

¹⁸¹ The full quote reads as follows: " Il y a presque toujours un ou deux serviteurs/servantes (13,14,39,48,50,52,62,75,76,78). On les identifie aisément puisqu'ils apportent un plat ou une coupe. Ils sont souvent de petite taille, vêtus de tuniques courtes, comme s'il s'agissait d'enfants. Ceci invite à ne pas les confondre avec des personnages féminins, debout, qui élèvent parfois une coupe comme il arrive aux serviteurs de la faire, mais que leur costume, leur parure (78 -- cat. 7 & 8) et la noblesse de leur attitude distinguent." Prigent 1988, 335. Translation by J. Tulloch.

¹⁸² The 'real person' theory advanced by Leclercq introduces the idea that the serving figures (of both sexes) are the surviving children of Roman parents who serve their elect Christian mothers and fathers in heaven by offering them plates of food. See Leclercq "Agape" DACL Vol.1, 1923, cols. 842-843.

of Priscilla) suggests to some scholars an analogy with astrological zones of the atmospheres, the highest zone belonging to the gods.¹⁸³ Such a placement leads some scholars to conclude that the meal scene is therefore to be interpreted as a heavenly meal attended by the elect dead. Other scholars interpret banquet scenes found in tombs as representations of actual funeral banquets given in honour of the deceased. Some Christian scholars interpret funeral banquet scenes as agape meals.

Below, I have listed six different theories of the occasion thought to be represented in the eight banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Within each interpretative frame, I have indicated the criteria (culled from different scholars) for the identification. At the bottom of each frame, I list the scholars who subscribe to the particular identification.

¹⁸³See Cumont (1922/1959) 205ff.

i) Family Meal Scene

- *a scene from daily life**
- *menu and number of participants vary**
- *presence of women & children**
- *lively gestures of the participants at the table**
- *clothes (white tunics with *clavi*) reflect the occasion of a daily meal**
- *the presence of realistic accoutrements for the meal ex. bottles, carafes, *amphoras***
- *the meal is set on small tables at the centre of the scene, never on the ground**
- *physical reality is indicated by the visual references to the outdoors
namely shadows, rocks and plants**

[De Rossi (1882) for cat. fig. 4, pp. 115-117, 126-128; Leclercq ("Agape", 1923) for cat. fig. 2, col. 845 & fig.4, col.835; Leclercq ("Fresques", 1923) for cat. fig. 4, col. 2625f. ; Laurent (1956) for cat. fig. 1, p. 64; De Bruyne (1969) for cat. fig. 2, pp.162f., 203-205; Ferrua (1975) for cat. figs. 1 and 2, Vol. 6, pp. 88-89; Février (1978) for cat. fig.2, pp. 241f.; Jastrebowska (1979) p. 63f., for catalogue figs. 1-8, pp. 19-27.]

(ii) Funeral Meal Scene

***private commemorative banquet held by the living for the dead,
usually not before the third day after death**

**[Matthaei (1899) for cat. figs. 1-4, pp. 10 no.4, 11, 14, 22, 26, 28-30, 35, 38, 45;
Bendinelli (1931) for cat. fig. 1, p.242f.; Klauser (1967) for cat. fig. 2, p.86 no.24,
p.89; Kollwitz (1969) for cat. figs. 1-4, pp. 63, 69-73, 120; Brandenburg (1977)
for catalogue figs. 7 & 8, p.134, no.53a]**

(iii) Earthly Refrigerium Scene

***sacred meal**

***libations, anniversary of deceased's interment (Christianity);
birthday (Roman religions)**

***to nourish and refresh the soul of the deceased with wine and a meal**

***emphasis is on quenching the thirst of the dead**

***private meal held by family members or a funeral society -- a member
of the religious hierarchy is not necessarily present**

***the deceased is represented, standing or sitting, holding a cup
in his/her hand**

***the deceased is represented by an empty chair (cathedra)**

***the deceased is present as 'host' (many inscriptions support this role)**

***a public or community element may include feeding the poor with
offerings brought for the deceased**

**[Cumont (1922/1959) p.200; Childers (1997) Vol.2, pp.975-976; Klauser (1928)
for cat. figs. 1-4, p.602, no. 20; Stuibler (1957); Vogel (1976) for cat. figs. 1-2, pp.
74-77.]**

(iv) Heavenly Meal (Refrigerium) Scene

***repast in the 'other' world, originally the infernal realm (Greek and Roman religions) but gradually transferred to the upper spheres of the world in Roman religions**

***the celestial banquet**

***a transcendent peace meal**

***the paradise of the elect**

***the newly deceased is the guest at the meal**

***given the setting the notion of privacy is no longer appropriate**

***eternal banquet -a place of everlasting refreshment**

***the emphasis is on quenching the thirst of the dead**

***gods, heroes, angels or other holy spirits may be present**

[Roller (1879/81) Vol.2, p.11f.; Kaufmann (1900) for cat. fig.1, p.198f. no.27; Von Sybel (1906) for catalogue figs. 1-2, p. 207f., 222; Besnier (1909) for catalogue figs. 1-4 pp. 210-212; Cumont (1922/1959) p.201; Leclercq ("Fresques", 1923) for cat. fig. 2, col. 2625f.; Wilpert (1938) for cat. figs. 1-4 p.288f.; Grabar (1967) for cat. fig. 2, p. 314; Ferrua (1975) Vol. 6, pp.88-89; Stevenson (1978)p. 95f.; Engemann (1982) p.245, 249f.]

v) Scene of Agape Meal

- *during the 4th to 7th centuries, the body was sometimes buried with the elements of the Eucharist on its chest or in its mouth**
- *glass cups with images of Christian saints and lettering indicating a refrigerium, e.g.. "REFRIGERIS" = Agape Meal**
- *signified by inscriptions such as "AGAPE" and/or "IRENE" which are indicative of the rapport between frescoes of celestial banquets and actual funeral agapes**
- *presence of wine and bread at the table**
- *presence of fish as symbolic only, referring to Christ**

[Childers (1997) Vol.1pp. 24-25; Leclercq (1923, "Agape", cols. 775-848); F. Gerke (1940); Ferrua (1968) for cat. figs. 7 - 8, p.29, pp.46-65; Nestori (1975) for cat. figs. 1-8, pp. 47-62]

(vi) Both Real & Symbolic Meal Scene

- *combination of a private earthly & heavenly refrigerium
- *the female figures of Agape and Irene are considered to be governors of the heavenly realm in which they serve deceased Christians
- *surviving family members are also present at the banquet, as is the deceased
- *fresco may have a rapport with an earthly funeral agape

[Leclercq (1923, "Agape") cols. 842-843 ; Bendinelli (1931) for cat. fig. 2, p.243, no.21; Ferrua (1975) for cat. fig. 1 Vol. 6, pp.88-89; Vogel (1976); Engemann (1982); Prigent (1988) pp. 335-339]

As the reader can discern, these six interpretations of the occasion thought to be represented by the eight banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro are indicative of an ongoing *querelle à origines* : the debate as to whether these images represent celestial or terrestrial Christian or pagan ritual meals.

3.2 Examination and Critique of Previous Scholarship

3.2.1. Implications of these theorized occasions for the meaning of the female figures with cups

The identifications of (i)'Family Meal Scene', (ii)'Funeral Meal Scene' and (iii)'Earthly Refrigerium Scene' imply that there are enough elements of historicity in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes to interpret the overall scene as realistic¹⁸⁴. The depiction of the female figures' hairstyles, mode of dress and accessories, the configuration of figures around the sigma-couch, the meal setting, the food, the wine and the meal accoutrements all add up to scenes which represent actual meals. The second and third interpretations imply that a funeral ritual of some kind may be taking place. The implication of the three identifications, 'Family Meal

¹⁸⁴ Scholars who subscribe to the realistic scene interpretation generally grant that one of the figures around the sigma-couch may be the deceased.

Scene', 'Funeral Meal Scene' and 'Earthly Refrigerium Scene' for the female figures in the banquet scenes is that they are 'real persons' and not personifications. I shall embark on a discussion of their status as 'real persons' in section 3.3 below.

The identification (iv) Heavenly Meal (Refrigerium) Scene implies that the funeral banquets depicted in the frescoes are taking place in an other worldly sphere. While the female figures with cups may be presiding over it, they are of no threat to the generally held notion that orthodox Christian women did not perform any priestly functions in the western church since these female figures are only personifications and so have no parallel sacerdotal office in the real world.

The identifications (v) Scene of Agape Meal and (vi) Both Real & Symbolic Meal Scenes interpret the meal scenes as a co-penetration of the survivors' earthly funeral meal (identified by some scholars as an earthly funeral agape) and an otherworldly meal of the elect.¹⁸⁵ With regard to the status of the female figures, we are again in no danger of discovering early Christian women performing the priestly function of sacralizing the wine, since most scholars claim that figures which represent real persons are servants. Another possibility advanced by Leclercq with regard to earthly funeral agapes, is that the serving figures (of both sexes) are the surviving children of Roman parents who serve their elect Christian mothers and fathers in heaven by offering them plates of food.¹⁸⁶

3.2.2. Problems with previous 'Personification' theories

In visual art theory, one of the accepted conceits for identifying personifications in the plastic arts, is the consistent association with one or two attributes with which the personification is easily identified.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵"L'agape commenc   sur la terre s'achevait donc dans l'  ternit  ; c'est le v  u qu'on lit sur plusieurs tombes." Leclercq, "Agape" *DACL* (1923) col. 843.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, cols. 842-843.

¹⁸⁷This is of course for the benefit of contemporary art theorists. As H. A. Shapiro points out, the Greeks did not have a word for personification. Many figures that moderns would describe as personifications such as Eirene or Concordia, for Greeks and Romans, had a numinous quality which to some degree corresponded with the ability of these abstract concepts to direct human events. For some personifications their religious significance within the larger cosmology can be confirmed by whether

Attributes are usually objects of some kind, such as the horn of plenty and *patera* carried by Fortune¹⁸⁸ for example, or the scythe carried by Death, that relate to the legend or meaning of the entity personified. By mentioning Fortune and Death as examples of personifications, however, we already fall upon a slippery slope of interpretation.

In my study on female personifications,¹⁸⁹ it was clear that in the late western tradition (500-1500 AD), the transformation of a religious idea into a cultural form (e.g. a personification of a virtue) followed a social pattern when unequal and opposing belief systems competed for adherents:

. . . over time, worshipped female [and male] entities lost their divine attributes and developed into forms of rhetoric (visual and written), forfeiting earlier multiple meanings for ease of communicating a single idea. Thus, their continued presence in Western culture reveals as much about the evolution of [social] ideologies as [about] the devolution of belief systems.¹⁹⁰

My point here is that the history of a personification should be taken into account when a claim is made about its presence in a work of art. If the scholar can show a numinous ancestor of some sort, i.e. god or goddess in an earlier belief system of the culture, then there may be a case for claiming what appears to be a human figure as a personification.

In the case of "IRENE", interpreted as a Christian female personification of Peace, an argument could be made that the concept is a Christian religious idea expressed as a female figure in Late Antiquity with possible visual and literary antecedents in Greek culture. The divinity/personification: EIRENE (Peace), whom Dionysus so loves in Euripides *Bacchae*¹⁹¹, first appears in Greek culture (both in art and literature) as a

or not they became the objects of cult worship. Personifications in Greek Art: The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 BC, (Zurich: Akanthus, 1993) 12-13.

¹⁸⁸Other goddesses/personifications such as *Homonia/Concordia* are also found with these attributes.

¹⁸⁹Janet H. Tulloch, "Female Personifications," in Encyclopedia of Women and World Religions, Vol. 1 (New York: 1999) 329-331.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 331..

¹⁹¹ Euripides, *Bacchae*, trans. William Arrowsmith, lines 416-418.

personification in late 5th century BC. To make the above argument, the task becomes one of pinpointing how and where the concept, EIPENE is visually represented in Greek art and religion, and then to track the evolution of the cultural form into Late Antiquity. In order to claim it as a Christian personification found in early Christian art, it would also be helpful to find examples of the figure in other media of the day such as sarcophagi or reliefs (of which there are many Christian examples from Late Antiquity). If we cannot find examples of the figure in other media, we need to ask ourselves: why not?

The word, ΑΓΑΠΗ (AGAPE), on the other hand, which in Attic means 'sexual love', circulated in Greek as early as 6th century BC. Although we have no evidence of an AGAPE appearing in Greek art or literature as a divinity/personification, a female figure with the inscription, ΑΓΑΠΗ (retrograde) does appear once on red vase along with three other female figures.¹⁹² According to the inscriptions on the vase, the three other female figures are not goddesses or personifications either.¹⁹³

The origin of the word, AGAPE, has been seen for a very long time as a term with its roots in the Hellenistic world (3rd-2nd century BC). In the New Testament and later texts, it is commonly used as equivalent to the Latin, 'CARITAS'. It should be noted that this is a radical shift of meaning since its appearance in late 6th century BC. The word, AGAPE, as far as we know, was never perceived, associated or worshipped as a Greek goddess or personification¹⁹⁴ although there is a suggestion that the name was used by priestesses of Aphrodite to personify the rite of sexual communion.¹⁹⁵ Again, to claim it as a Christian personification found in early Christian art, we would need to follow the same steps as outlined above for the word, EIRENE, and we would probably want to try and account for the relevance of

¹⁹²Nom de guerre' of a naked woman - hetaira ?? on Euphronios' psykter in the HERMITAGE, St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad).

¹⁹³ΣΜΙΚΡΑ ('Tiny'), ΠΑΔΑΙΣΤΟ ('Wrestler'), ΣΕΚΛΙΝΗ (with a play on KLINE 'bed').

¹⁹⁴There is no entry for AGAPE in LIMC (1981) nor is there an entry for AGAPE in Shapiro's comprehensive, Personifications in Greek Art (1993).

¹⁹⁵Walker, B. "Saint Agape" in The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983) 12. The Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (1981) has no entry for AGAPE.

its shift in meaning from sexual love, to charitable love, to its appearance as a visual personification of a Christian virtue in a Late Antiquity banquet scene.

One of the main problems of identifying the female figures in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro frescoes as personifications then is that they have no consistent attributes.¹⁹⁶ For example, sometimes "AGAPE" holds up a cup (catalogue figures 2b, 8a, and 8c) and sometimes, "IRENE" does (catalogue figures 3a, 3e, 4a, 4f, 6a, 6b, 6c, 7b, and 7g). As well, there is no consistency in how the figures are represented. For example, sometimes "AGAPE" wears a veil (catalogue figure 8c) and sometimes she does not (catalogue figures 2b and 2c). "IRENE" sometimes wears a diadem (catalogue figure 3e) and sometimes she does not (catalogue figures 4a, 4f, 6b, 6c, 7g). Further the facial features and hairstyles of the different "AGAPES" and "IRENES" are unique and individualized. Why would the artist(s) paint each of the female figures so differently if they all represented the same two personifications in each fresco?

Changes to a figure which represents an abstract concept are understandable when examining the iconography of a concept over a long period of time or among different ethno-cultural groups. Changes in cultural meanings that accompany temporal and geographical change and reflected in art, usually can account for iconographical differences. However, one thing that most historians of these frescoes from Late Antiquity roughly agree upon is the dating of the artifacts: to within a century of one another, 250-350AD. Thus the differences in the figures cannot be attributed to changed attitudes towards the representation of an abstract concept due to temporal changes.

Further, even though there is no change of physical place (all examples of the figure are in Rome), variations in iconography due to the patronage of different ethno-cultural groups could be a possible explanation of differences between the same figures. Why, however, would different ethno-cultural groups use the same inscriptions? It is possible that the individual taste of the client or the style of the artist are also what could account for the

¹⁹⁶ This problem has been mentioned by one other scholar, Leclercq. Ibid, col. 841.

differences in iconography among the female figures. This would suggest a very unsystematic approach to the representation of female personifications that is out of phase with Roman forms of allegory (i.e. those demonstrably non-Christian) at this time. If the female figures in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes were visual personifications of Christian virtues and if the banquet scenes were clearly identified as Christian, the viewer would then be looking at the earliest known forms of personifications in Christian Art.¹⁹⁷

A further word should be mentioned here concerning Roman personifications in funerary art. The idea of allegorical representations of female figures on funerary monuments is not unknown in Roman funerary art. In fact, it is quite common. Sometimes goddesses and/or personifications appear on Roman funerary art as a commentary on the life or lives of the individual(s) portrayed as is the case with *Sarcophagus of An Imperial Official and his Wife*, c.275AD.¹⁹⁸ The visual conceit of personification on a funerary monument can also be an idealized portrait of womanhood (or manhood) relating to the central virtue the deceased (woman or man) exemplified in their lifetime. To illustrate this point, I refer to the Roman practice of replacing the head of a mythical character on sarcophagi with a portrait head of the deceased¹⁹⁹. The attributes of Gods and Goddesses were so well known among the population that all an artist had to do was 'cut and paste' in order to identify a 'real' person with the characteristics of a mythical figure. According to Susan Matheson, Ariadne, Luna, Diana, Ceres, Persephone and Fortuna are just some of the guises for women that can be found on Roman funerary monuments well into the 3rd century AD.

¹⁹⁷Scholars of early Christian Art have often commented that the figures known as the Good Shepherd and the Orans are personifications of Jesus and the Church. However there is no text in the scenes in which these figures appear that actually identifies the figures as such.

¹⁹⁸See Diana E.E. Kleiner and Susan B Matheson, eds., *I Claudia* (New Haven, 1996) 23, fig.8.

¹⁹⁹Susan B. Matheson, "The Divine Claudia: Women as Goddesses in Roman Art," in Diana E.E. Kleiner and Susan B Matheson, eds., *I Claudia*, 190.

While the importation of specific Roman gestures or attributes may be missing for the female banquet figures in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, it is possible that early Christian Romans appropriated the Roman method of 'symbolic embodiment of historical persons in art' as part of the shared visual culture (between Roman pagans and Roman Christians) of ancient viewing. In this case, real women may have been drawn as the concepts of Christian 'Love/Charity' or 'Peace' as a monument to these qualities in the deceased. This discussion will be taken up further in Chapter Five: Interpretation of Visual/Written Data.

Before turning to a very particular problem with the personification theory for these female figures, one final theoretical argument against this interpretation must be advanced. This argument has to do with the assumption that the names in the inscriptions automatically refer to the female figures in the frescoes²⁰⁰. The relationships between words and images on ancient artifacts are by no means a straight-forward business. Words on paintings and artifacts can support many different functions, and they may support more than one at the same time.²⁰¹ Of my comparanda scenes, that is sixty-seven images in total, eighteen have texts written somewhere on the artifact (eight of which are illustrated in my catalogue: section II, fig.: 15a-b, Section III, figs. 19, 20, 21b, 24, 29, 31, and 33). One inscription is written near the fresco (see Fig 15, Tomb of Vibia). Of the total nineteen inscriptions, eleven refer to the identification of the figures in the scene (two of which express a wish towards the deceased); one inscription refers to snippets of conversation among the figures in the scene; one inscription labels the action in the scene; two inscriptions address the stranger or visitor who encounters the sepulcher or burial site; one is a dedication to Jupiter and three inscriptions are too fragmentary to definitively contextualize. As stated by Dücker in *Agape und Irene*: "All in all one has to be very careful in assuming that in every case the *invitations* are

²⁰⁰This observation is equally a problem for the servant theory. Prigent (1988) notes the same difficulty in his criticism of Ferrua's interpretation. 336, fn. 10. Also see Dücker, 162.

²⁰¹On this topic, see Chapter 3, "Manipulations" in Francois Lissarrague, The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet: Images of Wine and Ritual (Princeton, 1990) 47-67 and by the same author, "Parole d'images: Remarques sur le fonctionnement de l'écriture dans l'imagerie attique," in Écritures II, Anne-Marie Christin, ed. (Editions S.F.I.E.D., 1985) 71-94.

addressing the women portrayed at either end of the bolster²⁰² and to that I would add one also has to be very careful in assuming that every inscription has the same association or meaning as every other.

This section would not be complete without mention of a specific difficulty with the personification interpretation of the female banquet figures in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, namely: a disagreement between the number of names and the number of female figures in some of the frescoes.²⁰³ There are three examples of this problem in the frescoes listed in Section 1 of the catalogue: (i) Figure 3. There is only one extant standing female figure with a cup in the remaining portion of the fresco: no. 5. An earlier drawing of the fresco by de Rossi (1864/1867; my catalogue, figure 3b) shows a small fragment of a human face opposite no. 5 (in the blotchy area marked no. 4 in figure 3a) which may in fact have been a boy. There are however two common nouns known to be used as female names at the time, "AGAPE" and "IRENE", painted on the fresco, as I have noted in the catalogue description. (ii) Figure 4 illustrates the same problem as figure 3. As figures 4a, 4b, and 4c illustrate, no. 6 is most probably the head of a boy. One female figure stands holding a cup: no. 7 (see 4f for detail), yet there are the same two common nouns, "AGAPE" and "IRENE", painted on the fresco. Another female (no.4) reclines on the sigma-couch but as far as we can tell, she does not hold a jug or a cup. According to the personification theory, the 'names' "AGAPE" and "IRENE" (interpreted as 'personifications' of the Christian virtues, Love/Charity and Peace) refer to those female figures who serve the food & wine. It is unlikely therefore that a female figure who simply reclines on the couch is the second of the two 'names' inscribed on the painting. (iii) Figure 6 presents a slightly different mismatch problem. In this case, there are two female figures, one holding a cup (no. 1) and the other offering a plate of fish (no. 4). Only one 'name' however, "IRENE", is part of the inscription.

²⁰²Dücker, 162. Translated by Ruth Mandoli. Emphasis added.

²⁰³This problem has been noted by other scholars, namely Prigent (1988, 336, fn. 10) and Dücker (162).

If the two female figures sitting at either end of the sigma-couch or flanking the small tripod table are supposed to be personifications of "AGAPE" and "IRENE", shouldn't the number of figures in the fresco and number of 'names' in the inscriptions be consistent in each case?

It is possible however through deterioration of a fresco, that disagreements between the number of names and the number of female figures in some paintings are the result of the disappearance of an inscribed 'name' or a female figure over time. In the case of figure 3 in my catalogue, a number of scholars subscribe to the view that the blotchy patch I have called no.4 in figure 3a was once intended as a personification of one of the 'names' inscribed on the painting.²⁰⁴

3.2.3. Problems with the 'Real People' theories²⁰⁵

The main problem, which will be clear by now, in identifying the female figures as real people, is that the interpretation is too narrow in its scope. As many scholars of women's history in late antiquity and early Christianity have demonstrated, real women exercised a number of social roles in Roman society, only one of which, 'servant', has been regularly suggested for these figures by previous scholars. The first question we must ask is: "Why has only one social role for women been suggested by previous scholars with

²⁰⁴Namely, de Rossi (1882), Lefort (1883), Wilpert (1903), Leclercq (1923), Wilpert (1938) and Gerke (1940). See Deckers et al., 273.

²⁰⁵According to some contemporary Christian scholars, all early Christian art is 'historical'. These scholars view the role of personification in early Christian art as secondary to the historical event or person portrayed on the principle that personification can become "a threat to the canonical tradition's theological and artistic balance" when allegory is seen to have an "equal footing" or supersedes the historical orientation of Christian subject matter rendered visually. This view conflates the presence of personification in early Christian art with pagan ideas. If, for example, personifications were to dominate a visual scene, the worry is that the Christian message would be lost. In his article on the role of personification within the artistic tradition of the Orthodox Church, "Allegorical Personification in Orthodox Iconography", Fr. Stephane Bigham is against the view which accepts the predominance of personifications within the artistic tradition of the Orthodox Church stating: ". . . Personification, is a minor adjunct to the dominant historical orientation of [Christian] iconography but at various times and places the iconographic tradition has deviated from its canonical roots by allowing allegorical personification to have an equal footing with, and sometimes to overshadow, the historical orientation. As a minor element, both in importance and in the amount of space occupied in any particular icon, personification is acceptable, though not necessary. . . ." Fr. S. Bigham, "Allegorical Personification in Orthodox Iconography" in Sacred Art Journal (Vol. 13, No. 2, 1996) 60.

regard to the interpretation of the female figures in the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro?" The second question we must ask is this: "If the 'servant' theory is correct, why should only the 'servants' be named & not the higher status 'meal participants'?" This second question is particularly pointed in a society such as Rome in 3-4 century AD which is so clearly segmented by class lines. Servants, who were slaves, did not have their own names. Slaves did not have their own *nomen* (family name), unless freed by their master, in which case the slave was allowed to assume his or her owner's *nomen*.²⁰⁶ The slave's *praenomen* (forename) was typically assigned by whomever claimed the slave. Slaves were property. Unlike citizens, they had no potential to accrue or to lose honour in Roman society and therefore had no need for a name.

The interpretation of the female figures as servants with Greek names is not entirely out of step with the Roman custom of giving Greek names to slaves. Names describing human qualities such as "trustworthy" or "cheerful" were thought to be particularly appropriate for slaves.²⁰⁷ Such names also suggested traits desirable in servants, in which case Greek names like "AGAPE" (interpreted as 'Love-charity') and "IRENE" (Peace) don't make a lot of sense. That said, the servant theory blatantly disregards the rich attire and hairstyles worn by most of the women in the frescoes. However, given that these wall paintings exist in tombs, we are not purely in the realm of the Roman social world. We are also in the realm of the supernatural world, so that it is conceivable there are other reasons having to do with religion which might explain why a well-dressed female, who plays the role of 'servant', is named in a funerary banquet and the other participants are not.

The question remains however whether the inscriptions, "AGAPE..." and "IRENE..." are meant to be identified with the female figures with cups in the banquet scenes or whether there is some other explanation for these inscriptions. To resolve this issue, we have to look to the analysis of the

²⁰⁶Status of freed slaves from Rome is indicated by the word, *libertus* or one of its short forms, "l" or "liber" on funeral inscriptions. See, "Formal Nomenclature and Status Indication: What's in a Name?", Sandra R. Joshel, Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions (Norman and London: 1992) 35-37.

²⁰⁷Joshel lists the following group of names with their interpretations: Eros (love), Fides (trust, good faith), Hilarus (cheerful), and Felix (lucky). Ibid., 36.

inscriptions in Chapter Four.

3.3 Comparison of Iconographical Elements of Banquet Scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro with Comparanda

In this section I present an analysis of the iconographical elements of the eight banquet scenes under study in SS. Marcellino e Pietro (my catalogue, figs. 1-8) and the relevant comparanda -- a survey of representative banquet, serving, and offering and libation scenes of Roman art from the Imperial period. Such a survey helps us to gauge the level of uniqueness of the portrayals of the female figures with cups in the frescoes under study and to determine what elements in these banquet scenes may be attributed to Christian rites and what elements may be attributed to Roman religions and culture. Given the large amount of visual information in each scene, I have chosen a table format to: a) separate and analyze the important iconographical elements; and b) facilitate comparisons of the banquet scenes with each other and with the following groups of comparanda:

- 1) Other (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes: SS. Marcellino e Pietro: "The Marriage of Cana".
- 2) Selected Banquet Scene Fragments: From SS. Marcellino e Pietro
- 3) (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes: Other Roman Catacombs
- 4) Selected Banquet Scene Fragments: Other Roman Catacombs
- 5) Selected Roman Banquet Scenes: Outside the Roman Catacombs
- 6) Selected Roman Art Scenes: (i) serving scenes
(ii) offering & sacrifice scenes
- 7) Two scenes from Greek Art: (i) ΑΓΑΠΗ and (ii) ΕΙΠΗΝΕ.

(I) Explanation of Table Format

(i) The tables are divided into two main categories: a) 'Overview' and b) 'Detailed Data'. The Overview tables are a summary of the information contained in the total number of individual scenes analyzed in any given section. These tables have been placed at the beginning of each section as an orientation to the data that follows. Each Overview table contains 35 separate categories relating to the iconography of all the scenes in its section.

The Detailed Data tables are a microscopic view of each individual scene in a section. Each Detailed Data table contains 35 separate categories including 8 subsets relating to a scene's iconography. At the top of each column the reader will find the catalogue number to which the information refers. Scenes not in the catalogue are referenced on the last page of the table at the bottom. A summary called '**Findings**' based on my analysis of the data in a table follows on the last page of each table.

(ii) Tables 3.3i and 3.3ii contain the data for the banquet frescoes which are my primary images under study. All other tables contain comparanda. The comparanda is grouped by physical proximity (and more or less chronological proximity) to the primary images of my study. For example Groups 1 and 2 of the comparanda are from SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Groups 3 and 4 are (near) complete banquet scenes and fragments (respectively) from Roman catacombs other than SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Group 5 comparanda assembles together Roman banquet scenes outside the Roman catacombs and so on. Many of the scenes from my comparanda will be found in my catalogue (Chapter Two). Information about scenes of comparison not in my catalogue will be found in Appendix C.

(iii) Table 3.3xviii, Group 6-2, 'Overview' (page 00), and Table 3.3xix Group 6-3, 'Detailed Data' (page 00), contain slightly different categories of scene iconography due to the different subject matter: Offering & Libation Scenes.

(II) Definitions of Terms in the Tables

- (a) Human Figure = a male or female human figure; includes (known) historical figures posed as gods/goddesses (i.e. most Roman emperors and their wives).
- (b) Mythical Figure = a figure identified by an inscription or by visible role in a (known) myth; a figure that frequently looks only partially human; may be a human hybrid of some type, ex. human-animal, human-fish; a fantastic animal hybrid figure, ex. a griffin; a supernatural figure denoted by wings, a nimbus, or recognizable attributes.
- (c) Mixed Human and Mythical figures = both types of figures occur together in the same scene;
- (d) Animal Figure = pets or sacrificial beasts.

- (e) adjacent to in cornu dextro = the spot immediately to the right of the last reclining position on the right end or corner of the sigma-couch.
- (f) adjacent to in cornu sinistro = the spot immediately to the left of the last reclining position on the left end or corner of the sigma-couch.
- (g) in front of in cornu dextro = the spot which is close to but in front of the last reclining position on the right end or corner of the sigma-couch. It is approximately on a 90 degree angle with the end of the couch.
- (h) in front of in cornu sinistro = the spot which is close to but in front of the last reclining position on the left end or corner of the sigma-couch. It is approximately on a 90 degree angle with the end of the couch.
- (i) portions = single servings in front of a banqueter, e.g. bread, meat.
- (ix) altar = solid stone or other heavy material; round, square or rectangular shape, usually decorated and not intended to be portable.
- (j) 'tripod' table = the name given to a portable altar or serving table at a banquet or sacrifice; it may be made out of bronze, wood or some other material. Typically a tripod table has three legs although tables with four legs have been known to be labeled in the same way. They are frequently designed using a wild animal motif for the leg and foot of the table. The top is frequently circular.
- (k) offering and sacrifice = these are not easy terms to separate as their actions in art look similar. Sacrifice in this context refers to images in which the elements of the sacrifice (i.e. fruit, bread, incense, wine or the blood of animals) is poured on a flaming altar or on a tripod table used as altar. Offering in this context refers to images in which a figure holds a cup but there is no flaming altar visible in the scene.
- (l) cup = includes a range of objects from small containers made of glass, to pateras, to drinking horns, to small bowls for drinking, with or without handles.
- (m) indicators of song or music = indicators refer to flutes, *kithara*, dancing figures or figures with their arm bent, one hand to their forehead (song).²⁰⁸
- (n) sacrifant = the person who is credited with performing the sacrifice.

²⁰⁸This gesture is a convention well established for Attic Archaic pottery, and continued (less frequently) in the early Classical period. The phenomenon in our material is surely parallel; I cannot at this point say whether it is a re-invention, or whether there is a connection through other media.

(III) Explanation of Symbols in Tables

- + = traces of evidence in the scene but the scene is too faint or too damaged to be able to make a precise determination**
- * * = all figures are reclining**
- + / * * = something about the figure(s) is not clear however all figures are reclining**
- = not applicable**
- 0 - + = a range from 'none' to 'too difficult to determine'.**
- ? = unknown**
- n? = not sure of number (actual number and not 'n' will appear in table).**

Table 3.3i, Iconographical Elements of Banquet Scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro: Catalogue Figures 1-8 (Overview = 8 scenes)

Table 3.3i	
Scene/Iconography	No. of Scenes
inscription(s) in scene	8
klinè meal	0 ²⁰⁹
sigma meal	8 ²¹⁰
other meal configuration	0
with cathedra(e)	1-2
all female figures	0
scenes with female figures veiled	1, 2?
all male figures	0
scenes with male figures veiled	0
mixed scenes of male figures & female figures	8
sex of figure indefinite	3
scenes with children	4
scenes with children with cups	2
with female figures reclining	2

²⁰⁹There are no klinè meals found in lunettes of arcosolia. There are however single figures found above loculi (or as part of wall plaques that once sealed loculi) who recline as though on a klinè couch. These figures will be included in my Table 3.3v, Group 3 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene Fragments.

²¹⁰According to Nestori (1975) and Guyon (1987), there are 15 banquet scenes in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro. See fig. 88 in Guyon (1987), "Tableau des peintures du cimetière *inter duos lauros*." Both scholars identify these scenes by the term, 'Agape'. The banquet scenes are found in chambers (13), (14) 39, 45, 47, (48), 50, (52), (60), (62), (73), 75, 76, and 78 which contains 2 scenes. The numbers without brackets signify my main group of eight banquet scenes under study in this study. Those with brackets will be dealt with in Table 3.3v, Group 3 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene Fragments. In addition, there are 5 scenes identified as "Cana" in chambers (24), (34), (48), (62), and (65), only one of which, (62), is a near complete banquet scene. [Note (48) and (62) are also listed as 'Agape' scenes by Nestori and Guyon and are counted as part of the total number of banquet scenes.] The chamber (62) "Cana" scene will be considered in my first group of comparanda in Table 3.3iii, Group 1 Comparanda: Other (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Of the remaining "Cana" scenes, (48) will be treated with the other banquet scene fragments in Table 3.3v, Group 3-1 Comparanda and for (24), (34) and (65) there is not enough visual information to make a classification. Of interest, Guyon codes the "Cana" scenes identified by Nestori (1975) in chambers (24) and (34) as "doubtful". See Guyon (1987) fig. 88.

Table 3.31 - cont'd

Scene Iconography	No. of Scenes
with male figures reclining	8
with female figures sitting	2
with male figures sitting	0
with female figures standing	6
with male figures standing	2
female figures with raised cups	7 ²¹¹
female figures drinking from a cup	0
male figures with raised cups	6
male figures drinking from a cup	2
'tripod' tables: food/cups	8
platter(s) on table(s)	8
platters on the ground	0
type of food served: a) meat	2-3
b) fish	1-3
c) bread	2?
d) fruit	2?
e) wine	8
individual portions	0
large wine containers	2
indicators of singing or music	2 ²¹²
mensa in chamber	2
human figures	8
mythical figures	0
animal figures	0
mixed human & mythical figures	0

²¹¹In Cat. 4, the cup is on the lap of no. 1, the male figure who sits *in cornu dextro*.

²¹²Singing.

Findings:

1. There are six scenes depicting female figures with raised cups. Of the remaining two scenes, one shows the female figure about to receive the cup, holding up her right hand and the other scene shows a child holding a cup (also in her right hand).
2. The female figures with cups raise them up in their right hands.
3. There are six scenes depicting male figures holding cups and one scene showing a cup on a male figure's lap.
4. The male figures hold their cups in either their left or right hand. Four scenes show the cup in left hands and three scenes show the cup in right hands.
5. In two scenes male figures are shown drinking from a cup held in their right hand. These figures occupy the centre position of the sigma-couch.
6. Female figures are not shown drinking from a cup in any of these scenes.
7. Children are shown in four of the eight banquet scenes. In two of these four scenes, they hold or carry a cup.
8. Except for Cat. 5, all figures who sit or recline to the centre of the sigma-couch position, whether male or female, are shown either about to receive a cup, with a raised cup in their hand, or with a cup on the lap of the figure.
9. In one scene, Cat. 8, a female figure (no. 5) is shown wearing a veil. In two scenes (Cat. 3, no.5 and Cat. 6, no.4) female figures wear a diadem but no veil is attached.
10. Based on the iconography of the images, there are no known mythical figures in these banquet scenes.
11. In eight of the banquet scenes, wine is served.
12. In two to three of the banquet scenes, meat is served.
13. In one to three of the banquet scenes, fish is served.
14. In two of the banquet scenes, bread is probably served.
15. In these eight scenes, female figures sit, recline or stand. Female figures stand in five of the eight scenes, however they are not always on the same side of the sigma-couch. In one scene a female figure stands in front of *in cornu dextro*. In four scenes, a female figure stands in front of *in cornu sinistro*.
16. In these eight banquet scenes, the majority of male figures do not sit, they recline. Only one male figure is on his feet, but he is hardly standing. (See my catalogue, fig. 7b, no.1 and fig.7c, no.1.)
17. There are no animal figures in the banquet scenes.
18. All banquet scenes show 'tripod' tables with platters placed on top of them.

Findings: cont'd

19. No individual portions are served.
20. Two scenes show indicators of singing or music.
21. In these eight banquet scenes, meat is as likely to be served as fish.

Table 3.3ii, Iconographical Elements of Banquet Scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro: Catalogue Figures 1-8 (Detailed Data = 8 scenes

Scene Iconography	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
inscription(s) in scene	2 ²¹³	2	2	2 ²¹⁴	1	1	1	1
klinè meal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sigma meal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
other meal configuration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of figures in scene	6	7	5	7	5	4	7	5
total number of female figures	2 ²¹⁵	2	1	2	0	2	1	1
total number of female figures veiled	0	0	1 ²¹⁶	0	0 ²¹⁷	1 ²¹⁸	0	1
total number of male figures	3	3	3	4	4	1	5?	4
total number of male figures veiled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total no. of figures: sex = indefinite	0	0	1	1 ²¹⁹	0	0	1	0
total number of children in scene	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
a)with a cup	1	0	--	--	1	0	--	--
b)reclining	0	2	--	--	0	1	--	--
c)sitting	0	0	--	--	0	0	--	--

²¹³The names of individuals which are separated from the inscriptions by a border are not included in this count. See my catalogue, Fig.1 for names.

²¹⁴Two inscriptions are found on the painting. A third, found in the chamber elsewhere (not written on a painting) also exists.

²¹⁵Bosio's drawing (my catalogue fig. 1b) shows 3 female figures.

²¹⁶The standing female figure (my catalogue, fig.3e, no. 5) wears a diadem, the hairpiece over which the veil is placed.

²¹⁷ The oval shape on top of the youth's head (my catalogue, figs. 5c, 5d, no. 1) is possibly a pet bird.

²¹⁸ The sitting female figure (my catalogue, 6d, no. 4) wears a diadem, the hairpiece over which the veil is placed.

²¹⁹ Male figure shown in my catalogue figs. 4a, 4c (no.6).

Table 3.31 - cont'd	Catalogue No.							
Scene/Iconography	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
d) standing	1?	0	--	--	1	0	--	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
a) with a cup	--	1	--	0	--	--	1?	--
b) at centre of sigma	--	0	--	0	--	--	1?	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	1 ²²⁰	--	0	--	--	0	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	0	--	1	--	--	0	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	3	3	3	4	4	1	4-5	4
a) with a cup	0	1	1	2	1	0	3-4	1
b) at centre of sigma	1	1 ²²¹	1	1 ²²²	0 ²²³	0 ²²⁴	0?	1
c) <i>in dextro</i>	1	1	1 ²²⁵	2	2	1	2	2 ²²⁶
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	1	1	1	1	2	0	2 ²²⁷	1
number of female figures sitting in scene	2 ²²⁸	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
a) in a cathedra	2	--	--	--	--	1?	--	--
b) with a cup	0	--	--	--	--	0	--	--

²²⁰She reclines *in cornu dextro*.

²²¹He is the male figure with a cup.

²²²He is the figure with the cup.

²²³There is no one sitting at the centre of the sigma-couch in this scene.

²²⁴There is no single figure sitting directly at the centre of the sigma-couch. The male figure (no. 2) and the young boy figure (no. 3) appear to be sharing the centre position.

²²⁵He is the figure with the cup.

²²⁶The male figure who sits *in cornu dextro* is the one with the cup.

²²⁷Only one of these figures (no. 6) may be holding a cup.

²²⁸Bosio's drawing shows 2 figures. See my catalogue, fig. 1b.

Table 3.311 - cont'd	Catalogue No.							
Scene iconography	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	1	--	--	--	--	0	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	1	--	--	--	--	1	--	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
b) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of female figures standing in scene	0	1?	1	1	0	1?	1	1
a) with a cup	--		1	1	--	1	1	1
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	0	0	0	--	1	0	0
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	1?	1	1	--	0	1	1
number of male figures standing in scene	0	0	0	1?	0	0	1 ²²⁹	0
a) with a cup	--	--	--	0 ²³⁰	--	--	0	--
b) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	1	--	--	1	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	0	--	--	0	--
total no. of female figures in scene with a cup	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
total number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total no. of male figures in scene with a cup	0	1	1	2	1	0	3 - 4	1
total no. of male figures drinking from a cup	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0

²²⁹Technically this figure is not standing but is in transit.

²³⁰He is probably carrying a platter.

Table 3.3ii SS. Marcellino e Pietro Catalogue No.								
Scene/Iconography	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
no. of figures with head movement ²³¹	2	4	3	4	4	2	0	2
no. of figures with arm movement ²³²	1	2	2	3	4	2	7	2
no. of figures with foot movement ²³³	0	0	+	+	0	+	1	0
number of 'tripod' tables	1	0 ²³⁴	1	1	1	1	1 ²³⁵	1 ²³⁶
number of platters: ground/table	/1	/1	/1	/1	/1	/1	/1 ²³⁷	/1
type of food served: a) meat	1	1 ²³⁸	+	+	1	0	0	+
b) fish	0	1?	+ ²³⁹	+ ²⁴⁰	0	1	1?	+
c) bread	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 ²⁴¹	1 ²⁴²
d) fruit	0	0	0	0	0	0	?	?
e) wine	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

²³¹The head is noticeably turned in some way.

²³²This gesture includes a range of movement: from an arm raised to hold a cup, to an extended arm over the head or lowered below the waist.

²³³Movement which depicts walking or stepping lively such as one or both heels off the ground, a front knee raised and/or the body is shown in a forward angle in relation to the ground.

²³⁴Fresco is damaged where a small serving table would logically be placed.

²³⁵Based on the height of no. 1 in the fresco, the serving table is very tall compared to those in the other banquet scenes from Table 3.3ii.

²³⁶Based on the size of the platter, this serving table has a larger diameter than those painted in the other banquet scenes from Table 3.3ii.

²³⁷One is on the table and a second smaller platter is being rushed in by a male figure.

²³⁸Figure No. 7 is carrying a plate on which is some food which is not fish. By its angular shape, it is probably meat.

²³⁹Dölger (after de Rossi) shows a plate of fish in the drawing of this scene. See my catalogue, fig. 3b.

²⁴⁰Dölger (after de Rossi) shows a plate of fish in the drawing of this scene. See my catalogue, fig. 4c.

²⁴¹There is flat bread or buns or fruit or a mixture of foods on No. 1's platter. See my catalogue, fig. 7c.

²⁴²There is a bun or a fruit in the left hand of No. 5. See my catalogue, fig. 8e.

Table 3.312 SS. Marcellino e Pietro				Catalogue No.				
Scene Iconography	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
no. of individual portions served	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
no. of large wine containers	1	0 ²⁴³	0 ²⁴⁴	0 ²⁴⁵	2 ²⁴⁶	0	0	0
indicators of singing or music	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
mensa in chamber	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
human figures	6	7	5?	7	5	4	7	5
mythical figures	1? ²⁴⁷	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
animal figures ²⁴⁸	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
mixed human & mythical figures	1?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Findings

1. There are as many frescoes with one inscription written on them (four: Catalogue figs. 5, 6, 7, & 8) as there are frescoes with two inscriptions (four: Catalogue figs. 1, 2, 3 & 4).
2. All of the inscriptions except one (Cat. 7) refer to mixing.
3. Four scenes have inscriptions with a reference to some hot (water?) "DA CALDA".
4. Male figures appear more frequently in these banquet scenes than female figures.
5. In two of the eight scenes, the middle male figure is shown drinking from his cup (my catalogue: fig. 2a, no. 4; fig. 4a, no. 3). These are in the two chambers with a mensa.
6. No female figure is shown drinking from her cup in any of the banquet scenes.

²⁴³Fresco is damaged where a wine container would logically be placed.

²⁴⁴None visible on remaining fresco.

²⁴⁵Fresco is damaged where a wine container would logically be placed.

²⁴⁶Fresco is damaged where a wine container would logically be placed. A female figure with a small jug is seen standing beside the *caldarium* in the arch of the *arcosolium*. See my catalogue, fig. 6e.

²⁴⁷It has been suggested that no.4 may be a mythological figure because of the pointy shapes on either side of the figure's face.

²⁴⁸Unless the animals were placed in areas that are now damaged, there are no pets or beasts of any kind evidenced within a scene. Two banquet scenes (my catalogue, 1b and 6a) have birds flanking the frame of the scene.

Findings - cont'd

7. While female figures appear less frequently than male figures, they are more apt to have a cup in their hands than the male figures.

8. In one scene, the female figure is the only one to have a cup (my catalogue: fig. 6b, no. 1).

9. In four of the eight banquet scenes, both an adult female figure and an adult male figure have cups in their hands. (My catalogue: fig. 2a, nos. 1 & 4; fig. 3a, nos. 1 & 5; fig. 4a, nos. 3 & 7; fig. 8a, nos. 1 & 5).

10. In two of these paired scenes a female figure raises a cup while the middle male figure drinks from a cup. (Cat. 2 and Cat. 4.)

11. Of the six female figures with raised cups, one is reclining (my catalogue: fig. 2a, no. 1) and the remaining 5 are standing (fig. 3a, no. 5; fig. 4a, no. 7; fig. 5a, no. 1; fig. 6a, no. 1; fig. 7b, no. 7 and fig. 8a, no. 5).

12. Female figures with a cup are found in the following positions around the sigma couch or in relation to it.:

- (i) Reclining: *in cornu dextro*: 1 female figure (my catalogue: figs. 2a-2c, no. 1);
- (ii) Standing: adjacent to *in cornu dextro*: 1 female figure (my catalogue: figs. 6a-6c, no. 1).
- (iii) Standing: adjacent to *in cornu sinistro* 4 female figures (my catalogue: figs. 3a-3b, 3e, no. 5; figs. 4a-4c, 4f, no. 7; figs. 7b, 7g, no. 7; figs. 8a, 8c-8e, no. 5).

Therefore in four of the eight banquet scenes female figures with a cup stand *in cornu sinistro*.

13. Male figures with a cup are found in the following reclining positions around the sigma couch:

- (i) centre seat: 2 figures (my catalogue: fig. 2a, no. 4; fig. 4a, no. 3);
- (ii) *in cornu dextro*: 3 figures (my catalogue: figs. 3a-3d, no. 1; figs. 4a-4, no. 1; figs. 8a-8b, no. 1);
- (iii) *in cornu sinistro* 1 figure (my catalogue: figs. 5a-5b, no. 5);
- (iv) in the right portion of the sigma couch: 1 set of 2 figures (my catalogue: figs. 7b, 7d, 7f, nos. 2 and 3).

Therefore male figures with a cup sit either at the centre of the sigma couch or to the right of the centre position. Of the eight banquet scenes, this pattern is broken only once (my catalogue: figs. 5a-5b, no. 5).

14. One figure of indefinite sex who holds a cup is found in the centre seat of the sigma-couch (my catalogue: figs. 7b, 7d, 7e, no. 4).

15. Of the two children with a cup, both are standing (figs 1a-1b, no. 6; fig. 5a, no. 1).

16. Of those female figures with a cup who are standing and whose feet we can see (figs. 5a, 5c, no. 1; fig. 7b, no. 7; and fig. 8a, no. 5), only one shows movement in the legs: 5a, 5c, no. 1. From the placement of her one foot in front of the other, the figure appears to be walking. Only the standing male figure in fig. 7b & 7c shows exaggerated movement in the legs.

17. There is the greatest amount of arm movement among the figures in Cat. fig. 7.

Findings - cont'd

18. Among the three categories of movement, Cat. figs. 4 and 5 show the greatest movement among the figures

19. Where cathedrae are shown, female figures are sitting in them.

20. With regard to the distribution of the cups, Cat. 7 is atypical. One female figure holds a cup; and not one but three of the male figures and one sex indefinite figure also raise a cup in their hands.

21. The cups depicted in Cat. 8 are unique. Rather than a cylinder shape, they are small, flat shallow dishes.

22. The cups in Cat.7 are small and appear to be made of glass.

22. The number of human figures in the banquet scenes varies from four to seven.

23. Children are depicted in four of the eight banquet scenes.

Table 3.3iii, Group 1 Comparanda: Other (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, "Marriage of Cana" (Overview =1 scene)

Scene/Iconography	Scene
inscription(s) in scene	0
klinè meal	0
sigma meal	1 ²⁴⁹
other meal configuration	0
with cathedra(e)	0
all female figures	0
scenes with female figures veiled	1
all male figures	0
scenes with male figures veiled	0
mixed scenes of male figures & female figures	1
sex of figure indefinite	1
scenes with children	0
scenes with children with a cup	0
with female figures reclining	1
with male figures reclining	1
with female figures sitting	0
with male figures sitting	0
with female figures standing	0
with male figures standing	1
female figures with raised cups	0
female figures drinking from a cup	0
male figures with raised cups	0
male figures drinking from a cup	0
'tripod' tables: food/cups	1
platter(s) on table(s)	1

²⁴⁹As stated in note 210 of this chapter, there are 5 scenes identified as "Cana" in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. A near complete scene exists in chamber 62, the subject of the above comparanda.

Table 3.3III: Group 1 Comparanda	
Scene (iconography)	(cont'd)
	Score
platters on the ground	0
type of food served: a) meat	+
b) fish	1?
c) bread	+
d) fruit	0
e) wine	1
individual portions	0
large wine containers	1
indicators of singing or music	0
mensa in chamber	0
human figures	1 ²⁵⁰
mythical figures	0
animal figures	0
mixed human & mythical figures	0

Findings

1. The position of the two standing figures in this scene are reminiscent of the standing figures in Cat. Fig. 7b (chamber 78 in SS. Marcellino e Pietro). In the "Marriage of Cana" scene, a male figure with a wand stands in the spot where female figures with a cup stand in four of the eight banquet scenes (my catalogue, figs. 3a-3b, 3e, no. 5; figs. 4a-4c, 4f, no. 7; figs. 7b, 7g, no. 7; figs. 8a, 8c-8e, no. 5).

2. An argument could be made that all figures present in this scene are 'real' - or that all are allegorical. What is important for my purposes is that the two critical figures of Jesus and Mary are presented no differently from the ordinary human guests. Only Jesus' action and position distinguish him from the rest of the figures.

3. There is no inscription in this scene.

²⁵⁰In the "Marriage of Cana" sigma meal scene Jesus and Mary, so far as it is possible to discern from the remaining visual evidence, are represented as 'real' people and not as divine beings (ex. neither has a nimbus). Jesus does however hold a 'wand' over the six large containers used for wine. For commentary and iconography relating to Jesus as "The Magician" in early Christian art, see Thomas F. Matthews, The Clash of Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) Chapter Three, 54-91.

Table 3.3iv, Group 1-2 Comparanda: Other (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, "Marriage of Cana" (Detailed Data = 1 scene)

Table 3.3iv, Group 1-2 Comparanda Scene Iconography	Number no. (62)
inscription(s) in scene	0
klinè meal	0
sigma meal	1
other meal configuration	0
total number of figures in scene	9?
total number of female figures	2
total number of female figures with veils	1 ²⁵¹
total number of male figures	7
total number of male figures with veils	0 - +
total number of children	0
total number of figures: sex = indefinite	1-2
total number of children in scene	0
a) with a cup	--
b) reclining	--
c) sitting	--
d) standing	--
no. of female figures reclining in scene	2
a) with a cup	+
b) at centre of sigma	0
c) <i>in dextro</i>	1?
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	1?
number of male figures reclining in scene	3-5
a) with a cup	+
b) at centre of sigma	1

²⁵¹ Presumably the bride is veiled.

Table 3.3iv. Group 1-2. Campanian	
Scene iconography	chamber no. (62)
c) <i>in dextro</i>	1? ²⁵²
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	1? ²⁵³
number of female figures sitting in scene	0
a) in a cathedra	--
b) with a cup	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0
a) in a cathedra	--
b) with a cup	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--
number of female figures standing in scene	0
a) with a cup	--
b) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--
number of male figures standing in scene	2
a) with a cup	0
b) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	1
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	1
total number of female figures in scene with a cup	+
total number of female figures drinking from a cup	0
total number of male figures in scene with a cup	+
total number of male figures drinking from a cup	0
number of figures with head movement	+
number of figures with arm movement	5
number of figures with foot movement	1

²⁵²From the figure's roundness, there seems to be a female reclining *in cornu dextro*.

²⁵³The Bride?

Table 3.3iv. Group 1-2. Comparanda:	
Scene/Iconography	chamber no. (62)
number of 'tripod' tables	1
number of platters: ground/table	/1 ²⁵⁴
type of food served: a) meat	+
b) fish	1?
c) bread	+
d) fruit	0
e) wine	1
number of individual portions served	0
number of large wine containers	6
indicators of singing or music	0
male in chamber	0
human figures	9
mythical figures	- 0
animal figures	0
mixed human & mythical figures	0

Findings:

1. The total number of figures in the scene (9) exceeds the largest number in the other SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes in Table 3.3ii.
2. There is a high number of large wine containers in this scene.
3. The male figure with the 'wand' stands in front of *in cornu sinistro*. While his body has a slight lean toward the centre of the scene, his feet are firmly planted.
4. The standing male figure with a platter in front of *in cornu dextro* has his back heel raised off the ground. His front foot however is flat. His torso is relatively straight and his legs do not show any exaggerated movement.

²⁵⁴A second platter is being brought in by a male figure from the right of the scene.

Table 3.3v, Group 2 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene Fragments:²⁵⁵ SS. Marcellino e Pietro (Overview = 9 scenes)

Table 3.3v, Group 2 Comparanda	
Scene Iconography	Number
Inscription(s) in scene	3
klinè meal scene	1
sigma meal scene	4
other meal configuration	3
scenes with cathedra(e)	1
scenes with all female figures	0 - 2
scenes with female figures veiled	1
scenes with all male figures	4-5
scenes with male figures veiled	0
scenes with mixed female figures & male figures	4-5
scenes with sex of figure indefinite	5
scenes with children	1
scenes with children with a cup	1 ²⁵⁶
with female figures reclining	1-3
with male figures reclining	4-5
with female figures sitting	1?
with male figures sitting	1-2
with female figures standing	2-3
with male figures standing	2-3
female figures with raised cups	1?

²⁵⁵The number of fragments in museums in Rome that could possibly meet this criteria is unknown. I restrict myself here to selected fragments which illuminate the central relationship under examination in this study: female figures and cups from Late Antiquity. The term 'fragment' is also used here to refer to a scene which may be a 'visual quotation' (or single aspect) of a klinè or sigma meal, e.g. the small table typically found in front of sigma and klinè couches. The reader should be aware that the reference to 'number of scenes' refers to those images which have been published. While I made every attempt to be as exhaustive as possible, I cannot presume to have seen every extant image in every catacomb or museum I visited.

²⁵⁶ A male youth wearing a short tunic according to Bosio.

Table 3.3iv. Group 2. Comparison	
Scene Iconography	MEP/0
female figures drinking from a cup	0
male figures with raised cups	2-3
male figures drinking from a cup	1
'tripod' tables: food/cups	4
platter(s) on table(s)	2
platters on the ground	0
type of food served: a) meat	1?
b) fish	0 - +
c) bread	2?
d) fruit	2?
e) wine	3-4
individual portions	0 - +
large wine containers	1-3
indicators of singing or music	2?
mensa in chamber	2
human figures	9
mythical figures	0 - +
animal figures	0 - +
mixed human & mythical figures	0

Findings:

1. Of the nine scenes three have inscriptions written on them.
2. Of the nine scenes one is a klinè meal.
3. Of the nine scenes, three are neither klinè nor sigma meal scenes.
4. One of the scenes shows a male figure in a cathedra. (Chamber 59)
5. Zero scenes show male figures veiled.
6. One scene shows a male figure with a cup.
7. Female figures recline in one to three of the scenes.

Findings - cont'd

8. Male figures recline in four to five of the scenes.

9. One scene shows a what is probably a female figure or a youth with a raised cup. (Chamber 59)

10. Three to four scenes show male figures with raised cups. Of these scenes, one shows a male figure drinking from a cup. (Chamber 13)

**Table 3.3vi, Group 2-1 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene
Fragments: SS. Marcellino e Pietro (Detailed Data = 9 scenes)**

Table 3.3vi, Group 2-1 Comparanda: SS. Marcellino e Pietro (chamber no. 13)									
Scene iconography	(1)	(2)	(3) ²⁵⁷	(4) ²⁵⁸	(5) ²⁵⁹	(6)	(7) ²⁶⁰	(8) ²⁶¹	(9) ²⁶²
inscription(s) in scene	1	--	0	1 ²⁶²	0	+	0	+	1
kinè meal	1	?	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sigma meal	0	?	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
other meal configuration	0	?	0	0	1	0	1	1	0
total number of figures in scene	1-2?	2	6	6	1	4	5	2	1
total number of female figures	0	0	+	3	0	2?	1	1-2?	1?
total number of female figures with veils	--	--	+	1 ²⁶³	0	0	0	0	0
total number of male figures	1-2?	2	1-2?	1	1?	2	4	1-2?	1?

²⁵⁷ Information is based on a line drawing (dated 1976) forming part of corpus of drawings for every excavated chamber in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Deckers, et al., 1987. Fig.: RC Lau 13.

²⁵⁸ Information on the scene is based on 1) a line drawing (dated 1976, forming part of corpus of drawings for every excavated chamber in the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Deckers, et al., 1987, Fig.: RC Lau 14), a drawing made by Bosio, and archaeological photographs of the remaining fragments, Deckers, et al., 1987, pl. 8.

²⁵⁹ Fresco is on one of the side walls. There is a mensa in this chamber. See Cat. fig. 2 for full description of the chamber.

²⁶⁰ My catalogue, Fig. 9.

²⁶¹ Located in the lunette of the arcosolium.

²⁶² There is a small fragment with Latin letters inscribed on the wall between the two fresco fragments above the door. There is also graffiti on the frescoes written by many different hands.

²⁶³ The adult female who stands with the girl wears a diadem on her head. A cloth hangs loosely around her neck over her wide-sleeved floor-length dalmatic with *clavi*. The girl, who also wears a long dalmatic with *clavi*, holds onto a similar cloth (partially draped around her neck) with her right hand. It is unclear whether this cloth is a veil that has been removed from the head and placed around the neck or a towel worn to protect the clothing of the person(s) responsible for getting the wine. In a Roman banquet scene from my comparanda, a male figure dressed as a server, who holds a jug and a ladle, is also shown with a cloth around his neck. See Table 3.3xy, Group 5-1 Comparanda: P.S.C (Premiers siècles chrétiens: documentation photographique, 1995) 36, no. 15.

Table 2.3M. Group 2-1 Comparanda SS. Marcelline o. Ploro (chamber no.)									
Scene Iconography	(10)	(10)	(13)	(14)	(1)	(15)	(2)	(5)	(7)
total number of male figures with veils	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
no. of figures: sex = indefinite	0	0	4-5**	0	1	2	0	2	1
total number of children in scene	0	0	+	2 ²⁶⁴	0	0	0	0	0
a) with a cup	0	0	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
b) reclining	--	--	--	0	--	--	--	--	--
c) sitting	--	--	--	0	--	--	--	--	--
d) standing	--	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
no. of female figures reclining in scene	0	0	+	1	0	2?	0	0	1?
a) with a cup	--	--	?	1 ²⁶⁵	--	+	--	--	+
b) at centre of sigma	--	--	--	0	--	0	--	--	1?
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--	--	1	--	0	--	--	0
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	--	--	0	--	2	--	--	1?
no. of male figures reclining in scene	1-2	0	4-5	1	0	2	0	0	1?
a) with a cup	--	--	2? ²⁶⁶	0	--	+	--	--	+
b) at centre of sigma	--	--	1	1	--	+	--	--	1?
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--	+	0	--	1	--	--	0

²⁶⁴ One of these numbers refers to a small child standing with an adult female figure to the left of the banquet scene. Both images (the young girl with the adult female and the banquet scene) appear over the door of the chamber entrance. It is unclear because of the damage which separates the fragments, if the woman & child were meant to be a part of the larger banquet scene or form their own separate scene. I have analyzed the fragments as though they are part of a single scene. The second figure refers to a male youth who enters the scene carrying a cup from the viewer's left.

²⁶⁵ She is just about to receive the cup from the youthful figure who brings it.

²⁶⁶ One to two figures have cups. The centre figure is male and probably the *in sinistro* figure is too.

Table 3.3vi. Group 25F Comparanda SS: Marcellino e Pietro (chamber no.)									
Scene/Iconography	(10) ²⁶⁷	(10)	(13)	(14)	(46)	(46)	(52)	(59)	(73)
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	- -	1?	0	--	1	--	--	1?
no. of female figures sitting in scene	0	0	+	0	0	+	0	1?	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--	--	--	+	--	1?	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--	--	--	+	--	¹²⁶⁸	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	+	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	0	--	--	--
no. of male figures sitting in scene	0	0	+	0	¹²⁶⁹	+	0	1?	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--	--	0	+	--	¹²⁷⁰	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--	--	0	+	--	¹²⁷¹	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	+	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	0	--	--	--
no. of female figures standing in scene	0	0	+	2	0	+	¹²⁷²	1?	+
a) with a cup	--	--	--	+	--	+	--	1	--
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	+	--	+	--	--	--

²⁶⁷ According to Theodor Klauser, the tomb is known as "Quintia" . Die Cathedra im Totenkult (1927) pl.20,1.

²⁶⁸ The right arm is stretched out to receive a cup.

²⁶⁹ Based on how the figure's clothing is drawn (a short tunic with fibulae): the archaeological drawing for chamber 45 depicts a male figure sitting beside a small, high table.

²⁷⁰ The figure sits in a cathedra evidenced by a thick dark brown line which fades to a lighter brown beside his left upper arm. Directly behind him in the distance is a sigma cushion which, because of the way it is drawn, appears as though it were part of his chair.

²⁷¹ As per footnote 268 above.

²⁷² The female figure is standing(?) in the centre position behind a large table tipping the pot to show it is empty.

Table 3.3vt. Group 2-1 Comparanda SS. Marcellino e Pietro (chamber no.)									
Scene Iconography	(10)	(10)	(11)	(11)	(12)	(12)	(13)	(13)	(13)
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	1	--	+	--	--	--
no. of male figures standing in scene	0	2	+	0	0	+	4	1?	+
a) with a cup	--	1 ²⁷³	--	--	--	+	0 ²⁷⁴	1	--
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	+	--	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	+	--	--	--
no. of female figures in scene with a cup	0	0	+	+	0	+	0	1?	+
no. of female figures drinking from cup	--	--	0	0	--	+	--	0	0
no. of male figures in scene with a cup	1	+	1-2	0	0	+	0	1?	+
no. of male figures drinking from a cup	0	--	1	--	--	+	--	0	0
number of figures with head movement	1	2	2	2	1	4	4	1	0
number of figures with arm movement	1	2	2	6	1 ²⁷⁵	1	5	2	0
number of figures with foot movement	0	+	+	+	+	+	1	+	+
number of 'tripod' tables	0	0	2-3	1	1	1 ²⁷⁶	0	+	+
no. of platters: ground/table	0	0	/ 2-3	0/	/1	+	0	+	+
type of food served: a) meat	0	0	+	+	+	+	?	0	+

²⁷³ This male figure (on the viewer's left) holds a cup in his right hand and a towel is draped over his left arm. The second figure holds a small jug in his right hand.

²⁷⁴ One has a bowl, the other a platter.

²⁷⁵ The figure is gesturing towards the table/mensa and holds an object in his hand.

²⁷⁶ The Remains of one table is visible as a fragment in front of the figures.

Table 3.3v. Group 2-1. Comparanda SS. Marcellino e Pietro (chamber no.)									
Scene iconography	(10)	(13)	(14)	(48)	(59)	(73)	(45)	(52)	(73)
b) fish	0	0	+	+	+	+	?	0	+
c) bread	0	0	+	+	? ²⁷⁷	+	1?	0	+
d) fruit	0	0	+	+	?	+	1?	0	+
e) wine	1?	1	1	1	0	+	1	1	+
no. of individual portions served	0	--	+	0	--	+	0	+	+
number of large wine containers	0	1	+	1?	0	+	1?	+	+
indicators of singing or music	0	0	1 ? ²⁷⁸	+ ²⁷⁹	0	1? ²⁸⁰	0	0	0
mensa in chamber	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
human figures	1	2	3	6?	1	4	5	2	1
mythical figures	0	0	0?	0?	0	0	0	0	0
animal figures	+	--	+	0	+	+	0	+	+
mixed human & mythical figures	0	--	+	0	0	0	0	0	0

For chambers (10), (13), (14), (48), (59) and (73), see Appendix C. For chambers 45 and 52, see my catalogue, Figs. 2 and 3.

Findings

1. Three of the nine fragmentary scenes have inscriptions:

- Chamber (10): above the reclining klinè figure are the letters, **KEN** ?
- Chamber (73): to the right of the figure are the letters, **NO(B)** ?

²⁷⁷ From the small, lumpy shapes on the platter, there is probably a mixture of foods on the tripod table.

²⁷⁸ The figure in the centre sigma position is probably drinking. The figure *in sinistra* with his right arm straight up in the air (holding a cup?) and looking at the centre figure is probably singing or toasting the centre figure.

²⁷⁹ There is no indication of singing on Bosio's drawing of this sigma meal.

²⁸⁰ The lone male figure to the viewer's left is leaning over to the left unlike the other figures visible in the fragment. Perhaps an indication of singing. Unfortunately we cannot see either of his arms.

Findings - cont'd

c) Chamber (14): above the entrance door, OVI ? There is also a two line inscription written right on one of fragments of the fresco, the letters of which are impossible to read except for the first letter of the second line: C

2. There are seven scenes in which the sex of some or all of the figures is indefinite including Chamber 73, in which the figure probably sits in the centre sigma-meal position.
3. Of the nine scenes, there are four to five with male figures reclining. Of these figures, one is shown in a klinè position (Chamber 10). The remainder recline behind a sigma couch.
4. Of the nine scenes male figures are depicted as sitting in two of them. One of these two scenes is in a chamber with a mensa. (Chamber 45, my catalogue, fig. 2.)
5. Female figures are not sitting in any of the nine fragment scenes.
6. Two to three scenes show female figures standing.
7. In the same chamber in which a figure of indeterminate sex lies in a klinè position on the back or rear wall, two male figures (both standing), one with a cup and the other with a small jug, flank the entrance to the crypt. (Chamber 10)
8. Of the nine scenes, there are two to three which show a male figure with a cup. (Chamber 10, one scene; Chamber 13; and possibly Chamber 59.)
9. Of the two to three scenes which show male figures with cups, the figures hold their cups in their right hand.
10. One male figure drinks from a cup. (Chamber 13)
11. In a single scene (chamber 13), two male figures raise their cups in their right hands. One reclines in the centre sigma couch position and the other figure reclines *in sinistro*.
12. Of the nine scenes, one may show a female figure with a cup (Chamber 59). The figure is bringing the cup to the seated figure. This is a very different action from the adult female figures in Cat. figs. 1-8.
13. The figure in Chamber 59 holds the cup in her right hand. The seated figure reaches for the cup with his right hand.
14. In all nine scenes there is high arm and head movement among those figures that have not been damaged.
15. There are three scenes with 'tripod' tables and platters resting on the tables.
16. It is impossible to determine what type of food is on the platters.
17. Wine is served in five to six of the scenes.
18. Of the nine scenes, all of the figures depicted are shown in a realistic manner or style.

Findings - cont'd

19. Although it is not possible to tell in two of the nine scenes, it is highly unlikely that there is a mix of human and mythical figures in the remaining scenes.

20. There are two scenes with possible indicators of song or music. (Chambers 13 and 48.)

Table 3.3vii, Group 3 Comparanda: (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes: Other Roman Catacombs (Overview = 11 scenes)

Scene Iconography	Priscilla/1	Callixtus/0	Callixtus/0	Mibi/2/Ross/1	Area
inscription(s) in scene ²⁸¹	0	0	0	2	0
klinè meal	0	0	0	0	0
sigma meal	1	4	3	2	1
other meal configuration	0	0	0	0	0
with cathedra(e)	0	0	0	0	0
all female figures	0?	0	1, +	0	0
scenes with female figures veiled	1?	0 - +	0,+,?	1	1
all male figures	0	0	+	1	0
scenes with male figures veiled	0	0 - +	0 - +	1	0
mixed scenes of male figures & female figures	1?	2	1	1	1
sex of figure indefinite	1	4	2	1	1
scenes with children	0	0	1	0	+
scenes with children with a cup	--	--	+	--	+
with female figures reclining	1	2	1	1	+
with male figures reclining	1	2	1	2	+
with female figures sitting	0	0	0	1	0
with male figures sitting	1?	0	0	0	0
with female figures standing	0	0	0	0	1 ²⁸²
with male figures standing	0	1?	0	1	1
female figures with raised cups	0-1?	+	+	+	+ ²⁸³
female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0-+	0	+
male figures with raised cups	0	0	+	2	+
male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0-+	0	+

²⁸¹The '0's in this row for the catacombs of Priscilla, Callixtus and Co. Maius are all qualified in some way. See the following detailed tables for a more explicit explanation.

²⁸²This figure is an 'orante'.

²⁸³Two large containers for wine are dominant in both the upper and lower registers of the fresco.

Table 3.3v1. Group 3 Comparanda - cont'd					
Scene / Iconography	Priscilla	Cal	Co. Maus	Vibia	Rossa
'tripod' tables: food/cups	0	0 ²⁸⁴	0 ²⁸⁵	0	+
platter(s) on table(s)	0	0 ²⁸⁶	0	0	+
platters on the ground	1	3	2	2	+
type of food served: a) meat	+	0 - +	0 - +	+	+
b) fish	+	2	1	1?	+
c) bread	1?	3	0 - +	2	1?
d) fruit	+	0 - +	0 - +	+	+
e) wine	1	1?	0 - +	2	1
individual portions	0	0+	0	0	+
large wine containers	0 ²⁸⁷	+	1	1	1
indicators of singing or music	0	1?	+	1	0
mensa in chamber	0	0	?	?	0
human figures	1	3	1	1	1
mythical figures	1?	+	+	1	0
animal figures	0	0	1	1	+
mixed human & mythical figures	+	0+	+	1	0

Priscilla = Catacomb of Priscilla (Cat. 10).

Cal = Catacomb of Callixtus (includes Cat. 12 and Cat. 16).

Co. Maus = Cometerium Maus (includes Cat. 13).

Vibia = Hypogeum of Vibia (includes Cat. 15).

Rossa = Anonymous Hypogeum on the Via Latina, Rome (Cat.17).

²⁸⁴Qualified number due to fresco damage.

²⁸⁵Two out of 3 frescoes show no tables in front of sigma couch. The food lies on platters on the ground (rep. 3) or on the cushion (my catalogue, fig. 13).

²⁸⁶Qualified number due to fresco damage.

²⁸⁷Qualified number due to fresco damage.

Findings

1. Of the five catacombs named above, only the Hypogeum of Vibia has extant inscriptions written on the frescoes.
2. All eleven banquet scenes are sigma meals.
3. At least six of the eleven banquet scenes show mixed male & female figures.
4. Female figures recline in five scenes.
5. There are two scenes which depict male figures holding a cup. Both scenes are in the Hypogeum of Vibia.
6. There are no scenes with male or female figures drinking from cups. Either the figures do not carry out this action in the scene or it is impossible to determine if there is such a gesture from the remaining evidence.
7. In eight of the eleven scenes, platters are depicted on the ground in front of the sigma-couch. Of the three remaining scenes, there is damage to the fresco in front of the sigma-couch making a determination impossible.
8. Both male and female figures recline on either side of the centre sigma-couch position. There is no seating preference shown for either male or female figures with regard to the *in dextro* or *in sinistro* portions of the couch.
9. One banquet scene in Co. Mauis, Table 3.3x: (A.N.^b) may consist of all female figures.
10. One banquet scene in the Hypogeum of Vibia shows only male figures reclining: Table 3.3xi: 'Saz'.
11. A figure of uncertain sex, possibly male, sits or crouches at the end of a sigma-couch *in cornu dextro* of one of the banquet scenes: Table 3.3viii: Cat. 10, no.1. This is a highly atypical pose among the banquet scenes in the catacombs for a male figure. While there are two other male figures in scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro who sit, the figures do not crouch on the couch the way this figure (no. 1) does.
12. A woman stands in only one scene from this group: Table 3.3xii: Cat.17.
13. Of the eleven banquet scenes there is only one scene in which a female figure is probably holding a cup: Table 3.3viii: Cat.10, no. 5. As for the rest of the scenes, either no female figures hold cups or it is impossible to determine from the remaining visual evidence.
14. If the female figure in Cat. 10 is holding a cup. She does so with her right hand.
14. At least three of the banquet scenes show large wine containers. In one scene, Table 3.3xii, Cat.17, these containers are drawn in the upper corners of the fresco and not as part of the banquet scene proper.
15. Two scenes show some type of animal figure: 1) Table 3.3x: 'A.N.^a' and 2) Table 3.3xi: 'Saz'.

Findings - cont'd

16. One banquet scene shows a mixture of human & mythical figures: Table 3.3xi: Cat. figs. 15a-15b. In the remaining scenes, it is either too difficult to determine if this is the case (four scenes) or there is no such mixture of figures (five scenes). In the remaining scene, no visual reference is available.

17. Of these eleven banquet scenes, female figures occupy the centre sigma-couch position in two scenes: 1) Table 3.3viii: Cat. 10, no. 4 and
2) Table 3.3xi: Cat. 15a, no. 5.

18. Of these eleven banquet scenes, male figures occupy the centre sigma couch position in three scenes: 1&2) Table 3.3ix: Cat.12, no. 4 and Cat. 16c, no. 4;
3) Table 3.3xi: 'Saz' --all reclining figures are male.

A fourth scene shows what is probably a male figure reclining in the centre position: Table 3.3x: Cat. 13, no. 4. Of the remaining scenes it is not possible to determine the sex of the figure in the centre sigma-couch position.

19. Three of the eleven banquet scenes exceed the typical number of seven figures in a banquet scene: 1) Table 3.3x: 'A.N.a', nine figures;
2) Table 3.3xi: Cat. 15a: eleven figures;
3) Table 3.3xii: Cat. 17: thirteen figures.

20. Fish is served in three to four of the eleven scenes.

21. Bread is served in five to seven of the eleven scenes.

22. Wine is served in four to five of the eleven scenes.

23. No individual portions are served.

24. There is an indication of singing or music in one to two scenes from different catacombs: Callixtus and Vibia.

Table 3.3viii, Group 3-1 Comparanda: Priscilla²⁸⁸
(Detailed Data = 1 scene)

Table 3.3viii, Group 3-1 Comparanda: Priscilla	Cat. no.
Scene/Iconography	10
inscription(s) in scene	0
klinè meal	0
sigma meal	1
other meal configuration	0
total number of figures in scene	7 ²⁸⁹
total number of female figures	4
total number of female figures with veils	1 ²⁹⁰
total number of male figures	0 ²⁹¹
total number of male figures with veils	0
total number of figures: sex = indefinite	3 ²⁹²
total number of children in scene	0
a) with a cup	--
b) reclining	--
c) sitting	--
d) standing	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	4
a) with a cup	1 ²⁹³
b) at centre of sigma	1
c) <i>in dextro</i>	1

²⁸⁸One reported to date.

²⁸⁹ From analyzing no.1 in Cat. fig.10 through the various representations of the fresco, it is my opinion that this figure has become distorted over the last 110 years. A scientific analysis of this fresco *in situ* is in order to help clarify some of its problems.

²⁹⁰No. 5 in Fig. 10 (my catalogue). See my discussion on women's veils in Chapter Five.

²⁹¹If there are males present in this banquet scene, they are among the indefinite figures.

²⁹²Nos. 1, 3, & 7.

²⁹³It's probable that no. 5 is holding a cup in her right hand.

Table 3.3viii, Group 3.1 Campaniform		En. no.
Scene iconography		10
d) <i>in sinistro</i>		2
number of male figures reclining in scene		0 ²⁹⁴
a) with a cup		--
b) at centre of sigma		--
c) <i>in dextro</i>		--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>		--
number of female figures sitting in scene		0 ²⁹⁵
a) in a cathedra		--
b) with a cup		--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>		--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>		--
number of male figures sitting in scene		0 ²⁹⁶
a) in a cathedra		--
b) with a cup		--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>		--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>		--
number of female figures standing in scene		0
a) with a cup		--
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>		--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>		--
number of male figures standing in scene		0
a) with a cup		--
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>		--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>		--
total number of female figures in scene with a cup		1 ²⁹⁷

²⁹⁴If there are males reclining in this banquet scene, they are among the indefinite figures (nos. 3,4 & 7).

²⁹⁵No.1 in the banquet scene is the only figure who sits, the remaining 6 are reclining.

²⁹⁶ As per footnote 118 above.

²⁹⁷ No. 5. There is definitely a cup on the ground between nos. 2 and 3.

Table 3.3viii. Group 3-4. Comparanda		Gr. no.
Scene/Iconography		10
total number of female figures drinking from a cup		0
total number of male figures in scene with a cup		0
total number of male figures drinking from a cup		0
number of figures with head movement		7
number of figures with arm movement		6
number of figures with foot movement		1
number of 'tripod' tables		0
number of platters: ground/table		2 ²⁹⁸ /
type of food served: a) meat		+
b) fish		+ ²⁹⁹
c) bread		4-6 ³⁰⁰
d) fruit		+
e) wine		1
number of individual portions served		0
number of large wine containers		0
indicators of singing or music		0
mensa in chamber		0 ³⁰¹
human figures		7
mythical figures		0
animal figures		0
mixed human & mythical figures		+

²⁹⁸ In some of the older documentation (ex. my catalogue, figs. 10g-10h) the viewer can just barely make out that the seated figure (no. 1) is extending a platter of food to the figure beside him/her (no. 2).

²⁹⁹ Possibly two on the centre platter but the integrity of the white highlights must be questioned given the history of this fresco. See my Catalogue, Fig. 10.

³⁰⁰ Four baskets of bread to the right of *in cornu dextro*, two baskets to the left of *in cornu sinistro*.

³⁰¹ This banquet scene is located on a structural arch in a wide gallery. It is not in an actual family crypt.

Findings:

1. Photographic documentation of this fresco shows that it has been restored 3 times that we know of during the last 150 years. This means that there are at least 4 different representations of "Fractio Panis" including the present one *in situ*. The previous representations are available only through photographic and artistic documentation. The following findings are based on my comparison of my own viewing of the fresco in 1996 and the different photographic representations of this wall painting over time.
2. In this banquet scene the platters are laid on the ground and not on a small table.
3. The majority of figures are female (four of seven) all of whom are reclining.
4. The figure who occupies the centre position of the sigma-couch is female.
5. The only figure who is probably holding a cup is female.
6. The figure *in cornu dextro* (no. 1) has his/her left leg tucked under the right leg and is sitting on or crouching at the end of the sigma-cushion. This pose is atypical for banquet scenes in the Roman catacombs.
7. There are four baskets to the viewer's left of the sigma-couch and at least two baskets to the viewer's right. It is not clear what their contents are.
8. It is impossible to determine what food is served at this banquet. The cup in front of nos. 2 and 3 suggests wine is one of the items.

Table 3.3ix, Group 3-2 Comparanda: Callixtus
(Detailed Data = 4 scenes)

Table 3.3ix, Group 3-2 Comparanda				
Scene Iconography	Cal. 12	Cal. 10c	Cal. 12/13	Cal. 15
inscription(s) in scene	0 ³⁰²	0 ³⁰³	0	0
klinè meal	0	0	0	0
sigma meal	1	1	1	1
other meal configuration	0	0	0	0
total number of figures in scene	7	7	7	8?
total number of female figures	1-2 ³⁰⁴	1?	+	+
total number of female figures veiled	0	0	+	+
total number of male figures	5	3	+	+
total number of male figures veiled	0	0	0	0
total no. of figures: sex = indefinite	1	3-4	7**	8
total number of children in scene	0	0	+	0
a) with a cup	--	--	--	--
b) reclining	--	--	--	--
c) sitting	--	--	--	--
d) standing	--	--	--	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	1-2	1? ³⁰⁵	+/**	+/**
a) with a cup	+	+	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	0	0	--	--

³⁰²According to Carletti, an inscription was found in this chamber. There is nothing written on the remaining fresco. See my catalogue: Fig. 12.

³⁰³The photo from the Archivio Fotografico, Rome (Cal E 79) shows a fragment of a wall plaque with the letters "EVH" on it. The plaque sits directly above the fresco. However it is not clear whether this fragment belongs to the chamber or has been simply placed above the scene by anyone with access to the room.

³⁰⁴No. 6. is touching the arm of no. 5 beside her.

³⁰⁵No. 1 who touches the shoulder of no. 2 is probably female.

Table 3.31x, Group 3-2, Comparanda				
Scene Iconography	En. 12	En. 16a	En. 12	En. 15a
c) <i>in dextro</i>	1?	1?	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	1	+	--	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	5	3	+/**	+/**
a) with a cup	+	+	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	1	1	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	2?	1	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	2	1	--	--
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--	--
c) adjacent to in <i>cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to in <i>cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--	--
c) adjacent to in <i>cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to in <i>cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--
no. of female figures standing in scene	0 ³⁰⁶	0	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--	--	--
b) in front of in <i>cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--
c) in front of in <i>cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--

³⁰⁶It is possible that a standing figure was painted left of no. 1 which could account for the heads of nos. 1, 2, 3 & 4 turned in the direction of *in cornu dextro* as well as the arm gestures of nos. 5 & 7.

Table 3.3ix, Group 3-2, Comparand				
Scene Iconography	Cr. 12	Cr. 13a	Cr. 12/13a	Cr. 12/13b
no. of male figures standing in scene	0 ³⁰⁷	0	0	1? ³⁰⁸
a) with a cup	--	--	--	+
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	1?
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	0
total no. of female figures in scene with a cup	+	+	+	+
total number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	+	+
total no. of male figures in scene with a cup	+	+	+	+
total number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	+	+
no. of figures with head movement	3-4	2?	+	2
no. of figures with arm movement	3	7	2?	+
no. of figures with foot movement	+	+	+	+
number of 'tripod' tables ³⁰⁹	0	0	+	0
number of platters: ground/table	1-2/	2/	+	1?/

³⁰⁷As per the above footnote.

³⁰⁸To the viewer's left of no. 1, there seems to be a very faint standing figure.

³⁰⁹One of the 4 banquet frescoes (fig. 12, my catalogue) is badly damaged in the spot where a tripod table would normally be painted. From the remaining evidence however, which shows one full plate of fish on the ground in front of the banqueters and a second plate on the ground (now partially damaged), I highly doubt if a tripod table was drawn in the middle of them.

Table 3.31x Group 3.2 Comparand				
Scene/Iconography	Cal. 12	Cal. 16	Cal. (A2)	Cal. (A5)
type of food served: a) meat	+	0	+	+ ³¹⁰
b) fish	1	2	+	+
c) bread	10+	8 ³¹¹	+	7 ³¹²
d) fruit	+	0	+	+
e) wine	+	0	1?	+ ³¹³
no. of individual portions served	0	0	+	+
number of large wine containers	+ ³¹⁴	0 ³¹⁵	+	+ ³¹⁶
indicators of singing or music	0	0	1?	0
mensa in chamber	0	0	0	0
human figures	7	7	7?	8?
mythical figures	0	0	+	0
animal figures	0	0	+	0
mixed human & mythical figures	0	0	+	0

*Cal. (A2) and Cal. (A5)= "Crypt of the Sacraments", Chambers A2 and A5. Catacomb of Callixtus. See Appendix C.

³¹⁰There are some angular shaped lumps on the platter. The middle shape has more order to it and appears 'man-made', possibly a cup.

³¹¹Eight baskets of lumpy objects, probably bread, are placed in front of the two platters.

³¹²Seven containers of lumpy objects, probably bread, are placed in front of the large platter.

³¹³ See note 310 above.

³¹⁴The fresco is damaged where wine containers would normally be found.

³¹⁵While there are no wine containers in sight, there are eight baskets full of lumpy objects (bread? rocks?) in front of the banqueters.

³¹⁶While there are no wine containers in sight, there are seven containers (baskets?) full of lumpy objects (bread? rocks?) in front of the banqueters. There is also a very faint cup placed at the viewer's left end of the platter.

Findings

1. There is at least one banquet scene (Cat.12) and probably a second (Cat. 16c) that have female figures reclining in them. This is a new and important finding as most past descriptions of these banquet scenes have described all the figures as male. For further discussion, see Chapter Five: Interpretation of the Visual Data and Inscriptions.
2. There are more figures identifiable as males than female in these scenes. There is also a large number of figures whose sex is not possible to determine.
3. In two scenes, male figures occupy the centre position of the sigma-couch. In the remaining two scenes, it is not possible to determine the sex of the figure.
4. Female figures recline on either side of the centre sigma-couch position in two scenes.
5. There is a mid to high number of figures with head and arm movement in at least two of the four banquet scenes in Callixtus.
6. There is one scene with a possible indicator of a song or music. (Callixtus 'A2'.)
7. Two of the four Callixtus scenes show fish is served at the meal. (Cat. 12 and Cat. 16c.)
8. It is impossible to determine if fish or meat is served at the meal in the remaining two scenes.
9. A food item that is probably bread is depicted in quantities well beyond individual portions in three of the four scenes.
10. Due to damage to the fresco, it is impossible to determine if wine is served in two scenes (Cat. 12 and Callixtus 'A5'); it is definitely not served in a third scene (Cat. 16c); and is a possibility in a fourth scene (Callixtus 'A2').

Table 3.3x, Group 3-3 Comparanda: Coemeterium Maius
(Detailed Data = 3 scenes)

Table 3.3x, Group 3-3 Comparanda			
Scene iconography	Cen. 19	AME	AME
inscription(s) in scenes	0	0 ³¹⁷	?
klinè meal	0	0	?
sigma meal	1	1	?
other meal configuration	0	0	?
total number of figures in scene	7	9	5 ³¹⁸
total number of female figures	3	+	5?
total number of female figures with veils	0	+	? ³¹⁹
total number of male figures	3	+	--
total number of male figures with veils	0	0 - +	--
total number of figures: sex = indefinite	1	9	--
total number of children in scene	0	1 - 2 ? ³²⁰	--
a) with a cup	--	+	--
b) reclining	--	0	--
c) sitting	--	0	--
d) standing	--	1-2	--

³¹⁷If there once was an inscription written on the fresco, it is no longer discernible.

³¹⁸Nestori (1975) identifies the banquet scene as: "Le vergini prudenti a banchetto." Cubicolo No. 19, 35. According to Matt. 25: 1-13, there were 5 wise virgins. I have not seen this fresco; descriptions of it are that it is damaged and or badly faded. Without a visual reference to the picture, this number cannot be confirmed.

³¹⁹An interesting category given the reported subject matter.

³²⁰There is a small figure standing *in cornu sinistro*. Whether this is a child or a figure reduced in scale to show a lower status than the other figures is not clear. There is also a second small figure behind the sigma-couch *in cornu dextro* slightly behind and to the right of the larger end figure. A small head and shoulders are still visible.

Table 3.3X: Group 3-3: Comparand			
Scene iconograph	Ch. 13	ANE	ANE
number of female figures reclining in scene	3	+/**	--
a) with a cup	0	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	+	--	--
c) in dextro	2	--	--
d) in sinistro	1	--	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	3	+/**	--
a) with a cup	0	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	1?	--	--
c) in dextro	1	--	--
d) in sinistro	2	--	--
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	0	--
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--
c) adjacent to in cornu dextro	--	--	--
d) adjacent to in cornu sinistro	--	--	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	0	--
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--
c) adjacent to in cornu dextro	--	--	--
d) adjacent to in cornu sinistro	--	--	--
number of female figures standing in scene	0	0	--
a) with a cup	--	--	--
b) adjacent to in cornu dextro	--	--	--
c) adjacent to in cornu sinistro	--	--	--
number of male figures standing in scene	0	0	--

Table 3.3x. Group 3-3 Comparison			
Scene/Iconography	Gr. 13	ANL	ANF
a) with a cup	--	--	--
b) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--
total number of female figures in scene with a cup	0	+	--
total number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	+	--
total number of male figures in scene with a cup	0	+	--
total number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	+	--
number of figures with head movement	2	+	--
number of figures with arm movement	3	3	--
number of figures with foot movement	+	0	--
number of 'tripod' tables	0	0	--
number of platters: ground/table	3 ³²¹	1/	--
type of food served: a) meat	0	+	--
b) fish	3	+	--
c) bread	2	+	--
d) fruit	0	+	--
e) wine	0	+	--
number of individual portions served	0	0	--
number of large wine containers	1-2	+	--
indicators of singing or music	+ ³²²	+	--
mensa in chamber	?	?	?
human figures	7	+	--
mythical figures	0	+	--

³²¹The platters sit on the sigma-cushion, not on the ground or a table.

³²² Nos. 2, 5, and 7 all have their right hands by their faces. Given we are analyzing a drawing, it is impossible to know how close to the head the hands were originally placed. From the drawing, the body posture of the three figures does not suggest singing. For example, their heads are not tipped backwards nor are their torsos leaning sideways.

Table 3.3: Group 3-3, Coemeterium Maius			
Iconography	Cat. 13	Cat. 14	Cat. 15
animal figures	0	5 ³²³	--
mixed human & mythical figures	0	+	--

A.N.^a = "Lunetta: miracolo di Cana, agape, teoria di pesci." Cubicolo 3, Coemeterium Maius. Aldo Nestori, Repertorio topografico delle pitture delle catacombe romane, (1975) 32, No.3. The photo from the Archivio Fotografico, Rome (Foto Mag. F 16) shows the banquet meal from Cubicolo 3 on the right hand side of the upper register of the lunette. See Appendix C.

A.N.^b = "Lunetta, a sinistra: le vergini prudenti a banchetto (Foto Mag. D 56)." Cubicolo 19, Coemeterium Maius. Nestori (1975) 35, No 19.

Findings

1. There are equal number of male and female figures reclining in Cat.13.
2. The banquet scene extant in No. 3, Cubicolo 3 (A.N.^a) is of interest for its higher than average number of figures in a sigma scene (9) and for the presence of five fish directly below the fresco.
3. According to Bosio's drawing fish and bread are served in at least one of the banquet scenes.
4. This catacomb has more extant banquet sites (e.g. cathedrae carved from tufa, stone benches etc.) than any other catacomb in Rome. It is interesting that it has few extant banquet scenes.

³²³There are at least 5 non-human figures (fish?) painted underneath the top register of the lunette.

Table 3.3xi, Group 3-4 Comparanda: Vibia
(Detailed Data = 2 scenes)

Scene Iconography	Ent. 15a	Scen. 15b
inscription(s) in scene	1	1
klinè meal	0	0
sigma meal	1	1
other meal configuration	0	0
total number of figures in scene	11	7
total number of female figures	3 ³²⁴	0
total number of female figures with veils	1 ³²⁵	0
total number of male figures	6	7
total number of male figures with veils	0 ³²⁶	3 ³²⁷
total number of figures: sex = indefinite	2	0
total number of children in scene	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--
b) reclining	--	--
c) sitting	--	--
d) standing	--	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	2	0
a) with a cup	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	1	--
c) in <i>dextro</i>	0	--

³²⁴ Two of the three figures are identified as 'Vibia'.

³²⁵ The female figure under the arch (my catalogue, 15b, no. 1) is wearing a mantel. The other two female figures (my catalogue 15a, nos. 5 and 7) are wearing red flowers in their hair.

³²⁶ The mythological figure, ANGELUS BONUS is wearing a floral wreath in his hair as are the other male figures.

³²⁷ Three male figures including Vincentius are wearing the cap of a Sabazius priest, a disc shape which sits at the back of the head from which cloth hangs.

Table 3.3f. Group 3-4. Compartment		Score
Scene iconography	cat. 15 (Sc.)	
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	1 ³²⁸	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	3	7
a) with a cup	1 ³²⁹	1?
b) at centre of sigma	0	1
c) <i>in dextro</i>	2	3
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	1-2?	3 ³³⁰
number of female figures sitting in scene	1 ³³¹	0
a) in a cathedra	0	--
b) with a cup	0 ³³²	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	0	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	1	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--
number of female figures standing in scene	1 ³³³	0
a) with a cup	0	--
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--
no. of male figures standing in scene	2	0
a) with a cup	--	--

³²⁸ Figure no. 7 lifts up both hands to fix her hair.

³²⁹ No. 3. He reclines *in cornu dextro*.

³³⁰ Vincentius reclines third from *in cornu sinistro*.

³³¹ The figure is actually kneeling.

³³² No. 11. She holds a small jug (for water?).

³³³ The figure is standing underneath an archway.

Table 3.321. Group 3-4 Comparanda		Scores
Scene Iconography		cd. 1A (S27)
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	1 ³³⁴	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	0	--
number of female figures in scene with a cup	+	0
number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	--
number of male figures in scene with a cup	1	1 ³³⁵
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0
total number of figures with head movement	7 ³³⁶	2 ³³⁷
total number of figures with arm movement	11	1
total number of figures with foot movement	3	+
number of 'tripod' tables	0	0
number of platters: ground/table	2/	3-4/
type of food served: a) meat	+	+ ³³⁸
b) fish	1?	+
c) bread	1	2-5 ³³⁹
d) fruit	+	+
e) wine	1	1
number of individual portions served	0	0
number of large wine containers	1	+
indicators of singing or music	1 ³⁴⁰	0

³³⁴From his leg & arm movements, the figure is rushing in with a platter of food.

³³⁵Possibly as many as 3 figures hold cups.

³³⁶Six out of seven of the heads that are shown with movement belong to the figures behind the sigma couch.

³³⁷Both figures turn their heads in the direction of Vincentius.

³³⁸There are three to four platters each with a different type of food.

³³⁹The tow to five loaves of bread are cut into four sections (i.e. they have a cross-like mark painted on their surface).

³⁴⁰The figure to Vibia's left has his hand raised to his head in a gesture of singing.

Table 3.3.1. Group 3-4 Comparanda		Scores
Scene Iconography	Cat. 15a	(Saz)
mensa in chamber	?	?
human figures	10	7 ³⁴¹
mythical figures	1	0
animal figures	+	1? ³⁴²
mixed human & mythical figures	10,1	0

*(Saz) = "Seven Pious Priests" Foto Vib. B 3. Banquet Scene, Hypogeum of Vibia, Rome.
See Appendix C.

Findings

1. Scenes Cat.15a (and 15b) are of high interest for their mixture of human and mythical figures. These figures are identified by the inscriptions written above their heads.
2. In Cat. 15a, the human figures outnumber the mythical figures by 10:1.
3. Both scenes in this hypogeum have inscriptions written on the wall-paintings. There is also an extensive inscription written on the arcosolium that addresses those living individuals who enter the crypt. (See Chapter Two, fig. 15.)
4. One scene describes the action in the image through inscriptions above the heads of the figures (Cat. 15a). The other inscription describes the occupation of the male figures (Saz).
5. Two female figures recline among the six reclining figures in Cat. 15a. One female figure sits in the centre of the sigma-couch position.
6. Among the male figures who hold cups, it is impossible determine which hand holds the cup in one scene (Saz). In the other scene, the male figure (Cat. 15a, no.3) holds his cup with his left hand. He reclines *in cornu dextro*. With the right hand, he greets the viewer? with a wave.
7. There is a high amount of head and arm movement among the figures in Cat.15a.
8. There is very low movement among the figures in the fresco called "Seven Pious Priests" (Saz).
9. Bread is served in both banquet scenes.
10. The round loaves of bread in the fresco "Seven Pious Priests" have a cross-like mark on their surfaces.

³⁴¹Three of the seven figures are dressed in the robes of a Sabazian priest.

³⁴²There is a small dog? *in cornu sinistro*.

Findings - cont'd

11. Wine is served at both banquet meals.
12. The food platters are laid out on the ground in both scenes.
13. Two female figures recline among the six reclining figures in Cat. 15a. One female figure sits in the centre of the sigma-couch position.
14. There is an indication of singing among the reclining figures in Cat. 15a.
15. Fish is probably served at Vibia's banquet (Cat. 15a).
16. It is impossible to tell if meat or fruit is served at either banquet.
17. The scene "Seven Pious Priests" depicts an all male banquet.

Table 3.3xii, Group 3-5 Comparanda: Anon/'Rossa'
(Detailed Data = 1 scene)

Table 3.3xii, Group 3-5 Comparanda	
Scene Iconograph	Fig. 17
inscription(s) in scene	0
klinè meal	0
sigma meal	1
other meal configuration	0
total number of figures in scene	13
total number of female figures	1 ³⁴³
total number of female figures with veils	1, +
total number of male figures	1
total number of male figures with veils	0
total number of figures: sex = indefinite	11 ³⁴⁴
total number of children in scene	+
a) with a cup	+
b) reclining	+
c) sitting	0
d) standing	0
number of female figures reclining in scene	+ / * ³⁴⁵
a) with a cup	+
b) at centre of sigma	+
c) <i>in dextro</i>	+
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	+
number of male figures reclining in scene	+/**
a) with a cup	+
b) at centre of sigma	+

³⁴³No. 1, the orans, is female. No. 13, the figure with the wand is probably male. As to the remaining figures, it is impossible to tell if they are male or female.

³⁴⁴R. Kanzler tells us there are 12 banqueters. See Chapter 2, Fig. 17.

³⁴⁵ The symbol '+/**' means: something about the figure(s) is not clear however all are reclining.

Table 3.3.11. Group 3-5 Comparanda - cont'd	
Scene (iconography)	Art. 12
c) <i>in dextro</i>	+
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	+
number of female figures sitting in scene	0
a) in a cathedra	--
b) with a cup	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0
a) in a cathedra	--
b) with a cup	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--
number of female figures standing in scene	1 ³⁴⁶
a) with a cup	0
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	1
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	0
number of male figures standing in scene	1
a) with a cup	0
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	0
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	1
number of female figures in scene with a cup	+
number of female figures drinking from a cup	+
number of male figures in scene with a cup	+
number of male figures drinking from a cup	+
number of figures with head movement	3
number of figures with arm movement	3
number of figures with foot movement	+
number of 'tripod' tables	+

³⁴⁶It is not clear whether figures (nos. 1 and 13, one female, one male) are meant to be part of the banquet scene or are simply related to it in some other way.

Table 3.3.iii. Group 3-5. Comparanda = conf'd	
Scene Iconography	
number of platters: ground/table	1/
type of food served: a) meat	+
b) fish	+
c) bread	1? ³⁴⁷
d) fruit	+
e) wine	1 ³⁴⁸
number of individual portions served	+
number of large wine containers	2
indicators of singing or music	0
mensa in chamber	0
human figures	+
mythical figures	+
animal figures	+
mixed human & mythical figures	+

Findings

1. There is no inscription painted on this scene that is still extant.
2. This banquet scene is of interest for the high number of figures that recline behind the sigma-couch (11-12).
3. There is low to mid head and arm movement among the figures in this fresco.
4. The food platter is laid out on the ground.
5. Drinking cups appear to have a decorative function in this fresco.
6. If the standing figure with the 'wand' is intended to be Jesus, except for his action, he is presented no differently from the ordinary human guests at the banquet. The iconography of this male figure is similar to that of the standing male figure in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, Chamber 62. See "Findings" Table 3.3.iii.

³⁴⁷To the left of the figure sitting *in cornu sinistro* piled on what looks to be a platter.

³⁴⁸It is unclear whether the wine container over which a male figure holds a 'wand' is part of the banquet scene or forms the beginning of a separate event depicted within the overall design of the painting.

7. There is a female figure standing to the right of the banqueters in this fresco with her arms outstretched.

Table 3.3xiii, Group 4 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene Fragments:³⁴⁹ Other Roman Catacombs (Overview = 7 scenes)

Table 3.3xiii: Group 4 Comparanda		Catacomb/No. of Scenes		
Scene Iconography:	St. Seb./4	Cal. /1	Cat. 19	Cat. 20
Inscription(s) in scene	0	0	1	1
klinè meal scene	0	0	1	1
sigma meal scene	4	--	0	0
other meal configuration	0	1	0	0
scenes with cathedra(e)	0	0	0	0
scenes with all female figures	+	0	1	1
scenes with female figures veiled	+	--	0	0
scenes with all male figures	+	0	0	0
scenes with male figures veiled	0	--	--	--
scenes with mixed female figures & male figures	+	0	0	0
scenes with sex of figure indefinite	4	--	0	0
scenes with children	+	0	0	0
scenes with children with a cup	+	0	0	0
with female figures reclining	**	0	1	1
with male figures reclining	**	0	0	0
with female figures sitting	0	0	0	0
with male figures sitting	0	0	0	0
with female figures standing	+ ³⁵⁰	0	0	0

** = all figures are reclining

³⁴⁹The number of fragments in museums in Rome that could possibly meet this criteria is unknown. The term 'fragment' is also used here to refer to a scene which may be a 'visual quotation' (or single aspect) of a klinè or sigma meal, e.g. the small table typically found in front of sigma and klinè couches. The reader should be aware that the reference to 'number of scenes' refers to those images which have been published. While I made every attempt to be as exhaustive as possible, I cannot presume to have seen every extant image in every catacomb or museum I visited.

³⁵⁰ There are at least 3 groups of figures (shown standing) painted on the same surface plane.

Table 2.3.111. Group 4. Comparison (cont'd) Catacomb of St. Sebastian				
Scene Iconography	St. Seb./Cal.	Cal.	Cal. 19	Cal. 21
with male figures standing	+ ³⁵¹	0	0	0
female figures with raised cups	+	0	1	1
female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0
male figures with raised cups	+	0	0	0
male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0
'tripod' tables: food/cups	0	1	0	0
platter(s) on table(s)	0	1?	--	--
platters on the ground	1	0	0	0
type of food served: a) meat	+	+	0	0
b) fish	+	1?	0	0
c) bread	3?	1	0	0
d) fruit	+ ³⁵²	+	0	0
e) wine	2	0	1	1
individual portions	2-3?	0	0	0
large wine containers	2	0	1	0
indicators of singing or music	+	--	0	0
mensa in chamber	--	0	--	--
human figures	4	0	1	1
mythical figures	1? ³⁵³	0	0	0
animal figures	1? ³⁵⁴	0	0	1
mixed human & mythical figures	1? ³⁵⁵	0	0	0

St. Seb. = Catacomb of St. Sebastian, Rome. These four sigma meal scenes are found on a wall above the pediment of a Roman mausoleum that belonged to Claudius Hermes. Cal. = Catacomb of Callixtus, Rome.

³⁵¹ As per note 173 above.

³⁵² Male figures carry baskets of grapes at the bottom of the fresco.

³⁵³ There is a pastoral scene to the viewer's left of the sigma meal scenes in which the presence of real & mythological figures is a strong likelihood.

³⁵⁴ There are also a substantial number of animal figures drawn in the same area in St. Sebastians.

³⁵⁵ As per note 176 above.

Cal. = Catacomb of Callixtus, Rome.

Findings

1. Of these seven selected fragment scenes, two have inscriptions. One is a statement addressed to the female deceased (Cat. 19). The other gives the name of the deceased (Cat.20).
2. Female figures with raised cups are shown reclining in the klinè position on two different grave plaques: one of these (Cat. 19) is a drawing of a plaque from the Roman catacombs that is now lost.
3. Both female figures raise their cup with their right hand.
4. None of the seven selected fragment scenes show male or female figures drinking from a cup.
5. 'Cal.(A2)^a' (Callixtus, A2, ceiling) is the only extant example of an abbreviated banquet scene. There is a tripod table with baskets of bread but no human figures. In the same chamber of Callixtus, there is a faded banquet scene with seven guests. (See Table ix. 'Cal. [A2].) Unlike the banquet scenes in other chambers of Callixtus which show large baskets or containers with bread as part of the scene, it is impossible to tell if large bread baskets were part of the original banquet scene in this chamber. (There is an open loculus above and below the banquet scene cutting into the remains of the wall painting.)
6. There is one scene in St. Sebastian's with a food platter on the ground.
7. There are two to three scenes in St. Sebastian which show the reclining figures with individual portions.
8. There are two scenes in St. Sebastian's showing large wine containers set before the banqueters.
9. There is a large jug held by a reclining female figure in her left arm. (Cat. 19)
10. Bread is served in three of the banquets scenes in St. Sebastian's.
11. No figures sit in any of the seven scenes.
12. It is impossible to determine the sexes of the figures in four of the seven scenes.

Table 3.3xiv, Group 4-1 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene Fragments: Other Roman Catacombs (Detailed Data = 7 scenes)

inscription(s) in scene	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
klinè meal	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
sigma meal	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
other meal configuration	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
total number of figures in scene	5	5?	5	5?	0	1	1
total number of female figures	+	+	+	+	--	1	1
total number of female figures with veils	+	+	+	+	--	0	0
total number of male figures	+	+	+	+	--	0	0
total number of male figures with veils	0	0	0	0	--	- -	- -
total number of figures: sex=indefinite	5	5	5	5	0	0	0
total number of children in scene	+	+	+	+	0	0	0
a) with a cup	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--
b) reclining	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--
c) sitting	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--
d) standing	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	+ / * *	+ / * *	+/**	+/**	0	1	1
a) with a cup	+	+	+	+	- -	1	1
b) at centre of sigma	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--
c) in dextro	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--

³⁶⁶The four banquet scenes in St Sebastian occur on the right hand side (to the viewer) of the wall above the pediment and have been analyzed in the sequence: top banquet scene (a) to bottom banquet scene (d). The bottom scene occurs just to the right of the peak of the pediment.

Table 3.3.1v. Group 4.1 - Comparison							
Scene (iconography)	site 1	site 2	site 3	site 4	cat 1/2	cat 3	cat 4
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	+ / * *	+ / * *	+ / **	+ / **	0	0	0
a) with a cup	+	+	+	+	- -	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	+	+	+	+	- -	--	- -
c) <i>in dextro</i>	+	+	+	+	- -	- -	- -
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	+	+	+	+	- -	- -	- -
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
b) with a cup	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
b) with a cup	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
number of female figures standing in scene ³⁵⁷	+	+	+	+	0	0	0
a) with a cup	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	- -	--	- -	- -	- -	- -

³⁵⁷ There are at least 3 groups of standing figures painted on the same surface plane. It is impossible to ascertain their sex except perhaps for the group painted on the lower right hand corner of the pediment which appear to be carrying baskets of grapes on their shoulders. In other scenes in which similar iconography appears (e.g. wine-making mosaic at Santa Costanza) these figures are typically male.

Table 3.3iv. Group 4: Comparison							
Scene Iconograph	Griseo ³⁵⁸	Griseo ³⁵⁸	Griseo ³⁵⁸	Griseo ³⁵⁸	Griseo ³⁵⁸	Griseo ³⁵⁸	Griseo ³⁵⁸
number of male figures standing in scene ³⁵⁸	+	+	+	+	0	0	0
a) with a cup	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
number of female figures in scene with a cup	+	+	+	+	0	1	1
number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0	- -	0	0
number of male figures in scene with a cup	+	+	+	+	0	0	0
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0	- -	0	0
number of figures with head movement	1 ?	1 ?	+	+	- -	0	1
number of figures with arm movement	2 ?	3 ?	+	+	- -	1	1
number of figures with foot movement	+	+	+	+	- -	1	+
number of 'tripod' tables	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
number of platters: ground/table	0	3 ? /	0	0	/ 1 ?	0	0
type of food served: a) meat	+	+	+	+	+	0	0
b) fish	+	+	+	+	1 ? ³⁵⁹	0	0
c) bread	4 - 5 ?	+	2 ?	4 ?	7 ³⁶⁰	0	0

³⁵⁸ As per note 357 above.

³⁵⁹ The original lunette scene as published in Paul Corby Finney's *The Invisible God* (1994) 187, fig. 6.26 shows the contents on top of the tripod table as substantially less clear than Wilpert's watercolour .

³⁶⁰ There are a total of seven baskets placed at the sides of the tripod table.

Table 3.31c Group 4-1 Comparison							
Scene Iconography	St. Seb.^a	St. Seb.^b	St. Seb.^c	St. Seb.^d	Cal.(A2)^e	Cal.(A2)^f	Cal.(A2)^g
d) fruit	+	+	+	+	+	0	0
e) wine	1	+	+	1	0	1 ³⁶¹	1
number of individual portions served	4-5?	+	2?	4?	0	- -	- -
number of large wine containers	1	+	+	1	0	1 ³⁶¹	0
indicators of singing or music	+	+	+	+	- -	0	0
male in chamber	--	- -	--	--	0	- -	- -
human figures	5	+	5?	+	- -	1	1
mythical figures ³⁶²	0	+	0	+	- -	0	0
animal figures ³⁶³	?	?	?	?	- -	0	1
mixed human & mythical figures	+	+	+	+	- -	0	0

St. Seb.^a = top banquet scene

St. Seb.^b = second from the top (and to the viewer's right)

St. Seb.^c = third from the top

St. Seb.^d = bottom banquet scene (to the viewer's left of figures carrying baskets of grapes).

Cal.(A2)^a = Catacomb of Callixtus, Chamber 2, ceiling. See Fig. 11, Appendix A.

Findings

1. The evidence for a mix of human and mythical figures is highest in the banquet scenes in the catacomb of St. Sebastian.
2. No figures sit in any of the seven scenes.
3. It is impossible to determine the sexes of the figures in four of the seven scenes.
4. Of the seven scenes, there are four in which it is too difficult to determine if male figures hold cups. In the remaining three scenes, no male figures hold cups.
5. There is one scene in which the figure on the klinè couch holds a pet? bird in her left hand.

³⁶¹ The female figure holds a jug in her left arm. It could be for water or wine.

³⁶² In St. Sebastian's, there is a pastoral scene adjacent to the sigma meal scenes on the viewer's left. The presence of a mix of human & mythological figures is a strong likelihood in the pastoral scene. The barely visible mythological figure is probably a Cyclops.

³⁶³ There are also a substantial number of animal figures drawn on the same surface area.

Findings - cont'd

6. There is low to mid movement among the figures in four of the seven scenes. Of the remaining scenes, one does not have human figures and it is impossible to determine movement in the other two scenes. (St. Seb.^c and St. Seb.^d)

Table 3.3xv, Group 5 Comparanda: Selected Roman Banquet Scenes: Outside the Roman Catacombs (Overview = 14 scenes)

Table 3.3xv, Group 5 Comparanda: No. of Scenes	
Scene Iconography	Roman
inscription(s) in scene	2
klinè meal	5
sigma meal	7
other meal configuration	2
scenes with cathedra(e)	1
scenes with all female figures	0
scenes with female figures veiled	3-4
scenes with all male figures	2
scenes with male figures veiled	1?
mixed scenes of male and female figures	12
scenes: sex of figure indefinite	7
scenes with children	4
scenes of children with a cup	3
with female figures reclining	7-8
with male figures reclining	11-13
with female figures sitting	1
with male figures sitting	2
with female figures standing	2
with male figures standing	5-7
female figures with raised cups	4-5
female figures drinking from a cup	0
male figures with raised cups	9-11
male figures drinking from a cup	3
'tripod' tables: food/cups	8
platter(s) on table(s)	7
platters on the ground	1
type of food served: a) meat	1
b) fish	5

Table 3.3.3: Group 5 Comparanda: No. of Scenes	
Scene Iconography	Count
c) bread	7-10
d) fruit	2?
e) wine	14
scenes with individual portions served	6
large wine containers	6
indicators of singing or music	4-7
mensa in chamber	--
human figures	14
mythical figures	4-5
animal figures	4
mixed human & mythical figures	4-5

Findings

1. There are two extant inscriptions among the fourteen selected scenes. In one scene, words (probably names) are inscribed above the heads of the banquet figures. (G.B. = G. Bendinelli, La vite e il vino nei monumenti antichi in Italia (Milano, 1931) 245, fig. 276.) In the other scene, the inscription functions as a warning to living visitors who might happen to come across the sarcophagus and wish to use it for their own purposes (R.A.= Rita Amedick, Vita Privata [1991] pl.2.).

2. Of the twelve scenes with female figures, three to four scenes show the female figures as veiled.

3. Of the twelve to fourteen scenes with male figures, males are probably veiled in one scene.

4. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, four to five scenes show mythical figures.

5. All scenes have human figures in them.

6. Four scenes have animal figures.

7. Of the four scenes with children, three show children with a cup.

8. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, female figures recline in seven to eight of them.

9. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, male figures recline in eleven to thirteen of them.

Findings - cont'd

10. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, female figures raise cups in four to five of them.
11. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, male figures raise their cups in nine to eleven of them.
- 12.. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, male and female figures raise cups together in two to three scenes.
13. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, zero scenes show female figures drinking from a cup.
14. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, three scenes show male figures drinking from a cup.
15. Of the eight scenes with tripod tables, food is served on platters that are placed on the table.
16. Wine is served in all fourteen banquet scenes.
17. Bread is served in seven to ten of the banquet scenes.
18. Fish is served in five of the banquet scenes.
19. Meat is served in one banquet scene.
20. In two banquet scenes fruit is probably served.
21. Six scenes show individual portions served.
22. Six scenes show large wine containers.
23. Four to seven scenes show indications of singing or music.

Table 3.3xvi. Group 5-1 Comparanda: Selected Roman Banquet Scenes: Outside the Roman Catacombs
(Detailed Data = 14 scenes)

Table 3.3xvi. Group 5-1 Comparanda							
Scene Iconography	I.S.T.	R.A.	G.B.	Cat 16	Cat 22	Cat 23	Cat 25
inscription(s) in scene	0	1	1 ³⁶⁴	0	0	0	0
klinè meal	0	1	0	0	1	1	1
sigma meal	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
other meal configuration	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of figures in scene	11	7	5	9	3	9	3
total number of female figures	9	2	1 ³⁶⁵	2	1	1-2	1
total number of female figures with veils	6	0	+	2 ³⁶⁶	0	1?	+
total number of male figures	2?	3	4	7	1 ³⁶⁷	4	1
total number of males with veils	0	0	+	0	0	1?	0
total number of figures: sex=indefinite	2	2	5	0	1	4	0
total number of children in scene	0	2	0	0	1	0	1
a) with a cup	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
b) reclining	--	--	--	--	0	--	0
c) sitting	--	--	--	--	0	--	0

³⁶⁴Five words are inscribed over the heads of five figures. From l. to r., they are: NENE; FELIX; FOEBUS; REST(IT)UTUS; and FORTVNATVS. See G. Bendinelli, *La vite e il vino nei monumenti antichi in Italia*. (Milano, 1931) 244. Of interest and without a clear explanation, Bendinelli leaves out the first name of the group of five figures: NENE. As for the remaining four, he interprets them as proper names (dal nome proprio). The suggestion, by omission, is that Bendinelli is not sure whether NENE is a proper name or not.

³⁶⁵It is impossible from the image to distinguish male figures from female figures by costume or hairstyle. I have relied solely on the name above the head for my classification of sex, reading NENE as: (EIR)ENE.

³⁶⁶The female figures either have a mantle covering their head or they are wearing their hair long & loose, either of which would be appropriate in a funeral context.

³⁶⁷My catalogue, Fig. 22, no. 1. This figure is most likely male as it is holding a cup. There are a number of klinè banquet scenes from third century Roman Art which show a male figure at the back of the klinè couch and the female figure in front. A more important motif however is to show the male with a cup whether he reclines in front or behind the female figure on the klinè couch. For examples of males with cups at the back of the klinè couch see Rita Amedick, *Vita Privata*, cat nos. 62 (pl. 6,1-5; pl. 7,1); 113 (pl. 9,3,4); 201 (pl. 7,2,3); and 308 (pl. 9,1). For examples of males with cups at the front of the klinè couch see cat. nos. 84 (pl. 3,2; pl. 4,1,2) and 237 (pl. 26,4).

Table 3.3xvi: Group 5-1 Comparanda							
Scene/Iconography	DSR	RA	GE	Gr 15	Gr 22	Gr 22	Gr 27
d) standing	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
number of female figures reclining in scene	6	0	1	0	1	1?	1 ³⁶⁸
a) with a cup	2?	--	+	--	0	1?	0
b) at centre of sigma	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	+	--	1	--	--	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	0	1	4	4	1?	1?	1
a) with a cup	--	1	3	1	1	1?	0 ³⁶⁹
b) at centre of sigma	--	--	1	1	--	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--	1	2	--	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	--	2	1	--	--	--
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	0	--	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	0	--	0	--	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of female figures standing in scene	3	2	0	2	0	1-2	0
a) with a cup	+	1	--	0	--	1-2	--

³⁶⁸The reclining female figure is the one with the garland? house-snake? in her hand.

³⁶⁹The reclining male figure's cup is on the tripod table.

Table 3.3xvi, Group 5-1 Comparanda							
Scene iconography	LSA	RA	GB	Gr 10	Gr 22	Gr 23	Gr 25
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures standing in scene	2?	0	0	2	0	4	0
a) with a cup	+	--	--	0	--	0	--
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	0 ³⁷⁰	--	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	0	--	--	--
number of female figures in scene with a cup	2?	1	0	0	0	1-2	0
number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	--	0	0	0	0
number of male figures in scene with a cup	+	1	3	1	1?	1?	0
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	1 ³⁷¹	1	0	0	0
number of figures with head movement	10	4	2	8	2	3	2
number of figures with arm movement	6	7	4	9	2	7	3
number of figures with foot movement	+	2	+	1	1	4	+
number of 'tripod' tables	1	1	+	1	1	1	+
number of platters: ground/table	/1	/1	+	/1	/1	0/	0 /
type of food served: a) meat	+	+	+	0	0	+	0
b) fish	+	+	+	1	1	+	0
c) bread	1 ³⁷²	1?	+	4	1?	1 ³⁷³	+
d) fruit	+	1?	+	0	+	+	+

³⁷⁰There is one male figure standing behind *in cornu dextro*.

³⁷¹The figure in question, REST(IT)UTUS, holds the side of the cup against his face.

³⁷²The figure seems to be holding a cake over a cup.

³⁷³There are many figures in this scene carrying all sorts of dishes for a feast.

Table 3.3xvi. Group 5-I Comparanda							
Scene iconography	I.S.R.	R.A.	G.B.	Cat. 18	Cat. 20	Cat. 23	Cat. 25
e) wine	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
number of individual portions served	1-2	--	+	1	--	--	--
number of large wine containers	+	1	+	0	2	2	+
indicators of singing or music	0	1	1?	0 ³⁷⁴	1 ³⁷⁵	1?	1 ³⁷⁶
mensa in chamber	--	--	?	--	--	--	--
human figures	11	4	5 ³⁷⁷	9	2	4	3
mythical figures	0	3 ³⁷⁸	0	0	0	0	0
animal figures	0	3	+	0	1	0	+
mixed human & mythical figures	0	4,3	0	0	0	0	0

I.S.R. = "Ara Pietatis, Banquet of the Vestals." Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites* (1955) pl.XXII, fig. 36f.

R.A. = "Klinè Meal. Occupation." Rita Amedick, *Vita Privata* (1991) pl.2, Cat.68.

G.B. = "Scena di simposio funebre (affresco), hypogeum from Ostia." G. Bendinelli, *La vite e il vino monumenti antichi in Italia*. (Milano, 1931)

Findings

See p. 200.

³⁷⁴ A reading is taking place.

³⁷⁵ No. 2 with her arm over her shoulder is probably singing.

³⁷⁶ If not singing, No. 2 is probably speaking.

³⁷⁷ The names of all five figures have specific symbolic meanings. However there is nothing about the iconography that suggests mythological figures.

³⁷⁸ I am following Rita Amedick here, who suggests that the deceased was a member of the Cult of Cybele. Amedick (1991, cat.68) 133.

Table 3.3xvi, Group 5-1 Comparanda: Selected Roman Banquet Scenes: Outside the Roman Catacombs (Detailed Data- cont'd)

Table 3.3xvi, Group 5-1 Comparanda							
Scene Iconography	Cm2	Cm3	Cm3-Disc	Bl3-Disc	Bl3-Disc	Am3	Am3
inscription(s) in scene	0	0 ³⁸⁰	0	0	+	0	0
klinè meal	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
sigma meal	1	0	1	1	0	1	1
other meal formation	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
total number of figures in scene	8	4	6-7	5	6	7	8
total number of female figures	2	2	1	1	3	0	0
total number of female figures with veils	0	2	0	0	0	--	--
total number of male figures	4	2	5	2	3	7	8
total number of male figures with veil	0	0	0 ³⁸¹	0 ³⁸²	0	0	0
total number of figures: sex=indefinite	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
total number of children in scene	0	0	0	2 ³⁸³	0	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--	--	1	--	--	--
b) reclining	--	--	--	0	--	--	--
c) sitting	--	--	--	0	--	--	--
d) standing	--	--	--	2	--	--	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	0	0	1	1	1	0	0

³⁷⁹There is a comparable Christian banquet scene (so identified by the Christogram at the apex of the medallion rim) on a large silver platter from the Treasure of Sevso. The medallion at the centre of the platter depicts various hunting scenes in the middle of which is a banquet meal with five diners who recline. Unlike the above hunting scene from Sicily, there is a female figure who reclines in dextro.

³⁸⁰There is no readable inscription on the immediate scene I am discussing but there is an important inscription on the larger monument. See my catalogue, Fig.29.

³⁸¹No. 5 is wearing a cap on the back of his head. Usually denotes a religious figure or function.

³⁸²Both male figures wear caps on their heads.

³⁸³Probably male youths.

Table 3.3vii. Group 5-1 Comparanda							
Scene Iconography	Carz	Carz	Carz	Dec	Dec	Dec	Amo ³⁸⁴
a) with a cup	--	--	0	0	1 ³⁸⁵	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	--	--	--	1	--	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--	1	--	--	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	--	0	--	--	--	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	4	1-2	4-5	2	1	5	5
a) with a cup	1	2	1-2	1	0	2	1
b) at centre of sigma	1	--	1	0	--	1	1
c) <i>in dextro</i>	1	--	1	1	--	2	2
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	2	--	2-3	1 ³⁸⁶	--	2	2
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	2	--	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	1	--	--	--	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of female figures standing in scene	2-3	0	0	0	2	0	0
a) with a cup	0	--	--	--	0	--	--

³⁸⁴There is a comparable Christian banquet scene (so identified by the Christogram at the apex of the medallion rim) on a large silver platter from the Treasure of Sevso. The medallion at the centre of the platter depicts various hunting scenes in the middle of which is a banquet meal with five diners who recline. Unlike the above hunting scene from Sicily, there is a female figure who reclines in dextro.

³⁸⁵A small bowl.

³⁸⁶The male figure with the cup.

Table 3.3xvi. Group 5-1 Comparanda							
Scene Iconography	Cr20	Cr20	Cr100	D100	D.M.	P.S.C.	Amph ³⁸⁷
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	0	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	0	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures standing in scene	0	0	1 ? ³⁸⁸	0	2	2	2 ³⁸⁹
a) with a cup	--	--	0	--	0	1	1
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	1	2
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	1	0
number of female figures in scene with a cup	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	--	0	0	--	0
number of male figures in scene with a cup	1	2	1-2	1	0	3	2
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
number of figures with head movement	4	2	6	1	3	2	3
number of figures with arm movement	7	4	1	5	2	6	6
number of figures with foot movement	1	0	+	2	1	2	1
number 'tripod' tables	1	1	0	1	+	0	0
number of platters: ground/table	/1	/1	+	/1	+	1 ³⁹⁰	1 /
type of food served: a) meat	+	+	+	0	+	+	1

³⁸⁷There is a comparable Christian banquet scene (so identified by the Christogram at the apex of the medallion rim) on a large silver platter from the Treasure of Sevso. The medallion at the centre of the platter depicts various hunting scenes in the middle of which is a banquet meal with five diners who recline. Unlike the above hunting scene from Sicily, there is a female figure who reclines in dextro.

³⁸⁸No. 1 is bent over in the process of preparation for the meal.

³⁸⁹The third figure who is not reclining is lying down or kneeling in the lower right hand corner of the scene. Due to damage of the mosaic in this area, the viewer is only able to see his legs from the knees down.

³⁹⁰A large platter sits in front of an elevated sigma-couch

Table 3.3.vi. Group 5.1 Comparison							
Scene (iconograph)	Carth	Carth	Carth	Dido	Dido	Carth	Carth
b) fish	1	1	0	1	+	+	0
c) bread	1	+	1?	3	+	6	1
d) fruit	+ ³⁹²	+	+	0	1? ³⁹³	+	+
e) wine	1	1	1 ³⁹⁴	1	1	1	1
number of individual portions served	1	+	2	3	--	6	0
number of large wine containers	2	0	1	0 ³⁹⁵	+	0 ³⁹⁶	2
indicators of singing or music	0	0	1	0	0	1? ³⁹⁷	+
mensa in chamber	--	--	--	--	--	?	--
human figures	6	4	1	2	4	7	7, +
mythical figures	1 ³⁹⁸	0 ³⁹⁹	5?	3	2 ⁴⁰⁰	0	0
animal figures	1	0	+	0	+	0	2
mixed human & mythical figures	7, 1	0	1,5	2, 3	4, 2	0	0

D.K. = "Banqueting Scene", Wall Painting from Pompeii. Diana E.E. Kleiner, I Claudia, (1996) 135, fig.5.
P.S.C. = "Banquet Scene" *Premiers siècles chrétiens: documentation photographique* (1995) 36, no.15.

³⁹¹There is a comparable Christian banquet scene (so identified by the Christogram at the apex of the medallion rim) on a large silver platter from the Treasure of Sevso. The medallion at the centre of the platter depicts various hunting scenes in the middle of which is a banquet meal with five diners who recline. Unlike the above hunting scene from Sicily, there is a female figure who reclines in dextro.

³⁹²No. 7 Holds a large bowl on top of which sits a roast? Fruit?

³⁹³ The male figure on the viewer's extreme left carries in a tray with dishes of food. Fruit? Eggs?

³⁹⁴Nos. 4 and 6 have a cup in their left hands. No. 3 is holding some bread in his right hand.

³⁹⁵One of the youths holds a jug but no containers are on the ground.

³⁹⁶The male figure in front of *in cornu dextro* carries a wine jug but there is no large wine container visible.

³⁹⁷ From the position of his arms, the reclining figure with his back to us may be playing an instrument.

³⁹⁸ There is a second mythological figure which is a mask of the sun.

³⁹⁹Monument has an eagle with a cup at the very top.

⁴⁰⁰The male and female figures on the Klinè are probably Dido and Aeneas. The elaborate tent in the upper right hand corner of the fresco suggests royalty (Dido: Queen of Carthage). Also the dark skin on the Roman male figures suggests the scene takes place where there is a very hot sun, Carthage?

Dido = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. lat. 3867, fol. 100v., Roman Virgil. [4th Century]
Armer = Detail, "Banquet after the Hunt", Piazza Armerina, Sicily.

Findings:

1. Of the two inscriptions among the selected Roman Banquet scenes, one refers to the mixing of wine. After issuing a warning to living visitors (who happen to come across the sarcophagus) not to use the coffin as a resting place for any other deceased person, the inscription asks that whomever reads its words to pour unmixed wine for the male deceased inside.⁴⁰¹ (R.A.= Rita Amedick, Vita Privata [1991] pl.2.). The other inscription (G.B. = G. Bendinelli, La vite e il vino nei monumenti antichi in Italia [Milano, 1931] 245, fig. 276) probably names the banquet figures.
2. Of the twelve selected Roman banquet scenes three to four show the female figures veiled (Cat. 18, Cat. 23? Cat. 29, and I.S.R.= Inez Scott Ryberg, Rites, [1955] pl.XXII, fig.36f: "Banquet of the Vestals") whereas a male figure is probably veiled in one scene only [Cat.23].
3. Of the five scenes with mythical figures, one scene probably refers to the cult of Cybele (R.A.= Rita Amedick, Vita Privata [1991] pl.2.); two scenes probably to the love story between Dido and Aeneas ("Dido" and D.K.= Diana Kleiner, I Claudia, [1996] 135, fig.5.; one scene probably to the story of Atalanta (Cat.30)⁴⁰², and one scene to a minor mythical figure whose duty it was to hold up heavy grave plates (Cat. 28, no.1).
4. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, male figures are found to recline more frequently than female figures (eleven to thirteen for male figures; seven to eight scenes for female figures).
5. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, male figures raise their cups twice as often as female figures (nine to eleven for male figures; four to five for female figures).
6. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, male and female figures raise cups together in two to three scenes. (Cat. 23?, Cat. 29 and R.A. = Amedick, [1991] pl.2.).
7. Of the selected fourteen banquet scenes, three scenes show male figures drinking from a cup and zero scenes show female figures drinking from a cup.
8. In three scenes in which the central figures are probably mythical, human figures play a secondary role as servers (Cat. 30, "Dido" and "Banquet Scene" with female and male figure reclining on a klinè couch: D.K.= Diana Kleiner, I Claudia, [1996] 135, fig.5).
9. In two scenes in which mythical and human figures are shown together where human figures play a central role, the mythical figures are physically separate from the humans and attend to their own affairs (R.A.= Rita Amedick, Vita Privata [1991] pl.2.) or they play a decorative role separate from the main scene (Cat. 28, no.1).

⁴⁰¹ "FUERIT POST ME ET POST GAUDENIA NICENE VETO ALIUM; QUISQUIS HUNC TITULUM LEGERIT, MI ET ILLEI FECI, T(ITO) AELIO EUANGELO, HOMINI PATIENTI, MERUM PROFUNDAT." Translation: "That there may be another after me and Gaudenia Nicene, I forbid. Whomever should read this label, which I made for me and for her, should pour unmixed wine for Titus Aelius Evangelus, a patient man."

⁴⁰²No. 1 in Cat. 30a and Cat. 30b is busy pouring something out of an animal skin. If this is the case, it is unmixed wine which suggests the scene depicts a banquet for the gods. Also the dress and musculature of the semi-naked male figures (with cloaks swung over their broad shoulders) also suggests a banquet for the gods.

**Table 3.3xvii, Group 6 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes:
(a) Serving Scenes (Overview = 7 scenes)**

Table 3.3xvii, Group 6 Comparanda: No. of scenes	
Scene iconography	Roman?
inscription(s) in scene	2
klinè meal	1
sigma meal	0
other meal configuration	5
scenes with all female figures	0
scenes of female figures with towels	0
scenes with female servers	2-3
scenes with all male figures	3-5
scenes of male figures with towels	1-2
scenes with male servers	4
mixed scenes of male and female figures	2-4
servers sex indefinite	1
scenes with children	0
scenes with children with a cup	0
with female figures reclining	1?
with male figures reclining	1?
with female figures sitting	2
with male figures sitting	4
with female figures standing	3
with male figures standing	5
female figures holding a cup	3
female figures drinking from a cup	0
male figures holding a cup	5
male figures drinking from a cup	1
'tripod' tables: food/cups	1
platter(s) on table(s)	1
platters on the ground	0
type of food served: a) meat	0
b) fish	0

Table 3.3vii, Group 6: Comparanda No. of scenes	
Scene/Iconography	Roman?
c) bread	1?
d) fruit	1?
e) beverage	7
individual portions	1
large wine containers	3
indicators of singing or music	0
mensa in chamber	2?
human figures	7
mythical figures	0
animal figures	1
mixed human & mythical figures	0

Findings

1. In three of the seven scenes large wine containers are visible, suggesting that wine is the choice of drink in these images. Without additional clues, we cannot assume that wine is always the beverage being served. Of other foods served, the visual evidence in these scenes is slim.
2. Of the seven scenes, four depict male servers and two-three depict female servers. The female servers wear *chitons* or long tunics with or without sleeves. The male figures wear short tunics (sometimes with leggings).
3. There are no mythical figures in these scenes suggesting that they are scenes from 'real life'.
4. Of these seven serving scenes, customers typically sit on stools or stand behind a bar.
5. When serving, male or female servers stand.
6. Of the seven serving scenes, one depicts a *klinè* meal in a funeral setting.
7. Of the seven serving scenes none depict a *sigma* meal.
8. Five scenes depict a different eating configuration other than a *klinè* or *sigma* meal.

Table 3.3xviii, Group 6-1 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes: (a) Serving Scenes (Detailed Data = 7 scenes)

Scene/Iconography	G.B.	Cr26	Cr28	Cr27	TIC	D.F.C.	N. K.
inscription(s) in scene	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
klinè meal	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
sigma meal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
other meal configuration	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
total number of figures in scene	2	3	3	3	2	6	3
total number of female figures	0	1	1-2	1?	1?	0	0 ⁴⁰³
total number of female figures with towels	0	0	0	0	--	--	0
total number of male figures	2	1	1	2	1-2	6	3
total number of male figures with towels	0	0	0	0	0	6	1? ⁴⁰⁴
sex of server indefinite	0	0	0	1?	0	0	0
total number of children in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
b) reclining	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) sitting	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) standing	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	0	0	0	0	1?	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--	--	--	+	--	--

⁴⁰³Kampen suggests the standing figure is female but is unsure. Based on the hairstyle and garment similarities with the seated figure on the viewer's right, I suggest the figure is male. What is more problematic in Kampen's text on this image is that she suggests there is a prescriptive relationship between a figure's pose (i.e. standing) and status, namely, standing figure = servant: "On the right side of this same monument [fig. 78 -- her catalogue], two men sit holding a drinking bowl, but the woman (?) with a cup is standing and may be so distinguished as a servant." N. Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin, 1981) 92.

⁴⁰⁴A towel could account for the hanging shape of cloth? on the right arm of the standing figure.

Table 3.3xvii. Group 6-L Comparanda: (a) Sitting Scene							
Scene/iconography	GD	Cr24	Cr25	Cr27	T.6	DE6	N.12
b) at centre of sigma	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	0	0	0	0	1?	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--	--	--	+	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	1 ⁴⁰⁵	1	0	0	0	0
a) in a cathedra	--	--	0	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	--	+	+	--	--	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	1	1 ⁴⁰⁶	1	0	0	0	2
a) in a cathedra	0	0	--	--	--	--	--
b) with a cup	0	+	+	--	--	--	1 ⁴⁰⁷
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of female figures standing in scene	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
a) with a cup	--	1	1	1	--	--	--
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

⁴⁰⁵My catalogue, fig. 24, no. 2 sits on a bench.

⁴⁰⁶My catalogue, fig. 24, no. 1 sits on a bench.

⁴⁰⁷A cup or small bowl.

Table 3.3.viii. Group 6-1. Comparanda: (a) Serving Scene							
Scene/Iconography	G.B.	Cr12	Cr12	Cr12	TK	D.E.G.	N. R.
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of male figures standing in scene	1	0	0	2	1	6	1
a) with a cup	1	--	--	1	1	6	1 ⁴⁰⁸
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
number of female figures in scene with a cup	0	1	1	1	+	0	0
number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0	0	--	0
number of male figures in scene with a cup	1	+	+	1	1	6	2
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
number of figures with head movement	2	0	3	3	0	0	1
number of figures with arm movement	2	1-2	1	3	1	6	3
number of figures with foot movement	0	1	+	1	0	0	+
number of 'tripod' tables	0	+	0 ⁴⁰⁹	0	1	0	0
number of platters: ground/table	/1	0 /	--	0	0 /	0	0
type of food served: a) meat	0	+	+	0	+	0	0
b) fish	0	+	+	0	+	0	0
c) bread	1?	+	+	0	+	0	0
d) fruit	1?	+	+	0	+	0	0
e) beverage	1	1	1	1	1 ⁴¹⁰	1	1
number of individual portions served	1	+	0	0	--	0	--

⁴⁰⁸As per footnote 230.

⁴⁰⁹There is a large rectangular wicker? table placed in front of the two seated figures.

⁴¹⁰There is more than 1 large wine container in this funeral scene suggesting more than 1 type of libation is being offered. This image is a hybrid between a serving scene and an offering and libation scene.

Table 3.3viii. Group 6-1 Comparanda: (a) Serving Scene							
Scene/Iconography	G.B.	C-124	C-125	C-127	T.K.	D.F.G.	N.K.
number of large wine containers	1	+	1	+	1-2	0	0
indicators of singing or music	0	0	0 ⁴¹¹	0	0	0	0
mensa in chamber	--	--	?	--	?	--	--
human figures	2	3	3	2 ⁴¹²	2	6	3
mythical figures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
animal figures	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
mixed human & mythical figures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

G.B. = "Innkeeper Scene." G. Bendinelli, La vite e il vino nei monumenti antichi in Italia (Milano, 1931) 271, fig. 304

T.K. = "Male figure Serving." Theodore Klauser, Die Cathedra (1927) pl. 19,3.

D. F-G = "Mosaico de los coperos " Dimas Fernandez-Galiano, Complutum, (1984) pls. LXXI-LXXX.

N.K. = "Relief of drinkers from a funerary monument." Natalie Kampen, Image and Status, (1981) fig.78.

Findings:

1. Of the seven scenes, the three female figures who stand with a cup are the servers.
2. Of the five scenes in which male figures hold a cup, two scenes depict customers holding cups: i) my catalogue, fig. 27, no. 4; and ii) N.K. = Natalie Kampen (1981) fig. 78. The remaining scenes of male figures with cups depict servers.
3. No. 4 , fig. 27 is the only figure shown in a scene drinking from a cup.
4. One serving scene (funerary) shows a 'tripod' table (T.K. = Thedor Klauser [1927] pl. 19,3).

⁴¹¹No. 3 is calling to someone beyond the edge of the frame.

⁴¹²The so-called female figure with a cup, my catalogue, fig.27, no.1 does not look real. Her face & arms are masculine while her hair, genitalia, and dress are female.

**Table 3.3xix, Group 6-2 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes:
(b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes (Overview = 16)**

Table 3.3xix, Group 6-2 Comparanda (b) / (No. of scenes) Scene Iconography Roman/16	
inscription(s) in scene	5
scenes with cathedra(e)	0
scenes with female figures	12
scenes with female figures making an offering	2
scenes with female figures sacrificing	9
scenes of female figures with veils	6
scenes with female figures only	5
scenes with male figures	10
scenes with male figures making an offering	2
scenes with male figures sacrificing	8
scenes of male figures with veils	7
scenes with male figures only	4
sex of sacrificant(s) indefinite	1
sex of other figures indefinite	4
scenes with children	6
scenes of children with a cup	0
scenes with attendants	8
scenes with female figures reclining	1
scenes with male figures reclining	0
scenes with female figures sitting	5 ⁴¹³
scenes with male figures sitting	1 ⁴¹⁴
scenes with female figures standing	9
scenes with male figures standing	10
scenes of female figures with a cup	5
scenes of female figures drinking from a cup	0
scenes of male figures with a cup	9

⁴¹³The female figures (all goddesses) sit on thrones.

⁴¹⁴ Two male figures (both gods) in the same scene sit on ????

Table 3.3: Group 6-2 Comparanda (B) / No. of scenes	
Scene / iconography	Roman / 1st
scenes of male figures drinking from a cup	0
scenes with large wine containers	1
scenes with indicators of singing or music	3
scenes with an altar	9
scenes with a 'tripod' table	3
offering scene with cup only	3
sacrifice: a) libation	12
b) fruit	4
c) bread	2-3
d) incense	8
e) animal	7
scenes with human figures	11
scenes with mythical figures	9-10
scenes with animal figures	11
scenes with mixed human & mythical figures	4

Findings

1. Of the sixteen scenes, five of them have inscriptions. The inscriptions refer to
2. Of the sixteen scenes, twelve have female figures. Of these twelve, nine scenes show female figures making a sacrifice and two scenes show female figures making an offering.
3. Of the sixteen scenes, ten have male figures in them. Of these ten, eight scenes show a male figure making a sacrifice and two scenes shows a male figure making an offering.
4. Of the sixteen offering and sacrifice scenes, three are offering scenes with a cup only. One is an offering scene with a cup held over the body of an intact calf (I.S.R.^d) but no altar is shown. I have counted this scene as both an offering and a sacrifice scene.⁴¹⁵
5. Thirteen scenes show a sacrifice of some type. These thirteen sacrifice scenes include: twelve scenes showing a libation sacrifice; eight scenes showing an incense sacrifice; seven scenes showing an animal sacrifice; four scenes showing a fruit sacrifice; and two to three scenes showing a bread sacrifice.

⁴¹⁵According to Ryberg, there is an inscription on the altar (which carries the image) stating that the altar was dedicated to "Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sol Sarapis in payment of a *votum*." See Ryberg (1955) 167.

Findings - cont'd

6. Of the thirteen sacrifice scenes, female figures are depicted as sacrificing in nine of them.
7. In eight scenes the female figure uses her right hand. In one scene, she uses her left hand (LIMC^c = "Concordia" LIMC (1981) Vol. V, No. 2, 336, fig.77). It is the human female figure who sacrifices with her left hand and not Concordia.
8. Of the thirteen sacrifice scenes, male figures are shown as sacrificing in eight of them.
9. In eight scenes, the male figure uses his right hand.
10. Of the four offering scenes, a single female figure is shown making an offering in two of them, a male figure is shown in the other two scenes.
11. Of the eleven scenes in which a female figure makes either a sacrifice or offering, six scenes show the figure wearing a veil.
12. Of the eight scenes in which a male figure makes either a sacrifice or an offering, six scenes show the figure wearing a veil.
13. In the scene in which a male figure makes both an offering and a sacrifice, the figure is veiled.
14. Of the eleven scenes in which a female figure makes either a sacrifice or offering, five scenes show the figure with a cup.
15. Of the eight scenes in which a male figure makes either a sacrifice or an offering, eight scenes show the figure with a cup.
16. In the scene in which a male figure makes both an offering and a sacrifice, the figure tips a *patera*.
17. In these sixteen selected offering and sacrifice scenes, neither female nor male figures are shown drinking from a cup.
18. In three of the sixteen scenes, the action is accompanied by music.
19. Of the sixteen offering and sacrifice scenes, nine include an altar.
20. Of the sixteen offering and sacrifice scenes, three include tripod tables.

**Table 3.3xx, Group 6-3 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes:
(b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes (Detailed Data = 16 scenes)**

Table 3.3xx, Group 6-3 Comparanda (b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes								
Scene Iconography	Gr. St.	Cap. Vert. ⁴¹⁶	Pr. Frieze ⁴¹⁷	Long. Frieze ⁴¹⁸	Small Frieze ⁴¹⁹	Large Frieze ⁴²⁰	Small Frieze ⁴²¹	Large Frieze ⁴²²
inscription(s) in scene	0	0	?	0	1	0	0	0
total number of figures in scene	2	1, 16 ⁴¹⁷	5	6	1	1	3	5
total number of female figures	1	5	5	3	1	1	1	1-3
total number of female figures making an offering	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
total number of female figures sacrificing	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1-3 ⁴¹⁸
total number of female figures wearing a veil	1	3	5	0	+	1	1	0 ⁴¹⁹
scene with female figures only	--	--	1	--	1	1	--	--
total number of male figures	1	10	0	0 ⁴²⁰	0	0	2	2-4
total number of male figures making an offering	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of male figures sacrificing	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1-2
total number of male figures wearing a veil	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0

⁴¹⁶Private Collection, Villa Albani, Rome. See Appendix C.

⁴¹⁷Includes central figure (left) and figures from the large frieze (right).

⁴¹⁸Ryberg suggests that all three sacrifants are female but this claim is uncertain from the visual evidence. Inez Scott Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, (American Academy in Rome, 1955) 15-16.

⁴¹⁹Three figures wear a variety of head coverings but these are not veils.

⁴²⁰No adult males.

Table 3.37: Group 6-3 Campanile (b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes								
Scene Iconography	6-31	6-32	VESTA	6-33	6-34	6-35	6-36	6-37
scene with male figures only	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
sex of sacrifiant indefinite	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 ⁴²¹
total number of other figures: sex= indefinite	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of children in scene	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1
total number of children with a cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of attendants	0	1	4 ⁴²²	0	0	0	1	2
number of female figures reclining in scene	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
number of male figures reclining in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	1, 1	1	0	0	1	0	0
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of female figures standing in scene	1	3	4	1	1	0	1	1-2
number of male figures standing in scene	1	8	0	0	0	0	2	2-3
number of female figures in scene with a cup	0	1, 2	0	0	1	1	0	0
number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0, 0	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of male figures in scene with a cup	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

⁴²¹One of these figures holds an incense pot which means he/she could be either male or female. The other figure whose sex is indefinite holds a piglet.

⁴²²These attendants are priestesses of Vesta.

Table 3.33: Group 6-3 Comparanda (b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes								
Scene Iconography	CG 61	CG 62 VESTA ⁴²³	DM 6 LUG 6	DM 6 LUG 6	DM 6 LUG 6	DM 6 LUG 6	DM 6 LUG 6	DM 6 LUG 6
number of children in scene with a cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
large wine containers	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	1 ⁴²⁴
indicators of singing or music	0	1 ⁴²⁵	0	0 ⁴²⁶	+	0	0	0
altar	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
'tripod' table	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
offering with cup only	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
sacrifice: a) libation	1	1 ⁴²⁷	0	0	1	0	1	1
b) fruit	0	1 ⁴²⁸	1	1 ⁴²⁹	+	0	0 ⁴³⁰	0
c) bread	0	1	0	1?	+	0	0	0
d) incense	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
e) animal	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
human figures	2	0	4	6	0	0	1	5
mythical figures	0	17	1	0	1	1	0	0

⁴²³Private Collection, Villa Albani, Rome. See Appendix C.

⁴²⁴The attendant with the short tunic holds a wine pitcher.

⁴²⁵A male figure plays a kithara on the large relief on the face of the plate.

⁴²⁶Musicians (a flute player and a singer) appear in the same woman's lying-in state relief. See D. Kleiner (1992:196) fig. 164.

⁴²⁷See figure 21. Madelaine von Heland, The Golden Bowl from Pietroasa, (Stockholm, 1973) 33.

⁴²⁸The fruit and bread (corn) are carried by figures on the large frieze. See figure 35, Madelaine von Heland, 52.

⁴²⁹There are lumpy objects around the outside of the flame on the altar. Bread? Fruit?

⁴³⁰A garland of different types of fruit is found above the sacrifice scene. It is punctuated alternatively by a *patera* and the head of a calf.

Table 3.3a Group 6-3 Comparanda (b) Offering & Seated Scenes								
Scene Iconography	Gr. 31	Gr. 32	VESTA ⁴³¹	Gr. 33	Gr. 34	Gr. 35	Gr. 36	Gr. 37
animal figures	1 ⁴³²	7	0	1 ⁴³³	0	1	1	1
mixed human & mythical figures	0	17	4, 1	0	0	1	0	0

Vesta = Detail. Vesta with Vestals: Fruit Offering over Flaming Altar. Kotker, Norman, The Holy Land in the Time of Jesus (1967) 22.

D.K.^a = Detail. Old woman offering incense, "Tomb of Haterii." Diana E.E. Kleiner, Roman Sculpture (1992) 198, fig 166. (c 120 AD)

L.I.M.C.^a = "EIPHNH EFESIWN" Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (1981) Vol. VII, No.2, fig. 44.

I.S.R.^a = "Scene of seated Vesta with *patra* and donkey." Inez Scott Ryberg, Rites (1955) Plate XVII, fig.33a.

I.S.R.^b = "Sacrifice to a Divus." Ryberg, (1955) Plate XXIX, fig.45e.

I.S.R.^c = "Sacrifice to the Lares." Ryberg, (1955) Plate, V, fig.10.

⁴³¹Private Collection, Villa Albani, Rome. See Appendix C.

⁴³²A bird(?) sits on the left wrist of the Emperor.

⁴³³The reclining female figure holds a bird in her right hand.

**Table 3.3xx, Group 6-3 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes:
(b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes (Detailed Data -cont'd)**

Scene/Iconography	R.1	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372	1373	1374
inscription(s) in scene	0	1 ⁴³⁴	0	1	0 ⁴³⁵	1	+	1
total number of figures in scene	3	2	9	10	1	1	14	1
total number of female figures	0	0	0	1-2	0	1	6	1
total number of female figures making an offering	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of female figures sacrificing	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
total number of female figures wearing a veil	0	0	0	+	0	0 ⁴³⁶	1	0
scene with female figures only	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1
total number of male figures	3	2	8	6	1	0	5	0
total number of male figures making an offering	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
total number of male figures sacrificing	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
total number of male figures wearing a veil	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
scene with male figures only	1	1	1	--	1	--	--	--
sex of sacrifiant indefinite	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of figures: sex= indefinite	0	0	1 ⁴³⁷	2	0	0	2	0

⁴³⁴According to Ryberg, the inscription on the actual altar tells us that Scipio Orfitus dedicated the altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sol Sarapis in payment of a votum. See Ryberg (1955) 167.

⁴³⁵Kleiner (1992: 131) states that a dedicatory inscription found near the statue and now lost could belong to the statue.

⁴³⁶Concordia wears a tiara or diadem but no veil.

⁴³⁷This figure is a child who holds an incense box.

Table 3.3v: Group 6-3 Comparanda (b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes								
Scene Iconography	REF	1546	1549	1550	1551	1552	1553	1554
total number of children in scene	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0
total number of children with a cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total number of attendants	0	1	2	2	0	0	4	0
number of female figures reclining in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of male figures reclining in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of female figures standing in scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1
number of male figures standing in scene	3	2	8	6	1	0	5	0
number of female figures in scene with a cup	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
number of female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
number of male figures in scene with a cup	3 ⁴³⁸	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
large wine containers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
indicators of singing or music	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
altar	1 ⁴³⁹	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
'tripod' table	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0

⁴³⁸One cup is a tipped patera held by the middle figure in his right hand. The other two vessels held up by the Lares are drinking horns made from animal tusks.

⁴³⁹There is an altar in the lower right hand corner of the fresco near the snake's open mouth. An oval object (bread?) is placed on top of the altar.

Table 3.3.v. Group 6-3 Comparanda (b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes								
Scene/Iconography	R&R	I.S.R.^d	I.S.R.^e	D.K.^b	D.K.^c	L.I.M.C.^b	L.I.M.C.^c	L.I.M.C.^d
offering with cup only	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
sacrifice: a) libation	1	1	1? ⁴⁴⁰	1	0	1	1	1
b) fruit	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0 ⁴⁴¹
c) bread	0	0	0	0	0	+	0	1
d) incense	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
e) animal	0	1	1	1 ⁴⁴²	0	0	1	0
human figures	0-1	2	8	5	1	0	6	0
mythical figures	2-3	0	1?	5 ⁴⁴³	0	1	8	1
animal figures	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
mixed human & mythical figures	2-3	0	1,8	5, 5	0	0,1	6, 8	0,1

R & R = "Lares" Casa dei Vettii, Pompeii. Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine (1991: 146) fig. 5.38.

I.S.R.^d = Detail. "Altar of Scipio Orfius." Ryberg (1955) Plate LX, fig. 97c.

I.S.R.^e = "Triumph of Marcus Aurelius." Ryberg (1955) Plate LVI, fig.86.

D.K.^b = "Sacrifice" Detail. Five-Column Monument, Roman Forum, Diana E.E. Kleiner, Roman Sculpture (1992) 415, fig. 385.

D.K.^c = "Portrait of Claudius with the attributes of Jupiter." Diana E.E. Kleiner (1992) 132, fig.106.

L.I.M.C.^b = "Concordia". LIMC (1981) Vol. V, No. 2, 334, fig. 15.

L.I.M.C.^c = "Concordia" LIMC (1981) Vol. V, No. 2, 336, fig.77.

L.I.M.C.^d = "PAX" LIMC (1981) Vol. 7, No. 2, 138, fig. 43.

⁴⁴⁰The right hand of the Marcus Aurelius figure is very large. It covers almost all of the object he is holding over the flames.

⁴⁴¹There are a number of Roman coins from the early empire which show PAX with a cornucopia of fruit. See for examples, figs., 11, 20, 22, 23 in LIMC (1981) Vol. VII, No. 2.

⁴⁴² The figures carrying the meat sacrifice approach the altar shown in this scene from an adjoining side of the monument. See Kleiner, 415, fig. 384.

⁴⁴³According to Kleiner (1992) they are: Genius Senatus, Victory, Mars, Roma and Sol Invictus. 417

Findings

1. Of the sixteen scenes, five have only one figure. Of these five scenes, four of the figures are female. Three of the four scenes show a female personification or goddess making a libation sacrifice over a flaming altar. These include: EIRENE (LIMC^a); CONCORDIA (LIMC^b); PAX (LIMC^c). The fourth scene shows a seated and veiled Vesta with a *patera* in her right hand (I.S.R.^a). There is a donkey beside her but no altar.
2. Of the twelve scenes showing a libation sacrifice, a female figure performs the act in three of them. (See Finding no. 1 directly above.)
3. Of the twelve scenes showing a libation sacrifice, a male figure performs the act in seven of the scenes.
4. Of the two remaining scenes, all the sacrificial elements along with the sacrificants are present (Cat 32 and I.S.R.^c), however the actual libation sacrifice is not depicted.
5. Of the four scenes showing a fruit sacrifice, female figures carry or perform the sacrifice. (See Cat. 32, Vesta, D.K.^a, D.K.^c.)
6. Of the two to three scenes showing a bread sacrifice, female figures carry or perform the sacrifice.
7. Of the eight scenes showing an incense sacrifice, four scenes show a female figure making the sacrifice and three scenes show a male figure making the sacrifice. In the remaining scene the sex of the incense sacrificant is not clear.
8. Of the seven scenes showing an animal sacrifice, four scenes show only male figures associated with the sacrifice, zero scenes show only female figures associated with the sacrifice and two scenes show male and female figures together associated with the sacrifice. The sex of the sacrificant in the remaining animal sacrifice scene is not clear.
9. Of the four scenes with mixed human and mythical figures, in which humans are the central figures, mythical figures stand quietly by the human figures, lending dignity and authority to the main event. In one of the four scenes, the goddess Vesta sits on a throne and extends her right hand waiting for the human Vestal Virgins to place something in it. ("Vesta" = Detail. Vesta with Vestals: Fruit Offering over Flaming Altar. Kotker, Norman, The Holy Land in the Time of Jesus (1967) 22). In one of the four scenes (D.K.^b = "Sacrifice" Detail. Five-Column Monument, Roman Forum, Diana E.E. Kleiner, Roman Sculpture [1992] 415, fig. 385) Victory crowns the emperor but this is about as far as godly service to humans goes. In these selected scenes, Roman gods or goddesses do not serve humans food or wine even when the humans are the star attractions.⁴⁴⁴.

⁴⁴⁴Unless it is to deceive the human.

Table 3.3xxi. Group 7 Comparanda: Selected Greek Scenes: AGAPE and EIRENE (Detailed Data)⁴⁴⁵

Table 3.3xxi. Group 7 Comparanda		
Scene iconography	AGAPE	EIRENE
inscription(s) in illustrated scene	1	1
banquet scene?	1	1
a) klinè (meal?)	1	0
b) sigma (meal?)	0	0
c) other meal configuration	0	1
offering and sacrifice scene	0	0
total number of figures on artifact	4	8?
total number of female figures	4	3
total number of female figures with veils	0	0
total number of male figures on artifact	0	1-2
total number of males with veils	--	0
total number of figures: sex=indefinite	0	0
total number of children in scene	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--
b) reclining	--	--
c) sitting	--	--
d) standing	--	--
number of female figures reclining in scene	4	0
a) with a cup	3	--
b) at centre of sigma	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--

⁴⁴⁵There is no overview table for this group of two scenes. The only reason they have been put together in this table is to allow the reader to see my analysis of the iconography of two Greek female figures with the same names as those figures in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes under study. The first scene, 'AGAPE', is a representation of female human figures at an all female symposium. The second scene depicts figures from the mythical world of Greek religion.

Table 3.3.vi, Group 7 Compendia		
Scene Iconography	AGAPE	EIRENE
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	--
number of male figures reclining in scene	0	0
a) with a cup	--	--
b) at centre of sigma	--	--
c) <i>in dextro</i>	--	--
d) <i>in sinistro</i>	--	--
number of female figures sitting in scene	0	1
a) in a cathedra	--	0
b) with a cup	--	1
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--
number of male figures sitting in scene	0	1
a) in a cathedra	--	--
b) with a cup	--	--
c) adjacent to <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--
d) adjacent to <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--
number of female figures standing in scene	0	2
a) with a cup	--	+
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--
number of male figures standing in scene	0	1?
a) with a cup	--	+
b) in front of <i>in cornu dextro</i>	--	--
c) in front of <i>in cornu sinistro</i>	--	--

Table 2.3vi. Group 7 Compared		
Scene/Iconography	AGAPE	EIRENE
number of female figures in scene with a cup	4	1
number of female figures drinking from a cup	1	0
number of male figures in scene with a cup	0	0-+
number of male figures drinking from a cup	0	0
number of figures with head movement	4	4
number of figures with arm movement	4	6
number of figures with foot movement	0	1
number of 'tripod' tables	0	0
number of platters: ground/table	0	0
type of food served: a) meat	0	1
b) fish	0	0
c) bread	0	1
d) fruit	0	1
e) wine	1	1
number of individual portions served	--	0
number of large wine containers	+	+
indicators of singing or music	1	1
mensa in chamber	--	--
human figures	4	1?
mythical figures	0	8 ⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁶The difference between this number and the total number of male and female figures is that the remaining figures are satyrs.

Table 3.3001 - Group 7 Comparison		
Scene/Iconography	AGAPE	EIRENE
animal figures	0	1
mixed human & mythical figures	0	0, 8

ΑΓΑΠΕ = Psykter, Euphronios, Hermitage, No. 644, St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad).
Detail of ΑΓΑΠΕ, courtesy of Dr. Martin Kilmer, Dept. of Classics and Religious
Studies, University of Ottawa, Canada.

EIRENE = LIMC (1981) Vol.III, No.2, 542, no. 11, Detail. From: Calyx-krater, no.1024
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum represented in Shapiro, Personifications in Greek Art
(1993) 46, no. 9.

Findings

1. There are one word inscriptions near the head of the female figures in both scenes.
2. ΑΓΑΠΕ is written retrograde (i.e. [E]PAGA or (E)PALA).
3. The function of these inscriptions is likely to identify the figures.
4. The *psykter* with the name ΑΓΑΠΕ shows naked human figures at an all female *symposion*.
5. The female figure EIRENE is a mythical figure in a mythical scene (with satyrs).
5. The figures AGAPE and EIRENE both hold drinking cups. AGAPE holds two drinking cups.
6. There are indicators of music in both scenes.

3.4 Summary of Findings

From the above analysis of 21 tables, the data can be organized into nine important subject areas:

- 1) Iconography of EIRENE and AGAPE in earlier Greek and Roman Art
- 2) Female Figures and Banquet Scenes
- 3) Mythological Figures
- 4) Interaction between the figures at banquet scenes
- 5) Wine
- 6) Identifiable Christian Figures in Banquet Scenes
- 7) Food
- 8) Banquet Meal Iconography
- 9) Function of Inscriptions

The following findings are specific to the 75 scenes presented in this chapter (8 scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro and 67 scenes of comparanda). I am not using these scenes to extract universal 'isms' about any particular category of art from Late Antiquity. Rather I am interested in the patterns that show up and overlap among the different groups of scenes. Ultimately I want to ask if these patterns point to any type of historical activity. And if so, what is it? Sixty-seven different scenes of comparanda from the same time period might very well show findings that are very dissimilar from those summarized below.

3.4.1. Iconography of EIRENE and AGAPE in earlier Greek and Roman Art

A survey of LIMC (1981) shows no written or iconographical entry for the term, 'AGAPE'. The only known visual representation of ΑΓΑΠΗ occurs on an Attic Psykter dated from the 6th C. BC. The figure is shown reclining at a *symposion* with three other reclining figures. All are naked. AGAPE holds two drinking cups.

Greek and Romanized Greek figures of EIRENE are known as late as the third century AD. Some of these scenes show a female figure sacrificing with a *patera* at a flaming altar. She is clearly a mythological figure. Whether she is shown as a goddess or a personification depends on the figure in the context of the scene and the function of the artifact (i.e. on Roman Imperial coins, the figure is probably a personification.)

3.4.2. Female Figures and Banquet Scenes (See also Banquet scene iconography)

Female figures in banquet scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro and other Roman catacombs do recline with male figures.

The action of a female figure standing and raising a cup at a banquet scene is unique to SS. Marcellino e Pietro within the aggregate of banquet scenes from the Roman catacombs. It is not unique within Roman banquet scenes from this time period. Nor is the action of a female figure reclining and raising a cup unique to the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. This gesture may also be found in the banquet scene fragments, Cat. 19 and Cat. 20 thought originally to come from the catacombs somewhere in Rome. The question becomes whether female figures reclining with a cup in funerary banquet scenes is unique to Christian banquet scenes?

Another pattern to consider shows scenes in which an orante (female figure with arms outstretched) stands to the right of reclining banqueters. This relationship, which is beyond the immediate scope of this study, also needs further investigation.

3.4.3. Mythological Figures

In Roman banquet scenes which show mythological figures playing a central role, human figures play a secondary role as servers. In banquet scenes in which human figures play a central role, the action of mythological figures is such that they are separate from the human figures and attend to their own business. They do not serve human figures wine or food.

In Roman offering and sacrifice scenes, mythological figures lend dignity and authority to human events. Their services to humans are limited to these functions.

3.4.4. Interaction between the Figures at Banquet Scenes

Conviviality at banquet scenes is depicted by interaction between the figures. The less interaction between the figures, or the more rigid the pose, the more the scene suggests an meaningful action is taking place.

Among the banquet scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro, there is a pattern of interaction (reciprocity?) between some of the female and male figures raising cups that warrants further study and interpretation. While

this pattern is not unique to the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, it appears more frequently there than in other groups of banquet scenes in this study.

3.4.5. Wine

It is very important in the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro to show that the wine that is served is mixed. The Latin verb, *miscere*, repeated seven times in these inscriptions, suggests this finding. In one Roman banquet scene analyzed, the deceased, the speaker of the inscription, asks for unmixed wine from the passers-by. What is the significance of wine if the dead call out for it? The almost universal presence of wine in the selected funerary banquet scenes (irregardless of where they are from) suggests that wine has a significance beyond its practical function as a drink. It may be a substance that functions the same in both the realms of the living and the dead and thus can be shared by both.

3.4.6. Identifiable Christian Figures in Banquet Scenes

Of all the scenes analyzed, Jesus and Mary are probably the only identifiable Christian figures who are present at a banquet scene. This finding is not a certainty but is derived from the name of the banquet scene given to the wall painting in Chamber 62, SS. Marcellino e Pietro, by previous art historians and archaeologists. While there is no proof to this claim, some elements of the iconography would seem to support it. If this claim is correct, then the figures of Jesus and Mary are depicted no differently from the human guests at the banquet.

3.4.7. Food

Bread marked with a cross " + " is not particular to SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes. It is found in other Roman banquet scenes as well. This visual mark on the bread probably points to a cultural rather than religious function for bread in the scenes in which it appears.

Fish and meat are as likely to be served in SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes as other Roman banquet scenes. Fish on a table in a banquet scene does not automatically mark the scene as Christian.

3.4.8. Banquet Meal Iconography

In those scenes in which a male figure is drinking from a cup, he reclines in the centre sigma-couch position. While I found examples of female figures in the centre sigma-couch position (one case in which the female figure is probably holding a cup, Cat. 10), I found no examples of scenes showing female figures drinking from a cup. In those scenes in which male and female figures recline together on a klinè couch, male figures almost always hold a cup. In these same scenes, female figures only sometimes hold a cup. I found no examples of lone female figures reclining on a klinè couch tipping a *patera*, as lone male figures do. Lone female figures on a klinè couch hold a mirror (Cat. 21a, 21b) their veils or their pets. There are two examples among my comparanda of lone female figures in a klinè position (not on a couch) holding a raised cup (not a tipped *patera*), Cat. 19 and Cat. 20. Female figures only hold tipped pateras in offering and sacrifice scenes. These figures are typically goddesses or female personifications.

Most scenes whether from SS. Pietro e Marcellino or elsewhere seem to depict the beginning of a meal. There are other elements however, both within the banquet scenes of SS. Marcellino e Pietro and other Roman banquet scenes which suggest that the viewer is looking at different levels of reality (ordinary and mythical time) within a single scene rather than a "snapshot" of one reality. If this is the case, the scene may be considered to be abstract, which is not the same thing as allegorical. One category is decidedly ahistorical (allegory), the other is not. I will deal with this question of reality as ordinary and mythical time in the interpretation of the frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro in Chapter Five: Interpretation of the Visual and Inscriptional Data.

Those who serve at banquet scenes tend to be male figures, children or youth. Male servers wear short tunics, sometimes with leggings and may have muscular legs. The iconography of their foot movement in a banquet scene suggests actions are carried out with haste. Children who serve typically wear undecorated floor-length tunics.

Although the majority of extant banquet scenes from this time period are represented as sigma-couch meals, there are still a handful of meal scenes shown in the klinè couch position.

3.4.9. Function of Inscriptions

Of my comparanda scenes (sixty-seven images in total) eighteen have texts written somewhere on the artifact (eight of which are illustrated in my catalogue: section II, figs. : 15a-b, Section III, figs. 19, 20, 21b, 24, 29, 31, and 33). One inscription is written near the fresco in the arcosolium (Fig. 15, Tomb of Vibia) and may be identified as speech. Of the total nineteen inscriptions, eleven identify the figures in the scene (two of these also express a wish towards the deceased); one inscription labels the action in the scene; one inscription is a dedication to Jupiter, three inscriptions are too fragmentary to place convincingly in any single category and three inscriptions may be identified as speech: two address the living stranger or visitor who encounters the sepulcher or burial site; and one inscription refers to snippets of speech among the figures in the scene.

3.5 Conclusion to Chapter Three

In this chapter I have attempted to bring some organization to the multiplicity of earlier theories on the female figures with cups in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. I have methodically presented the theories and their subsets. I have also presented the theories of the occasion thought to be represented in the banquet scenes as cognitive frameworks that affect the interpretation of the figures. I followed these presentations with an examination and critique of the earlier scholarship. I outlined the problems I find with the personification theories and 'real people' theories of the female figures with cups. These sections were followed by my analysis of the iconographical elements of the eight banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro and of my analysis of my comparanda. From this analysis of 21 tables, my data can be organized into nine important subject areas:

- 1) Iconography of EIRENE and AGAPE in earlier Greek and Roman Art
- 2) Female Figures and Banquet Scenes
- 3) Mythological Figures
- 4) Interaction between the figures
- 5) Identifiable Christian Figures in Banquet Scenes
- 6) Wine
- 7) Food

8) Banquet Meal Iconography

9) Function of Inscriptions

In the next chapter I will isolate the inscriptions of the eight banquet scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro under study and consider them within the context of similar inscriptions from the same historical period.

4.0 ANALYSIS OF INSCRIPTIONS

4.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I took a comparative look at selective visual materials that, in various ways, possessed important elements in common with the eight frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro under study in this study. I reported my findings from these findings at the end of each table and in a more general way at the end of the third chapter. In this chapter I follow a similar method to analyze the twelve inscriptions written on the eight wall paintings. I compare the painted inscriptions with other Latin funerary inscriptions that have important elements in common with the twelve selected SS. Marcellino e Pietro inscriptions. In line with my selection criteria for imagery, most of the comparative inscriptions are from Rome or the surrounding area. Again this decision is arbitrary but important in order to emphasize that my evidence and the conclusions drawn from it are tightly bound to women and funerary practices in Rome at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century.

Accordingly, attention is paid first to the constituent parts of the painted inscriptions from SS. Marcellino e Pietro (cat. nos. 1-8). Individual words and word patterns are enumerated and analyzed. Meanings of the words in the inscriptions are presented and discussed. I then analyze a sample of other inscriptions with the words AGAPE and IRENE in them. These other inscriptions fall into two groups: a) personal names and b) nouns in the ablative case with the preposition, 'in', ex. IN PACE: "in peace".

The first group consists of uses of these words as what we would recognize as first or common given names. From an examination of first names in CIL Vol. 6 (1975), one finds that IRENE and SABINA are, for example, popular first names for Roman women. AGAPE as a personal name is certainly less popular but not unknown. The second group denotes a noun used to name an object or a concept, not a person.

The important question of who is doing the speaking in each of the twelve inscriptions is to be examined after examples of parallel formulae have been considered and discussed. Parallel formulae include: 1) texts and funerary inscriptions with the verbs, *miscere* and *porrigere*; 2) funerary inscriptions expressing the idea of meals or drinking wine.

For the reader's convenience, I have reproduced the funerary inscriptions below as they appear in Chapter Two's catalogue. I also wish to remind the reader that, as much as possible, I have kept the format of each inscription as it appears

on the fresco. I have done this in an attempt to limit the amount of unintentional interpretation that may creep into historical documentation during the process of transcription.

4.1.1 The Twelve Inscriptions on the SS. Marcellino e Pietro Frescoes

The inscriptions appear in the catalogue as follows:

FIGURE: 1 (Lau 39)

INSCRIPTIONS: Within the plane of the image, there are two two-line inscriptions in black letters. On the viewer's left, above figure no. 2 are the words:

**IRENE.DA
CALDA**

On the viewer's right, above figure no. 4 are the words:

**AGAPE
MISCE. MI**

Along the upper arc of the image, and in a different script, are the words: **VOLSCVS, RVFEVS⁴⁴⁷, POMPONIVS, FABIVS**. The word **FABIANVS** appears in smaller letters at the centre, just above the word 'IRENE' and on the same level as the word, 'AGAPE'.

DATE OF INSCRIPTION: 280-320 AD

INSCRIPTION BIB: De Rossi, 1882, p. 113-114; Diehl, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 300, no. 1569 a-b; Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, no. 15942.

⁴⁴⁷The 'E' could also be an 'F' but in either case, not a typical spelling of the Latin name, 'RVFVS'.

FIGURE: 2 (Lau 45-2)

INSCRIPTIONS: There are two inscriptions, each approximately 3cm. high. On the viewer's left between the female figure *in cornu dextro* and the male figure (no. 2 -- see figure 2b), we find:

**AGAPE.MISCE
NOBIS**

written in two lines as above. On the viewer's right, directly above the head of male figure no. 6, we find a very faint inscription:

**IRENE
(P)ORG(E)
C(A)LDA**

DATE OF INSCRIPTION: 280-320 AD

INSCRIPTION BIB: De Rossi, 1882, p. 114; Diehl, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 300, no. 1569 c-d; Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, no.15943

FIGURE: 3 (Lau 47)

DATE OF INSCRIPTIONS: Above the head of the first male figure on the viewer's left (no. 1), approximately 3cm high and written in two lines are the words:

**AGAPE
(PO)RGE.CALDA**

(See figures 3b, 3c.) Above the head of the male figure on the viewer's left (no. 3), again in two lines are the words:

**IREN(E)
MISCE**

Unlike the letters of the other banquet inscriptions, the letters of these Latin inscriptions are written in a Greek-like script.

DATE OF INSCRIPTIONS: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Diehl, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 300, no. 1569 g-h; Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, no.15944;

FIGURE: 4 (Lau 50-2)

INSCRIPTIONS: In very faint red letters approximately 4 cm high, the words⁴⁴⁸ :

AGAPE

CACA

LDA

are written to our left of the first figure (no. 1 -- see figure 4c). The inscription,

IRE(NE).

M(I)SC(E)

is written to the right of no. 5 at the edge of the picture plane. The faded letters, written in two lines, are approximately 4cm. high.

According to de Rossi, on the left wall of the entrance where there are no loculi, there is an inscription⁴⁴⁹ (to the right side of the orant) rendered very faintly⁴⁵⁰ and grooved into the wall. It reads:

GAVDEN

TIA VIVA(S)

IN

⁴⁴⁸ I agree with Dückers who suggests that the 'D's' in DA and CALDA are rendered backwards on the wall painting. See Dückers, 1992: 154 .

⁴⁴⁹ "Gaudentia, live on in Christ (Chi-Rho symbol)". See G. B. de Rossi, 1882, 117f. I have followed de Rossi's visual rendering of the inscription but have exchanged the 'U' for a 'V' in keeping with Deckers et al. archaeological description of the chamber. See Deckers et al., 1987, 281. Gaudentia is an uncommon female Latin name. This inscription appears to be contemporary with the age of the crypt, late 3rd early 4th century.

⁴⁵⁰ "Con leggerissimo stile", de Rossi, 1882, 117.

DATE OF INSCRIPTIONS: 280-320 AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: De Rossi, 1882, p.116; Diehl, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 300, no. 1569
e-f; Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, no.15945.

FIGURE: 5 (Lau 75)

INSCRIPTION: Above and between the female figure and the male figure *in cornu dextro* of the sigma-couch, are the words,

SABINA . MISCE

the letters approximately 3.5cm in height.

DATE OF INSCRIPTION: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, no.15948

FIGURE: 6 (Lau 76-2)

INSCRIPTION: Above the head of the female figure to the viewer's left (no. 1), on two lines are the words:

**MISCE. MI.
IRENE**

DATE OF INSCRIPTION: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, nos.15949; 16536; 16556b; 16814 .

FIGURE: 7 (Lau 78-2)

INSCRIPTION: Above her head and to the viewer's left of no. 7 is the word:

**IRE
NE**

written on two lines, the letters approximately 3cm high.

DATE OF INSCRIPTION: 280-320AD

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, nos.15946; 16249 and 16288a.

FIGURE: 8 (Lau 78-3)

INSCRIPTION: Directly above the head of the female figure are the words:

**AGAPE.
MISC
E**

written in three lines, the letters ca. 3cm. high.

DATE OF INSCRIPTION: 280-320AD.

INSCRIPTION BIB: Ferrua, 1975, ICVR Vol. 6, nos.15947; 16249; 16288a.

4.2. Analysis

4.2.1 Preliminary Analysis: Frequency of Words and Word Patterns

As discussed in Chapter Three, the words from the inscriptions are repeated several times but they appear in different combinations on each of the eight frescoes. The repetition of each of the words in the twelve inscriptions occurs as follows:

- a) IRENE: occurs 6 times;
- b) AGAPE: occurs 5 times;
- c) MISCE: occurs 7 times;
- d) PORGE: occurs twice;
- e) CALDA: occurs 4 times;
- f) DA: occurs twice;
- g) MI: occurs twice;
- h) NOBIS: occurs once;
- i) SABINA: occurs once.

If one measure of the importance of a word is the number of times it occurs, then MISCE, IRENE AND AGAPE are the most important words in these funerary inscriptions.

Word patterns in the inscriptions occur in the following frequencies:

- a) DA CALDA: occurs twice;
- b) PORGE CALDA: occurs twice;
- c) MISCE MI: occurs twice;
- d) MISCE NOBIS: occurs once;
- e) AGAPE MISCE: occurs 3 times;
- f) IRENE MISCE: occurs twice;
- g) SABINA MISCE: occurs once;
- h) AGAPE PORGE: occurs once;
- i) IRENE PORGE: occurs once;
- j) AGAPE DA CALDA: occurs once;
- k) IRENE DA CALDA: occurs once.

In the twelve inscriptions, the word pattern, AGAPE MISCE occurs the most often but with different accompanying words each time:

a) FIGURE 1

**AGAPE
MISCE. MI**

b) FIGURE 2

**AGAPE.MISCE
NOBIS**

c) FIGURE 8

**AGAPE.
MISC
E**

The above simple analysis raises some difficult questions. First, how do we determine which is the correct way to assign meaning to the words in the

inscriptions: as individual words? as phrases? Second, is there a correct way to frame⁴⁵¹ their meaning? Third, would we frame their meaning differently if they were written on stone or marble? (rather than being painted) without an image?

To answer these questions, it might be useful to consider meanings for the words individually first as presented in the Oxford Latin Dictionary and then see where these meanings lead us.

4.2.2 Meanings for: (i) MISCE and (ii) PORGE

(i) MISCE

The Latin verb MISCE from *misceo ~ere ~ui mixtum (mistum)* is in the second person singular, present imperative active tense of the verb. In the context of the frescoes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, MISCE has usually been translated as: to mix or mingle two substances together especially in reference to preparing a drink.⁴⁵² Freund's Latin Dictionary revised by Charlton T. Lewis (1996) gives the example of "**Veientana mihi misces**"⁴⁵³ from M. Valerius Martialis (poet d. AD 102) 3, 49,1 for this meaning. There are other meanings for MISCE however both Pre and Post-Augustan. Pre-Augustan meanings of *miscere* include: "to join one's self to, have carnal intercourse with one. . . to intermarry." (Lewis & Short, 1996: 1149.) Post-Augustan meanings for the word include: "to share with, impart to another; to take part in, share in a thing." (Lewis, 1996: 1149.) The example given for this meaning is: "**cum amico omnes curas, omnes cogitationes tuas misce**"⁴⁵⁴, L. Annaeus Seneca (philosopher, d. AD 65) *Epistulae*. 3,3. The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1976) gives this same example along with the meaning "to associate with that of another, i.e. share (an activity, etc.)." (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1976: 1116.)

(ii) PORGE

The Latin verb, PORGE, from *porrigo ~igere ~exi ~ectum* (also *porgo*, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1976: 1406) is also in the second person singular, present

⁴⁵¹ With regard to context. See discussion of the terms, 'frame' and 'context', in Chapter One section: 1.6.2.

⁴⁵² Finn, Thomas, "Agape" in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd edition (Vol. 1, 1997) 24-25.

⁴⁵³ Translation: "You mix (pour?) (wine from) Veii for me." Translations of the Latin in this chapter were provided by Drs. Martin F. Kilmer (MFK) and John C. Yardley (JCY) of the Department of Religious Studies and Classics at the University of Ottawa, Canada hereafter identified only by their initials.

⁴⁵⁴ Translation: "Share all your worries, everything you mull over with your friend." MFK

imperative active tense of the verb. In the context of the frescoes, PORGE is usually translated as: "pass, offer".

This word also has a number of different meanings including a post-Augustan meaning of, "to stretch out, extend, to lie." (Lewis and Short, 1996: 1400.) One example given for this meaning from the same dictionary is from Plinius (minor) *Epistulae*. 2,17,23, which refers to a burial context: "**cubiculum porrigitur in solem.**"⁴⁵⁵ The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1976) gives a similar meaning: "to lay prostrate, stretch out (in sleep or death)." Another interesting meaning is: "to hold forth, reach out, to offer, present." (Lewis, 1996:1400). The meaning of reaching out is concerned with reaching out to another to take something (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1976: 1406). However, in the sense of being kept alive, or of being supported, *porrigo* (*porgo*) can also mean "to prolong, extend (a period of time)." (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1976: 1406.) An example of this meaning for PORGE is given from a text by Aulus Cornelius Celsus (physician, fl. AD 50) 2.5.1: ". . .ut aliquis impetum morbi trahendo effugiat porrigaturque in id tempus, quod curationi locum praestet."⁴⁵⁶ (*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1976: 1406 and Lewis and Short, 1996: 1400.) A fourth meaning for *porrigere*, that of "to offer, to grant a thing" (Lewis and Short, 1996), is also useful to consider. The example from M Tullius Cicero (orator, philosopher and lawyer d. BC 43) *De Oratore* 1, 40, 184 is: ". . . praesidium clientibus porrigere atque tendere."⁴⁵⁷

4.2.3 Meanings for: "DA"

The latin verb, "DA" is in the second person singular, present imperative active form of the verb *do, dare, dedi, datum* meaning "you give". It is an order or request: "Give to me, to us" whatever (object).

⁴⁵⁵Translation: "The bedroom chamber is laid out with the head to the east(?)." MFK

⁴⁵⁶Translation: "Such that a person wearing it may escape the (full) weight of the disease, and that this (effect) might be extended so long as to constitute a cure." MFK Aulus Cornelius Celsus is not to be confused with the Celsus who flourished in 180AD and wrote "On the true doctrine..."

⁴⁵⁷Translation: "...to offer and extend protection(?) to ones clients." MFK.

4.2.4 Meanings for: "CALDA"

Caldus~a~um is an adjective meaning "hot" but the word *calidum* is used to mean a drink of wine with hot water. Latin grammar demands that *calda* be accusative plural because it is the direct object of da. "DA CALDA" literally means: "Give me a hot (drink)".⁴⁵⁸

4.2.5 Meanings for: (i) "AGAPE" and (ii) "IRENE" in Late Antiquity

(i) ΑΓΑΠΗ⁴⁵⁹

This is a Greek word, a common noun meaning

- a) sexual love (St. Petersburg psykter, late 6th C., early 5th C., BC);
- b) high esteem, good will: Plato, *Symposium*: 7 (6, t.8, p. 835);
- c) positive characteristic: personal quality attributed to an individual, ex. two of the tetrarch emperors (Diocletian and Maximian, 284-305AD) were known as "Diocletianus et Maximianus AA. et CC. Agapae". (*Codex Iustianianus*, lib. 8. tit.27, constitutio 17.);
- d) name for a communal meal (Tertullian, *Apology*: 39, lines 16ff.);
- e) consecrated love, celestial food (Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*: 2.1.4.3-4; *Paedagogus*: 2.1.5.3-6.1);
- f) common name for a person (see inscriptions below);
- g) charity (Methodius, *Symposium*, 9.4)

As evidenced in the above examples, the word ΑΓΑΠΗ was used by Greeks, Romans and Roman-Christians. By the end of the 3rd century AD, the meanings given to AGAPE by Romans and Christians (who were a mix of Hellenistic and Roman cultures) were sometimes very similar. It is an irony of history that an emperor who persecuted the Christians, Diocletian, could have the same word in his official title as that which meant God's love for Christians .

⁴⁵⁸See *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1976), "calidum".

⁴⁵⁹ It is beyond the scope of this study to give all known meanings of AGAPE during the historical period discussed. I have consulted a number of excellent Lexicons including: Sophocles, E.A., *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period* (BC 146 to AD 1100), Vol.1, New York, 1957; Muraoka, T. A., *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 1993; Lampe, G., A., *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1961; Stephano, H. *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Vol. 1, 1954; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* Vol.1, 1900 in order to synthesize those meanings which seem most applicable to me for this discussion either because of their date or their authorship or, in some cases, both.

(ii) **IRENE**⁴⁶⁰

- a) peace, time of peace (as opposed to war): Homer, *Iliad*, Bk. 22, lines 153-156 (and throughout the *Iliad*);
- b) rest, repose: Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.6.6.;
- c) a wish of happiness, salutation *N.T. Lk.* 10.5.;
- d) goddess of peace, daughter of Jupiter and Themis, worshipped at Athens from 449? BC.;
- e) a female personification of peace, early 5th century.⁴⁶¹

4.3 Other inscriptions with AGAPE and IRENE

To help determine who or what AGAPE and IRENE may refer to in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro inscriptions, I compare how these words are used in other funeral inscriptions. The following texts are a sample of inscriptions showing how AGAPE and IRENE are most frequently used in funeral formulae of the first few centuries AD. In sections 4.3.1, 4.3.2 and 4.3.3 the inscriptions show AGAPE and IRENE as personal names. In sections 4.3.4 and 4.3.5 the inscriptions show AGAPE and IRENE as nouns in the ablative case with the preposition, "in". From my research of Latin inscriptions found in Rome, the word, IRENE, turns up far more frequently than the word, AGAPE, both as a personal name and as a noun with the preposition, "in".

4.3.1 Examples of inscriptions with AGAPE as a personal name:

- a) [CAE]CILIVS THREPTVS ET MANLIA AGAPE SE VIVI
[FE]CERVNT SIBI ET CAECILIAE THREPTAE FILIAE ET
[CA]ECILIO MEDAVRO FILIO ET SVIS LIBERTIS
LIBERTABVSQVE POSTERISQVE EORVM⁴⁶²

[H]OC MONVMENTVM NE DE NOMINE NOSTRO EXIAT
[Q]VI EXTERVM CORPVS INDVCERE VOLVERIT POENAE

⁴⁶⁰See comments and references for "AGAPE" above.

⁴⁶¹Definitions are from H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 490.

⁴⁶²Translation: Caecilius Threptus and Manlia Agape while they were living made [this] for themselves and for their daughter Caecilia Threpta and for their son Caecilius Medaurus and for their freed slaves [male and female] and for their descendants. May this monument never go away from our name. MFK

CIL VOL. 6, pars 2, 1960

no. 13785

ARCAE = town (Lewis & Short, 1996)

b)

D M S
C. VIBELLIVS FORTV
NATVS EMERITVS AV
GVSTORVM VIXIT ANN
IS XXXX COSCONIA AGAPE
KARA ICVIVLS B M FECIT⁴⁶³

CIL VOL. 6, pars 1, 1959

no. 3491

Found on a funerary urn, in villa Caesarina, PTOL.

c)

D (M)
C IVLIVS EVDAEMON CONI[
PHILINO ET IVLIA AGAP[
TRI ET SVFENATIAE PH[
TRI ET FRATRI DVLCI[
MERENTibVS FEC[

⁴⁸³Translation: "Cosconia Agape Kara (his wife) has made this." MFK. It is well known that Latin inscriptions frequently include abbreviations. Certain phrases were so well known to Romans that they could be reduced to single letters on an inscription, D M S being a common example:

D M S

D[IS] M[ANIBUS] S[ACRUM]

(sacred to the spirits of the dead).

Using this method, space and money could be saved allowing for a longer dedication to be presented on behalf of the deceased.

line 7: L(IBERTIS) L(IBERTA) b(VS) Q(VE) P(OS)T(ERIS) Q(VE)

CIL VOL 6 pars 3, 1966

no. 19970

marble tablet

4.3.2. Examples of inscriptions with IRENE as a personal name:

a) DIS MANIBVS FVLBIAE
IRENE CONIVGI BENE
MERENTI QVE VIXIT
AN NIS XVI MENSIBVS
III FECIT AELIVS FELI
CISSIMVS⁴⁶⁵

CIL VOL 6 pars 3,

1966

no. 18705

b) SPIRITUS SANCTUS
HIC QU[IE]S[CIT] IRENE
VIX[IT] ANN[OS] III ME[NSE]S
[

AE 1982

no. 0435

There are also inscriptions which demonstrate, IRENE was used as a name for a slave:

⁴⁶⁴ I have inserted square brackets where the CIL inscription shows a jagged line down the right hand side of the inscription = missing letters.

⁴⁶⁵ Translation: "To the sacred spirits of Fluvia Irene, a blameless wife who lived 16 years, 3 months. Aelius Felicissimus made this." JCY/MFK

c)

**IRENE T[ITI] MERCELLONIS
TREBICI SERVA
VIXIT ANNOS XVIII**

AE 1979

no. 0034

4.3.3 Examples of inscriptions with AGAPE and IRENE as personal names in the same inscription

a)

**CIP[IA] SEPT[IMIA] AGAPE [
KAST[A] F[I]D[ELIS] IN PACE [
AN XXVII M III [
ET
IRENE SVBSEC[UTA]
POST ANNOS [
HIC
DORMIVN+ N [PACE]
SORORES GEM[ELLAE]⁴⁶⁶**

CIL VOL 14, 1887

no. 1897

sarcophagus fragment

Ostia

b)

**AGAPE ET RVSTICIA ET ERENE FECERVNT SIBI LOCVM
TRISOMVM⁴⁶⁷**

⁴⁶⁶Completion of Latin text as per G.B. de Rossi. Translation: "Here sleep in peace twin sisters, Cipia Septimia Agape (sexually chaste and faithful) in peace - dead at 27 years 3 months, and Irene who followed some years later." *Kasta* (or *casta* as it usually would be spelled) implies she died a virgin; *fidelis* that she was a good Christian. MFK.

⁴⁶⁷Translation: AGAPE, RUSTICA AND IRENE have made this triple locus for themselves. MFK.

ICUR VOL II, No.1, 1935
no.5224
marble tablet

c)

AGAPE QVAE VIXIT
ANN V M II DIEB XXI
IRENE QVAE VIXIT ANN III
M VII DIEB V
IVLIVS VRBANVS PATER
FECIT⁴⁶⁸

DACL VOL 1, 1921
COL. 842

4.3.4 Examples of inscriptions with AGAPE as an abstract noun

a)

XIII CAL APRIL
DP
ERMOGENIA
IN AGAPE

b)

SABINA IN AGAPE

c)

LICINIVS IVSTINAE
CONIVGI MERENTI
IN A G P

⁴⁶⁸ Translation: "Julius Urbanus, their father, made this for AGAPE who lived 5 years 2 months 21 days and Irene who lived 3 years 7 months 5 days." MFK

**catacomb of Pretextus,
Rome**

d)

**IV STE NOMEN
TVM IN AGAPE⁴⁶⁹**

a,b,c,d

DACL VOL. 1, 1921

COL. 843

4.3.5 Some inscriptions with IRENE as an abstract noun.

a)

IULIA CLAUDIANE IN PACAE ET IRENE

Diehl, 1925

no. 2715

date: 3rd-4th C AD⁴⁷⁰

b)

**ATIOCΘEOCEBHC
EYTPON OC ENIPHNH
YIOC EΠOIHOC EN K ΠI K CETT⁴⁷¹**

⁴⁶⁹ de Rossi combines the first two sets of letters in row 1 to read: IVSTE NOMEN.
G.B. de Rossi, Bullettino di archaeologia cristiana (Vol 4/1, 1882) 127.

⁴⁷⁰See T. Roller, Les catacombes de Rome, Vol. 1 (Paris: 1881) pl. XXXII, no.14

⁴⁷¹Translation: "Atios, devoted to (the) god. (His) son Eutropos, made this." MFK. This graveplate has four images on it. (i) To the viewer's left of the inscription is a standing male figure wearing a short tunic. His body faces front but his head is turned toward the inscription. His right arm is raised slightly above his shoulder. His left arm is extended toward the inscription. He holds a cup in his left hand. Underneath the third row of text are two small images. I will describe the one closest to the standing male figure first. (ii) A male figure sits on a cathedra and is served by another male(?) standing figure. These figures are about half the size of the figure in (i). There is a couch or tall table behind them with two containers (?) in front of it. (iii) A bench with cushions(?) is also shown. (iv) To the viewer's right of the inscription is a dove with a flower(?) in its beak.

Klauser, Cathedra, 1927

plate 19,1

graveplate of Eutropos, p. 137

catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro

date:

c)

[E]N EIPHNH
MET[A]TON AΓION

T. Roller VOL 1, 1881

PL. XXXIII, no. 4

date: 3rd C AD⁴⁷²

4.4 Parallel funerary inscriptions

As we shall see, to date no other formula with the exact same wording as those painted on the SS. Marcellino e Pietro frescoes have been found on sarcophagi lids or graveplates. Even the single word, IRENE, shown in FIGURE 7 is usually accompanied by "IN" or "EN" in a funerary inscription. What is meant by the word, 'parallel', then if it does not refer to the same or similar inscription rendered in another type of media? Funerary inscriptions expressing the theme of meals or drinking wine may be considered as one type of parallel. Inscriptions with *miscere* or *porrigere*, especially in the same form as that found in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro frescoes, is another. Before exploring any new material however, I will turn to the visual data already gathered in Chapter Three. In that chapter, my analysis showed that of the sixty-seven comparanda scenes collected, nineteen of them were accompanied by inscriptions.⁴⁷³ Of this group, three are of particular interest to

⁴⁷²T. Roller, Vol. 1 (Paris: 1881) 216. Roller follows de Rossi's date for this inscription. For more examples of IRENE used in inscriptions as an abstract noun see T Roller, Vol. 1, plates XXI and XXXII.

⁴⁷³ Of my comparanda scenes (67 in total), eighteen have texts written somewhere on the artifact (eight of which are illustrated in my catalogue: Section II, fig.: 15a-b, Section III, figs. 19, 20, 21b, 24, 29, 31, and 33). One inscription is written near the fresco (Fig 15, Tomb of Vibia).

this chapter,⁴⁷⁴ two because they have something to say about wine and the other because it appears to be a fragment of the word, NOBIS.

4.4.1 Parallel funerary inscriptions from Visual Comparanda

a) From: Table 3.3xi

GROUP 3-4 Comparanda: Vibia

scene: near (Saz), on the arcosolium

(SEE ALSO: CAT., FIGURE 15; TOMB OF VIBIA)

The following funerary inscription is marked on the arcosolium of Vibia, Rome:⁴⁷⁵

...NCENTI V HOC Q... QVETES V QVOTVDES V PLVRES ME V ANTECESSERVNT V OMNES V EXPECTO V
MANDVCAVIBELVDEEBENIAT ME V CUMVIBES V BENEFAC V HOC V TECVM FERES V
NVMINIS V ANTISTES V SABAZIS V VINCENTIVS V HICE ...VISACRA V SANCTA V
DEVM V MENTEPIA V Q...T V

b) From: Table 3.3xvi

Group 5-1 Comparanda:

Selected Roman Banquet Scenes Outside the Roman Catacombs

scene: R.A. = "Klinè Meal. Occupation." Rita Amedick, Vita Privata (1991) pl.2, Cat.68.

Inscribed on the sarcophagus of Titus Aelius Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene, Ostia:

⁴⁷⁴ Of the total nineteen inscriptions, eleven identify the figures in the scene (two of these also express a wish towards the deceased); one inscription refers to snippets of conversation among the figures in the scene; one inscription labels the action in the scene; two inscriptions address the stranger or visitor who encounters the sepulcher or burial site; one is a dedication to Jupiter and three inscriptions are too fragmentary to place convincingly in any single category.

⁴⁷⁵ (Vi)ncenti hoc o(pus re)quies quot vides (id est hoc opus quod vides requies est Vincentii). -- Plures me antecesserunt, omnes expecto. -- Manduca, vibe (id est bibe), lude e(t) beni (id est veni) at me; cum vives (id est vives), bene fac; hoc tecum feres. -- Numinis antistes Sabazis Vincentius hic e(st, q)ui sacra sancta deum mente pia co(lui)t. -- As per the supplement by Mommsen in CIL. Translation: "The work that you see here is the resting place of Vincent. Many have gone before me, I await all. Eat and drink, play and come to me. While you are alive, do well. This is what you will bring with you. Vincentius, high priest of Sabazius is here who took care of the sacred rites of the gods with the proper attitude." MFK

FVERIT POST ET POST GAUDENIA NICENE VETO ALIUM QUISQUIS HUNC TITULUM LEGERIT
 MI ET ILLEI FECI
 T[ITO] AELIO EVANGELO
 HOMINI PATIENTI
 MERUM PROFUNDAT⁴⁷⁶

c) From Table 3.3vi

Group 2-1 Comparanda

Selected Banquet Scene Fragments, SS. Marcellino e Pietro

scene: chamber (73)

NO[B]

Specifically, the above three inscriptions are of interest for the following reasons. First, (a) the deceased, a priest, is addressing the passerby to go drink and enjoy him/herself since he/she will die soon enough; (b) the deceased warns against anyone else using his burial site and asks the visitor to pour unmixed wine for him (his ghost). Second, both inscriptions are clearly spoken in the voice of the deceased, who are able, presumably, to speak to the living even though the deceased resides in the afterlife.⁴⁷⁷ Third, (c) is probably part of a Latin word we have already seen in our eight frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro, namely: NOBIS, "to us". The fact that the inscription is painted on a fragment of a banquet fresco still *in situ* in chamber 73, and is in close proximity to chambers 75, 76, and 78 which have similar formulae painted on banquet frescoes, increases the likelihood of its completion as 'NOBIS'.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁶Translation: "[That] there may be another after me and Gaudenia Nicene, I forbid. Whoever should read this label, which I made for me and for her, should pour unmixed wine for Titus Aelius Evangelus, a patient man." MFK.

⁴⁷⁷The theme of the deceased addressing the living is extremely common in both Greek and Latin funerary inscriptions. See J.C. Yardley, "Roman Elegy and Funerary Epigram" in Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views (Vol. XL, n.s.15, 1996) 269, n.14.

⁴⁷⁸The formula with NOBIS written in full is in chamber 45:

AGAPE.MISCE

4.4.2 Parallel funerary inscriptions highlighting the word MISCE

In order to uncover other parallel funerary inscriptions, I have searched for those inscriptions which include the word *miscere* and refer to wine. If *miscere* is expressed in the imperative, the same form used in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro inscriptions, I consider this to be a bonus. To find these examples, I searched a number of Latin inscription databases.⁴⁷⁹ The following four examples are by no means an exhaustive record of the available data. However these examples are enough to show that the verb *miscere*, as part of funerary inscriptions, was:

- (a) associated with the mixing and pouring of wine for the deceased as well as the living;
- (b) part of an expression of a vow or oath to the deceased by the living due to its association with wine;
- (c) a term used by the deceased (through the inscription) to address the living.

a) VINU[M] MISCE⁴⁸⁰

AE, 1903

no. 0028

This inscription is found on an red earthenware vase discovered along with another container in an ancient cemetery in Reims, France, 1901. The letters are written around the mouth of the vase. The vase, referred to as "gallo-romain" and decorated "à la barbetine" is thought to have been used as a funerary urn whatever may have been its originally intended use. Three holes pierce the body of the container.⁴⁸¹ The inscription on the second container, also written around the mouth of the vase reads:

NOBIS

⁴⁷⁹ Patrologia Latina Database; Inscription database at <http://www.rz.uni-frankfurt.de/~clauss/index-e.html>; Carmina Latina Anthologia

⁴⁸⁰ Translation: Mix (pour) wine.

⁴⁸¹ From the archaeological report: "Extrait des procès-verbaux." Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France, 1902, 182. Reported by M.L. Demaison. Two containers were found together.

MERVVM DA ESCIPE VITA.⁴⁸²

b)

**DIS MANIBVS
IVLIAE FELICVLAE
CONIVGI BENE
MERENTI EIVSDEM
FILIO NEPTVNALI PATER
FECIT EVARISTVS PVBLIC
IVLIANVS SIBI ET SVIS
PO[ST]TERISQVE EORVM
HOSPES AD HVNC TVMVLVM
NEMEIAS OSSA PRECANTVR
TECTA HOMINIS SET SI GRATVS
HOMO ES MISCE BIBE DA MI⁴⁸³**

**CIL VOL. 6, pars 1,
1959
no. 2357**

c)

**DIS CVM HOC
ET LACVM HYC
VOTO MISCE
TVR
G C CALP RVFI
NVS V C⁴⁸⁴**

⁴⁸²Translation: "Pour wine, grasp life!" JCY.

⁴⁸³ Translation: Sacred to the spirits of my wife Julia Felicula a good woman, and to her son, Neptunalis. His father Evaristus Public(us) Julianus has made this for himself, his family and for their descendants. Stranger, I beg you at this tomb not to urinate on the bones of a human being but if you are a kindly man, mix (pour), drink and give (some to me.) JCY/MFK

⁴⁸⁴Translation: Sacred to the Gods in fulfillment of an oath/promise, mix (pour) . . . ? JCY

CIL VOL.2, 1956

no. 2395d

date: late 2nd century AD

d) TIBVR MIHI PATRIA AGRICOLA SVM VOCITATVS
 FLAVVS IDEM EGO SVM DISCVMBENS VT ME VIDETIS

. . .

[7 LINES]

TRADIDIT QVI PIETATE SVA COLERET FASTIGIA NOSTRA
HOSPITVMQVE MIHI SECVRA SERVAVIT IN AEVVM
AMICI QVI LEGITIS MONEO **MISCETE** LYAEVM⁴⁸⁵
ET POTATE PROCVL REDIMITI TEMPORA FLORE
ET VENEREOS COITVS FORMOSIS NE DENEGATE PVELLIS
CETERA POST OBITVM TERRA CONSVMIT ET IGNIS

CIL VOL. 6, pars 3,

1966

no. 17985a

The pouring or mixing of wine for the deceased was considered by pagan Romans to bring benefits to both the living and the dead especially through the practice of rites associated with ancestor cults.⁴⁸⁶ Through inscriptions, the deceased called out to the living for wine because they were thirsty, or so it was thought, and because pagan Romans believed that wine had the power to quench the thirst and refresh the souls of the dead.

4.4.3 Parallel funerary inscriptions highlighting the word, **PORGE**

⁴⁸⁵ LYAEVM: another term for Bacchus, god of wine. Translation beginning line 12: "[My] friends who read this, I urge you, mix (pour) wine and drink it far away and bind your brow with flowers. And don't deny sexual congress to pretty girls. For all we know, after death earth and flames consume all." MFK

⁴⁸⁶ See, J.M.C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (Ithaca, N.Y.: Thames & Hudson, 1971) 35.

Of the databases I consulted, I was unable to find parallel funerary inscriptions using the search terms, *porge*, *porrigo*. and *porrige*.⁴⁸⁷ Three examples for *porge*, two of which are reproduced below did turn up in the Patrologia Latina Database. A much larger number of texts were recovered for the verb in the form *porrigo*, a representative example of which was selected and reproduced below. Excerpts from these texts are as follows:

a) **PORGE**: "Haec olim genitorque tuus, genitrixque secuti securam placido mihi permulsero senectam. Tu senium, quodcumque super labentibus annis fata dabunt, qui nomen avi geris indole prima, prime nepos, vel re vel spe mihi **porge** fruendum."⁴⁸⁸

Ausonius Burdigalensis, dates c. 310-c.395AD

Excerpt from:

Idyllia: Idyllium IV. Ad nepotem Ausonium protrepticon de studio puerili.

Ausonius Hesperio. filio suo salutem.

b) **PORGE**: "Pande serenam, Christi tamen faciem, spes et respice lapsas: votis omnia cesserint. Jamque potentem **porge** manum trepido: ausim scandere tecum quanquam torva pericula."⁴⁸⁹

Hercius Antissiodorensis, date:

Excerpt from: Vita S. Germani,

Patriarch of Constantinople (715-730)

Praefatio libri quarti.

c) **PORRIGO**: "Quando illi ovum do vel invito, vel calicem salutarem **porrigo** saucio; et quomodo reficiam, quando invenio? Ne inedia deficiat, et ad sanitatem non perveniat, hortor ut reficiat: pugnosc parat, saevire vult in medicum."⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁷According to Yardley, *porge*, the syncopated form of *porrigere*, is typically found in comedy and 'spoken' Latin in literature.

⁴⁸⁸Translation: "So once your (grand)father and your (grand)mother (did), living out a secure old age [to my contentment]. Whatever the fates grant [or give] you as the years roll by, you who bear the name of your grandfather right from your first youth, you [the first grandson?], offer that to me whether concretely or as something wished for, for me to enjoy."

⁴⁸⁹Translation: "Reveal (or display) the serene face of Christ, and look back at the hopes you have let fall: all things yield (eventually) to prayer. And then hold out your hand, now capable, to this frightened man: however grim the dangers, I shall dare climb (so long as I am) with you."

8. Beatus vir, cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus, et non respexit in vanitates et insanias mendaces.

Augustinus Hipponensis date: 354-430AD

Excerpt from: Enarrationes in Psalmos

4.4.4 Christian funerary inscriptions emphasizing the idea of wine, meals and conviviality

For modern westerners, any discussion of the ritual function of wine in Late Antiquity is complicated by the centuries of traditions, attitudes and practices around the sacrament of Eucharist in the Christian church. Wine, however, was an integral part of Greek and Roman culture and religions. Gods expected it, the dead needed it, and oaths were sworn with it. The recognition of wine in its Greek and Roman ritual functions is suggested in the following four Christian funerary inscriptions (from various parts of the Roman empire). The fourth inscription, (d), is of particular interest for its parallels to the AGAPE and IRENE inscriptions in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Its mixture of Christian and Roman terms points to this commingling of Christian ideas with Greco-Roman culture and religious beliefs.

a) SANCTI AC BAEATISSIMI MARTYRES
 PETIMVS IN MENTE HABEATIS VT DO
 NENTVR VOBIS!!!!!!! SIMPOSIVM
 MAMMARI GRANIV ELPIDEFO⁴⁹¹
RV. . . QVI HAEC CVB IIII AP C/P/M/
 SVIS SVITIBVS ET SVIS OPERIBVS
 PERFECERVNT

CIL VOL 8, SUPPL 4

⁴⁹⁰ Translation: "When do I give or offer an EGG? to (him or her) or offer the cup of salvation (or health?) to one who is wounded; and how shall I make him over, when I find him? I urge him to do it over, so that he will not be lacking in fasting and lest he not arrive at health: he should prepare to fight, he wants to rage against the doctor." 8. "Blessed is the man whose hope is the name of the Lord, who does not turn (or turn back) to vanities and crazy lies." MFK

⁴⁹¹ Translation: "Holy and most blessed martyrs, we pray you to keep in your minds that [!!!!!!! = something?] given to you [and a] symposium by Mammarius, Granus, [and] Elpideforus who completed this cubiculum at their own expense and with their own resources." JCY. The inscription probably refers to a symposium given in honour of the martyrs by those named in the text.

1916

no. 27333

b)

[. . .] IN PACE
[. . .] IDUS FEBR.
[. . .] CONSS. GRATIANI III ET EQUITI
[. . .] FLORENTINUS, FORTUNATUS ET /5/

[. . . FE]LIX AD CALICE BENIMUS⁴⁹²

Diehl, 1925

no. 1568

date:

c)

+ FLAVIANUS VIXIT
ANNUS IN CRIXTO
PLUS MINUS Lta.
IN CENA dNI ACCE
/ 5 /
PIT PENITENTIA
FAMULUS dEI INdULGE
NTIAS. dEFUNTUS EST
ET REQUIESCIT IN PACE
IIItio kld APRILES ERA
/ 10 /
dLXXXIII⁴⁹³

Diehl, 1925

no.1551a

date:

⁴⁹² The last line should read: AD CALICEM VENIMUS. Translation: "...in peace...We come happy to the chalice: Florentinius, Fortunatus, and" MFK

⁴⁹³ Translation: "+Flavianus lived (/50?) years in Christ give or take. At the banquet of the LORD this servant of God received mercy by his penitence. He died and is resting in peace. Third day before the kalends of April." MFK/JCY.

d)

IN [CHRISTO] DEO
PAX ET CONCORDIA S[IT]
CONVIVIO NOSTRO⁴⁹⁴

FEVRIER, "A propos..."

1977

pp. 29-30

mosaic, N. Africa

4.5 Addressing the living from the grave: in ancient Rome the dead talk back through funerary inscriptions⁴⁹⁵

In some of the examples above, the inscription demonstrates that the speaker of the words is clearly the deceased. The evidence of a substantial number of Roman funerary inscriptions shows that many were written as though spoken by the deceased to the living.⁴⁹⁶ In some cases the deceased simply wanted to tell their story or to be remembered. In others they ask that the living to continue to care for them. In two of our examples, the dead (through their inscription) ask passers-by to oblige them by pouring mixed or unmixed wine on their bodily remains (bones or ashes). (See 4.4.1(b) and 4.4.2(b).) In these examples the wine is something to be shared between the living and the deceased. Since the dead were buried at the side of the roads leading out of the city, Christians traveling to and from Rome would

⁴⁹⁴Translation: "In [Christ] God let there be peace and harmony for our convivium [symposium]." JCY. See, P-A Février, "A propos du repas funéraire: culte et sociabilité," in Cahiers Archéologiques (Vol. XXVI, 1977) 29-46.

⁴⁹⁵The living also speak to the dead through inscriptions. An inscription from SS. Marcellino e Pietro dated 307AD for example tells the gentle spirit (of the dead person) to drink, live (pie seses)! Roller states that this funeral formula is often found on gold glasses sometimes bracketing the Constantinian monogram. See Roller, Vol. 1, 1881, pl. xxxix and pp. 255-256.

⁴⁹⁶ See Franciscus Buecheler, Anthologia Latina: Carmina Latina Epigraphica, (Vol. 2 nos. 1 and 2, 1964) nos. 980, 117, 74, 118, 54, 73, 76, 82, 63, 973 (verses all beginning with "HOSPES...". The first line is frequently a variation of: "HOSPES RESISTE ET TUMULUM CONTEMPLA MEUM..." Translation: "Stranger remain and contemplate my tomb...." Yardley suggests that of this group 54, 73, and 76 are pre-Augustan instances of this topos. He argues that since ancient poetry does preserve common patterns and themes, at least some themes of earlier grave epigrams recur in later funerary contexts so that by the Augustan period an epigrammatist and a poet are drawing on a common tradition. See pp. 268-269 and p. 269 n. 14.

have been familiar with inscriptions on tombs that were written in the voice of the deceased. They were part of the common Roman visual landscape.

In a culture that practiced the veneration of the ancestors, care of the dead (especially one's own dead), was also part of everyday life. In fact reminding one's kin to feed and give them a drink every now and then was probably a prudent move on the part of the deceased, since in the pagan Roman view of the afterlife, there was no single belief system concerning the dead. Toynbee states:

Early Roman ideas as to where the Manes dwelt, after the body had received due burial, are not explicitly recorded. It is however, likely that they were thought of as being underground, at or near their burial place, where they could be given nourishment. . . . There the departed were believed to rest in the kindly bosom of maternal Earth, to whom they had descended.⁴⁹⁷

4.5.1 Addressing AGAPE AND IRENE: The speaker(s) of the funerary inscriptions written on the banquet scenes of SS. Marcellino e Pietro

Given the analysis of the above funerary inscriptions, it is now possible to make a case for identifying the speaker(s) of the 12 funerary inscriptions in the eight banquet scenes under study. Regardless of whether previous interpreters of the frescoes considered the female figures to be personifications, family members or servants, they generally agreed that the inscriptions written on the frescoes represent dialogue spoken by the male figures reclining behind the sigma couch. Justification for this identification is not always given, but in the cases in which the interpreter's reasoning is made apparent (e.g. Ferrua), by and large, the justification is based on the gesture of a male figure's arm and hand. In those cases in which the reasoning for the identification of the speaker is not made apparent, I suspect that the scholar's decision is based on an assumption of low status with regard to the female figures (i.e. they are viewed as servants). In those rare cases in which a scholar does assign a high status to the female figure (i.e. the figure presides over the banquet in some way --typically as a personification) but does not interpret her as "the speaker" of the text, I can only guess that some type of feeble conflict arises when 'female figure', 'presides' and 'agency' make a match.

With regard to the question "To whom is the request being made?", most interpreters believe the commands to be directed to the female figures in the

⁴⁹⁷ Toynbee, 37

fresco. (De Rossi, 1882: 129; Dölger, *ICQUS*1945, Vol. 5: 492; Ferrua, 1970: 25; Guyon, 1977-78: 217; Jastrzebowska, 1979: 64)⁴⁹⁸. A slightly different position is taken by P-A Février, an archaeologist, who gave a very impassioned paper at the 1975 *Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana* in Rome on the urgent need for research to contextualize 3rd century Christian graves (found in the catacombs of Rome) in 3rd century Roman society and culture. Février differs from the other interpreters by theorizing that the writing on the banquet frescoes of SS. Marcellino e Pietro probably expresses ritual formulae representing some aspect of ceremonial rites that took place in real life Christian martyr cults in Rome.⁴⁹⁹ Leclercq in his discussion of "Le formulaire de l'agape", presents different types of evidence including material evidence (engraved glass and funerary inscriptions) to show that a wide variety of different phrasings could all fall under the rubric of early Christian ritual meal formulae (Leclercq, *DACL*, 1921:cols. 831-834.). The inscriptions from SS. Marcellino e Pietro, however, are not among Leclercq's examples.

The problem with interpreting the funerary inscriptions as dialogue between the figures is that the texts (and images) do not support this interpretation. First, the texts seem to float above the figures in large red or black letters and are not clearly connected to any one figure. In those frescoes in which the texts are aligned above a figure, it is, in most cases, the female figures and not the male figures with which they are aligned. Secondly, in every case, there is no written response to the request expressed by the inscription.

From the weight of the above epigraphical evidence, the words spoken in the twelve SS. Marcellino e Pietro inscriptions probably belong, to the voice(s) of one of

⁴⁹⁸In the case of fig. 6 in my catalogue, Ferrua understands the command to be made to a female figure in a near-by fresco: "Chi parla ed a chi va la parola? Mi pare che chi fa più chiaramente il gesto della parola sia l'uomo anziano, e che le parole scritte così accanto alla sua testa escano proprio dalla sua bocca.... Irene a cui egli parla non è nessuna delle due giovani assise a tavola, che non sono fantesche e non hanno modo di seguire l'ordine. E invece quella che si trova nel lato sinistro della volta, verso cui sembra dirigersi la mano di chi parla." Ferrua, "Una nuova regione..." in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, (Vol 47, nos 1-2, 1970) 25. According to Ferrua, while it is the older male figure who does the speaking in this banquet scene, he is not speaking to either of the female figures in the same scene but to a female figure (whom Ferrua identifies as "la fantesca" who is in the fresco to the figure's right. (By left, Ferrua means the viewer's left.)

⁴⁹⁹ P-A Février, "Les cultes des morts dans les communautés chrétienne durant le III siècle": *Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana*. Roma 21-27 settembre 1975, 1, I monumenti cristiani precostantiniani = *Studi di antichità cristiana*, 32, 1 (Citta del Vaticano, 1978) 306. Février compares funeral inscriptions in Africa (well-known sites of martyr cults) and Rome to make the analogy between the rites of martyr cults in Africa and potentially similar activities in the Roman catacombs. None the less, he still sees the female figures as personified servants.

the deceased buried in the chamber. While the examples we have in our parallel funerary formulae are in the male voice, there is no reason why the speaker should not be female.⁵⁰⁰ As in the pagan Roman funerary inscriptions which use the word, *MISCE*, and like the other parallel inscriptions which refer to wine but do not use the word *MISCE*, the deceased is asking for mixed wine. Sometimes the deceased is making the request for him or herself (*MISCE MI IRENE*) and sometimes it is made for an unidentified number of dead or a group of living and dead individuals joined together (*AGAPE MISCE NOBIS*).⁵⁰¹

4.5.2 Possible referents for the words, AGAPE and IRENE

If I am correct in my theory that the inscriptions are spoken by the deceased, then it would seem unlikely that these inscriptions address someone who is living and who is also Christian. Such an interpretation would suggest that the inscriptions are then no different from all the pagan Roman inscriptions in which the dead ask the living to give them wine. Or would it? We need to elaborate on this point further.

In the pagan Roman view of the afterlife, it was understood that the dead must rely on the living (especially their families) to care for their souls and bodily remains.⁵⁰² Pouring wine on the physical remains of one's relatives was one means of

⁵⁰⁰We have both Roman and Christian literary examples of women presiding at banquets. In Roman poetry, females, even those of high status, were known to drink wine. See Catullus (87-ca.55BC) 27:

"Minister uetuli puer Falerni/ inger me calices amariores,/ ut lex Postumiae iubet magistrae/ ebrioso acino ebriosioris/" In his commentary on Catullus, C.J. Fordyce states that Postumia, a Roman lady of position "appears to be acting as president" or as *arbitar bibendi* or *magister* of the drinking party. See, C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus: A Commentary*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968) 158. In early Christian literature, we know of two female symposiarchs (one an earthly woman, the other a personification) who host and speak at banquets. In *The Symposium* by Methodius (bishop of Olympus in Lycia, d. ca. 311), a female symposiarch (a woman of high status) gives a banquet for an all female guest list. One of the invited guests, Gregorion, also a woman of high status, serves the wine. See H. Musurillo, trans. Methodius, *The Symposium* ca. 290, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958) 39. The purpose of this banquet is to listen to the discourse of 10 different Christian female virgins expounding on the virtue of chastity. In an earlier Christian text, *The Shepherd of Hermas* ca. 150, a female personification, 'ekklesia', speaking as though a banquet host, directs Hermas to his proper place at the left couch. *Hermas*: Vis. 3.1.9 and 3.2.4.

⁵⁰¹Probably for the deceased family members in the chamber.

⁵⁰²Ascent to the pagan heaven was by no means a sure thing. Nor was the survival of the individual soul. Marcus Aurelius (Roman Emperor from 161-180AD), as I. A. Richmond points out in *Archaeology, and the After-life in Pagan and Christian Imagery*, London: Oxford University Press, 1950, must have been aware, in his position as emperor that he was due to receive "divine honours" upon death. Nonetheless, he could not bring himself to believe in the survival of the individual soul in the afterlife: "In a little while, thou wilt be nobody and nowhere, like Hadrian and Augustus." (As translated from the Greek by Richmond: Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, xii,

ensuring some pleasure for ones ancestors, who were believed to live on in some individual way in the grave by both ordinary Pagan and Christian Romans. Hence the need to keep the spirits of the dead refreshed for both groups, the need to nourish the dead for both groups, the need to maintain the sanctity of the deceased's grave for both groups and for Christians, the additional duty of maintaining the integrity of the deceased's physical body.

In the new Christian view of the afterlife, by the 3rd century a doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh was slowly emerging. Carolyn Walker Bynum in The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336, (1995) details the history of the metaphors used and conflicts encountered by early Christian writers in their attempt to explain the paradox of continuity and change that occurs in the body. While early Christian theologians debated what this might mean for individual identity and the material continuity of the body after death, the changed view of the afterlife for Christians meant that the dead no longer needed physical care from the living (i.e. offerings of food & wine). The Christian dead were no longer bound by the grave but would rise again in bodily form on judgment day. Offerings of food and wine would not, according to the emerging doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, affect how this risen body was constituted.

The issue of what type of body would be resurrected however was by no means resolved in the minds of ordinary Christians. As Carolyn Walker Bynum tells us:

Theological writing between 200 and 400 makes it clear that the idea of resurrection continued to generate puzzlement, confusion, and incredulity in Christianity's pagan opponents as well as among the faithful. Theologians such as Hilary of Poitiers, Cyril of Jerusalem, or Gregory of Nyssa not only summarized and repeatedly refuted pagan attacks; they also expressed exasperation at the "silly questions" and "sterile fears" of ordinary believers.⁵⁰³

It is entirely plausible that Christians who believed in the material continuation of the body after death perceived no conflict between the emerging doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh and the pagan Roman practice of feeding the spirits of the

30) See p. 15 in Richmond's text. Despite Marcus' views, the idea of the blessed afterlife, in which the dead enjoy pleasures, especially drinking, became widespread in the next century.

⁵⁰³Carolyn Walker Bynum, The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 60.

dead. Wine and food were considered in some way to maintain the integrity of the deceased. It seems reasonable that the living would have continued to carry out the same sepulchral practices as before their conversion to Christianity but with a very different eschatological purpose in mind.⁵⁰⁴

Therefore while we cannot entirely rule out the prospect that the words AGAPE and IRENE refer to living persons who were being asked to carry out their familial duty toward the dead, there was, from a Christian point of view, a much wider community to call upon (including others who were deceased) to render services to the needs of the dead. Four further possibilities are examined below.

(i) Deceased female relatives as referents for the words AGAPE and IRENE?

We have certainly seen in the above inscriptions that AGAPE and IRENE were used as personal names for females. Some inscriptions (see section 4.3.3 above) even show the two names in the same family (whether mother and daughter or two daughters). And as I have already stated, the name, IRENE, was quite common in Rome. AGAPE and IRENE however can have meanings other than personal names in funerary inscriptions especially when used with 'in' or 'en'.

(ii) A Christianization of the pagan Roman funerary formula: D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum): Sacred to the Spirits of the Dead.

The practice of using D(is) M(anibus) or D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum) to begin an inscription is a common feature of Roman epigraphy. Typically it begins an inscription and is usually followed by the name of the deceased (see section 4.3.2a). Could it be that Christians replaced these common pagan Roman funerary formulae with AGAPE and IRENE to refer to the assembly of Christian saints (AGAPE and IRENE standing for the whole) replacing the pagan "spirits of the dead"? As a

⁵⁰⁴We are reminded of Augustine's own mother whose custom it was when in Africa to take "meal-cakes and bread and wine to the shrines of the saints on their memorial days. . ."; and who when in Milan ". . . willingly ceased this custom when she found that this great preacher, this holy bishop, [Ambrose] had forbidden such ceremonies even to those who performed them with sobriety, both for fear that to some they might be occasions for drunkenness and also because they bore so close a resemblance to the superstitious rites which the pagans held in honour of their dead." St. Augustine, Confessions, trans. R.S. Pine-Coffin (New York: Penguin Books, 1961) Book 6.2, 112-113. Augustine's description of his mother honouring the shrines of the saints by drinking wine watered down with hot water from a cup is one of the few existing literary texts we have which presents an early Christian woman participating in a Christian ritual. According to Augustine, his mother would share her cup of wine with "any of her friends who were present, allowing each to take only the smallest sip." 112.

Christian funerary formula, AGAPE and IRENE kept the pagan idea of plurality associated with the realm of the dead as well as met the established pagan funerary protocol of addressing or calling for the attention of the spirits (saints) whenever a new spirit (saint) (i.e. the newly deceased) was about to join them.

From the above epigraphical evidence, we do know that AGAPE and IRENE are used as abstract nouns in inscriptions when used with 'in' or 'en'. (See sections 4.3.4 and 4.3.5.) Frequently AGAPE and IRENE are used this way at the end of an inscription rather than at the beginning. The words' placement either at the beginning or at the end of an inscription reinforces their function as abstract formulae and reduces the possibility of their role as personal female names.

Changing the formulae of funerary inscriptions from those used by pagan Romans is clearly one way Christians would have marked off their different religious identity in a funeral context. As Roller demonstrates for the 3rd century, these formulae were hardly consistent. "Les formules principales étaient: *Vivas in Deo, in Domino; Dominus cum spiritu tuo;* *pax, pax tecum, in pace, 'EN EIRHNNH'; de saeculo recessit; ingressa in pace; dormit in pace; gratiam accepit; reddidit animam; receptus ad Deum; vivas inter sanctos, vivas in pace, vivas in aeternum, cum spiritibus sanctis; dulcissimo, carissimo, . . . , spirito sancto* (designant le defunt).

⁵⁰⁵ Such linguistic inconsistency suggests that funerary formulae were part of an evolving set of appropriate topoi for Christian funeral inscriptions. In other inscriptions, Christians regularly called upon favourite martyrs and saints to protect the loved ones they had just buried. If Christians called upon one or more martyrs for assistance, why would they not also call upon an entire assembly of saints?

(iii) Martyrs or individual Saints as referents for the words, AGAPE and IRENE?

According to the view of P-A Février, the banquet scenes in the Roman catacombs, especially those in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, refer to the activities of official martyr cults that took place in or around the Roman catacombs.⁵⁰⁶ Some support for this view and a possible link to our frescoes could derive from the story of two Christian martyrs known as AGAPE and IRENE who died sometime during the

⁵⁰⁵ Theophile Roller, The Catacombs of Rome (Vol. 1, 1881) 224. The funerary formula "IN AGAPE" does not appear until the late 3rd century.

⁵⁰⁶ In his view, the female figures do not seem to play any special role but are simply table servants, probably personifications. See, P.A. Février, "Kult und Geselligkeit." Überlegungen zum Totenmahl: Christentum und antike Gesellschaft. J. Martin and B. Quint, eds. (Darmstadt, 1990)

year 304AD. There was also a Christian martyr known as SABINA who was arrested and executed during the persecution of Decius (249-251AD).⁵⁰⁷

From different historical accounts of their trials⁵⁰⁸, we know that AGAPE and IRENE along with their sister, Chionia, were martyred in the spring of 304AD for disobeying a decree issued by the emperor Diocletian. **As the story goes, an edict issued by Diocletian in 303AD calling for the destruction of Christian texts** was opposed by the three young women who reportedly hid Christian scriptures in mountain caves near their city of Thessalonica. Once found by Roman soldiers the young women were charged and condemned. All three allegedly died by being burned alive. If there is any reliability for the date and content of this story (and there is some suggestion that there is), it does match the approximate dating of the paintings in SS. Marcellino e Pietro making it possible that the words, AGAPE and IRENE refer to the Thessalonican martyrs.

One problem with this proposal as a solution to the question of referents for the words AGAPE and IRENE, is that we do not have other examples of Latin funerary inscriptions with the names AGAPE and IRENE addressed as individual martyrs called upon to watch over or care for the Christian dead. The most common names used in this way in funerary inscriptions and other material evidence (glassware) are those of the apostles, Peter and Paul, the Christian martyr Agnes (who died a horrible death at about age 12 ca.100AD), and the male martyrs, Saint Cyprian and Saint Lawrence.

A second problem with this proposal is the name of the third sister, Chionia, missing in all of the funeral inscriptions in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. If the words, AGAPE and IRENE, did refer to the Thessalonican martyrs, why would the third sister be omitted?

(iv) Numinous qualities/virtues as referents for the words AGAPE and IRENE?

In the Shepherd of Hermas,⁵⁰⁹ Hermas has a vision in which he sees seven women around a tower of stone. The ancient lady called *Ekklesia* tells him that, "This tower is supported by them (the seven women) according to the

⁵⁰⁷See Herbert Musurillo, The Acts of the Christian Martyrs, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972) 136-167.

⁵⁰⁸Ibid, 280-293.

⁵⁰⁹Kirsopp Lake, trans., The Shepherd of Hermas, c.150AD.

commandment of the Lord." (Shepherd, Vis. 3. 8.1) Afterwards she lists their qualities (which are also their names), each woman being the daughter of the one before her. The seventh woman is called Αγαπη (love), daughter of Knowledge. The other women are called, Faith, Continen^{ce}, Simplicity, Innocence, and Reverence. The exact nature of these women is not made clear in this chapter. However in a later chapter, Hermas returns to the topic of the tower, this time in discussion with a shepherd to whom Hermas refers as the "angel of repentance". In Sim. 9. 13. 2 the shepherd tells Hermas that the maidens who support the tower are "holy spirits" (HAGIA PNEUMATA) who clothe men with their clothing (ENDYMATA - which the text later explains as "their powers") so that they may enter the Kingdom of God.

Thus in this text we have a connection between the word, AGAPE and holy spirits (HAGIA PNEUMATA) whose power men must put on (ENDYEIN) along with the other powers in order to enter Heaven.⁵¹⁰ This idea of "putting on AGAPE" and the other virtues would have circulated in the Christian communities who were familiar with this book in Rome around 150AD and later.

4.6 Conclusion to the Chapter

In this chapter I analyzed the twelve funerary inscriptions in SS. Marcellino and Pietro separate from their frescoes. This separation was important in order to compare the inscriptions with other Latin funerary inscriptions that share an important element or elements with the twelve texts. Comparison with other Roman funerary inscriptions clarifies the context of these inscriptions: they fall in clearly with the larger group of mortuary inscriptions of late third, early fourth centuries. The decision to restrict comparative material for the inscriptions to Rome as much as possible is important in order to emphasize that my conclusions are tightly bound to women and funerary practices in Rome in one particular period, the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century.

While the written inscriptions from the SS. Marcellino e Pietro catacomb are unique funerary formulae, they share interesting cultural features with Roman inscriptions. For example, I found that by comparing the twelve inscriptions with other funerary inscriptions using the verb, *miscere*, those inscriptions (in SS. Marcellino e Pietro) that use, *MISCE* - even if no word meaning wine is supplied – refer to the mixing and pouring of wine. This act is to take place in the immediate

⁵¹⁰See Carolyn Osiek, The Shepherd of Hermas, Hermeneia Commentaries. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999.

future (according to the form of the verb) and (on the same evidence) is a request given to a singular entity. We have also seen that in some inscriptions wine is to be shared between the living and the dead. From the epigraphic evidence, the phrases "*AGAPE MISCE MI*" or "*IRENE PORGE CALDA*" are not to be taken as conversational: that is, no dialogue takes place among the banqueters.

The important question of who is doing the speaking in each of the twelve inscriptions is placed in relief through a comparison with other Latin funerary inscriptions that use the word *MISCE* and with selected funerary inscriptions written in the voice of the deceased. These latter inscriptions include references to hospitality, drinking and the pouring of wine for the dead.

Referents for the words, *AGAPE* and *IRENE*, in my analysis include: living people, deceased female relatives, martyrs or other heavenly spirits and abstract funerary formulae. The idea of a virtue (understood as a heavenly quality/spirit) as a referent for the word *AGAPE* could also be a possibility as we have seen from textual evidence. The text, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, (ca. 150AD) makes *AGAPE* a female literary figure, a Christian virtue, and a heavenly spirit. As for the word *IRENE* (understood as a Christian virtue/heavenly quality/spirit) an argument could be made that the term constitutes a religious idea with possible literary and visual antecedents in Greek culture. *IRENE*, as a wish of happiness or salutation is also not unknown in the New Testament (Lk. 10.5).

The strongest candidate of referents for the terms, *AGAPE* and *IRENE*, lies in the proposal that the words *AGAPE* and *IRENE* are abstract funerary formulae that constitute a Christianization of the pagan Roman funerary formula: *D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum)*. *AGAPE* and *IRENE* replace the pagan Roman "to the spirits of the dead" possibly standing for the entire Christian assembly of saints (the ordinary Christian dead).

Finally, '*AGAPE*' and '*IRENE*' are found commonly at the beginning and end of inscriptions. Epigraphic evidence points to the deceased as the usual speaker(s) of funerary texts. These two facts place these inscriptions squarely in an environment of Ritual (Non-ordinary or Mythical) time and space. In Ritual time, events need not happen in logical or linear order. The actors who are present may be seen, unseen, or both; living, deceased, or both. In other words the line between life and death is quite thin and indistinct.

Since our funerary inscriptions are written on frescoes, it is highly likely that the banquet scenes in those frescoes belong to the same dimension of Ritual (non-ordinary or mythical) Time as the inscriptions. By this assertion, I do not mean to suggest that either the banquet represented or the accompanying inscriptions belong solely or even primarily to a symbolic plane.⁵¹¹ Rather, these images are abstract in the sense that they refer to both physical elements (in the form of a real-life meal given by the living in honour of the dead) and metaphysical elements (in the form of the voices of the dead) within the same physical image-frame of the painting and within a single frame of meaning.

To understand what this means for the interpretations of the frescoes requires that I recombine what we have learned about our funerary inscriptions with the analysis of our visual data from Chapter Three. In the next chapter we shall see whether we are able to determine more specifically just what kind of action is taking place especially by whom, for whom, and between whom in our eight frescoes under study from SS. Marcellino e Pietro.

⁵¹¹Unless these frescoes were made by Gnostic Christians, who believed only in the metaphysical continuation of the body in the afterlife, it is unlikely that the frescoes could be an allegory for a heavenly meal scene. The request for wine by the dead written predominantly across each image strongly reduces the possibility that the frescoes were made by Gnostic Christians. Such a request voiced by the dead supports the Christian view of the material continuation of the body, which, by the early fourth century, was becoming the predominant theology on the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh.

5.0 INTERPRETATION OF THE VISUAL AND INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE

5.1 Introduction

In the last chapter I stated that it is highly likely that the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro belong to the same dimension of Ritual Time (Non-ordinary or Mythic) as the inscriptions.⁵¹² I clarified that by making this statement I do not mean to suggest that a fresco or its inscription belongs solely or even primarily to a symbolic order. Rather, I suggest that our interpretations of these frescoes must include the possibility that both physical elements (in the form of a real-life meal given by the living in honour of the dead) and metaphysical elements (in the form of the voices of the dead) are represented within the same physical image-frame of the painting and within a single frame of meaning.

In order to tease out these different elements, we need to examine how the concept of time is represented in all eight frescoes. Without tackling this problem at the outset, any interpretation of the images that does not account for the chronological relationships of the inscriptions to the implied image-action of the scene is likely to go horribly awry. As set out in Chapter One, there are at least five modes of time that can be clearly identified in an image of ancient art (Greek or Roman) with inscribed speech.⁵¹³ Each mode implies a set of logics which flow from the chronological relationships -- what we call the 'chrono-logic' -- of the words to the image-action in the scene.⁵¹⁴

5.1.1 Time modes in Classical Greek and in Roman Art with Inscribed Speech

MODE (I): Speech occurs before the implied image-action of the scene.

⁵¹²To recall I described Ritual Time as a time zone in which events need not happen in logical or linear sequence. The actors who are present in Ritual Time may be seen, unseen, or both; living, deceased, or both. In other words the line between life and death is quite thin and indistinct.

⁵¹³See section 1.7.4. and ff.

⁵¹⁴For the purpose of clarity, 'image-frame' denotes the parameter or the physical ends of a painting on a surface. The frame may be a thick dark line drawn around a scene or simply a surface without paint around a scene. 'Image-action' denotes the action which takes place in the scene depicted in the image-frame. 'Speech action' refers to inscriptions identified as speech spoken in the present imperative tense.

Here the logics of ordinary time and image-action apply. It is clear that when the rules of ordinary time apply, the speech is directed to a figure inside the image-frame. The words must refer to the image-action in the scene; they cannot refer to anything outside the image-frame. The speaker of the inscriptions is also within the image-frame. Participants (figures) within the image-frame are all representations of persons who are presented as alive in the time of the action depicted: *i.e.*, the image-frame presents a consistent time mode for all figures. There are no deceased figures acting within the image-frame. (Deceased figures or supernatural beings who look and act like living human beings can only exist in a mythical time mode.) In **MODE (I)** no participants outside of the image-frame respond to either the speech or the image-action outside of the image-frame.

MODE (II): Speech occurs concurrently with the implied image-action of the scene.

The logics of ordinary time and image-action still apply. Again, since the rules of ordinary time apply, the speaker of the inscribed words is still within the image-frame. The words must refer to the image-action in the scene; they cannot refer to anything outside the image-frame. Participants (figures) in the image-action of the scene are representations of persons living at the time the speech and the image-action present. There are no participants outside of the image-frame who respond to either the speech or the image-action.

MODE (III): Speech occurs after implied image-action of the scene.

The logics of speech-action could be those of either ordinary time or mythical time. The logics of image-action could be those of either ordinary time or mythical time. In this chronological mode the speech may be directed to a figure inside the image-frame or to a person outside the image-frame. The form of the verb (using the example of funerary art) may require the presence of a viewer/visitor to the tomb who can carry out the request made by the inscription. Mythical time is implied by the speech-action of the inscription. For example, the words of the inscription which ask a living

person who reads the inscription to perform some kind of task, are written in the voice of the deceased and usually in the present tense. **MODE (III)** does not commonly require the viewer/visitor to step mythically into the image-action of the scene, only into the mythical time of the speech-action. That is, the viewer/visitor responds to the request by complying with what is asked. Any **MODE** which does not follow an ordinary logical time sequence can take place only within mythical (ritual or non-ordinary) time. Participants (figures) in the image-frame of the scene may be representations of living persons or of persons already deceased at the time the image is made (i.e. **time may not be the same for all of the figures in the image-frame**).

Participants outside the image-frame are limited, in this mode, to living persons. The speaker of the inscriptions may be either living or dead at the time of installing the monument, and is typically represented as engaged in the image-action of the scene.

MODE (IV): This mode may include combinations of the first three modes, including simultaneous use of all three.

With regard to speech-action, the logics of ordinary time apply alongside the logics of mythical time. With regard to the logics of image-action the logics of ordinary time apply alongside the logics of mythical time. The speech may be directed to a figure inside the image-frame or to a dead person, a mythical character, a living person or a supernatural entity whether represented or residing outside the image-frame. The participants (figures) within the image-frame of the scene are in both ordinary and mythical time. They may be all living or all deceased or a mix of both at the time the fresco was painted. The participants outside the image-frame are also both in ordinary and mythical time. They may be all living persons or all deceased, or a mix of both. They may include mythical characters or supernatural entities whether represented or residing outside the image-frame. A viewer/visitor to the tomb can be asked to respond to the speech-action implied by the inscription but typically is only an observer to the image-action implied by the scene (i.e. the scene does not require the viewer/visitor to act). With regard to any other participant outside the

image-frame (i.e. a dead person, a mythical character, or a supernatural entity), considering they are not human (or at least not alive) and thus in our way of thinking exist only in mythical time, they can be respondents to both the speech-action of the inscription and/or the image-action implied in the scene. In **MODE (IV)**, the inscription can be spoken by anyone within the image-frame or by a voice whose originator is not shown (for example, a deceased person or mythical entity outside the image-frame).

MODE (V): This mode may include combinations of the first four modes, including simultaneous use of all four.

The logics of ordinary time no longer apply: there is only mythical time. This means an engaged living viewer/participant in the tomb is invited both to participate in the mythical time of the speech-action and to participate through the mythical time implied by the image-action of the scene. That is, living participants are invited to participate in the meal depicted in the banquet scene. **MODE (V)** is different from **MODE (IV)** in the following ways: 1) there is only mythical time; 2) a viewer/visitor to the tomb is invited both to participate in the mythical time of the speech-action and to participate in the image-action of the scene.

The relationships in the frescoes between text, image, time and participants cannot be known for certain.

As discussed in Chapter One, based on these above modes of time identified by Kilmer in Classical Greek and Roman Art, we can define Ordinary Time as a mode of time represented in the scene which is the same for each figure in the image. Typically this means that when the picture is painted, all the figures in the scene are portrayed as being alive and acting 'at the same time' -- that is, in sequential time.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁵I have repeated Dr. Martin Kilmer's definitions of 'ordinary time' and 'mythical time' from Chapter One:

Dr. Kilmer describes 'ordinary time' this way:

"a) Time as it is perceived and/or constructed by humans in the course of their day-to-day lives. This is not assumed to be a unitary phenomenon for all individuals within one culture, let alone across all cultures.

Mythical Time can be defined as a mode of time which does not follow an 'ordinary' logical time sequence.⁵¹⁶ For example in mythical time as represented in this period of visual art, it is possible for a deceased figure to speak and interact with a living figure. This mode (in visual art) may also be known as Ritual or Non-ordinary Time.

In the section that follows I have organized my interpretation of each of the eight frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro and their inscriptions under four headings:

1) Overview: Representation of Time in the Fresco

This section includes translations of the inscriptions into English and interprets each fresco according to the chronological modes described above. It incorporates information found in: (i) my catalogue description of Chapter Two; (ii) my findings from Chapter Three's analysis of banquet scenes and related iconography; (iii) Chapter Four's analysis of Latin

b) Ordinary Time as it is to be understood/reconstructed in visual art: a work of art interpreted as though it were a segment taken out of a culture's understanding of ordinary time and reconstructed in some physical medium.

In both of these understandings of time, the expected logics are those of time as most of us (westerners) live it: cause precedes result; action precedes reaction; bilocation is not a possibility. Scenes made within the Roman world during Imperial times (first to third centuries AD) which appear to present images of daily life can be most easily understood as following ordinary chronologic: cause precedes event; thus the results shown happening in the scene are predictable." Communicated to the author by email, November 7, 2000.

⁵¹⁶Dr. Martin Kilmer describes 'mythical time' this way:

" a) Time as it is presented in story (written or spoken). The place of the event in the order of narrative need not conform to its place in the logic of ordinary time. I can tell you about the result before I tell of the cause; I can speak of the start of the result, segue to the cause, and then finish off the result -- or leave it to your imagination. I may further complicate such chrono-logics by assigning all or part of the narration of a set of linked events to characters who themselves belong to the story: characters Q, X, and W each know only a portion of the events which 'cause' (or 'which result in') the outcome.

b) Time as it can be imagined for a mythical world (a world of the imagination, which may have much direct and clear connection to one's ordinary world or may be largely independent of it). Events in such a world may dispense more or less completely with the logics appropriate for one's concept of ordinary time: time as narrated can behave as though it were time as lived; or events may move under a different set of rules or 'logics' from those of 'ordinary time'."

Communicated to the author by email, November 8, 2000.

funerary inscriptions and (iv) the visual presentation of the images in the Final Presentation Folder of the accompanying CD-ROM.

2) "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual⁵¹⁷

I have adapted and modified the section, "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" in Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn's Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice (1996)⁵¹⁸ as a way of identifying iconographical references to cult activity in the frescoes. This approach will help to answer two of the questions I asked about my material in Chapter One, namely: (a) Whom did the images serve? and (b) What did these images do? The remaining two questions from my first chapter: (c) Is there anything historical with regard to the female figures recorded here? and (d) If so, what is it? will be

⁵¹⁷ Renfrew and Bahn suggest that there are four main ways of detecting the performance of ritual practices at any given archaeological site, each way with its own particular list of indicators. Keeping in mind the presence of the holy to which cult activity is directed, ritual practice may be tracked through any of the following patterns of physical evidence: 1) Focusing of Attention; 2) Boundary zone between this world and the next; 3) Presence of the deity (the holy); and 4) Participation and offering. (For a listing of all the indicators for each section, please see Appendix B.)

1. Focusing of Attention: This way of detecting the performance of ritual practice calls upon different types of viewer responses at the site to create a complete focus of attention; 2. Boundary zone between this world and the next: A boundary zone may be identified as the place of contact between the living and the dead ex. tomb as a home base for the dead which the living visit to honour the dead; 3. Presence of the deity (the holy): The task here is to invite and obtain the presence of the divine for worship to be effective. 4. Participation and offering: The action taken by the celebrants in worship including the giving of material gifts and prayer. In their introduction to these indicators the authors emphasize that in recognizing an archaeological site as a *ritual* site, it is important to keep in mind the supernatural object to which cult activity is directed. The difficulty with the term 'ritual' has already been addressed in Chapter 1.7 along with my critique of its replacement with the category 'performance'. If we define 'ritual' as only 'performance', there is a substantial risk. There is strong danger that the modern reader/viewer will miss essential information. Like the engaged ancient reader/viewer, the modern reader/viewer must be aware that the 'static' image (painting, sculpture etc.) represents ritual practice - that it transmits all or part of the process it depicts. We cannot afford to forget the likelihood that early Christians, like pagan Romans, accepted the enlivening of images. The pagan Roman practice of worship known as votive prayer (ex. dedicating altars to a god or goddess in thanks for a special favour; leaving objects at sacred sites, etc.) has parallels in certain forms of early Christian worship. The term 'performance' as a category for sacred activity must therefore allow for static work to be seen as expressing and/or animating the holiness of a space as well as partaking in it.

The term 'cult' also needs to be explained. As used here, it refers to the ancient understanding of the word *cultus* meaning, worship or reverence.

⁵¹⁸See Chapter 1.7. The Archaeology of Religious Cult. For a full list of these indicators see Appendix B.

answered more broadly in the concluding chapter. Some aspects of questions (c) and (d) are addressed under the next heading.

3) Status indicators

I offer an explanation of how status indicators such as (i) 'place of honour at the sigma-couch' and (ii) 'costume, veiling & hairstyles' affect the interpretation of each of the eight frescoes. With regard to the place of honour at the sigma-couch, there are two theories about where this seat is located. The earlier one advanced by Franz Josef Dölger in 1943, suggests that the place of honour at a sigma meal is located *in cornu dextro* with the next prominent place located *in cornu sinistro*. According to Dölger, this order of precedence was established in a text by Juvenius c. 330AD.⁵¹⁹ There are a number of examples of this hierarchy of seating in representations of the "Last Supper" dated from the beginning of the sixth century into the late middle ages, one of the best known being the communion mosaic from S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. In this mosaic Christ has the seat of honour occupying the right hand place, while Judas occupies the next prominent place on the left directly across from him at the other end of the sigma couch. The majority of this evidence is late for the period we are interested in (i.e 280-320AD). However in The Shepherd of Hermas (c.150AD) a text written for a Christian community in Rome, it is the couch on the right (i.e. *in cornu dextro*) that is reserved for those who "have suffered for the Name."⁵²⁰

The second theory, advanced by Josef Engemann, places the seat of honour at the centre of the sigma-meal. As counter evidence to Dölger's theory, Engemann gathered together seventeen sigma-meal scenes in sculpture and frescoes, including six scenes from the Catacomb of SS. Marcellino and Pietro, from the 3rd and 4th centuries and some book illuminations from the 5th and 6th centuries.⁵²¹ According to Engemann, all

⁵¹⁹ Evangeliorum libri IV, CSEL, Vol 24, 104-105, lines 614-621.

⁵²⁰ See Kirsopp Lake, The Shepherd of Hermas (1970) 28-29.

⁵²¹ Josef Engemann, "Der Ehrenplatz beim antiken Sigmamah!" in Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum. Gedenkschrift A. Stuiber, (Munster, 1982) 239-50. Of his seventeen examples, three of his images show a recognizable Christian figure (i.e. a male figure representing Christ is depicted). Of

of his visual evidence designates the priority of the centre place as a place of honour, basing this on a number of iconographical indicators. "In the sepulchral realm prominence of the central figure can be achieved [in art] . . . through the portrait of the deceased . . . through a special garment, through gesture and distance (as compared to the other participants), or, finally through an inscription."⁵²²

With regard to 'costume, veiling & hairstyles' factors such as wealth, comparative status among the participants shown, and attitudes towards purity may be deciphered.

4) Unique gestures

Lastly, I offer an interpretation of specific gestures shown only in a particular fresco, suggesting how each unique gesture contributes to the meaning of the painting.

The reader is reminded that the system for identifying each fresco (and the figures within each fresco) follows my catalogue for the first eight images from Chapter Two. The matching annotated visual information is available in two places: 1) on the black and white printout of the images (Appendix A1) and on the reader's accompanying CD ROM: "Final Presentation Folder".

these three, one is the communion mosaic from Ravenna showing Christ *in cornu dextro*. Of the remaining fourteen, five images are most probably non-Christian or syncretist (i.e. include pagan iconography such as celestial masks of the sun and moon), or the context of the image in well known from Greco-Roman manuscripts of secular epic poetry (ex. Virgil's *Aeneid*). His six proof images from SS. Marcellino e Pietro we shall bracket in order to reach our own determination concerning the seat of honour and the remaining three images are either fragments or details in which the first two do not render enough visual information to draw a conclusion. The remaining image from Engemann's article, plate 16a, does seem to meet his criterion of the prominence of the central figure achieved "through gesture and distance".

⁵²² Josef Engemann, "The Christianization of Late Antique Art" in The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Major Papers. (New Rochelle, 1986, 83-105) 94. Brackets in the original.

5.1.1 Figure 1: Interpretation

5.1.1.1 Overview: Representation of Time in the Fresco

Inscription:

'Peace' give something hot; 'Love-charity' mix wine for me.

The names around the top of the image-frame are itemized in the catalogue. Except for one name, Fabianus, their function is outside of the margin line of the image. It is unlikely that they identify the figures in the image because they are all male names and we clearly have identified some female figures in this fresco. It's probable that their function relates to the identification of other members or ancestors buried in the family tomb. Along with Fabianus, their lives are celebrated at the banquet.

The word, Fabianus, a common Roman male name, may be found above the head of no. 3 (See Figure 1a). It should be noted that the size of the letters of the name, Fabianus, along with those around the top of the image are roughly half the size of the letters which make up the two main inscriptions, "IRENE DA CALDA" and "AGAPE MISCE MI". This variance in size suggests that the words, IRENE and AGAPE, if they are indeed names, do not refer to the female figures flanking the sigma-couch. The larger letter size of IRENE and AGAPE denotes a significance to these nouns which is much grander than that of the male names.

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

The meal scene depicts the beginning of a feast. None of the food has been eaten, nor do any of the guests have cups. Assuming that the female figure *in cornu sinistro* was not holding a cup, the female figure *in cornu dextro* will be the first to be handed a cup by the small figure (no. 6). Since no. 1 is the only figure about to hold a cup (her right hand is raised in anticipation), the speech (as represented by the inscriptions "IRENE DA CALDA" and "AGAPE MISCE MI") occurs before any drinking or eating takes place. When the speech precedes the implied image-action, then a) the logics of ordinary time and the logics of image-action apply (ex. it is probable that no. 1 is the speaker of IRENE DA CALDA since she is the only figure about to

receive a cup, and this will be followed by the action of taking the cup from the small figure [no. 6]).

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image action).

When the speech is concurrent with the implied image-action, then a) the logics of image-action can still apply (ex. no. 6 will walk across to no. 1 and give her the cup; b) the logics of ordinary time still apply (ex. it is probable that one of the other figures is speaking while no. 1 receives the cup, as process is what is emphasized in this mode). Since no. 6 already is in the process of bringing the cup to no. 1, that would make the speech redundant if [no.1] were the speaker of "AGAPE MISCE MI". MODES (I) and (II) would be the standard interpretations for a non-Christian viewer/visitor to the tomb.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action)

If the speech follows the implied image-action, then both commands have been spoken and fulfilled. In this mode for example, no. 1 would have given the cup to no. 6, making no. 6 the speaker of "AGAPE MISCE MI". A second possibility is that the speech invites the visitor (viewer/reader) to the tomb to take part -- and this the visitor can do only by entering mythical time (i.e. the present imperative of the verb requires the presence of the visitor to the tomb in the time of the scene though not necessarily in the place). In Figure 1, you the viewer/visitor, are required to take a specific action (i.e. you are required to impersonate 'Peace' or 'Love-Charity' and mix the wine). In MODE (III) time may also not be consistent for all participants within the image-frame (signifying the action takes place in mythical time). Figures who are deceased may be shown along side figures who are alive at the time the fresco is painted. This mode has a close parallel in pagan Roman funerary monuments with inscribed speech in which the deceased is typically the speaker.⁵²³ The deceased who is represented within the image-

⁵²³See Chapter 4.4.1, Inscription (b) from the front of the sarcophagus of Titus Aelius Evangelus and Gaudenia Nicene. The deceased, Titus Aelius Evangelus, asks whoever reads the inscription to pour unmixed wine for him. The time sequence represented in the imagery carved on this sarcophagus is what Dr. Martin Kilmer has called "linear diachronic juxtaposition". According to Kilmer, this method

frame may be the speaker of one or both inscriptions asking the viewer/visitor to carry out his request(s).

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic MODES are operative except for **MODE (V)**. (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

Combinations of any or all of our time-modes can apply (i.e. speech occurs before, during, or after the implied image-action). In **MODE (IV)**, the speech can be spoken by anyone within the image-frame or by a person who is not shown (a person or entity outside the image-frame). The speech may be directed to a figure inside the image-frame or to a person or entity which exists outside the image-frame (ex. the deceased, who in this time mode may be outside the image-frame, and thus not be represented in the scene, requests 'Peace' or 'Love-Charity', as supernatural beings or abstract entities also existing outside the image-frame, to mix the wine). **MODE (IV)** includes the possibility that the viewer/visitor is invited to participate in the action of the scene but does not require it. The viewer/visitor in **MODE (IV)** is typically an observer of the image-action.

Mode (V): There are only the logics of mythical time (unlimited no. of participants).

There is no **MODE (V)** operating in Figure 1. A viewer/visitor to this tomb is invited to participate only in the mythical time of the speech-action. He or she, as visitor *qua* visitor is not required to participate in the mythical time of the implied image-action of the scene. That is to say that he or she is not required to participate in the banquet.

5.1.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

for showing the progress of time in Roman art "places the repeated figures on a single ground line, either simply juxtaposed in their separate compositions (e.g. Orestes kills Klytaimestra; Orestes kills Aigisthos), or with the compositional groups (separately composed and each visually self-contained) loosely integrated by a single figure." Repeated Figures in Mythological Narrative: Etruscan Relief and Roman Illustration. (in publication) 1. In the Titus Aelius Evangelus sarcophagus the representation of time mimics the chrono-logic used in Roman illustrations of mythological figures.

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

°Iconographical indicators that focus attention:

- i) child about to bring cup to female figure (no. 1) in cornu dextro;**
- ii) eye direction of no. 2 focuses attention to the middle figure.**
- iii) tripod table**

"(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

°Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

- i) IRENE: occurs 6 times;**
- ii) AGAPE: occurs 5 times;**
- iii) MISCE: occurs 7 times;**
- iv) CALDA: occurs 4 times;**
- v) DA: occurs twice;**
- vi) MI: occurs twice.**

°Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word pattern, AGAPE MISCE occurs most often but with different accompanying words each time:

- i) FIGURE 1: AGAPE MISCE. MI (this example)**
- ii) FIGURE 2: AGAPE.MISCE NOBIS**
- iii FIGURE 8: AGAPE. MISCE;**
- iv) IRENE DA CALDA: occurs once (this example).**

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting).

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the underworld or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate

with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

The deceased who are buried at this site are the intended focal point of visitors to the grave.

°Banquet scene of this arcosolium is a visual focal image for a visitor in the gallery or a viewer standing directly in front of the sarcophagus.

°Lunette is in a gallery of the catacomb (i.e. not protected from traffic of passers-by).

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Funerary inscriptions in the fresco can be read as incantations of the holy in abstract form: powers or saints (i.e. IRENE and AGAPE) .

"4. Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°There are no gestures of adoration in this fresco. There is however an order in which the drinking and eating must take place. For example no one can touch the meat until no. 1 has received the wine cup.

°Considering there are not enough cups for everyone, the cup about to be given to no.1 may be considered as a ritual vessel.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°A Large amphora of wine sits at the feet of no. 1. Whether the wine is drunk as an offering depends on the time mode of the picture. (MODES III and IV) There is no indication that the food will be consumed as an offering in this image.

°It is logical that the wine will be shared among the participants by passing around the cup.

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°Some evidence of the owner's wealth is indicated here. Most people living in Rome at this time were not buried in an expensive *arcosolium* complete with a sarcophagus and painted lunette. This burial site, while elaborate when compared to most, is still exposed to the vagaries of those who wander through the gallery.

5.1.2 Status Indicators

(i) Place of honour at the sigma-couch

If the place of honour is the centre position of the couch, then no. 3 (Fabianus?) occupies that place. His centre position, the faintly drawn name (above his head) in letters smaller than the main inscriptions, and his very noticeable fibulae are iconographical clues which set him apart from the other figures. However he is drawn in roughly the same proportion as the other figures and he is roughly the same distance apart from them.

If the place of honour is *in cornu dextro*, then no.1 occupies that place. Her position *in cornu dextro* and her raised arm (ready to receive the cup) are two iconographical clues to her status and importance at the meal. She also wears a long double striped dalmatic. This type of dress makes sense on someone who has responsibility for the ritual purity of an event. Clavi were typically a variation of the colour purple⁵²⁴, a hue which Romans saw as having special apotropaic powers.

In this fresco, it is likely no. 3 is the guest of honour and no. 1 (possibly along with no. 5) takes responsibility for the ritual purity of the event.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

⁵²⁴The four major shades of purple were: *ater*, dark; *lividus*, pale; *ruber*, red; and *violaceus*, blue. See '(Purpura)' in "Glossary", The World of Roman Costume, J.L. Sebesta and L. Bonfante, eds., The University of Wisconsin Press (1994) 241.

No. 3 has the largest fibulae of the three male figures. This designates his greater importance.⁵²⁵

No. 4 is wearing a funeral wreath. (Nos. 2 and 3 may have worn them.)

It is unlikely that the stripes on the garments are for decoration only. They may show rank, protect the wearers from unseen harm, show the wealth of the wearers, or a combination of all three.⁵²⁶

Veiling and hairstyles were also a sign of marital rank, wealth and purity. For example, a bride's hair dressed with white woolen bands demonstrated her chastity.⁵²⁷ Protective purple vittae adorned the hair of young girls who participated in Roman funeral rites.⁵²⁸ We know from studies of women's hairstyles that those styles worn by the female figures in the frescoes examined here were popular among the upper class women during the rule of the Tetrarchs (284-312AD).

5.1.3 Gestures unique to this fresco

No. 6 is one of two figures of children who hold a cup in the series of frescoes under study. Unlike the less intense gaze of the small figure (no. 1) in Figure 5c, the intense gaze of the young figure (directly on the cup) in Figure 1e demonstrates that her/his task is a critical one.

5.1.4. Summary

Based on the evidence of the fresco, inscriptions, the site, and the iconographical indicators of cult/ritual, I suggest that that MODE (IV) best reflects the manner in which time is represented in this fresco. Further, it is

⁵²⁵According to Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, "Beginning in the 3rd century AD, the emperor wore a more elaborate jewelled brooch to signify his status over military tribunes, who began to be awarded jewelled brooches. Under Constantine the Great, the emperor's jewelled brooch became conspicuously larger, and by the reigns of his three sons, three pendant jewels hanging from the brooch were consistently part of the imperial insignia." See 'Fibula' in "Glossary", The World of Roman Costume, (1994) 244.

⁵²⁶See Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman" in The World of Roman Costume (1994) 46-53.

⁵²⁷*Ibid.*, 48.

⁵²⁸*Ibid.*, 48.

likely that no. 3 is the guest of honour at the banquet with no. 1 (possibly along with no. 5) taking responsibility for the ritual purity of the event.

5.2.1 Figure 2: Interpretation

5.2.1.1 Overview: Representation of Time in the Fresco

Inscription:

'Love-charity' mix wine for us; 'Peace' offer something hot.

The meal scene depicts the beginning of a feast. None of the food has been eaten, and some of the more impatient guests (nos. 2 and 6) are already reaching (rather than pointing) toward the centre platter (See Figure 2a.) Since nos. 4 and 1 are the only two figures with cups in the scene, the iconography suggests that it must be one of these two figures who utters either both requests for wine (as represented by the inscriptions, "AGAPE MISCE NOBIS" and "IRENE (P)ORG(E) C(A)LDA" or, each figure gives one command. In order to determine who is speaking in this fresco, we must first consider the visual information. The middle figure (no. 4) already drinks from his cup and the female figure (no.1) raises her cup. Possible interpretations include:

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

The female figure who raises her cup and does not drink speaks one command and possibly both. Three arguments suggest that the female figure speaks at least one of the commands:

- 1) the inscription, "AGAPE MISCE NOBIS", is physically closest to her head;⁵²⁹
- 2) her arm is raised in a modified gesture of address or salute;⁵³⁰
- 3) she is not drinking from her cup -- this makes it physically possible for her to utter the request(s). Meanwhile, the middle figure (no. 4) is drinking from his. In real life, it would be somewhat awkward for someone to drink and

⁵²⁹ Proximity of the text to a figure is one but not the only consideration for identifying the speaker of an inscription. See the summary of findings on the function of inscriptions, Chapter 3.4.9.

⁵³⁰ See Mary Laura Heuser, Gestures and their meaning in Early Christian Art, Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1954. See "Type B. Gesture of the Raised Hand", 53-97.

Speak at the same time. The logics of ordinary time dictate that a figure who holds a cup but is not drinking, requests the wine. Following this logic, the female figure *in cornu dextro* who holds the cup may certainly speak one command, and possibly both.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

At least one request has been spoken and fulfilled: we see that the middle figure (no. 4) drinks from his cup suggesting the "AGAPE MISCE NOBIS" request is the one that has been spoken and fulfilled. (Why would he hold his cup to his mouth if there wasn't wine in it already?) In MODE II, it is unlikely that no. 1 is the speaker of "AGAPE MISCE NOBIS" since her cup is presumably already filled, thus making the speech redundant if she were to say it. In MODE II, no. 1 is either about to drink the contents of the cup herself or hand it to someone else. If, for example, no. 6 is the speaker of "IRENE PORGE CALDA", it is probable that no. 1 will then pass the cup to him.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action.)

Both commands have been spoken and fulfilled: we see that the middle figure (no. 4) drinks from his cup and the female figure (no. 1) lowers her cup having already tasted the hot mixed wine. The speech-action can also invite the viewer/visitor in the tomb to do something - and this the visitor can do only by entering mythical time. (It is the present tense and the imperative modes of the *inscriptions* that include the visitor in the tomb in the speech-action. Thus in MODE (III), you, the viewer/visitor, are required to take a specific action (i.e. you are required to impersonate 'Love/Charity' and mix the wine or you are required to impersonate 'Peace' and offer the wine.)

In MODE (III), the deceased may speak from within the image-frame asking the viewer/visitor to carry out these requests. One possibility in this mode is that the middle figure (no. 4) speaks both commands because he is the deceased. How can we know this? As we saw in our analysis of funerary inscriptions in Chapter Four, it is the discussion about wine that identifies the deceased and links him to the living. Either the deceased asks for wine

for himself [my epigraphical evidence to date is only in the male voice] or it is the deceased who offers advice about wine to the individuals who pass by his grave monument. In this particular fresco, since it is the middle figure (no. 4) who drinks the wine, presumably he is the one who asks for it, making him, in all probability, the deceased.

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic MODES are operative except for **MODE (V)**. (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action.)

The speech can be spoken by anyone within the image-frame or by a voice whose originator is not shown (for example, a deceased person or mythical entity outside the image-frame). In **MODE (IV)** combinations of any or all of our three time-lines can apply (speech occurs before, during or after the action of the image). For example, the middle figure (no. 4) could both be the speaker of the commands and drink from his cup while the female figure (no. 1) addresses, salutes or offers a toast. In this same example, the middle figure can be a representation of the deceased during his life who is taking part in a banquet meal (all real, real with the deceased included visually as present, or totally imagined). In **MODE (IV)**, the "for us" in the inscription "AGAPE MISCE NOBIS" or "Love/charity' mix wine for us", can be interpreted as addressing all of the deceased buried in this tomb, the deceased who is/are currently being buried, and/or the deceased who will be buried in this tomb in the future (possibly including the two young children [nos. 3 and 5] who flank the middle figure). In **MODE (IV)** the speech could also originate from outside the image-frame. The inscription for example could be spoken by the oldest ancestor buried in the chamber. The speech could also address or include other deceased buried in the tomb. Whatever the chrono-logic within or without the image-frame, the written requests on the fresco never stop inviting viewer/visitors in the tomb to participate in the speech-action.

Mode (V): There are only the logics of mythical time. (Unlimited no. of participants outside of the image-frame.)

This mode may include any combination of the first four modes, including simultaneous use of all four. Most importantly, this mode invites

the viewer/visitor in the tomb to participate in **both** the speech action and the image-action of the scene.

The inscription "AGAPE MISCE NOBIS" takes the viewer/visitor in the tomb into mythical time not only through the speech-action but also through the image-action of the scene. The word, 'NOBIS', invites the viewer/visitor into the implied image-action of the scene in that s/he is included in the group, 'us'. There is no choice for the engaged viewer/visitor who is present but to enter into mythical time. In other words, the viewer/visitor is invited to participate in the meal depicted in the banquet scene.

It is highly significant that in this tomb there is a 1/4 circular mensa on the east side of the funeral chamber. It is also highly significant that a fragment of a fresco in this chamber shows a seated male figure gesturing towards a high round table with a platter on it. This fresco is located on the lower right hand corner of wall three in the chamber. It is the only painting on a wall full of loculi that once held dead bodies. According to the diagrams of this chamber, the mensa is directly across the room from the fresco.⁵³¹ In MODE (V), the viewer/visitor to the tomb, as with the deceased buried in the tomb (*whenever* s/he/it should happen to be there) are always invited into the image-action of the scene (i.e. the meal).

5.2.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

°the special architectural fixture of the stone mensa by the wall;

°the fresco of the seated male figure extending his arm toward a small table (mensa?) with a plate on top;

°tripod table.

⁵³¹ See Deckers et al. (1987) drawings, RC Lau 45.

"(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

° Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

- i) IRENE: occurs 6 times;**
- ii) AGAPE: occurs 5 times;**
- iii) MISCE: occurs 7 times;**
- iv) PORGE: occurs twice;**
- v) CALDA: occurs 4 times;**
- viii) NOBIS: occurs once.**

° Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word pattern, AGAPE MISCE occurs most often but with different accompanying words each time:

- i) FIGURE 1 AGAPE MISCE. MI**
- ii) FIGURE 2 AGAPE.MISCE NOBIS (this fresco)**
- iii) FIGURE 8 AGAPE. MISCE**
- iv) IRENE PORGE: occurs once (this fresco)**

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting).

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the underworld or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

° The deceased who are buried at this site are the intended focal point of visitors to the grave. chamber.

° Repetition of the physical placement of the painted banquet scene in the lunette of the arcosolia has suggested to me a tripartite cosmology overlaid onto the architecture of this particular tomb:

Zone 1: Arch of the arcosolium = the heavens;

In this crypt, a figure identified as Elijah is shown ascending into the heavens by chariot at the apex of the arch.

Zone 2: The lunette = earth;

A banquet meal is about to begin;

Zone 3: The sarcophagus = the (Underworld) land/place of the dead;

Where the deceased sleeps;

Contact point with the deceased.

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Funerary inscriptions in the fresco can be read as incantations of the holy in abstract form: powers or saints (i.e. IRENE and AGAPE) .⁵³²

"4). Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°Iconographical indicators that may involve prayer and special movements:

(i) female figure with raised cup in the fresco;

ii) middle figure drinking from a cup;

iii) female figure in cornu sinistro holds a small box in her right hand

iv) the fresco of the seated male figure extending his arm toward a small table (mensa?) with a plate on top. In this fresco the figure extends his hand in a gesture that Heuser calls the prayer or veneration gesture ⁵³³.

⁵³² In other frescoes with banquet scenes (e.g. Cana, chamber 62) the holy as represented by the figures of Mary and Jesus have no special markings as a visual image i.e. Mary and Jesus are shown as ordinary humans.

⁵³³ Heuser (1954) 117-149; 214, 227-228. Gesture C2, profile.

°There is an order in which the drinking must take place since nos. 1 and 4 are the only two figures with cups. No. 4 is forever shown as being refreshed.

°Considering there are not enough cups for everyone, the cups held by nos.1 and 4 may be considered as ritual vessels.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°It is logical that the wine will be shared among the participants by passing around one or two cups since there are no other cups in sight.

"(e) Other material objects may be brought and offered (votives). The act of offering may entail breakage and hiding or discard."

°A crude 1/4 circular mensa approximately 1.05m high stands on the east side of the burial chamber. According to Jean Guyon, there is the "tranche" of a green glass plate that is still visible on the mensa.

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°Much evidence of the owner's wealth is indicated here. This burial chamber is elaborate. Most of the walls as well as the ceiling have been painted over with frescoes. The dead buried in chambers were somewhat more protected from the vagaries of those who wandered through the catacombs.

°There are places in the chamber where sarcophagi would have been placed.

5.2.2 Status Indicators

(i) Place of Honour at the sigma-couch

In pagan Roman *triclinium* banquet scenes, the middle couch is usually designated as the seat of honour for the most important guest. In sigma-couch scenes, the seat of honour normally occurs somewhere around the middle. According to Roman banquet protocol, the person highest in status is typically handed the drinking cup first or a guest of honour might receive the

cup first.⁵³⁴ The middle figure (no. 4) in this fresco is drinking from his cup. Either he is the person with the highest status at the banquet or he is an important guest. A middle figure who reclines and is the only one to drink from a cup is shown in three other examples of banquet scenes from this study (identified in Chapter Three: Cat. 4, no. 3; Cat. 18, no. 8; and in the banquet scene fragment from Chamber 13 of SS. Marcellino e Pietro recorded in Table 3.3vi, Group 2-1 Comparanda).

As mentioned in this section for Figure 1, the seat of honour within a Roman Christian context is identified as early as 150AD in The Shepherd of Hermas. The right side is reserved for those who have suffered for the name. The female figure *in cornu dextro* (no. 1) raises her cup in her right hand but does not drink. Either she is about to drink or she has already drunk. She reclines on the side of the sigma couch reserved for those who are worthy. If the place of honour is *in cornu dextro*, then no.1 occupies that place.

Her position *in cornu dextro* and her raised hand which holds the cup are two iconographical clues to her status and importance at the meal. She also wears a wide sleeved dalmatic, though it is difficult to tell if there are *clavi*. The female figure opposite to her (no. 7) who holds a box? in her right hand does wear a dalmatic with *clavi*. Again, this type of dress makes sense on those who have responsibility for the ritual purity of an event. The *clavi* shown here are a dark purple-red colour, a hue which Romans saw as having special apotropaic powers.

In this scene it is likely that no. 4 is the guest of honour with nos. 1 and 7 taking responsibility for the ritual purity of the event.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

No. 4 has the largest fibulae of the three male figures. This designates his greater importance.

No. 4 's upright position is more prominent than the other two male figures at the sigma-couch.

⁵³⁴Sulpicius Severus, tells us that the emperor Maximus (identified as "the Gallic usurper") reversed the normal protocol at a banquet he gave (sometime in the year 385 or 386AD) by having the attendant hand the drinking cup first to the Gallic bishop, Martin of Tours, instead of himself. See Michael Roberts, "Martin Meets Maximus: The Meaning of a Late Roman Banquet" in Revue des Etudes Augustiniennes (Vol. 41, 1995) 91.

No. 2 wears smaller fibulae. This is particularly noticeable on his right shoulder (see Figure 2b).

Veiling and hairstyles were also a sign of marital rank, wealth and purity. No. 1's braided bun on top of her head seems to be held in place with purple-red colour vittae, a sign of and protection of purity. No. 7 may have purple-red vittae tied in a bow at the top of her head (see Figure 2a).

5.2.3. Gestures unique to FIGURE 2

Figure 2 is the only fresco in which one of the participants (no. 7) holds an object other than a cup. Whatever the object is, it has enough importance to be: a) depicted in the fresco, and b) held by a figure wearing a ritually protective dalmatic.

5.2.4. Summary

Based on the evidence of the fresco, inscriptions, the site, and the iconographical indicators of cult/ritual, I suggest that that MODE (V) best reflects the manner in which time is represented in this fresco. Further, it is likely that no. 4 is the guest of honour at the banquet with no. 7 (and possibly no. 1) taking responsibility for the ritual purity of the event.

5.3.1 Figure 3: Interpretation

5.3.1.1 Overview: Representation of Time in the Fresco

Inscription: 'Love-Charity' offer hot wine. 'Peace' mix [it].

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

If the speech occurs before the implied action then the logics of ordinary time apply as do the logics of the implied image-action (ex. if no. 1 speaks the words closest to him, "AGAPE PORGE CALDA", then he has already asked for the wine and waits to be offered some. If no. 3 speaks the words above his head, "IRENE MISCE", then he has already asked for the wine to be mixed. Since his right hand is missing from the image, we cannot know whether he received some mixed wine or not. The action of no. 5 raising her cup above her head is not a standard gesture of offering and thus is not likely to be an iconographical representation of response to either request.

Since she does hold a cup however, it is more probable that she rather than no. 3 speaks "IRENE MISCE".

Like the other frescoes, the meal scene depicts a feast. From the surface marks on the tripod table it is difficult to determine at what stage the meal is at. It would seem that none of the food has been eaten. Those who have cups (nos. 1 and 5) wait for them to be filled.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image action).

If the speech is concurrent with the implied action of the image then no. 1's request that wine be offered must be on behalf of another participant at the banquet. No. 5's request however could still be on behalf of herself. No. 5's gesture still does not link her as the respondent to the requests.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action.)

If the speech is after the implied action of the image then a) nos. 1 and 5 have already received hot mixed wine. This would mean that neither nos. 1 nor 5 are the speakers in MODE (III) since this would make their requests redundant. In this case that leaves nos. 2, 3 or the figure that was once visible in spot no. 4 as plausible speakers. As with the other frescoes, the speech in MODE (III) also invites the visitor in the tomb to take part in the action - and this the visitor can do only by entering mythical time (i.e. the present imperative of the verb requires presence in the time of the scene though not necessarily in the place of the scene). The present tense and the imperative mode of the inscriptions include the visitor through the speech-action. You, the viewer-visitor to the chamber, are required to take a specific action (ex. you are required to impersonate 'AGAPE' and offer hot wine or you are required to impersonate 'Irene' and mix it.)

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic MODES are operative except for MODE (V). (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

In MODE (IV), combinations of any or all of our three time-lines can apply (i.e. speech occurs before, during or after the implied action of the image). Mode (IV) allows the following interpretations of the image-action: a) in mythical time, no. 5 could be the speaker of one or both inscriptions and also present the cup as a celebratory gesture; b) if nos. 1 and 5 are the speakers in mythical time, then they are also the deceased considering their strong association with the wine; c) nos. 2, 3 or 4 can be the speakers in both ordinary and mythical time; d) a deceased who is not represented within the image-frame may speak the requests. If so, he/she addresses the holy which is not obviously represented in the image-frame.

MODE (V): There is only the logics of mythical time. (Unlimited no. of participants). There is no MODE (V) operating in Figure 3. A viewer/visitor to this tomb is invited to participate only in the mythical time through the speech-action of MODE (III) or higher. He or she, as visitor *qua* visitor is not required to participate in the mythical time of the implied image-action of the scene. That is to say that he or she is not required to participate in the banquet.

5.3.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

°Ritual objects depicted in the fresco include wine cups, the tripod table, and the diadem worn by the female figure (no. 5).

(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

°Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

- i) IRENE: occurs 6 times;***
- ii) AGAPE: occurs 5 times;***
- iii) MISCE: occurs 7 times;***
- iv) PORGE: occurs twice;***
- v) CALDA: occurs 4 times;***

°Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word pattern, AGAPE PORGE occurs least often :

- i) AGAPE PORGE: occurs once (this fresco);
- ii) PORGE CALDA: occurs twice (Figures 2 and 3);
- iii) IRENE MISCE: occurs twice (Figures 3 and 4).

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting)."

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the under world or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

°The deceased buried at this site are the intended focal point of visitors to the grave.

°Repetition of the physical placement of the painted banquet scene in the lunette of the arcosolia has suggested to me a tripartite cosmology overlaid onto the architecture of this particular tomb:

Zone 1: Arch of the arcosolium = the heavens;

In this crypt, a figure identified as Noah with the Ark,
is found at the centre; to the right, Jonah resting.

Zone 2: The lunette = earth;

A banquet meal is taking place;

Zone 3: The sarcophagus = the (Underworld) land/place of the dead;

Where the deceased sleeps;

Contact point with the deceased.

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Funerary inscriptions in the fresco can be read as incantations of the holy in abstract form: powers or saints (i.e.AGAPE and IRENE) .

"4). Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°Iconographical indicators that may involve prayer and special movements:

(i) standing female figure with raised cup (no. 5);

ii) reclining male figure with raised right hand holding cup in left hand; (no.1)

iii) middle figure (no. 2) holds something in his left hand, a cluster of grapes?

iv) locked gaze of no. 1 on middle figure

v) locked gaze of no. 5 on the cup in her right hand.

°Reciprocal gesture with cups by nos. 1 and 5.

°Considering there are not enough cups for everyone, the cups held by nos.1 and 5 may be considered as ritual vessels.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°It is logical that the wine will be shared among the participants by passing around one or two cups since there are no others in sight.

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°This tomb is found in one of the most luxuriously decorated areas of SS. Pietro e Marcellino just north-east of chambers 50 and 51, each of which have a mensa., in the west region of the catacomb (region A). The banquet scene of this gallery arcosolium is the focal image for a

viewer/visitor standing directly in front of the sarcophagus. Above the arcosolium in which the banquet painting is found is a locus which was once covered with an abstract floral design. In the arch of the arcosolium, the remains of the painted scenes have been interpreted as follows (from viewer's left to right): Damaged surface, left; Noah and the Ark, centre; Jonah resting, right. This burial site, while elaborate when compared to most, is still exposed to the vagaries of those who wander through the Catacombs' galleries.

5.3.2 Status Indicators

(i) Place of honour at the sigma-couch

If the place of honour is the centre position of the couch, then no. 2 occupies that place. His centre position, his light coloured tunic and no. 1's fixed gaze on him are iconographical clues which set him apart from the other figures.

If the place of honour is *in cornu dextro*, then no.1 occupies that place. His position *in cornu dextro*, his raised right arm and his left hand which holds a cup are three iconographical clues to his status and importance at the meal.

If the next prominent place at the sigma-couch is located *in cornu sinistro* then no. 3 occupies that place. His distance apart from the others along with his dark tunic are two iconographical clues that set him apart.

In this fresco, it is likely no. 2 is the guest of honour. No. 5 and no. 2 are co-celebrants with no. 5 taking responsibility for the ritual purity of the event.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

All three male figures wear fibulae of roughly the same size suggesting their relatively similar status.

All three male figures wear different colour tunics. The dark tunic of no. 3 is unusual at a banquet in which someone's life is being celebrated.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁵ Julia Heskell quotes Cicero for attitudes to dress at funeral celebrations. Masters of a funeral feast are considered to be appropriately dressed when in white. The custom at this time was not to wear mourning attire (dark or a black colour) to the celebratory feast lest the thanksgiving for the life of the deceased be considered invalid. See Julia Heskell, "Cicero as Evidence for Attitudes to Dress in the Late Republic," in The World of Roman Costume (1994) 133-145.

As we have seen in the other frescoes, the female figure (no. 5) again wears the wide sleeved dalmatic with the protective *clavi* of a garment designed for ritual purity.

Veiling and hairstyles were also a sign of rank, wealth and purity. Nos. 1 and 2 are wearing a dark *vitta* or laurel wreath on their heads. No. 5 wears a diadem. While diadems were used to hold elaborate hairstyles in place, they were also used with veils and were considered to be a sign of glory in both Roman and Christian dress.

5.3.3. Gestures unique to FIGURE 3

No. 1 both raises his right arm and holds a cup in his left hand. This double gesture assigned to a single figure is unique to all the figures, male or female, in the eight SS. Marcellino e Pietro frescoes. Heuser suggests that this type of gesture signifies address, salute and command (Type B2).⁵³⁶

5.3.4. Summary

Based on the evidence of the fresco, inscriptions, the site, and the iconographical indicators of cult/ritual, I suggest that that MODE (III) best reflects the manner in which time is represented in this fresco. Further, it is likely that no. 2 is the guest of honour at the banquet. Nos. 1 and 5 are connected somehow either because they are both deceased or because they are co-celebrants at the banquet.

5.4.1 Figure 4: Interpretation

5.4.1.1. Overview of the Representation of Time

Inscription:

"'Love-Charity' give something hot." "'Peace' mix [the wine]."

Figures 4a and 4b are badly damaged. For ease of discussion, I refer to 4c as the main overview image. This picture is a drawing and has errors. I return to the originals when discussing the important details.

⁵³⁶ Heuser (1954) tells us that the "oratorical gesture is very pronounced in the third century. As a gesture of command it appears occasionally in the narrative art of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries." 226.

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

The meal scene depicts the beginning of a feast. None of the food on the platter placed on the tripod table has been eaten. No. 3 however drinks from his cup. As with the other frescoes, the drinking of wine for some participants happens before the meal is eaten. No. 1 has his hand up to his head, a gesture signifying he has begun to sing. His cup sits on his lap (see Figure 4e). In MODE (I) both requests for hot and mixed wine have already been spoken. All the participants except for no. 3 wait for their cups to be filled. Nos. 1 and 7 each hold a cup for themselves. The speakers of the inscriptions in MODE (I) are located within the image-frame. The speakers are most likely no. 1 who asked for more wine for himself and no. 5 who asked that the wine be mixed. The two speakers in MODE (I) are the male figures to which the inscriptions are closest.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image action).

In this mode, the middle figure is the first to drink. One request therefore has already been fulfilled. The requests for hot and mixed wine are for the other participants who have not yet received any wine. For example, no. 1, *in cornu dextro*, begins to sing before he receives his wine, or perhaps he sings the words of the inscription. In MODE (II), no. 7, for example, is responding to the requests for wine. Her eyes look toward the sigma-couch (see Figure 4f) suggesting the cup may be for a participant who does not have one. She is about to give the cup to no. 6 who may then drink it himself or give it to someone else. The speakers in MODE (II) are still within the image-frame and are most likely nos. 1 and 5.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action.)

The action has happened before the requests are spoken: we see, for example, that the middle figure (no. 3) drinks from his cup and no. 1 has already drunk his wine, placed his cup on his lap and begun to sing. The female figure (no. 7) in MODE (III) has already drunk from her cup or received

the cup back from one of the other participants. When the speech follows the action in the image-frame, then the speech-action invites the viewer/visitor in the tomb to do something - and this the visitor can do only by entering mythical time. (It is the present tense and the imperative modes of the *inscriptions* that include the visitor in the tomb in the speech-action. Thus in MODE (III), you, the viewer/visitor, are required to take a specific action i.e. you are required to impersonate 'Love-Charity' and give hot water or you are required to impersonate 'Peace' and mix the wine.)

In MODE (III), the deceased may speak from within the image-frame asking the viewer/visitor to carry his request(s). As in Figure 2, the middle figure (no. 3) may speak both commands because he is also the deceased. To recall: it is the discussion about wine that identifies the deceased and links him to the living. Considering it is the middle figure (no. 3) who drinks the wine, presumably he is the one who asks for it, making him, in all probability, the deceased.

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic MODES are operative except for MODE (V). (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

In MODE (IV), combinations of any or all of our three time-lines can apply (i.e. speech occurs before, during or after the implied action of the image). Mode (IV) allows the following interpretations of the image-action: a) in mythical time, any of the figures could be the speaker of the inscriptions including nos. 4 and 7 (the two female figures); b) no. 3 could be the speaker of both inscriptions and drink from his cup; c) a deceased who is not represented within the image-frame may speak the requests. If so, he/she addresses the holy which is not represented in the image-frame.

MODE (V): There are only the logics of mythical time. (Unlimited no. of participants).

It is unclear whether MODE (V) is operating in Figure 4. A viewer/visitor to this tomb is invited to participate in the mythical time through the speech-action of MODE (III) and MODE (IV). He or she, as visitor^{qua} visitor is not required to participate in the mythical time of the implied image-action of the scene. However the image-action of no. 3 places

him in all time modes suggesting that the visitor is invited to participate in the image-action of the scene.

5.4.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

°Special architectural fixture of the stone mensa

The chamber contains a rectangular stone mensa approximately .9m high. The mensa is partly demolished but there are remains of a groove for a facing of stone (placage). The banquet scene is found in the arcosolium across from the entrance.

°Many orantes are painted in this chamber.

"(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

°Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

- i) IRENE: occurs 6 times;***
- ii) AGAPE: occurs 5 times;***
- iii) MISCE: occurs 7 times;***
- iv) CALDA: occurs 4 times.***

°Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word patterns, IRENE MISCE occurs twice (FIGURE 3) and AGAPE DA CALDA occurs once. (this example).

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting).

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the

underworld or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

°From the number of prayers found written on the walls in this chamber, and from the number of figures painted in the orans position (see below), we can conclude that visitors saw this chamber as an effective breakthrough point for communicating with the dead.

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Funerary inscriptions in the fresco can be read as incantations of the holy in abstract form: powers or saints (i.e. IRENE and AGAPE) .

°On the left wall of the entrance where there are no loculi, there is an inscription (to the right side of the orant) rendered in a light style and grooved into the wall. It reads:

GAVDEN

TIA VIVA(S)

IN 

"4). Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°Directly above and flanking the banquet scene are cupids holding a garland. Many orantes were also painted in this particular chamber. For example, in the arch above the arcosolium one finds the following figures (from the viewer's left to right): a female veiled orante; a male orant (centre); a female veiled orante. Both female figures are wearing wide-sleeved dalmatics with single(?) clavi. The male orant wears a short tunic with a cloak, possibly a paenula. On the entrance wall, at the sides of the doorway are orantes, an orant (left) and an orante

(right). The female wears a diadem in her hair but does not wear a veil. She is also wearing a wide-sleeved dalmatic with single clavi the length of the gown and double clavi on the sleeves.

°Iconographical indicators in lunette fresco that may involve prayer and special movements:

- i) middle figure drinking from a cup;*
- ii) male figure in cornu dextro holds his right hand to his head.*

°There is an order or an importance to who drinks from the cup since no. 3 is shown with a cup to his lips for all time i.e. he is forever shown as being refreshed.

°Considering there are not enough cups for everyone, the cups held by nos.1, 3 and 7 may be considered as a ritual vessels.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°It is logical that the wine will be shared among the participants by passing around one or two cups since there are no others in sight.

° The importance of the platter on the tripod table is enhanced due to the architectural fixture of the stone mensa .

"(e) Other material objects may be brought and offered (votives). The act of offering may entail breakage and hiding or discard."

°The chamber contains a rectangular stone mensa approximately .9m high. The mensa is partly demolished but there are remains of a groove for a facing of stone (placage).

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°Much evidence of the owner's wealth is indicated here. This burial chamber is elaborate . Most of the walls as well as the ceiling have been painted over with frescoes. The dead buried in chambers were

somewhat more protected from the vagaries of those who wandered through the catacombs.

°There are places in the chamber where sarcophagi would have been placed.

5.4.2. Status Indicators

(i) Place of Honour at the sigma-couch

According to Roman banquet protocol, the person highest in status is typically handed the drinking cup first or a guest of honour might receive the cup first. The middle figure (no. 3) in this fresco is drinking from his cup. Either he is the person with the highest status at the banquet or he is an important guest. Except for his position and the gesture of drinking from a cup, there are no other iconographical clues as to his importance. As mentioned previously, a male middle figure who reclines and is the only one to drink from a cup is shown in three other examples of banquet scenes from this study (identified in Chapter Three: Cat. 4, no. 3; Cat. 18, no. 8; and in the banquet scene fragment from Chamber 13 of SS. Marcellino e Pietro recorded in Table 3.3vi, Group 2-1 Comparanda).

If the seat of honour is within a Roman Christian context *in cornu dextro*, then no. 1 occupies that seat. This choice for the seat of honour is further enhanced by no. 1's virtuoso singing performance.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

This fresco introduces us to a different hairstyle for a female figure and to a new colour of female garment. No. 7's hairstyle is reminiscent of some of the earlier hairstyles worn by women in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the empire. Her dark dalmatic is known for its appropriate attire at private family mourning events.⁵³⁷ Of special importance to this chamber are the many orantes painted on the walls. We take special note of the female orantes who either wear a diadem or a veil on their heads and the wide-sleeved dalmatic with clavi on their bodies.

5.4.3. Other Gestures

⁵³⁷Heskel (1994) 133-145.

Two gestures, less common among the eight frescoes but present in this one are those of no. 1 who holds his right hand up to his head and no. 3 who drinks from his cup. No. 1's gesture is only found in one other fresco from this series, that of no. 5 in Figure 5a. Of significance, each of these figures are in possession of a wine cup, reinforcing the interpretation that the meaning of the gesture, read as singing in Classical Greek art and Roman art, still applies to the art of Late Antiquity.

No. 3's gesture is also shared with no. 4 from figure 2a. Of significance to this gesture is that both chambers have mensae, allowing visitors a physical place to make their offering to the dead. We know from the different signatures left on the walls, sometimes accompanied by a short prayer, that many visitors came to this tomb.⁵³⁸ We also know from the many orantes painted in this chamber (the females wear either a diadem or a veil on their head along with the wide-sleeved dalmatics with clavi) that it was considered a holy site. From this evidence we can state that visitors (pilgrims?) must have perceived the chamber as an effective point for communicating with the dead.

5.4.4 Summary

From the above evidence, it would seem that this burial crypt was perceived as an effective site for communication with the dead.

5.5.1 Figure 5: Interpretation

5.5.1.1 Overview of the Representation of Time

Inscription: "SABINA mix wine."

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

The meal scene depicts the beginning of a feast. None of the food has been eaten. At least one guest holds a cup (no. 5). Assuming the speech occurs before any drinking or eating takes place, the following interpretations apply: a) no. 2, the figure who wears the laurel wreath, is the

⁵³⁸For more details on the acclamations and prayers written on the walls in this chamber see G. B. de Rossi, "Excavazioni nel cimitero dei Ss Pietro e Marcellino sulla via Labicana" in Bullettino di archeologia cristiana, (Vol. 4, No. 1, 1882) 117-118.

speaker. He asks SABINA to mix wine for him as he does not have a cup. No. 1, about to bring the wine and hot water, is hailed by no.2. None of the other participants have drunk any wine; b) no. 5 is the speaker. He speaks on behalf of someone else since he already has a cup.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics apply: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

When the speech is concurrent with the implied image-action, then a) the logics of image-action can still apply. The following interpretations of the image can apply: a) no. 2, the figure who wears the laurel wreath is the speaker. He raises his arm and asks SABINA to mix the wine. His request can still be on behalf of himself; b) if no. 5 is the speaker his request is either for more mixed wine for himself or on behalf of another participant; c) no. 1 brings wine in response to the request.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action)

If the speech follows the implied image-action, then the request has already been spoken and fulfilled. In MODE III for example, no. 5 is likely the speaker in ordinary time. He asked for and received mixed wine. In mythical time, the speech invites the visitor (viewer/reader) to the tomb to take part. In Figure 5, considering SABINA is a proper name it is unlikely the speech is directed to a living being outside of the image-frame. In MODE (III) time may not be consistent for all participants within the image-frame.

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic MODES are operative except for MODE (V). (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

Combinations of any or all of our time-modes can apply (i.e. speech occurs before, during, or after the implied image-action). In MODE (IV), the speech can be spoken by anyone within the image-frame or by a person who is not shown (a person or entity outside the image-frame). The speech may be directed to a figure inside the image-frame or to a person or entity which exists outside the image-frame (ex. the deceased, who in this time mode may be outside the image-frame, and thus not be represented in the scene,

requests SABINA, who may also be outside the image-frame, to mix the wine.)

MODE (IV) includes the possibility that the viewer/visitor is invited to participate in the action of the scene but does not require it. In Figure 5, given the speech is directed to someone with the personal name of SABINA, the viewer/visitor (unless her name is SABINA) is not required to respond to either the speech-action or the image-action of the scene. In Figure 5, most viewer/visitors to the tomb are observers.

Mode (V): There are only the logics of mythical time (unlimited no. of participants).

MODE (V) does not operate in Figure 5, since a viewer/visitor to this tomb are not invited to participate in the mythical time of the implied speech action (unless one's name is SABINA) nor to the mythical time of the implied image-action.

5.5.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

The painting is found in the lunette of a gallery arcosolium, in the west and extreme south region of the catacomb: Region I. Most of the paintings in this arcosolium have been destroyed except for the well- preserved banquet scene. The arch of the arcosolium depicts a vine. Mensae are located in chambers 71 and 72 directly southwest of the site.

"(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

°Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

i) MISCE: occurs 7 times;

°Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word pattern, SABINA MISCE occurs only once (this fresco).

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting).

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the underworld or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

°The deceased who are buried at this site are the intended focal point of visitors to the grave.

SABINA, who may be a relative of the deceased or another deceased (saint?) is the focal point for the speaker.

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Unless SABINA is a saint or a spiritual being of some sort, it is unlikely that the holy is represented in this fresco..

"4. Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°There are no special movements or gestures of adoration in this fresco. No. 2's gesture is a gesture of salutation. No. 5's gesture is one of singing. No. 3's gesture in which his right arm crosses over his face and touches his left side is unique to the entire series of frescoes under study.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°There is no indication that the food will be consumed as an offering in this image.

The entire scene seems to be one of a picnic, as even the wine bottles are in special wicker containers for carrying.

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°Some evidence of the owner's wealth is indicated here. Most people living in Rome at this time were not buried in an expensive *arcosolium* complete with a sarcophagus and painted lunette. This burial site, while elaborate when compared to most, is still exposed to the vagaries of those who wander through the gallery.

5.5.2 Status Indicators

(i) Place of honour at the sigma-couch

If the place of honour is the centre position of the couch, then no one occupies that place.

If the place of honour is *in cornu dextro*, then no.2 occupies that place. His position *in cornu dextro*, his laurel wreath, his differently coloured dalmatic and his right arm raised to flag the small standing figure, are four iconographical clues to his status and importance at the meal. Like all the other male figures, he wears a long single striped dalmatic, but brighter in colour.

In this fresco, it is likely that no. 2 is the guest of honour. There is no clear figure responsible for the ritual purity of the meal suggesting that the meal is not part of a ritual event.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

No. 2's wreath may well designate him as special (the deceased? the newly deceased among a group of deceased banqueters) as the other three male figures do not appear to be wearing one. It's also interesting that none

of the male figures appear to be wearing any fibulae designating their status. Protective purple clavi decorate the dalmatics of all the figures.

5.5.3 Gestures unique to this fresco

No. 1 is one of two figures of children who hold a cup in the series of frescoes under study. Unlike the intense gaze of the small figure in Figure 1e, the less intense gaze of no. 1 in Figure 5c demonstrates that her/his task is not a critical one. No. 3's right arm crosses over his face and touches his left side is unique to the entire series of frescoes under study.

5.5.4. Summary

Based on the evidence of the fresco, the inscription, the site, and the lack of iconographical indicators of cult/ritual, I suggest that MODE (III) in which each figure is only in ordinary time or MODE (IV) in which each figure is only in mythical time best reflect the manner in which time is represented in this fresco (i.e. there appears to be no mixing of time modes in Figure 5). A plausible explanation as to why there is a lack of iconographical indicators of cult/ritual in this scene is that everyone depicted in the image is presented as in the same state at the time the scene was painted. In either case the ritual portion of the meal was not necessary (all living) or the ritual portion was over (all dead).

5.6.1 Figure 6: Interpretation

5.6.1.1 Overview: Representation of Time in the Fresco

Inscription: "Mix [wine] for me, 'Peace'."

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

If the speech occurs before the implied action then the logics of ordinary time apply as do the logics of the implied image-action. For example, if no. 1 speaks the words closest to her, "MISCE MI IRENE", then she has already asked for mixed wine and waits for her cup, on which her eyes are fixed, to be filled. If no. 2 speaks the words "MISCE MI IRENE", then he is asking for a cup as well as mixed wine for himself and no. 1's gesture should

be in response to his request. No. 1's lack of body movement however suggests that she is not about to pass the cup to anybody unless she reaches across the tripod table and gives it to no. 4 whose right arm is extended. If this is the case, that would make no. 4 the speaker of the request. It is more probable however that the figure holding the cup (no.1) is the one who speaks the request for mixed wine. In MODE (I) it is unlikely that nos. 3 or 4 are the speakers, since the speech is positioned furthest away from them.

Like the other frescoes, the meal scene depicts the beginning of a feast. In MODE (I), no one has yet had anything to eat or drink. Only the request has been uttered. The fact that the request is for mixing *only* and *not* for giving or offering wine as stated in the previous inscriptions suggests a different quality to this request. The fact that 'Peace' follows the command as object and not as subject of the verb reinforces my interpretation that it is the abstract concept of 'Peace' that is being asked to mix with the wine. If this is the case then the image is in mythical time and neither MODES (I) nor (II) (ordinary time) will apply. "IRENE" is in the nominative case and is the subject of the imperative verb.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image action).

If the speech is concurrent with the implied action of the image then no. 1's request that wine be mixed is spoken at the same time she raises her cup. Thus, the ritual nature of the request is enhanced by the concurrence of action and speech. Again if 'Peace' is the abstract quality invoked by the speech, then MODE (II) does not apply as the addressee ('Peace') is outside of the image-frame. If no. 2 is the speaker, then the ritual quality of the request is diminished as he is simply addressing the female figure as "IRENE". Again no. 1's gesture does not appear to be that of someone about to pass the cup to no. 2.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action.)

If the speech is after the implied action of the image then a) the wine has already been mixed. This would mean that no. 1 is not the speaker in

MODE (III) since this would make her request redundant. In this case that leaves nos. 2, 3 or 4 as plausible speakers. It is not clear however whom they would address as no. 4 is the only figure who looks directly at another figure (no. 1).

As with the other frescoes, the speech in **MODE (III)** also invites the visitor in the tomb to take part in the action - and this the visitor can do only by entering mythical time (i.e. the present imperative of the verb requires presence in the time of the scene though not necessarily in the place of the scene). The present tense and the imperative mode of the inscription includes the visitor through the speech-action. You, the viewer-visitor to the chamber, are required to take a specific action (ex. you are required to impersonate 'Peace' and mix the wine).

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic **MODES** are operative except for **MODE (V)**. (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

In **MODE (IV)**, combinations of any or all of our three time-lines can apply (i.e. speech occurs before, during or after the implied action of the image). Mode (IV) allows the following interpretations of the image-action: a) in mythical time, no. 1 is the speaker and raises her cup in a ritual gesture asking the abstract concept of 'Peace', which is outside of the image-frame, to mix with the wine no. 1 holds in her cup; b) a deceased who is not represented within the image-frame speaks the request asking 'Peace' to mix the wine to be given to him.

MODE (V): There are only the logics of mythical time. (Unlimited no. of participants). There is no **MODE (V)** operating in Figure 6. A viewer/visitor to this tomb is invited to participate only in the mythical time through the speech-action of **MODE (III)** or higher. He or she, as visitor *qua* visitor is not required to participate in the mythical time of the implied image-action of the scene. That is to say that he or she is not required to participate in the banquet.

5.6.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

°Lunette as attention-focusing device.

Like the other banquet scenes in chambers, this banquet scene is located on the wall directly across from the entrance and is painted above the space for the sarcophagus. Hanging outside the painted frame on both sides of the image is a garland with two dark-coloured, long-neck birds, probably peacocks, head feathers sticking up, flanking the banqueters (see Figure 6a). The images of the birds only partially remain due to a horizontal loculus that was dug out after the painting was made. In the arch of the arcosolium the frescoes have been interpreted as follows in a clockwise direction: an unidentified female figure standing beside a caldarium and holding a small jug (see Figure 6e), a personification of one of the seasons, the good shepherd, a second personification of a season, and an orant wearing a tight-sleeved tunic with clavi, sandals and a paenula.

°Ritual objects depicted in the fresco include the wine cup, the platter of fish on the tripod table, and the diadem worn by the female figure (no. 4). The platter of fish is important in this fresco, because of no. 4's presentation gesture.

(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

°Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

i) IRENE: occurs 6 times;

ii) MISCE: occurs 7 times;

°Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word pattern, MISCE MI IRENE occurs only once (this fresco).

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting)."

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the under world or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

°The deceased buried at this site are the intended focal point of visitors to the grave.

°The holy is a focal point for the deceased at this site.

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Funerary inscription in the fresco can be read as an incantation of the holy in abstract form: power ('Peace') or saint (i.e.IRENE) .

"4). Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°Iconographical indicators that may involve prayer and special movements:

No. 1 is probably standing. She holds a cup in her extended right hand. Her eyes are fixed on the cup in front of her.

No. 4 wears a diadem on the crown of her head. No. 1 may also be wearing a diadem.

No. 4 extends her right arm towards the platter of fish on the tripod table.

No. 4 folds her left arm across her breast.in a gesture of grief.

The boy (no. 3) wears a dalmatic with protective clavi like those of the female figures.

°Considering there are not enough cups for everyone, the cup held by no.1 may be considered as a ritual vessel.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°It is logical that the wine will be shared among the participants by passing around the one cup since there are no others in sight.

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°Chamber 76, main wall of chamber, opposite the entrance, lunette, southwest region of the catacomb: Region "I". -older region of the catacomb -most populated?

5.6.2 Status Indicators

(i) Place of honour at the sigma-couch

If the place of honour is the centre position of the couch, then either nos. 2 and 3 occupy that place together or the centre position is not the place of honour in this scene.

If the place of honour is *in cornu dextro*, then no.1 is the closest to occupying that place. Her position in front of *in cornu dextro* is typical for female figures who do not always recline with males at mealtime. It is a sign not of servile status but rather that well-to-do female family members sometimes serve the meal.⁵³⁹

If the next prominent place at the sigma-couch is located *in cornu sinistro* then no. 4 is closest to occupying that place. The female figures' distance apart from the other figures also suggests their important status.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

Along with their special gestures toward the wine and fish and their intense gaze at the objects in front of them, the costumes of nos. 1 and 4, their diadems and the protective clavi on their dalmatics suggest they have responsibility for the ritual purity of the meal. The young boy (no. 3) is also protected from pollution by the special dalmatic he wears. No. 2 is the only figure to wear fibulae, marking off his importance during his lifetime. As stated previously, diadems were used to hold elaborate hairstyles in place, but they were also used along with veils and considered to be a sign of glory in both Roman and Christian dress.

5.6.3. Gestures unique to FIGURE 6

In this fresco, it is the combination of gestures between nos. 1 and 4 that are unique in this series of images. The gestures of nos. 1 and 7 in Figure 2a come closest to duplicating the implied image-action of the two female figures in Figure 6. Two main differences between the frescoes are that no. 1 in Figure 2a is drawn as reclining (the sigma-couch line intersects with her raised left arm) whereas no. 1 in Figure 6a is standing; and no. 7 in Figure 2a holds an object in her left hand whereas no. 4 in 6a gestures towards the fish on the platter.

⁵³⁹See the meal scene in Figure 29, in which female members of the family serve the meal to the two reclining male figures.

Similar significant gestures that both frescoes share are that female figures *in cornu dextro* or near *in cornu dextro* hold cups raised in a gesture of salutation or celebration. Both nos. 1 have important funerary inscriptions positioned close to them. Both female figures across from nos. 1 hold their left arm across their breast in a gesture of grief.

5.6.4. Summary

Based on the evidence of the fresco, the inscription, the site, and the iconographical indicators of cult/ritual, I suggest that that MODE (IV) best reflects the manner in which time is represented in this fresco. Further, it is likely that nos. 1 and 4 are the leaders of the cup or wine ritual performed in this scene.

5.7.1 Figure 7: Interpretation

5.7.1.1 Overview of the Representation of Time

Inscription:

"Peace'."

While we cannot be positive that the inscription in this fresco is speech -- perhaps the inscription functions to identify a figure -- we will proceed in analyzing the different time modes. My reason for proceeding in this way is because this particular chamber holds two banquet frescoes, one with the inscription "IRENE" and the other with the inscription, "AGAPE MISCE". It would seem therefore that the two funerary inscriptions common to those frescoes examined so far have been split here between the two pictures. "IRENE" in this example is probably a shortened version of "IRENE PORGE CALDA" or one of the other funerary inscriptions with "IRENE" that we have seen.

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

The meal scene depicts a feast in progress. No. 1 is in the process of bringing in another platter and tablecloth. There is still food remaining on the current platter on top of the table. In MODE (I) the word, 'IRENE' has already

been spoken. Participants 2, 3, 4 and 6 hold cups raised at chest level. (No. 6 holds a cup in his right hand. His right elbow leans on the sigma-couch in the same way as no. 4's.) No. 5 gestures toward the platter and does not seem to have a cup. The speaker of the inscription in MODE (I) is located within the image-frame. The speaker in MODE (I) is either no. 6 or no. 7 as they are closest to the inscription. No. 7 holds a cup in her right hand and cradles a jug with her left hand and arm. If no. 7 is the speaker, then her name clearly cannot be "IRENE". In this case she is speaking to an entity called "IRENE" outside of the image-frame and MODE (I) cannot apply. If no. 6 is the speaker, then he too may be addressing an entity outside the image frame and MODE (I) cannot apply. For MODE (I) to apply no. 6 must be the speaker who addresses no. 7 as "IRENE". However what does he want from no. 7?: he already has a cup. If a cup is what is wanted then no. 5 would be the most logical speaker since he does not have one. However neither nos. 5 nor 6 look at no. 7 nor does no. 7 look at them. Her body stance is positioned more towards the viewer (us) than to the participants. This suggests that her actions are not in response to these two participants.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image action).

The speaker in MODE (II) is still within the image-frame and has to be someone other than no. 7, either nos. 5 or 6. Again if "IRENE" is addressed to no. 7, the figure does not appear to be responding to that name.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action.)

"IRENE" has been spoken after whatever action or thing it refers to, has been completed or has arrived. This means that nos. 2,3,4, and 6 have already drunk from their cups and perhaps want more drink. In MODE (III) no. 7 has already drunk from her cup too.

When the speech follows the action in the image-frame, then the speech-action may invite the viewer/visitor in the tomb to do something but in this scene, there is no such invitation. There is no verb, nor any adjective or adverb to locate the speech in time.

In MODE (III), the deceased may speak from within the image-frame asking the viewer/visitor to carry out his request. If the deceased does issue a request here, it might be for 'Peace' rather than wine.

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic MODES are operative except for MODE (V). (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

In MODE (IV), combinations of any or all of our three time-lines can apply (i.e. speech occurs before, during or after the implied action of the image). Mode (IV) allows the following interpretations of the image-action: a) no. 7 is the speaker addressing the abstract concept of 'Peace' that exists outside the image-frame; b) any of the other participants are the speakers again addressing the abstract concept of 'Peace'; c) the participants may all address and say 'Peace' at the same time; d) a deceased who is not represented within the image-frame may say 'Peace'. If so, he either may be making the request of Peace for himself, addressing the abstract concept of 'Peace' (not represented in the image-frame) or greeting the viewer/visitor to the tomb with the word, 'Peace'.

MODE (V): There are only the logics of mythical time. (Unlimited no. of participants).

It is unclear whether MODE (V) is operating in Figure 7. A viewer/visitor to this tomb may be greeted by the salutation 'Peace' but there is no requirement to respond.

5.7.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

°Special architectural features:

(i) In this large chamber there are two arcosolia and approximately 20 loculi.

(ii) This chamber contains two banquet frescoes. The banquet scene described above is, like most, found in the lunette of the arcosolium opposite the entrance (Lau 78-2). The other banquet scene (Lau 78-3) is found in the lunette above the arcosolium directly to the left of a viewer standing in the entranceway.

(iii) The ceiling in this chamber is ornately decorated, potentially depicting a syncretic Roman-Christian cosmos (see below).

**iv) At least two orantes are painted in this chamber:
Above the fresco in the lunette are images of a female (left) and male (right) orans. The female is veiled and wears a wide-sleeved, long dalmatic with clavi. The male wears a wide-sleeved, short dalmatic with clavi and a pallium over his left shoulder and arm. A loculus has been dug out in the visual register above the two orantes.**

"(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

° Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

i) IRENE: occurs 6 times;

° Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word pattern, IRENE, occurs once by itself (this fresco).

° "AGAPE MISCE" also appears in this chamber.

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting).

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the under

world or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

°The ceiling in this chamber is ornately decorated potentially depicting a syncretistic Roman-Christian cosmos:

(i) a figure of the good shepherd is placed at the zenith of the ceiling , enclosed within a square frame which is then enclosed within a circular frame. Surrounding this framed figure are eight vignettes enclosed in semicircular frames, whose curved base lines form the perimeter of yet a larger circular frame. Outside of this circle are small busts of what are probably personifications of the seasons occupying the four corners of the ceiling (cosmos). The vignettes have been interpreted as follows: Noah in the Ark; the multiplication of loaves and fishes; Daniel in the lion's den; the healed paralytic; Moses striking the rock; Jesus raising Lazarus from the dead; a baptism; and Job.

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Funerary inscriptions in the frescoes can be read as incantations of the holy in abstract form: powers or saints (i.e. IRENE and AGAPE) .

"4). Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°Iconographical indicators that may involve prayer and special movements:

i) figures of two orantes flank either side of the lunette image directly across from the entrance.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°In this scene almost all of the participants have their own cups.

°A second platter and tablecloth are brought in even though the food on the existing platter has not been fully consumed (if touched at all).

"(e) Other material objects may be brought and offered (votives). The act of offering may entail breakage and hiding or discard."

°From the image-action of no. 1 in this scene, it is possible that the platter of fish will be discarded.

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°Much evidence of the family's wealth is indicated here. Those figures shown with cups in the fresco hold what appears to be clear glass, a very expensive item. Further, most of the walls as well as the ceiling of the chamber have been painted over with frescoes.

°There are at least two places in the chamber where expensive sarcophagi would have been placed.

5.7.2. Status Indicators

(i) Place of Honour at the sigma-couch

If the place of honour is the centre position, then no. 4 appears to occupy that place. However there are no other distinguishing features that would mark him as the guest of honour. His fibulae are roughly the same size as those of the other male figures; he is not set apart from the others nor is the speech positioned near him.

If the place of honour is *in cornu dextro*, then no. 2 reclines closest to that place. Again nothing other than his place at the sigma-couch marks him in any special way. If the next highest place of honour is *in cornu sinistro*, then no. 6 reclines closest to that place. From no. 7's alignment in the foreground with no. 1 it is clear she is not as close to *in cornu sinistro* as no. 6. His place at the sigma-couch is marked off by a distinct separation

from the other participants, suggesting he has the highest status among the male figures.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

No. 7 wears double protective clavi on her dalmatic (See Figure 7b). She also wears similar dark vittae in her hair. The extra cloth of her dalmatic and her double stripes (both very expensive) suggest her wealth. She is bare-foot which suggests that she stands on sacred ground and/or is involved in a ritual action. She seems to be waiting for no. 1 to complete his actions so that she can begin hers. No. 1 is clearly the poorest dressed of all of the figures, suggesting a status of servant. It also shows that the owners of the burial chamber were not necessarily interested in depicting their servants in 'fancy clothes', thus debunking the interpretation that female figures in this and other frescoes(?) are simply servants in fancy clothes.

5.7.3. Other Gestures

None of the gestures is unique to this fresco. What is unique is the large quantity of expensive cups (almost every figure has his/her own) shown in the image. In this case ritual vessels would not have to be shared, perhaps suggesting a simultaneous utterance of the word, "IRENE".

5.7.4 Summary

Considering there is no verb, nor any adjective or adverb to locate the speech in time, it is difficult to specify a MODE that best describes the way time is represented in this fresco.

My own view favours MODE (IV) as the best way to describe how time is represented. Mode (IV) allows for the greatest number of interpretations of the scene. No. 6, even if not the quest of honour, seems to hold a special place at the banquet. No. 7 in her doubly protective clavi has responsibility for the ritual purity of the meal and for the correct performance of the ritual.

5.8.1 Figure 8: Interpretation

5.8.1.1. Overview of the Representation of Time

Inscription:

"'Love-Charity' mix [wine]."

The scene in this lunette depicts a very special meal. Every participant enacts an important gesture in order to carry out the effectiveness of the ritual shown here.

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

The meal scene does not depict a feast in progress. On the platter there is only bread that has been scored in four sections. In MODE (I), the speech has already been uttered. Despite the fact that the verb "MISCE" translates as "mix", there is no evidence of a jug of water with which to mix the wine or a caldarium anywhere. No. 5, who stands beside the table, holds up a flat circular cup in her right hand presumably waiting for her wine to be mixed. If no. 1 is the speaker, then her name clearly cannot be "AGAPE". If this were the case she would be speaking to an entity called "AGAPE" outside of the image-frame and MODE (I) therefore could not apply. If no. 4 is the speaker (the figure who, next to no. 5, is closest to the speech), then he too may be addressing an entity outside the image-frame and MODE (I) could not apply. For MODE (I) to apply the speaker and addressee must both be in the image-frame. For example, No. 4 addresses no. 5 as "AGAPE" and asks that she mix the wine. This is problematic however since he does not have a cup, nor does he even look at no. 5. Rather he is pointing to the table with his index finger. Nor does no. 5 look at him in a manner which could be called, response. Her gaze is fixed upon the cup she holds in front of her. No. 2, who does hold a cup, makes the most sense as the speaker. The speech however has been positioned nowhere near this figure.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image action).

The speaker in MODE (II) is still within the image-frame and again has to be someone other than no. 1 for the reasons stated above. If one of the male figures is the speaker (no. 2 actually holds a cup and glances towards

no. 5) then he is issuing his request to no. 5, addressing her as "AGAPE". Again there is no hint of a response in the gesture of no. 5.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action.)

"AGAPE MISCE" has been spoken after the image-action it refers to, has been completed. This means that nos. 2 and 5 have already drunk from their cups and perhaps want more drink.

When the speech follows the action in the image-frame, then the speech-action may invite the viewer/visitor in the tomb to do something. In this case, you the viewer/visitor, are required to impersonate "AGAPE" and mix the wine.

In **MODE (III)**, the deceased may speak from within the image-frame asking the viewer/visitor to carry out his/her request. If either no. 2 or no. 5 is the speaker, then he is also the deceased. This would make sense given the deceased's cultural association with wine. Besides this, nos. 2 and 5 are the only figures to hold cups.

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic **MODES** are operative except for **MODE (V)**. (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

In **MODE (IV)**, combinations of any or all of our three time-lines can apply (i.e. speech occurs before, during or after the implied action of the image). **MODE (IV)** allows the following interpretations of the image-action: a) no. 5 is the speaker addressing the abstract concept of 'Love-Charity' (that exists outside the image-frame) to mix the wine or mix with the wine. There is no personal pronoun here (i.e. **MI**) to limit the meaning of 'mix'. ; b) any (or all) of the other participants is/are the speakers. For example no. 2, who also holds up a cup, may ask the abstract concept of 'Love-Charity' to mix the wine or mix (something) with the wine; c) a deceased who is not represented within the image-frame may say "'Love-Charity' mix the wine". If so, the speaker may be making the request of mixing wine for himself or addressing the abstract concept of 'Love-Charity', not represented in the image-frame, to mix the wine, possibly both are correct.

MODE (V): There are only the logics of mythical time. (Unlimited no. of participants).

It is unclear whether **MODE (V)** is operating in Figure 8. A viewer/visitor to this tomb may be greeted by the request to mix wine but there is no expressed object to give it to.

5.8.1.2 "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" = Iconographical Indicators of Cult/Ritual

"1. Focusing of Attention:

(c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual)."

°Special architectural features:

(i) In this large chamber there are two arcosolia and approximately 20 loculi.

(ii) This chamber contains two banquet frescoes. The banquet scene described above, unlike most, is found in the lunette above the arcosolium directly to the left of a viewer standing in the entranceway.

(iii) This arcosolium is surrounded by two large and three smaller loculi. The entire wall is decorated with abstract leaf and scroll designs. In the arch of the arcosolium, there is an abstract vine design.

(iv) The ceiling in this chamber is ornately decorated potentially depicting a syncretic Roman-Christian cosmos (see below: 2a).

v) At least two orantes are painted in this chamber: Above the fresco in the lunette are images of a female (left) and male (right) orans. The female is veiled and wears a wide-sleeved, long dalmatic with clavi. The male wears a wide-sleeved, short dalmatic with clavi and a pallium

over his left shoulder and arm. A loculus has been dug out in the visual register above the two orantes.

"(d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy')."

°Frequency of words (from this fresco) occurring in all eight frescoes:

i) AGAPE: occurs 5 times;

ii) MISCE: occurs 7 times;

°Of the twelve full inscriptions, the word pattern, "AGAPE MISCE" occurs most frequently:

"AGAPE MISCE" occurs three times (FIGURE 1, FIGURE 2 AND FIGURE 8).

"2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

(a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture" (which in these catacombs may be taken as expanded to include the mural painting).

° In Roman religious practices the burial place is the site where communication with the dead is made possible. The burial site is perceived to be an opening point in which a breakthrough to the under world or to supernatural powers is possible. In other words the dead may communicate with the living and the living may communicate with the dead. Both the living and the dead may communicate with higher spiritual powers through this opening.

°The ceiling in this chamber is ornately decorated potentially depicting a syncretistic Roman-Christian cosmos:

(i) a figure of the good shepherd is placed at the zenith of the ceiling , enclosed within a square frame which is then enclosed within a circular frame. Surrounding this framed figure are eight vignettes enclosed in semicircular frames, whose curved base lines form the perimeter of yet a larger circular frame. Outside of this circle are small busts of what are probably personifications of the seasons occupying the four corners of the ceiling (cosmos).

The vignettes have been interpreted as follows: Noah in the Ark; the multiplication of loaves and fishes; Daniel in the lion's den; the healed paralytic; Moses striking the rock; Jesus raising Lazarus from the dead; a baptism; and Job.

"3. Presence of the deity (the holy):

(a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol)."

°Funerary inscriptions in the frescoes can be read as incantations of the holy in abstract form: powers or saints (i.e. IRENE and AGAPE) .

"4). Participation and offering:

(a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images."

°Iconographical indicators that may involve prayer and special movements:

i) a figure of an orans flanks the lunette image directly across from the entrance.

"(d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away."

°In this scene only two participants have their own cups.

°Bread scored in four sections has been placed on the platter.

°No. 5 holds a bun or a piece of fruit in her left hand (see Figure 8e).

"(e) Other material objects may be brought and offered (votives). The act of offering may entail breakage and hiding or discard."

°There appear to be no offerings other than the bread and wine.

"(g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities."

°Much evidence of the family's wealth is indicated here. Further, most of the walls as well as the ceiling of the chamber have been painted over with frescoes.

°There are at least two places in the chamber where expensive sarcophagi would have been placed.

5.8.2. Status Indicators

(i) Place of Honour at the sigma-couch

If the place of honour is the centre position, then no. 3 occupies that place. Distinguishing features that would mark him as the guest of honour are his tunic and fibulae. No other participant at the banquet wears such a costume. He also uses both hands to point to the platter while the others (without a cup) only use one hand.

If the place of honour is *in cornu dextro*, then no. 1 occupies that place. He wears a single-striped protective dalmatic which suggests the necessity of his ritual purity for the event. If the next highest place of honour is *in cornu sinistro*, then no. 4 occupies that place. He too wears a single-striped protective dalmatic suggesting the necessity of his ritual purity for the event. Neither of these figures holds a cup however.

(ii) Costume, Veiling & Hairstyles

No. 5 wears single protective clavi on the front of her dalmatic with double protective clavi on her wide sleeves (see Figure 8c). The male figures except for no. 3, wear double clavi on their narrow sleeves. No. 5 also wears a translucent veil over her hair, suggesting the status of a virgin. By the intense gaze of her eyes on the cup, her veil, and her ritually protective clothing, she is marked as involved in a ritual action.

5.8.3. Other Gestures

This fresco is replete with significant gestures. The static quality of the figures and their purposeful poses are what make this fresco so different from the other banquet scenes. While female figures stand in the other frescoes, no. 5's proximity to the table suggests a relationship with the contents of the platter that was less evident in the other images (excepting no. 4 in Figure 6b). The gesture of the male figures pointing at

the table with their index fingers is occasionally found, according to Heuser, in Roman Art of the third and fourth centuries. Its meaning is one of indication but it also may serve to represent a command.⁵⁴⁰

5.8.4 Summary

In this fresco, MODE (IV) seems to best describe the way time is represented in this image. No. 3 is probably the guest of honour, who because he is the deceased, does not need to wear protective clavi. No. 5 stands by the table. The pointing index fingers of the other figures indicate the importance of the food on that table. She has responsibility for the ritual purity of the meal. By the intense gaze of her eyes on the flat cup, it would seem that she also has responsibility for the correct performance of the ritual. No. 2, who holds the other flat cup, is also implicated in the ritual in some way. It may be that this cup is in the process of being passed from one reclining participant to another.

⁵⁴⁰Heuser, 230. Heuser tells us that the extended index finger may be found in the Latin pagan manuscripts of the Vatican Virgil and the Vatican Terence. In a Christian context, the gesture may be found in the mosaic scenes of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

5.9 Findings

1. The modes of time typically represented in pagan Roman Funeral monuments with inscribed speech are expanded to include two extra time modes in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro frescoes. These funerary banquet scenes include the first three time modes found in pagan Roman Art but in addition, they allow for the function of two additional modes of time: MODE (IV), that is any or all of the chrono-logic modes are operative (except for mode (V), i.e. four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action); and MODE (V), in which there are only the logics of mythical time (i.e. unlimited no. of participants).

2. Female figures are the speakers in these frescoes in the following time modes:

MODE (I) The speech is before the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image-action).

Figure 1: no. 1;

Figure 2: no. 1;

Figure 3: no. 5;

Figure 6: no. 1.

MODE (II) The speech is concurrent with the image-action. (Two logics: ordinary time; sequential image action).

Figure 3: no. 5;

Figure 6: no. 1.

MODE (III) The speech is later in time than the image-action. (Three logics: ordinary time; may include mythical time; and sequential image-action.)

Figure 7: no. 7.

MODE (IV) Any or all of the chrono-logic MODES are operative except for MODE (V). (Four logics: ordinary time; mythical time; non-sequential speech-action and image-action)

Figure 1: nos. 1 and/or 5;

Figure 2: nos. 1 and/or 5;

Figure 3: no. 5;
Figure 4: nos. 4 and/or 7;
Figure 6: nos. 1 and/or 4;
Figure 7: no. 7;
Figure 8: no. 5.

MODE (V) There are only the logics of mythical time. (Unlimited no. of participants).

Figure 2: nos. 1 and/or 5;
Figure 4: nos. 4 and/or 7.

Such a range of female speakers, from those who can be identified as speakers in Ordinary Time to those who can be identified as speakers in Mythical Time, should dispense with any interpretations of the female figures as either servants or personifications of the abstract concepts, "AGAPE" and/or "IRENE".

3. Either male or female figures can lead the cup ritual. The leader of the ritual typically reclines or sits *in cornu dextro*. If the figure in this place is male, then there is usually an accompanying female figure with a cup somewhere in the scene, typically near *in cornu sinistro*.

4. In two cases we have female figures only who lead the cup ritual. Figures 2 and 6 strongly suggest a representation of a ritual in which two women are the leaders.

5. In these frescoes, the pattern of the 'seat' of honour is in transition from the middle place of the sigma-couch having primary importance to that of *in cornu dextro* having primary importance and that of *in cornu sinistro* having second prominence. Examples of this transitional pattern are clearest in the following frescoes:

Figure 1; Figure 2; Figure 3; Figure 4; Figure 6.

6. Using Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn's "Archaeological Indicators of Cult" (1996: 391) as a way of identifying iconographical references to cult

activity, there is both archaeological and iconographical evidence that a majority of these frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro present the action and speech of ritual activity (i.e. Figures, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8).

5.10 Conclusion to the Chapter

The reconfiguration of time from pagan Roman Funerary Art to early Christian Funerary Art has important implications for the interpretation of the SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet frescoes. These banquet scenes include two additional modes of time: MODES (IV) and (V). These additional modes seem to serve two purposes: (1) they expand the viewer/visitor's role at the grave beyond that of pagan Romans when interacting with the deceased; and (2) they invite the Christian holy to participate in the meal.

Whether someone is celebrating a funeral meal in one of the chambers or in the open air above, or simply passing by through his/her participation in Mythical Time [MODES (IV) and (V)], a living human being can be included as a participant in the celebration and prayers represented in the banquet scenes. The Christian holy (as represented by the abstract concepts, AGAPE and IRENE) are also invited to participate in the meal through mixing the wine. Thus time MODES (IV) and (V) allow the family's ancestors, the newly deceased, the living relatives and the Christian holy to commune together at a meal. In MODE (V) the communion can be extended to the entire Christian community whether living or dead.

Interpreters of early Christian Art have long recognized pagan Roman iconographic models as the visual prototypes inherited by Christian visual culture. The most well known example, Christ as Helios, has been written about extensively. What has been little recognized by previous interpreters is the cultural frames of reference that are imported with such models. In the case of the banquet frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro, the Roman understanding of time as represented in Roman Funerary Art is a necessary precondition for making the understanding of these early Christian frescoes possible. The act of breaking down the analysis of the frescoes into their constituent parts (i.e. iconographical elements [Chapter Three] and

inscriptions [Chapter Four]) made Roman cultural frames of reference in these banquet scenes more apparent.

If understanding the function of Ordinary Time and Mythical Time in Roman Funerary Art is one of the key preconditions for interpreting these frescoes, it is the effects of Christian ritual as depicted in the images and inscriptions that produce the alteration of time: It is through the effects of Christian ritual as depicted in the frescoes (except for Figure 5) that Ordinary Time can be transformed into Mythical Time, that ordinary space can be transformed into ritual or non-ordinary space. It is through the effects of Christian ritual that the abstract concepts of AGAPE and IRENE can be given form (i.e. become substance so that they can mix the wine). The effects of the Christian ritual activity represented in these frescoes also allow for the implied image-action and speech to function eternally.

The expanded reconfiguration of time in early Christian Funerary Art has especial importance for the interpretation of the female figures in the SS. Marcellino e Pietro banquet scenes. Far from being 'servants', some of the female figures in MODES (I) and (II) can be interpreted as the speakers of the inscriptions, suggesting that the female figures are ritual agents that mediate the care of their deceased relatives in the afterlife. Far from being 'personifications', the female figures as speakers, in Figures 7 and 8, appeal to the abstract concepts of "AGAPE" and "IRENE" [MODE (IV)] to mix the wine in the cup ritual the female figures lead. Far from their being merely symbols, Figures 2 and 6 depict scenes in which female figures *only* lead the cup ritual.

The additional modes of time in these early Christian funerary monuments accommodate a new view of the Cosmos that includes a dramatic change in the perception of death. As we have seen in the last chapter, the doctrine of bodily resurrection emerged slowly in popular early Christian thought. In the new Christian view of the afterlife, the living no longer had to care for the dead by literally feeding them as was the pagan Roman custom. It is well documented that many of the church fathers rebuked Christians for keeping up the custom of feeding their dead, asking

them instead to give their offerings of food to the poor. Thus at the time these frescoes were made (c.280-320AD), we know the Church had little authority over the funeral practices or cemeteries of Christians. Up until the early 5th century, this authority was exercised by the leadership of wealthy Christian families including those headed by women.⁵⁴¹

⁵⁴¹ In Peter Brown's book The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (1981), he documents what he considers to be a conflict between rival systems of patronage which occurred in the early church between the fourth and fifth centuries. The conflict it would seem had to do with what Brown calls the "privatization of the holy" by wealthy Christian families and the struggle by a new sanctioned elite of bishops to maintain the "holy" within the ideal of non-privileged communal access to the divine. One of the sites where this struggle took place was over the graves of martyrs. What is of interest to this study is that all of the examples Brown cites with regard to this struggle have to do with wealthy Christian women exercising their power by using wealth to gain direct access to martyrs' bodies. In 295AD, we have the case of Pompeiana who, knowing that she is about to die soon, manages to obtain the body of the martyr, Maximilianus, and has it buried in a tomb near St. Cyprian. Her own body is placed in a nearby tomb thirteen days later (33). In 304, we have the case of the wealthy Asclepia who creates a Christian memoria above the grave of the martyr Anastasius in Salona. The memoria also housed her tomb and others of her family (33-34). In 311-12, we have the case of Lucilla from Carthage who had in her possession a bone of a martyr and kissed it each time before communion (34). In the early 4th century, we have the case of Flora, who through her own initiative placed the body of her son closest to the corpse of Saint Felix of Nola. Finally it would seem in the instance of the catacomb of SS. Marcellino and Pietro we have the case of Lucilla who had the remains of the saints transferred from their own tombs to her family cubiculum at *inter duas lauros* on her own authority. Like Thecla's self-baptism in the Acts of Paul and Thecla (185-195AD), this authority was self-appointed: The saints, martyred under the persecution of Diocletian (304AD), had appeared to Lucilla in a dream asking her to take this action. According to archaeologist Jean Guyon, their bodies were most likely deposited before the Peace of the Church.

6.0 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Anything historical?

The remaining two questions from my first chapter: (c) Is there anything historical with regard to the female figures recorded here? and (d) If so, what is it? can now be addressed.

Prior to this study, the above question had become entangled in a two hundred-year-old debate as to whether the frescoes of SS. Marcellino e Pietro represent historical reality or allegory. As I demonstrated in Chapter One, the historical reality vs. allegory framework produced a debate in which both sides of the argument had become circular and closed. True to her word, Brooten's counsel, that a "shift of emphasis" is required when the historian's subject is the participation of women in early Christianity, set in motion a rethinking of categories, canons of art and literature etc. in order to carry out the stated purpose of this study: to test whether the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro are conspicuous evidence of women's religious leadership in early Christianity in Rome.

The shift in emphasis from 'historical reality vs. allegory' to a conceptual framework which counted the banquet scenes as visual works of historical evidence produced the need for a new analytical category which we have called, 'Time Modes' (sets of chronological relationships between the inscriptions and the implied image-action of the scenes). The category of Time Modes proved to be very useful in a number of ways including: (1) it allowed this researcher to analyze the frescoes in ways that were more consistent with Roman Funerary Art and the cultural responses that surrounded it (including an accounting of Ordinary and Mythical Time in imagery); (2) it reconfigured the emphasis from the 'historical vs. allegorical' framework to the more germane (and inclusive) sub-categories of physical and metaphysical character of a funerary environment; and (3) it demonstrated through an analysis of speakers (in different time modes) that the female figures were just as likely to be the speakers in Ordinary Time as they were to be the speakers in Mythical Time thus disabling the servant (historical reality) vs. personification (allegory) interpretation of the female figures associated with the 'historical reality vs. allegory' framework.

However, we cannot answer the above question completely until we have accounted for the differences in iconography between Christian and pagan meal scenes. To assist us in this task I have drawn up a chart that summarizes the Overview tables of iconographical elements in the banquet scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro and the eight groups of comparanda analyzed in Chapter Three.

Table 6.1	M&P	M&P	M&P	SBS	ORC	SRBS	SRAS	SRAS	SGS
Scene/Iconography	SBS	CANA	FRAG	ORC	FRAG	OSRC	SERV	O&S	A&I
total number of scenes in table	8	1	9	11	7	14	7	16	2
inscription(s) in scene	8	0	3	2	2	2	2	5	2
klinè meal	0	0	1	0	2	5	1	--	1
sigma meal	8	1	4	11	4	7	0	--	0
other meal configuration	0	0	3	0	1	2	5	16 ⁵⁴²	1?
with cathedra(e)	1-2	0	1	0	0	1	--	--	--
all female figures	0	0	0-2	1-2	2	1	0	5	1
scenes with female figures veiled	1	1	1	2-3	0-+	3-4	0	6	0
all male figures	0	0	4-5	1	0-+	2	3	4	0
scenes with male figures veiled	0	0	0	1	0	1?	0 ⁵⁴³	7	0
mixed scenes of male figures & female figures	8	1	4-5	5-6	0-+	12	2-4	7	1
sex of figure indefinite	3	1	5	9	4	7	1	5	0
scenes with children	4	0	1	1	0-+	4	0	6	0
scenes of children with a cup	2	0	1	+	0-+	3	0	0	0
with female figures reclining	2	1	1-3	5	2-6	7-8	1?	1	1
	280-320	c250	200-300	AD	0-200AD	510-460	BCE		

M&P/SBS = Marcellino e Pietro/Selected Banquet Scenes

M&P/CANA = Marcellino e Pietro/"Cana", Chamber 62

M&P/FRAG = Marcellino e Pietro/Selected Banquet Scene fragments

SBS/ORC = Selected Banquet Scenes/Other Roman Catacombs

ORC/FRAG = Other Roman Catacombs/Selected Banquet Scene fragments

SRBS/OSRC = Selected Roman Banquet Scenes/OSRC

SRAS/SERV = Selected Roman Art Scenes/Serving

SRAS/O&S = Selected Roman Art Scenes/Offering and Sacrifice

SGS/A&I = Selected Greek Scenes/Agape and Irene

This chart is divided vertically into chronological periods which show how closely the

⁵⁴²Offering and Sacrifice Scenes

⁵⁴³One of the seated male figures is hooded.

Description of Scene Iconography	MFP	MFP	MFP	SEC	ORG	SHES	SPAS	SPAS	SSS
	SEC	CAN	ERAC	ORG	ERAC	OSR	SEE	ORG	ALL
with male figures reclining	8	1	4-5	6	4?	11-13	1?	--	0
with female figures sitting	2	0	1?	1	0	1	2	5	1
with male figures sitting	0	0	1-2	1?	0	2	4	1	1
with female figures standing	6	0	2-3	1	3?	2	3	9	1
with male figures standing	2	1	2-3	1-2	3?	5-7	5	10	1?
female figures with raised cups	6	0	1?	1?	2	4-5	3 ⁵⁴⁴	5	2
female figures drinking from a cup	0	0	0	0-+	0	0	0	0	1
male figures with raised cups	6	0	2-3	2	0-+	9-11	5 ⁵⁴⁵	9	0
male figures drinking from a cup	2	0	1	0-+	0	3	1	0	0
'tripod' tables: food/cups	8	1	4	0	1	8	1	3	0
platter(s) on table(s)	8	1	2	0	1?	7	1	--	0
platters on the ground	0	0	0	8	1	1	0	--	0
type of food served: a) meat	2-3	+	1?	+	0-+	1	0	7 ⁵⁴⁶	1
b) fish	1-3	1	+	3-4	1?	5	0	--	0
c) bread	2?	+	2?	5-7	1-4	7-10	1?	2-3 ⁵⁴⁷	1
d) fruit	2?	0	2?	+	1	2?	1?	4 ⁵⁴⁸	1
e) wine	8	1	3-4	4-5	4	14	7 ⁵⁴⁹	12 ⁵⁵⁰	2

⁵⁴⁴These figures are holding not raising their cups.

⁵⁴⁵These figures are holding not raising their cups.

⁵⁴⁶The scenes show food or libation as an element of a sacrifice.

⁵⁴⁷The scenes show food or libation as an element of a sacrifice.

⁵⁴⁸The scenes show food or libation as an element of a sacrifice.

⁵⁴⁹Figures are drinking a beverage that may not be wine.

⁵⁵⁰The scenes show food or libation as an element of a sacrifice.

Description of Scene/Iconography	SES M&P	M&P CAN	M&P FRAG	SES ORC	ORC FRAG	SES OSRC	OSRC SERV	SERV O&S	O&S A&I
individual portions	0	0	+	+	2-3	6	1	--	--
large wine containers	2	1	1-3	3	3	6	3	1	+
indicators of singing or music	2	0	2?	1-2	0-+	4-7	0	3	2
mensa in chamber	2	0	2	?	0	--	2?	9 ⁵⁵¹	--
human figures	8	1	9	7	6	14	7	11	1-2
mythical figures	0	0	0-+	1-2	1?	4-5	0	9- 10	1
animal figures	0	0	0-+	2	1?	4	1	11	0
mixed human & mythical figures	0	0	0	1	1?	4-5	0	4	1
	280-320	c250	200-300	AD	0-200AD	510-460	BCE		

dating of each group of comparanda compares with the that of the frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro (280 320AD). For example as we move further from left to right on the chart, the weaker the links are between the iconographical elements. The numbers to the right of the double line connote scenes which may be either Christian Roman or pagan Roman. The numbers to the right of the double line connote scenes which are pagan Roman. The numbers in the far right column connote scenes from Greek pottery.

M&P/SBS = Marcellino e Pietro/Selected Banquet Scenes

M&P/CANA = Marcellino e Pietro/"Cana", Chamber 62

M&P/FRAG = Marcellino e Pietro/Selected Banquet Scene fragments

SBS/ORC = Selected Banquet Scenes/Other Roman Catacombs

ORC/FRAG = Other Roman Catacombs/Selected Banquet Scene fragments

SRBS/OSRC = Selected Roman Banquet Scenes/OSRC

SRAS/SERV = Selected Roman Art Scenes/Serving

SRAS/O&S = Selected Roman Art Scenes/Offering and Sacrifice

SGS/A&I = Selected Greek Scenes/Agape and Irene

Findings:

Christian Funerary Art

Pagan Roman Funerary Art

Greek scenes of Agape and Irene

INSCRIPTIONS

-Inscriptions (includes: speech, identification, prayers)

-Inscriptions (includes: speech, identification, vows)

-Inscriptions (includes: speech, identification)

-Inscriptions may be addressed to

-Inscriptions may be addressed to

⁵⁵¹Scenes with an altar.

(a) AGAPE and/or IRENE;
 (b) to another figure in image-frame;
 (c) to living person outside image-frame;
 (d) to deceased outside image-frame.

(a) spirits of the dead;
 (b) to Roman gods/goddess;
 (c) to living person outside-image-frame.

KLINE COUCH FORMATION

-klinè in fragments

-klinè

-klinè

-females recline alone in klinè position

-females recline with males on klinè couch; females and males also recline alone

-females recline with other females

-mythological characters may be present in background

(a) raised cups

-females in klinè position with raised cups

-females on klinè hold mirrors or wreaths; males hold cups or *patera*

-females hold and drink from cups

SIGMA-MEAL FORMATION

-sigma meal formation

-sigma meal formation; formation

-no sigma meal

-females sit and recline at sigma meals with males

-females sit and recline at sigma meals with males

(a) raised cups

-males shown reclining and drinking at sigma meals

-males shown reclining and drinking at sigma meals

-males shown reclining and holding cups

-males shown reclining and holding cups

-females shown reclining, sitting or standing with raised cup

-females shown standing holding cups and standing with raised cup

OFFERING AND SACRIFICE SCENES

-offering scenes associated with banquet scenes (ex. Callixtus, M & P: male figure sitting by mensa)

-offering and sacrifice scenes separate genre from banquet scenes; mythological characters may be present

-mixed male and female figures in offering scenes

-sex specific and mixed offering and sacrifice scenes

SERVING SCENES

-children serve wine

-children serve wine

-male figures serve platters

-male figures serve platters
and wine

-male figures (shopkeepers)
serve wine

-female figures (shopkeepers)
serve wine

-female figures hold small jugs
for water?

-female figure is shown
holding cup in front of
reclining banqueters
(Figure 4, no. 7)

-female figures are shown
standing pouring a drink behind
reclining banqueters

BANQUET SCENES: GENERAL

-mixed and sex specific
banquet scenes

-mixed and sex specific
banquet scenes

-mythical persons may be
present

-mythological
characters may be
present

-sex specific banquet scenes
of religious functionaries
(seven pious priests
and vestal virgins)

CLOTHING

-diadems, veil(s), vittae on
female figures

-goddesses, vestal virgins,
emperor couples veiled

-male figures not veiled
in any scenes but may wear
laurel wreaths on their heads

-male sacrificant
veiled

-female figures and children
wear dalmatics with double clavi;
some female figures wear *chitons*,
with or without a *palla*

-female figures wear *chitons*
with *pallas*

-male figures wear tunics with
fibulae and dalmatics with single
clavi

-male figures wear tunics with
fibula, sometimes with togas over
top or togas without tunics

SEATING

-seat of honour in middle (for deceased?); *in cornu dextro* place for male or female figure with cup

-seat of honour in the middle of sigma couch; no special gestures for figures *in cornu dextro* or *in cornu sinistro*

GESTURES

-*in cornu sinistro* figure may have her left hand on chest in gesture of grief;

-grieving gesture is seen in procession scenes

-singing gesture by participant with cup

-singing gesture by participant with cup

FOOD

-wine, bread, fruit, meat, fish may be present

-wine, bread, fruit, meat and fish may be present

-bread scored in 4 sections

-bread scored in 4 sections

OTHER

-cathedra chairs associated with women

-cathedra chair associated with women

In summary the important differences in iconography between early Christian Funerary art and pagan Roman Funerary art include the following: In early Christian Funerary art (1) offering and banquet scenes are combined into a single scene or are visually juxtaposed; (2) mythological characters are not depicted in early Christian banquet scenes; (3) reclining female figures raise cups in both *klinè* and sigma meal scenes in early Christian art; (4) reclining or sitting female figures are frequently shown without veils; (5) the seat of honour at a sigma couch is shared between the middle figure and the figure *in cornu dextro* ; (6) sex specific (or mixed) banquet scenes of early Christian religious functionaries are unknown, unrecognized or not extant; (7) female figures and children (boys or girls) wear dalmatics with double clavi on their dress/tunic and their sleeves; (8) male figures wear dalmatics with single clavi on their tunics and double clavi on their narrow sleeves; (9) male figures continue to wear laurel wreaths but not veils.

We can now complete the answer to the question posed at the beginning of this chapter. The frescoes of SS. Marcellino e Pietro share many iconographical elements with the historical Roman funerary monuments from which they evolved. Of the differences listed above, five in particular have importance for this study: (1) offering and banquet scenes are combined into a single scene or are visually juxtaposed; (2) reclining female figures raise cups in both klinè and sigma meal scenes; (3) mythological characters are not depicted in Christian banquet scenes⁵⁵²; (4) reclining or sitting female figures are frequently shown without veils, implying that those female figures who do wear a diadem or veil have a different status; and (5) female figures and children (boys or girls) wear dalmatics with double clavi on both their dress/tunics and their sleeves.

These important iconographical differences joined with the expanded purpose of inscribed speech in the selected funeral banquets scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro suggest two important conclusions: (1) these scenes (except for Figure 5) depict early Christian offering and banquet scenes combined into a single scene; and (2) female figures are just as likely to be shown directing the offering as male figures.

6.2 Links between Reality and Representation

Parallel iconography in a culture which has developed out of a pre-existing culture has to be seen to contain some elements of continuity in the intended function of the artistic representation. Nor can the degree of continuity shown in the funerary inscriptions reasonably be taken as coincidence. It would seem wise also to consider that the ceremonies depicted in our paintings, like the ceremonies presented in the pagan *refrigeria* have a connection akin to those ceremonies performed to honour the dead in real life. Our paintings, as we have demonstrated, show strong similarities to pagan Roman *refrigeria* which we know (from Latin inscriptions and literary sources) were meant to maintain the care and nurturing of the dead, in large part by maintaining the link to living family. Funerals were considered to be private affairs, the province of ones family. Care of ones

⁵⁵²Jesus and his mother are depicted in a banquet scene known from a New Testament text (i.e. 'Cana').

ancestors was an important part of Roman familial and moral duty. The inscriptions on the paintings would be familiar to non-Christian or pagan Romans as representing the voice(s) of the dead given the common practice of this custom. Romans would also be accustomed to seeing female figures in the role of serving and supervising meals, and would find it natural to interpret these paintings in that light. For Christians, the iconography and funerary inscriptions would have had an extended meaning, perhaps that of a serving ministry in which women invite the holy to mix the wine. That this was no ordinary family meal but a festive, formal occasion, a meal to honour the dead, is reflected in the hairstyles, jewellery, and dress of the female figures in the paintings and by the clear hierarchical ranking, particularly of the male figures.

It has been said that art in the context of funerary space is about relationships; those between the figures in the representation, those between the living and the dead; those between the living and the supernatural and those between the dead and the supernatural as perceived by the living. Our analysis of the eight frescoes in Chapter Five would certainly support this claim. If we accept this premise as accurate, then the frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro are pictures of private, Christian, family *refrigeria* or banquets held by the living to refresh their dead kin (through wine & food). The paintings commissioned for the burial chambers in SS. Marcellino e Pietro demonstrate a mixture of Christian beliefs joined to a Roman cultural heritage. For the people of Late Antiquity who were aware of the banquet frescoes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro, the images and inscriptions would have functioned to stimulate different types of responses bringing about a more complete interaction with the deceased.

6.3 Role of Women in Christian Refrigeria

Before the arrival of Christian ideas about the after-life, Romans cared for their ancestors through sacrifices made daily at the altar of the Lares in their homes. They also held banquets for their dead after the appropriate number of days following the death as well as elaborate and public festivals lasting for weeks once a year. These activities were undertaken by the living in order to ensure both private and public well-being

and prosperity. It was the responsibility and duty of each family to make sure their dead were not neglected and their duty to carry out the appropriate commemorative ceremonies.

The task of caring for the dead fell to the primary caregivers of the living -- the women of the family. The initiation and mediation by women of the heavenly care of the dead was marked by an earthly ceremony similar to the non-Christian *refrigeria* (*parentalia*), and led by the female care-givers of the family. An image of what scholars believe to be a typical family meal, carved into a marble funerary monument in Trier (my catalogue, Figure 29), shows two women in high-back wicker chairs at either end of a table, behind which sit two men. The configuration is almost exactly the same as many of the banquet scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro. We might conclude that whether feeding the living or the dead, in the examples I have examined, the pattern, in well-to-do families at least, seems to be that the female family members flank the males 'at table' -- probably to ensure an efficient service of wine and food (regardless of who does the actual serving) during the meal.

What is of special interest in these frescoes is the placement of female figures that do not conform to the above configuration. In Figures 3 and 8, we have a female figure who stands in front of *in cornu sinistro* with a raised cup. In Figure 3, no. 5 wears a diadem; and in Figure 8, no. 4 wears a veil. Figures 3 and 8 suggest some type of reciprocal cup ritual between the standing female figure and the reclining male figure *in cornu dextro* who holds a cup. In Figure 8, we notice two other interesting changes in the iconography: No. 4 is veiled, the only female figure in the entire group of eight frescoes to be so attired; and instead of a cup, the figure holds a flat dish in her right hand and bread or fruit in her left. Similarly, Figures 2 and 6 have two principal figures *in cornu dextro* and *in cornu sinistro*. In Figure 2, no. 1 reclines and raises her cup, while no. 7 stands, the left arm in a grief gesture; in Figure 6, we see the reverse configuration: no. 1 stands, her cup raised and no. 4 sits, her left arm in a grief gesture. Again, the female figure *in cornu dextro* (Figure 6, no. 4) wears a diadem. These latter Figures (2 and 6) are particularly interesting because two female figures carry out the action of the cup ritual.

What can account for the different iconography of the female figures in these frescoes? Does it refer to a different funeral rite or the same rite carried out differently by different families? I suggest that in these four frescoes we see the clearest examples of the combined scenes of a Christian offering and a Christian funeral banquet. In these frescoes, it is always two figures that carry out the rite, whether it be a male and a female figure (Figures 3 and 8) or two female figures (Figures 2 and 6) so long as those figures are opposite to one another so as to include all participants inbetween. None of the eight frescoes show two males carrying out this function.

6.4 Art and Ritual

The cup ritual mediated by a female figure is not a visual motif that disappears quickly in early Christian Art. In fact a very famous historical Empress is depicted in a well-known mosaic from the 6th century, leading a procession of court women into a church (St. Vitalis, Ravenna) to offer the chalice (containing wine?) for the Christian sacrifice. In the famous life-size mosaic from Ravenna, Empress Theodora holds a large jewelled chalice with both arms extended. To her right are two male members of the clergy and a small fountain that sprays water. The chalice is held in the direction of the fountain. We know that the chalice she holds is connected to the Christian sacrifice because her husband, Emperor Justinian, in the mosaic on the opposite wall holds a large golden bowl. He stands beside Bishop Maximian, the bishop who consecrated St. Vitale in 547AD. While we cannot determine from the mosaic if either the chalice or the bowl hold their sacred contents, there can be no mistake as to the function of the objects they hold. The Empress and Emperor are surrounded by the important holy men of their day. Bishop Maximian holds a jewelled cross in his hand and wears a *pallium* (long, narrow scarf) on his shoulders. The two priests beside him wearing single-striped dalmatics hold a jewelled book (the Gospel?) and a censer. Both Empress Theodora and Emperor Justinian are depicted with a nimbus around their heads, Theodora's being the slightly larger.

There is a second interesting example of a female figure presenting a ritual vessel found in a 6th century monastery in Egypt (my catalogue, Figure 33). In this scene, the inscription implies that we are looking at the "Holy Ekklesia". What is not clear from the text is whether the Mother of God is also identified with this female figure.⁵⁵³

What the actual historical links are between the representation of a sacred ritual and the actual performance of that same ritual can never be fully known. However we can ask ourselves would the producers of material culture continue to represent female figures offering the cup (of Christ?) if there was not some cultural authenticity attached to the representation? In the case of the Christian sacrifice, if early Christian women did offer the cup of wine at private funeral banquets as our visual evidence seems to suggest, it would be highly significant to know, with regard to the sacred roles of women in early Christianity, whether this practice was limited only to the private realm or if women also performed the offering of the cup in more public realms: that of martyrs' anniversary banquets? or in the Latin Church itself? as the famous mosaic of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna seems to imply.

Some scholars might argue that early Christian representations of a female figure in the sacred role of offering the cup in the Christian sacrifice are purely symbolic, or at the very most, depictions of an honorific role reserved for a privileged few -- the wealthy female patrons of the early church. However as historians, we can do better than this. The history of women's sacred roles in the early Church has only begun to be written. It will take historians with various types of expertise working together to map out what we know of the landscape and then see how the pieces fit together. In the case of the frescoes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro, I would argue that history has been staring us in the face for the last 1700 years. We have simply been too blind to see it.

⁵⁵³G. A. Wellen, suggests not. In his view, the female figure is a personification of the Church, nothing more. See G.A. Wellen, Theotokos (Utrecht/Antwerpen, 1960) 169-172.

6.5 Contribution of this Study to the Discipline of Religious Studies

This study makes a contribution to the discipline of Religious Studies in the following ways: (1) by demonstrating that an ideology of gender has operated in the interpretation of female figures in early Christian Art (i.e. female figures in early Christian Art are symbols); (2) by testing a socio-historical method (part of the larger field of Visual Hermeneutics) that challenges the presuppositions brought to the study of this area and identifies the preconditions (an understanding of how time is represented in ancient images) for making the understanding of early Christian Funerary Art possible; (3) by advancing the scholarship on the eight banquet frescoes from the catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro; and (4) by recovering a small fragment of women's history in early Christianity in Rome.

Contributions 1 and 2 can be summed up by demonstrating what we have learned from this study by returning to one of my examples of the 'Woman as Symbol' problem from Chapter One. The problem of an ideology of gender at work in the interpretation of female figures in early Christian Art is neatly encapsulated in Graydon Snyder's interpretation of the transformation into art of the story about an anonymous Samaritan woman from whom Jesus requests water and in return is offered "living water". (John 4: 4-42.) Snyder describes the fresco in this way: "In [the catacomb] of St. Callixtus she [the Samaritan woman] appears as an Orante by the well while Jesus points to it."⁵⁵⁴ As presented in Chapter One, Snyder interprets the scene stating: ". . .it would be appropriate to see here a *cultic symbol* in which Jesus grants the water of life to *the congregation*, which could refer to *baptism, the agape, or both*."⁵⁵⁵ My point in zeroing in on this interpretation in Chapter One was to show the loss of historicity for female figures in early Christian art *even when they have a referent in a New Testament text*.

⁵⁵⁴Snyder, 1985, 61. My emphasis.

⁵⁵⁵Snyder, 1985, 61. My emphasis.

An understanding of how time functions in early Christian Art elicits a very different reading of this same scene. I will refer only to MODE (I) (speech occurs before the implied image-action of the scene) for the purpose of keeping this demonstration brief. MODE (I) would place the image-action in the St. Callixtus scene *after* the conversation has taken place between Jesus and the Samaritan woman. In the depiction of the scene, time has passed. The woman has already left her water jar, gone back to the city to invite whomever she sees to: "Come and see a man who told me everything I have ever done! He cannot be the Messiah, can he?" (John 4: 29), returned to the well with a group of Samaritans: "They left the city and were on their way to him." (John 4: 30), and been converted to Jesus' gospel: "Many Samaritans from that city believed in him because of the woman's testimony, 'He told me everything I have ever done'." (John 4: 39).

The orans posture of the Samaritan woman in the St. Callixtus catacomb scene is a signal to the viewer that we are at the point in the story where she has become a convert to Christianity through receiving the "living water". This is to say the scene only shows the viewer the end of the story. Clearly, the important metaphor in this New Testament text is the "living water" (the gospel) and not, the woman. The scene in St. Callixtus seems to be giving us the same message: the figure of Jesus directs the viewer's gaze to the well (the artist's representation for "living water") and not to the woman who has by now presumably tasted it.

There is much more we could say about the scene of the Samaritan Woman at the Well by applying the remaining possible time modes. The point here however is to show that the socio-historical method used and developed in this study not only challenges the gender bias in interpretative scholarship on early Christian Art, but *through its practice, restores a balance to this art with regard to female agency without distorting the available visual information.* In the above example, the method even goes so far as to demonstrate an interpretation of a scene which places it closer to its Biblical text. While my study dealt specifically with female banquet figures that do not have any direct textual referents, we can see from the above demonstration that this socio-historical method shows potential for

interpreting scenes of early Christian Funerary Art (though not containing visible text themselves) that do have a direct reference to a text.⁵⁵⁶

As for contributions 3 and 4, I think that the technique of separating the scenes from their inscriptions contributed significantly to disentangling the knot of earlier interpretations tied tightly around the eight banquet scenes from SS. Marcellino e Pietro and that it has freed up the images for further exploration by other scholars. The confusion of historical reality vs. personification theories, their sets and subsets as described in detail in Chapter Three cannot only be attributed to gender-based prejudgment but also to an incomplete understanding as to the function of Latin inscriptions in conjunction with funerary monuments, and to an incomplete understanding as to how time is represented in Roman Funerary Art.

In summation, I have advanced the scholarship on these frescoes considerably. The findings of the numerous tables of comparanda from Chapter Three served not only as an important comparison for early Christian and pagan Roman banquet scenes but allowed me "to see" important iconographical relationships between the banquet scenes of SS. Marcellino e Pietro and pagan Roman banquet scenes and art that perhaps should have been obvious but weren't obvious to me or to previous scholars. The tables visually clarified the separation of offering scenes from banquet scenes in pagan Roman art and their combination or juxtaposition in early Christian art. This important observation, which now seems logical if not obvious, was discovered only as a result of many hours of sound research.

The only intuition I had in beginning this research was that "There is something more going on in these frescoes than has been reported by previous scholars." It also seemed illogical to me that the only reported historical female figures in early Christian Funerary Art were those represented by their portraits. What the "something more" turned out to be is, I believe, a highly significant contribution to the scholarship on these

⁵⁵⁶My point here is twofold.(1) When there is speech inscribed in an image, the 'time-mode' theory allows us to determine how time is represented by taking account of the speech. (2) Where there is an image which makes reference to a text with speech, the 'time-mode' theory also allows us to determine how time is represented if we take account of the speech in the text. Clearly we will need to test this theory on a number of other images that fit description (2) before we can make any great claims to its effectiveness.

frescoes. Many scholars have suggested that the funerary paintings are representations of the Christian 'Agape', lumping all eight images under the same interpretative category. My research demonstrates that while the frescoes share important iconographical elements, each is distinctly different. Typically, it is the differences that prove to be most interesting. In two pairs of frescoes (Figures 3 & 8 and 2 & 6), I have identified an iconographical pattern that I refer to as "a reciprocal cup offering rite". This pattern is repeated, though not exactly, in four of the eight paintings. Either a male and a female participant or two female participants are shown engaged in a cup offering rite of some kind. I have suggested that these four frescoes combine Christian offering scenes with funeral banquet scenes.

I have also deliberately stayed away from describing the cup offering rite as "The Eucharist" or the funeral banquet as "The Agape" as I think *these loaded terms mask or distort what is actually shown in the scenes*. Whether the reciprocal cup offering rite should be identified as "The Eucharist" or any part of the banquet scene action should be called "The Agape" is not answered in my research. I would caution other scholars not to jump to such interpretative categories too quickly. Let us first explore what I have identified here as a visual pattern that strongly suggests a link to actual early Christian ritual practices in Rome. Whatever its name (perhaps it didn't have one?), there can be no doubt about the central role of women in its practice.

Perhaps this "unnamed cup offering rite" is the small fragment of women's history that I have recovered from early Christian Funerary Art. Since men are shown as equal participants in this rite, we can be sure that it is also a highly significant fragment of early Christian history in Rome.

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APPENDIX A₁:

ANNOTATED IMAGES - BLACK & WHITE HARD COPY

Section I



Figure 1a

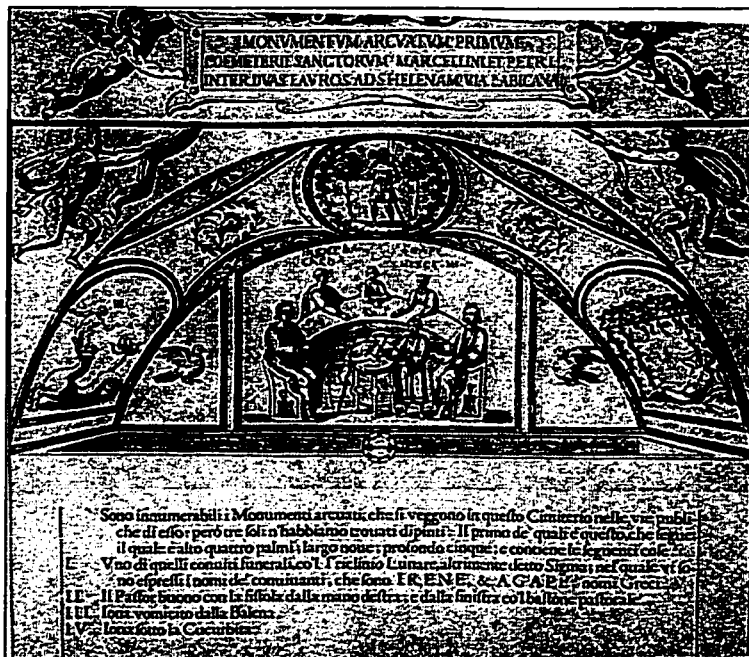


Figure 1b

Sono innumerevoli i Monumenti arcuati, che si veggono in questo Cimitero nelle vigne, e
che di esso: però tre soli n'abbiamo trovati dipinti: Il primo de' quali è questo, che sopra
il quale è alto quattro palmi, largo nove, profondo cinque: e contiene le seguenti cose:
Uno di quelli conati funerali col 1.° ricinto l'usare, altrimenti detto Sagma nel quale vi so-
no effiggi i nomi de' committenti, che sono IRENE, & AGAPE, come Greco, &
II. Il Padre buono con la staffa della mano destra: e della sinistra col bastone pastorale.
III. I due vennero dalla Balena.
IV. I due sono la Cocchiera.

Figure 1c



Figure 1d

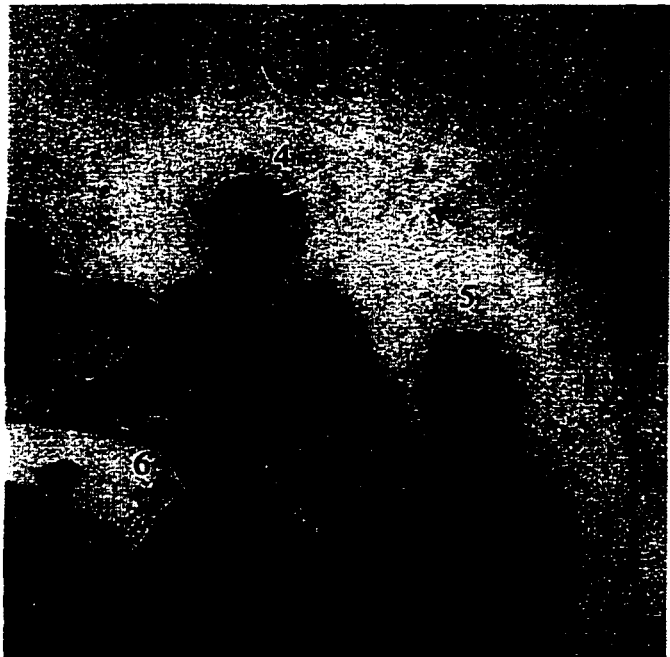




Figure 1e



Figure 1f



Figure 1g

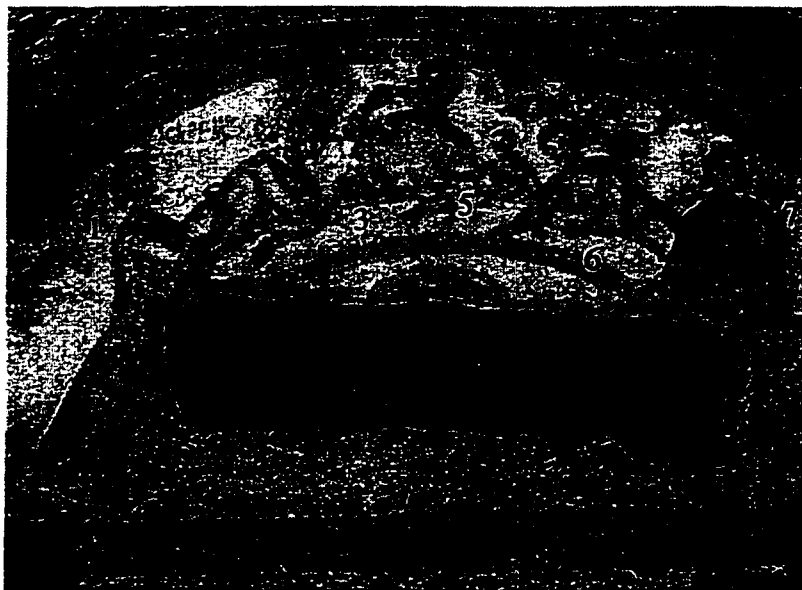


Figure 2a

Figure 2b



Figure 2c

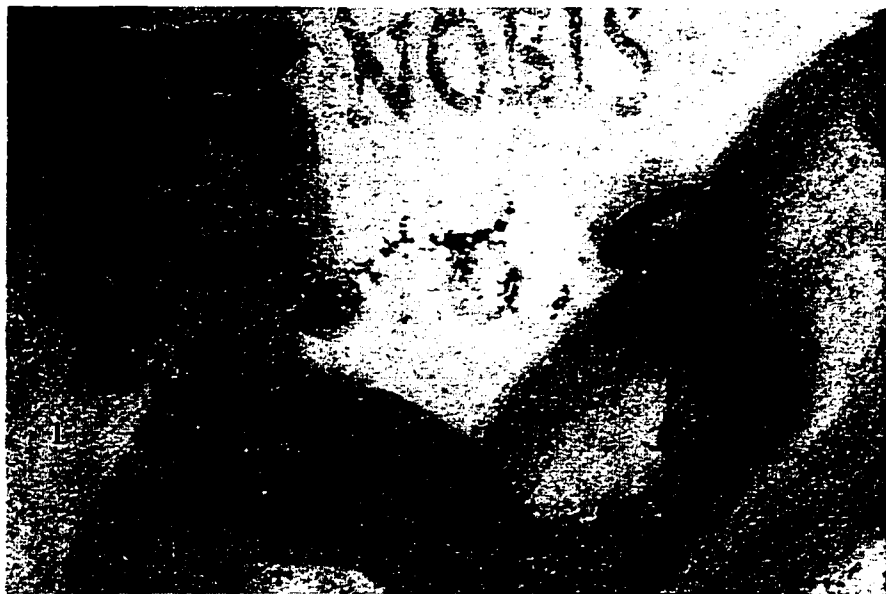


Figure 2d



Figure 2e

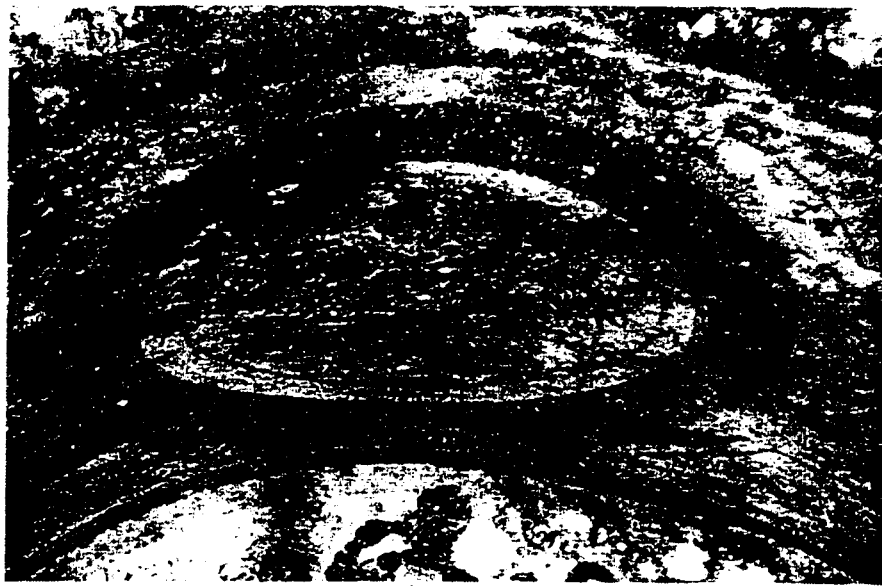




Figure 3a

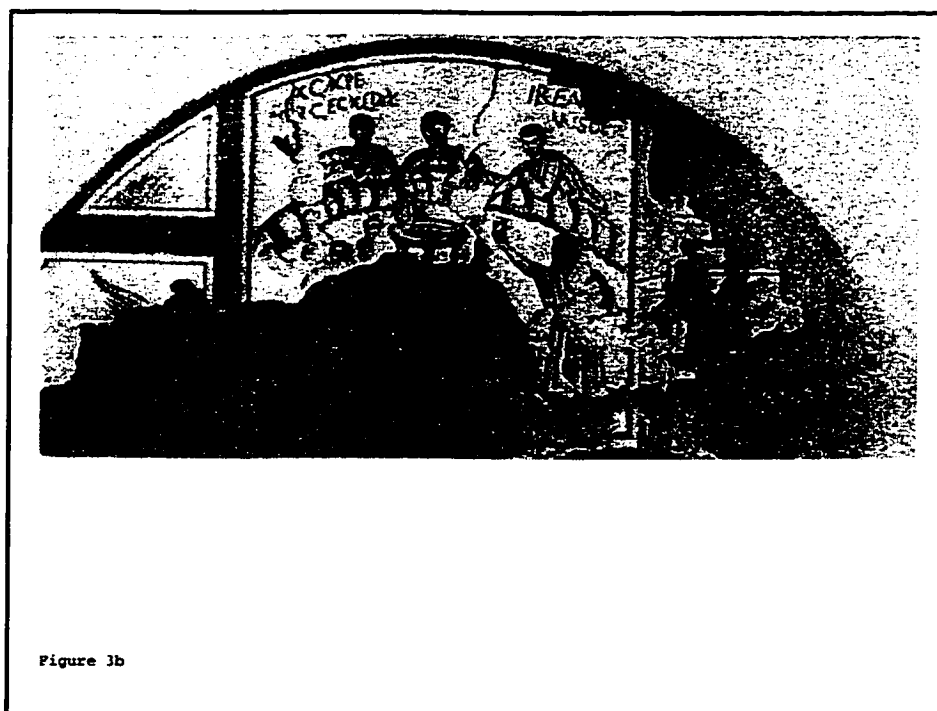


Figure 3b

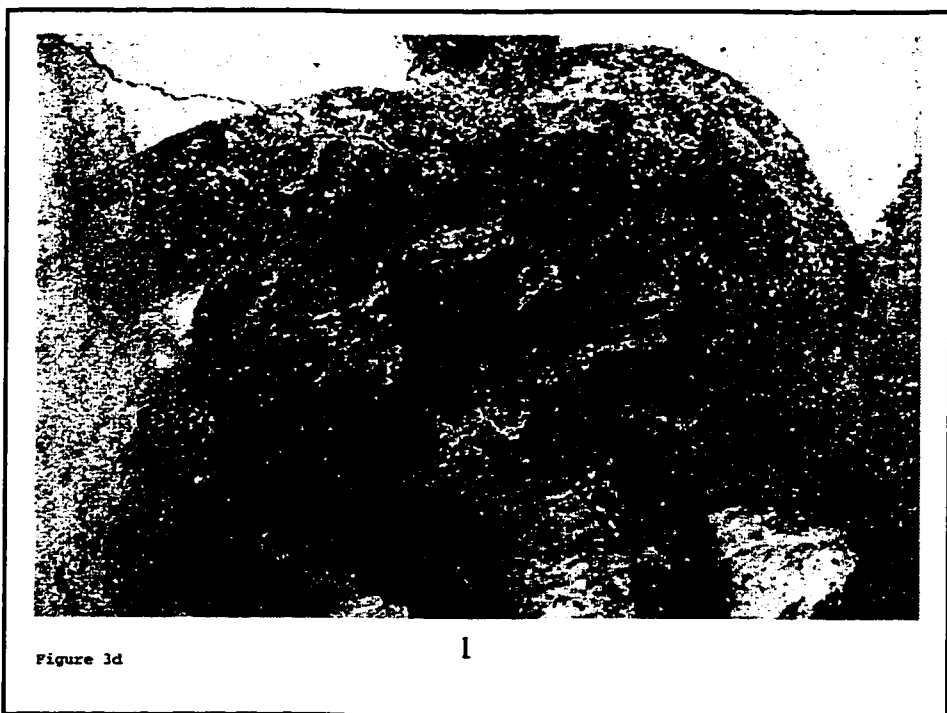
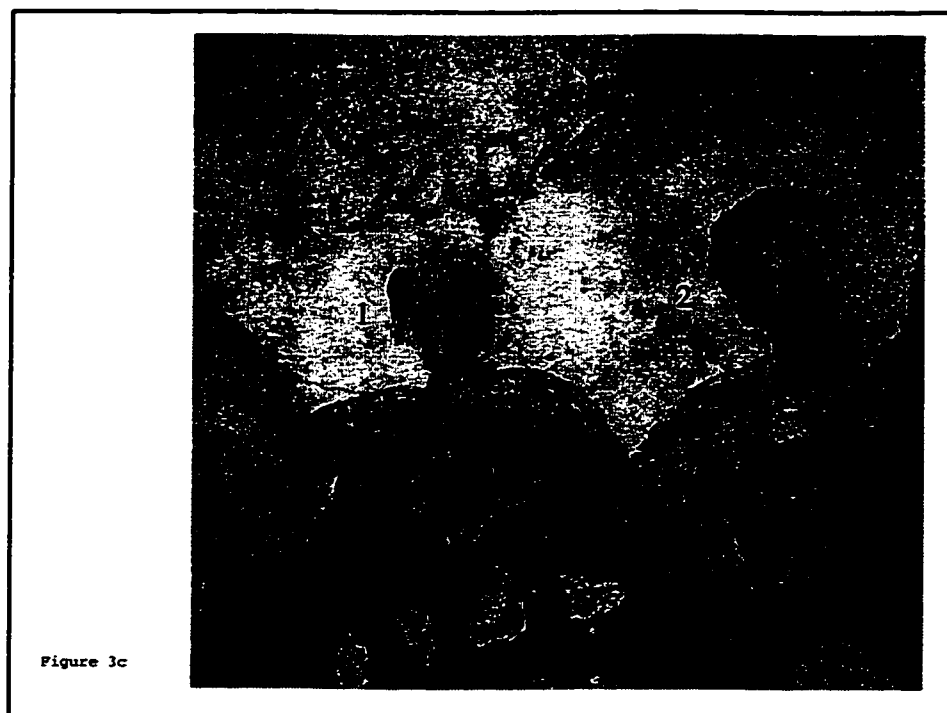
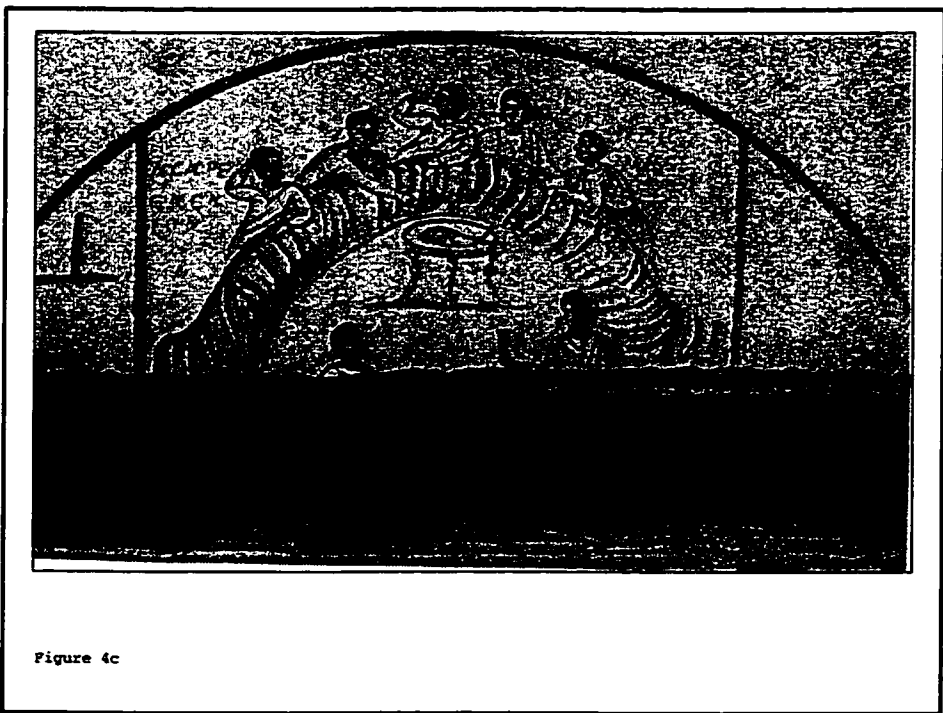




Figure 3e



Figure 4a



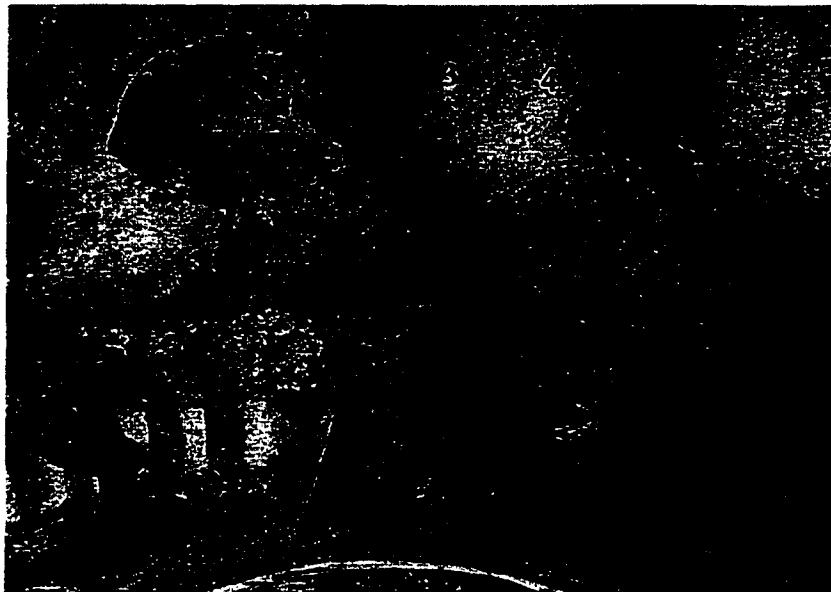


Figure 4d



Figure 4e



Figure 4f



Figure 5a



Figure 5b

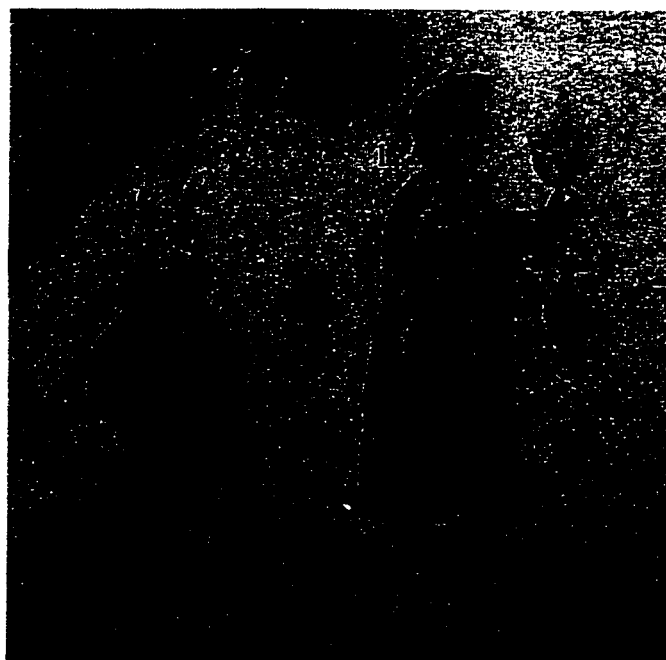


Figure 5c

Figure 5d



Figure 6a





Figure 6b



Figure 6c



Figure 6d

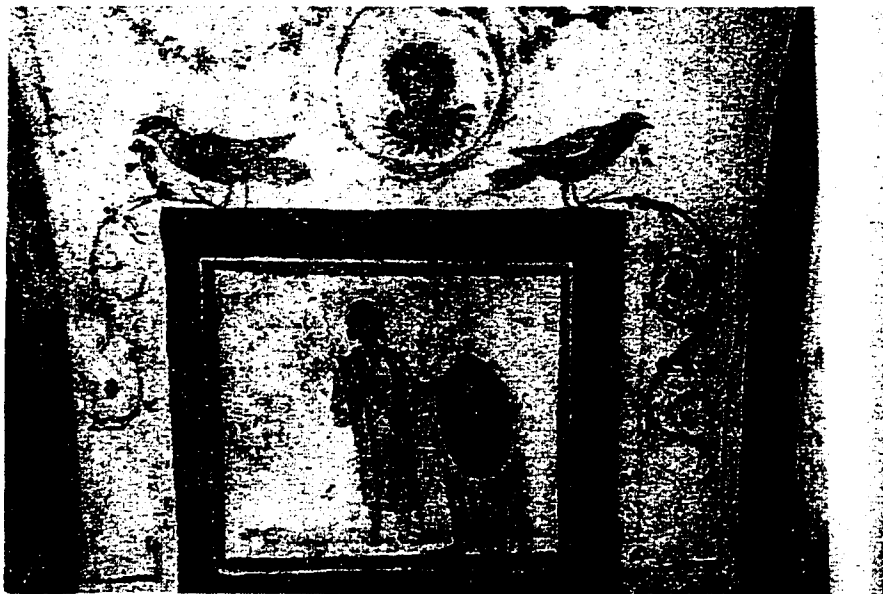


Figure 6e

Figure 7a



Figure 7b



1



Figure 7c



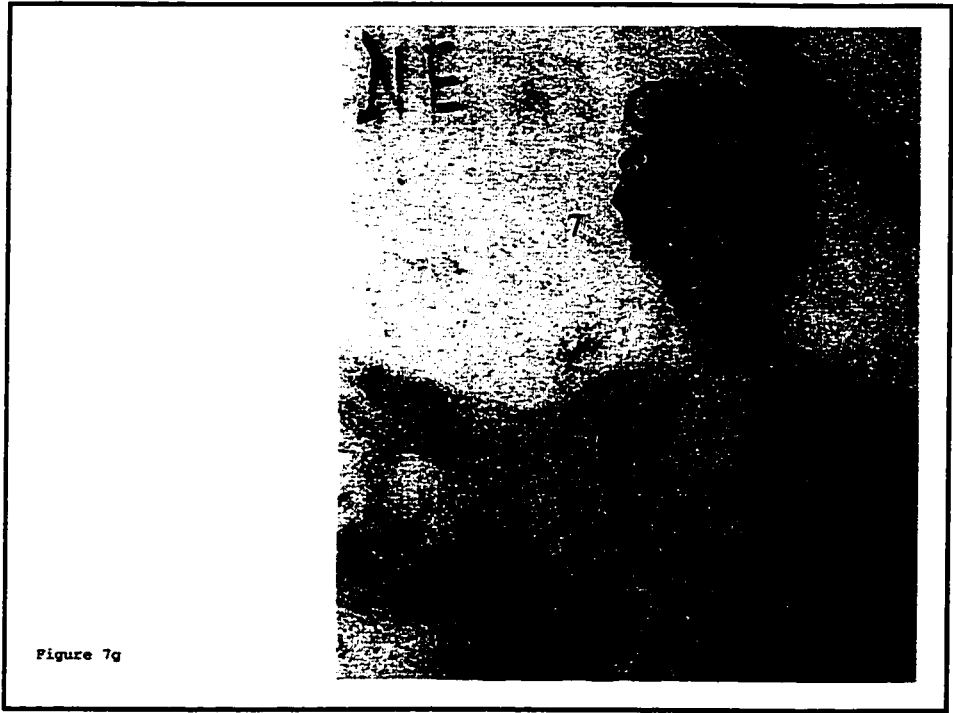
Figure 7d

Figure 7e



Figure 7f





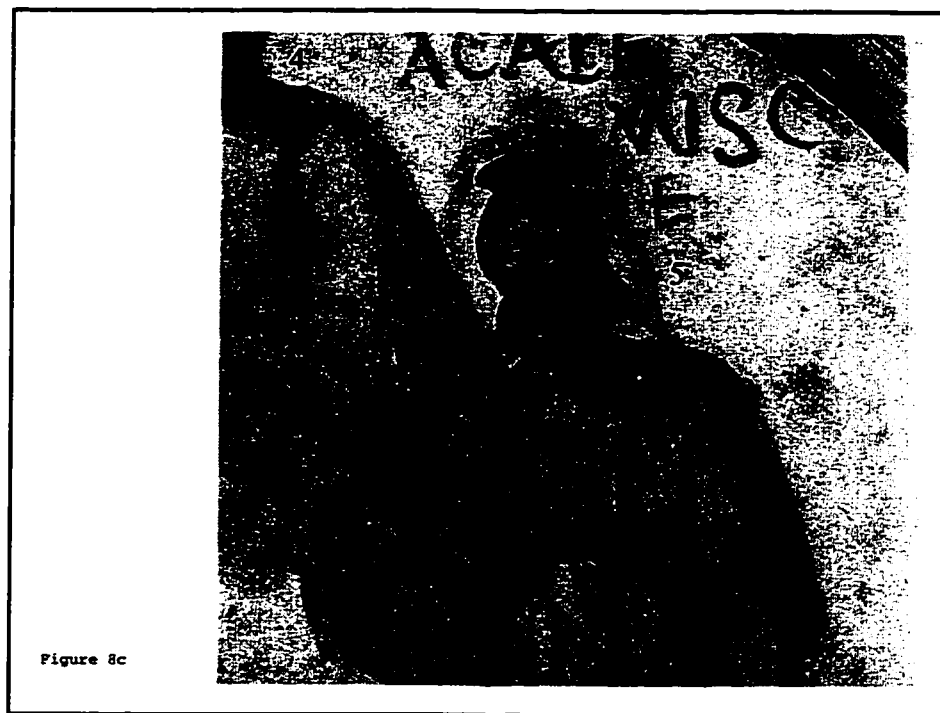
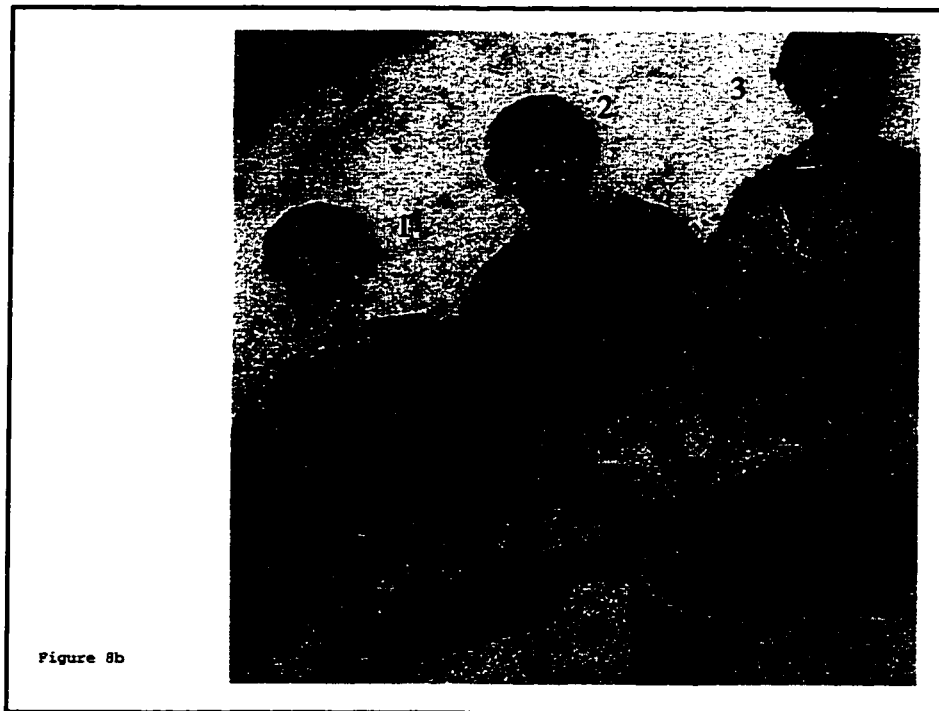




Figure 8d



Figure 8e



Figure 9a

Section II

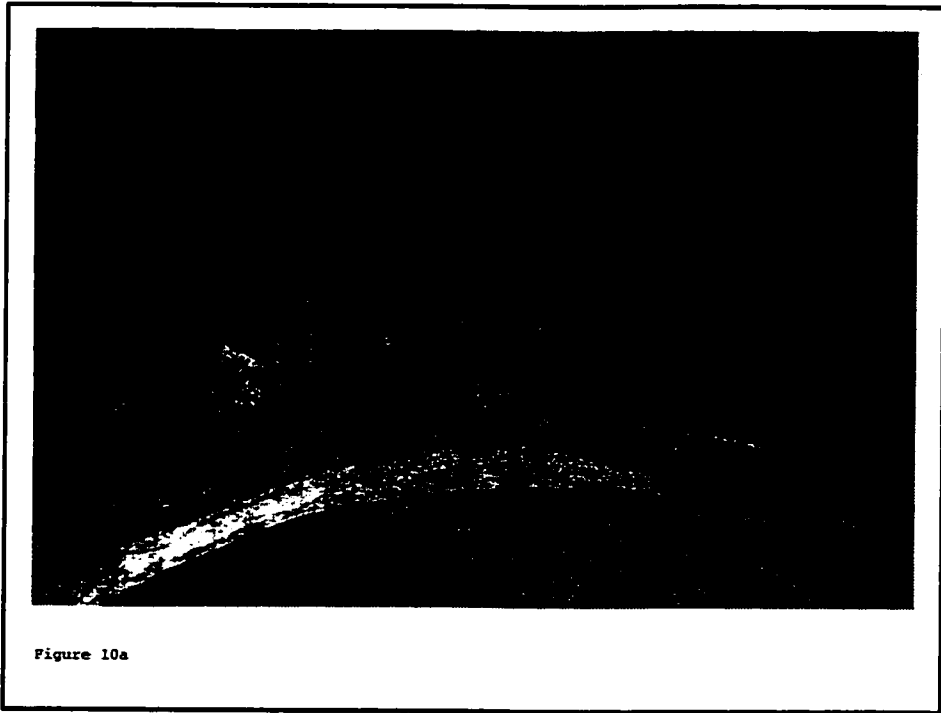


Figure 10a

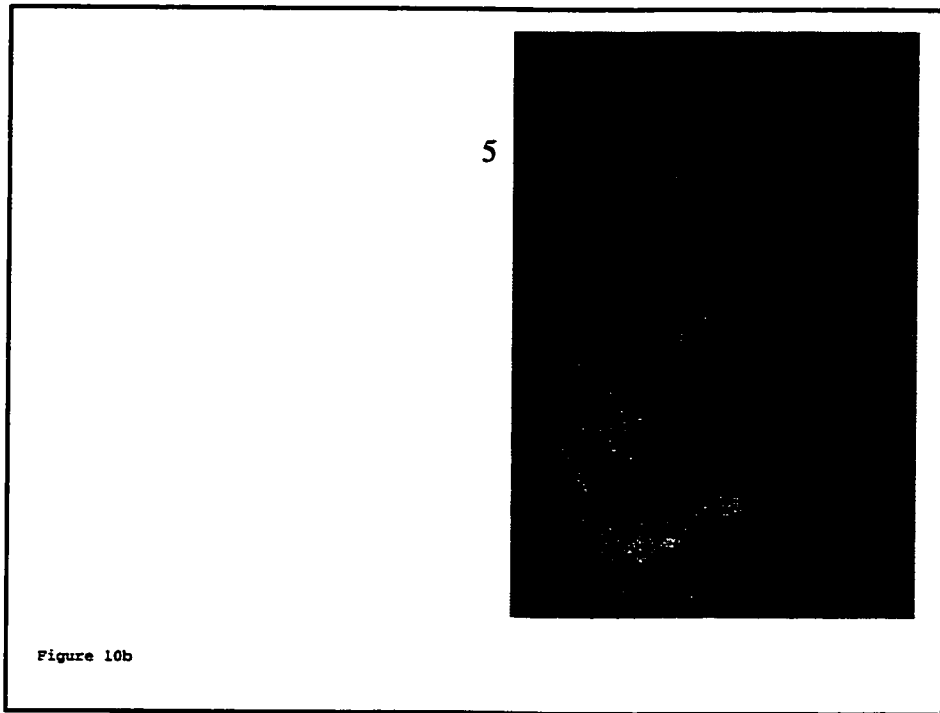


Figure 10b



Figure 10c

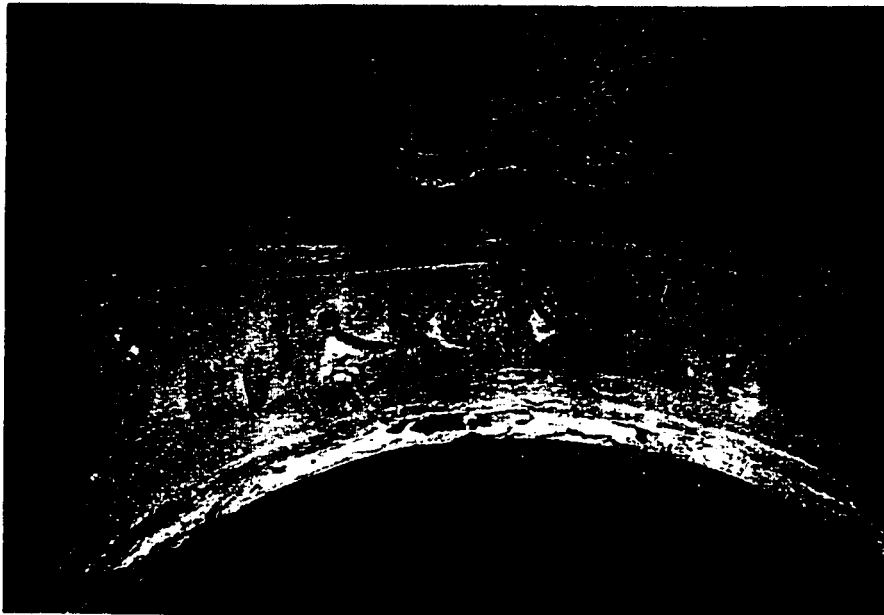


Figure 10d

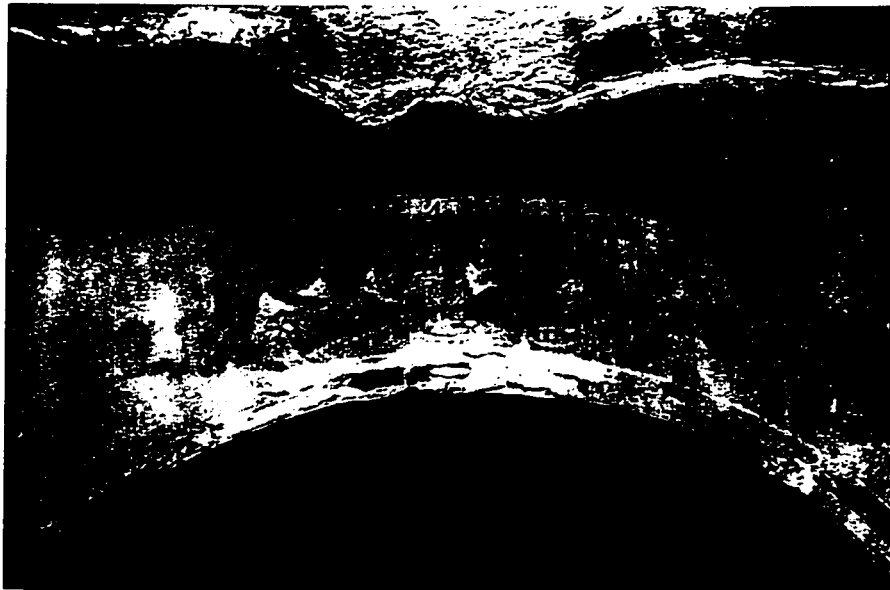


Figure 10e



Figure 10f



Figure 10g

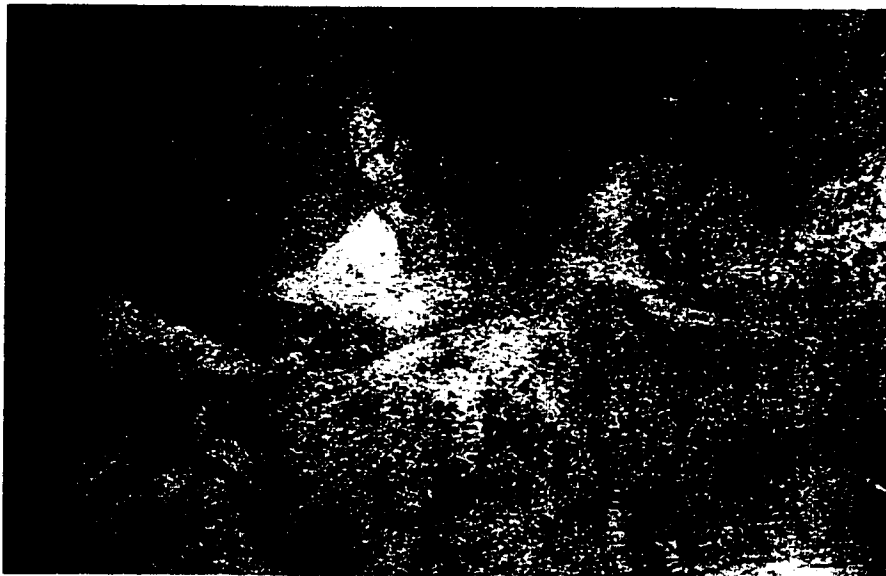


Figure 10h



Figure 10i



Figure 10j

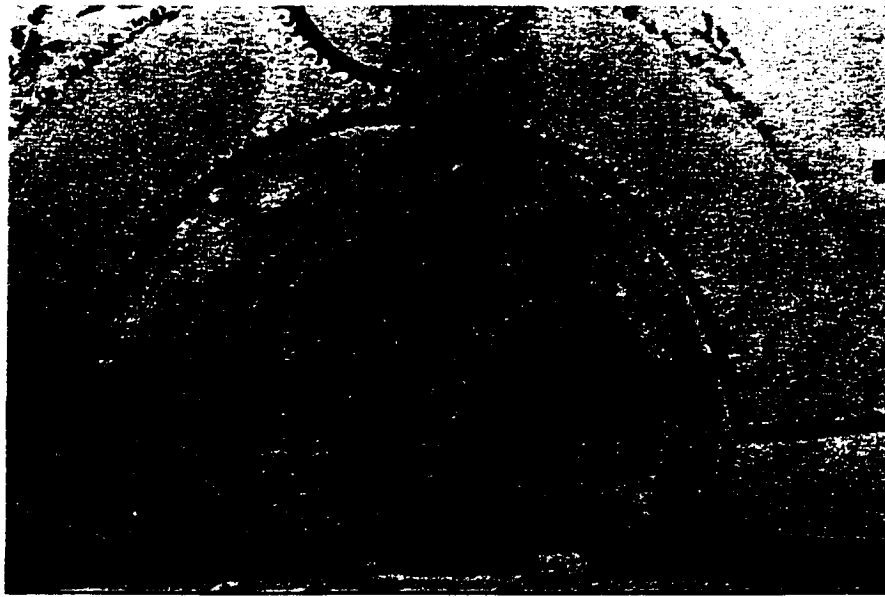


Figure 11

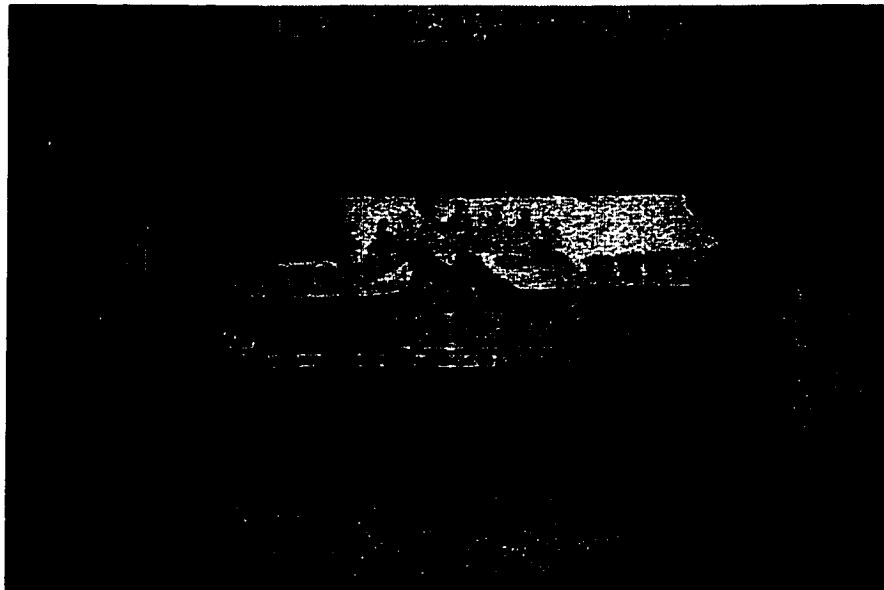


Figure 12a

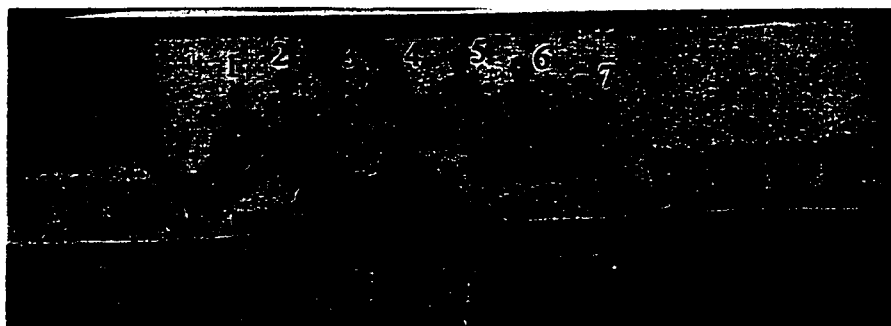


Figure 12b



Figure 12c

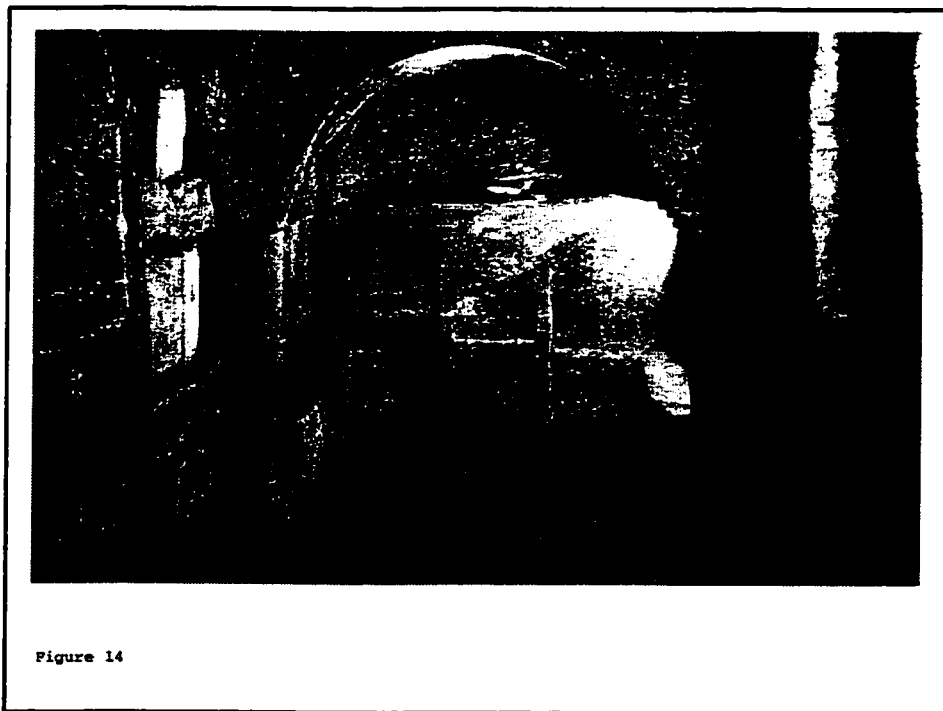
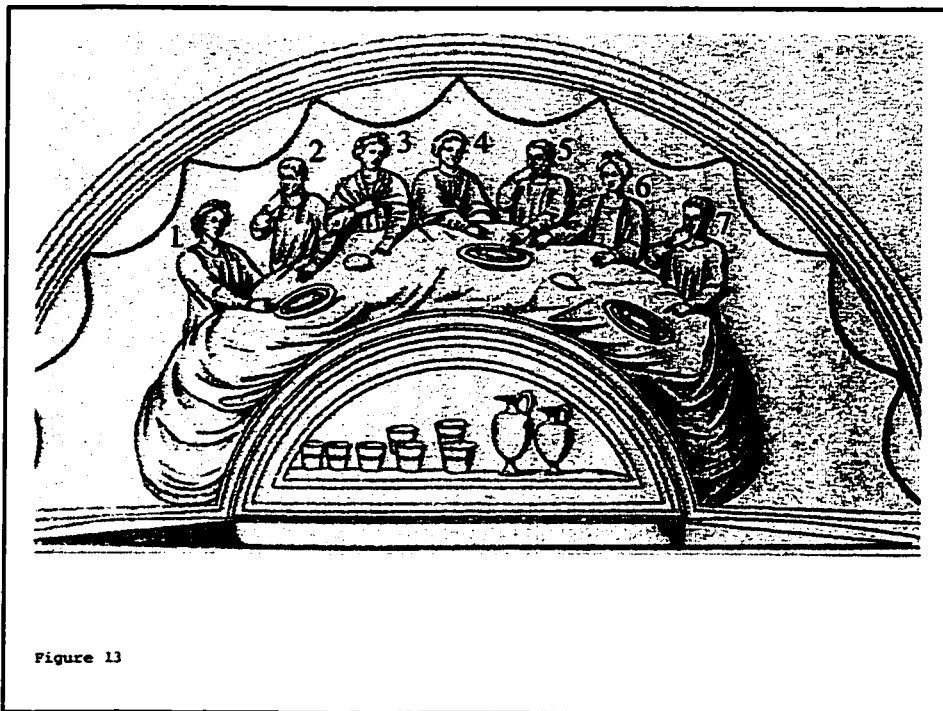




Figure 15a



Figure 15b

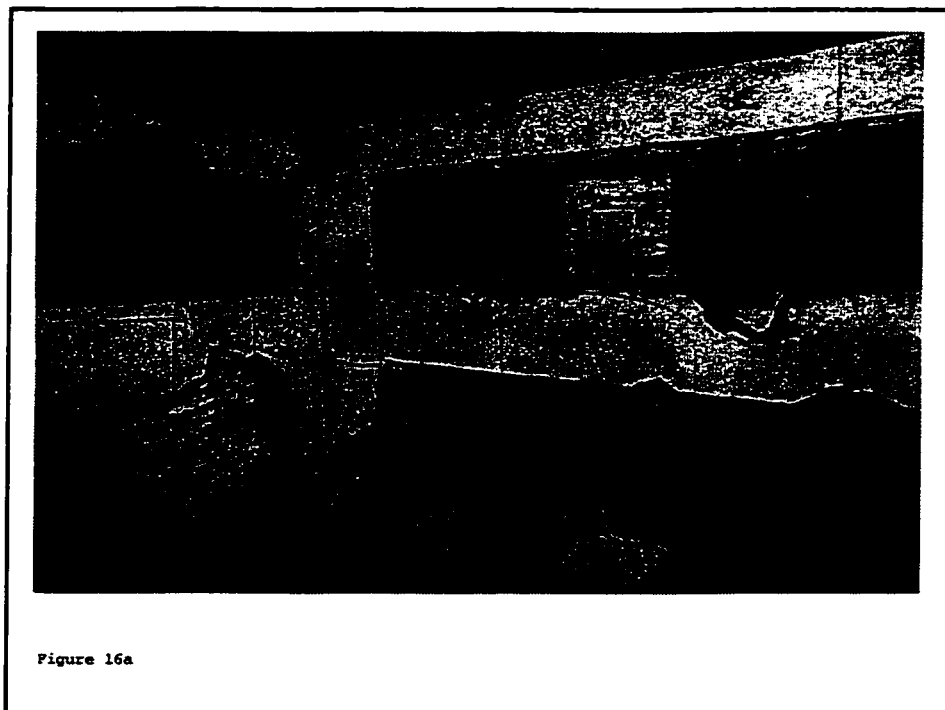
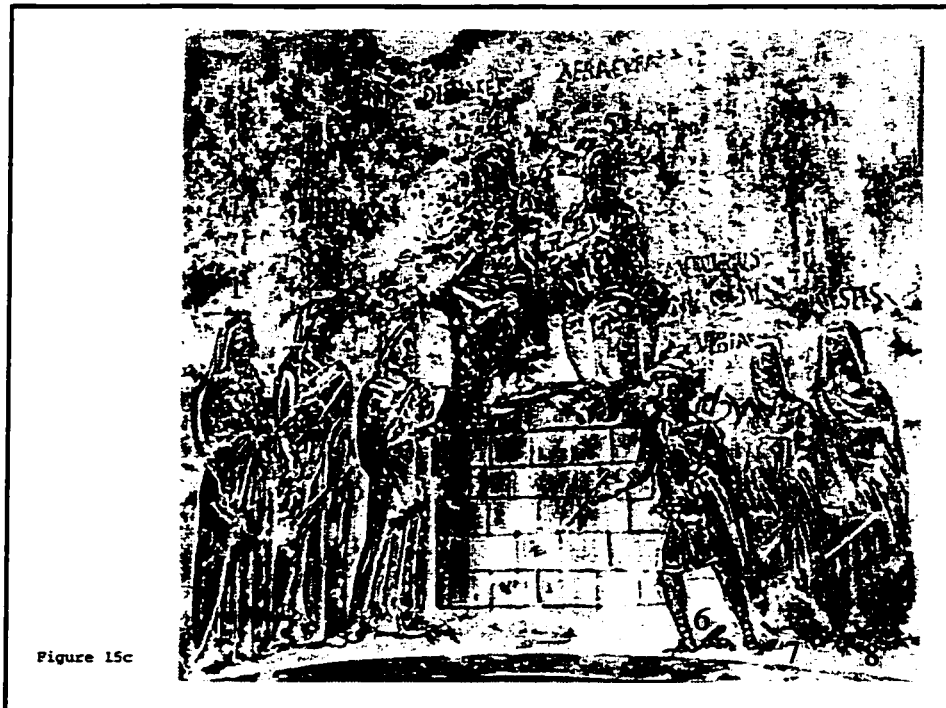


Figure 16b



Figure 16c



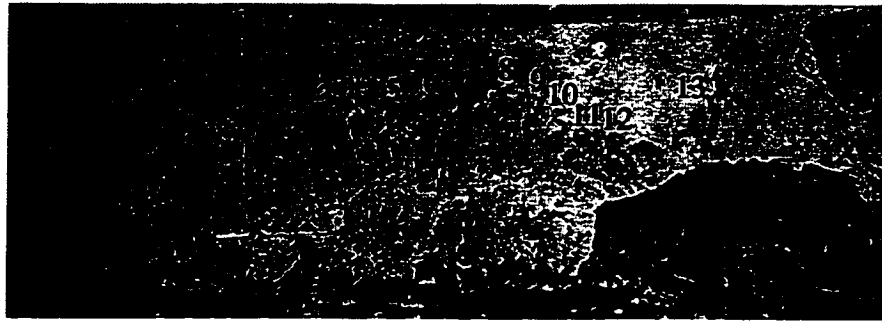


Figure 17



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Figure 18a

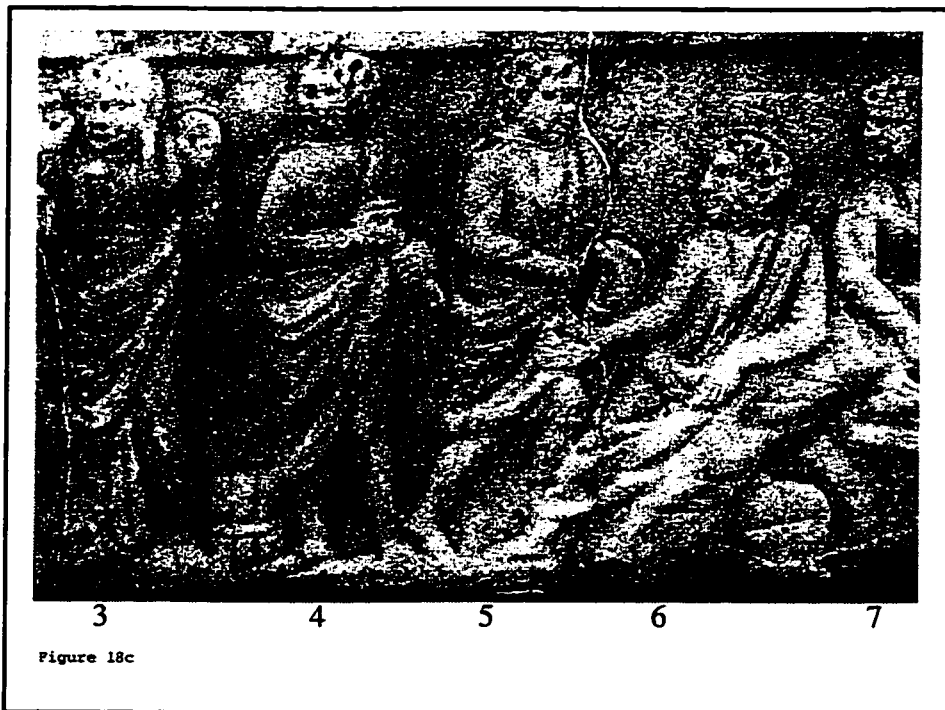




Figure 18d



Figure 18e

Section III

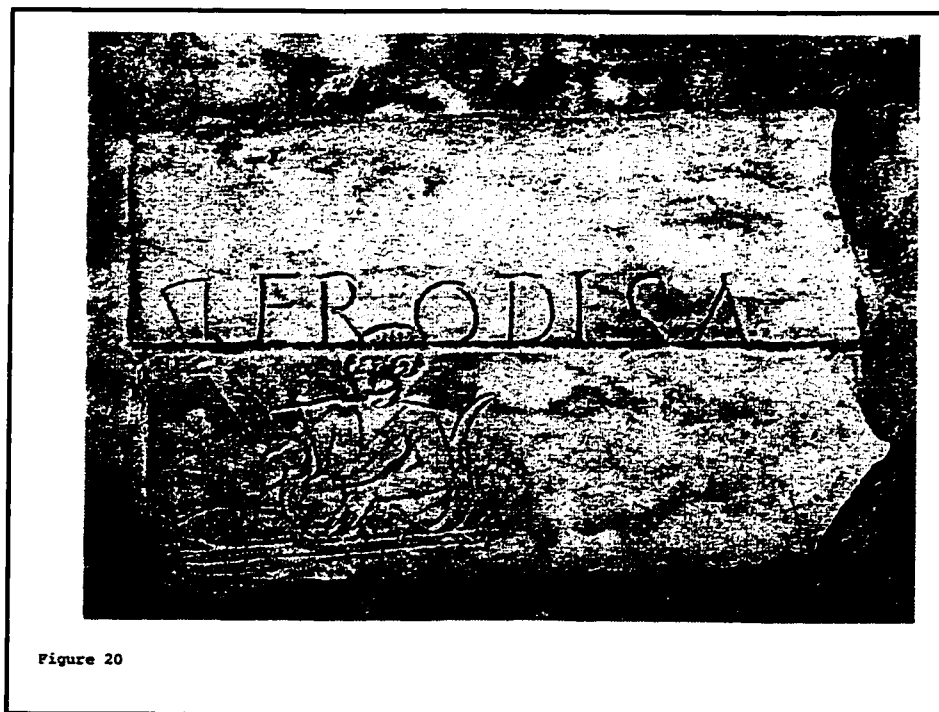
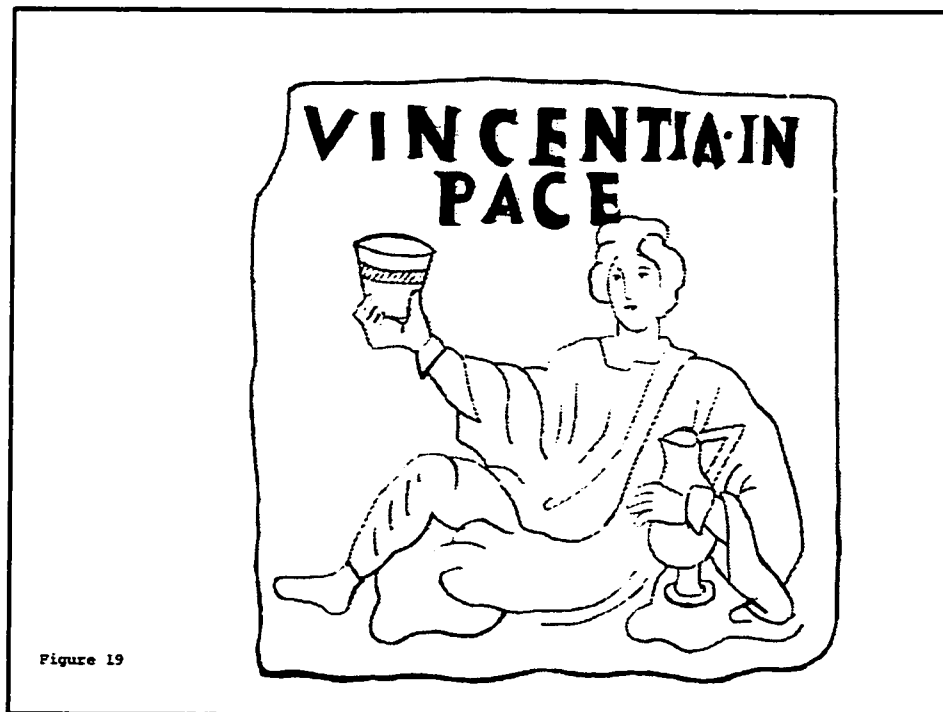




Figure 21a

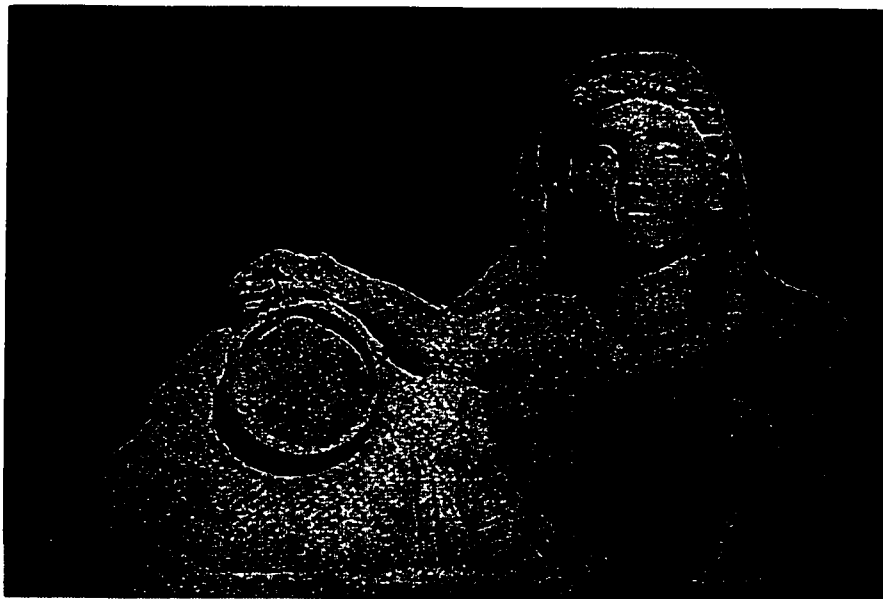


Figure 21b



Figure 22

1

2

3



1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

Figure 23



Figure 24



Figure 25



1 2 3

Figure 26



1 2 3 4

Figure 27



1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Figure 28



1 2 3 4

Figure 29



1 2 3 4 5 6

Figure 30a



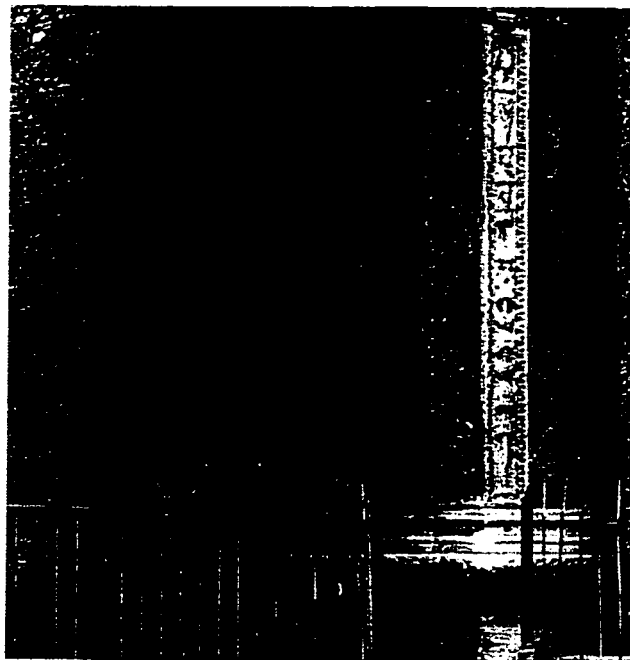
1 2 3 4

Figure 30b

Figure 31a



Figure 31b



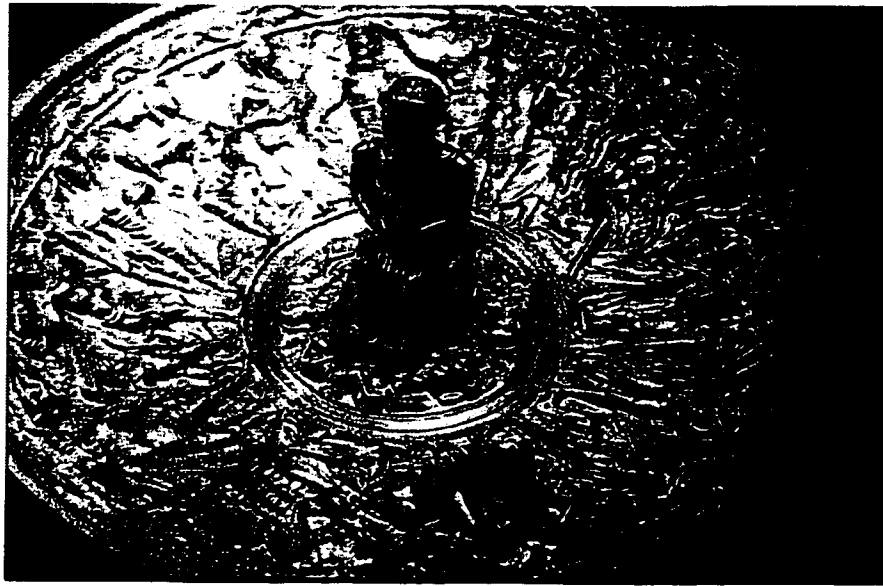


Figure 32a



Figure 32b



Figure 33

1

2

3

APPENDIX B:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INDICATORS OF CULT

APPENDIX B

The following guidelines for distinguishing cult activity in material remains were taken from: Archaeology: Theories Methods and Practice (1996). The authors suggest that there are four main ways of recognizing the performance of these ritual practices, each with their own special indicators. I have reproduced their guidelines in full here:

Archaeological Indicators of Ritual¹

1. Focusing of Attention:

- (a) Ritual may take place in a spot with special natural associations (e.g. a cave, a grove of trees, a spring, or a mountaintop).*
- (b) Alternatively, ritual may take place in a special building set aside for sacred functions (e.g. a temple or a church).*
- (c) The structure and equipment used for the ritual may employ attention-focusing devices, reflected in the architecture, special fixtures (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and in moveable equipment (e.g. lamps, gongs and bells, ritual vessels, censers, altar cloths, and all the paraphernalia of ritual).*
- (d) The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (this is known as 'redundancy').*

2. Boundary zone between this world and the next:

- (a) Ritual may involve both conspicuous public display (and expenditure), and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practices will be reflected in the architecture.*
- (b) Concepts of cleanliness and pollution may be reflected in the facilities (e.g. pools or basins of water) and maintenance of the sacred area.*

3. Presence of the deity:

- (a) The association of the deity or deities may be reflected in the use of a cult image, or a representation of the deity in abstract form (e.g. the Christian Chi-Rho symbol).*
- (b) The ritualistic symbols will often relate iconographically to the deities worshipped and to their associated myth. Animal symbolism (of real or mythical animals) may often be used, with particular animals relating to specific deities or powers.*
- (c) The ritualistic symbols may relate to those seen also in funerary ritual and in other rites of passage.*

¹Ibid., 391.

APPENDIX B

(4) Participation and offering:

- (a) Worship will involve prayer and special movements--gestures of adoration--and these may be reflected in the art or iconography of decorations or images.*
- (b) The ritual may employ various devices for inducing religious experience (e.g. dance, music, drugs, and the infliction of pain).*
- (c) The sacrifice of animals or humans may be practiced.*
- (d) Food and drink may be brought and possibly consumed as offerings or burned/poured away.*
- (e) Other material objects may be brought and offered (votives). The act of offering may entail breakage and hiding or discard.*
- (f) Great investment of wealth may be reflected in the equipment used and in the offerings made.*
- (g) Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities.*

These indicators are extremely useful for analysing the actions of the female figures in the funerary banquet scenes of Marcellino e Pietro given I argue they are in the process of enacting some type of ritual performance. Renfrew and Bahn stress that in practice only a few of these indicators will be present at any single archaeological site however the presence of several sites with "closely comparable features [suggests] a repeated pattern for which the explanation of religious ritual [seems] the only plausible one."²

²Ibid., 391.

APPENDIX C:
COMPARANDA NOT IN CATALOGUE

COMPARANDA NOT IN CATALOGUE

(The reader should refer to the Bibliography in Chapter Two for the full book or article citation.)

CHAPTER THREE

Group 1-2 Comparanda: Other (Near) Complete Banquet Scenes in SS. Marcellino e Pietro¹

1. "Marriage of Cana", c280-320AD, Chamber 62, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. See also J. Stevenson, (1978), No. 65, p.89; G. Wilpert (1903), pl. 57. See colour illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Wilpert (1903) pl. 57.

Group 2-1 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene Fragments in SS. Marcellino e Pietro

1. Fragment, Chamber 10, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. See Theodor Klauser (1927), pl. 20,1. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Klauser (1927) pl. 20,1.

2. Fragment, Chamber 10, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. See J. Kollwitz (1969), plate XIII, Abb. 19. Ebd. Binkentia Wand; Theodor Klauser (1927), pl. 20,2. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Klauser (1927) pl.20,2.

3. Fragment, Chamber 13, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Deckers et al. (1987) plate 6(d): Nr. 13, Wall -2- "Mahlszene" and RC Lau 13 (1976).

4. Fragment, Chamber 14, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Deckers et al. (1987) plate 8(a): Nr. 14, Front, left fragment, "Frau mit Dienerin"; also plate 7(a) Nr. 14, "...after Bosio". See detail, black and white photograph included in this appendix. Photo: Credit; From Deckers et al. (1987) plate 8(a).

5. Fragment, Chamber 45, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Deckers et al. (1987) colourplate 21(a) Nr. 45 -Wand-3- "Mahlteilnehmer". (See colour print and black and white line drawing included in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Deckers et al. (1987) colourplate 21(a) and RC Lau 45 (1976).

6. Fragment, Chamber 48, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Deckers et al. (1987) colourplate 24 (a-c); RC Lau 48, 1976. See colour print with details included in this appendix. Photo Credit: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome, Rep. 48.

7. Fragment, Chamber 59, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Deckers et al. (1987) plate 42(c): "Mahlszene". See detail, black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Deckers et al.(1987) plate 42 (c).

8. Fragment, Chamber 73, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Deckers et al. (1987) Plate 54(d): "Mahlszene". (No illustration.)

¹See Appendix D: "Floor Plan of SS. Marcellino e Pietro for the location of each chamber

COMPARANDA NOT IN CATALOGUE

(The reader should refer to the Bibliography in Chapter Two for the full book or article citation.)

Group 3-2 Comparanda: Callixtus

1. Cal. A2 = Chamber A2, "Crypt of the Sacraments", Catacomb of Callixtus, c180-200AD. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome, Cal E4, S. Callisto.

2. Cal. A5 = Chamber A5, "Crypt of the Sacraments", Catacomb of Callixtus, c180-200AD. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome, Cal E49, S. Callisto.

Group 3-3 Comparanda: Coemeterium Maius

1. A.N._a = Aldo Nestori, "Lunetta: miracolo di Cana, agape, teoria di pesci." Cubicolo 3, Coemeterium Maius. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome, Mag F 16 - Coemeterium Maius.

2. A.N._b = Aldo Nestori, "Le virgini prudenti a banchetto." Cubicolo 19, Coemeterium Maius. (No illustration.)

Group 3-4 Comparanda: Vibia

1. Saz = "Seven Pious Priests" Banquet Scene, Hypogeum of Vibia. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: Archivio Fotografico, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Rome, Vib B3, Hypogeum of Vibia.

Group 4-1 Comparanda: Selected Banquet Scene Fragments: Other Roman Catacombs

1. St. Seba_a = The catacomb of St. Sebastian, c. 100AD. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: J. Stephenson, (1978), No. 94, p.119.

2. St. Seba_b = The catacomb of St. Sebastian, c. 100AD. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: J. Stephenson, (1978), No. 94, p.119.

3. St. Seba_c = The catacomb of St. Sebastian, c. 100AD. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: J. Stephenson, (1978), No. 94, p.119.

4. St. Seba_d = The catacomb of St. Sebastian, c. 100AD. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: J. Stephenson, (1978), No. 94, p.119.

Group 5-1 Comparanda: Selected Roman Banquet Scenes: Outside the Roman Catacombs

1. I.S.R. = Inez Scott Ryberg, "Ara Pietatis, Banquet of the Vestals." c50AD [Kampen, 1991], Ryberg (1955) plate XXII. Fig. 36f. (See black and white illustration included in this appendix.) Photo Credit: Rome, Musei dei Conservatori, from Ryberg (1955) plate XXII, Fig. 36f.

COMPARANDA NOT IN CATALOGUE

(The reader should refer to the Bibliography in Chapter Two for the full book or article citation.)

2. A.R. = Rita Amedick, "Kliné meal. Occupation, c 180-190AD". Amedick (1991) plate 2, Cat. 68. See black and white illustration and photo included in this appendix. Photo Credits: From G. Koch (1988) 25 and Amedick (1991) plate 2.

3. G.B. = G. Bendinelli, "Scena di simposio funebre (affresco), Ostia", (1931) 245, Fig. 276. (No illustration.)

4. Dido = Banquet Scene with Dido and Aeneas. Roman Virgil [4th Century], Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Lat.. 3867 fol. 100v. See colour illustration included in this appendix.

5. D.K. = Diana E.E. Kleiner, "Banqueting Scene". "Wall-painting from Pompeii" (1996) 135, Fig. 5. See black and white illustration included in this appendix. Photo Credit: Kleiner, (1996) 135, Fig.5.

6. P.S.C. = Premiers siècles chrétiens: documentation photographique (1995) 36. See colour illustration and detail included in this appendix. Photo Credit: Premiers siècles chrétiens, (1995) 36.

7. Armer. = Piazza Armerina, Sicily. Mosaic paving, detail: banquet scene from "The Small Hunt", c 310-330AD. Martin Henig, A Handbook of Roman Art, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, (1983) 128, No. 101. (No illustration.)

Group 6-1 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes (a) Serving Scenes

1. G.B. = G. Bendinelli, "Fondo di coppa vitrea dorata cristiana, con interno di osteria," (1931) 271, Fig. 304. [Innkeeper Scene.] See black and white illustration in this appendix. Illustration Credit: From Bendinelli (1931) 271, Fig.304.

2. T.K. = Theodor Klauser, "Malerei aus einer Katacombe in Kertsch," (1927) pl. 19,3. See black and white illustration in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Klauser (1927) pl. 19,3.

3. D. F-G. = Dimas Fernandez-Galiano, "Mosaico de los coperos," in Complutum (1984) pls. LXXI-LXXX. See black and white illustrations in this appendix. Photo Credit: Fernandez-Galiano (1984) 136, 138, plates LXXI, LXXIII.

4. N.K. = Natalie Kampen, "Relief of drinkers from a funerary monument," (1981) Fig. 78. (No illustration.)

Group 6-3 Comparanda: Selected Roman Art Scenes: (b) Offering & Sacrifice Scenes

1. Vesta = Vesta with Vestals: Detail. Norman Kotker, The Holy Land in the Time of Jesus, 1967, 22. [Fruit Offering over a Flaming Altar.] Private Collection, Villa Albani, Rome. (No illustration.)

2. D.K. = Diane E.E. Kleiner, "Tomb of Haterii" c120AD (1992) 198, Fig. 166. [Old Woman Offering Incense.] See black and white illustration and detail in this appendix. Photo Credit: From

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(The reader should refer to the Bibliography in Chapter Two for the full book or article citation.)

Kleiner (1992). Fig. 166,detail.

3. L.I.M.C.a = "EIRENE". Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologia Classicae Vol. VII, No.2, Fig.44.
(No illustration.)

4. I.S.R.a = Inez Scott Ryberg,, "Altar, Naples, Museo Nazionale" (1955) plate XVII, Fig. 33a.
[Scene of seated Vesta with patera and donkey.] See black and white photograph in this appendix.
Photo Credit: From Ryberg (1955) Fig. 33a.

5. I.S.R.b = Inez Scott Ryberg,, "Sacrifice to a Divus [Relief]. Rome, Vatican" (1955) plate XXIX,
Fig. 45e. See black and white photograph in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Ryberg (1955) Fig.
45e.

6. I.S.R.c = Inez Scott Ryberg,, "Sacrifice to the Lares. Relief on a cinerary urn, Volterra.[Museo
Guarnacci]"(1955), plate V, Fig.10. See black and white drawing in this appendix. Photo Credit:
From Ryberg (1955) Fig.10.

7. R & R = Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage,"Lares, Casa dei Vettii, Pompeii." Roman Art:
Romulus to Constantine, (1991) 146, Fig. 5.38. (No illustration.)

8. I.S.R.d = Inez Scott Ryberg,, "Altar of Scipio Orfius.Rome, Capitoline Museum," (1955) plate
LX Fig. 97c. See black and white photograph in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Ryberg (1955)
Fig 97c.

9. I.S.R.e = Inez Scott Ryberg,, Panel Relief, "Triumph of Marcus Aurelius. Rome, Museo dei
Conservatori," (1955) plate LVI, Fig. 86. See black and white photograph in this appendix.
Photo Credit: From Ryberg (1955) Fig. 86.

10. D.K.b = Diana .E.E. Kleiner, "Sacrifice." Detail: Five-column Monument, Roman Forum(1992)
415, Fig.385. (No illustration.)

11. D.K.c = Diana E.E.Kleiner, "Portrait of Claudius with the attributes of Jupiter." (1992) 132,
Fig. 106. (No illustration.)

12. L.I.M.C.b = "Concordia," in LIMC (1981) Vol. V, No. 2, 334, Fig. 15. (No illustration.)

13. L.I.M.C.c = "Concordia," in LIMC (1981) Vol. V, No. 2, 336, Fig. 77. (No illustration.)

14. L.I.M.C.d = "PAX" in LIMC (1981)Vol. VII, No. 2, Fig. 138. (No illustration.)

Group 7 Comparanda: Selected Greek Scenes: AGAPE and EIRENE

1. AGAPE = Psykter,detail. Euphronios, Hermitage, No.644, St. Petersburg. See colour
photograph in this appendix. Photo Credit: Dr. Martin F. Kilmer, Dept. of Classics and Religious
Studies, University of Ottawa.

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(The reader should refer to the Bibliography in Chapter Two for the full book or article citation.)

2.EIRENE = Calyx-krater, detail. No. 1024, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. See black and white photograph in this appendix. Photo Credit: From H. A. Shapiro (1993) 46, No.9.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Female figure in orans posture wearing a diadem and a dalmatic with clavi. Deckers et al. (1987) colourplate 28(b): Chamber 50 wall 5.

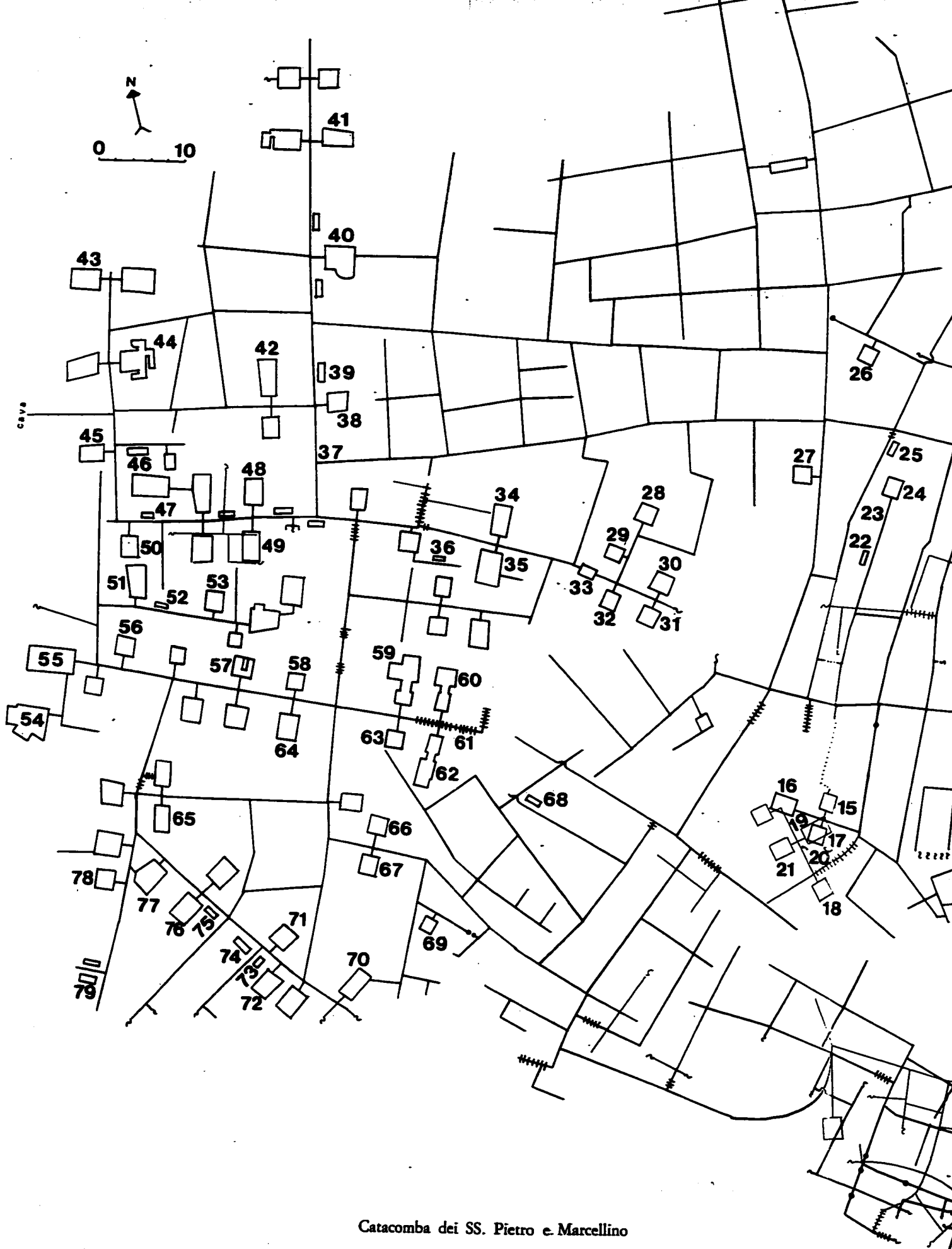
CHAPTER SIX

1. Empress Theodora with chalice. Mosaic, 6th Century AD, St. Vitalis, Ravenna. See colour photograph in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Jean Lassus, Early Christian and Byzantine World London: Hamlyn, (1967) Fig. 43.

2. Emperor Justin with bowl. Mosaic, 6th Century AD, St. Vitalis, Ravenna. See colour photograph in this appendix. Photo Credit: From Jean Lassus,(1967) Fig. 44.

3. "Christ and The Woman of Samaria" Fresco, 30 x 50cm, c200AD. Catacomb of Callixtus, "Crypt of the Sacraments", A3, entrance wall. Photo Credit: From Pierre du Bourguet, Early Christian Art, trans. Thomas Burton, New York: William Morrow & Company Inc., (1971) 33.

APPENDIX D:
FLOOR PLAN OF SS. MARCELLINO E PIETRO



Catacomba dei SS. Pietro e Marcellino

