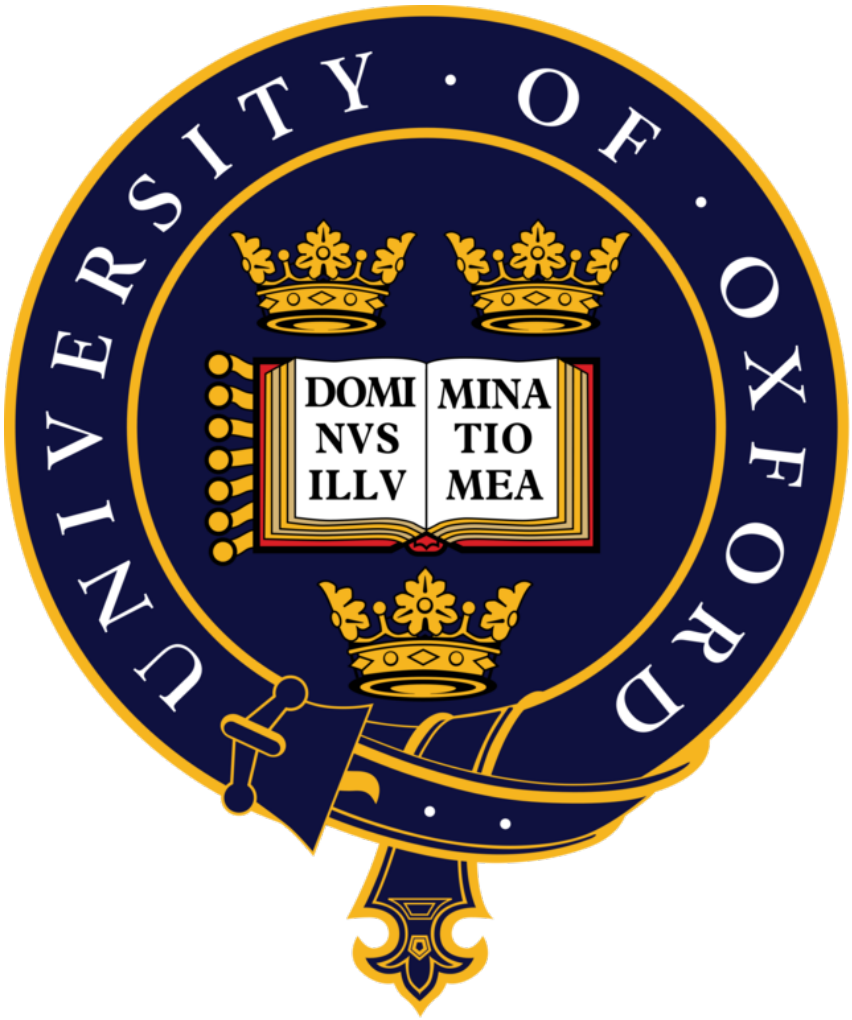
Women, Gender, and Society in Late Antiquity: A Study in Visual Culture



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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Archaeology
Michaelmas 2020

Volume 2: Catalogue

A Note on the Catalogue

This thesis was completed during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. The limited and at times non-existent availability of scholarly resources – in particular access to libraries – means that while I believe the catalogue in and of itself to be comprehensive, individual entries are at times not as exhaustive as I had imagined they would be.

I would also like to note that for gold-glass and jewellery (in particular ‘marriage rings’) the catalogue makes no claims to being exhaustive, the aim is rather to illustrate the range and nature of the surviving evidence. There are hundreds of similar gold-glasses and ‘marriage rings’, and I do not believe it is helpful for the reader to see these all collected here when they are already well catalogued by specialists in these media. I have therefore selected examples that express the range of surviving evidence, as well as examples that are particularly interesting or informative. The reader can find dedicated catalogues for these objects referenced in the catalogue entry bibliographies.

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GG1: Young woman holding a scroll

Date: c. 360-400
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: London, British Museum 1859,0618.1

Max length: 7.9 cm; max width 6.8 cm

Description:

The glass is in a poor condition, but a line drawing from the end of the 19th century illustrates the iconography. It shows a young woman in bust form, holding a scroll in both hands. Another scroll and an open diptych are placed in the background either side of her head, emphasising her learnedness. The young woman's clothing is unclear, however her hair appears to be swept back from her face with strands falling onto her shoulders. On top of her head is a small ring, a motif also found on another glass depicting a family group worn by a female child (on these rings see Howells 2015, p.118). While this may indicate her youth, the inscription tells us that the young woman was married.

Inscription:

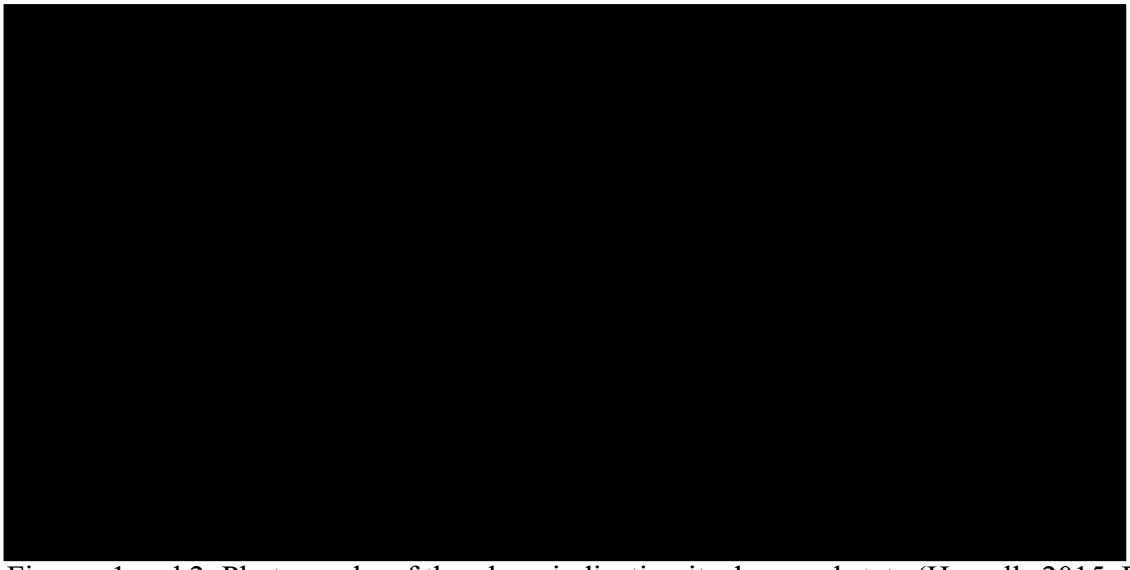
'BI[B]ASPA[RE]N[T]IB[VS]'
'Drink/Life to your parents [and] to your husband'

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.343, p.57, Plate XXX.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, pp.186, Pl.200.5.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, No.32, pp.117-119.



Figures 1 and 2: Photographs of the glass, indicating its damaged state (Howells 2015, Plate 98).



Figure 3: Drawing of the glass made in the late 19th century (Garrucci 1872-1880, Pl.200.5).

GG2: Orfitus and Constantia with Hercules

Date: c. 360-400
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: London, British Museum, 1863,0727.3

Max length: 10.8 cm; max width 10.1 cm

Description:

Glass with bust portrait of a couple, a small figure of Hercules wearing the skin of the Nemean lion in between them. An inscription running around the couple identify them as Orfitus and Constantia. Orfitus is clean shaven and wears the toga *contabulata*. Constantia's dress is articulated in a similar manner, but she probably wears a tunic and mantle. She also wears a collar-style necklace highlighted in white. Her hair frames her face and is dressed in the *Scheitelzopf* style, covered at the back with a tight cap. Pearl earrings are also picked out in white. Based on the name and date of the glass, Cameron has suggested that it depicts the prominent pagan Memmius Vetrasius Orfitus (father-in-law of Q. Aurelius Symmachus) and his otherwise unknown wife, Constantia. Given the lack of data, this identification must remain speculative.

Inscription:

(Inside a gold-edged border running around the couple)

ORFITVS.ET CONSTANTIA.IN NOMINE HERCVLIS
'Orfitus and Constantia, in the name of Hercules'

(Inside the field between the figures)

ACERENTINO FELICES BIBATIS

The meaning of this inscription has been debated, the debate centred around the meaning of the word 'ACERENTINO'. At first the inscription was translated as "Orfitus and Constantia, live happily in the name of Hercules, conqueror of the Underworld", therefore understanding the word to be a misspelling or other form of 'Acheruntius' or 'Acheronticus' – 'pertaining to Acheron'. Later understood to be a place name referring to a town called Aceruntia or Acerentia, Cameron suggests something along the lines of: 'Orfitus and Constantia, may you live/drink in happiness in the name of Hercules of Acerentia' (see Cameron 1996 for a discussion of the historiography of the inscription).

Bibliography:

Cameron, A. (1996). Orfitus and Constantius: A note on Roman gold-glasses. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9, pp.295-301.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, No. 35, pp.121-123.



Figure 1: Gold glass with bust portrait of the couple Orfitus and Constantia (Howells 2015, after Plate 101).

GG3: Couple with Eros

Date: c. 360-400
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: London, British Museum, 1863,0727.11

Max length: 7.2 cm; max width: 8 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a couple in bust form, both holding scrolls in their hands. Between them is a small nude Eros. Damage to the glass means the woman's clothes are difficult to discern, however she has a very elaborate hairstyle. Her hair is arranged in curls framing her face, then braided and brought over the top of the head in the *Scheitelzopf* style. The man wears a long-sleeved tunic and the toga *contabulata*. He is clean-shaven and has short curly hair.

Inscription:

[…]NE. TZVCINUS. BIBITE
'[…]ne Tzucinus drink/live'

Bibliography:

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, p.181, Pl.197.6.

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.311, Pl.XXIX.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum,. London: British Museum, No. 36, pp.123-124. (with further bibliography)

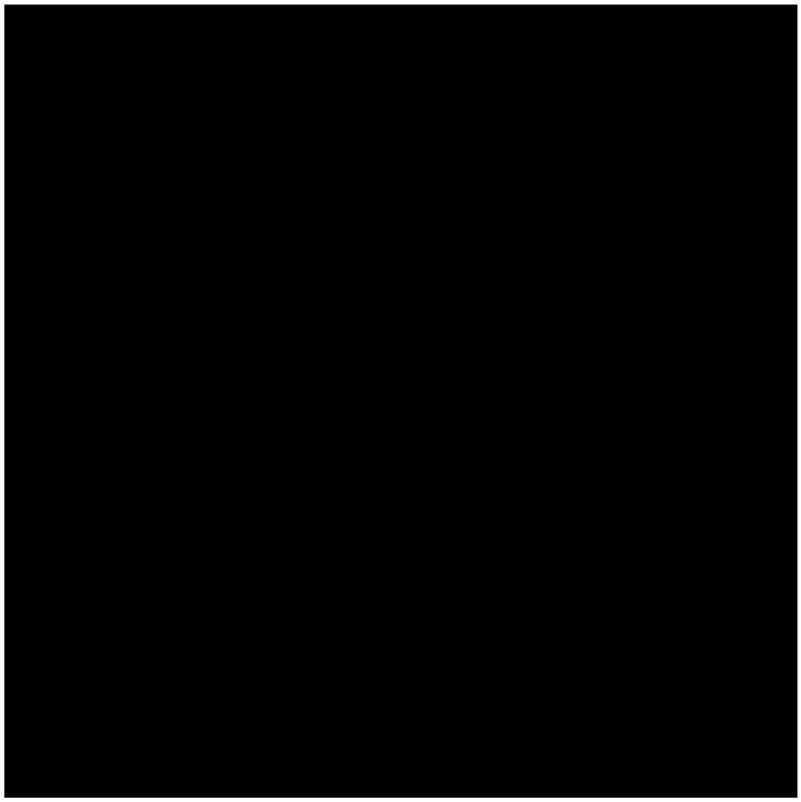


Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple with Eros (Howells 2015, after Plate 102).

GG4: Couple crowned by Christ

Date: c. 360-400
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: London, British Museum, 1898,0719.1

Max length: 5.1 cm; max width 5.1 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a couple in bust form, with a full-length figure of Christ standing between them and crowning them. The woman wears a richly decorated mantle crossed across her chest and a large necklace with green enamel over-paint. She also wears earrings and her face is framed with small curls. Her hair is dressed either in the *Scheitelzopf* style, or with a ring braid. The man is clean shaven and wears the toga *contabulata*.

Inscription:

DVLCIS ANIMA VIVAS
'Sweet-heart may you live'

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.310, Pl.XXIX.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, No. 37, p.124. (with further bibliography)



Figures 1 and 2: Photographs of the glass depicting a couple crowned by Christ (Howells 2015, Plate 103).

GG5: Peregrina with SS Peter and Paul

Date: Mid fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 18.145.2

11.5 cm x 13.3 cm x 1.2 cm
Diameter of foot: 9.8cm

Description:

The glass depicts a woman in the *orans* position standing between saints Peter and Paul, in a square frame. There are flowers growing at the bottom on the frame and placed between the figures. The woman wears her hair in the crown braid or *Scheitelzopf*, and a long tunic or *dalmatica* belted under the bust and a large necklace. Peter and Paul stand with side gesturing towards the woman. The name Peregrina is not associated with hagiographical sources or holy figures and therefore the figure is widely considered to represent an ordinary woman commended to the care of Peter and Paul.

Inscription:

PETRVS PAVLVS
P ER EGRI NA

Bibliography:

Avery, C. L. (1921). Early Christian Gold Glass. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 16.8, p.174.

Garrucci, R. (1858). Vetri Ornati di Figure in Oro, Trovati Nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani Primitivi di Roma: raccolti e spiegati da Raffaele Garrucci. Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, No.6, p.49, pl.XXI.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, p.170, Pl.190.6.

Grig, L. (2004). Portraits, pontiffs and the Christianization of fourth-century Rome. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 72, pp.203-229, here pp.224-225.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, p.87, Pl.56.

Weitzmann, Kurt, ed. (1979). Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.510, p.572.



Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a woman called Peregrina with SS Peter and Paul (Metropolitan Museum of Art, image in public domain).

GG6: Couple in *dextrarum iunctio* pose

Date: Late fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 15.168

Diameter: 8.4 cm; Thickness: 0.5cm

Description:

The glass depicts a couple standing in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose, either side of an altar. Between them is a crown and a small round ball (Howells considers this to be a wedding ring). The woman is shown with her hair in the *Scheitelzopf* or crown braid. She wears a long under-tunic with wide sleeves that then are drawn in to a close fit at the wrists. Over this she wears a *dalmatica* with short wide decorated sleeves, draped with a highly decorated mantle. Her dress is similar to the procession of female saints from the mosaics of the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna and the younger woman in the Latern chapel donor portraits (P25). The man is clean shaven and wears a toga *contabulata*.

Inscription:

VIVATIS IN DEO
'Live in God'

Bibliography:

Avery, C. L. (1921). Early Christian Gold Glass. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 16.8, p.173.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, p.62.

Garrucci, R. (1858). Vetri Ornati di Figure in Oro, Trovati Nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani Primitivi di Roma: raccolti e spiegati da Raffaele Garrucci. Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, No.11, pl.XXVI.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, p.178, Pl.195.11.

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.447, p.72, Pl.XXXVI.

Weitzmann, Kurt, ed. (1979). Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.261, pp.282-283.



Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose (Metropolitan Museum of Art, image in the public domain).

GG7: Woman with scrolls

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 18.145.7a-c

8.5 cm x 5.9 cm x 0.8 cm

Description:

Fragmentary glass depicting a woman wearing a highly decorated mantle crossed over her chest, a large necklace, earrings, and her hair in the crown braid style. The circular glass has an internal square frame in which we find the bust of the woman. In the centre of the composition is a curtain which appears to be knotted at shoulder height. The other side of the glass likely depicted the woman's husband. Outside the square frame on each long side are scrolls.

Bibliography:

Avery, C. L. (1921). Early Christian Gold Glass. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 16.8, p.173.

Garrucci, R. (1858). Vetri Ornati di Figure in Oro, Trovati Nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani Primitivi di Roma: raccolti e spiegati da Raffaele Garrucci. Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, No.6, p.62, Pl.XXXII.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, p.186, Pl.200.6.




Figures 1 and 2: Gold glass depicting a woman with scrolls, backlit (left) and not backlit (right) (Metropolitan Museum of Art, images in the public domain).

GG8: Couple with daughter

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: London, British Museum, 1863,0727.5

Max length: 8.1cm; max width: 8.3 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a family group of a mother, father, and daughter, all shown in bust form. The mother wears a plain tunic and mantle crossed over her body, and a large collar necklace. Her hair is in the *Scheitelzopf* style, over which she wears a tight cover at the back and leaves tongues of hair framing her face at the front. The father is clean shaven, wearing the toga *contabulata* and holding his right hand in the speaking gesture across his chest. Their daughter is shown between and in front of them in much smaller scale, dressed in a similar fashion to her mother. Between the heads of the couple is a Christogram and a crown.

Inscription:

SEBERECOSMASLEAZESES
'Severa [or Severus] Cosmas Lea, drink/live'

Bibliography:

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, p.183, Pl.198.5.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, No.38, pp.128-129. (with further bibliography)

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.315, p.54, Pl. XXIX.



Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple with a daughter (Howells 2015, Plate 107).

GG9: Couple with a daughter and son

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: London, British Museum, 1863,0727.7

Max length: 9 cm; max width: 10.4 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a family group of mother, father, daughter, and son, all shown full length standing together. The parents are shown standing behind their children, the mother behind her son, the father behind his daughter. The mother wears a necklace, tunic, and highly decorated mantle, in which her right hand is wrapped, posed in the speaking gesture across her chest. Her right hand is on her son's shoulder. She probably wears her hair in the Scheitelzopf style, perhaps covered with a tight cap. Her son in front of her wears an ankle-length tunic decorated with *orbiculi* at the hem. He holds his right hand in the speaking gesture and an unfurled scroll in his left hand. The father is clean shaven and wears the toga *contabulata*, he places his right hand on his wife's shoulder and his right on the shoulder of his daughter standing in front of him. The little girl wears an ankle-length tunic decorated with broad clavi, her hairstyle is unclear. She holds a scroll in her left hand and reaches for her brother's scroll with her right. On either side of the family are trees and in the centre a Christogram.

Inscription:

POMPEIA NETEOD ORAVIBATIS
'Pompeianus, Theodora live'

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Nos.308-309, Pl.XXIX.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, p.183, Pl.198.4.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, No.39, pp.129-130.



Figure 1: Photograph of gold glass depicting a family group (Howells 2015, after plate 108).



Figure 2: Drawing of gold glass showing a family group (Garrucci 1872-1880, Plate 198.4).

GG10: Couple

Date: Late third to early fourth century?
Place of Origin: Panfilo Cemetery, Rome
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 0025

Diameter: 6.1 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a couple in bust form. The woman is the dominant figure, overlapping the male figure and taking up the majority of the glass. This is unusual in gold glass, where neither figure normally takes such obvious precedence. She wears a large necklace and richly decorated mantle. Her hair is styled in the *Scheitelzopf* with two small curls framing her forehead. The male figure gazes upwards, he appears clean shaven but perhaps with sideburns? An inscription runs along the top of the glass.

Inscription:

GREGORISIMPLI CICONSE CESCAT ES
(Morey calls the inscription 'unintelligible')

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No. 7, p.4, Pl.I.

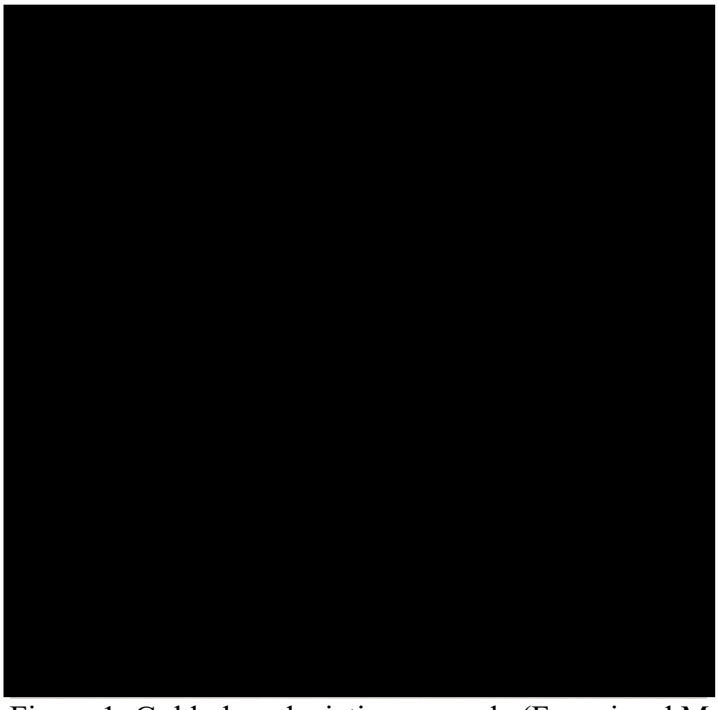


Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.I.7).

GG11: Couple

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 212

Diameter: 7.7 cm

Description:

The highly damaged glass depicts a couple in half-length bust form. The woman wears a tunic and highly decorated mantle, and her hair in the *Scheitelzopf* style. The man wears a toga *contabulata*, his head turned towards the woman. The clavus on the man's tunic is picked out in red, as are details on the woman's embroidered mantle. An inscription runs to the side of the woman's head and across the top of the two figures but is incomplete.

Inscription:

VINCENT I VIVASCVMS
(translation not available)

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No. 9, p.4, Pl.I.

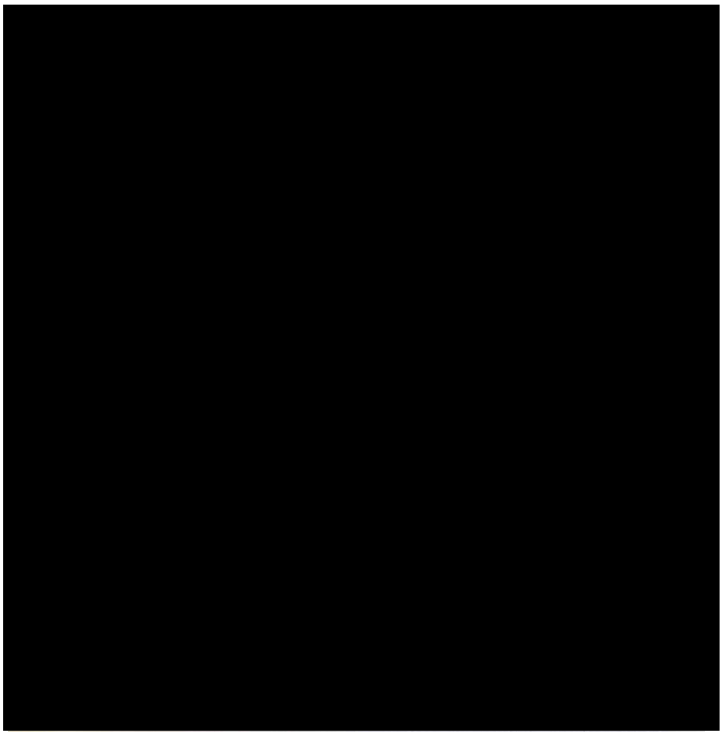


Figure 1: Gold-glass depicting a couple (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.I.9).

GG12: Couple crowned by Christ

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 211

Diameter: 5.3 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a couple in bust form, crowned by the small figure of Christ shown standing above and between them. The woman wears a tunic, decorated mantle, and necklace. Her hair is dressed in the *Scheitelzopf* style and covered by a tight-fitting cap that only exposes a small amount of hair at the front of her head. The man looks upwards and towards the figure of Christ. He is clean shaven, wears the toga *contabulata*, and holds his right hand in the speaking gesture. The condition of the glass makes it difficult to see, but the woman may also hold her right hand in the speaking pose across her chest.

Inscription:

PIEZ ESVS
'Drink that you may live'

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.29, p. 8, Pl.V.

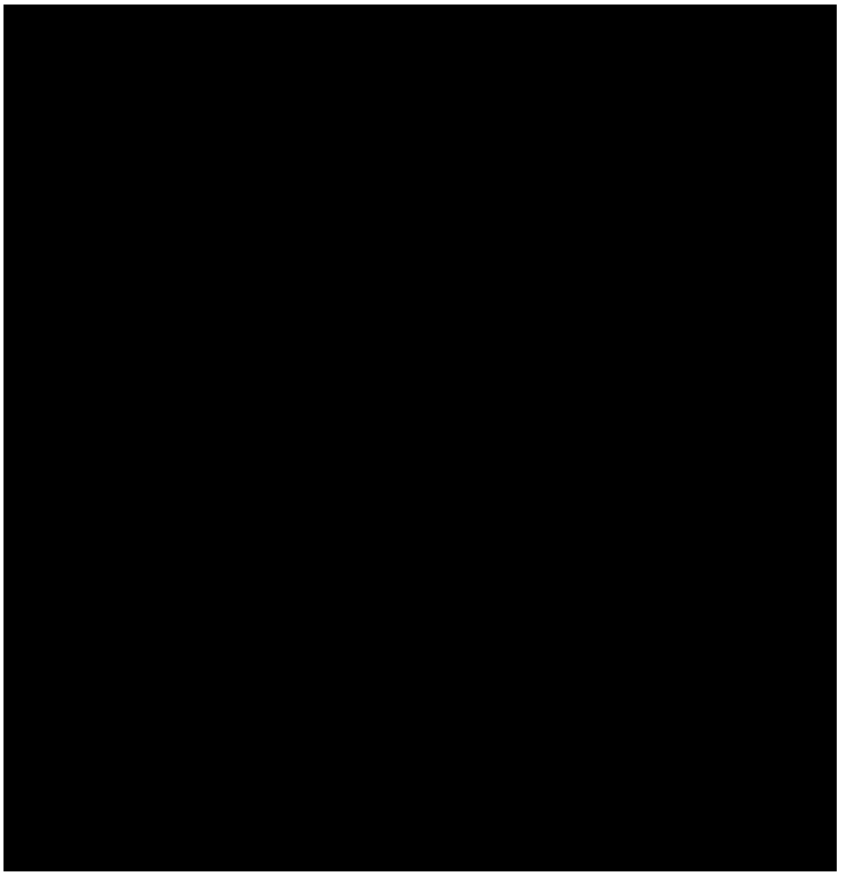


Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple crowned by Christ (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.V.29).

GG13: Couple with son

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 213

Diameter: 8.8 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a family group composed of a couple and their son within a round frame. The woman is dressed in a tunic, decorated mantle, and a necklace, and wears her hair in the *Scheitelzopf* style. The man is clean shaven and wears the toga *contabulata*. Their son is shown much smaller than his parents, superimposed in front of them. He is dressed like a miniature version of his father. In between the heads of the parents is a scroll. An inscription runs above the figures.

Inscription:

PIEZ ES IS
'Drink that you may live'

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No. 89, p. 21, Pl.XV.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, Pl.CXCIX.3, pp.183-184.

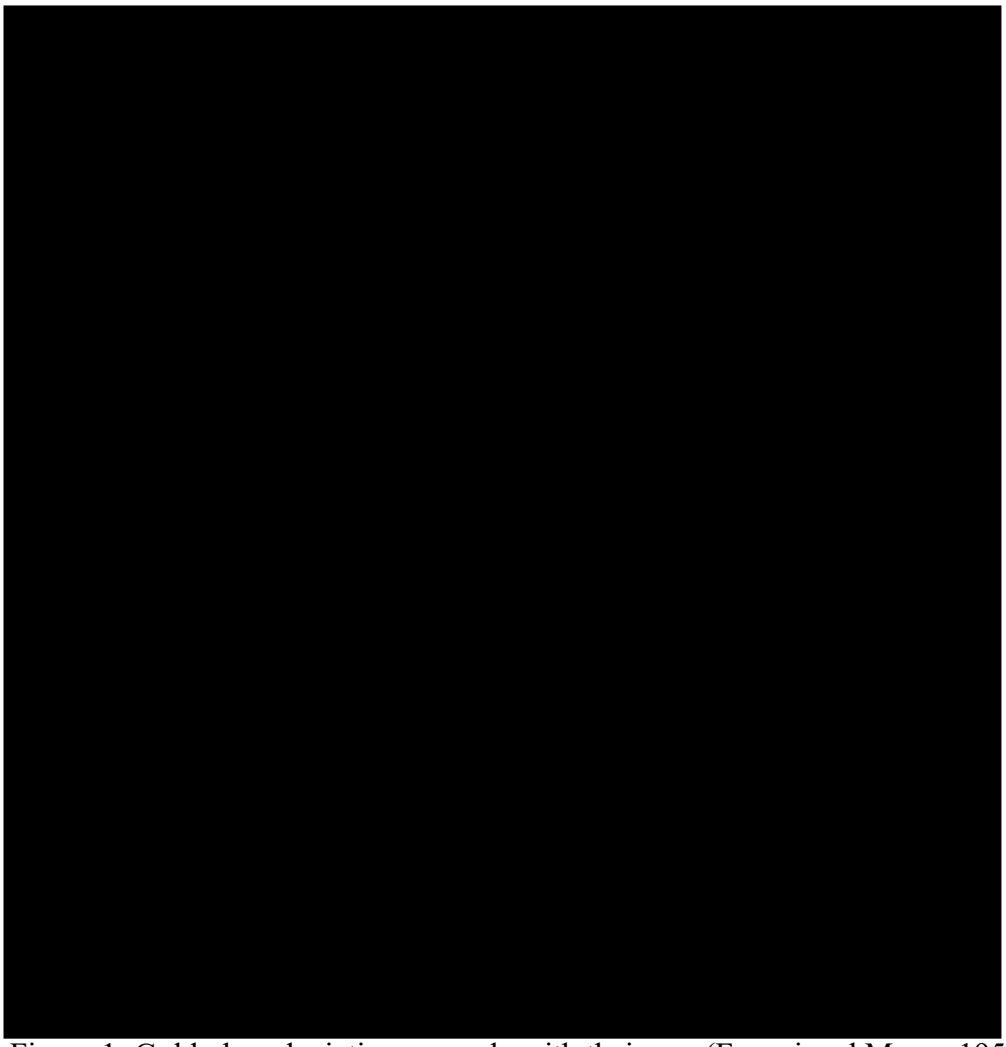


Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple with their son (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XV.89).

GG14: Woman supplicating Tyches

Date: Fourth century?
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 210

Diameter: 12.7 cm

Description:

The glass depicts two enthroned female figures holding orbs and sceptres. Both are dressed in sleeveless tunics belted at the bust, a mantle draped over their knees, and large collar necklaces. Details on their dress are picked out in red. Morey notes that the woman on the left preserves traces of a diadem or mural crown, which would identify these women as Tyches. In front of them a kneeling woman is shown in profile supplicating them, Morey notes she holds a green patera. She is dressed in a red *dalmatica* striped with gold, a large necklace, and her hair probably in the *Scheitelzopf* style, perhaps tied with a band. This glass is highly unusual and there are no other similar examples.

Inscription:

ANIMA
DVLCI
SPIEZ(eses)
'Sweetheart…Drink that you may live'

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.90, pp.21-22, Pl.XIII.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, Pl.CCI.4, pp.188-189.



Figure 1: Gold glass showing a kneeling woman supplicating two Tyches (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XIII.90).

GG15: Couple

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 220

Diameter: 7.7 cm

Description:

The glass shows a couple standing in half-length bust form. The woman holds a scroll in both hands, while her husband appears to hold an unfurled scroll. She wears an elaborately decorated mantle and a large collar-style necklace, her hair dressed in the *Scheitelzopf* style. The man may be shown with a beard, it is difficult to tell, and wears the toga *contabulata*. An inscription runs over their heads and between them.

Inscription:

MAXIMA . VIVAS . CVMDEX. TRO
'Maxima, live with Dextro' (?)

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No. 93, p. 22, Pl.XV.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, Pl.CXCVII.5, p.181.

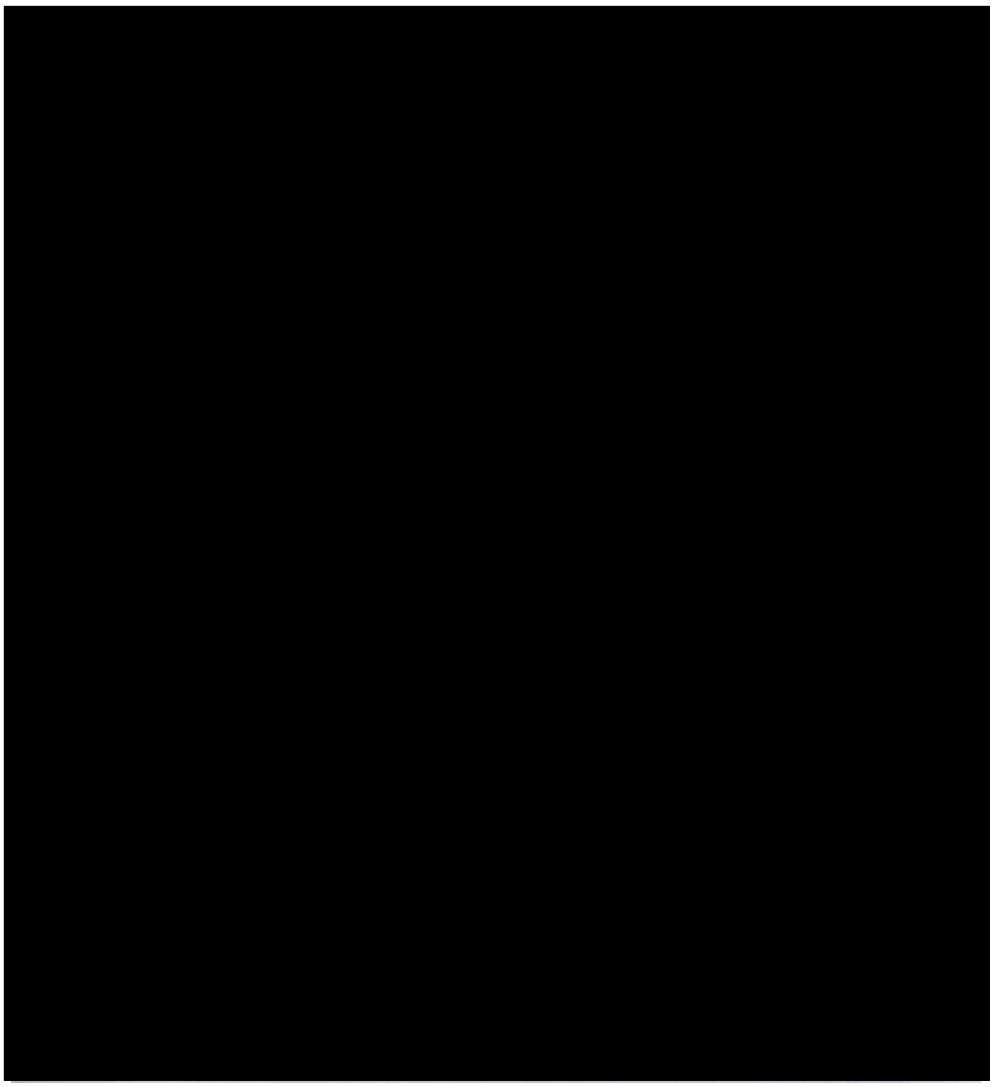


Figure 1: Gold glass showing a couple holding scrolls (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XV.93).

GG16: Couple with daughter

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 229

Diameter: 8.3 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a family group shown in half-bust form, consisting of a couple with their daughter. The woman is shown with an elaborate mantle and large collared necklace, her hair in the *Scheitelzopf*. The man is bearded, wearing a toga *contabulata*, and holding his right hand in the speaking gesture. Their daughter is shown in front of her father at a much smaller scale, dressed identically to her mother. An inscription runs between and to the sides of the couple's heads.

Inscription:

PELET	EVI	VASPAR
EN	TI	BVS
	TV	
	IS	

(translation unavailable)

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.94, pp.22-23, Pl.XV.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, Pl.CXCIX.5, p.184.

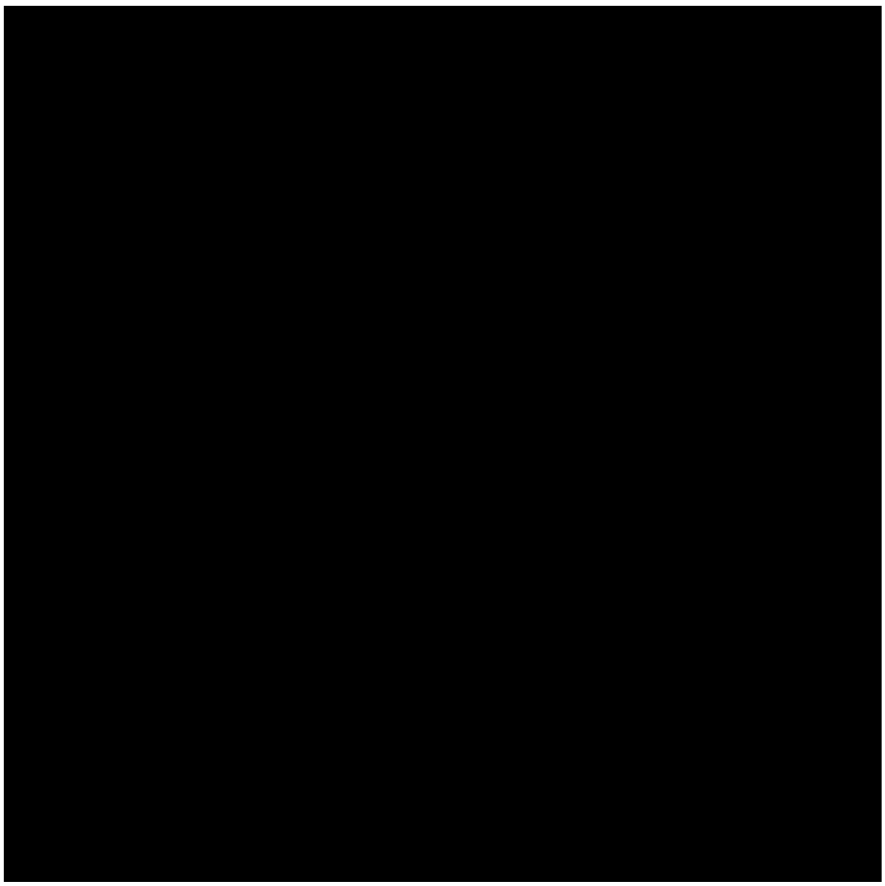


Figure 1: Gold glass showing a couple with their daughter (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XV.94).

GG17: Couple with two daughters and two sons

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 344

Diameter: 16 cm

Description:

An unusually large glass depicting an unusually large family group: a couple with four children, two daughters and two sons. Unfortunately it is heavily damaged. It appears that the woman is shown wearing a decorated mantle, her hair in the *Scheitelzopf* style, while her husband wears the toga *contabulata*. Directly in front of the parents are the two daughters – it should be noticed that the more naturalistic style of this glass is also reflected in the more realistic relative size of the children to their parents. The daughters also wear decorated mantles and seem slightly larger and therefore perhaps older than their brothers. On their heads they appear to wear a jewelled band running along their parting, an unusual accessory. Their hairstyle is otherwise unclear, but may be formed into the *Scheitelzopf* like their mother. The two boys stand in front of their sisters and wear what appear to be plain tunics, although their clothes are difficult to discern given the damaged state of the glass. In Garrucci's illustration he gives the boys longish hair reaching almost to their shoulders, but it is unclear whether this is what was intended or whether there is confusion based on the elaborate patterning of fabrics behind their heads. The inscription above the family is now fragmentary.

Inscription:

M
BVSVE
STRIS
P.Z

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.97, p.23, Pl.XVI.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, Pl.CC.3, pp.185-186.



Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a large family group (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XVI.97).

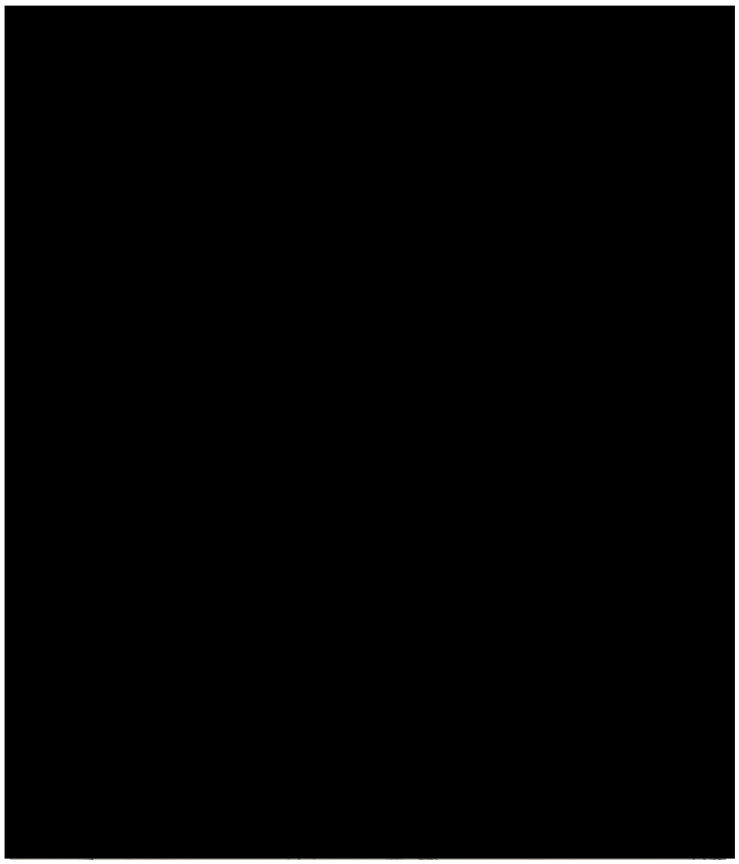


Figure 2: Drawing of the gold glass (Garrucci 1872-1880, Pl.CC.3).

GG18: Couple

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Unknown, Rome?
Current Location: Vatican Library, Museo Sacro 215

Diameter: 8.2 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a couple shown in bust form either side of a column topped with a crown. The woman is shown wearing a mantle and large collar necklace, her hair in the *Scheitelzopf* style. Her husband wears the toga *contabulata*. On either side of the couple are scrolls and flowers.

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.98, p.24, Pl.XVII.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, Pl.CXCVI.1, p.179.



Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple with scrolls (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XVII.98).

GG19: Couple with saints

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: Florence, Museo Nazionale

Diameter: 10.2 cm

Description:

The decoration of the glass is formed from a central tondo in which we see a couple crowned by Christ, and an outer circular ring in which are depicted six male figures between columns each bearing a *tabula ansata*. These *tabulae ansatae* are inscribed with the names of the male figures, all of them saints. In the central tondo the woman wears a tunic and decorated mantle, perhaps with a large collar necklace, and her hair dressed in the *Scheitelzopf* or crown-braid. Her husband is clean shaven and wears the toga *contabulata*. Christ appears above their heads crowning them and an inscription runs between their heads as well. The male saints are all clean shaven and wear the tunic and himation.

Inscription:

(central tondo)
F (?). EST A FI DELIS

(*tabulae ansatae*)

EPOLI	PET	PAV	LAVRE	SVS	CIPR
TVS	RVS	LVS	NTIVS	TVS	IANV
					S

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.240, p.43, Pl.XXVI.

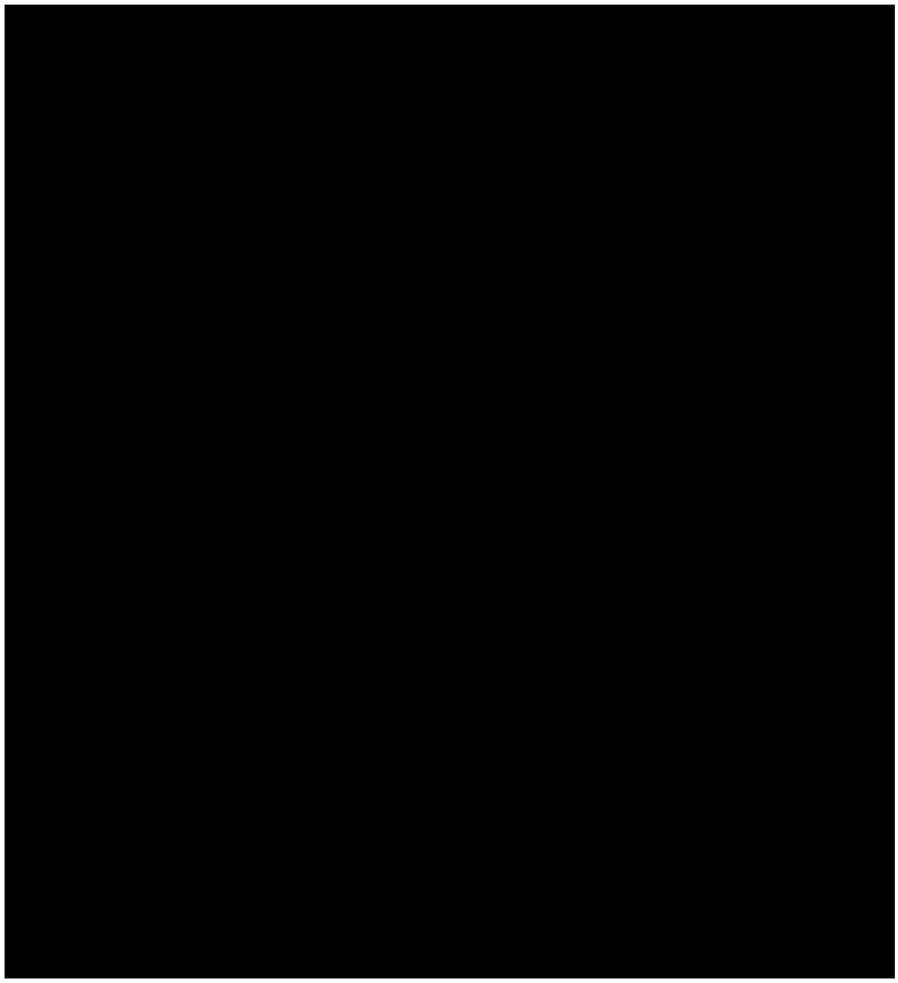


Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a couple crowned by Christ surrounded by saints (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XXVI.240).

GG20: Mother and daughter at speaking practice

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: Pesaro, Musei d'Arte

Diameter: 7.4 cm

Description:

The glass depicts an adult woman seated on a bench behind a child. The woman wears a long tunic covering even part of her shoes, while the child wears a long-sleeved tunic with red clavi and bands at the sleeves. Ferrari and Morey consider the group to be a mother and her young daughter, the girl placing her left hand on the bench and reaching with her right hand toward a round object held by her mother in her right hand across her breast. This may be a typo, as the mother clearly leans on the bench with her left hand, while it does not appear clear what the left hand of the girl is doing. Her right hand is not reaching towards her mother, but is clearly shown in the speaking pose. Garrucci, by contrast, considers the pair to be a mother and son, and for the mother to have her left breast exposed. While the iconography of the exposed breast is not unknown, it would be highly unusual in combination with a child of this age; normally exposed breasts are associated with breastfeeding infants or young children. The condition of the glass ultimately makes it impossible to resolve the issue, but an exposed breast is unlikely. Given the popularity of mother-daughter depictions and the long hair of the child (commonly, although not exclusively used to indicate girls, see e.g. M18) I agree with Ferrari and Morey that this represents a girls and her mother. An inscription runs above the figures, interrupted by the head of the mother.

Inscription:

COCAVIVAS PARENTIBVS
. TVIS
'Coca drink/life to your parents'

Bibliography:

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.289, p.50, Pl.XXVIII.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, pp.184-185, Pl.100.1.

Kampen, N. B. (2007). The Family in Late Antique Art. In: L. Larsson Lovén ed., Public Roles and Personal Status: Men and Women in Antiquity. Proceedings of the Third Nordic Symposium on Gender and Women's History in Antiquity, Copenhagen, 3-5 October 2003. Sävedalen: Paul Åströms förlag, p.133. (also interpreting it as a mother-daughter pair)

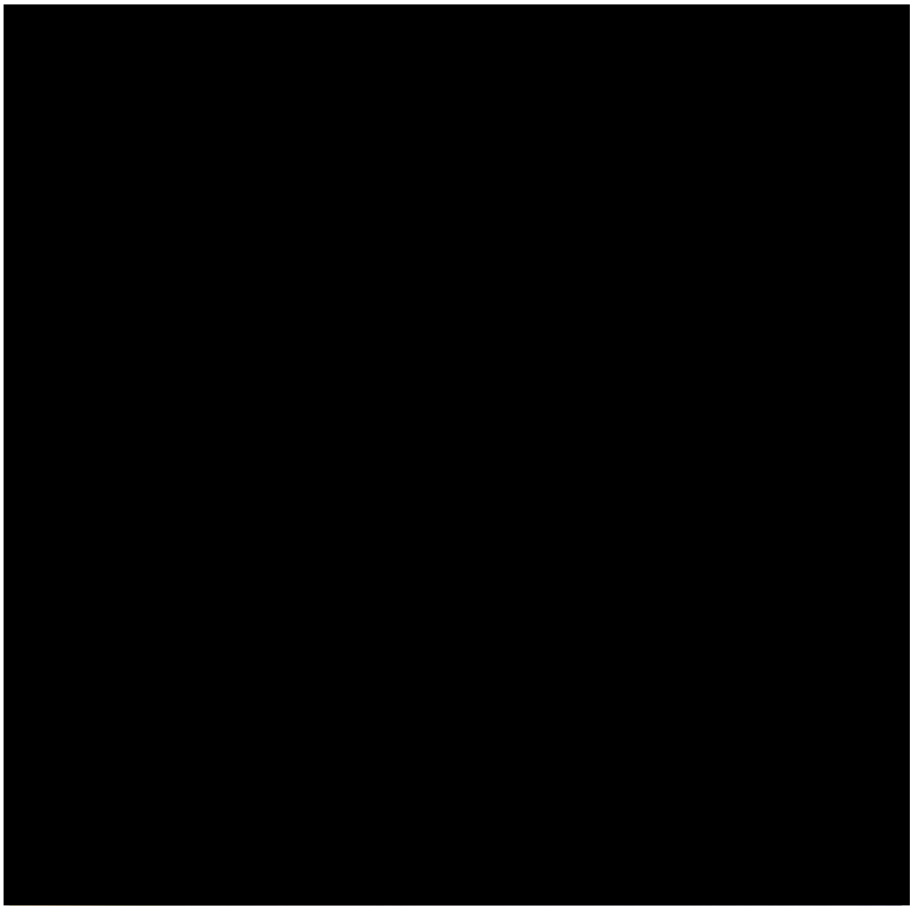


Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a mother-daughter pair (Ferrari and Morey 1959, Pl.XXVIII.289).



Figure 2: Nineteenth century drawing of the gold glass, illustrating the exposure of the breast supposed by Garrucci (Garrucci 1872-1880, Pl.100.1).

GG21: Couple with daughter, son, and family business

Date: c.360-400
Place of Origin: Rome
Current Location: Lost, only available as line drawing

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The glass is now lost and survives only from a line drawing. What can be seen from this drawing are two registers of scenes. The first concerns the family: husband and wife in the centre, flanked by four dependents bearing produce of their estate and their son and daughter. Winged *erotes* bring them garlands. The man wears a *paenula* over a long-sleeved tunic with decorated clavi, his right hand posed in the speaking gesture. The woman places one hand on her husband's shoulder and with the other holds out a *mappa*. She wears a *dalmatica* decorated with clavi and bands at the collar and cuffs, and a mantle. Her hair appears to be covered with a tight-fitting cap. On the right side of the couple are two dependents, one male carrying what may be a sheaf of what and a sickle, the other female carrying a basket. Between the dependents is a girl, dressed in a similar tunic and hair-covering as her mother but without a mantle, she is shown in the *pudicitia* pose. On the left of the parents are two further dependents, one of whom appears to be a woman holding fowl, the other uncertain. Between them stands a boy, shown dressed in a similar manner to his father, he holds his right hand out-stretched and in his other an open writing tablet or diptych. The lower register shows the husband at his business. He is shown once again at the far left of the glass, next to a vaulted building with a large column. He oversees as men with carts drawn by horses approach a large set of weighing scales.

Bibliography:

Warland, R. (2002). Die Kuppelmosaiken von Centcelles als Bildprogramm spätantiker Privatrepräsentation. In: J. Arce ed., Centcelles. El monumento tardoromano. Iconografía y arquitectura. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, pp.21-35, here p.26. (with further bibliography)



Figure 1: Line drawing of a now lost gold glass depicting a family (Warland 2002, Fig.2).

GG22: Couple with son

Date: c.360-400
Place of origin: Rome?
Current location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 17.190.493

Diameter: 9.4cm

Description:

The glass depicts a family group of a couple and their son. The man is seated to the right of the viewer, holding a scroll in his right hand and placing his left hand on his son's shoulder. The boy faces his father and holds an unfurled scroll. Next to the head of the father and between him and the boy are scrolls. The woman on the left of the viewer, the mother of the boy, is heavily damaged and it is difficult to see what part she takes in the tableaux and if she is holding any attributes. The position of her legs (the least damaged part of her figure) appear to indicate her body is turned away from her son, however the preserved part of her face shows her turned towards her family, meeting the gaze of her husband.

Inscription:

BULCULUS OMOBONE BENEROSA PIEZESES

Buculus, Omobone, and Benerosa are probably the names of the people figured on the glass, with the standard wish 'drink that you may live'.

Bibliography:

Avery, C. L. (1921). Early Christian Gold Glass. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, o.s., 16, no.8, p.173.

Garrucci, R. (1858). Vetri Ornati di Figure in Oro, Trovati nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani Primitivi di Roma: raccolti e spiegati da Raffaele Garrucci. Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, p.61, pl. XXXII, no.2.

Garrucci, R. (1872-1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei prima otto secoli della chiesa e corredata della collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scritture incisi in rame su cinquecento tavole. Vol 3. Prato: Guasti, p.185, Pl.200.2.

Kampen, N. B. (2007). The Family in Late Antique Art. In: L. Larsson Lovén ed., Public Roles and Personal Status: Men and Women in Antiquity. Proceedings of the Third Nordic Symposium on Gender and Women's History in Antiquity, Copenhagen, 3-5 October 2003. Sävedalen: Paul Åströms förlag, pp.132-133.

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.451, p.73, Pl.XXXVI.



Figure 1: Reverse image of the gold-glass, showing the preserved parts to best effect (Metropolitan Museum of Art, image in public domain).



Figure 2: Gold glass of family group with son (Metropolitan Museum of Art, image in public domain).

GG23: Woman and son

Date: Early fourth century
Place of Origin: Said to have been found in Tivoli, perhaps a product of Alexandria
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum, 17.190.109a

Diameter: 4.8 cm; Thickness: 0.5 cm

Description:

The glass depicts a woman and child in bust form, perhaps a mother with her young son. The woman wears a tunic and a plain mantle with no jewellery, her eyes are lined heavily in black. Her face is framed with small curls and her hair is worn in the *Scheitelzopf* style. The boy is shown wearing the *bulla* and wearing a tiny version of the toga *contabulata*.

Bibliography:

Avery, C. L. (1921). Early Christian Gold Glass. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 16.8, p.175.

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.452, Pl.XXXVII.

Howells, D. et al., (2015). A catalogue of the Late Antique gold glass in the British Museum. London: British Museum, pp.42, 115-116, 147, Pl.23.

Garrucci, R. (1858). Vetri Ornati di Figure in Oro, Trovati Nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani Primitivi di Roma: raccolti e spiegati da Raffaele Garrucci. Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, No.9, p.83, Pl.XL.

Weitzmann, Kurt, ed. (1979). Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 265, pp.287-288.



Figure 1: Gold glass depicting a woman and a small boy (Metropolitan Museum of Art, image in the public domain).

GG24: Brescia Medallion

Date: Third century
Place of Origin: Alexandria?
Current Location: Brescia, Museo Cristiano

Diameter: 6.1 cm

Description:

The glass is highly naturalistic in style and depicts a group in bust form consisting of two young women and a young man. The glass was incorporated into the 'Cross of Desiderius', a processional cross attributed to the Lombard king Desiderius, which is adorned with decorative elements from Roman the Roman to early modern periods. During the eighteenth century they were thought to represent Galla Placidia and her children, however the glass is far too early for this identification. The woman at the top at the back of the group wears a tunic and mantle knotted over her chest and her hair is similar to that worn by Julia Mamaea. In front of her the young man is un-bearded and wears a tunic and himation. The other woman wears a tunic and highly decorated mantle crossed over her chest, and a pearl necklace and pearl earrings picked out in white paint. Her hairstyle is more similar to that of Julia Domna. The relationship between the three figures is unknown, but they should probably be members of the same family. At the top of the glass is an inscription above the heads of the figures.

Inscription:

BOYNNEPI KEPAMI

The meaning of the inscription is unclear. Morey considers it to be the signature of the artist.

Bibliography:

Breck, J. (1927). The Ficoroni Medallion and Some Other Gilded Glasses in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *The Art Bulletin* 9.4, pp.352-356. (with older bibliography)

Ferrari, G. and Morey, C. F. (1959). The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, No.237, p.42, Pl.XXV.

Garrucci, R. (1858). Vetri Ornati di Figure in Oro, Trovati Nei Cimiteri dei Cristiani Primitivi di Roma: raccolti e spiegati da Raffaele Garrucci. Rome: Tipografia Salviucci, Pl.XLII.7.

- Garrucci lists the glass as a modern forgery, however it is now widely considered genuine.

Morey, C. R. (1942). Early Christian Art. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p.269, Fig.132.

Von Heintze, H. (1964). Das Goldglasmedallion in Brescia. In: E. Homann-Wedeking and B. Segall eds., Festschrift Eugen von Mercklin. Waldsassen: Stiftland-Verlag KG, pp.41-52. (with further bibliography)

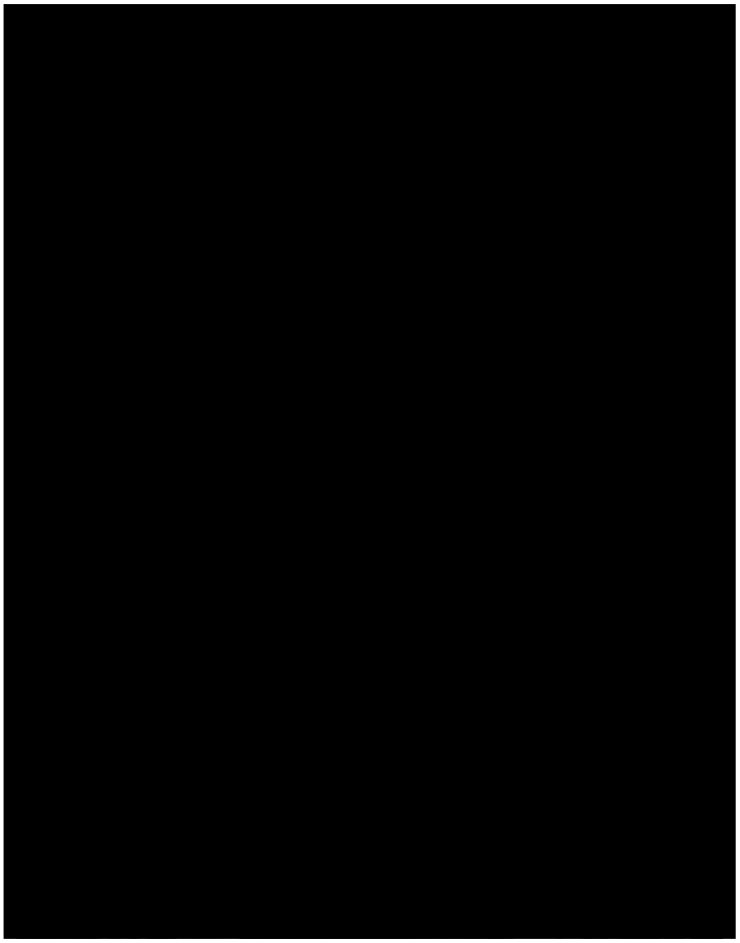


Figure 1: Brescia Medallion set into the Cross of Desiderius (Von Heintze 1964, Taf.23).

I1: Consular diptych of Anastasius

Date: AD 517
Place of Origin: Constantinople
Current Location: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Height: 36 cm; Width: 13 cm

Description:

A consular diptych celebrating Anastasius, dated to AD 517. In the lower registers of the leaves are scenes of games and performances in the arena. On the proper right leaf we see two women holding standards, dressed in short tunics and calf-high military boots leading horses into the arena. Given their dress and the fact that the other scenes in these registers depict a beast hunt and a theatres performances, it appears logical that these women also represent performers. Perhaps women dressed as Amazons. Below the Amazons is a depiction of a theatre performance, perhaps a mime. One of the figures appears to be a woman and is depicted in a similar manner to the actress Helladia from I8. The figures on the far right side is a scene of tragedy with three figures dressed as women and wearing theatrical masks. In the upper register of both leaves is a bust of the empress Ariadne.

Inscription:

FL(avius) ANASTASIUS PAVLVS PROBVS SABINIAN(us) POMPEIVS ANASTASIVS

VIR INL(ustris) COM(es) DOMESTIC(orum) EQUIT(um) ET CONS(ul) ORDIN(arius)

Bibliography:

Delbrück, R. (1929). Die Consulardiptychen und verwandte Denkmäler. Berlin: De Gruyter, No.21.

Volbach, W. F. (1976). Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, No. 21, Plate 9. (with further bibliography)

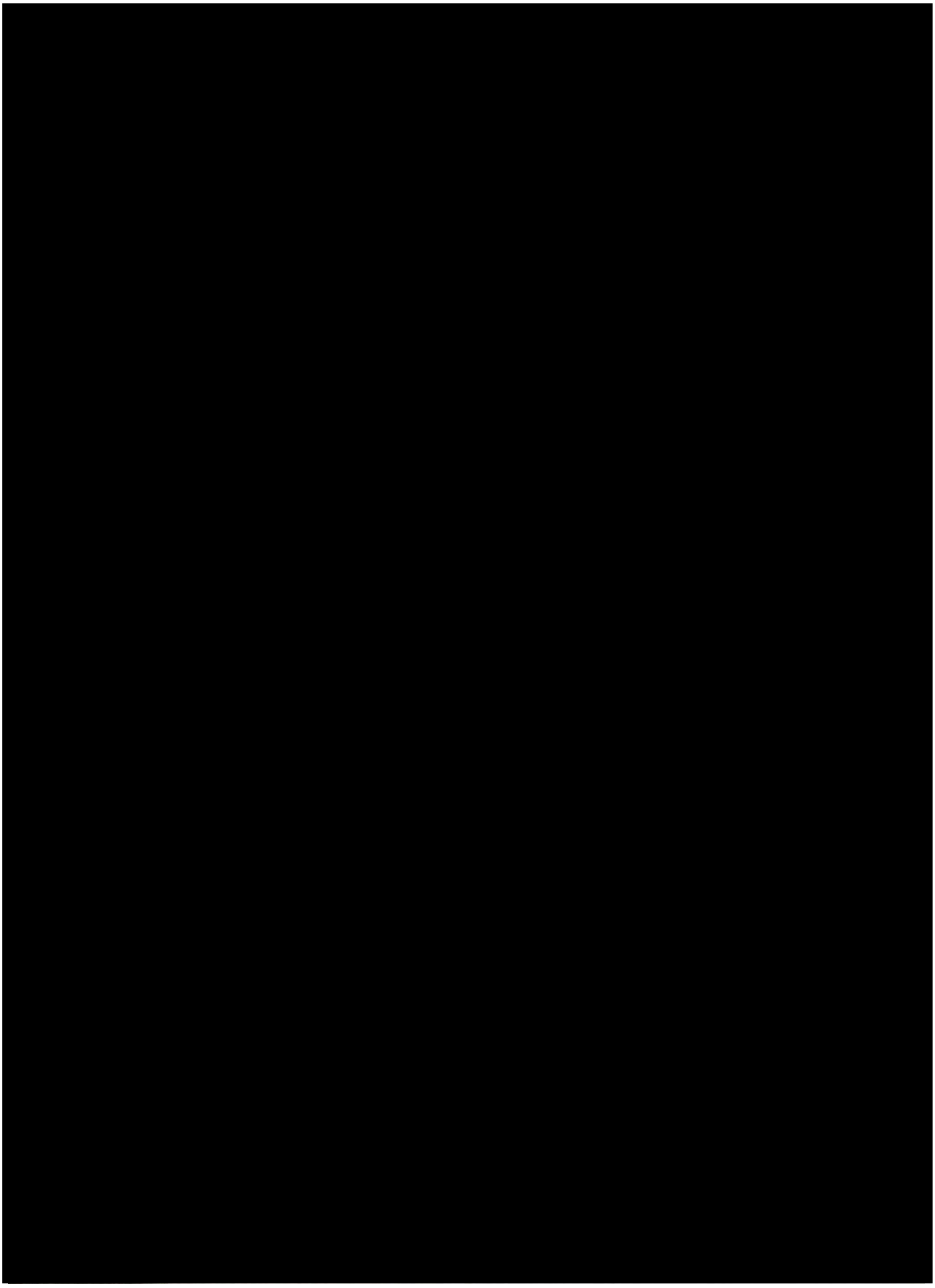


Figure 1: Consular diptych of Anastasius with female figures leading horses into the arena (Volbach 1976, Plate 9).

I2: Fragment from a diptych

Date: Early sixth century
Place of Origin: Constantinople
Current Location: Castel Sforzesco, Milan

Height: 10.7 cm; Width: 36.6 cm

Description:

A fragment of a panel of a diptych preserving a complete horizontal register. Male figures in barbarian dress face towards the centre as supplicants, while other figures in the centre are seated and bound. On the extreme ends of the fragment are two female figures shown breastfeeding in a seated position, similar in pose to a mosaic of a breastfeeding woman from Israel (M9). They both wear long tunics which fall off one shoulder in order to reveal their breast. Their hair is loose but they wear some kind of cover or hat over the top.

Inscription:

VIR ILLVSTR(is) COM(es) PROTIC(torum) ET CONSVL ORDINAR(ius)

Bibliography:

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Figure 1: Fragment of an imperial diptych showing breastfeeding women (Volbach 1976, Plate 26).

I3: The Halberstadt diptych

Date: Early fifth century
Place of Origin: Uncertain
Current Location: Cathedral Treasury, Halberstadt, Germany

Height: 28 cm; Width 14.5 cm

Description:

Ivory consular diptych in two leaves, each split over three registers. On both leaves the upper register depicts imperial figures enthroned, the central register the consul carrying a *mappa* and sceptre, and the lower register defeated barbarians. On the proper right leaf is a woman with her head in her hands and another breastfeeding a small child, while another looks over her shoulder. On the other leaf a barbarian woman bends to pick up a child while another comforts a man with his hands bound behind his back. Volbach identifies the barbarians as Vandals or Alans. In the upper register a female imperial figure stands behind the throne of the male figures, potentially an empress.

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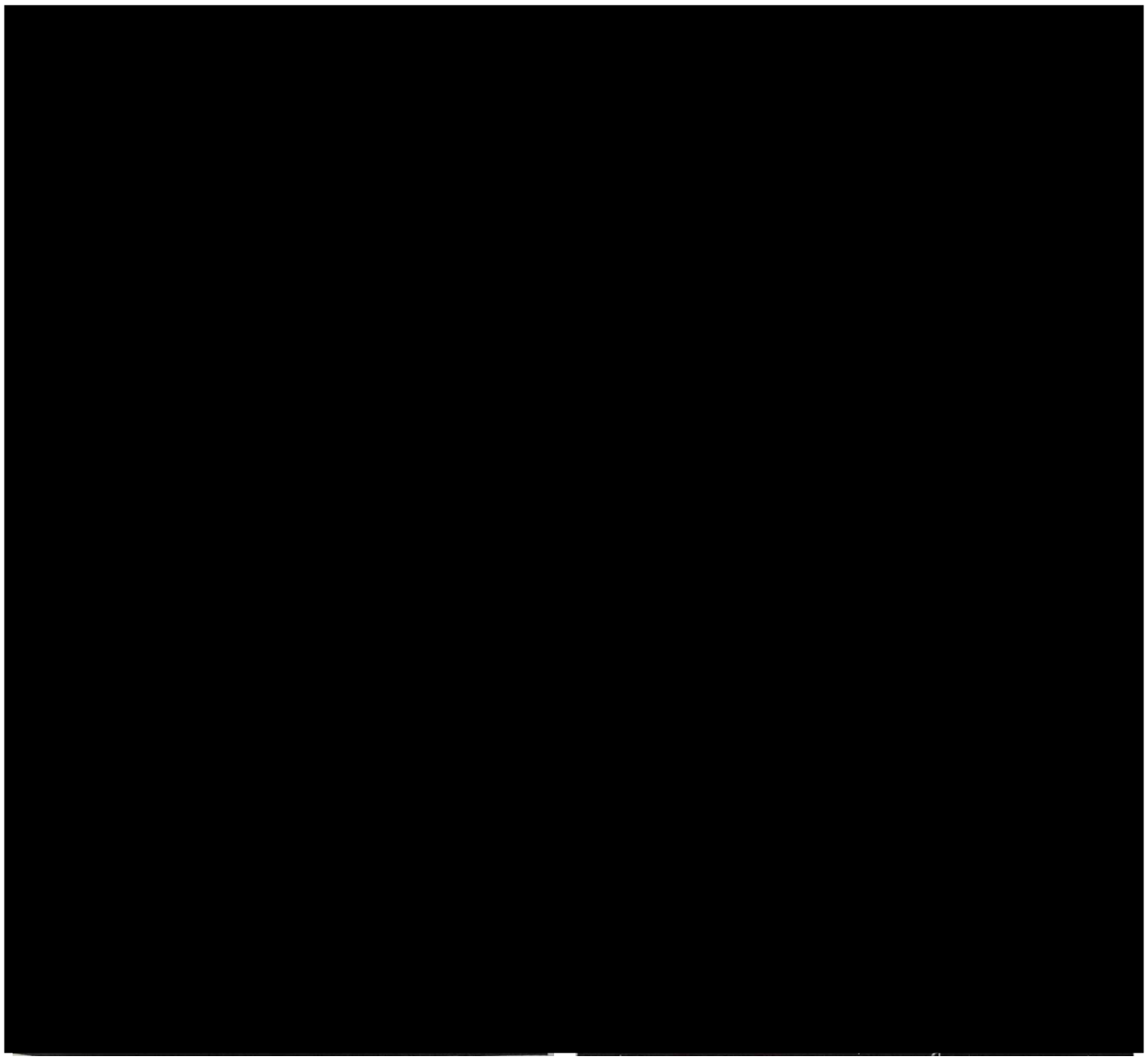


Figure 1: Two leaves of the Halberstadt diptych (Volbach 1976, Plate 19).

I4: The ‘Stilicho diptych’

Date: c. AD 400
Place of Origin: Rome
Current Location: Monza Cathedral Treasury

Height: 32.2 cm; Width 16.2 cm

Description:

An ivory diptych featuring three figures, a man on the left-hand leaf, and a woman and a male child on the right. The diptych has been held in Monza since at least the thirteenth century. Aspects of the iconography date it to the Theodosian period: long-sleeved tunics, the ‘wreath’-style hair of the male figures, long thin noses, and the tight-fitting hair-covering of the woman. While the dating of the diptych is widely accepted, the identity of the figures has been debated since the identification of the general Stilicho, his wife Serena, and their son Eucherius by Jullian in 1882. Some scholars maintain this identification, hence the informal name of the diptych, while others argue that there is little convincing evidence for this interpretation.

The diptych is formed from two leaves with moulded frames and an architectural background. On the viewer’s left is a standing male figure (‘Stilicho’), armed with a sword, spear, and shield, wearing an ornately patterned tunic and *chlamys*. On the right is a woman and child (‘Serena’ and ‘Eucherius’). The woman wears a tunic with long, close-fitting sleeves under a floor-length *dalmatica* belted under the bust and reaching to closed soft shoes. The proper left edge of the *dalmatica* is fringed. She also wears a mantle draped over her left shoulder, around her back and across her front, resting on her right hip. The mantle then appears to be draped over the left arm, although it is not bent to support it. Her jewellery consists of drop earrings, two necklaces, and a jewelled belt. She wears her hair covered by a tight-fitting cover patterned with vertical stripes, with a voluminous hair-style underneath. Her weight rests on her right leg, with her right arm held in line with her face and her left at her side. In her right hand she holds a flower, perhaps a rose, and in her left a personal cloth. Traces of colour show that her shoes were once maroon, her irises blue-grey, and the hair-covering and *dalmatica* a reddish-orange. The boy wears a long-sleeved tunic belted at the waist and a *chlamys* fastened at the shoulder with a large cross-bow *fibula*. He holds a book or diptych in one hand and the other in the speaking pose across his chest.

Bibliography:

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Figure 1: 'Stilicho' diptych showing a family (Volbach 1976, Plate 35).

I5: Incised panel in the shape of a woman

Date: Fourth Century
Place of Origin: Cimitero di S. Felicita, Via Salaria Nova, Rome
Current Location: Vatican Museums, inv. 62519

Uncertain dimensions, approx.. 5-7 cm high

Description:

Small ivory panel cut and incised in the shape of a seated woman. She wears the *Scheitelzopf* hairstyle and a long tunic with decorated clavi, and perhaps a necklace. Preserved imbedded into mortar from the Roman catacombs, similar in fashion to gold-glass.

Bibliography:

Unpublished?



Figure 1: Incised ivory panel in the shape of a seated woman (photo by author).

I6: The Samagher Casket

Date: c.440
Place of Origin: Samagher, near Pola, Croatia
Current Location: Venice Archaeological Museum, inv. No. 1952-279

18.5 cm x 20.5 cm x 16.1 cm

Description:

The Samagher Casket, also referred to as the Pola Casket, was discovered under the apse of the basilica of Saint Hermagoras in Samagher, near to Pola in modern Croatia. The frame of the casket is made of wood, covered with decorative relief panels in ivory. Although partially damaged, the bulk of the decorative programme has survived or is recognisable. The casket is generally understood to represent a family visiting various important churches in Rome, perhaps on pilgrimage. The identification of the exact shrines, however, is still debated.

The lid of the casket, although damaged, was decorated with a scene of the *Dominus legem dat*, or Christ giving the law to Peter. The front panel of the body showed the Adoration of the Hetoimasia, or the empty throne that awaited Christ at the end of days. The throne is flanked by three apostles either side and has a (restored) lamb below, from which flow the four rivers of Paradise. Comparisons with other representations of the empty throne suggest a missing piece of relief above the throne once had a jewelled cross. It has been argued by Buddensieg that decoration of this front panel recalled the apse mosaic of the Lateran basilica and the decoration of the lid the apse of old St Peter's in the Vatican.

The back panel of the body has received the most scholarly attention, as the baldachin with twisted fluted columns is understood to represent the fourth-century shrine in the basilica of St Peter. It is flanked by four figures, two women to the viewer's right and two men to the left. The women wear long-sleeved tunics and large mantles drawn over tight-fitting hair coverings. The men also wear long-sleeved tunics with cloaks. Inside the baldachin another man and woman similarly attired bow or kneel towards a cross standing on an altar between them.

The right-side panel is more damaged, and shows again two men and women flanking a central area, gesturing towards it. Between two central columns a woman in profile gestures towards something in front of her with her right hand and apparently held the hand of a child in her left (Noga-Banai 2019, p.230). This scene has been variously identified as taking in place in the Lateran baptistery (Buddensieg) and the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Guarducci).

The left-side panel shows a similar composition. Two women and men again flank a central scene. One of the women gestures towards the centre of the composition, while the other looks on; one of the men stands in the *orans* pose while the other appears in profile. Between the central columns the entrance to a shrine is covered by curtains and a screen door. A man, woman and child stand with their backs to the viewer, about to enter. The man appears to reach towards the screen, while the woman guides the little boy forward and gestures towards the shrine. The decorative panels are framed with scenes of doves and lambs adoring the cross and a cross among a pattern of leaves.

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Figure 1: Front panel showing the Adoration of the Empty Throne by the Apostles. http://vcg.isti.cnr.it/capsella/: Samagher Casket Digitization Project.



Figure 2: Back panel showing figures flanking baldachin with fluted columns. http://vcg.isti.cnr.it/capsella/: Samagher Casket Digitization Project.

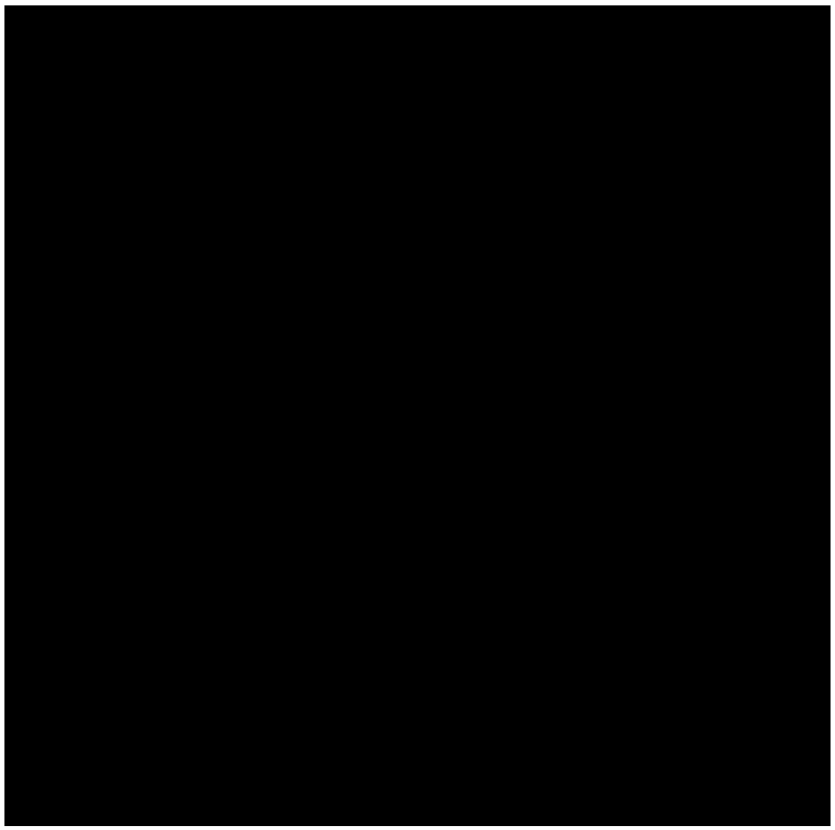


Figure 3: Right side panel showing damaged figures flanking central gesturing woman. http://vcg.isti.cnr.it/capsella/: Samagher Casket Digitization Project.

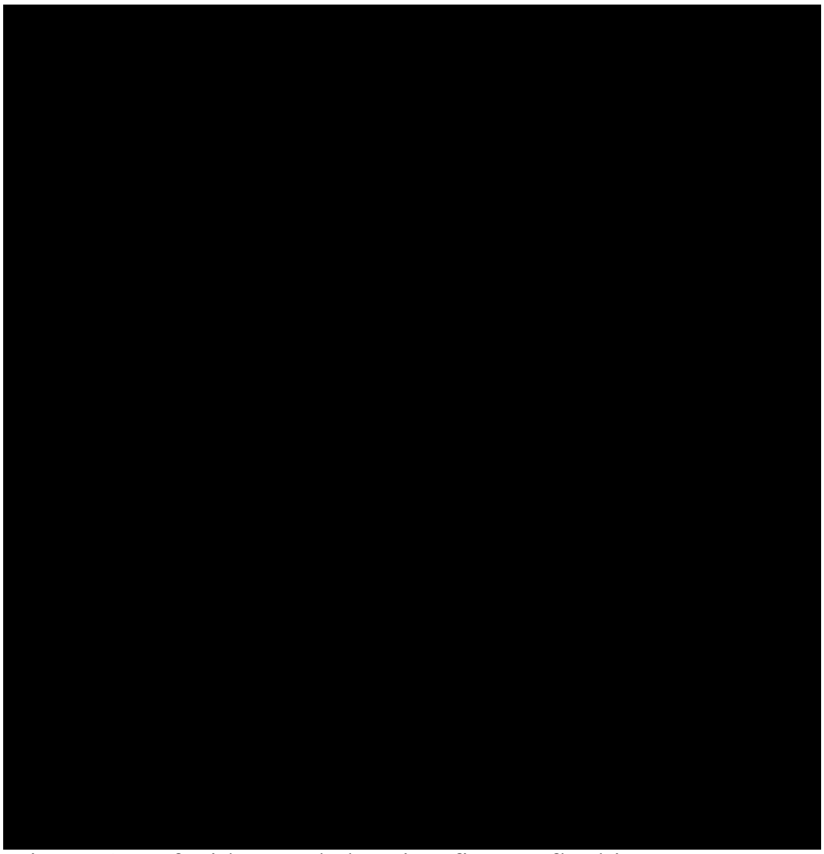


Figure 4: Left side panel showing figures flanking a man, woman, and child entering a shrine. http://vcg.isti.cnr.it/capsella/: Samagher Casket Digitization Project.

I7: Comb fragment with banquet scene

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Giza, Egypt
Current Location: Coptic Museum, Cairo.

Height: 6.5 cm; Width: 4.7 cm

Description:

A fragment of an ivory comb decorated on both sides with relief decoration. On one side a figure reclining at a banquet holds out a bowl, facing a standing figure who appears to be performing or declaiming (very similar to I9). A dog sits next to the couch. On the other side are two naked women and a child, possibly Eros. One of the women holds the hand of the child and the other appears to be dancing or perhaps playing a musical instrument. It is unclear if this is intended to be a mythological scene or entertainers for the banquet on the other side.

Bibliography:

Volbach, W. F. (1976). Elfenbeinarbeiten der spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. Mainz: Von Zabern, No.205, Plate 99. (with further bibliography)



Figures 1 and 2: Two sides of a fragment of an ivory comb showing a banquet scene and naked dancers(?) (Volbach 1976, Plate 99).

I8: Comb of Helladia

Date: Fifth or sixth century
Place of Origin: Antinoopolis, Egypt
Current Location: Louvre Museum, Paris, E11874

Height: 17 cm; Width: 6.7 cm

Description:

Ivory comb with an openwork carving depicting a woman called Helladia as the victor in a pantomime contest. Helladia stands in the centre of the composition framed by an arch supported by columns. She wears a long tunic belted under the bust, decorated at the cuffs and collar. With her left hand she holds a narrow sash which is worn diagonally across her body and with her right hand she holds what may be a victor's wreath. She is flanked by a male and a female figure, probably members of her chorus. The man wears a special shoe with an elongated sole called a *scabellum* or *kroupeza*, used to mark time during performances. He wears a short tunic and holds an unidentified object on a stool in front of him. The female figure is dressed in a similar manner to Helladia minus the sash. She has one hand on her waist and holds the other aloft. The mouths of both the male and female figures are open as if they are speaking or singing. An inscription runs above and below the figures.

Inscription:

'Long live Helladia's fortune and the Blues! Amen!'

Bibliography:

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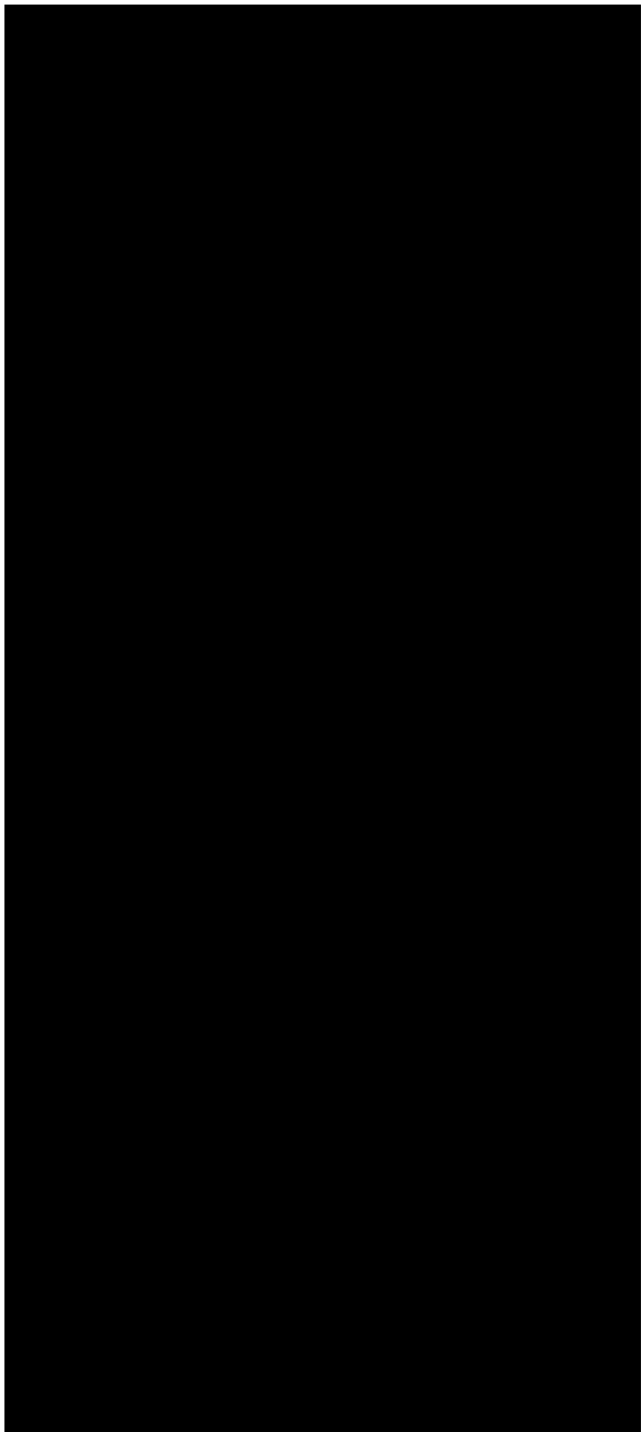


Figure 1: Comb featuring the victory of the pantomime actress Helladia (Photo (C) RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Gérard Blot).

I9: Pyxis with all-female banquet scene

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Egypt?
Current Location: Landesmuseum, Wiesbaden.

Height: 8.5 cm; Diameter: 12.6 cm

Description:

An ivory pyxis featuring a Nilotic scene and a scene of a banquet. In the banquet scene five women recline around a central table on which is placed a platter and a fowl (cf. M8). On the far left of the composition an attendant carries a large bowl or platter over their head towards the diners. The woman on the viewer's far left position holds a tablet and has her hand in the speaking pose across her chest as if she is reading. Two smaller figures only visible in bust form flank the central woman, who wears a large jewelled collar necklace. She holds a bowl or some unidentified object in her left hand and touches the fowl on the platter in front of her with her right. The woman on the viewer's far right of the couch holds a bowl and faces away from the viewer and towards a figure who holds their right arm up as if performing or declaiming (cf. I7). The Nilotic scene shows reclining personifications of Egypt and the river Nile, along with *erotes* and a river scene with a crocodile.

Bibliography:

Brenk, B. (1985). Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen-Verlag, No.135.

Carra, R. M. B. (2000). Pisside con scene nilotiche. In: S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca eds., Aurea Roma. Dalla Città Pagana alla Città Cristiana. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, Cat. No. 83, pp. 472-473.

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Figure 1: Banquet scene (Carra 2000, Fig 83).



Figures 2 and 3: Nilotic scenes (Volbach 1976, Plate 56).

I10: Pyxis with pilgrims

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Unknown, Egypt?
Current Location: British Museum, London, BM 1879, 1220.1

Height: 7.9 cm; Length: 12.2 cm (max); Width: 11.3 cm
Weight: 209.32 g

Description:

Ivory pyxis depicting the adoration of Saint Menas by pilgrims, and the saint's martyrdom. The scene of worship shows Menas standing in the *orans* position, framed by two columns supporting an arch. Flanking the saint are two recumbent camels, who appear in accounts concerning the foundation of his pilgrimage site in Abu Mina near Alexandria in Egypt. His body was supposedly carried by two camels, who refused to move once they arrived at the place that had been divinely ordained as his burial site. On Menas' right approach two female worshippers in and on his left two male worshippers. The women wear long tunics and mantles draped around their shoulders and chests, and over tight-fitting hair-coverings. The first male figure wears a highly decorated tunic and cloak and the other male figure a *paenula*. It seems likely that these worshippers are meant to represent pilgrims come to Menas' pilgrimage site at Abu Mina.

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Weitzmann, K. (1979). Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, third to seventh century. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.514, pp.575-576. (with further references)



Figure 1: Female and male pilgrims supplicate Saint Menas (© British Museum).



Figure 2: Menas' martyrdom ((© British Museum).

I11: Pyxis with dancers

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Unknown
Current Location: Landesmuseum, Zurich.

Height: 7.7 cm; Diameter: 11.8 cm

Description:

An ivory pyxis decorated with relief scenes of Venus Anadyomene, Adonis, Eros, and a male companion leading a horse on one side, and women dancing, playing instruments and gathering roses on the other. Venus and Adonis are seated on a bench in front of which is a basket filled assumedly with roses. Eros stands on another basket and presents a wreath to his mistress, while on the other side an unidentified male figure leads a horse. Separated by a tree from the divine scene are four women: one plays the flute while two dance holding a wreath, the fourth is barely visible on published images. In the background are roses and on the floor and in blank space between the dancers are more baskets filled with flowers. The dancing women also hold objects which may be instruments, Volbach thinks cymbals. All the women wear long tunics belted under the bust.

Bibliography:

Volbach, W. F. (1976). Elfenbeinarbeiten der spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. Mainz: Von Zabern, No.98, Plate 53. (with further bibliography)



Figure 1: Venus and Adonis seated on a bench, Eros on the viewer's right (Volbach 1976, Plate 53).



Figure 2: Adonis and the unidentified male companion (Volbach 1976, Plate 53).



Figure 3: Women dancing and playing music (Volbach 1976, Plate 53).

I12: Pyxis with shepherdesses

Date: Sixth century?
Place of Origin: Unknown
Current Location: British Museum, London, 1866,0714.1

Height: 8.3 cm; Length: 13.5 cm; Width: 9.5 cm
Weight 238 g

Description:

Ivory pyxis with relief carving depicting two shepherdesses and two shepherds. In one scene we see a shepherdess driving two sheep with a stick and holding up a basket in her left hand, similar to S12. She wears a long tunic and tight-fitting hair covering. On the right of the scene is another shepherdess with her hair wrapped with a headband, playing the flute. In the other scene are two shepherds wearing short tunics flanking a ram: one is seated and plays the flute, the other dances and plays the cymbals. The British Museum catalogue dates the pyxis to the fourth century, however Volbach prefers a date in the sixth century, which I believe is more likely.

Bibliography:

Volbach, W. F. (1976). Elfenbeinarbeiten der spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. Mainz: Von Zabern, No. 106.



Figure 1: Shepherdesses driving sheep and playing the flute (© British Museum).



Figure 2: Shepherds playing instruments and dancing (Volbach 1976, Plate 56).

J1: ‘Marriage belt’ with wedding scene

Date: Late sixth to early seventh century
Place of Origin: Antioch (?) or Constantinople (?)
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 37.33

L: 75.5 cm; diameter of small plaques: 2.5 cm; diameter of large plaques 4.8 cm.

Description:

A gold belt composed of two large circular medallions and 21 small ones, connected by links. The two large medallions are identical and represent a scene of a marriage. The husband and wife are shown in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose, flanking Christ who stands between them. The small medallions depict busts of Dionysiac figures.

Inscription:

(on large medallions)
‘From God Harmony, Grace, Health’

Bibliography:

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Walker, A. (2002). Myth and Magic in Early Byzantine Marriage Jewelry. The Persistance of Pre-Christian Traditions. In: In: A. L. McClanan and K. Rosoff Encarnación eds. The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe. New York: Palgrave, pp.66-67.

Vikan, G. (1990). Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, p.146.



Figure 1: Large medallions from the belt depicting a married couple with Christ (Ross 2005, colour plate A).

J2: ‘Marriage ring’ with facing busts

Date: Late fourth to early fifth century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, 47.18

D: 2.5 cm

Description:

Well-preserved gold ‘marriage ring’, with bezel engraved with facing busts of a couple. Above their heads is a cross. The woman has her hair in the *Scheitelzopf* style, gathered at the nape of the neck in braids that are folded back onto the head. She also wears earrings and a necklace. The man is bearded and has a large cross-bow fibula at his left shoulder. The couple’s names frame their portraits.

Inscription:

‘Aristophanes Vigil[a]ntia’

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14 pp.1-16.

Ross, M. C. (2005). Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Vol 2 Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks. Nr 50, pp.48-50 (with further bibliography)



Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ with facing busts of couple (Ross 2005, plate XXXIX).

J3: ‘Marriage ring’ with standing couple and Christ

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 53.12.3

D: 2.2 cm

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ with engraved bezel depicting a bride and groom in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose flanking the figure of Christ. The iconography is slightly simpler than some other similar examples, e.g. J1, however it is clear the same basic image is depicted. Said to have been found in Constantinople.

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, pp.1-16.

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Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ with depiction of couple with Christ (Ross 2005, plate XLII).

J4: ‘Marriage ring’ with standing couple and Christ

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 53.12.8

D: 2 cm; D of bezel 1.2 cm

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ with bezel engraved with standing couple flanking Christ. The iconography is very similar to J3, but is not so well preserved. Said to have been found in Constantinople.

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, pp.1-16.

Ross, M. C. (2005). Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Vol 2 Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks. Nr 65, p.56.



Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ with depiction of couple with Christ (Ross 2005, plate XLII).

J5: Octagonal ‘marriage ring’ with biblical scenes

Date: Seventh century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 47.15

Diameter: 2.3 cm

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ decorated with engraved scenes filled with niello. The band is octagonal and is decorated with biblical scenes from the life of Christ: the Visitation, the Nativity, the presentation at the temple, the baptism, the Crucifixion, Christ appearing to the women at the tomb. The ornately shaped bezel is decorated with a marriage scene showing a couple flanking Christ and the Virgin who turn to crown them. The scene is unusual because normally it is only a single figure who is shown blessing the couple. The style of iconography is quite abstract but the ring itself is elaborately decorated.

Inscription:

(bezel)
‘Concord’

(around the edge of the bezel)
‘Lord, help Thy servants, Peter and Theodote’

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, pp.1-16.

Ross, M. C. (2005). Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Vol 2 Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, Nr 69, pp.58-59 (with further bibliography)

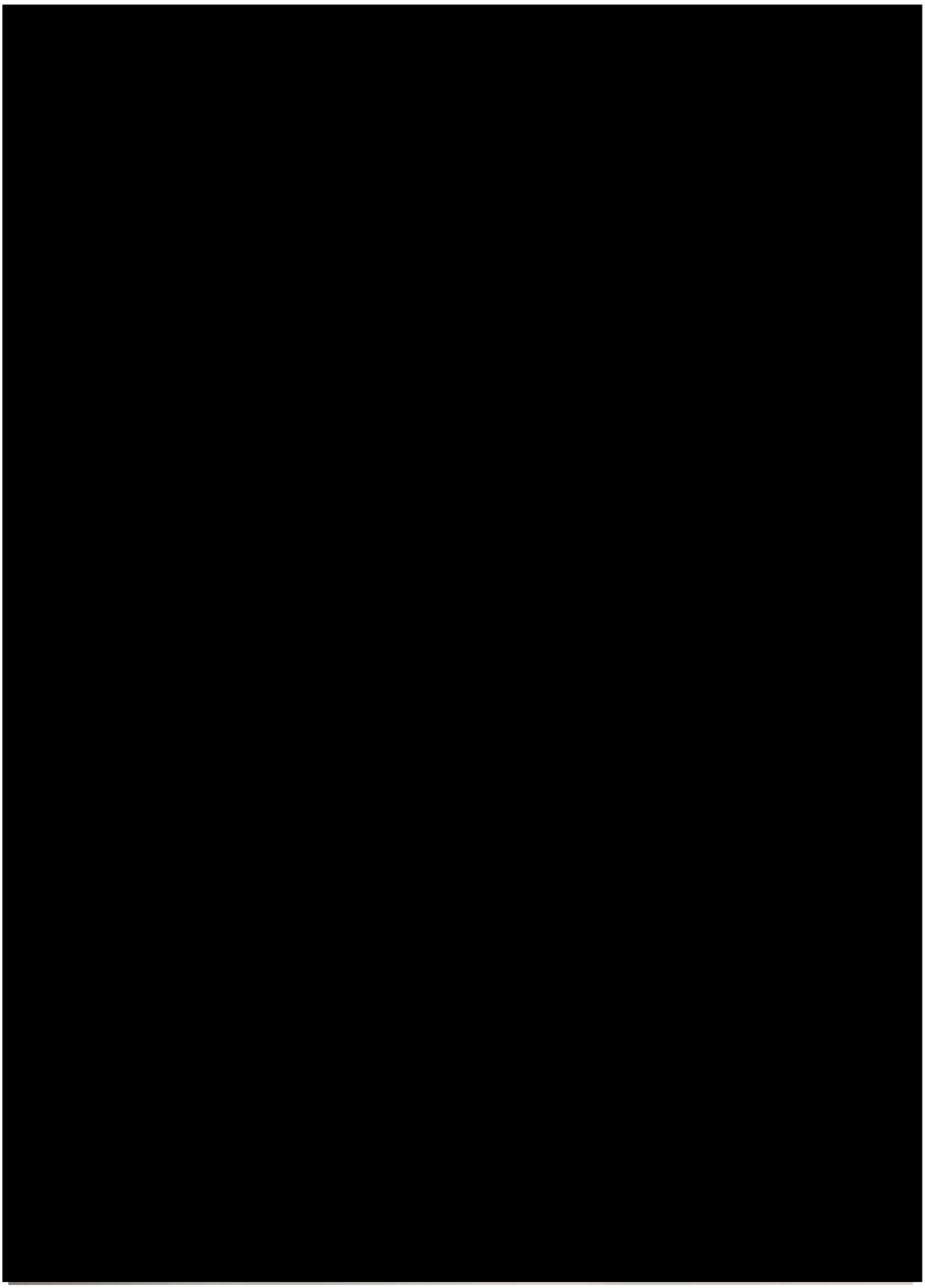


Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ showing couple crowned by Christ and the Virgin (Ross 2005, Plate XLIV).



Figure 2: ‘Marriage ring’ showing couple crowned by Christ and the Virgin (Ross 2005, colour plate E).

J6: ‘Marriage ring’ with frontal busts

Date: Seventh century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 59.60

D: 2.5 cm; D of bezel: 1.5 cm

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ with a plain hoop and engraved bezel inlaid with niello. The decoration depicts a couple shown in frontal bust form flanking a large cross. There is an inscription above and below the figures.

Inscription:

(from bezel)
‘Grace of God’
‘Concord’

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, pp.1-16.

Ross, M. C. (2005). Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Vol 2 Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks. Nr 4e, pp.7-8 (with further bibliography)



Figure 1: Gold ‘marriage ring’ depicting frontal busts of a couple (Ross 2005, plate IX).

J7: ‘Marriage ring’ bezel with facing busts

Date: Late fourth to early fifth century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 53.12.61

D: 1.1 cm

Description:

Round bezel from a gold ‘marriage ring’, decorated with the engraved busts of a man and a woman facing each other. Between them is a large cross. The woman appears to wear a tight-fitting hair-covering decorated with bands of jewel, however the object is small and the details unclear.

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, pp.1-16.

Ross, M. C. (2005) Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Vol 2 Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks. Nr 52, p.51.



Figure 1: Bezel from a ‘marriage ring’ showing a couple flanking a cross (Ross 2005, plate XXXIX)

J8: ‘Marriage ring’ with frontal busts and Christ

Date: Early seventh century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, 53.12.4

D: 2.4 cm

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ with engraved frontal busts of a couple flanking a cross, with a bust of Christ above the cross. Two crowns or wreaths hover above their heads. An inscription below the busts. Said to have been found in Constantinople.

Inscription:

‘Concord’

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, pp.1-16.

Ross, M. C. (2005). Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Vol 2 Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, Nr 67, p.57.



Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ with frontal bust of couple flanking cross, with Christ (Ross 2005, plate XLIII).

J9: ‘Marriage ring’ with standing couple and Christ

Date: Seventh century
Place of Origin: Constantinople?
Current Location: Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, No.68.7

Diameter: 2.2 cm; Diameter (bezel): 1.5 cm; Height: 2.4 cm (with bezel)

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ engraved and inlaid with niello and silver, perhaps once also precious stones similar to J15. The bezel is decorated with the depiction of a standing couple flanking the large figure of Christ, who places his hands on the couple’s shoulders. An inscription runs around the band and at the bottom of the scene on the bezel.

Inscription:

(bezel)
‘Concord’

(band)
‘Lord help Thy servants Theodore and Dinis’

Bibliography:

Kantorowicz, E. H. (1960). On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 14, pp.1-16.

Ross, M. C. (2005). Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Vol 2 Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, Nr 186, pp.176-179.



Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ set with niello and silver depicting a couple flanking Christ (Ross 2005, Plate CXX).

J10: Gold pendant with wedding scene

Date: Sixth to seventh century
Place of origin: Eastern Mediterranean
Current location: Collection of Christian Schmidt, Munich, 378

Diameter: 7.7 cm
Weight: 41 g

Description:

Double-sided gold pendant with loops on the top edge for attaching a chain. Made of two pieces of gold leaf decorated in repoussé technique. One side shows a wedding scene, the other the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity. In the first scene a wife and husband stand in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose, while Christ stands between them with his hands on their shoulders. Below the figures a kantharos sprouts vines. The woman wears a headdress with pendilia, but the man does not appear to wear a diadem. The woman appears to carry a mappa in her left hand. She is depicted in a very similar manner to the figure of Michal in her marriage to David from the seventh-century David Plates.

Inscription:

(Wedding scene)
'My peace I give to you' (John 14:27)

(Annunciation)
'Greetings to you most gracious one – the Lord be with you! (after Luke 1:30)

Bibliography:

Wamser, L. and Zahlhaas, G. (1998). Rom und Byzanz. Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern. Munich: Hirmer, No. 308, pp.207-211.

Yael, I. and Mevorah, D. (2000). Cradle of Christianity. Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, p.118.



Figure 1: Gold pendant showing a marriage scene (Wamser and Zahlhaas 1998, p.208).



Figure 2: Gold pendant showing scene of the Annunciation, Visitation, and Nativity (Wamser and Zahlhaas 1998, p.209).

J11: Belt tab with wedding scene

Date: Late fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1993.166

4.9 cm x 4 cm x 0.5 cm

Description:

Gilded copper alloy belt tab engraved with decorative scenes on both sides. On one side is a couple in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose flanking a Christogram. The dress of the bride is somewhat difficult to discern, but it appears to be a tunic or *dalmatica* with *clavi*, covered with a mantle. It is not clear if her head is covered or not. The man wears a short belted tunic decorated with *orbiculi,* and a *chlamys* fastened at his right shoulder. The other side shows Bellerophon riding Pegasus and trampling on the Chimera. The belt would most likely have been worn by a man. Note that Walker (in Kalavrezou) considers it to be a belt buckle, but Wixom records it as a belt tab. Given the shape and size of the object the latter seems more likely.

Bibliography:

Alicia Walker in: Kalavrezou, I. ed. (2003). Byzantine Women and their World. Cambridge and New Haven: Harvard University Museums and Yale University Press, No.132, p.231 (with further bibliography).

Walker, A. (2002). Myth and Magic in Early Byzantine Marriage Jewelry. The Persistance of Pre-Christian Traditions. In: In: A. L. McClanan and K. Rosoff Encarnación eds. The Material Culture of Sex, Procreation, and Marriage in Premodern Europe. New York: Palgrave, pp.67-68.

Helen C. Evans in: Wixom, W. (1999). Mirror of the Medieval World. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.28, p.25.



Figures 1 and 2: Both sides of the belt tab depicting a couple and Bellerophon (Metropolitan Museum of Art, images in the public domain).

J12: Necklace with pendant and amulet

Date: 400-450
Place of Origin: Rome, Capitoline Hill (hoard)
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 58.12

L: 78.7 cm; medallion 6.5 cm x 1.1 cm; amulet 4.3 cm x 3 cm x 0.7 cm

Description:

Gold chain necklace or body chain with a large circular medallion and a hematite amulet set in gold. The gold medallion pendant is formed of concentric rings with a central image of a couple shown in profile, their busts facing each other. Above their heads is a crude depiction of Christ holding crowns or wreaths above their heads. The hematite amulet is older than the rest of the necklace, probably dating to c.AD 100-200. The Greco-Egyptian amulet is decorated with an intaglio depiction of Abrasax, a snake-legged solar deity with the head of a rooster. The necklace was found in a hoard discovered at the base of the Capitoline in Rome.

Bibliography:

Ross, M. C. and Weitzmann, K. (1965). Catalogue of Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Jewelery, Enamels and Art of the Migration Period. Vol 2. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, p.2.

Vikan, G. (1990). Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium. *Dumbarton Oaks Press,* 44, pp.155-156.

Weitzmann, K. ed. (1979). Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.281, pp.307-308.





Figures 1 and 2: Necklace with medallion and amulet; detail of the amulet depicting the busts of a couple facing each other (Metropolitan Museum of Art, images in the public domain).

J13: Ring stone with facing busts

Date: First half fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome?
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 81.6.200

L: 2.4 cm

Description:

Silver ring stone engraved with bust profile bust portraits of a husband and wife facing each other. Perhaps for use as a signet ring. Only a few letters of an inscription are legible.

Inscription:

…RI VAS

Bibliography:

Richter, G. M. A. (1920). Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Classical Style. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 394, p.185, pl. 80.

Spier, J. (2007). Late Antique and Early Christian Gems, Spätantike – frühes Christentum – Byzanz. Reihe B, Studien und Perspektiven Vol. 20. Wiesbaden: Reichert, No. 38, pp.22, 24, pl. 7.

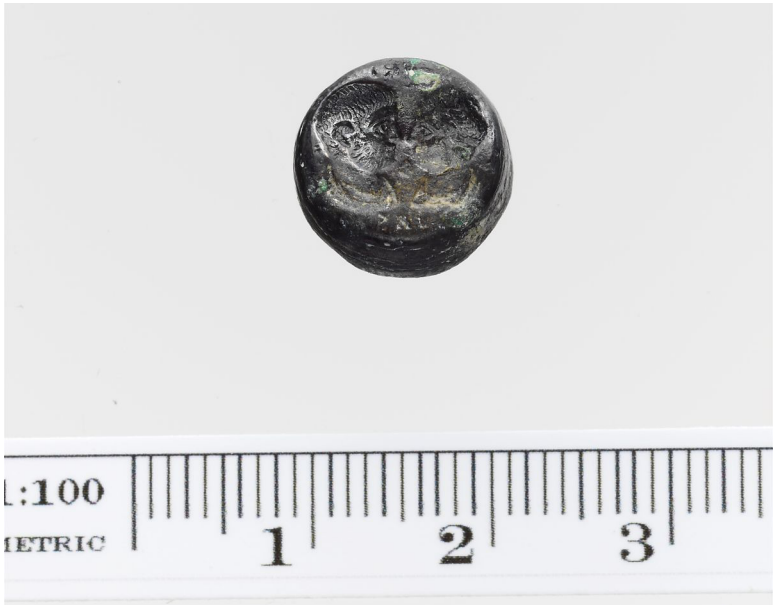


Figure 1: Ring stone depicting a couple facing each other (Metropolitan Museum, Image in the Public Domain).

J14: Brooch with female bust

Date: Early fifth century
Place of Origin: Ténès, North Africa
Current Location: Algiers Museum

Diameter: 9.4 cm (widest point); Diameter: 5.8 cm (central disk)
Weight: 114 g

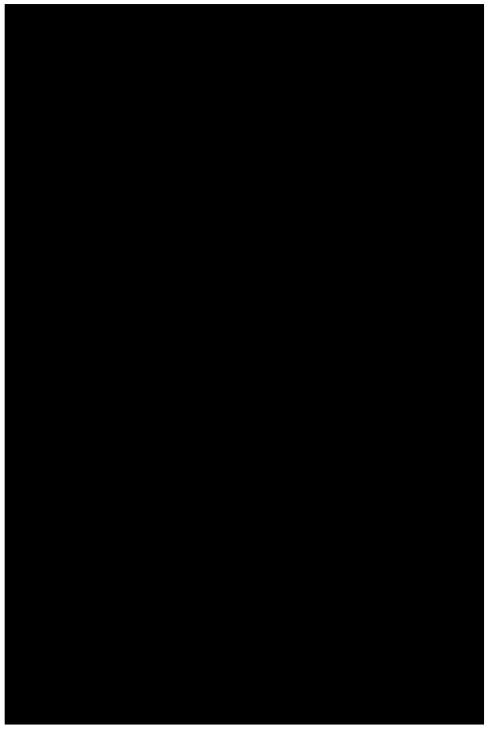
Description:

Circular gold brooch with a repoussé image in a beaded central disk representing a woman in bust form wearing a jewelled hair-piece and holding her right hand in the speaking position across her chest. From the bottom of the brooch hang three crosses, the central cross larger than those flanking it and decorated with a foliate pattern. The woman is identified as an empress and this is the primary criteria for its dating to the early fifth century. It is impossible to tell from the poor-quality images whether this is indeed an image of an empress, as many women wore jewelled hair decorations and what is visible does not appear to be an imperial diadem. The bust is therefore better interpreted as an aristocratic woman, perhaps the owner of the brooch or the wife of the owner.

Bibliography:

Heurgon, J. (1958). Le Trésor de Ténès. Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, pp.63-73, Plates I, XXXII.1, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXIX.1.





Figures 1-2: Views of the gold brooch with a bust of a woman (Heurgon 1958, plates XXXIII, XXXII.1).

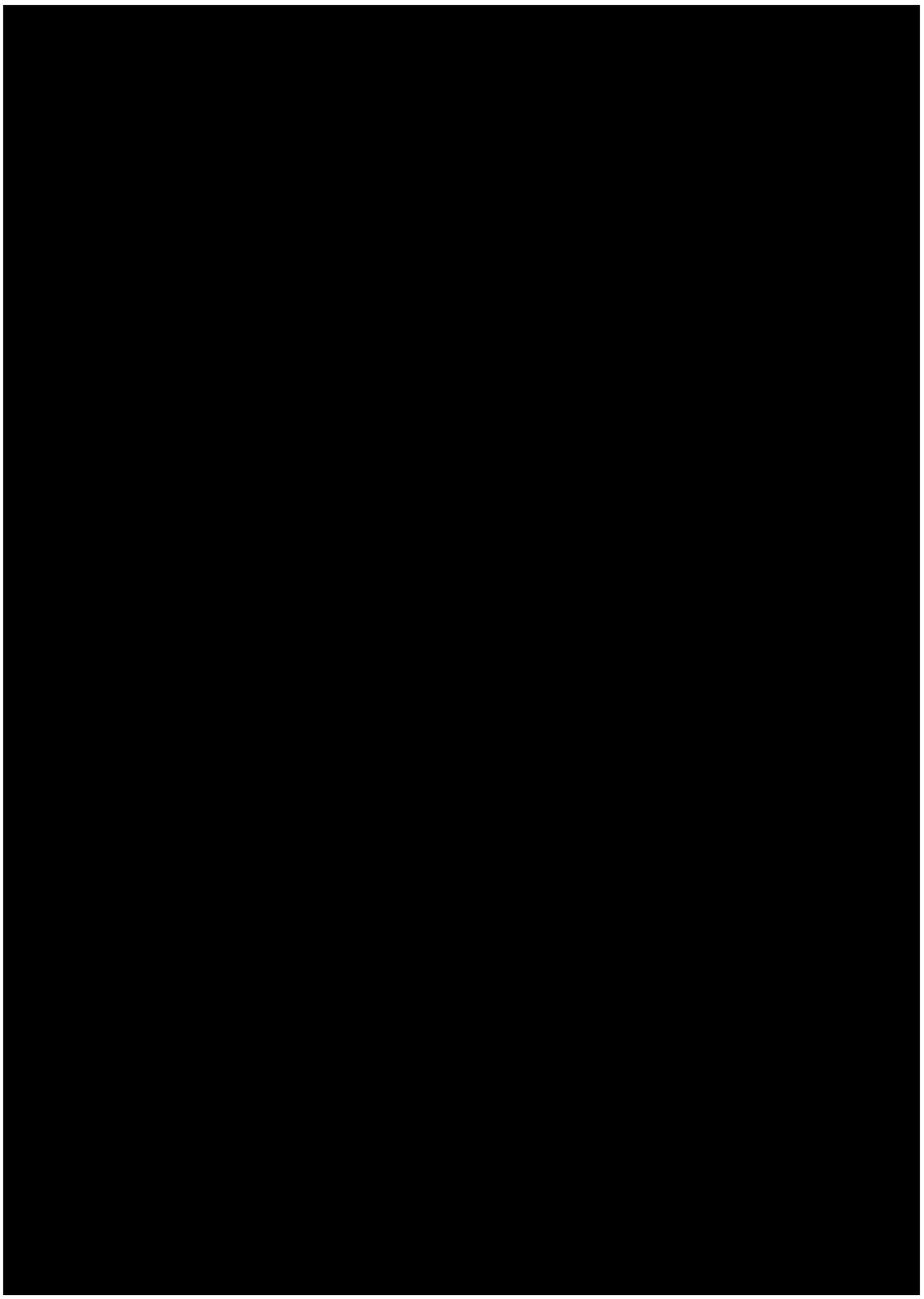


Figure 3: Detail of the woman's bust (Heurgon 1958, plate XXXIV).

J15: ‘Marriage ring’ with standing couple and Christ

Date: Seventh century
Place of Origin: Unknown
Current Location: Hermitage Museum, ω 121

D: 2.1 cm; W: 7.9 g

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ with bezel engraved with a depiction of a couple standing, flanking Christ, who place his hands on their shoulders. The figures are inlaid with niello and precious stones: the bride’s tunic is inlaid with emerald, and the groom’s tunic with garnet. An inscription runs around the band.

Inscription:

(band)
‘With favour wilt thou encompass him as with a shield.’ (Psalms 5.12)

(bezel)
‘Concord’

Bibliography:

Bank, A. (1977). Byzantine Art in the Collections of Soviet Museums. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, Cat No.100-101, pp.288-289 (with further bibliography)



Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ depicting a standing couple flanking Christ (Bank 1977, plate 100).

J16: ‘Marriage’ ring with frontal busts

Date: Sixth to seventh century
Place of Origin: Unknown
Current Location: Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, Π 126

D: 2 cm

Description:

Gold ‘marriage ring’ depicting two frontal busts flanking a cross in relief, perhaps made in a mould? The ring is worn, there is little to distinguish the two figures from each other. The inscription below the busts and its similarity to other rings, however, make it likely to be a ‘marriage ring’.

Inscription:

‘Grace’

Bibliography:

Canellopoulou, A. et al. (2007). Byzantine and post-Byzantine Art. Athens: The Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, Cat No. 42, p.54 (with further bibliography)



Figure 1: ‘Marriage ring’ with busts of the couple flanking a cross (Canellopoulou et al. 2007, p.54).

J17: Silver ring seal of Maxentius and family

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: ?
Current Location: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Inv. Nr. G 1232

D: 1.3 cm

Description

Circular silver ring seal depicting a male and female bust facing each other, the small bust of a girl in between them, presumably their daughter. Above the heads of the couple are two birds and a wreath. The woman wears an elaborate *Scheitelzopf* braid that runs right to the top of her head. The small girl wears her hair gathered in a bun at the nape of the neck. An inscription runs around the sides of the seal, either side of the figures.

Inscription:

MAXSENTI V/IVAS TVIS F
Maxenti vivas [cum] tuis f[eliciter]

'Maxentius, may you live h[appily with] your [loved ones]'

Bibliography

Ellison, M. D. (2017). Visualizing Christian Marriage in the Roman World. PhD Thesis, Vanderbilt University, pp.213-214, Fig.151.

Ellison, M. D. (2018). 'Secular' Portraits, Identity, and the Christianization of the Roman Household. In: R. M. Jensen and M. D. Ellison eds., The Routledge Handbook of Early Christian Art. London: Routledge, pp.326-346, here pp.326-327, Fig.20.2. (text and translation from here).

Krug, A. (1995). Römische Gemmen im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Trier. Trier: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, p.65, No.63 (with further references).

Spier, J. (2007). Late Antique and Early Christian Gems. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verland, p.22, No.37.



Figure 1: Silver seal (left) and impression (right) showing a family group of a couple with their daughter (Ellison 2017, Fig 151, Photo Th. Zühmer, © GDKE / Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier).

M1: Woman stringing roses

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: The Constantinian Villa, Antioch on the Orontes
Current Location: In situ?

12.5 m x 8.3 m (whole room)

Description:

The mosaic is found in Room 1 of the Constantinian Villa (Lower Level). The mosaic was divided into a larger square section and a smaller rectangular section, both of which concern rural scenes, hunting, and depictions of personifications. In the centre square section of the room is an imitation of a ceiling, with a central octagonal pool. The part of the mosaic we are concerned with here forms part of the border of the mosaic, which alternates between geometric patterns and scenes of country life such as *erotes* and animals grazing. One of these border panels (labelled A on the plan) depicts a woman weaving rose garlands, a relatively popular motif in the fourth century, also found on the Muse Casket (S2) and mosaics from Piazza Armerina (M22). On the right side of the scene we see rose bushes and a basket of roses. In the centre is seated the woman, who has a garland she is stringing attached to a tree and reaches behind her to another basket. A man holding a staff standing on the far left of the scene lifts a garland from the basket. The woman wears a sleeveless light-pink tunic belted under the bust and a dark mantle over her legs.

Bibliography:

Levi, D. (1947). Antioch Mosaic Pavements. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.226-257 esp. pp.248-250, Plate LIX.D.



Figure 1: Woman stringing rose garlands (Levi 1947, Pl.LIX.D)



Figure 2: Plan of the villa (Levi 1947, Fig 85).



Figure 3: Photograph of the mosaic of Room 1, looking west (Levi 1947, Plate LII.A).

M2: Topographic border of the ‘Megalopsychia’ mosaic

Date: Second half of fifth century
Place of Origin: Room B of Yakto Complex (Upper level), Daphne, Antioch on the Orontes
Current Location: Hatay Archaeological Museum, Turkey Inv.1016

7.00 m x 7.20 m (entire mosaic)

Description:

The mosaic was discovered in ‘Room B’ of the Yakto Complex, facing portico No.1. The mosaic centres on a bust of ‘Megalopsychia’ – magnanimity or generosity – shown holding a cornucopia and distributing coins. Around her are arrayed scenes of hunters killing wild animals. The mosaic is bordered by topographical scenes, presenting buildings identified with inscriptions, and people going about their daily business. In addition to this mosaic, a mosaic depicting Thetis rising from the sea was also found.

In between the Olympic stadium and the ‘laboratory of the Martyrion’ is a group of three people shown in conversation, a man and two women. The woman on the right of the scene wears a brownish-gold floor-length tunic and a purple mantle draped diagonally across her body. With one hand she gestures before her and in the other she carries an unidentified object which appears to be white and decorated with red spots. Her dark hair is uncovered. The woman in the centre wears a long purple tunic covered with a large red mantle that she wears over her head and shoulders. A single line of white tesserae between her face and the red of her mantle indicate that she is also wearing a tight-fitting white hair-covering underneath. The man wears a long greenish-yellow tunic and gestures as if he is showing something to the women. Another part of the border shows a house with a small flight of steps up to the doorway, in which stands what may be a woman. Only the bottom half of her is preserved, but she wears a long tunic and a red mantle. Her house is shown between two craftsmen working at what may be braziers, and another house with gamblers at a table outside. On the far left is a group of three statues on pedestals. A different scene shows a woman riding a white horse in the side-saddle position, wrapped in a mauve mantle. The horse is led by a man in a short green tunic. Behind the group is the wall of a building, followed to the right by another architectural complex that is in a fragmentary state. The next group of figures is a man on a horse, also with an attendant, but they are perhaps too far apart to suggest a direct connection. The final woman is shown holding a child by the hand, about to cross a bridge over a stream (cf. M4). She wears a yellow tunic and reddish mantle and supports a bundle resting on her back. The child is probably male.

Bibliography:

Levi, D. (1947). Antioch Mosaic Pavements. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.326-345, Pls.LXXIX, LXXX. (with further bibliography)

Hachlili, R. (2009). Ancient Mosaic Pavements: Themes, Issues, and Trends. Leiden: Brill, pp. 163, 166-168, Fig. VII-7.

Kondolean, C. (2000). Antioch: the lost ancient city. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.114-115.



Figure 1: Scene from the topographic border showing two women and a man on the street (Kondoleon 2000, p.114).



Figure 2: Woman(?) standing on the steps leading up to a house, far right of the scene (Ross Burns, Manar al-Athar).



Figure 3: Lady riding a horse (Ross Burns, Manar al-Athar).



Figure 4: Woman with a pack on her back leading a child, far right of scene (Sean Leatherbury, Manar al-Athar).

M3: All-female funerary banquet

Date: Late fourth century
Place of Origin: Necropolis south of Antioch on the Orontes (sector 24-L)
Current Location: Worcester Art Museum, Mass. USA 1936.26

1.78 m x 2.69 m (without border)

Description:

The mosaic was discovered in 1935 in a chamber surrounded by tombs in what Levi calls the 'Necropolis of Mnemosyne', after an inscription found on this mosaic. Around the perimeter of the room were found what may be *loculi* or possibly benches for meals. The mosaic concerns the depiction of an all-female funerary banquet, surrounded by a wide geometric border with personifications (Agora – the marketplace, Eukarpia – fertility) and seasons.

The mosaic shows six women at a funerary banquet. The background of the scene is draped with hanging textiles (*parapetasma*), in front of which is set up a *stibadium* and table. Two women recline on the *stibadium*, both wearing sleeveless tunics. A third woman is seated holding an unfurled scroll on a low stool to the viewer's left. She wears a tunic with gold clavi and a mantle. Behind her two more women enter, holding what appear to be cloth sacks slung over their shoulders; it is not clear what these depict. One wears a white tunic with dark clavi, the other a yellow tunic with dark clavi. On the far right of the scene an attendant appears with a jug and basin for handwashing, wearing a white tunic with dark clavi. In front of her is a krater on the floor and behind her a an amphora on a stand. Inscription are found over the head of one of the reclining women and at the far right corner of the scene.

Inscription:

(above the head of the reclining woman)

MNHMOCYNH
'Memory' – suggested to be the name of the deceased woman, but may also reference memories of the deceased.

(right corner)

AIΩXI
A

Kondoleon suggests that this may be an alternate and corrupt spelling of 'EYΩXIA', meaning 'banquet'.

Bibliography:

Becker, L. and Kondoleon, C. eds. (2005). The arts of Antioch: art historical and scientific approaches to Roman mosaics and a catalogue of the Worcester Art Museum Antioch

Collection. Worcester Art Museum, MA: Princeton University Press, No. 4, pp.196-207. (with further references)

Dunbabin, K. (2003). The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.184-185, colour plate XIV.

Kondolean, C. (2000). Antioch: the lost ancient city. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Cat. No. 9, pp.121-122. (with further references).

Levi, D. (1947). Antioch Mosaic Pavements. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.295-304, Pl.LXVI.



Figure 1: Image of the tomb when it was excavated in 1935 (Levi 1947, Pl.LXVI.a).



Figure 2: Mosaic depicting an all-female funerary banquet (Kondoleon 2000, No.9, p.121).

M4: Genre scene of a woman leading a child

Date: Probably sixth century
Place of Origin: Madaba, Jordan
Current Location: Lost?

2.6 m x 1.7 m

Description:

Fragment of a border of a much larger mosaic, known only from a photograph from which a drawing was made. The mosaic was located in the house of Farkhut Karadsheh, south of the church with the map in Madaba. The fragments concerns a genre scene composed of three surviving figures, a man, woman, and child. The man is the first figure on the viewer's left. He wears a short tunic and carries a basket on his back. Next is a child being led by a woman. The details of the clothing or attributes are unclear as only a line drawing remains. The motif of the woman leading a child is also known from the late fifth century topographic border of the 'Megalopsychia' mosaic (M2).

Bibliography:

Piccirillo, M. (1993). The Mosaics of Jordan. Amman: American Center of Oriental Research, p.80, Fig 57.



Figure 1: Drawing of the mosaic fragment (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 57).

M5: Donor portrait of an unknown woman and genre scene

Date: AD 565
Place of Origin: The Chapel of the Priest John, Khirbet el-Mukkhayat, Jordan
Current Location: In situ?

Approximately 50 cm x 50 cm (bust)
H: 76 cm (genre scene)

Description:

Both images were found in the mosaic carpet of the nave of the Chapel of the Priest John, which is annexed to the Church of Amos and Closis. The complex is located in the village of Khirbet el-Mukkhayat (on the southern spur of Mount Nebo), near the wadi on the eastern slope of the ridge. The donor portrait is located in the outer border, where geometric motifs frame square panels containing depictions of birds and people. The bust of a woman is found in a square panel directly above the dedicatory inscription and that of a man on the left-hand long side. The representation of a woman in a genre scene is found in one of the populated vine scrolls which make up a panel at the centre of the carpet. These other vine scrolls are filled with a representation of the earth, animals, and male figures in a variety of poses. The other major decorative feature of the carpet is an elaborate dedicatory inscription. A long inscription panel runs directly below the upper frame and below it a representation of an aedicular façade supported by four columns, trees, and peacocks. Between the central two columns is another inscription and between the outer columns are censers.

The bust portrait of the woman is located in a square panel framed with red and black tesserae. She is shown wearing a white/grey tunic and a red mantle fastened in the centre of the chest with a gold fibula. She also wears necklaces, large drop earrings, and a diadem with a central gem. Her hair falling down her back is long and dark, the contours of the mosaic make it appear as if it is curly. She does not wear a veil or head-covering of any kind. Behind her head is a grey nimbus. The man's portrait is similar in style and colouring, with a grey nimbus, white/grey tunic and red mantle. The man has been identified as the Priest John mentioned in the long inscription panel (see below). The inscription between the columns of the building calls for the salvation of several individuals, one of which may refer to the woman's portrait.

The woman in the vine scroll is shown in a sleeveless white/grey tunic decorated in black at the hem and collar. Over this she wears a yellow/orange mantle pulled over her head which then runs freely down her back. Under this she also wears a black and white striped head-covering. Her right arm is held outstretched and on it she wears two bracelets (Piccirillo states this hand is holding a knife). Her other arm supports a basket held on her shoulder which appears to be filled with fruit. While richly dressed, she is barefoot, indicating the bucolic nature of the scene.

Inscriptions:[1]

(Long panel at far east of the nave)
"At the time of the most pious and most God-beloved bishop John the holy place was renewed and finished; by the zeal of the priest John it was finished in the month of August in the… indiction; for the salvation of and for an office for those who have made offerings and who intend to make offerings. Amen."

(Between the columns of the building)
"For the salvation of and office of Your servants Sergius (the son of) Stephen, and Procopius (the son of) Porphyria, and Roma and Maria and Julian the Monk."

Note that these women also appear in a dedicatory inscription from the nearby church of SS Lot and Procopius. An inscription at the eastern end of the southern aisle in a *tabula ansata* reads: "O Saint Lot, receive the prayer of Roma and Porphyria and Maria, your servants".

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[1] Translations Saller and Bagatti 1949.



Figures 1 and 2: Portrait busts (Piccirillo 1993, Figs 217, 216).



Figure 3: Plan of the chapel of the Priest John with mosaic, annexed to the church of Amos and Closis (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 225).

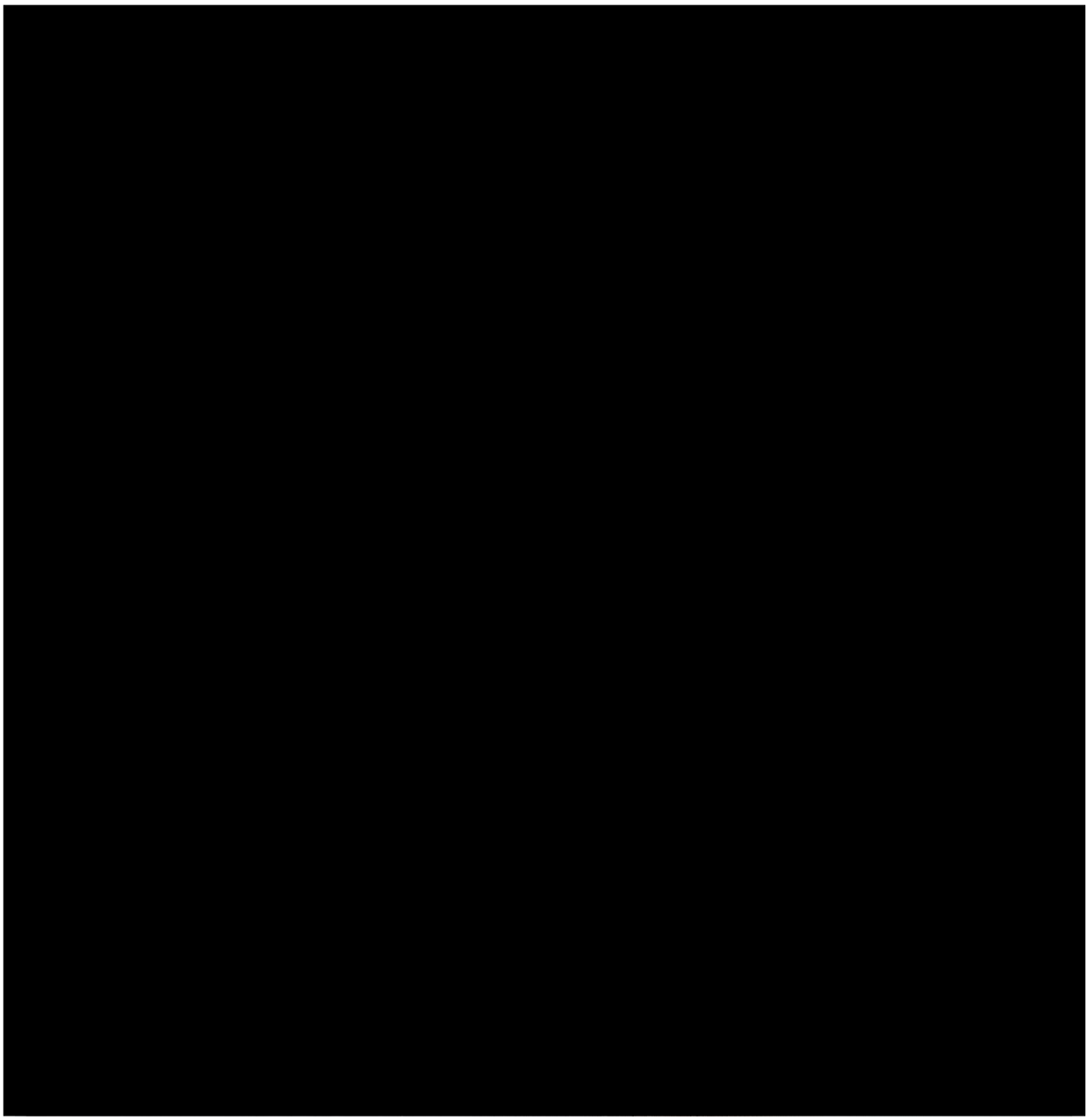


Figure 4: Mosaic carpet of the chapel of the Priest John (Piccirillo 1993, Fig. 230).

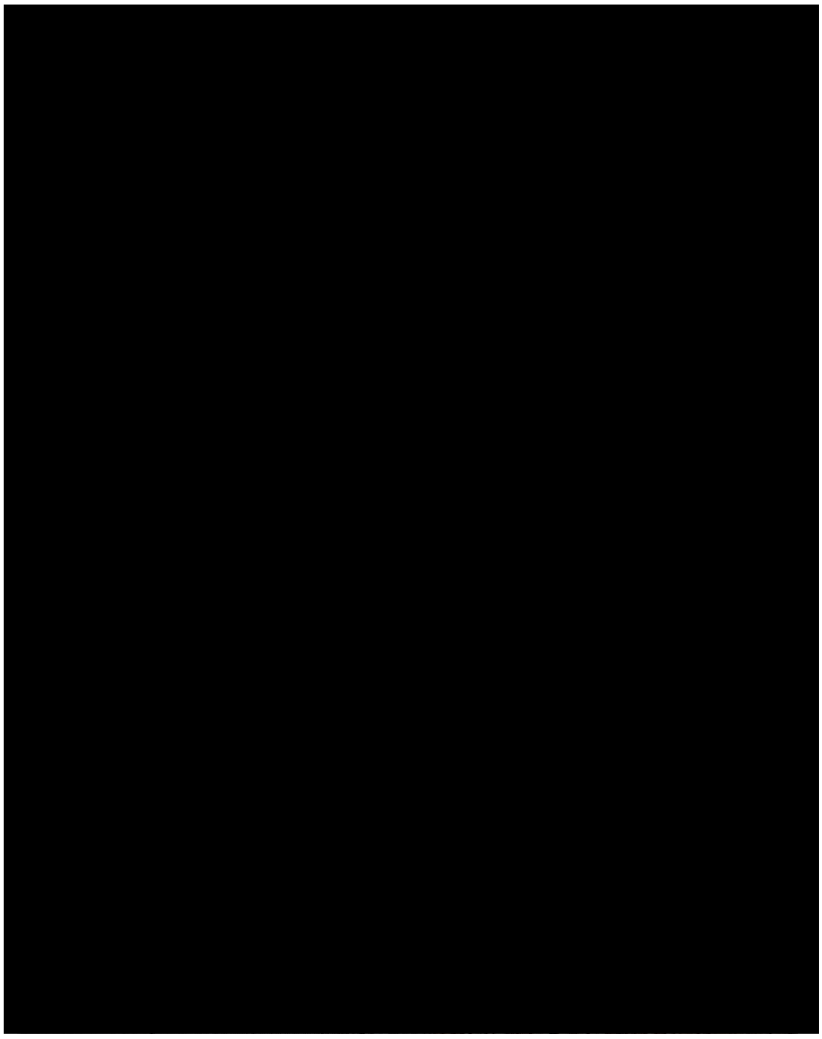


Figure 5: Detail of the female genre figure from the chapel of the Priest John (after Piccirillo 1993, Fig 229).

M6: Donor portrait of Georgia and her husband Theodore

Date: AD 533
Place of Origin: The Church of SS Cosmas and Damian Gerasa, Jordan
Current Location: In situ

Approximately 2 m x 1 m (each panel)

Description:

The mosaic is located in the church of SS Cosmas and Damian, which is part of a large complex of three adjoining churches including St. John the Baptist and St. George. Below the chancel rail of the church is a *tabula ansata* containing a dedicatory inscription, with a line added above stating that the mosaic was laid in AD 533.[1] On either side of the *tabula ansata* are portraits of a couple, Georgia and Theodore, each standing between two trees. The rest of the mosaic of the nave is well-preserved. It is made up of square and diamond-shaped interlocking panels containing geometric patterns, plants, birds, and other animals. One diamond-shaped panel directly under the *tabula ansata* contains an additional inscription. Two more diamond panels contain further donor portraits: both show men wearing short tunics and carrying baskets. One is identified as John, son of Astricius, the other as Calloeonistus.

Georgia is shown standing in the *orans* position on the right of the inscription. She wears a white tunic with black decoration at the cuffs and greyish/silver decoration at the bottom hem. Over this she wears a reddish brown mantle around her shoulders, clasped in the centre of her chest with a large circular fibula. She also wears small earrings and perhaps a delicate necklace. Her dark hair appears to be uncovered and on her feet she wears red shoes. She is dressed in a similar fashion to Soreg from M7. Theodore is dressed in a similar colour palate to his wife: he wears a long-sleeved white tunic with black stripes a the cuffs, a wide-sleeved tunic over the top, a large reddish brown mantle or *paenula* which engulfs his left hand, and grey shoes. His right hand is held out across his body and in it he holds a metal container suspended from three chains or ropes, probably a censer. Theodore is shown in a similar manner to Elias from M7. It should be noted that Theodore's head, which shows him moustached and bearded, is reconstructed and is not original.

Inscriptions:

(above Georgia)
"Georgia, wife of Theodore, Paramonarius."

(above Theodore)
"Theodore, Paramonarius"

[1] For text and translation of mosaic inscriptions not directly related to these donor portraits, see Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity E02367, all translations by Pawel Nowakowski (http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E02367 [accessed 08/12/2020]).

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Figure 1: Donor portrait of Georgia (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 509).



Figure 2: Donor portrait of Georgia's husband, Theodore [head restored] (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 507).



Figure 3: Plan of the church complex, the church of SS Cosmas and Damian on the viewer's left (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 536).

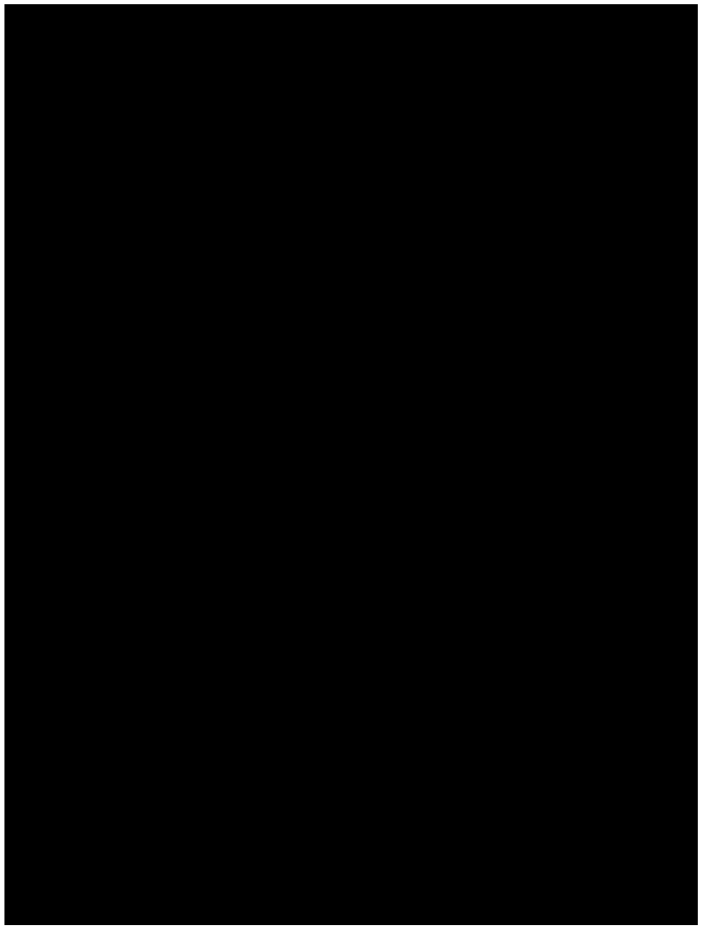


Figure 4: Detail of a plan of the church complex, showing only SS Cosmas and Damian with the mosaic carpet (after Piccirillo 1993, Fig 535).

M7: Donor portraits of Maria and Soreg

Date: First half of the sixth century
Place of Origin: The Chapel of Elias, Maria, and Soreg, Gerasa, Jordan
Current Location: Jordanian Museum of Popular Traditions, Amman?[1]

Approximately 0.5 m x 0.5 m each

Description:

The mosaics are found in the so-called Chapel of Elias, Maria, and Soreg in the eastern corner of Gerasa. The mosaic panel is located in the presbytery. It has a central motif of a palm tree flanked by peacocks, from which extend a total of sixteen vine scrolls. These scrolls are populated with figures of animals, birds, baskets of fruit and human figures. Other mosaics from the chapel concern depictions of the months and genre scenes of rural life.

On the left side of the palm (from the perspective of the viewer) we find an unnamed male figure with a rope lasso, another male figure wearing a cape and a Phyrgian cap, and a woman named Maria. Maria is shown wearing a long-sleeved pale yellow/green(?) belted tunic decorated at the hem in white and perhaps also with white clavi. Over this she wears a large reddish mantle which covers her shoulders, arms, chest, and is draped over her head. Under the mantle she wears a white and black striped tight-fitting head covering indicated by a single row of white and black tesserae. She wears dark shoes and a dark green necklace. In her right hand Maria holds a white cross. In her left hands she appears to hold a white object, but it is not clear what it is. Perhaps a piece of white cloth?

On the right side of the palm we find a man carrying a basket on his back, and two further donor portraits. One is of a man called Elias dressed in a similar manner to Theodore from M6 and holding a similar object, probably again a censer. The other is a woman called Soreg. Soreg is shown standing and holding a palm branch. She is dressed in a similar fashion to Georgia from M6. Soreg wears a light blue long-sleeved tunic with dark clavi and stripes at the cuffs, collar, and hem, and matching *orbiculi*. Over his she wears a reddish brown mantle over her shoulders, fastened in the middle of her chest with a fibula. She also wears dark shoes, large gold earrings, and her hair is uncovered.

Inscriptions:

(either side of Maria's head)
"Maria"

(either side of Soreg's head)
"Soreg"

(above Elias' head)
"Elias"

[1] After excavation the mosaics were removed and small panels are exhibited in Jordan's museums.

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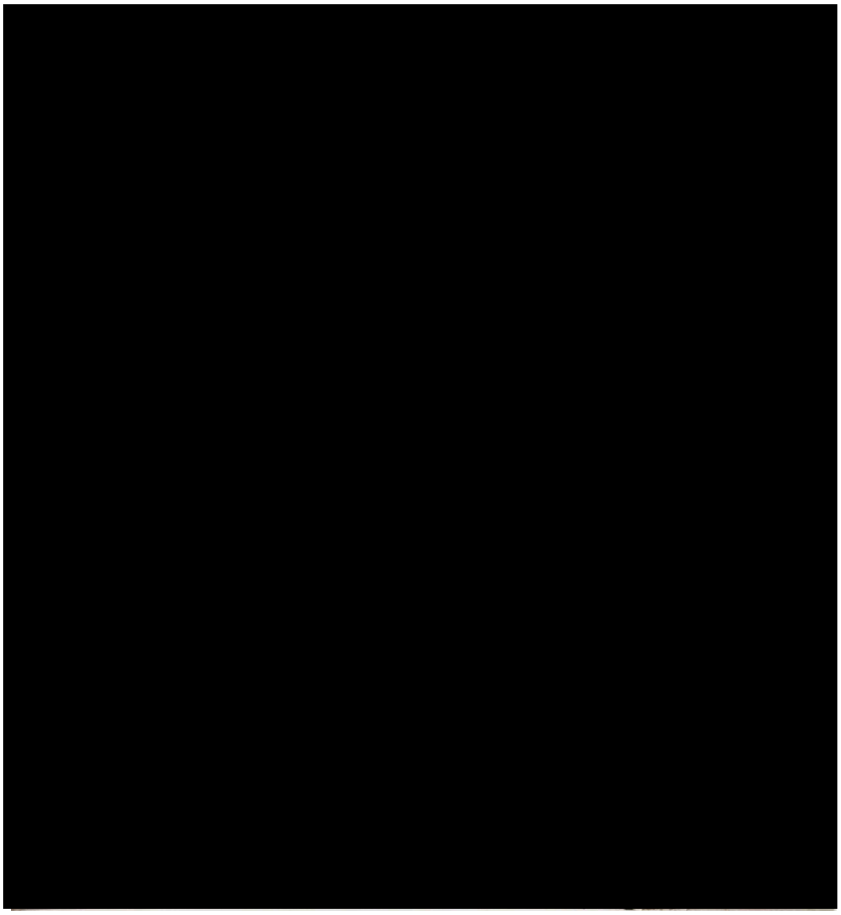


Figure 1: Donor portrait of Soreg (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 515).

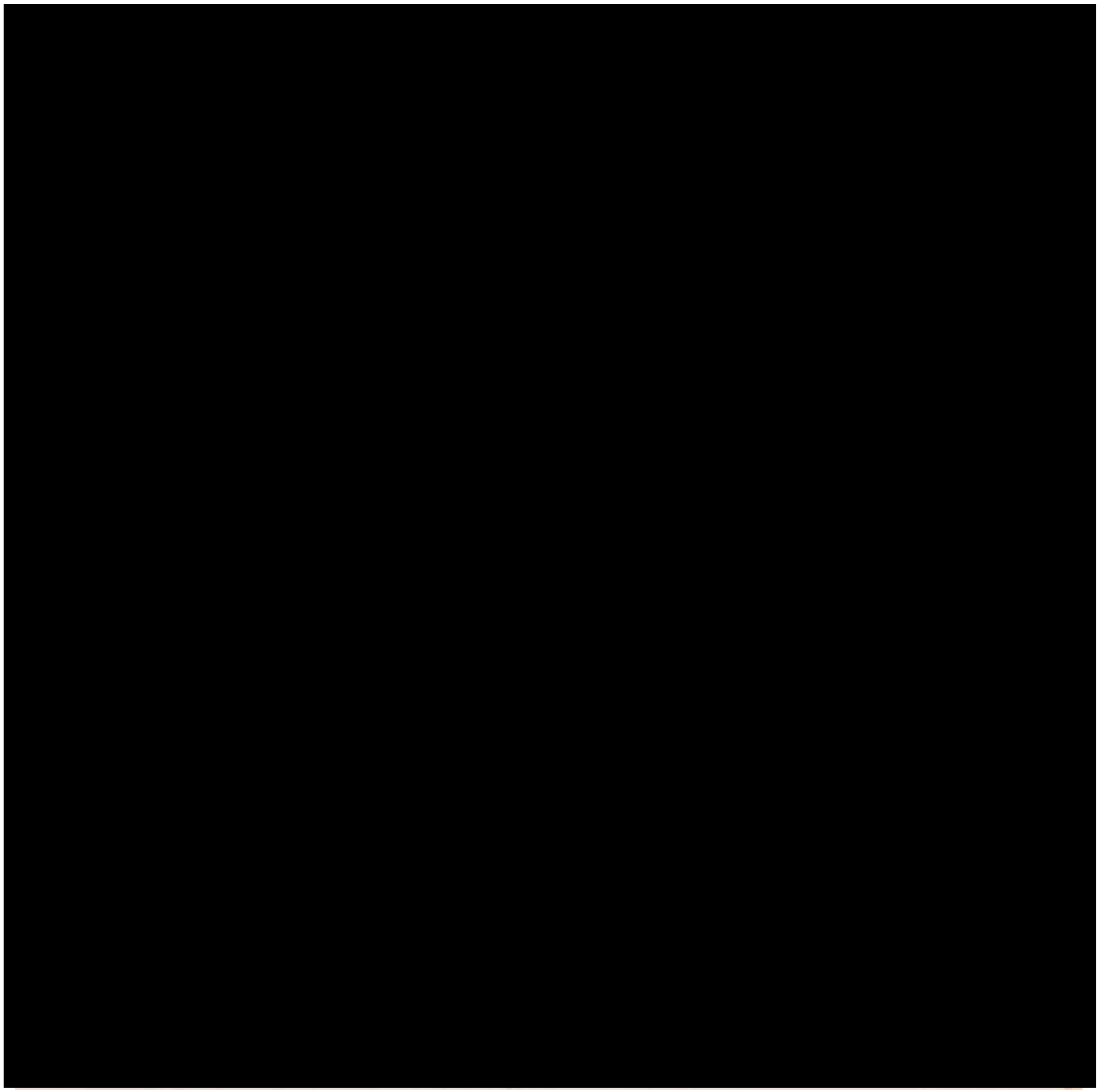


Figure 2: Donor portrait of Maria (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 569).

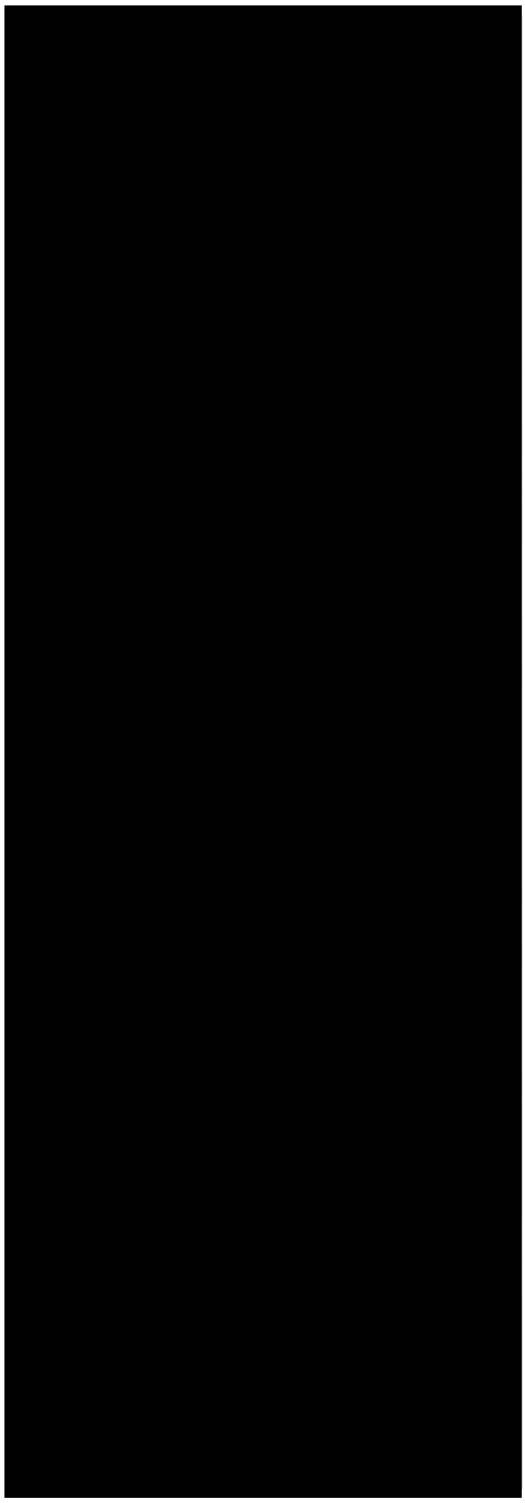


Figure 3: Drawing of the mosaic in the chapel of Elias, Maria, and Soreg (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 571).

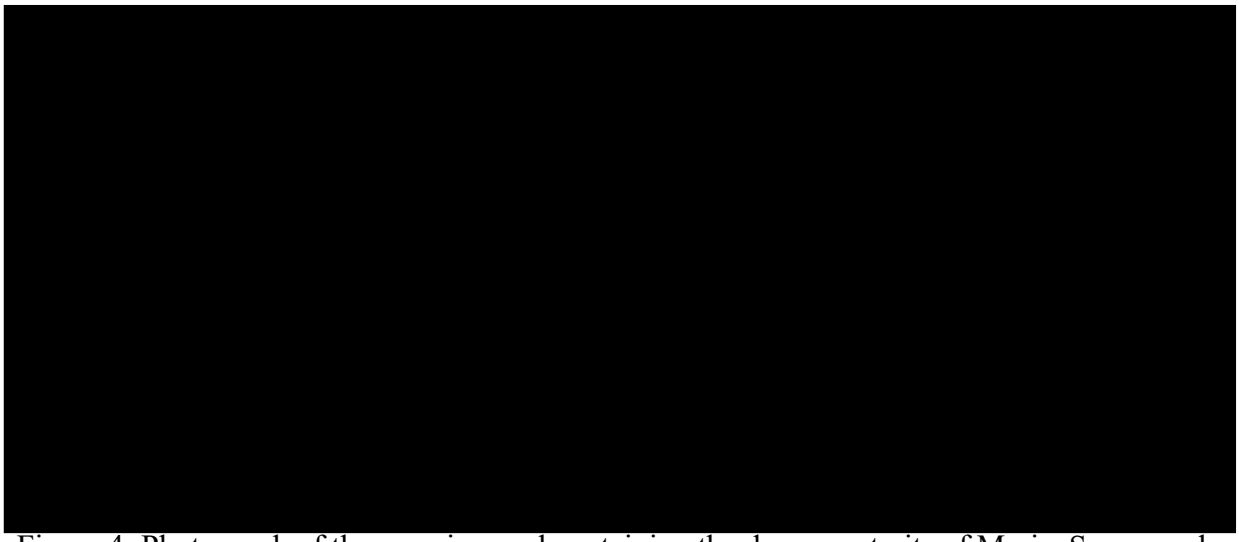


Figure 4: Photograph of the mosaic panel containing the donor portraits of Maria, Soreg, and Elias (Piccirillo 1993, Fig 572).

M8: Donor portrait of Lady Syltous and Kalliora

Date: c.576-578
Place of Origin: Kissufim, Israel
Current Location: In situ?

Approximately 1.4 x 0.7m

Description:

The mosaic derives from a sixth-century church discovered by accident in June 1977. The basilica church originally measured roughly 16 x 13m, but had suffered extensive robbing during antiquity, and the eastern section (including the apse) had been destroyed by the construction of another building at the beginning of the twentieth century. Several mosaics survive from the site, including a dedicatory inscription from the nave, recording that the mosaic was laid on the 4th August AD 576. In the northern aisle were discovered 12 extant mosaic scenes related to hunting, animal combat, and other scenes involving animals.

The donor mosaic was located in an intercolumnar space on the northern side of the church. Two scenes survived from this area, our donor portrait, and a representation of a man leading a camel laden with jars and baskets. A Greek inscription above reads 'OPBIKON', this is probably another donor portrait.

Our donor portrait is comprised of two women, both shown in a long bust format cut off just below the hips. On the viewer's right stands a woman scattering coins from her right hand. In her other hand she holds a *mappa*, or personal cloth accessory. She is dressed in a light-coloured long-sleeved tunic, covered with a dark mantle drawn over her head. She does not wear a diadem, as stated by some commentators (e.g. Cohen 1977), but rather a decorated tight-fitting head-covering under her loose mantle. At her wrists are bracelets. On the viewer's left is a slightly smaller woman; deep naso-labial lines make her appear older than the other woman. She is dressed in a similar manner, but with a light cream tunic and a light pinky-orange mantle, also worn over her head. She also wears a tight-fitting head-covering underneath. She wears a necklace, bracelets, and what appears to be a body-chain or extension of her necklace. In both hands she carries a large platter which appears to contain a fowl. The depiction of a figure holding a platter with a fowl on it is known from a number of other contexts, including an ivory pyxis with a scene of a feast (I9).

In the intercolumnar space immediately to the left of the women is another inscription, which states that the mosaic of the aisle (in this case the northern aisle) was completed on the 4th July 578, almost two years later than the inscription from the nave. This indicates that the mosaics of the intercolumnar spaces and the northern aisle were laid as a single separate project. It is possible that it was this project that was financed by the woman from our mosaic.

Inscription:

(between the heads of the women in the donor portrait)
ΚΑ ΛΗWΡΑ ΗΚΥ ΡΑ
CIΛ ΘOYC

'Kalliora Kyra Syltous'
'Kalliora The Lady Syltous' or 'Kalliora The Lady of Sylto'

The interpretation of the inscription, and therefore the identification of the two women, has been debated. There seems little doubt that the younger woman is "Lady Syltous", a donor. This is confirmed by the position of the inscription around her head, and her gesture of scattering coins. This gesture not only references her donation, but also stakes her claim to virtues of generosity and magnanimity through the visual formula of *megalopsychia*. The identity of the older woman, however, is uncertain. Some consider that 'Kalliora' should be translated as "beautiful hour" and that she may represent some kind of personification or abstract concept (Cohen 1993). Others think that 'Kalliora' should be understood as addressing the donor, with a meaning of "in good time" (Ovadiah and Mucznik 1983). In this understanding, the older woman may represent the church which has received the donation. The age of the woman does seem to indicate she does not represent a personification, as they are represented as young beautiful women. Since she is holding a platter with a fowl, she may represent an attendant bearing another gift of the donor, or a donor in her own right.

(intercolumniation left of donor portrait)
"The superb work in this aisle was done in the time of Father Theodoros, beloved of God, deacon, monk, and hegumen by the grace of God. This mosaic work (was made) on the tenth of the month of Panemos, in this year 638, the eleventh year of the indiction [4th July 578]." (Cohen 1993, p.281).

(*tabula ansata* in the nave)
"In the time of our most holy and pious Bishop Michael and of Theodoros, most beloved of God, by the grace of God deacon, monk, sacristan, and abbot [of the monastery] of St Elias, this mosaic was made on the eleventh of the monk of Loos in the year 636, the ninth year of the indiction [4th August 576]." (Cohen 1993, p.277).

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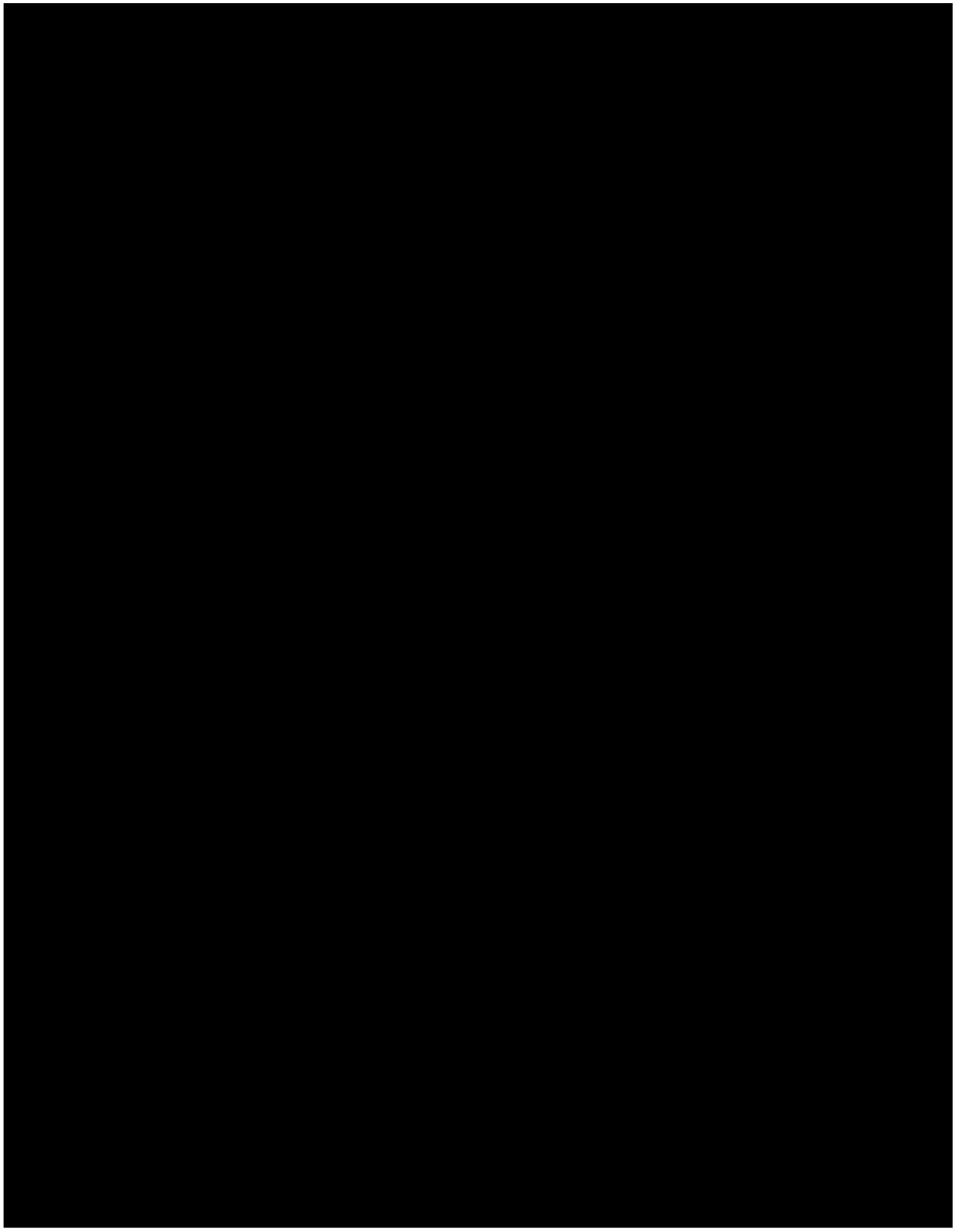


Figure 1: Plan of the church at Kissufim with mosaics (Cohen 1993, p.278).

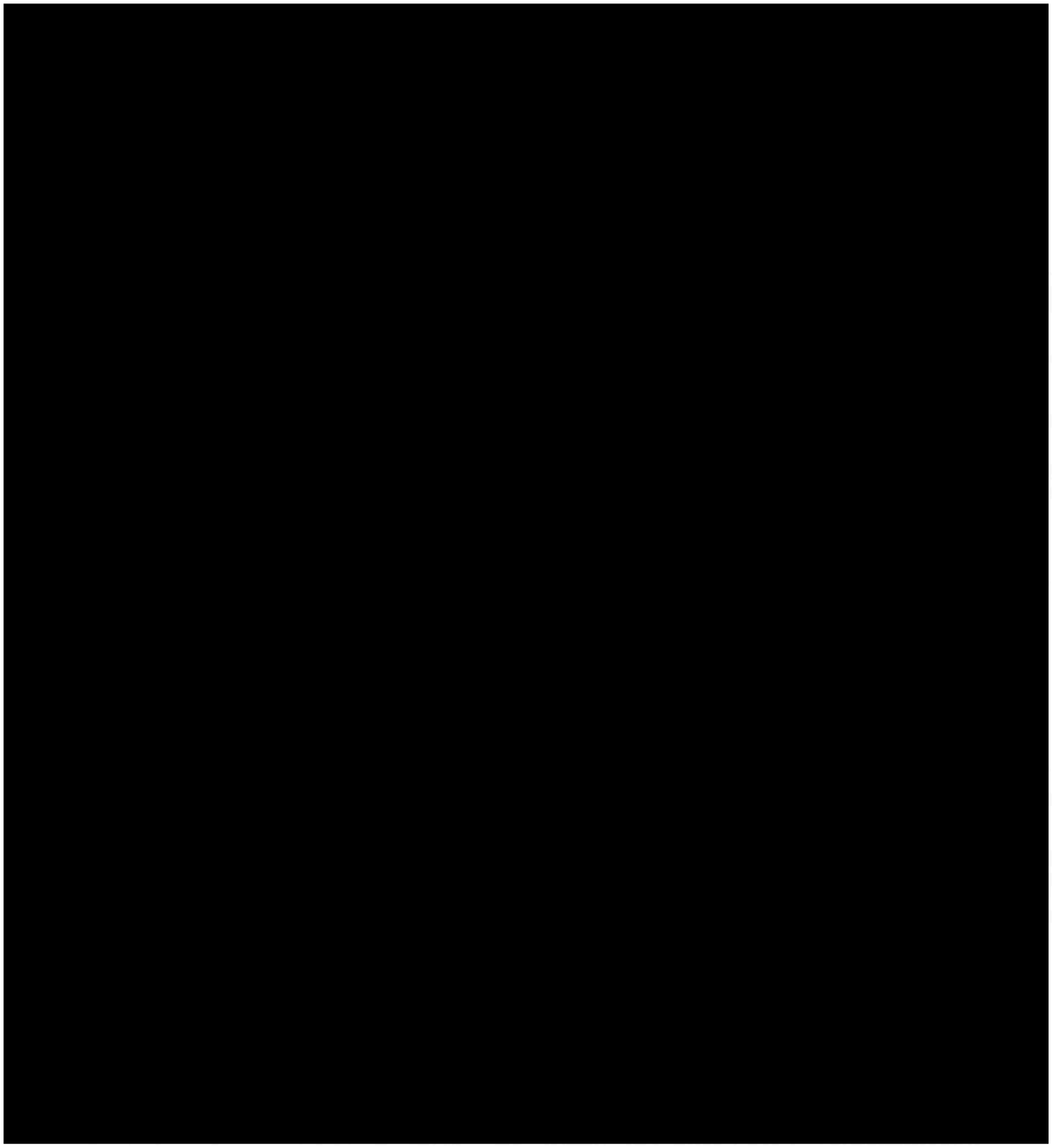


Figure 2: The surviving mosaics of the church at Kissufim (Cohen 1993, p.279).



Figure 3: Donor mosaic of Lady Syltous (Israeli et al. 2000, pp.86-87).

M9: Genre scene of a breastfeeding woman

Date: Mid fifth to mid sixth centuries
Place of Origin: Church of St Stephen, Horvat Be'er-shem'a, Israel
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The image of a breastfeeding woman is found in the mosaic of the nave of the church of St Stephen at Horvat Be'er-shem'a. The central design of the carpet has 55 populated vine scrolls arranged in eleven rows of five, filled with depictions of animals, humans, and objects such as baskets filled with grapes or fruit. In the second row from the bottom the central scroll is filled with a woman shown in a seated position breastfeeding an infant. She has her left leg propped up to support the child and feeds them from her left breast. The woman wears a sleeveless green tunic decorated with black and white *clavi*, and over her lap a pinky-white mantle. She is barefoot. She may either wear a necklace, or her tunic may be decorated with white and black at the collar. She also wears a bracelet and two armlets on her upper right arm, and earrings. Over her hair she wears a voluminous white and black striped head-covering tied with a white band in the centre. The child is shown with short cropped dark hair and wearing a sleeve-less yellow tunic. The sex of the child is unclear, however they wear a gold bracelet, perhaps indicating femininity. The mother and child do not allude to the Virgin and Christ, but to the health and harmony peaceful bucolic life. Figures from other vine scrolls on the mosaic indicate a similar context, such as a seated man playing a flute. This motif of the breastfeeding mother is almost identical to that seen in T3, which also shows genre scenes of country life. In the second row of scrolls is a donor portrait showing a standing man holding a dish labelled as BIKTOP.

Inscriptions are known from the church, but I have not been able to access their publication. On this see Vassilios 1996.

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Figure 1: Woman shown breastfeeding, image flipped (Gazit and Lender 1993, Plate 20.E).



Figure 2: Mosaic carpet of the nave of the church of St Stephen (Hachlili 2009, Plate VI.5).



Figure 3: Photograph of the church of St Stephen and surrounding structures (Gazit and Lender 1993, p.273).

M10: Genre scene of a woman carrying a basket of fruit

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Horvat Beit Loya, Israel
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable.

Description:

The church at Beit Loya was decorated with substantial mosaics which were later damaged by iconoclasts. Medallions along the eastern border of the narthex contained human and animal figures, only the upper parts of which have survived. These include a woman shown carrying a basket of fruit or flowers on her left shoulder. She wears a sleeve-less green tunic and her hair appears to be covered by a tight-fitting dark covering with a red and white band. It may however be the case that she has her hair uncovered and adorned with a white and red band.

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Figure 1: Partially preserved figure of a woman holding a basket (Alamy Stock Photo: http://c8.alamy.com/comp/CBG759/israel-shephelah-the-mosaic-floor-at-the-byzantine-church-in-beth-CBG759.jpg [accessed 15/12/2020]).

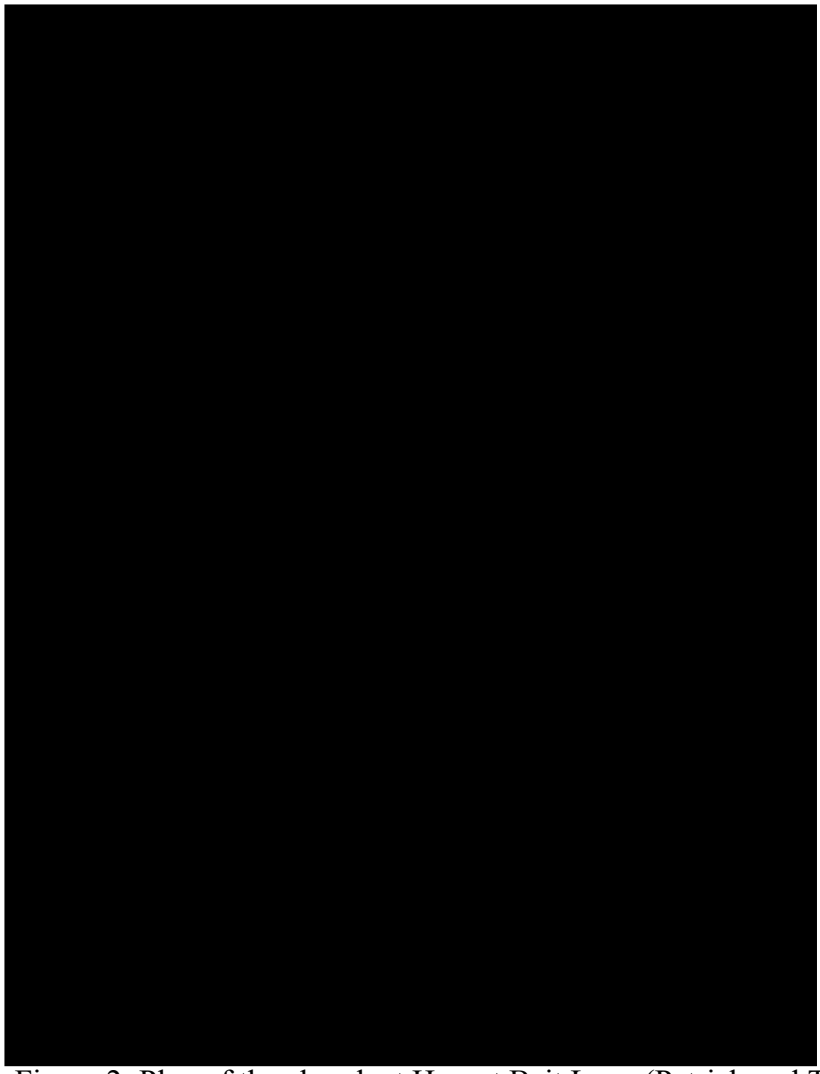


Figure 2: Plan of the church at Horvat Beit Loya (Patrich and Tsafrir 1993, p.266).

M11: Genre scene of a woman throwing a stone

Date: AD 575
Place of Origin: Church of St Christopher, Qabr Hiram, Lebanon
Current Location: Paris, Louvre Museum

Dimensions unavailable.

Description:

The motif of a woman holding a basket is found in the mosaic carpet of the nave of the church of St Christopher, which is formed of a geometric border and populated vine scrolls. The vine scrolls spring from *kantharoi* in the corners of the mosaic. The scrolls are filled with depictions of animals and people, including a wine press and a seated man playing the flute. In the top row of scrolls in the centre is the figure of a woman. She wears a long, white, sleeveless tunic decorated with black at the hem and collar, with red clavi, and belted under the bust in green. It appears she is barefoot. Her hair is covered with a black and white striped cover, secured with a white band. She appears to have a reddish-orange mantle draped over her left shoulder, in which arm she also holds a basket. Her right arm is held raised to head height and she holds what appears to be a stone. In the scroll to the viewer's left we see a predatory animal with a chicken in its mouth; assumedly the woman is about to throw the stone to rescue her livestock. This scene therefore concerns the representation of country life. A dedicatory inscription dates the church to AD 575.

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Donceel-Voûte, P. (1988). Les pavements des eglises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban: décor, archéologie et liturgie. Louvain-La-Neuve: Département d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, pp.411-420. (with further references and details of inscriptions)

Hachlili, R. (2009). Ancient Mosaic Pavements: Themes, Issues, and Trends. Leiden: Brill, p.136, Fig. VI-18.

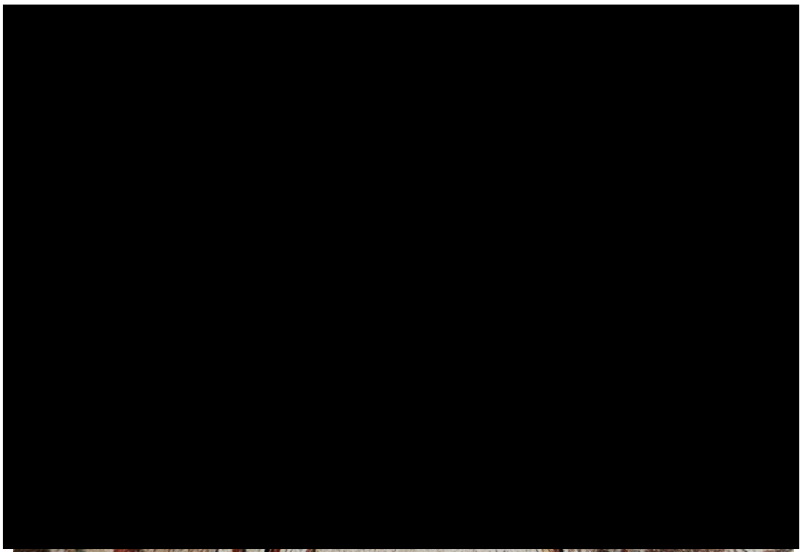


Figure 1: Detail of woman holding a basket and throwing a stone (after Donceel-Voûte 1988, Fig 403).

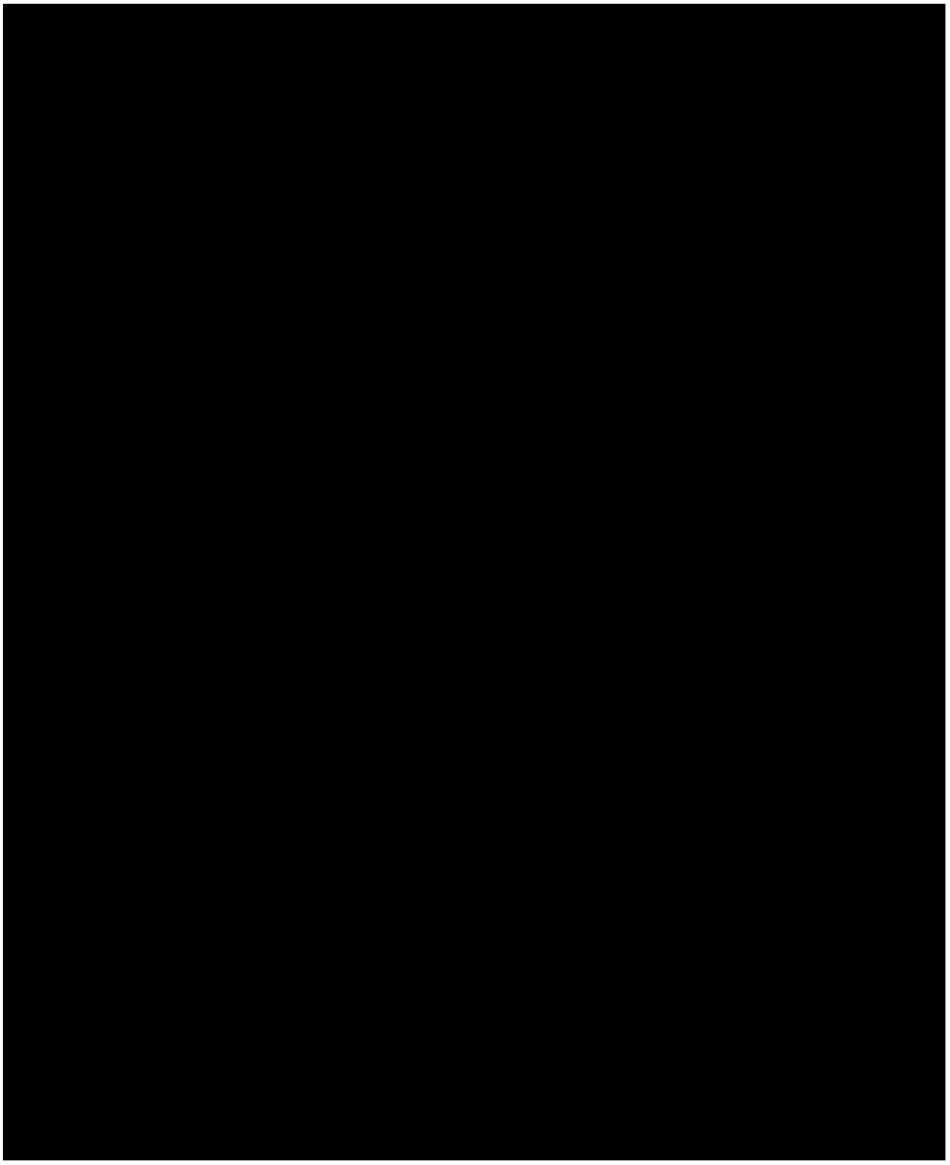


Figure 2: The mosaic carpet of the church of St Christopher (Donceel-Voûte 1988, Fig 403).

M12: Donor portraits of Theodosia and Georgia

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Jerusalem
Current Location: Istanbul Archaeological Museum

Dimensions unavailable.

Description:

The mosaic was discovered in Jerusalem in 1901 north-west of the Damascus Gate and was transferred quickly to Istanbul. Unfortunately a full excavation was not undertaken. The mosaic was located in a rectangular room 5.70 m long and 3.20 m wide, with a small apse (diameter 0.83 m) decorated with a mosaic cross, and flanked by rooms on the east side with geometric mosaics. The portraits are part of a much larger mosaic composition, which can be broken into three parts. The bulk of the carpet is taken up with a depiction of Orpheus with his lyre surrounded by animals, Pan, and a centaur. Framing Orpheus is a border of acanthus leaves filled with masks, busts, fruit and animals. Below this are five rectangular panels, two thin ones at either side, and three larger in the centre. The central of these panels contains the double portrait, the two to the sides were once covered with flat stone panels whose function is obscure. Below the panels is segment formed of interlocking circles and squares with depictions of naked hunters fighting big cats.

The function of the space and therefore the identity of the two women has been consistently debated and remains unresolved. From its original discovery the room was identified as a tomb chamber, and since has also been understood as a funerary chapel (a space with liturgical as well as burial significance). It has been noted, however, that no burials were actually found, and therefore the funerary function is rightly questioned. We cannot know for certain whether Theodosia and Georgia were deceased women buried or intended to be buried there, or donors who constructed it as a chapel or other communal space. Since there is no firm evidence that this was a funerary chapel, I understand them as donors. Some authors prefer to understand Theodosia and Georgia not as real women at all, but as personifications. There is little evidence for this, however, and since both were common names and the images conform easily to donor and funerary portraits, they are understood here as real women. While most commentators consider the space Christian, it has also been suggested that the original builders may have been Jewish or even pagan. Dating has also been debated, ranging from the second to the seventh centuries. The mosaic is, however, clearly late antique, and is now commonly (and correctly in my view) attributed to the sixth century.

The double portrait shows two women, identified by inscription as Theodosia and Georgia around vertically either side of their heads. They are separated by a pilaster wrapped with a ribbon tied in a bow. Above them is a geometric pattern which has been suggested to represent a roof (Bagatti 1952). Theodosia stands to the viewer's left. She wears red and gold shoes and a highly decorated tunic, red with black and gold ornaments. Over her tunic she wears a light blue/grey mantle. In her right hand she carries a flower. She may hold a piece of cloth or beads in her left hand but it is difficult to tell. She wears bracelets, earrings, and what appears to be a diadem in her hair. Georgia also wears a highly decorated tunic in blue, black, white, red, and gold, over which she wears a red and gold mantle. She carries a bird, perhaps a dove. She too

wears earrings, and perhaps a hair ornament as well. It is often stated that both women have a brightly coloured nimbus. This seems unlikely, however, since the colours of the "nimbi" conform closely to that of their clothing. It seems more likely that these represent stylistic veils like that of Theodosia from Antinoopolis (P1).

Inscription:

ΘΕΩΔΟΣΙΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ
'Theodosia Georgia'

Bibliography:

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Baumann, P. (1999). Spätantike Stifter im Heiligen Land. Darstellungen und Inschriften auf Bodenmosaiken in Kirchen, Synagogen und Privathäusern. Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp.210-213.

Elsner, J. (2009). Double Identity. Orpheus as David. Orpheus as Christ? *Biblical Archaeology Review* March/April 2009, pp.34-45.

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Figure 1: Plan of the complex (Bagatti 1952, Fig. 1).

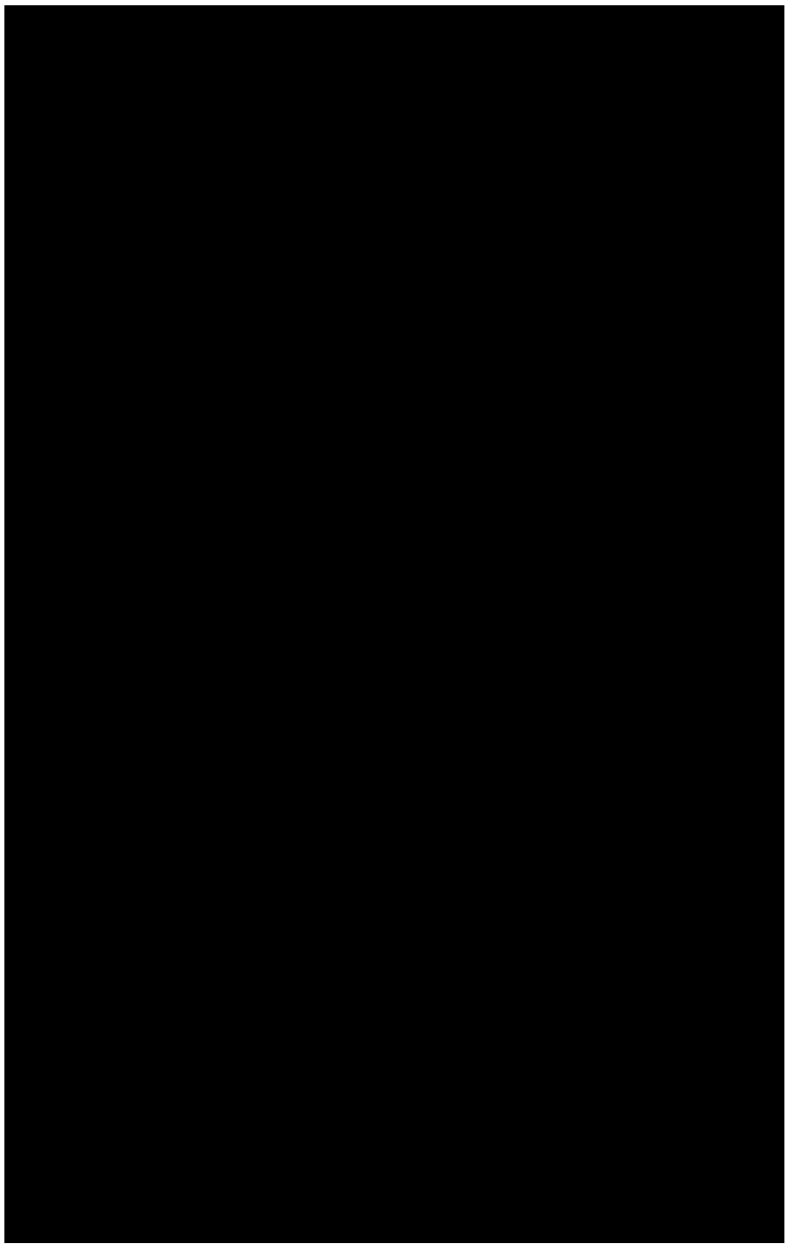


Figure 2: The complete mosaic floor, after drawing by Vincent 1901 (Elsner 2009, p.36).

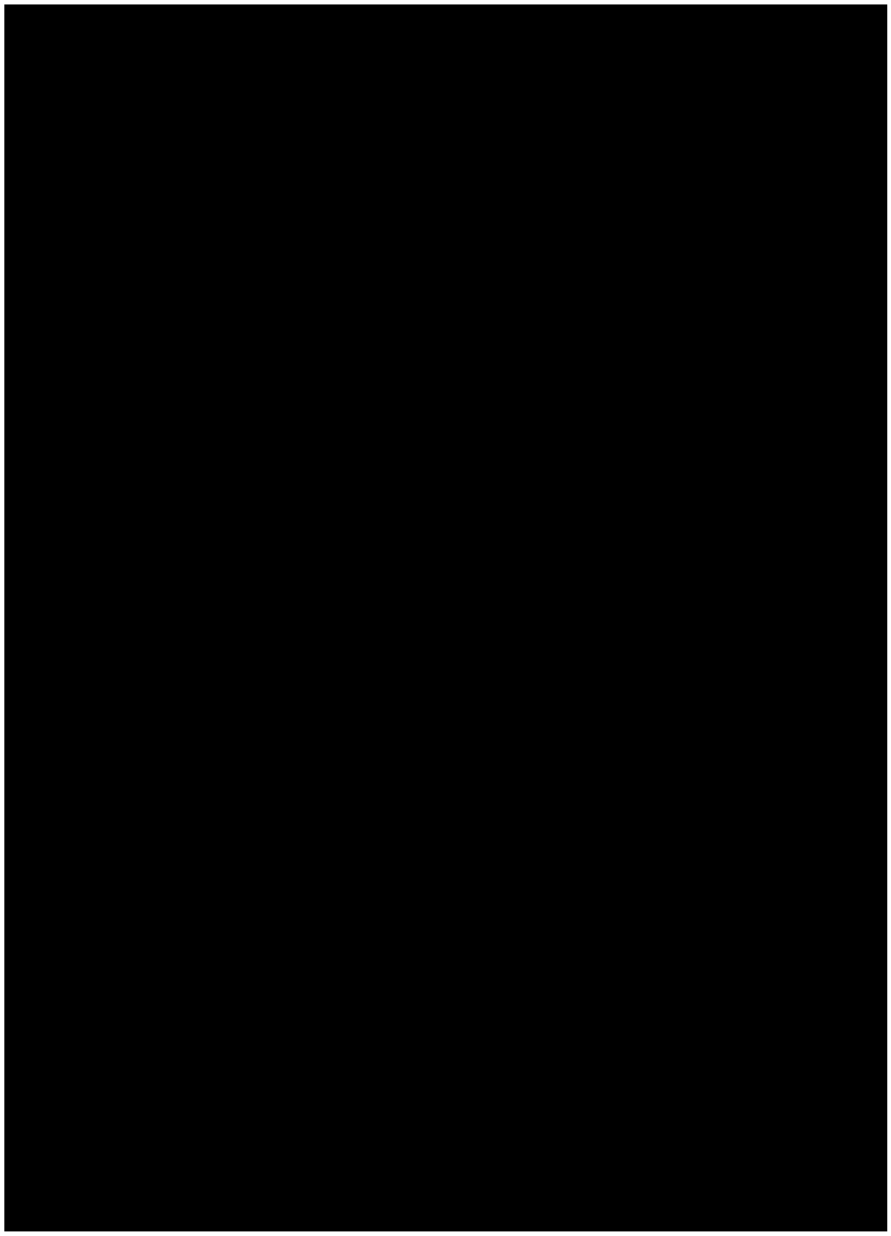


Figure 3: Detail of the mosaic showing the portraits of Theodosia and Georgia (Elsner 2009, p.41).

M13: Banquet with two women and two men

Date: Probably early fourth century
Place of Origin: Ephesus
Current Location: ?

Dimensions unavailable.

Description:

The mosaic was discovered in a house from Ephesus and likely comes from a room used for dining. The scene shows four diners reclining at a *stibadium* and drinking wine. In front of them is a table, a large crater in the foreground, and a small nude boy holding equipment for hand-washing. There is also another containers, an *authepsa*, in which water was heated to mix with wine. The diners apparently represent two men and two women, although the figure on the viewer's far right is difficult to discern. The quality of the images available unfortunately make it difficult to understand what the figures are wearing, but a male figure on the far left appears to touch a crown he wears on his head.

Bibliography:

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1993). Wine and Water at the Roman Convivium. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6, Pp.120-122, Fig 6.

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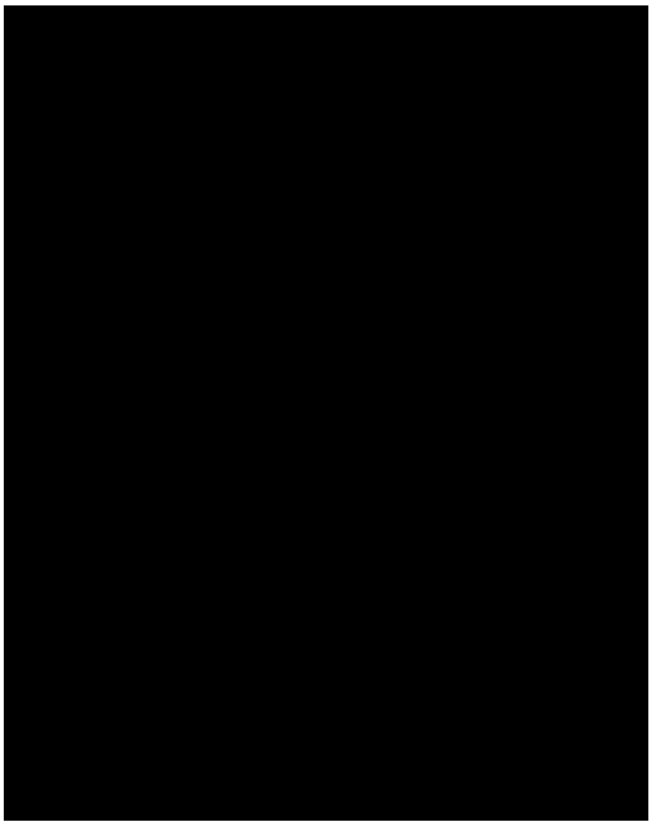


Figure 1: Mosaic of a banquet (Dunbabin 2003, Fig 97).

M14: All-female musical troupe

Date: Late fourth century
Place of Origin: Mariamin, Syria
Current Location: Hama Museum, Syria

3.80 m x 2.78 m (without frame)
5.75 m x 4.25 m (with frame)

Description:

The mosaic was discovered by accident by a farmer in the village of Mariamin in 1960. It filled the width of a rectangular apsidal room, placed in front of and slightly lower than the apse. It has a large frame consisting of populated vine scrolls depicting hunting *erotes*, foliate heads and 'green men' with season attributes. The mosaic therefore probably decorated a reception or entertainment room, perhaps a space in which real musicians performed to entertain guests.

The mosaic depicts an all-female troupe of musicians performing on a stage, assisted by two small naked boys dressed as *erotes*. The stage or podium is shown in detail, even down to individual wooden boards. The background is formed of black and white panels which may represent movable scenery. There are six members of the performing group. Moving from left to right we first have a woman in a green tunic decorated with gold and belted below the bust, playing the clappers (*crotala*). Next to her a woman wearing a white tunic elaborately decorated in green and gold plays a large organ; the boys dressed as *erotes* tread the bellows. The next woman wears white tunic decorated in blue at the collar and cuffs, belted under the bust with a red cord. She is shown holding a flute in each hand. In the centre of the composition is a woman in dark purple tunic with gold-banded cuffs and gold decoration around the shoulders and sleeves, belted under the bust with a white band. She strikes gold metal bowls with a stick, thought to be the instrument known as the *oxybaphon*. The bowls are placed on a table covered with a white cloth decorated with black *orbiculi* and a striped hem. Next we have a woman wearing a green tunic heavily decorated at the collar, sleeves, and cuffs with brown and gold, playing the *kithara*. The final performer plays the castanets, and wears a voluminous white tunic with dark clavi and a hem decorated with gold, belted under the bust. All the woman have dark hair dressed in variations of the *Scheitelzopf* and have pearl earrings. The mosaic may represent the sort of entertainment performed in the space in which it was found.

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Figure 1: Mosaic depicting a troupe of female musicians (Sean Leatherbury/Manar al-Athar).



Figure 2: Mosaic depicting troupe of female musicians (Hellenic Society for Near Eastern Studies, Photo in the public domain).

M15: Donor portraits of Maria and her family

Date: Mid sixth century
Place of Origin: Church of St Demetrios, Thessaloniki
Current Location: Lost in fire, 1917. Known from photographs and water colours

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaics were found in the church of St Demetrios, which was probably founded in the mid to late fifth century. The mosaics themselves date to the mid sixth century, with some later repairs and interventions. Unfortunately the mosaics were lost in a fire in 1917. The mosaics were located on the south front of the north colonnade, part of a series of mosaics totalling four panels. The first panel concerns offerings being made to saints, the second a couple thanking the Virgin, the third the story of Maria, and the fourth donors thanking St Demetrios. The scenes concerning Maria and her family are framed with alternating red and green rectangles on a black background with white embellishment.

The panel concerning Maria is divided into four episodes. In the first scene Maria appears as a baby, held between St Demetrios and her mother. St Demetrios is seated outside the entrance of a silver baldachin, and touches Maria – a baby in swaddling clothes – with his right hand. Maria is being held by her mother, who is presenting her to Demetrios. The woman wears a voluminous and all-encompassing green/grey mantle and what appears to be a black head-covering with a gold diadem or decoration. She may also wear a loose white veil. Christ is in the background of the scene reaching down towards St Demetrios. There is also an unidentified female saint. In the second scene Maria the infant is carried by her mother who is introduced to the Virgin by an angel. The mother is shown in a white tunic with a gold panel near the hem, and this time Maria wears an elaborate red and gold mantle fastened at the centre of her chest with a brooch. On the other side a male figure, perhaps Maria's father, is also presented to the Virgin by an angel. In the third scene Maria, her mother, and another female family member appear offering candles to St Demetrios, who is positioned in front of an architectural setting. Maria is now old enough to stand on her own, however her clothing is unclear from the watercolours. Her mother appears to wear a white tunic. Little Maria is dressed in a similar fashion, with a white tunic with a gold panel near the bottom. In the final scene Maria, along with three women and a man, approach St Demetrius. Maria offers him a pair of doves. She wears a white tunic with gold detailing at the hem and a dark green and red mantle pulled over her head. A woman standing behind Maria and placing a hand on her shoulder – assumedly her mother again – wears a white tunic and mantle with *orbiculi* near the hem of the tunic. One of the other women also wears white, while the other wears a greenish-yellow tunic with a blue mantle. Where shoes are discernible, all the figures appearing in the mosaic wear red shoes. Maria is shown with a gold cross on her forehead, perhaps indicating that she has received miraculous intervention.

Inscription:

(below episode four)
'And you my master St Demetrios help us your servants and your servant Maria, whom you gave to us.'

Bibliography:

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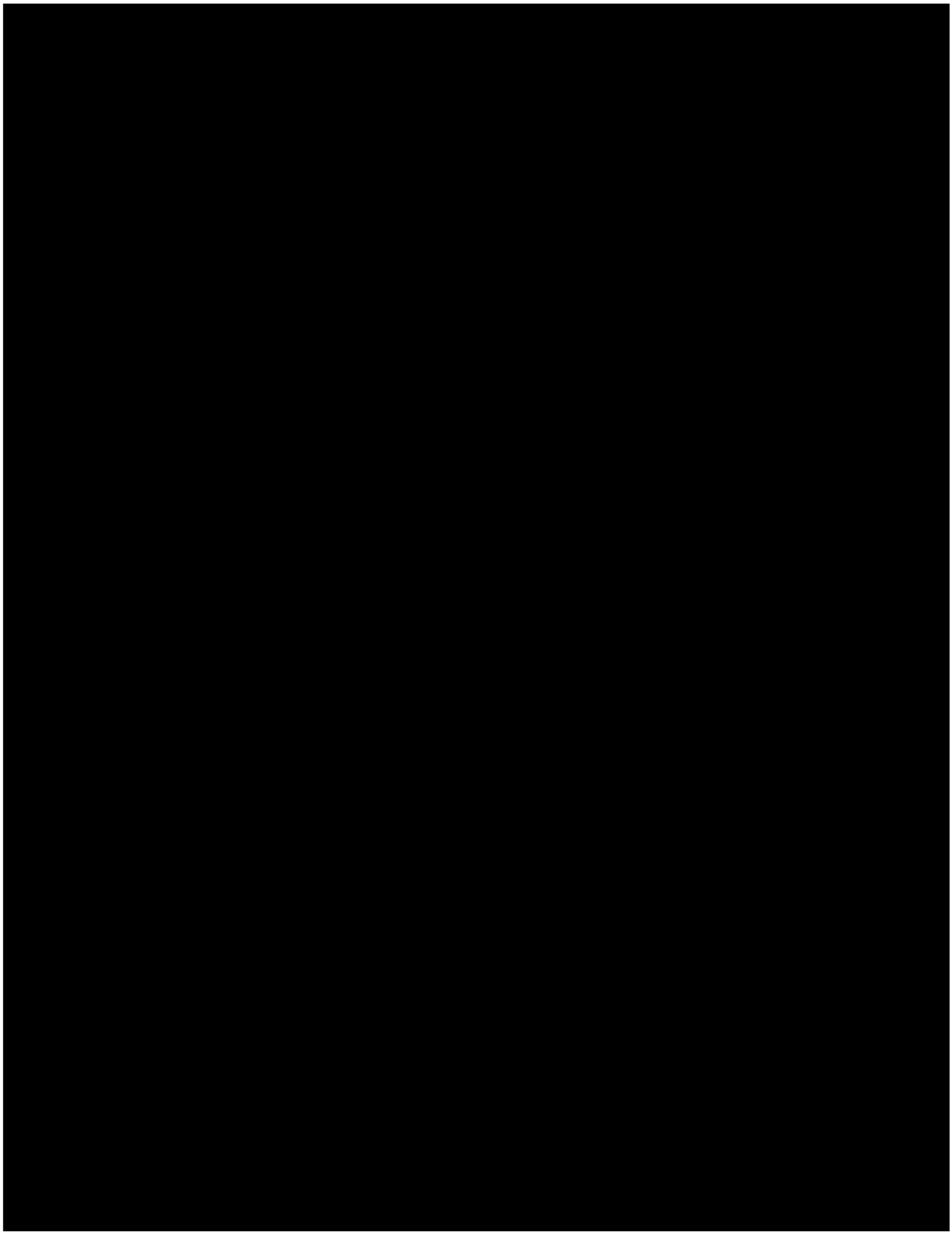
Cormack, R. S. (1969). The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki: A Re-Examination in the Light of the Drawings of W. S. George. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 64, pp.17-52 (with earlier bibliography).

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Figure 1: Photograph of the north side of the basilica, with the mosaics depicting Maria and her family visible above the arches of the second colonnade (Bakirtzes 2012, p.139, Fig.13, photo by Fred Boissonnas).



Figures 2 and 3: Water colours made of now lost mosaic panels depicting Maria and her family – Figure 2 shows scene 1 (far right side), Figure 3 shows scenes 2 and 3 (Bakirtzes 2012, p.150, Fig 27, p.154, Fig 30).



Figure 4: Water colour of final scene in concerning Maria and her family (Bakirtzes 2012, after p.149, Fig 26).

M16: Genre scenes from the Great Palace

Date: Fourth to sixth centuries
Place of Origin: The Great Palace, Constantinople
Current Location: The Great Palace Mosaic Museum, Istanbul

Dimensions unavailable.

Description:

The mosaic derives from the Great Palace in Constantinople and incorporates two genre scenes including women. One shows a woman seated on a stool, an infant on her lap, apparently about to breastfeed the child. She wears a dark tunic or mantle which is shown slipping off her right shoulder. Her hair appears to be covered by a loose greyish-blue kerchief. Her right leg is exposed as she holds the child on her lap. A dog is shown next to them, looking up at the pair. There is also a fragmentary scene of a woman carrying a large jug on her back. She wears a sleeveless red tunic and a large hoop earring.

Bibliography:

Brett, G. (1942). The Mosaic of the Great Palace in Constantinople. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 pp.34-43.

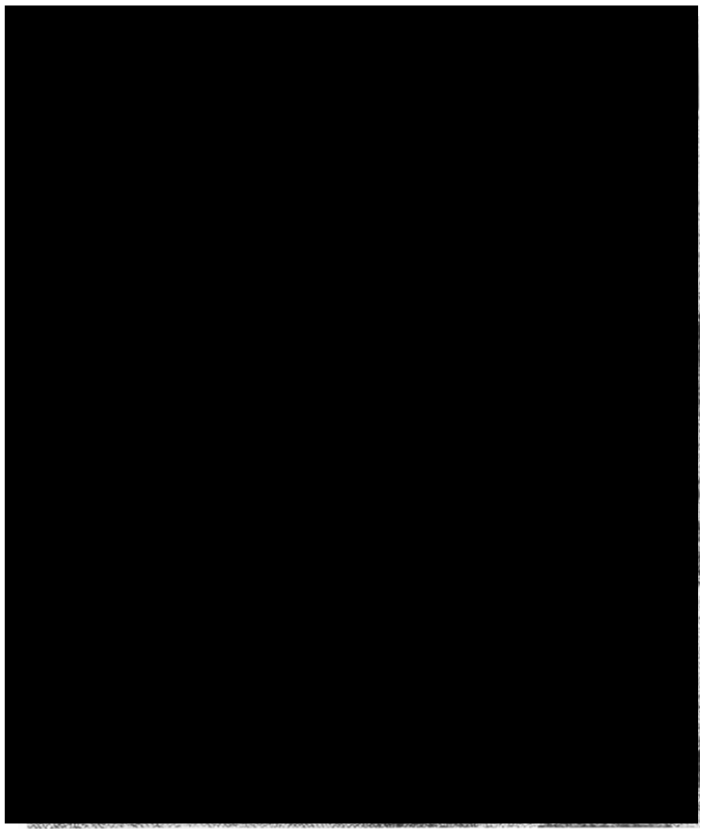


Figure 1: Woman shown about to breastfeed a child (Brett 1942, 11b).

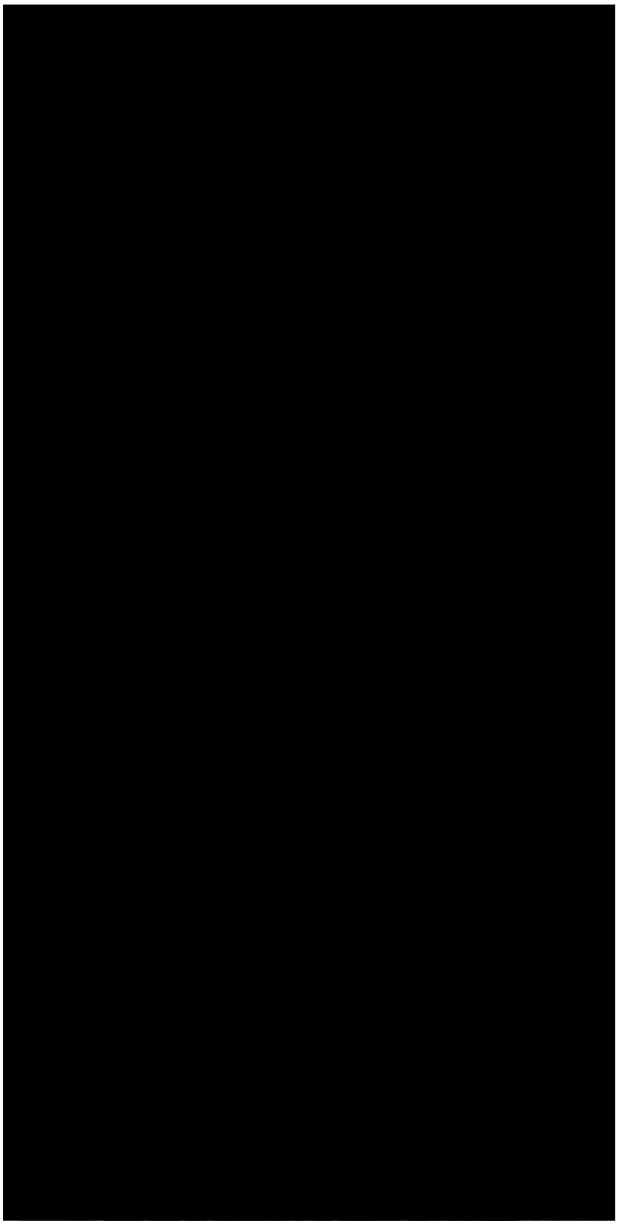


Figure 2: Woman holding a jug (Brett 1942, 7c).

M17: Procession to the baths

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is located in the entrance vestibule of the main bathhouse and concerns the *domina* and her slaves processing into the baths. The *domina* is shown in the centre, flanked by two male slaves and two female slaves. She wears a voluminous *dalmatica* in red and purple, with a large collar necklace. Her hair is dressed in the *Scheitelzopf* style. She places a hand on the shoulder of the male slave to her left. The male slaves are shown in a similar fashion, both with long hair, and wearing a short tunic and *paenula*. The female attendants both carry items for the *domina's* bath. At the head of the procession an attendant wearing a yellow *dalmatica* with red and black clavi and bands at the sleeves carries a silver box on a chain and a soft leather bag. The female attendant at the back of the procession wears a red *dalmatica* with reddish-purple clavi and bands at the cuffs. She carries a large box or chest with a tunic with dark clavi inside. In the other corner of the mosaic is depicted a *kathedra* chair and a large shell-shaped basin.

Bibliography:

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Wilson, R. J. A. (1983). Piazza Armerina. London: Granada, pp.17-20.

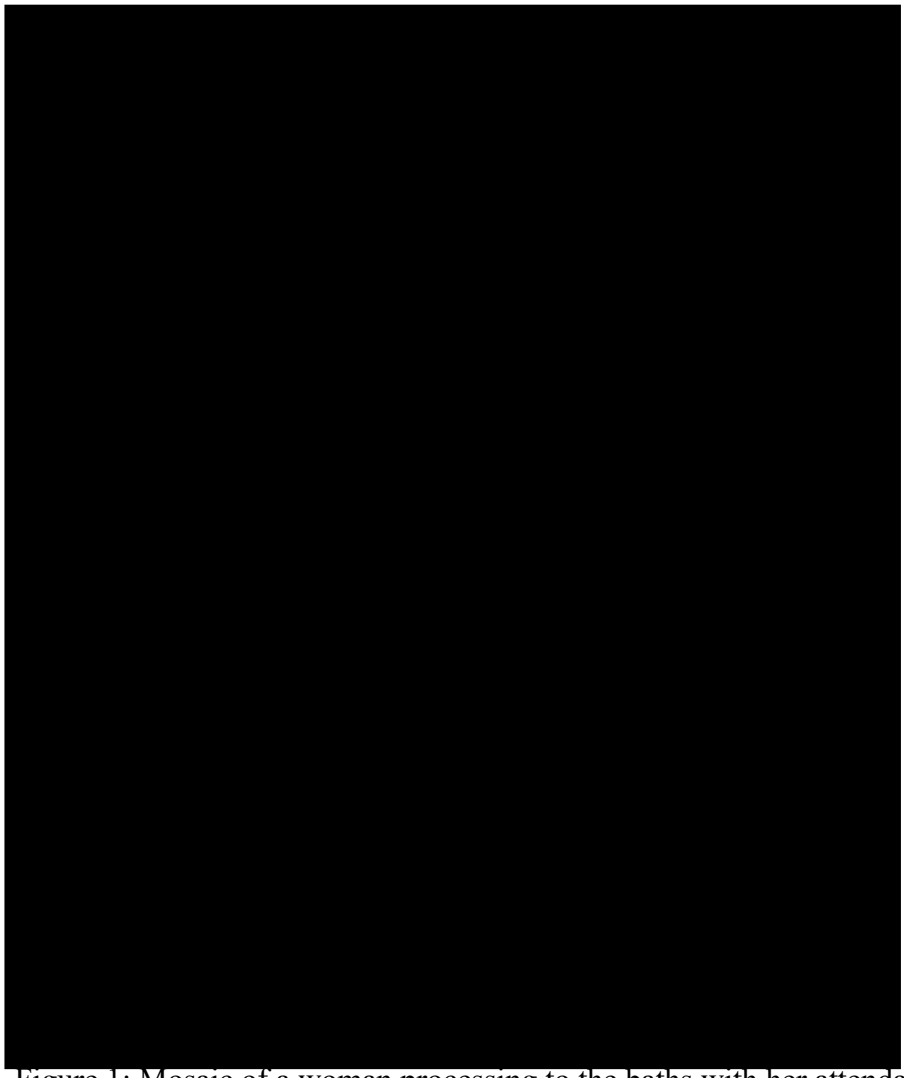


Figure 1: Mosaic of a woman processing to the baths with her attendants, from the entrance vestibule to the baths at Piazza Armerina (photo by author).



Figure 2: Detail of the woman processing to the baths (Gentili 1999, Fig 1, p.29).

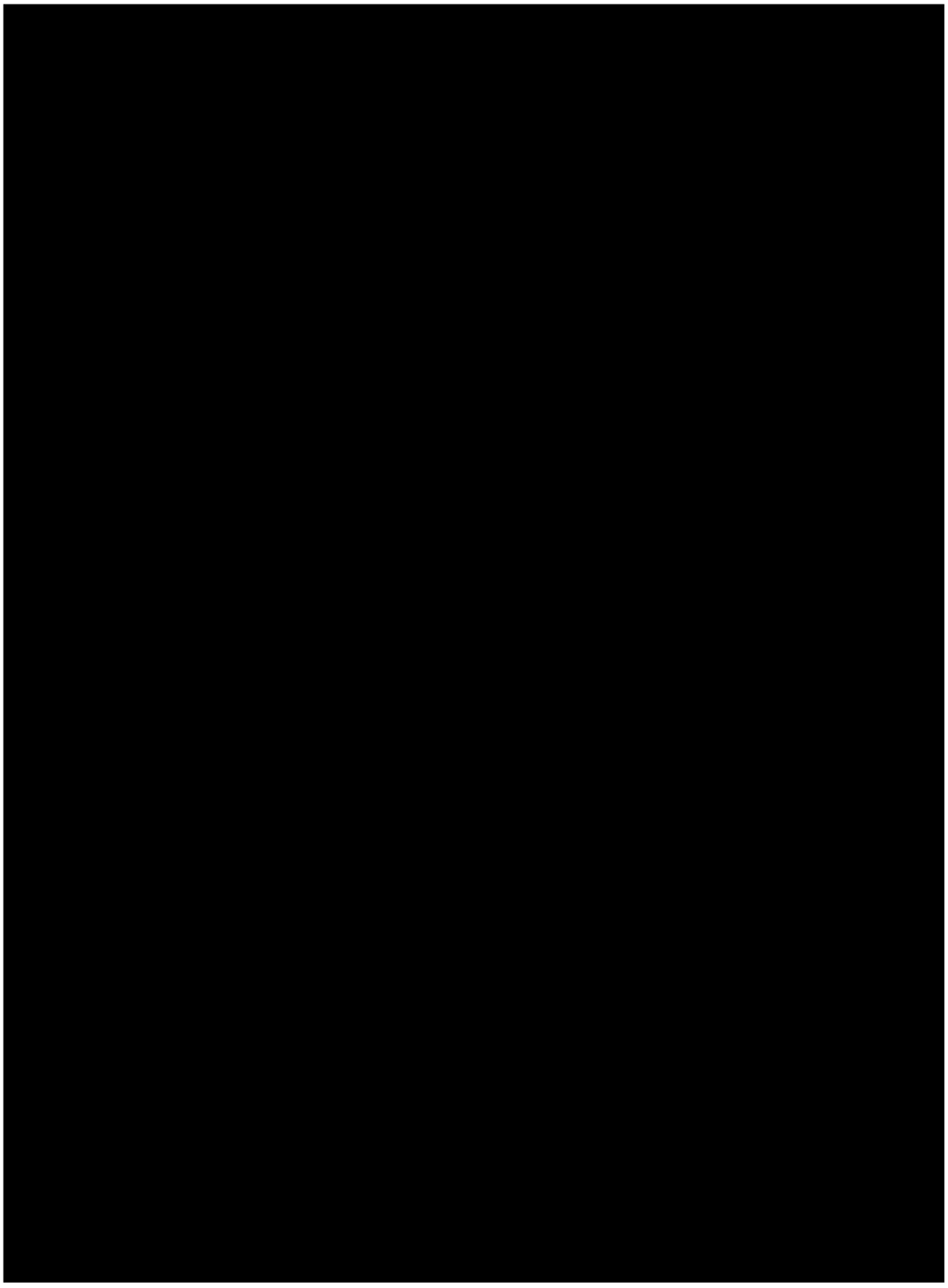


Figure 3: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the mosaic is located at number 12 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

M18: Girls playing games and erotic scene

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic come from the carpet of a cubiculum from the north east of the villa, composed of two adjoining rooms. The larger space is decorated with a mosaic carpet of geometric motifs and busts of the seasons. In the centre is a large medallion framed by a garland, in which there is a scene of a couple embracing. The woman is stood facing away from the viewer, draped in a large green and orange mantle and wearing only a red breastband. She touches the face of the male figure, who appears to be nude. He has a wreath in his hair and holds a swag and bucket. On the threshold of the smaller space are scenes of children playing ball games. On one side two young boys and the other two girls. All the children wear short tunics, the girls are distinguished from the boys by their longer held, held up in a bun at the back of their heads.

Bibliography:

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 3. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.115-123.

Wilson, R. J. A. (1983). Piazza Armerina. London: Granada, p.48.



Figure 1: Children playing (Gentili 1999, p.117, Fig.2).



Figure 2: Detail of two girls (Gentili 1999, p.117, Fig.3).



Figure 3: Erotic mosaic of a couple embracing (photo by author).

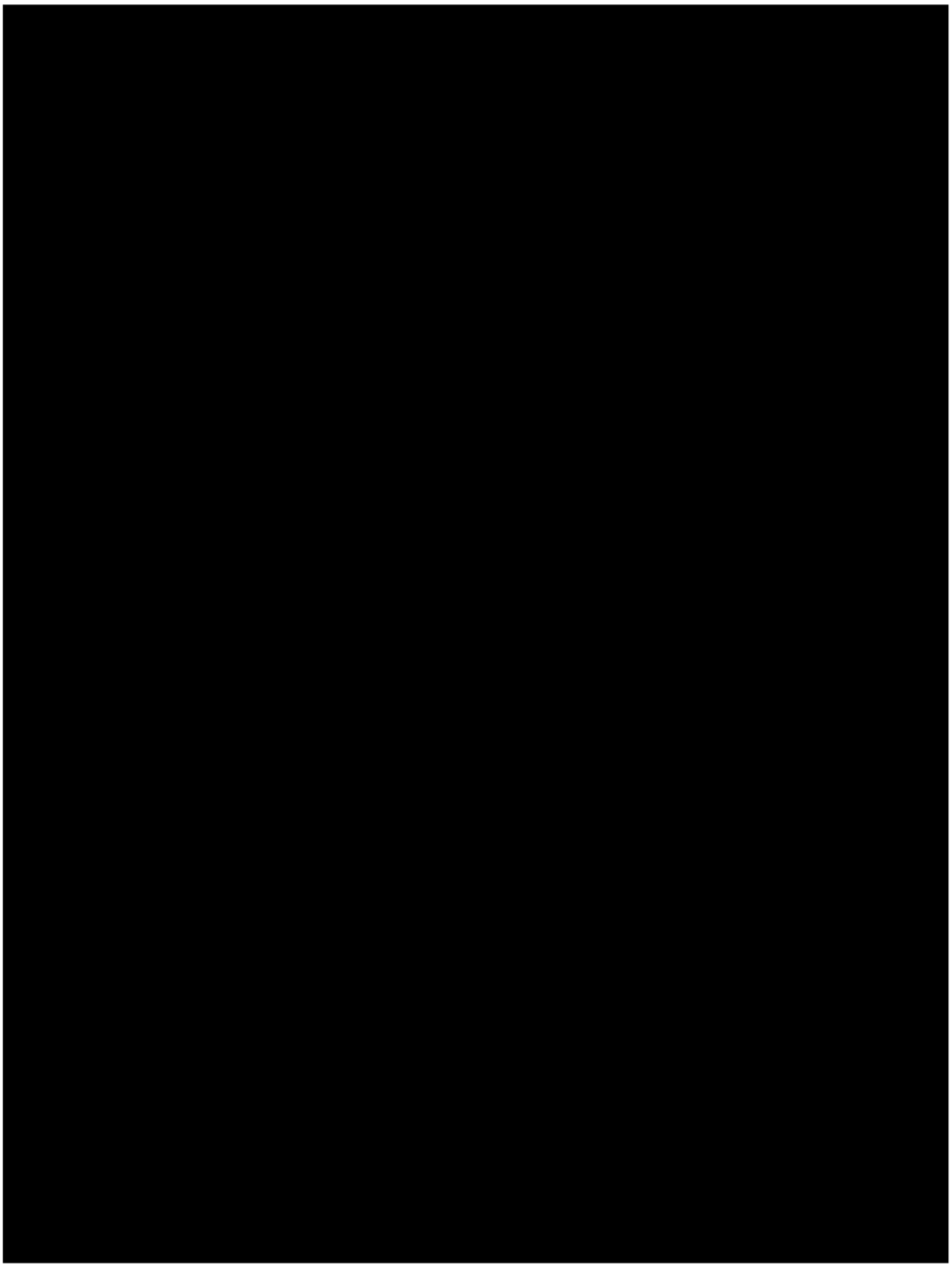


Figure 4: Photograph of the two adjoining spaces (photo by author).

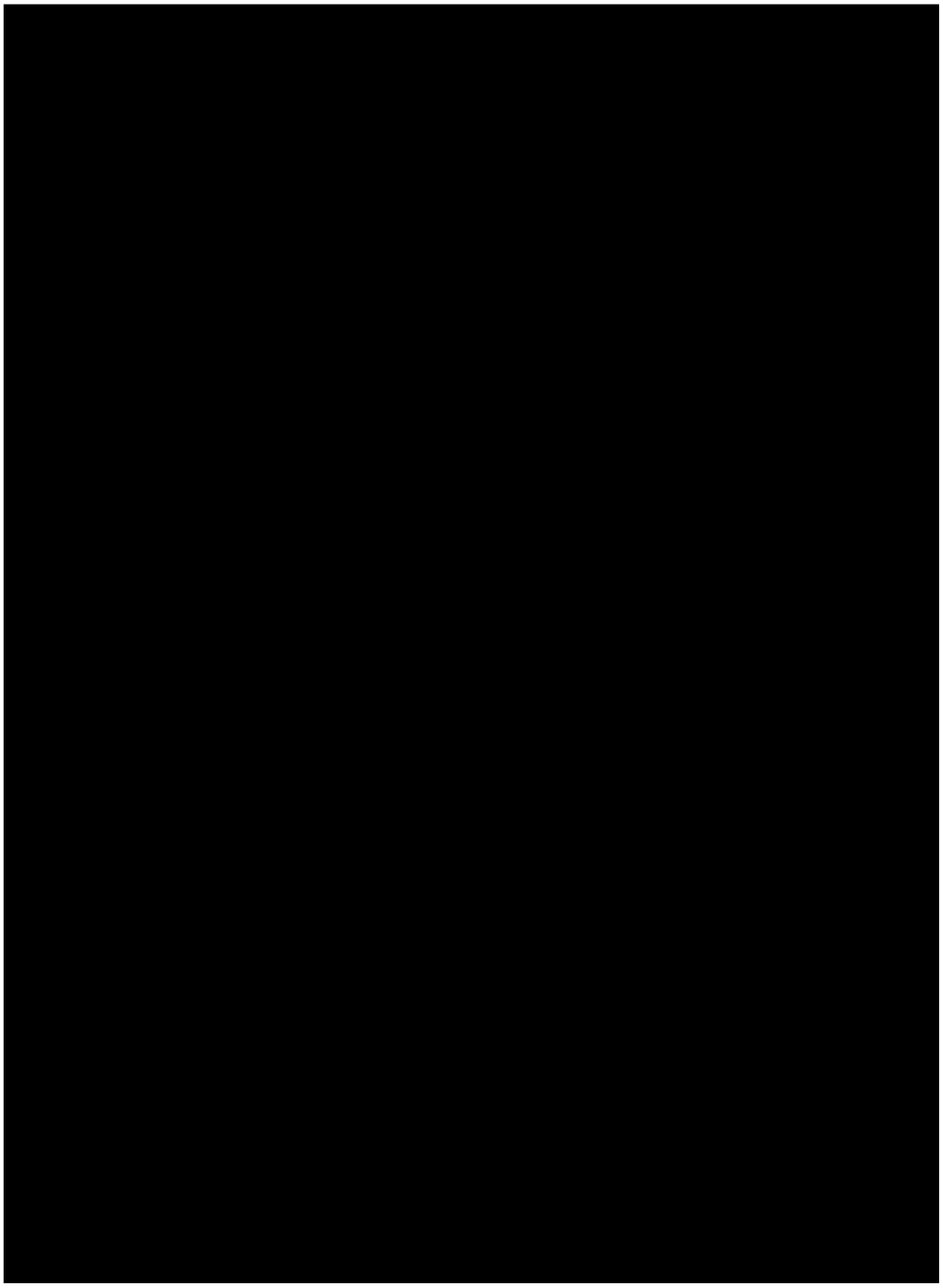


Figure 5: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the mosaic is located at number 34 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

M19: Girls competing in a pentathlon

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

Mosaic from a cubiculum on the south east side of the villa, showing ten young women competing in a pentathlon. On the top level we see five girls competing in different events, one is almost completely destroyed, one holds weights to help her with the long jump, another holds a discus and two compete in a running race. In the lower panel two girls play ball games, while one crowns herself and holds a victory branch. Another girl holds an unidentified wheel-shaped object attached to a pole, as a female figure in a gold mantle moves forward to crown her and offer her a palm branch. All the women apart from the one shown as an official in the gold mantle wear breast bands and loin-cloths.

Bibliography:

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Wilson, R. J. A. (1983). Piazza Armerina. London: Granada, p.41, Fig 21.



Figure 1: The girls competing in a pentathlon (photo by author).

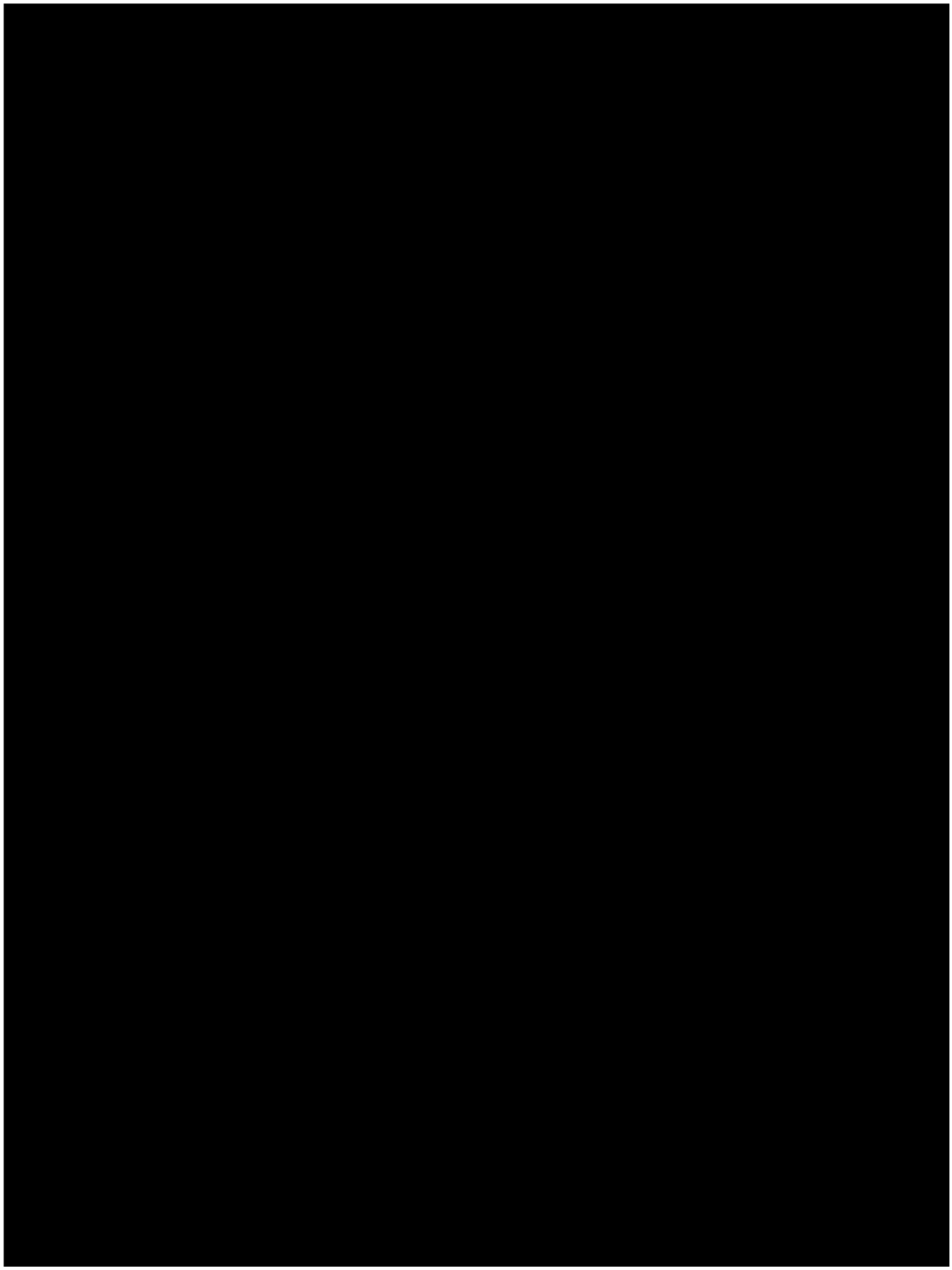


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the mosaic is located at number 26 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

M20: ‘Dancing’ couples

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is located in a room in the northern part of the villa. Unfortunately it is quite fragmentary and it is difficult to determine what it depicts. The scene is divided into two registers containing couples identified as dancing. Most figures are very fragmentary. The female figure on the far left at the top is however almost completely preserved. She wears a sleeveless blue/green tunic belted at the waist with a belt with a central gem. She also wears her hair in what may be a crown-braid, and a collar-style necklace, bracelets and earrings. A large loop of material billows out behind her, probably to show that she is moving. The couple at the top right are also relatively well preserved, and it appears that the woman is resisting the advances of the man. A partially preserved couple in the bottom register show the man lifting/carrying the female figure. It may be a representation of some kind of theatrical performance.

Bibliography:

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 3. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.34-37.



Figure 1: Fragmentary scenes, perhaps of dancers or theatrical performers (photo by author).

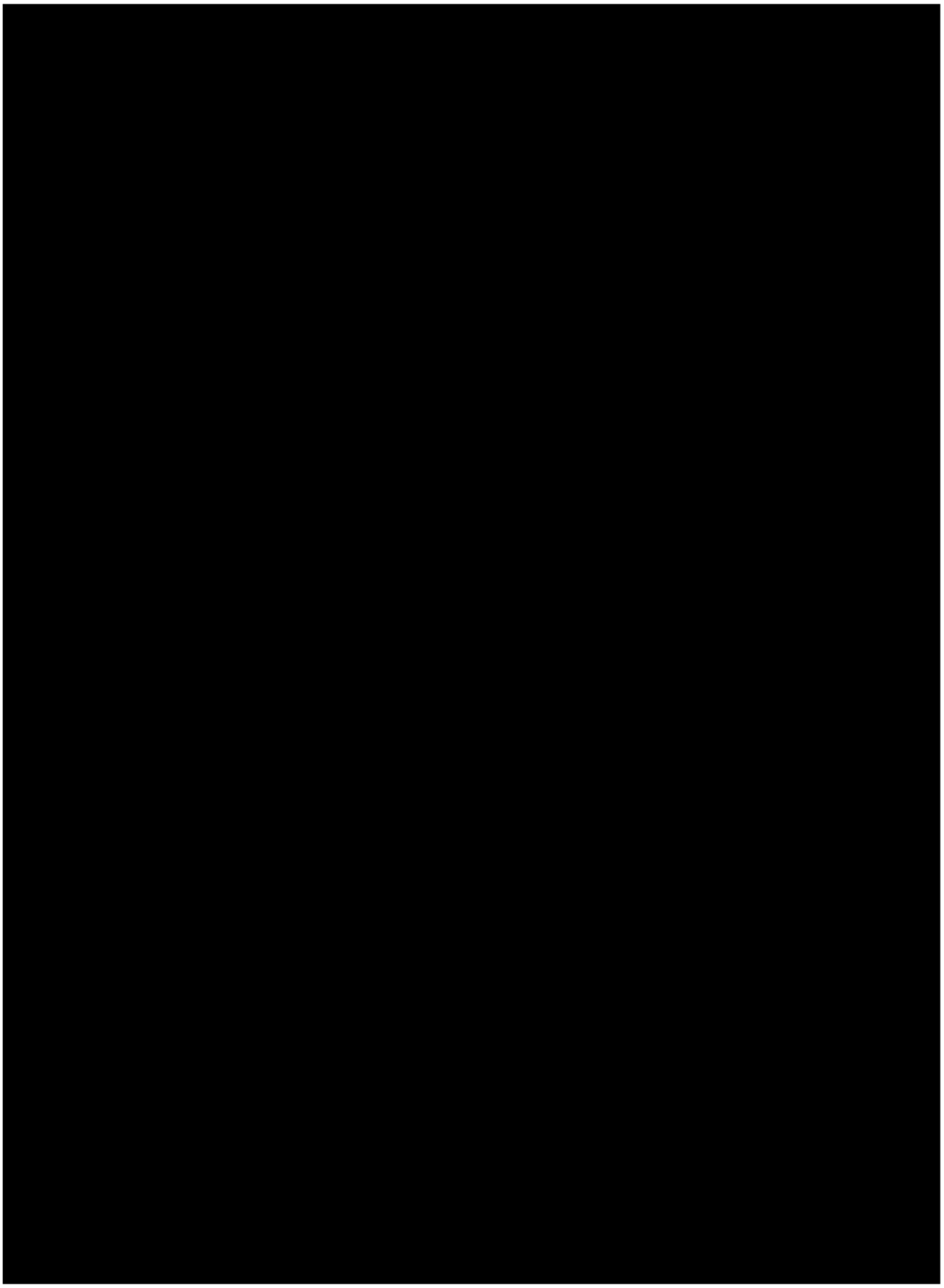


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the mosaic is located at number 18 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

M21: Female spectators at the fight between Eros and Pan

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is located in a room at the south-east side of the villa, in a small room just off the semi-circular anti-chamber. The mosaic depicts a fight between Eros and Pan, which is watched by gods and goddesses on the left hand side and by human figures on the right. Above the fight is a prize table on which are placed victors crowns and palm branches. Under the table are money bags. On the right of the contest are three female spectators and two male. The male spectators only wear mantles, but the female spectators wear brightly coloured long-sleeved tunics and mantles. They appear engrossed in the fight, one of them gesturing towards the prizes and one with her hand to her mouth.

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Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 3. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.143-147.



Figure 1: Mosaic showing a contest between Eros and Pan with spectators (photo by author).

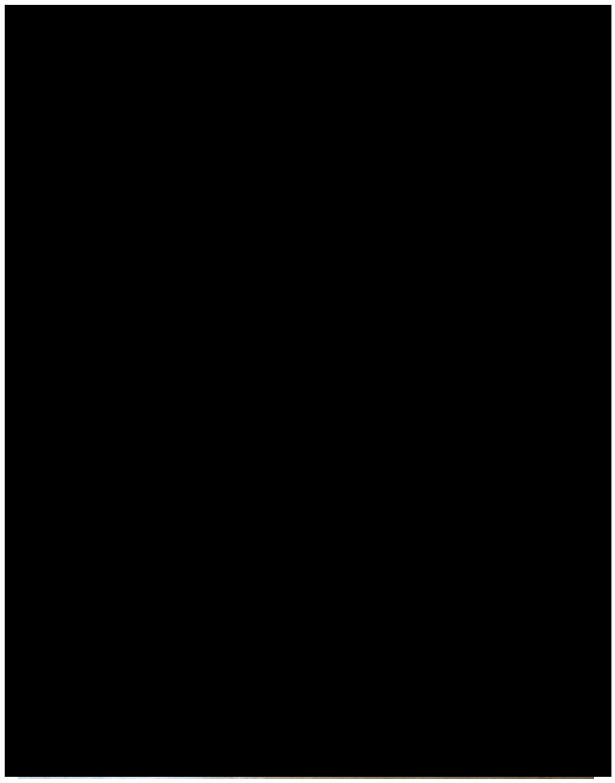


Figure 2: Detail of the mortal spectators (photo by author).

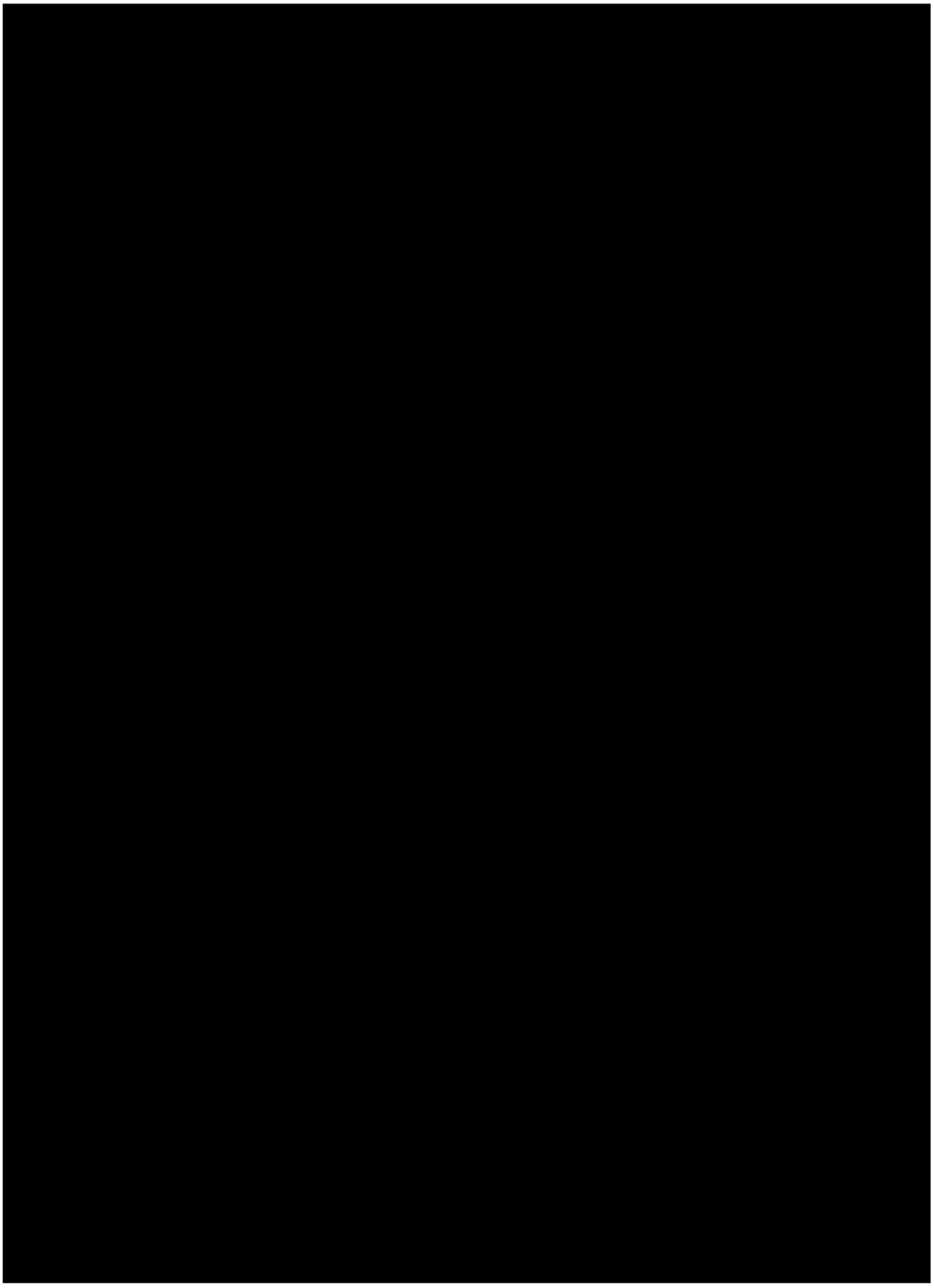


Figure 3: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the mosaic is located at number 38 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

M22: Women gathering roses and stringing garlands

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is located in a cubiculum in the south-east of the villa, directly adjacent to the mosaic of the fight between Eros and Pan (M21). The main part of the carpet is decorated with scenes of boys hunting animals. The mosaic we are concerned with is located in a smaller space to the east end of the room and is divided into three registers. The top register shows two female figures gathering roses from rose bushes, one of them carries a basket of roses. Both wear *dalmaticas,* one green and one yellow. The figure on the left side looks significantly younger than the woman on the right. In the middle register one woman is seated stringing roses from a basket onto garlands attacked to a tree branch, while another woman carries baskets of roses to her. Both wear *dalmaticas* with wide sleeves, one yellow and the other pink. In the bottom register a young man carries rose baskets on a long staff he carries over his shoulders. The motif of the woman stringing roses onto garlands is very similar to that from the Muse Casket (S2) and the mosaic from the Constantinian Villa at Antioch (M1).

Bibliography:

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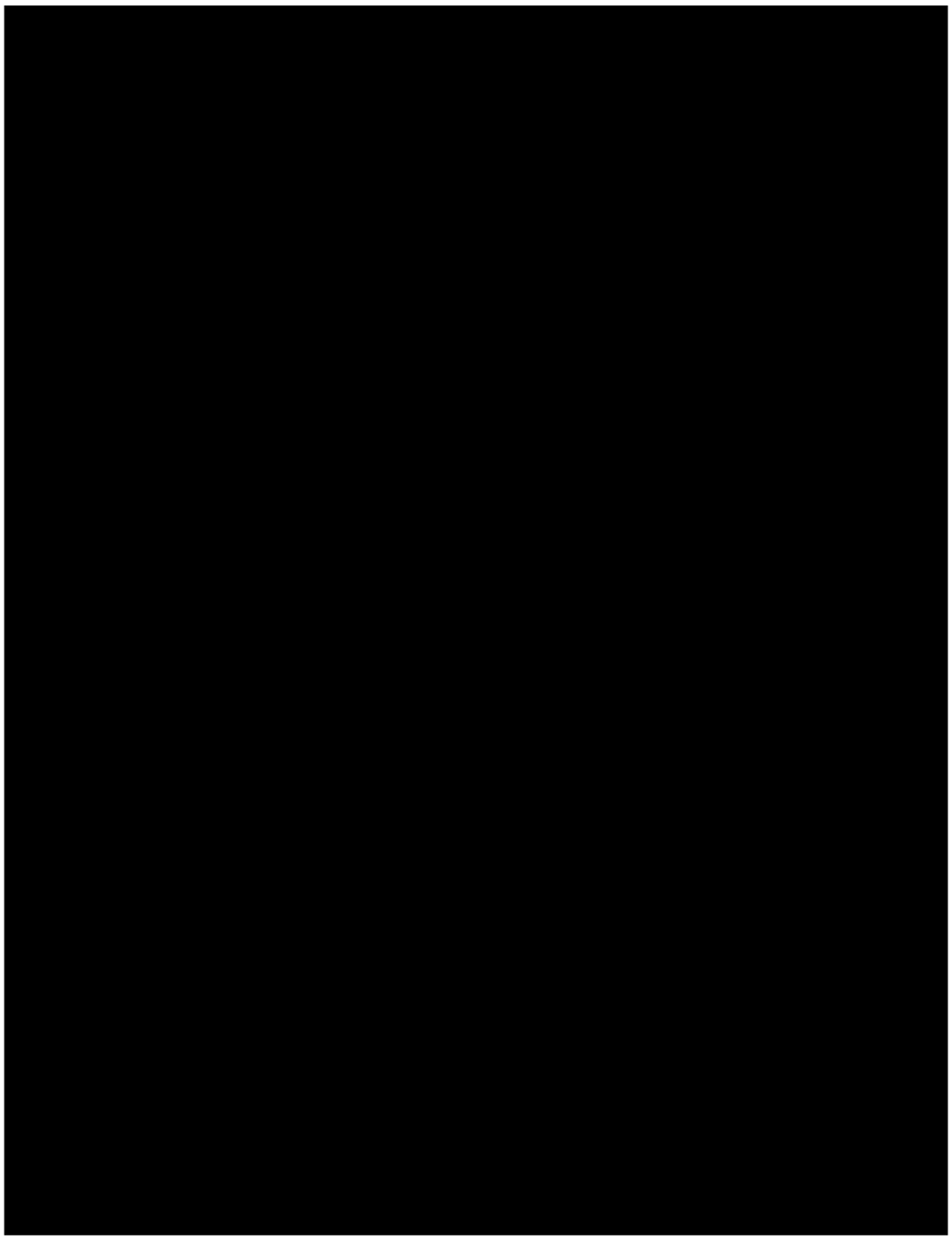


Figure 1: Photograph showing the large room with mosaics of rose gathering and boys hunting (photo by author).



Figure 2: Detail of women gathering roses and stringing garlands (photo by author).

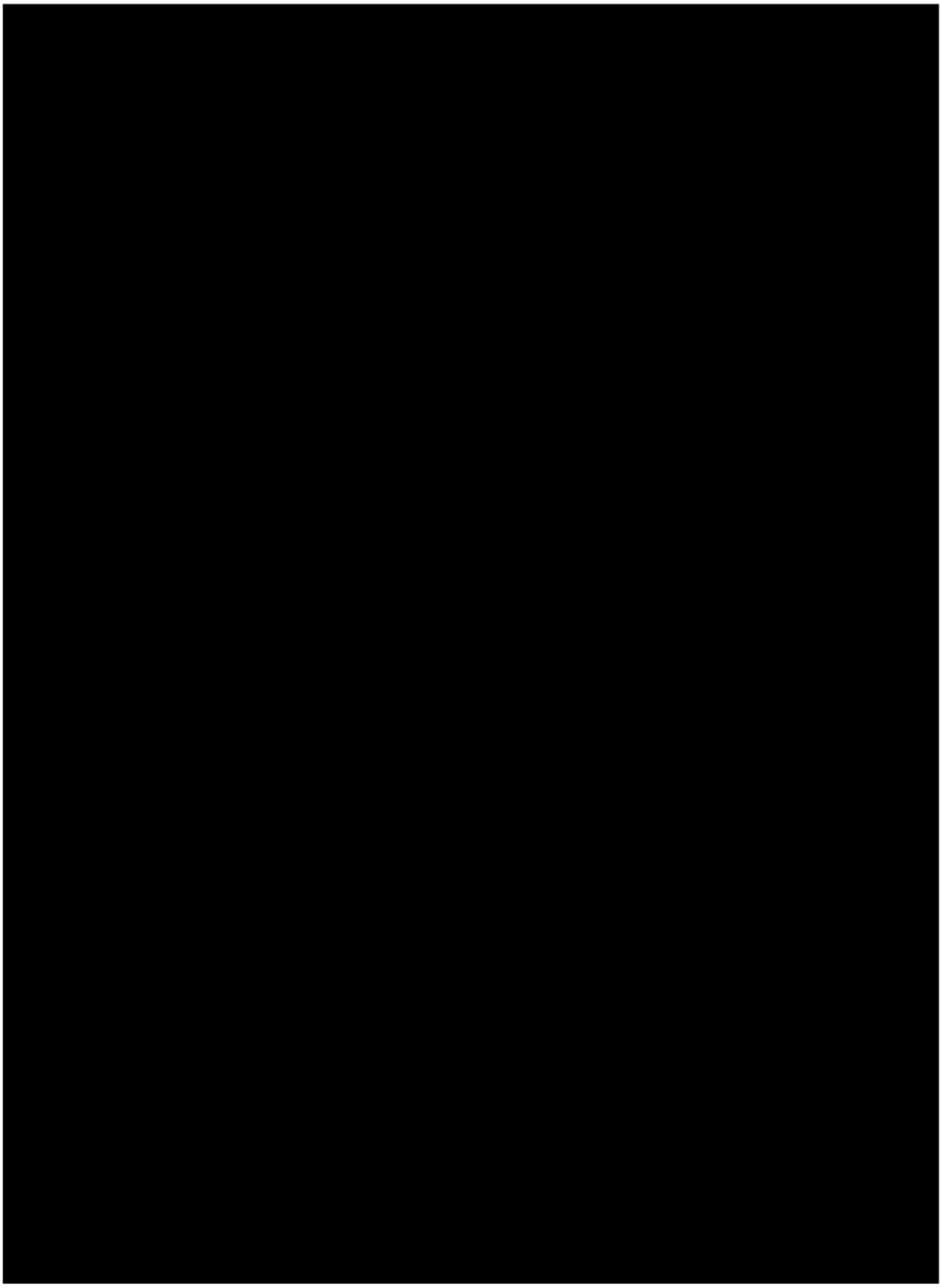


Figure 3: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the mosaic is located at number 39 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

M23: Musical contest and women making crowns

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is found in an apsidal room at the south-east side of the villa. The rectangular body of the room is decorated with fragmentary scenes of a musical contest across three registers. It is possible that some of these figures are female and therefore represent female competitors, however the fragmentary nature of the mosaic makes it difficult to tell for certain. On the threshold between this space and the apse is a table on which is placed money bags, victors' crowns, wreaths, and victors' palms. In the apsidal space is a scene of two women seated next to a tree making flowered crowns from baskets of roses at their feet.

Bibliography:

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 3. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.161-167.



Figure 1: Detail of the mosaic showing women making crowns with roses (photo by author).

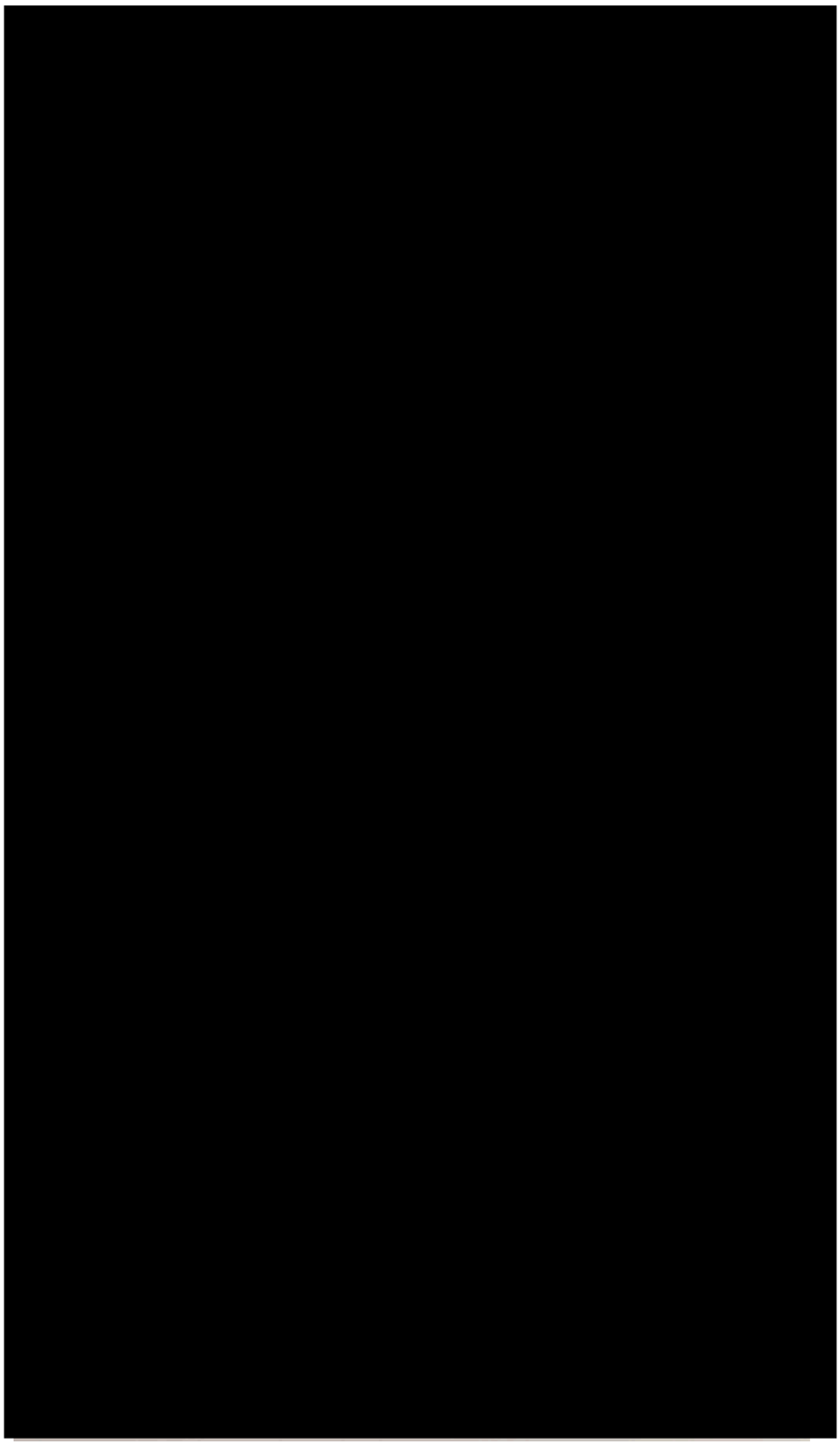


Figure 2: Drawing of the mosaic of the musical contest and crown-making (Gentili 1999, p.162, Fig 1).

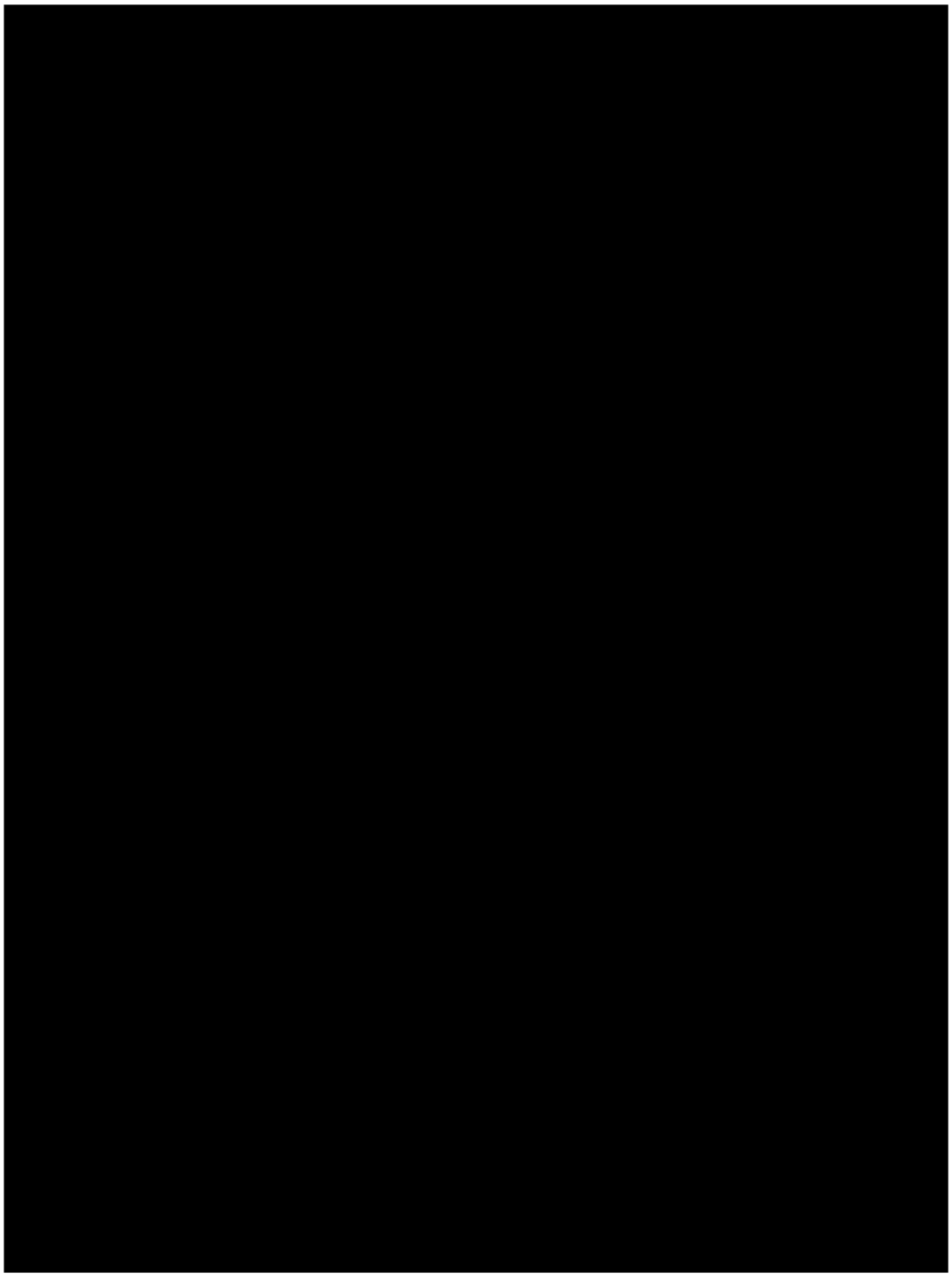


Figure 3: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the mosaic is located at number 41 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

M24: Genre scenes from the Episcopal Basilica at Aquileia

Date: Second decade of the fourth century
Place of Origin: Episcopal Basilica, Aquileia
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic floor of the southern hall of the episcopal basilica complex Aquileia is divided into ten panels: one panel spans the width of the presbytery and depicts a seascape with scenes from the story of Jonah, the rest of the carpet is divided into nine panels organised in three rows of three. The central panel of the first row, directly abutting the presbytery mosaic, is made up of twenty octagons populated with figures of birds or people. A central square panel contains a depiction of a winged victory holding a crown and victor's palm branch. Of the human figures seven are preserved, of which five are women. The figures represent individual genre-style motifs, typical of those found elsewhere in the late antique world.

Three of the octagons show women with roses: in one the woman holds a basket of roses in her right hand and a rose garland in her left and in the other show holds a long staff in her left hand over the back of her shoulders on which is balanced a basket of roses, and a rose garland in the right hand. Note that Menis 1965 identifies this latter woman as an itinerant doughnut seller, however the red colour of the flowers and their similarity to other depictions of rose garlands make this very unlikely. Both women are shown wearing long *dalmatica* tunics with clavi. Another woman stands next to a large basket or vase full of roses. She pulls one out of the vase with her right hand and holds another rose by its stem in her right. She wears a sleeveless tunic girt under the bust and at the hips. One octagon depicts a woman with raised arms holding a bird who appears about to fly away. She is shown in a sleeveless girt tunic similar to the woman with the vase of roses. The last of the female figures is shown holding oversized bunches of grapes on the vine in each hand. She also wears the sleeveless tunic familiar from the previous scenes. The actions of the two preserved male figures are unclear, they are both shown reaching into some kind of basket or container placed next to them.

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Menis, G. C. (1971). Nuovi studi iconologici sui mosaici teodoriani di Aquileia. Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, pp.27-35.

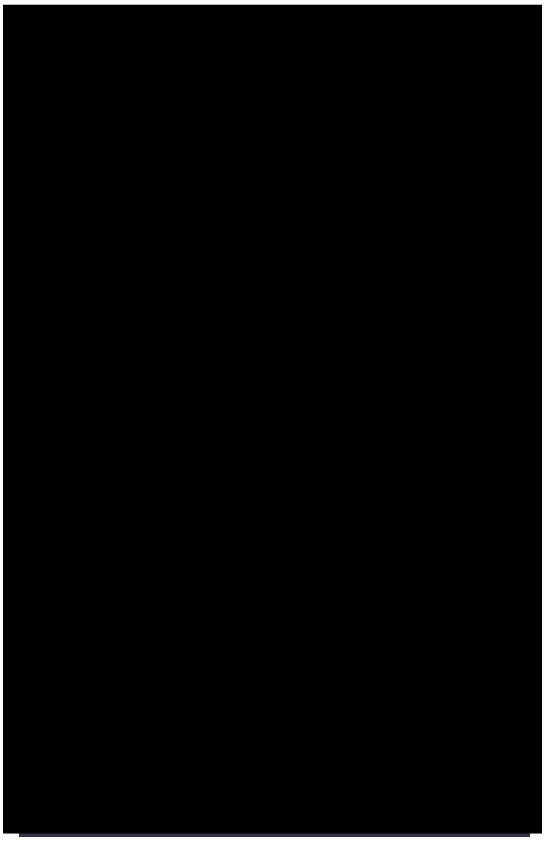


Figure 1: Woman holding/releasing a bird (Tuul and Bruno Morandi/Alamy Stock Photo).

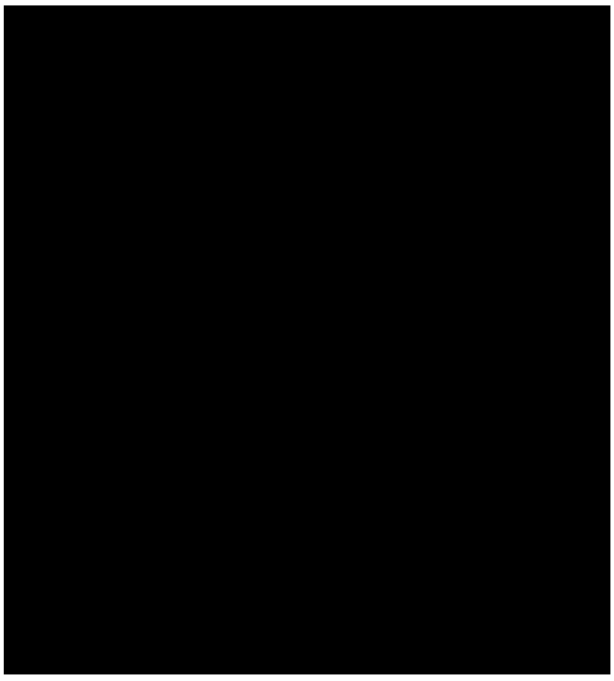


Figure 2: Woman holding grapes (Menis 1965, Tav 17).

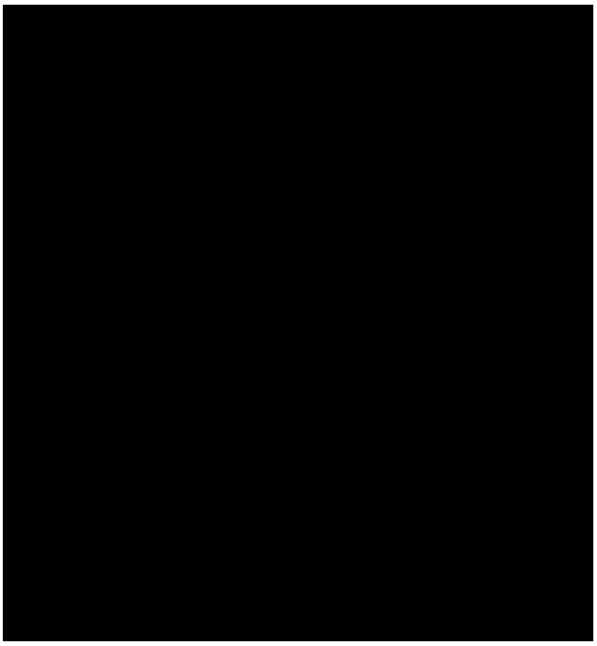


Figure 3: Woman with a vase full of roses (Menis 1965, Tav 60).



Figure 4 (left): Woman with a rose garland and a basket of roses (Menis 1965, Tav 58).
Figure 5 (right): Woman with a rose garland and basket of roses (Getty Images).

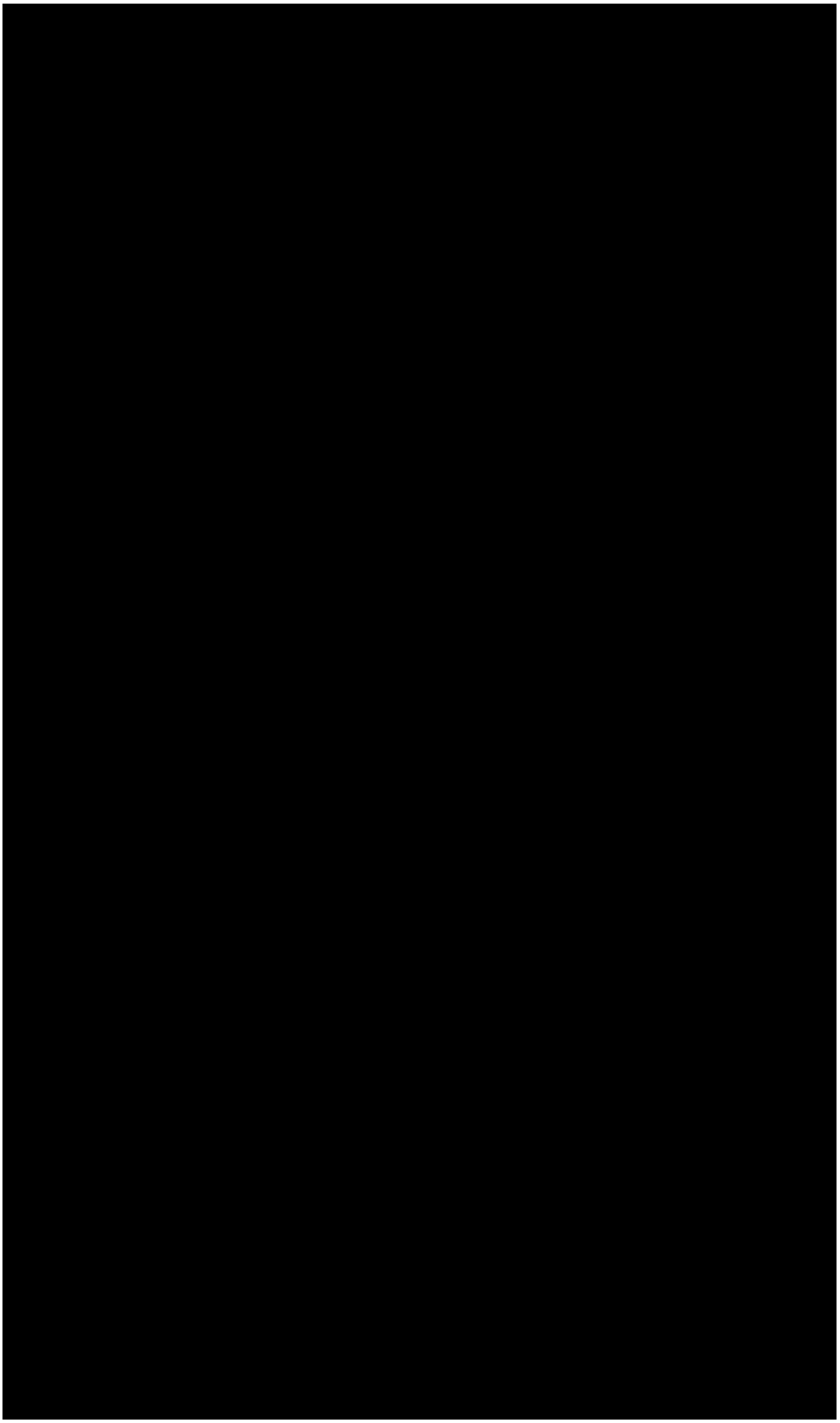


Figure 6: The mosaic carpet of the southern hall (Kähler 1962, Fig 15).

M25: Donor portraits from the Episcopal Basilica at Aquileia

Date: Second decade of the fourth century
Place of Origin: Episcopal Basilica, Aquileia
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable.

Description:

The mosaic floor of the southern hall of the episcopal basilica complex Aquileia is divided into ten panels: one panel spans the width of the presbytery and depicts a seascape with scenes from the story of Jonah, the rest of the carpet is divided into nine panels organised in three rows of three. Three of these panels bear portrait busts. In the north-west corner we find four female busts, in the adjacent panel four male and one female, and in the central panel four women and a man.

The panel in the north-west corner of the basilica is decorated with octagons and interlocking geometric shapes. Inside the octagons are birds, fish, and knotted patterns, and four female portraits at each of the corners of the panel (Figs 1-4). The four female figures are shown in a broadly similar fashion with small adjustments of face shape, expression, an hair style to indicate individuality. All four wear a blue tunic with dark red-purple clavi and a necklace with a medallion. None has their hair covered; all have dark hair in a variety of styles.

In the panel directly adjacent to the south is a complex pattern of octagons, squares, and crosses. Twelve square panels contain depictions of knotted patterns, birds, and people. Four male busts and a central female bust are found in five of these square panels (Figs 5-9). Two of the male figures wear the toga *contabulata* and two a tunic with *paenula*. All four have short hair and are un-bearded. The central female figure wears a pinky-red tunic with dark clavi and a loose yellow veil over her dark hair.

The central panel of the mosaic carpet is made up of circles and star-burst shapes containing the depictions of people, birds, and fish. Seven of the surviving circular panels contain human busts, two of which bear the appropriate attributes of seasons. The other two were probably once present in the spaces now destroyed by the presence of columns. The other human busts concern four female figures and a central male figure (Figs 10-14). The man is shown in a dramatic three-quarter pose, clean shaven, and wearing the toga *contabulata*. The four female figures are all shown in a similar but carefully individualised fashion. One wears her a dark green tunic with dark clavi edged in gold. She wears her hair loose over her shoulders and what appears to be a gold head-band (although this may represent a braid of hair). Another wears a light green and gold tunic with dark clavi embellished with gold. She has hair styled in what may be the *Scheitelzopf* style and also wears what appears to be a hold headband. The third figure wears a green and gold tunic with dark clavi. Her hair also appears to be in the *Scheitelzopf* style, with highlights picked out in the hair across her forehead, and what appears to be a dark band of hair running across the crown of her head. The final figure wears a green tunic with dark clavi and a matching loose veiled over her dark hair. She also appears to wear earrings.

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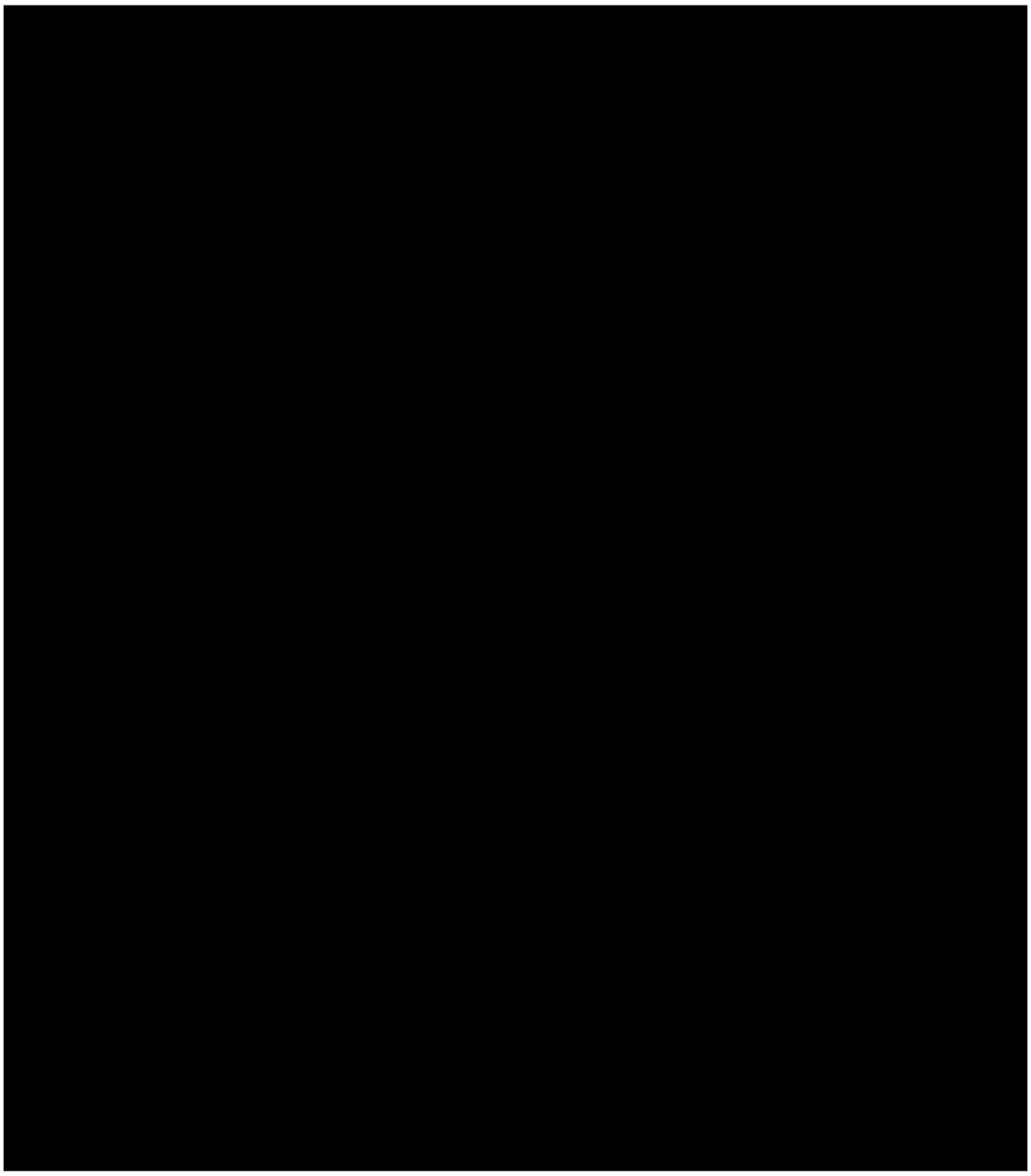
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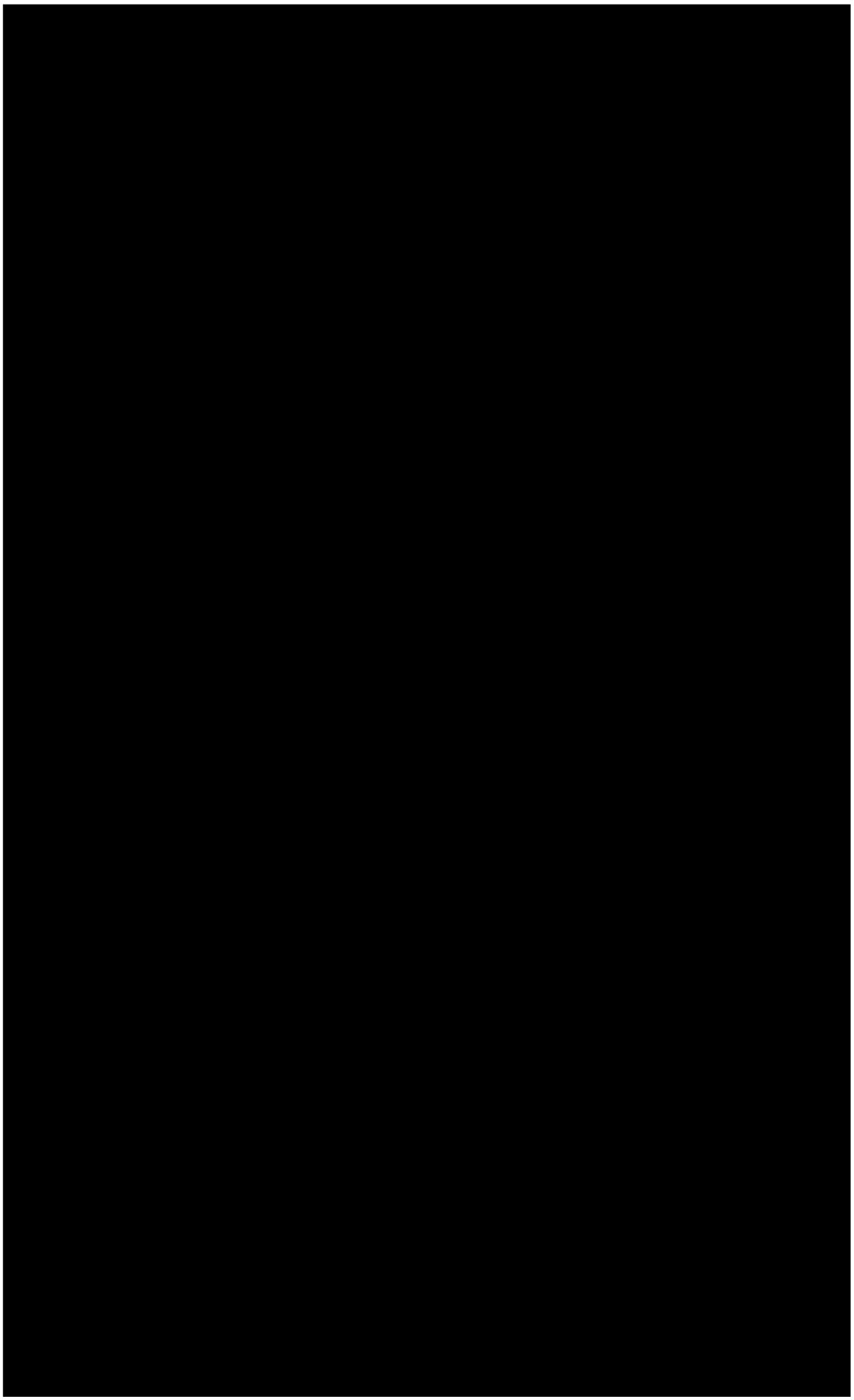
Menis, G. C. (1965). I mosaici cristiani di Aquileia. Udine: Del Bianco.

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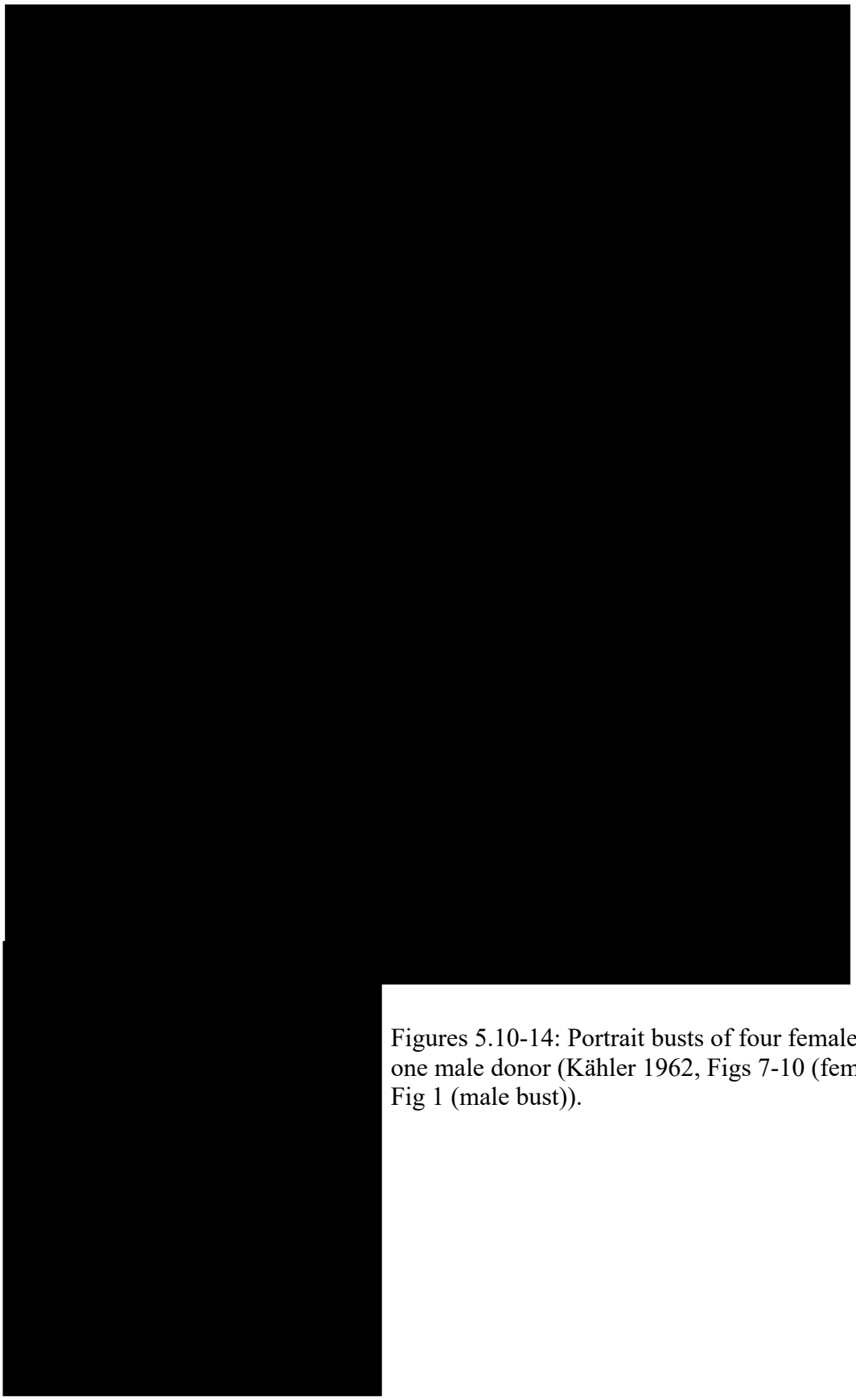
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Figures 1-4: Portrait busts of four female donors (Kähler 1962, Figs 13, 14 (colour), 18, 19 (black and white)).



Figures 5-9: Portrait busts of one female and four male donors (Kähler 1962, Figs 2-6).



Figures 5.10-14: Portrait busts of four female donors and one male donor (Kähler 1962, Figs 7-10 (female busts), Fig 1 (male bust)).

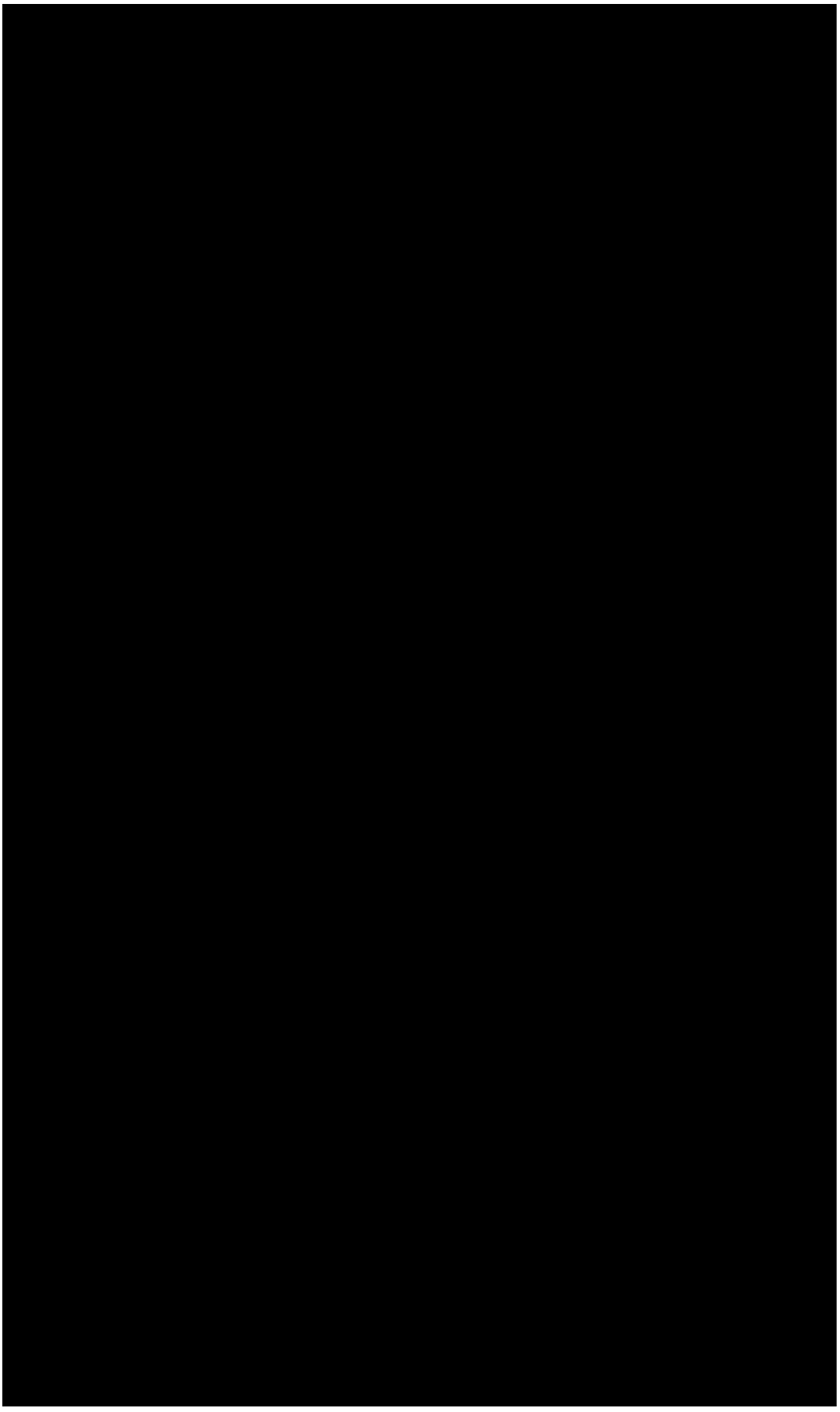


Figure 11: The mosaic carpet of the southern hall (Kähler 1962, Fig 15).

M26: Woman holding a rose

Date: Mid fourth century
Place of Origin: Casa delle Bestie, Aquileia
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic represents the three-quarter-length bust of a woman shown in a square panel with a geometric border around which were images of animals. She is shown wearing a wide-sleeved *dalmatica* with dark clavi, both arms raised in the air in a pose reminiscent of the *orans* posture. In her right hand she holds a rose and in her left a basket filled with roses. While she has been identified with the *domina* of the house, her representation has more in common with genre depictions of women with roses.

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Figure 1: Depiction of a woman holding a rose and rose basket (Novello 2012, Fig.7).

M27: Genre scene of woman feeding chickens

Date: Mid third century?
Place of Origin: Oderzo, Italy
Current Location: ?

1.31 m x 1.00 m

Description:

The mosaic is fragmentary and decontextualised, but apparently comes from a larger mosaic depicting scenes of hunting and life in a villa. This scene shows a woman in a walled enclosure for keeping chickens and ducks/geese. She is shown holding a basket of feed under her left arm, from which she scatters food for the animals. She wears an elaborate green tunic with decorated yellow panel at the hem and her hair is covered with a loose yellow kerchief. This head-covering is similar to that worn by woman in another mosaic shown spinning and may therefore relate to a style worn by simple country women (M37).

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Figure 1: Mosaic fragment showing a country woman feeding chickens and ducks/geese (Getty Images).

M28: Theodora and her attendants

Date: c. 545-550
Place of Origin: San Vitale, Ravenna
Current Location: In situ

2.64 m x 3.65 m

Description:

In the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, two mosaic panels face each other on either side of the apse. The right panel shows Theodora and the left her husband, the emperor Justinian. Justinian is shown dressed in his imperial regalia, holding a large gold dish. He is accompanied by soldiers, officials, and members of the clergy, including Archbishop Maximianus, who is depicted holding a jewelled cross. Theodora's panel has more of a narrative feel: there is a sense of movement as the empress and her attendants move towards a doorway on the left of the scene. Theodora is positioned just to the left of centre, framed by a shell-shaped half-dome and is dressed in full imperial regalia. She holds a jewelled chalice in both hands. On Theodora's right are two male figures, possibly intended to represent beardless eunuchs, one of whom holds back a curtain over the open doorway.

On the other side are seven female attendants, presumably female members of Theodora's court. Two of them, those closest to the empress, are differentiated from the other women. The woman closest to Theodora wears a dark tunic with gold clavi embellished with tiny roses. Over this she wears a white and gold mantle with a geometric design and gold embellishments. She also wears red shoes, a pearl bracelet, gold necklace, a ring on her left hand, and drop earrings. Her hair is covered by a black and gold striped tight-fitting head covering, which is also worn by the other women in the mosaic. Over this is draped a white veil, perhaps the mantle she wears over her chest and shoulders. She also holds her right hand across her chest in the speaking pose. Next to her another woman reaches towards her. She is dressed in a red tunic and red shoes, the tunic decorated with gold *orbiculi* and what appears to be black birds. Over her tunic she wears an elaborate gold mantle with rosettes. She also wears a ring, bracelet, necklace and drop earrings, and the same gold and black hair covering. Over her cover is a gold veil, again, perhaps her mantle. These two women are differentiated by their more elaborate dress and their proximity to the empress, perhaps suggesting they are meant to represent aristocratic women close to the imperial family. Antonina, wife of Belisarius, and her daughter Joannina have been suggested by several commentators, but there is no way to know for certain.

The other five attendants are crowded into the rest of the scene. Only the heads of two of them are visible, wearing the distinctive gold and black head coverings. The first woman on the viewer's left wears a gold tunic decorated with palm leaves, with a highly embellished hem. She has a personal cloth tucked into a belt underneath her cream mantle with gold details. She also wears a large collar-style necklace, drop earrings, and red shoes. The next woman wears a deep green tunic with red details, over which she wears a red-orange mantle with green details. In her right hand she carries a personal cloth and also has one hanging from her belt. On her wrist we see a bracelet and the cuff of a dark tunic sleeve. The final woman is almost concealed from view, but wears a cream tunic with a gold mantle with green details. She wears

a necklace and earrings and over her tight-fitting head covering she appears to wear a jewelled band.

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Figure 1: Theodora panel at San Vitale (Wikimedia Commons).

M29: ‘Dominus Julius’ mosaic

Date: Late fourth – early fifth century
Place of Origin: Carthage
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

5.65 m x 4.50 m

Description:

The mosaic is composed of three horizontal registers depicting the estate of a *domina* and *dominus,* framed with a border of acanthus scrolls. Little is known about its original setting bar that it was excavated near the centre of ancient Carthage in an apsidal space in which the apse was also furnished with a mosaic that does not survive. The size of the mosaic and its presence in an apsidal space indicates it probably originally decorated a large reception room.

The first of the horizonal registers is centred around the figure of the *domina*, who is shown seated on a bench framed by trees and fanning herself. She is depicted in the guise of Venus *genetrix*, with her hair loose and a transparent tunic slipping off her left shoulder. Unidentified objects are placed in a basket next to her, probably produce of some kind. Dependents of the estate bring her offerings of ducks, olives, and a lamb, and we also see smaller figures gathering olives. At the far right of the register is a man crouched down (very damaged), perhaps a shepherd, a dog tethered to a small hut, and what may be a depiction of a wheat field. The central register is dominated by a depiction of the grand villa of the estate, with imposing walls and is own bath complex from which steam can be seen escaping. On the left of the villa we see the *dominus* mounted on a horse*,* now mostly destroyed, with an attendant who carries a basket on his back. On the other side of the villa is a bare-chested man carrying nets and a staff for hunting, accompanied by dogs. The lower register depicts both the master and mistress of the estate. On the left the mistress is shown leaning on a column in the guise of a Muse, wearing a richly decorated tunic and necklace, her hair dressed and fixed with a jewelled band. She reaches out to take a necklace offered to her by a female attendant carrying a jewellery box. At the *domina’s* feet are fish and she is also offered a basket of roses by a male figure. The *dominus* is seated on the right side, his figure quite damaged, He is approached by two *rustici* who offer him a scroll, water birds, a hare, and a basket of grapes. On the scroll are the letters IV DOM, from which the mosaic gets its name. The mosaic thus depicts a grand estate through its master, mistress, and its produce during the year.

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Figure 1: ‘Dominus Julius‘ mosaic depicting a *dominus* and *domina* on their estate (Ghalia 2006, Fig.20a).

M30: Women making offerings to Attis

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Carthage, North Africa
Current Location: Carthage Archaeological Museum

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

A damaged mosaic excavated near Carthage, which shows two women and what appears to be a young girl bringing offerings to a shrine of the god Attis. A child, or conceivably an attendant, stands on the far left of the mosaic holding an oval object of some kind. She appears to wear her hair long and loose, hence the identification as a girl. Flanking the central shrine of Attis stand two women, each presenting an object to the god. Only poor-quality black and white photos are available so it is difficult to discern what they are wearing. Their hair-styles and jewellery, however, make it clear they are women. The woman on the left appears to offer an open box and the woman on the right a large egg-shaped object. In the background of the scene are garlands. It appears that the shrine depicted is a household shrine.

Bibliography:

Charles-Picard, G. (1965). La Carthage de saint Augustin. Paris: Fayard, pp.126-127.

St. Clair, A. (1996). Imperial Virtue: Questions of Form and Function in the Case of Four Late Antique Statuettes. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50, p.157, Fig 24.



Figure 1: Mosaic depicting women and perhaps a young girl making offerings to Attis (after Charles-Picard 1965, p.126).

M31: Female musicians in banqueting scene

Date: Mid fourth century
Place of Origin: Carthage, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis, Inv. Tun. 806

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The scene comes from a larger oval-shaped mosaic depicting a large dining scene at which guests are seated at high-backed couches behind tables. They are served by slaves who bring food. In the centre of the scene are entertainers. An older man on the right side of the fragment plays the pan-pipes, while next to this two women play the *crotala.* The woman in the centre of the group is slightly better preserved, wearing a long dark tunic with long sleeves and a white, tight-fitting head covering. The partially preserved woman on the left appears to wear a similar tunic.

Bibliography:

Bed Abed-Ben Khader, A. (2006). Stories in Stone: Conserving Mosaics of Roman Africa. Masterpieces from the National Museum of Tunisia. Los Angeles: Getty Museum, Fig.11.

Blanchard-Lemée, M. (1996). Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia. London: British Museum Press, p.74, Fig.45.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1978). The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage. Oxford Clarendon Press, p.124, Plate 116.

Fantar, M. H. and Charles-Picard, G. (1994). La Mosaïque en Tunisie. Paris: CNRS éditions, pp.106-107.

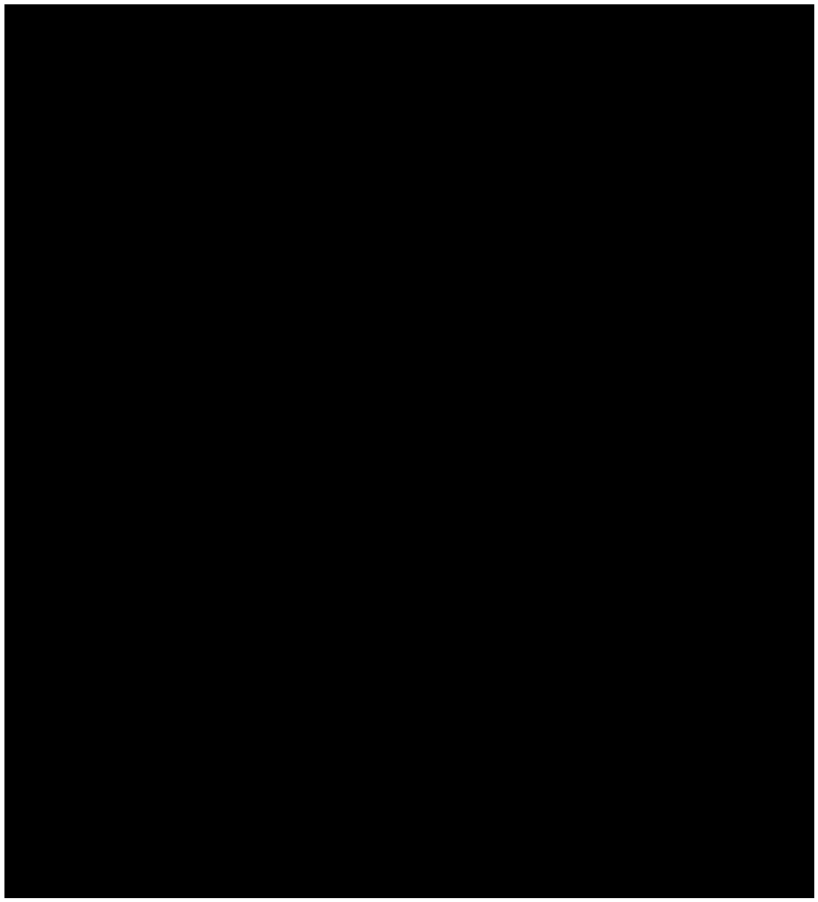


Figure 1: Detail of a banquet mosaic showing two female entertainers playing *crotala* (Fantar and Picard 1994, p.106).



Figure 2: The wider, fragmentary banqueting mosaic with the female entertainers in the centre (Dunbabin 1978, Plate 116).

M32: Dwarf musicians and dancers

Date: Late fourth century
Place of Origin: Carthage, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic, from a villa in Carthage, shows the Venus enthroned and crowning herself, flanked by boats. In these boats appear dwarf musicians and dancers. In the left-hand boat there are what appears to be two male dwarves, one dancing and one playing the flute, and a female dwarf shown playing *crotala* and dancing. She wears a long tunic with red and yellow clavi, and bracelets. In the other boat what see a seated dwarf shown nude playing the flute, and two female dwarves shown dancing. The one on the left wears a greyish runic with red and yellow clavi and the other a yellow tunic with white and green clavi.

Bibliography:

Blanchard-Lemée, M. (1996). Mosaics of Roman Africa. Floor Mosaics from Tunisia. London: British Museum Press, p.290, Fig.113.

Fantar, M. H. and Charles-Picard, G. (1994). La Mosaïque en Tunisie. Paris: CNRS éditions, p.65

Slim, L. (1996). Venus, toilette and triumph. In: M. Blanchard-Lemée ed. Mosaics of Roman Africa. Floor Mosaics from Tunisia. London: British Museum Press, pp.147-166.



Figure 1: Mosaic showing the triumph of Venus with dwarf dancers and musicians (Fantar and Picard 1994, p.65).

M33: *Domina* in her country estate

Date: Late fourth century?
Place of Origin: Oued-Athménia, North Africa
Current Location: Lost

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic was located in the baths of a late antique villa in Oued-Athménia, 32 km south-west of Cirta in Algeria. Many of the known mosaics from the site concerned the depiction of the villa and estate, including activities such as hunting. One mosaic that is now only known from a colour reproduction depicts the gardens or grounds of the villa in two registers. In the upper register on the far left we see the façade of a building and on the right two figures among trees and other plants. The first, assumedly a male servant, holds a dog by a leash with one hand and holds a shade or fan with another. A seated figure next to him holds a small fan, who seems to represent the *domina* of the villa. This judgement is based on the similarity to the figure of the seated *domina* fanning herself on the Dominus Julius mosaic (M29). The lower register shows a fish pond. Dunbabin notes that the pictures made of these mosaics are not wholly trustworthy, the inscriptions in particular.

Inscription:

(at the top of the upper register)
FILOSO FILOLOCVS

(at the top of the lower register)
SEPTVM . VENATIONIS

Bibliography:

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1978). The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage. Oxford Clarendon Press, p.123 (with further references, see also pp.62, 94).

Pachtère, F. G. (1911). Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique, III Afrique Proconsulaire, Numidie, Maurétanie (Algérie). Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, pp.260-263.

Wilson, R. J. A. (2018). Roman Villas in North Africa. In: A. Marzano and G. P. R. Métraux eds., The Roman Villa in the Mediterranean Basin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.277-279 (on the villa in general).

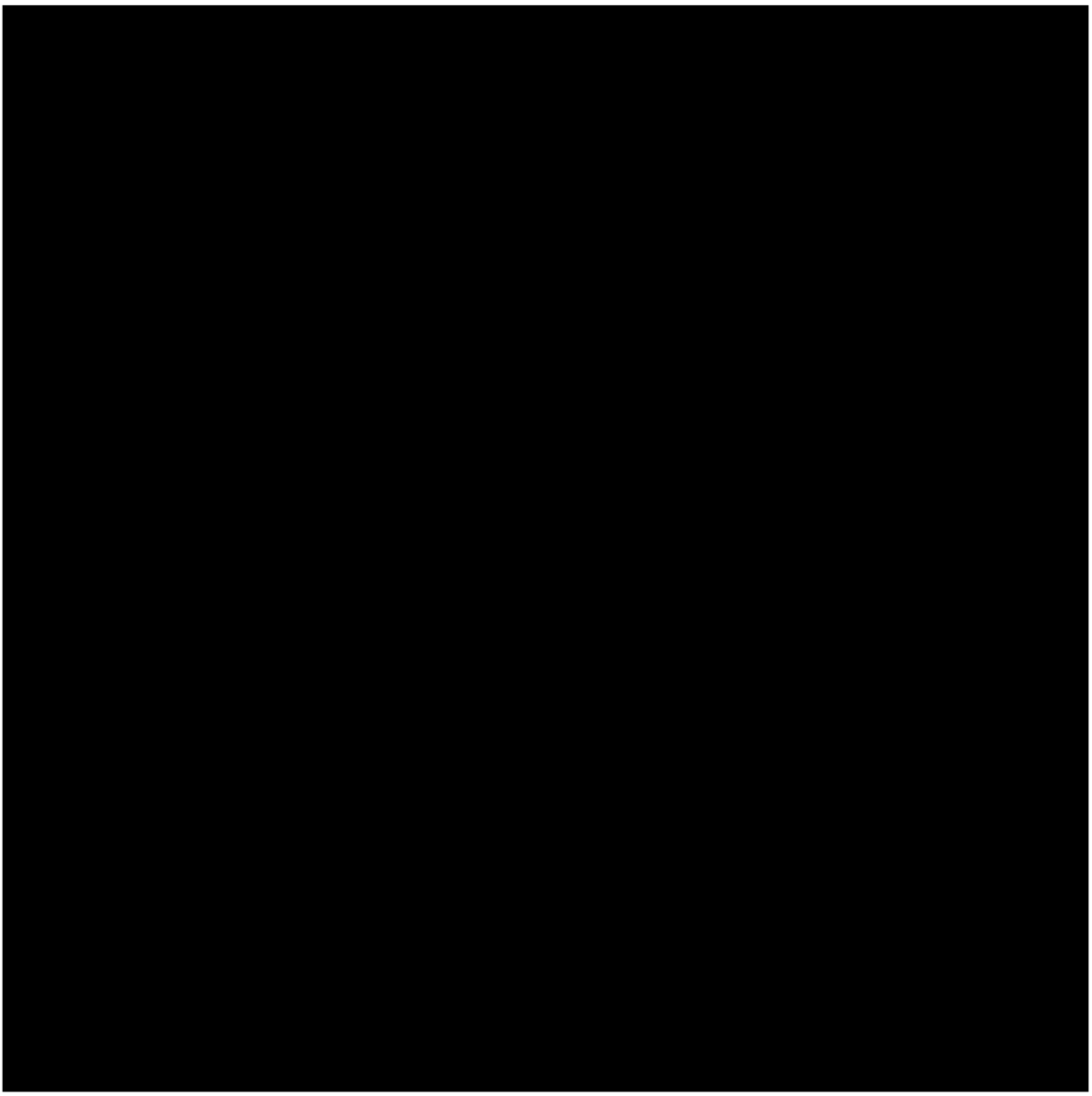


Figure 1: Copy of a larger mosaic showing a *domina* seated in the garden of her estate (https://mondesanciens.revues.org/docannexe/image/1926/img-7.jpg [accessed 13/12/2020]).

M34: *Domina* at her toilet

Date: Late fourth to early fifth century
Place of Origin: Villa baths at Sidi Ghrib, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

2.84 m x 1.69 m

Description:

The mosaic comes from the baths of a villa at Sidi Ghrib, 30 km from modern Tunis. It was located in a vestibule off the main entrance hall of the baths identified as a changing area and depicts the *domina* of the villa at her toilet. The mosaic can be paired with another of the *dominus* of the villa in a symmetrical vestibule on the other side of the building. The mosaic depicts the *domina* seated in the centre of the tableaux on a large, high-backed silver folding chair with a foot-stool. She wears a sleeveless green tunic with gold clavi and a matching tight-fitting head-covering with a rolled decorative band at the front. The *domina* may be shown fixing this hair-covering with a pin or tie. She also wears a number of bracelets, an armband, necklace, and earrings. She is attended by two female attendants who bring her items necessary for her toilet. The attendant on the viewer's left holds out a large silver box in which may be depicted jewellery. She wears a long white tunic with dark clavi belted under the bust, a bracelet and earrings. She does not appear to have her hair covered. The attendant on the viewer's right wears a similar outfit, with the addition of a necklace. Her hair is gathered in an elegant style at the back of her head. She holds up a mirror in which the face of the *domina* is reflected.

Around the outside of this tableaux are items for the toilet. Moving anticlockwise from the top left we see a pair of sandals, a silver casket filled with linens, a silver shell-shaped basin, a silver situla, a silver perfume casket with a chain, a soft leather bag, and a silver ewer.

Bibliography:

Ben Abed-Ben Khader, A. (2006). Tunisian Mosaics. Treasures from Roman Africa. Los Angeles: Getty Museum, pp.44-45, Fig.3.17.

Blanchard-Lemée, M. (1996). Mosaics of Roman Africa. Floor Mosaics from Tunisia. London: British Museum Press, Fig.116.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1999). Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.322.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1989). Baiarum Grata Voluptas: Pleasures and Dangers of the Baths. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 57, pp.23, 28.

Ennabli, A. (1986). Les Thermes du Thiase Marin de Sidi Ghrib (Tunisie). *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et Mémoires* 69, pp.42-44.

Ghalia, T. (2006). Landscapes and Scenes of Daily Life in Pavement Mosaics from Ancient Tunisia. In: A. Ben Abed-Ben Khader ed., Stories in Stone. Conserving Mosaics of Roman Africa. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, pp.42, Fig 21a.

Slim, L. (1996). Venus, toilette and triumph. In: M. Blanchard-Lemée ed. Mosaics of Roman Africa. Floor Mosaics from Tunisia. London: British Museum Press, pp.147-166.



Figure 1: Mosaic showing a woman at her toilet (Ghalia 2006, Fig 21a).



Figure 2: Plan of the baths at Sidi Ghrib. The mosaic of the *domina* is at number 5, the *dominus* at number 6 (Ennabli 1986, p.3).

M35: Female performers

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Hippo Regius, North Africa
Current Location: ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The fragmentary so-called Apollo-Melchart mosaic from Hippo Regius is centred around a depiction of Aion shown half-draped and holding a cornucopia and standing beside the zodiac. Around this are arranged circular and oval wreaths with theatrical masks and depictions of three female performers. While these female figures have been identified as the seasons, they lack the appropriate attributes. One is shown naked but for a breastband, which she is shown wrapping around her chest, another wears a only a cloak and plays a stringed instrument. The third partly preserved woman dances, but I have not been able to find an image in which she is preserved.

Bibliography:

Croom, A. (2000). Roman Clothing and Fashion. Stroud: Tempus, p.94, Fig 44.1.

Marec, E. (1954). Hippone la Royale. Antique Hippo Regius. Algiers: Imprimerie Officielle, pp.45-47.

Parish, D. (1995). The Mosaic of Aion and the Seasons from Haïdra (Tunisia): An Interpretation of its Meaning and Importance. *Antiquité Tardive,* 3, pp. 167-191 (p.180).



Figure 1: Mosaic showing Aion and female performers (Raymond V. Schoder, S.J., “Apollo-Melchart mosaic,” Loyola University Chicago Digital Special Collections, accessed December 16, 2020, http://www.lib.luc.edu/specialcollections/items/show/1608).



Figure 2: Detail of the woman putting on her breastband (Marec 1954, Fig 21).

M36: Female musicians and *domina* arriving at the estate

Date: Late fourth to early fifth century
Place of Origin: Djemila, North Africa
Current Location: Djemila Museum, Inv Alg. 293.

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

These two small scenes are found in the border of a much larger mosaic depicting the triumph of marine Venus from Room XI of the so-called Maison de l'Âne. The centre-piece of this larger mosaic is Venus seated in a shell supported by tritons. The outer border of the mosaic is filled with a number of small marine scenes such as *erotes* fishing. One of these border motifs shows a boat docking at a sea-side villa. In the boat is a musician playing the pan pipes and a man dancing, as well as a richly dressed couple. The woman is placed just in front of the man and is shown in a long tunic with clavi. Given the small size of the scene other details are difficult to determine. This scene therefore probably represents the arrival of the couple at their coastal villa. The other scene shows a group of musicians and dancers in another boat. The second figure from the right is a female *crotala* player wearing a sleeveless tunic and an armband. They may represent entertainment for the couple arriving at their villa.

Bibliography:

Blanchard-Lemée, M. (1975). Maisons à Mosaiques du Quartier Central de Djemila (Cuical), Paris: Editions Ophrys, pp.23-106, Plates VIIb, X.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1978). The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage. Oxford Clarendon Press, pp. 43, 134, 156, 256, Fig 151, Plates 128-129.

Zanker, P. (2012). Living with Myths: The Imagery of Roman Sarcophagi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.126-127.



Figure 1: Miniature scene showing a couple arriving at a seaside villa (Dunbabin 1978, Plate 128).



Figure 2: Miniature scene showing a musicians in a boat, including a female *crotala* player (Dunbabin 1978, Plate 129).

M37: Genre scene of a woman spinning

Date: Late fourth to earth fifth century
Place of Origin: Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is semi-circular in shape and filled one of the apsidal spaces in a tri-apsed room in a late antique villa at Tabarka. Two other similar mosaics were also preserved from the same room showing architectural views of the villa in a countryside setting. The border of our mosaic is composed of acanthus swirls and a ribbon design. In the main field of the mosaic are three horizontal registers. The top register shown a large stone or earth mound on which sit birds. Separating this top register from the middle register is a series of wooden stands on which appear to be wreaths. The middle register shows a view of the villa flanked by trees and with a horse tethered to the entrance. The lower register, which is unfortunately highly damaged, shows a pastoral scene of country life in which animals graze. On the far left of the scene a woman is shown seated on a bench spinning thread. She wears a long orange tunic with dark purple clavi and a purple and white striped head covering that falls onto her neck.

Bibliography:

Ben Abed-Ben Khader, A. (2006). Tunisian Mosaics: Treasures from Roman Africa. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, p.45, Fig 3.19.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1978). The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage. Oxford Clarendon Press, p.122, Plate 44, Fig. 111.

Fantar, M. H. and Charles-Picard, G. (1994). La Mosaïque en Tunisie. Paris: CNRS éditions, pp.146-150.



Figure 1: Apsidal mosaic showing a woman spinning (Sean Leatherbury/Manar al-Athar).



Figure 2: Detail of Figure 1 (Sean Leatherbury/Manar al-Athar).

M38: Tomb mosaic of Victoria Elias

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Chapel of the Martyrs, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

2.37 m x 0.78 m

Description:

Funerary portrait panel depicting a woman and a man from the Chapel of the Martyrs in Tabarka. The top part of the panel shows a bearded man sitting behind a desk writing on a piece of paper. He is flanked by roses. Unfortunately the inscription from the top of the panel is missing and his identity is unknown. Below the man is a woman, shown in the *orans* position and identified by the inscription as Victoria Elias. She wears a dark green tunic with black clavi and a white mantle draped around her shoulders, chest, and over her head. It is unclear whether she is wearing a tight white hair covering underneath or whether her hair is being depicted as white. To her right is a lit candle and on her left are chickens. Next to each of her shoulders are doves and to the right of her head is a small *chi-rho* monogram. The relationship of Victoria and the unknown man is unclear. The panel covered a single sarcophagus containing two bodies.

Inscription:

(on either side of Victoria's head)
[VI]CTORIA
IILIAS IN PACE

Another interpretation of the inscription holds that it actually reads as follows:
[VI]CTORIA
[F]ILIA S[ACRA] IN PACE

This would identify Victoria perhaps as a dedicated virgin and may indicate that the relationship to the man is father and daughter. In my opinion this latter reading appears a little too creative with the surviving text.

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 86, pp.432-434.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1978). The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage. Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 191, Plate 189.

Fantar, M. H. and Charles-Picard, G. (1994). La Mosaïque en Tunisie. Paris: CNRS éditions, p.234.

Gauckler, P. (1910). Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique, II. Afrique Proconsulaire (Tunisie) 1022

Patout Burns, J. and Jensen, R. M. (2014). Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of its Practices and Beliefs. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, [page numbers not available in ebook version, but see Chapter 9).

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W01, p.150 (with further references).

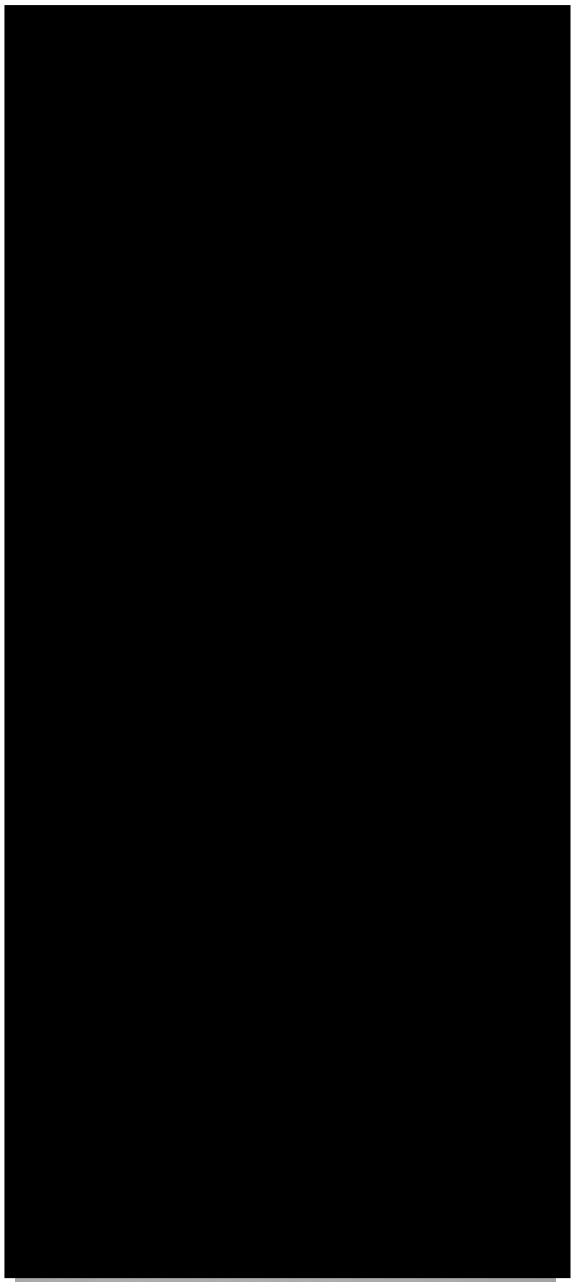


Figure 1: Funerary mosaic of Victoria Elias (Powell 2019, p.150).

M39: Tomb mosaic of Crescentia

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

1.1 m x 0.5 m

Description:

Tomb mosaic of an infant girl called Crescentia from the Urban Basilica Cemetery at Tabarka. She is shown in the *orans* position, wearing a white tunic with dark clavi, a gold belt, and red shoes.. Either the collar of her tunic is decorated or she wears a necklace. Her hair is dark and cropped. Above either shoulder are birds and flowers and to each side of the girl are lit candles.

Inscription:

[C]RESCENTI
A INNNOCE
S IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 32, pp.347-348 (with further references).

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C02, p.171 (with further references).

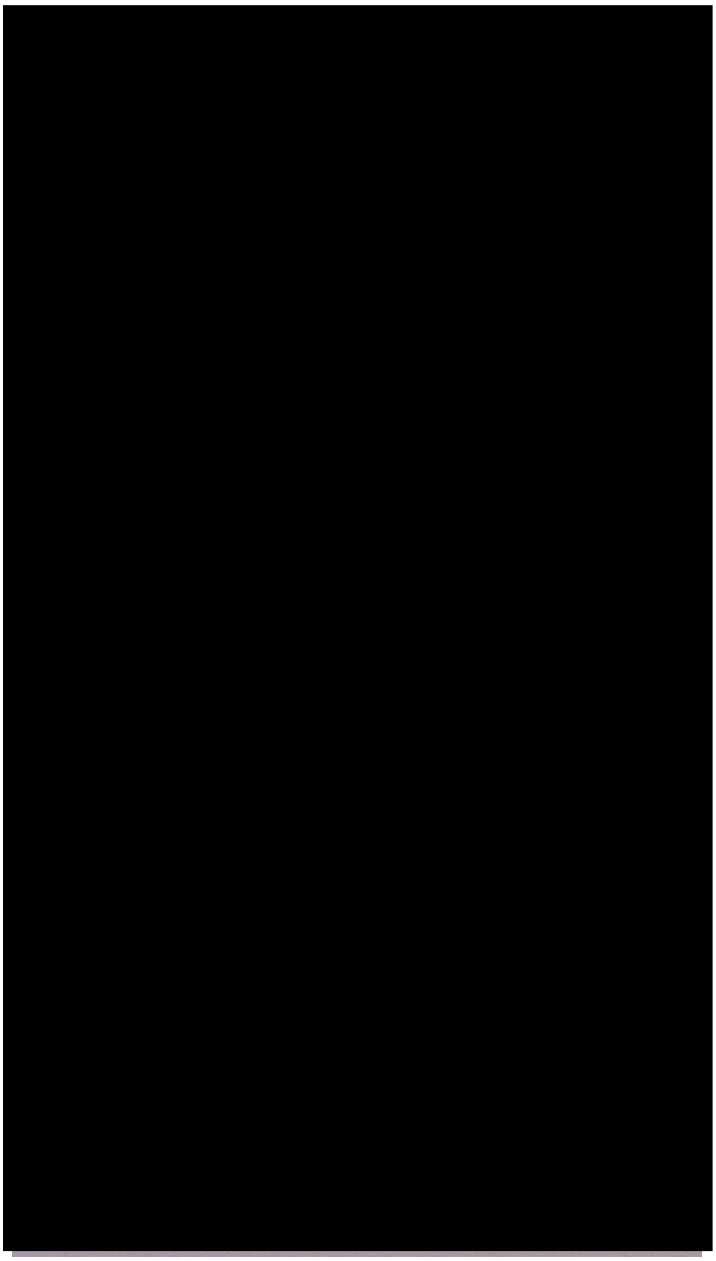


Figure 1: Funerary portrait of Crescentia (Powell 2019, p.171).

M40: Tomb mosaic of Pompeia Maxima

Date: Mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Chapel of the Martyrs, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

2.5 m x 0.75 m

Description:

The caisson tomb mosaic from the Chapel of the Martyrs at Tabarka is quite heavily damaged but shows a woman standing in the *orans* position. She appears to wear a dark tunic and a white mantle over her head, shoulders, and chest. She also wears some necklaces. On either side of her are two lit candles and in the background flowers and birds.

Inscription:

[P]OMPEIA
[M]AXIMA
DEI FAMULA
IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 123, pp.215, 219, 493-495 (with further references).

Patout Burns, J. and Jensen, R. M. (2014). Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of its Practices and Beliefs. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, (page numbers not available in ebook version, but see Chapter 9), Fig 142.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W02, p.151 (with further references).

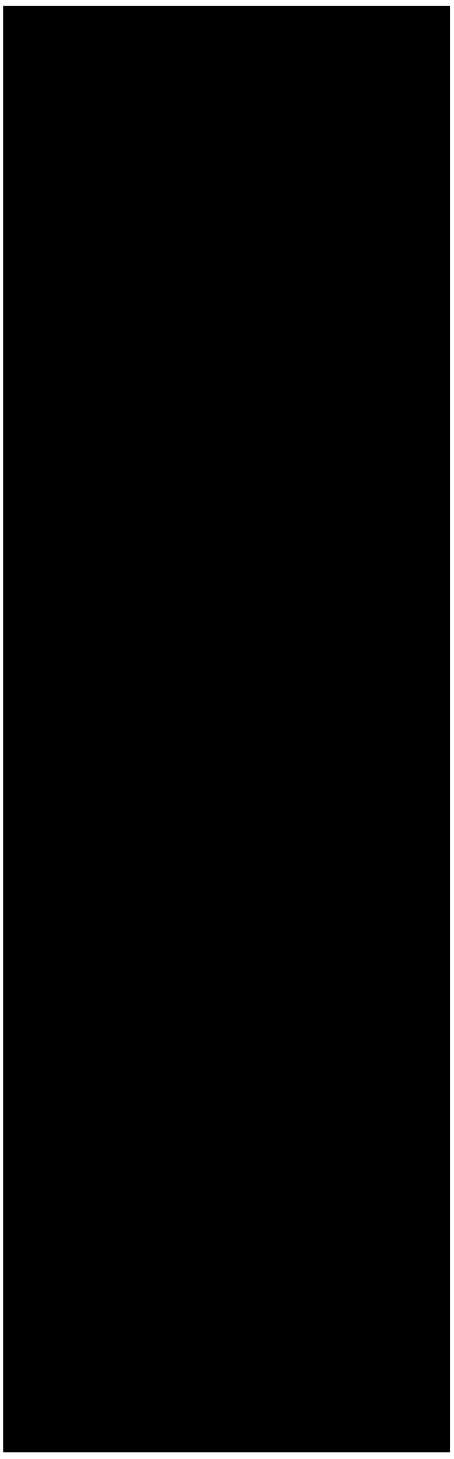


Figure 1: Funerary mosaic of Pompeia Maxima (Patout Burns and Jensen 2014, Fig.142).

M41: Tomb mosaic of Veneria

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Chapel of the Martyrs, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Lost?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic from the Chapel of the Martyrs at Tabarka shows a young girl called Veneria in the *orans* pose. She wears a tunic embellished with bands at the cuffs and hem and in the background are flowers and a peacock. It is unclear if her hair is shown cropped short or is styled very close to the head.

Inscription:

VENERIA
IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 120, pp.488-489.

Gauckler, P. (1906). Mosaïques tombales d'une chapelle de martyrs à Thabraca. *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 13.2, pp.215-217.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C01, p.170 (with further references).

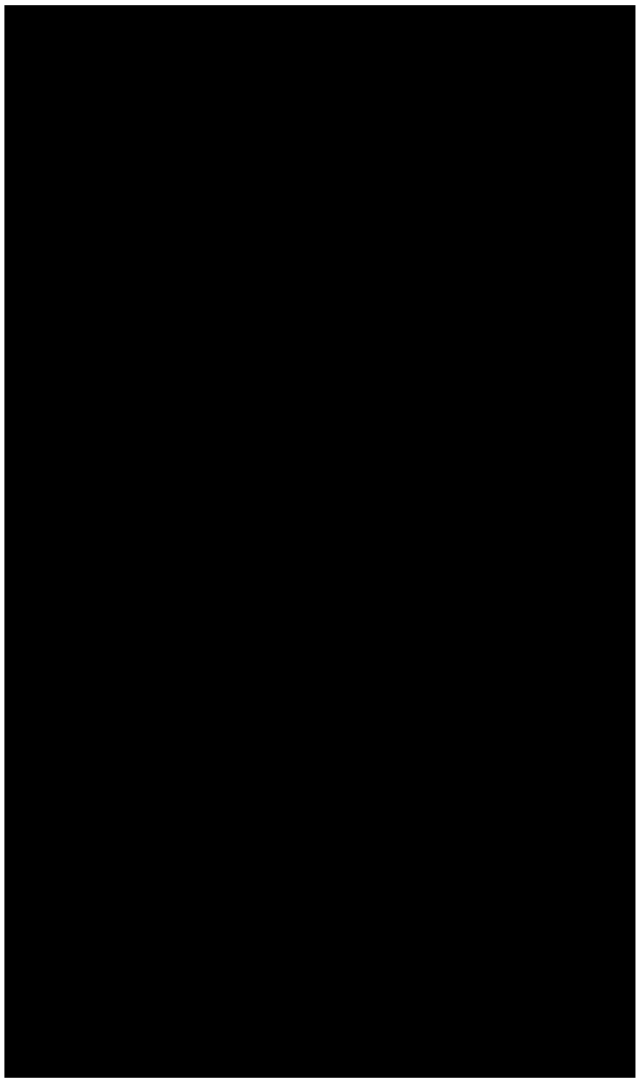


Figure 1: Tomb mosaic of Veneria (Powell 2019, p.170).

M42: Tomb mosaic of Mellis

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Chapel of the Martyrs, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum Storerooms?

0.9 m x 0.66 m

Description:

The mosaic from the Chapel of the Martyrs in Tabarka is heavily damaged, but appears to show an *orant* figure and a large bird.

Inscription:

MELLIS
IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 127, pp.502-503.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W03, p.152.



Figure 1: Damaged funerary mosaic of Mellis (Downs 2007, p.502).

M43: Tomb mosaic of Victoria

Date: Fifth century?
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

0.5 m x 0.54 m

Description:

Note I have not been able to access a picture of this mosaic and therefore the description is based on other catalogues

The mosaic showed a woman, unveiled, wearing a white tunic and a large necklace. She holds her right hand in the speaking gesture and her left hand holds a scroll.

Inscription:

VICTOR[I] / A IN PAC[E]

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 13, pp.310-311.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W04, p.153 (with further references).

[picture unavailable]

M44: Tomb mosaic of Abundantia

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

1.30 m x 0.56 m

Description:

The mosaic from the Urban Basilica Cemetery shows a girl called Abundantia in the *orans* position. She wears an elaborately decorated blue tunic belted at the waist and a fringed scarf with *orbiculi* over her shoulders. Her hair is uncovered, but it is difficult to tell if it is closely cropped or styled close to the head. To one side of her are a bird and a fish and below her are birds and roses.

Inscription:

ABVNDANTIA
IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 22, pp.327-328.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W05, p.154 (with further references).

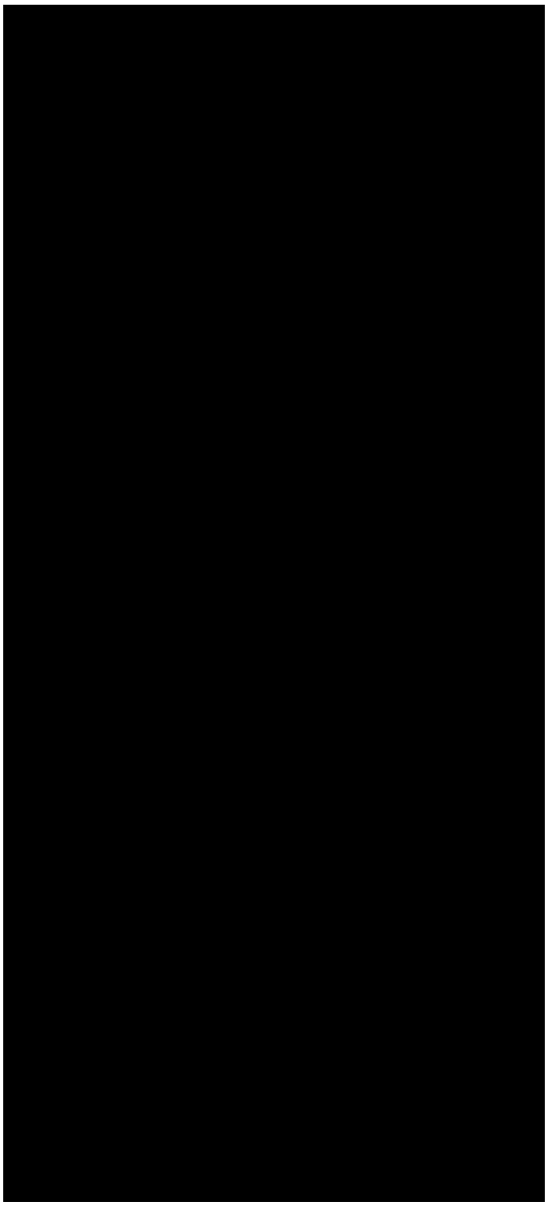


Figure 1: Funerary portrait of Abundantia (Powell 2019, p.154).

M45: Tomb mosaic of an unknown woman

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

1.15 m x 0.62 m

Description:

Note I have not been able to access a picture of this mosaic and therefore the description is based on other catalogues

The mosaic is very damaged but depicts an *orant* woman from the knees upwards. She wears a grey tunic and a yellowish grey veil. She is flanked by two lit candles and birds on her shoulders.

Inscription:

…VI[XIT IN PA]
C[E]

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 31, pp.345-346.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W06, p.155 (with further references).

[no image available]

M46: Tomb mosaic of Felicitas and Victoria

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

1.33 m x 0.49 m

Description:

The mosaic from the Urban Basilica Cemetery shows a single *orant* female figure but commemorates two women, Felicitas and Victoria. The figure is shown in a cream *dalmatica* with red clavi, and a necklace. Her hair is uncovered. On either side of her are lit candles and above her shoulders, birds. In the background are roses.

Inscription:

FELICITAS IN P[A]CE
VICTORIA IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 11, pp.306-307.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W09, p.158 (with further references).

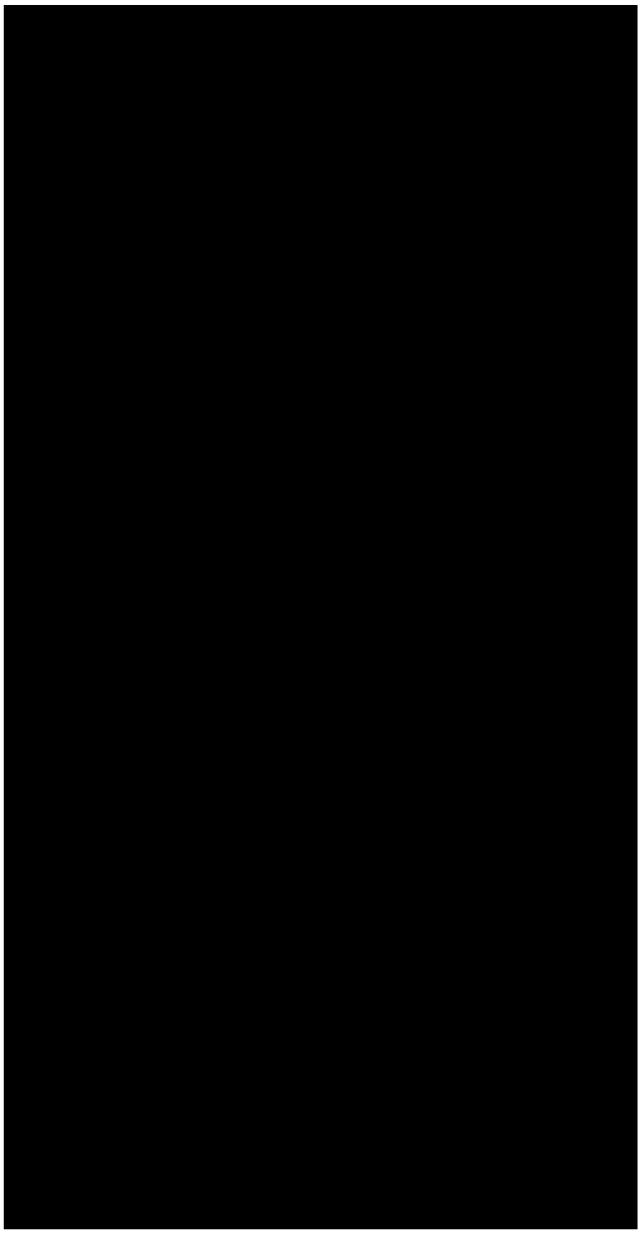


Figure 1: Tomb mosaic of Felicitas and Victoria (Powell 2019, p.158).

M47: Tomb mosaic of Perpetua

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

2 m x 0.85 m

Description:

Note I have not been able to access a picture of this mosaic and therefore the description is based on other catalogues

The mosaic shows a woman in the *orans* pose wearing a tunic and white veil covering her head and chest. In the background are birds, garlands, and roses.

Inscription:

PER
PETVA
[I]N P[ACE]

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 4, pp.293-294.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W10, p.159 (with further references).

[no image available]

M48: Tomb mosaic of Gaetula

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Unknown location, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Sousse Museum

1.17 m x 0.63 m

Description:

The mosaic shows a woman in the *orans* position wearing what appears to be a green tunic with some kind of diagonal sash, perhaps a mantle. It is unclear whether she wears a headdress or some kind of hair-covering. On one side of her is a fish and the other a bird, under her feet is a *kantharos* from which extend vines.

Inscription:

GAETULA IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 138, pp.519-520.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W14, p.163 (with further references).

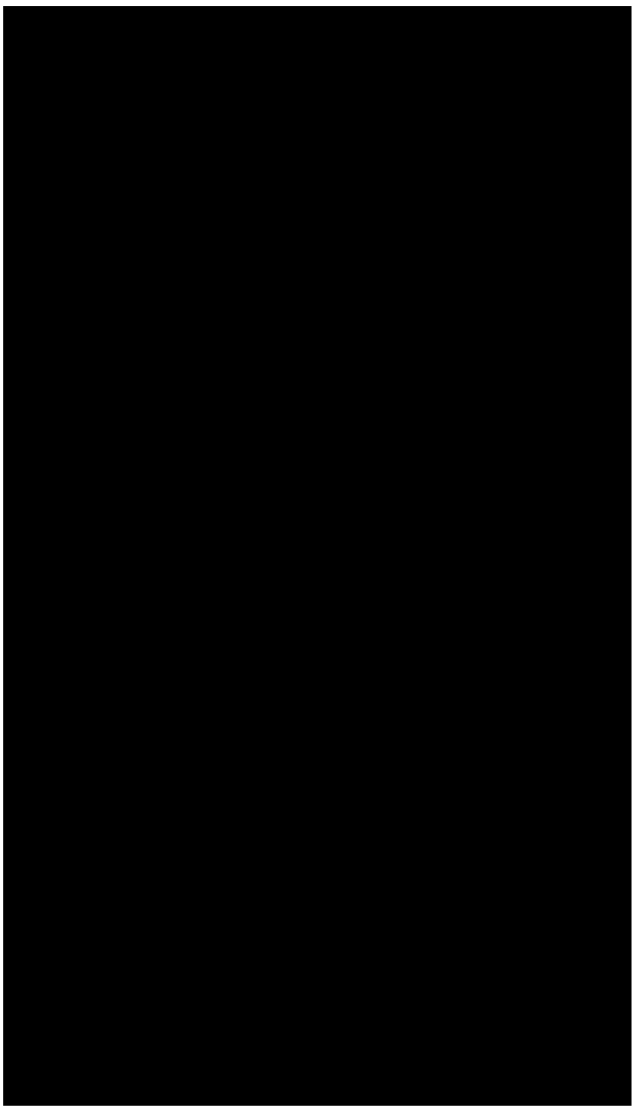


Figure 1: Tomb mosaic of Gaetula (Powell 2019, p.163).

M49: Tomb mosaic of Cresconia

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Lost

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic from the Urban Basilica Cemetery represents a girl called Cresconia. She is shown in the *orans* pose wearing a blue tunic with yellow clavi and a red collar, and a fringed cloth over her shoulders. Either side of her are candles and there are birds at her shoulders and feet. Her hair is uncovered but it is unclear whether it is cropped short like the representations of infants or simply styled close to the head.

Inscription:

CRESCONI
A INNOCEN
S IN PACE

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 63, pp.399-400.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C03, p.172 (with further references).

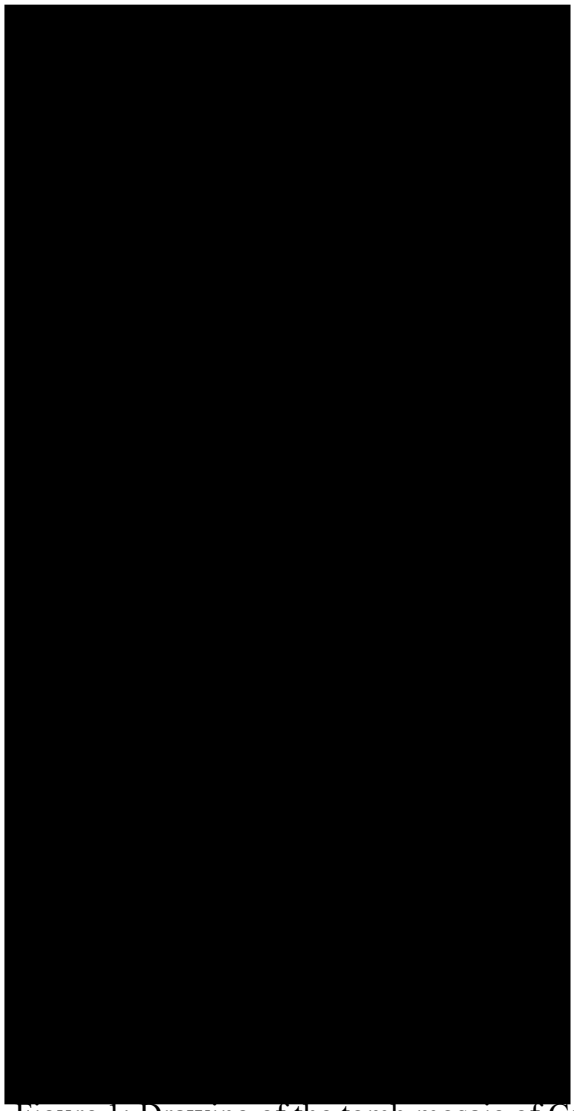


Figure 1: Drawing of the tomb mosaic of Cresconia (Powell 2019, p.172).

M50: Tomb mosaic of Elia

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Urban Basilica Cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

0.7 m x 0.4 m

Description:

Note I have not been able to access a picture of this mosaic and therefore the description is based on other catalogues

The mosaic shows a female figure in the *orant* pose wearing a white *dalmatica* with dark clavi and a scarf(?) around head and torso. Her tunic is belted below the bust and her hair is shown in dark grey and ochre tesserae. It is considered by both Downs and Powell that this might be a child.

Inscription:

ELIA [I]NNOC
[E]NS
NA

Bibliography:

Downs, J. M. (2007). The Christian Tomb Mosaics from Tabarka: Status and Identity in a North African Roman Town. PhD Theses, University of Michigan, JMD 5, pp.295-296.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C11, p.180 (with further references).

[no image available]

M51: Tomb mosaic of Primula

Date: First half of the fifth century
Place of Origin: Eastern cemetery, Tabarka, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

1.8 m x 0.6 m

Description:

Note I have not been able to access a picture of this mosaic and therefore the description is based on other catalogues

The mosaic shows a female *orant* figure in a tunic striped in green and yellow. The head may be nimbate or covered. Powell catalogues the figure as a child, presumably due to the word "dulcis" in the inscription.

Inscription:

PRIMULA D
ULCIS IN PACE
DI[…]

Bibliography:

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C12, p.181 (with further references).

[image not available]

M52: Tomb mosaic of Agapia

Date: Mid fourth to mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Leptiminus, North Africa
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic was discovered in a subterranean burial chapter at Leptiminus on the North African coast, and depicts an infant girl called Agapia. It was found alongside two other mosaic panels commemorating infant girls (see M53, M54). Agapia is shown in the centre of the panel seated on a striped rug or cushion. She is shown in a white tunic with wide dark clavi, holding a bird in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other. Her hair is cropped and dark. In the background are flowers and garlands.

Inscription:

AGAPIA INNO
CENS IN CRIST
TV

Bibliography:

Ben Lazreg, N. (2002). A Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus: first notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15, pp.336-45.

Ben Lazreg, N., Stevens, S., Stirling, L., Moore, J. (2006). Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus (Lamta): second notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19, pp.347-368.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C21, p.190.



Figure 1: Funerary portraits of infants from Tabarka, Agapia at far right ((Dumbarton Oaks Grant Project Report, Fig.5, accessed at: https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/project-grants/stevens-2006-2007 [28/11/2020]).



Figure 2: Sketch plan by S. Stevens of the underground system at Leptiminus. The mosaics are from the large vaulted room (Ben Lazreg et al. 2006 Fig 8).

M53: Tomb mosaic of Elia Theodora

Date: Mid fourth to mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Leptiminus, North Africa
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic was discovered in a subterranean burial chapter at Leptiminus on the North African coast, and depicts an infant girl called Elia Theodora, who died at fourteen months old. It was found alongside two other mosaic panels commemorating infant girls (see M52, M54). Elia Theodora is shown seated on a red and yellow cushion or rug. She wears a yellow tunic with blue clavi and a necklace, and is shown holding a bird in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other. Her blonde hair is short, just curling around her ears. In the background are flowers and birds.

Inscription:

ELIA THIODORA
IN PACE VIXIT ANN
V VNVM M[ENSE]S DVO DIES
X[….]

Bibliography:

Ben Lazreg, N. (2002). A Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus: first notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15, pp.336-45.

Ben Lazreg, N., Stevens, S., Stirling, L., Moore, J. (2006). Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus (Lamta): second notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19, pp.347-368.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C22, p.191.



Figure 1: Funerary portraits of infants from Tabarka, Elia Theodora in centre ((Dumbarton Oaks Grant Project Report, Fig.5, accessed at: https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/project-grants/stevens-2006-2007 [28/11/2020]).



Figure 2: Sketch plan by S. Stevens of the underground system at Leptiminus. The mosaics are from the large vaulted room (Ben Lazreg et al. 2006 Fig 8).

M54: Tomb mosaic of Florentia

Date: Mid fourth to mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Leptiminus, North Africa
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic was discovered in a subterranean burial chapter at Leptiminus on the North African coast, and depicts an infant girl called Florentia, who died at three months old. It was found alongside two other mosaic panels commemorating infant girls (see M52, M453. Florentia is shown seated on a striped cushion or red, wearing a white tunic and dark clavi, and holding a bird in one hand and a bunch of grapes in the other. She is shown with very short cropped blonde hair. In the background behind her are trees and below her dear, birds, and flowers.

Inscription:

FLORENTIA IN
PACE VIXIT M[ENSE]S III
DIES XI XIIII KAL[ENDS] DEBR
ED

Bibliography:

Ben Lazreg, N. (2002). A Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus: first notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15, pp.336-45.

Ben Lazreg, N., Stevens, S., Stirling, L., Moore, J. (2006). Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus (Lamta): second notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19, pp.347-368.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C23, p.192.



Figure 1: Funerary portraits of infants from Tabarka, Florentia far left ((Dumbarton Oaks Grant Project Report, Fig.5, accessed at: https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/project-grants/stevens-2006-2007 [28/11/2020]).



Figure 2: Sketch plan by S. Stevens of the underground system at Leptiminus. The mosaics are from the large vaulted room (Ben Lazreg et al. 2006 Fig 8).

M55: Tomb mosaic of Pelagia

Date: Mid fourth to mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Leptiminus, North Africa
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The partially preserved mosaic was discovered in a subterranean burial chapter at Leptiminus on the North African coast and depicts a woman called Pelagia. Only the very top part of the panel has been excavated and it is unclear if the rest is preserved. The inscription dominates the top of the panel, under which we see rose garlands and the top of Pelagia's head. Her portrait is rendered in a very sensitive style. She is shown as a young woman with an elaborate braided hairstyle (perhaps the crown braid) with a loose white veil attached at the back.

Inscription:

PELAGIA
DORMIT IN PACE
III IDVS NOVEM

Bibliography:

Ben Lazreg, N. (2002). A Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus: first notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 15, pp.336-45.

Ben Lazreg, N., Stevens, S., Stirling, L., Moore, J. (2006). Roman and Early Christian burial complex at Leptiminus (Lamta): second notice. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19, pp.347-368.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W17, p.166.



Figure 1: Detail of Pelagia's funerary mosaic (Ben Lazreg et al 2006, Colour Fig 5).

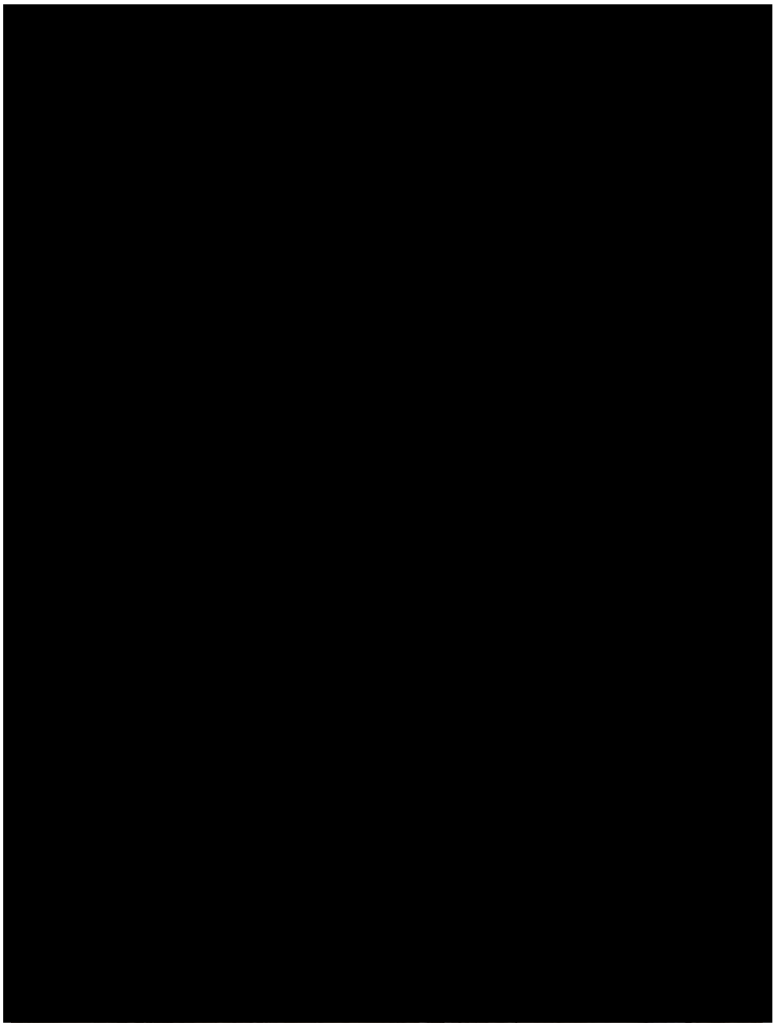


Figure 2: Large vaulted room where Pelagia's mosaic was excavated, far left middle (Ben Lazreg et al 2006, Colour Fig 3).



Figure 3: Sketch plan by S. Stevens of the underground system at Leptiminus. The mosaic is from the large vaulted room (Ben Lazreg et al. 2006 Fig 8).

M56: Tomb mosaic of an unknown woman

Date: Fifth century?
Place of Origin: Sfax, North Africa
Current Location: Sfax Archaeological Museum

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

Little seems to be known about this mosaic, but it shows a woman standing in the *orans* position wearing a yellow *dalmatica* with dark purple clavi adorned with a wave pattern in green. She wears a loose white veil. Above her head is a cross and a bird. The inscription is illegible.

Bibliography:

Patout Burns, J. and Jensen, R. M. (2014). Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of its Practices and Beliefs. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Fig 131.

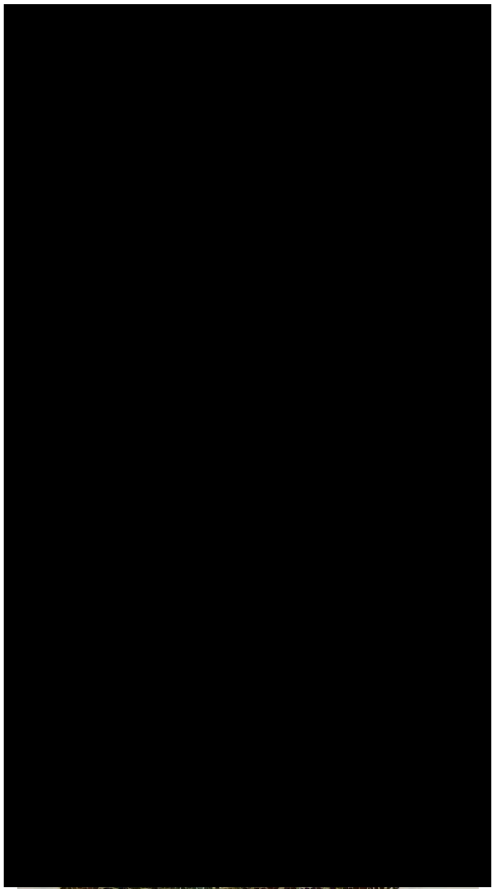


Figure 1: Funerary mosaic of an unknown woman (Patout Burns and Jensen 2014, Fig 131).

M57: Tomb mosaic of Aurelia

Date: Fifth century?
Place of Origin: Cemetery north of the city of Sfax, North Africa
Current Location: Sfax Museum

2.11 m x 0.80 m

Description:

Note I have not been able to access a picture of this mosaic and therefore the description is based on other catalogues

The mosaic shows an *orant* woman between two candles. She wears a white tunic with yellow clavi and has a loose white veil over her head. She also wears a red and white collar or necklace.

Inscription:

BONAE M[EMORIA]
AURELIA D…
DORMIIT IN [PACE DECESSIT]
XIII KAL[ENDAS] JAN[UARIAS] VIXIT
ANN[IS] XXVII P[L MINUS]

Bibliography:

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W15, p.164 (with further references).

[no image available]

M58: Tomb mosaic of Innoca Rustica

Date: Fifth century?
Place of Origin: Cemetery north of the city of Sfax, North Africa
Current Location: Sfax Museum (possibly destroyed)

1.5 m x 0.7 m

Description:

Note I have not been able to access a picture of this mosaic and therefore the description is based on other catalogues

The only information is that the figure is shown wearing a necklace. She must be an infant since her inscription records that she was two years and ten months old when she died.

Inscription:

BONAE MEMORI
AE INNOCA RUS
TICA VIXIT ANNIS
DUOBUS M(ENSES) DECE[M]
D(IES) VIGINTI UN
O DORMIT IN
PACE

Bibliography:

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C18, p.187 (with further references).

[no image available]

M59: Tomb mosaic of Rogata

Date: Mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Christian Cemetery of Buttes Mezghanni, Sfax, North Africa
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

0.99 m x 0.36 m

Description:

The mosaic from Sfax is partially damaged, but shows an *orant* female figure wearing an orange patterned *dalmatica* with black and yellow clavi. She wear a bracelet and red shoes and her dark hair appears short. On her right side survives a lit candle and next to her head a *chi-rho*. The inscription tells us she was a four year old girl.

Inscription:

…A VI(XIT)
[A]NNIS IIII
[…] D III O(RAS) VII
…IT IN PACE

Bibliography:

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C19, p.188 (with further references).

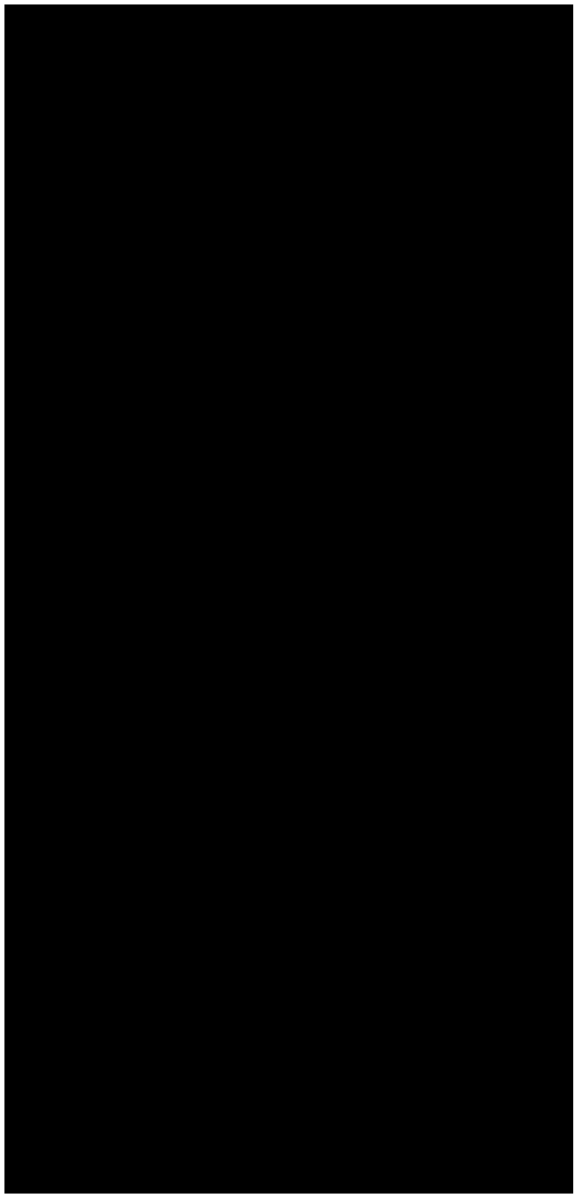


Figure 1: The tomb mosaic of Rogata (Powell 2019, p.188).

M60: Funerary banquet of Numitoria Saturnina and Gaius Julius Serenus

Date: Late third century?
Place of Origin: Necropolis, Henchir-Thyna, North Africa
Current Location: Sfax Archaeological Museum

Approximately 1.8 m x 1.5 m (each)

Description:

A pair of matching tomb mosaic for a married couple, Numitoria Saturnina and Gaius Julius Serenus, from the necropolis at Henchir-Thyna in Tunisia. The formula 'Dis Manibus Sacrum' (D.M.S) in the inscription indicates that they were pagan. Both wife and husband are shown reclining on a large high-backed couch with cushions, and with a three-legged table in front of them, holding a drinking vessel. Garlands, roses, and birds decorate the background giving the effect of a paradisiacal setting. The couple are attended by nude *erotes* and Psyche playing the *pandura*. Both Numitoria Saturnina and her husband wear white tunics with dark clavi. She also wears bracelets and a necklace.

Inscription:

(tabula ansata on the right side of Numitoria Saturnina's panel)
D M S NUMITORIA SATURNINA VIXIT ANNIS XLVIII

(tabula ansata on the left side of Gaius Julius Serenus' panel)
D M S C I IULIUS SERENUS VIXIT ANNIS LXI M III D VIII

Bibliography:

Blanchard-Lemée, M. (1996). Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia. London: British Museum Press, pp.80-81, 84.

Métraux, G. (2008) .Prudery and Chic in Late Antique Clothing. In: J. Edmondson and A. Keith eds., Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture, Toronto, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 279-80.

Patout Burns, J. and Jensen, R. M. (2014). Christianity in Roman Africa: The Development of its Practices and Beliefs. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, p.438, Fig. 145.

Potthoff, S.. (2016). The Afterlife in Early Christian Carthage: Near-Death Experiences, Ancestor Cult, and the Archaeology of Paradise. London: Routledge, p.112, Fig 25.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W19, p.168.



Figure 1: Double tomb mosaic for a couple (Patout Burns, and Jensen 2014, Fig 145).

M61: Tomb mosaic of Romanilla and Emerita

Date: Late fifth century?
Place of Origin: Basilica at Khirbet Guidra, North Africa
Current Location: Lost

4.70 m x 4.95 m

Description:

This large mosaic panel from a basilica at Khirbet Guidra, now lost, had a wide frame of acanthus scrolls. It was divided into two parts: the left part had a depiction of an *orant* woman wearing an orange tunic and a cream and orange veil over her head; the right part had a kantharos sprouting vines. It is unfortunately only known from a nineteenth century woodcut. Despite only showing a single figure, the panel commemorates two women: Romanilla and Emerita. The left-hand part with the *orant* figure includes an inscription for Romanilla, the right-hand part one for Emerita. Despite the 23 year gap between their deaths, the panel was laid in one phase.

Inscription:

(left-hand part, above and either side of the figure)
HIC REQUIESCIT RO
MANILLA HONES
TA FEMINA
QVI VIXIT
AN XLI

RECES
SIT IN P
[RIE]
D[IE] PR(O) N(ONES) IV
LIAS AN(NO)
PR(OVINCIAE) CCCVXLII

The date in the final lines accords to AD 467.

(right-hand part, below kantharos)
HIC REQVIESCIT
EMERITA HONE
STA FEMINA
QUI VIXIT AN(N)IS
LXX RECESSIS
IN PACE DIE V K(A)L(ENDAS)
AUGUSTA AN(NO)
P(ROVINCIAE) CCCCXXVIII

The date in the final lines accords to the 6th July AD 444.

Bibliography:

Brochin, M. (1888). Notes sur les ruines antiques de la region du haut Bou-Sellam a l'ouest de Sétif. *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques,* pp.422-432.

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, W20, p.169 (with further references).



Figure 1: Woodcut of the tomb mosaic of Romanilla and Emerita (after Brochin 1888, Pl.XIII).

M62: Tomb mosaic of Navalica

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Unknown
Current Location: Bardo Museum, Tunis

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic shows a standing female *orant* figure wearing a white over-tunic with dark clavi belted at the waist on top of a long-sleeved red tunic with white bands at the cuffs, and red shoes. Her hair is short and dark and her head is framed by a wreath with a cross at the top. There appear to be garlands or candles on either side of her. The inscription indicates that she was ten years old.

Inscription:

DVLCISSIMA FIL(I)A
NAVALIA BIXIT IN
PACE ANNIS X M
ENSES VIII DIES XXI
REPV III DVS OCT

Bibliography:

Powell, E. (2019). Gender and Identity in Late Antique Funerary Iconography. MPhil Thesis, University of Oxford, C26, p.195.

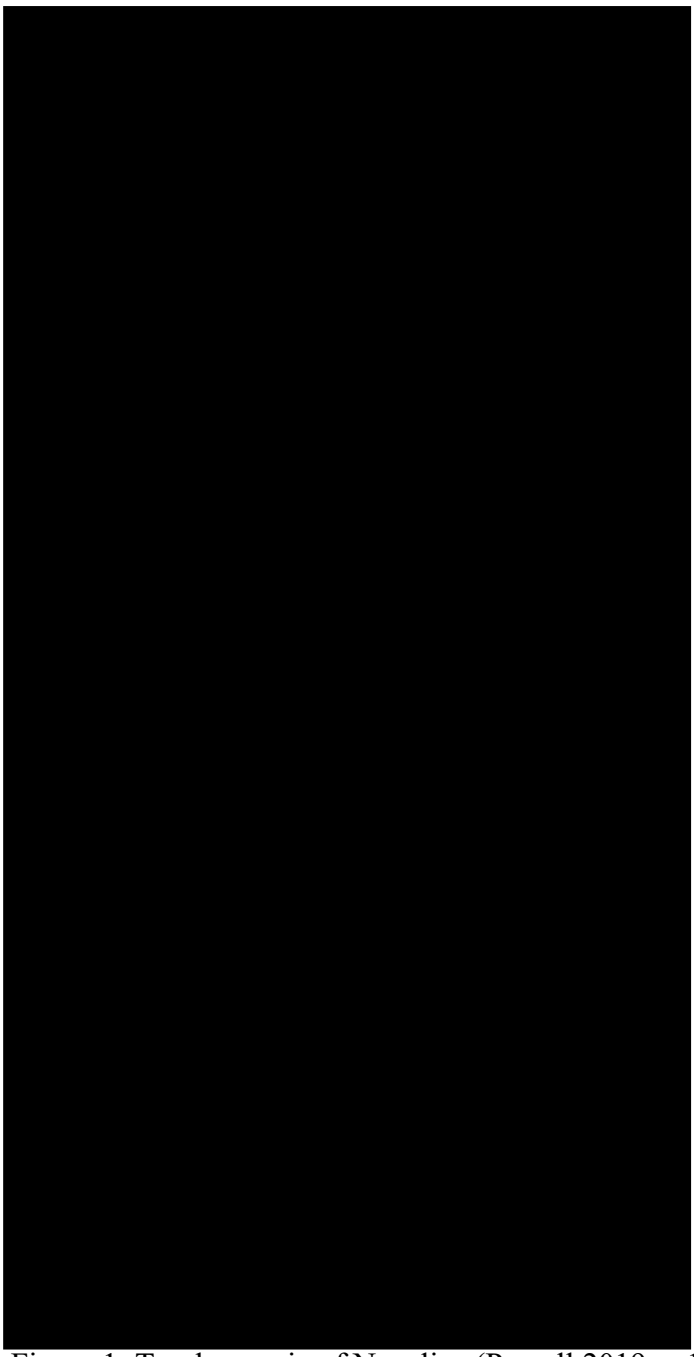


Figure 1: Tomb mosaic of Navalica (Powell 2019, p.195).

M63: *Domina* in estate scenes

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Centcelles villa, Catalonia, Spain
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The highly fragmentary mosaic is located on the dome of a room in the suburban villa of Centcelles in Spain, 5 km outside of Tarragona. While often assumed to be a mausoleum, the associated crypt was built in a later period and therefore the function of the space is unknown. The dome mosaic is divided into three registers: the outermost register is concerned with scenes of the hunt, the next register with biblical scenes (such as Jonas and the three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace), and the final register with scenes of the *dominus* and *domina* of the estate. A central medallion is almost entirely destroyed but may have depicted the couple. While the scenes of the *dominus* and *domina* are incredibly fragmentary, it appears that one shows the *dominus* with a scroll and another the *dominus* holding a jug. The scenes of the *domina* seem to show her seated in a *kathedra* holding a *mappa,* and perhaps at her toilet.

Bibliography:

Arce, J. (2002). Nuevas reflexiones sobre la iconografia de la cúpula de Centcelles. In: J. Arce ed., Centcelles, El Monumento Tardorromano. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschenider, pp.11-21.

Hauschild, T. and Arbeiter, A. (1993). La villa romana de Centcelles. Barcelona: Monserrat Mateu Taller Editorial, pp.50-118.

Schlunk, H. (1988). Die Mosaikkuppel von Centcelles. Mainz: Von Zabern.

Warland, R. (2002). Die Kuppelmosaiken von Centcelles als Bildprogramm spätantiker Privatrepräsentation. In: J. Arce ed., Centcelles. El monumento tardorromano. Iconografía y arquitectura. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, pp. 21-35.



Figure 1: Fragmentary mosaic dome from Centcelles (Fernando Fernández Baliña, CC BY-SA 3.0 es).



Figure 2: Diagram of the scheme of the dome (Warland 2002, Fig 7).



Figure 3: Detail of the woman holding a *mappa* in scene C1 (Warland 2002, Fig 1).

M64: Comic scene with grotesque old woman

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Puente Genil, Spain
Current Location: ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is semi-circular in shape, indicating it probably filled an apsed space. It depicts a comic scene of a Geranomachia in which two nude male pygmies fight a crane. To the right of the scene is an older woman with an excessively large nose gesturing towards the other figures. Her tunic has fallen down exposing both her breasts, which hang forward as she leans towards the pygmies. Inscriptions record a dialogue between the actors.

Inscription:

I am Cervius: “Oh my son Gerion, goodbye!” – “Duck down, father!” *Uxor mastale*: “Oh poor me, I am ruined!”

Bibliography:

Puk, A. (2014). Das römische Spielewesen in der Spätantike. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp.349-350, Tafel 120, Abb. 160. Text and translation of inscription p.349, note 384.



Figure 1: Mosaic showing a comic scene with an old woman (Puk 2014, Tafel 120, Abb.160).

M65: Theatrical company of performers

Date: Late fourth to fifth century
Place of Origin: Noheda, Spain
Current Location: In situ

Panel B: 6.15 m x 3.14 m
Panel E: 6.05 m x 3.01 m

Description:

The mosaics are located in the triapsidal *triclinium* of a villa at Noheda, 17 km north of Cuenca. In the centre of the room was an ornamental pool, around which were arranged six mosaic panels. These mosaic panels contain figurative scenes depicting theatrical performances and mythological tableaux. Panel A depicts the contest between Oenomaus and Pelops for the hand of Hippodamia; panel C the judgement of Paris, the abduction of Helen, and the journey to Troy; panel D a Dionysiac thiasos; panel F nereids, tritons, and fishermen around the central pool.

Panel B is divided into two horizontal registers: the upper larger register depicts a theatrical company and the lower register seven individuals divided by columns. The individuals in the lower register represent comic actors, athletes, a herald and a trumpeter. The upper register includes various components of mime and pantomime performances. On the far left is a male musician playing the hydraulic organ while two small boys work the pumps. Next come two women, presumably part of the chorus, and a man wearing a *scabillum* shoe with an elongated sole used for marking time and also seen on Helladia's comb (I8). Next we see a pantomime dancer wearing a mask and a wig, a male musician playing the lyre, and a small child. A male actor dressed in while is next in the scene, followed by another musician in an elaborate wig playing the flute. At the far right side of the scene we see six figures – two women and a man – grouped around a bed, acting out a scene from a mime, referred to in the inscription above their heads, in which a woman may be trying to hide her lover. The female performers in the mosaic are shown in the most elaborate clothing. The two in the final scene wear voluminous *dalmaticae*, earrings, and necklaces. The woman seated on the bed also wears an elaborate jewelled headpiece, as does one of the members of the chorus.

Panel E is organised in a similar fashion across two registers. The bottom register is again filled with perfomers and athletes. The figurative scenes in the top register are also similar to those in panel B, most figures show only slight variation. The third grouping, however, instead of the mime scene in the bedroom, is concerned with a grouping of three people: two adults and child, unfortunately only preserved in the lower part. It appears to show a child with an unfurled scroll and two adults on stilts.

Inscription:

(above the mime scene in Panel B)
MIMV ZELOTIPI NVM
FI

Bibliography:

Tévar, M. A. V. (2013). The late-antique villa at Noheda (Villar de Domingo García) near Cuenca and its mosaics. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 26.1, pp.307-330.

Tévar, M. A. V. (2014). El *tricilinum* de la *villa* de Noheda (Villar de Domingo García, Cuenca). In: Pensabene and Sfameni eds., La villa restaurata e i nuovi studi sull'edilizia residenziale tardoantica. Atti del Convegno Internazionale del Centro Interuniversitario di Studi sull'Edilizia abitativa tardoantica nel Mediteraneo (CISEM) (Piazza Armerina 7-10 novembre 2012). Bari: Edipuglia, pp. 521-531.



Figure 1: Photograph of the apsidal *triclinium* with indications of the locations of the mosaic panels (Tévar 2013, Fig 12).

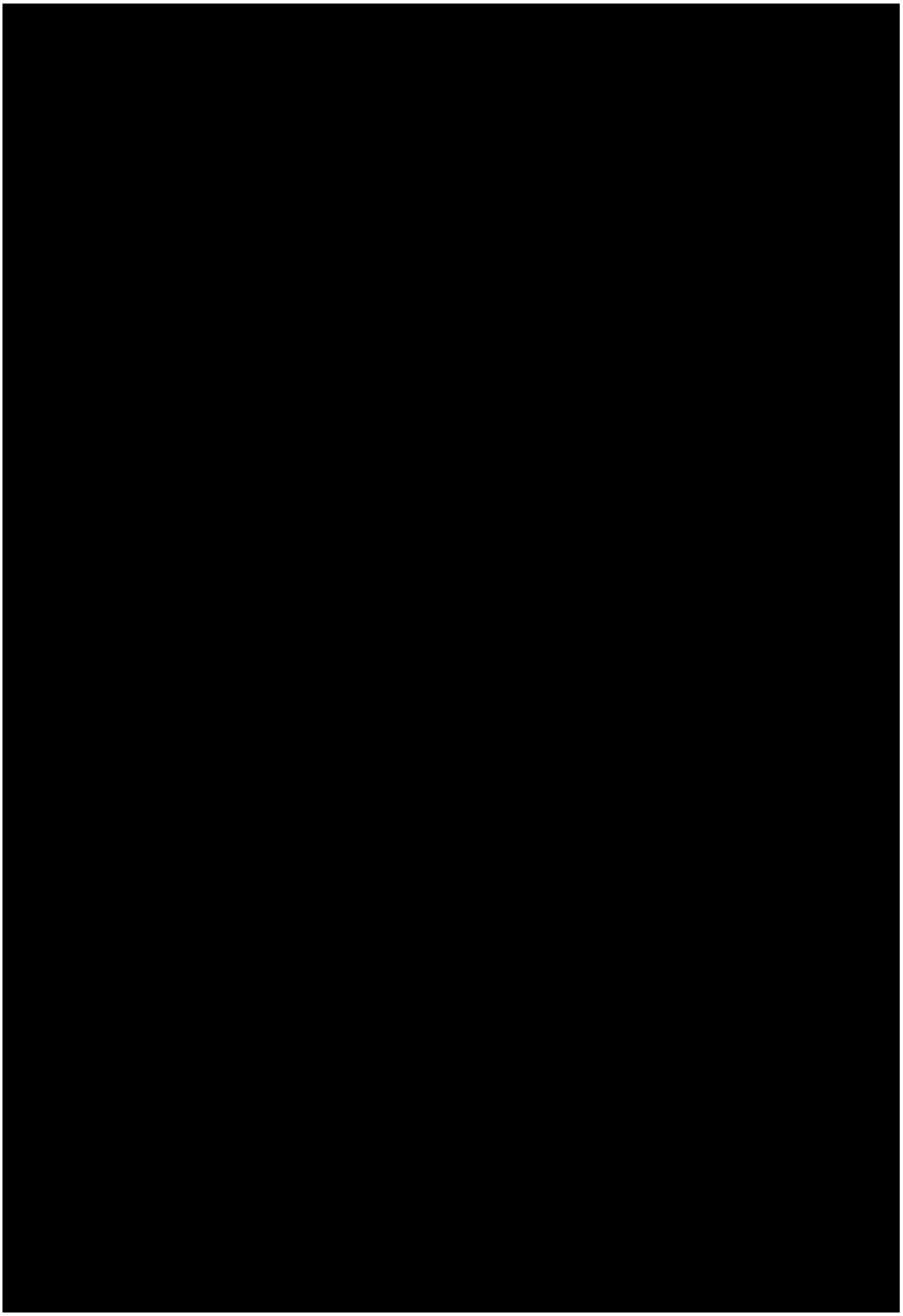


Figure 2: Mosaic panel B (Tévar 2013, Fig 15).

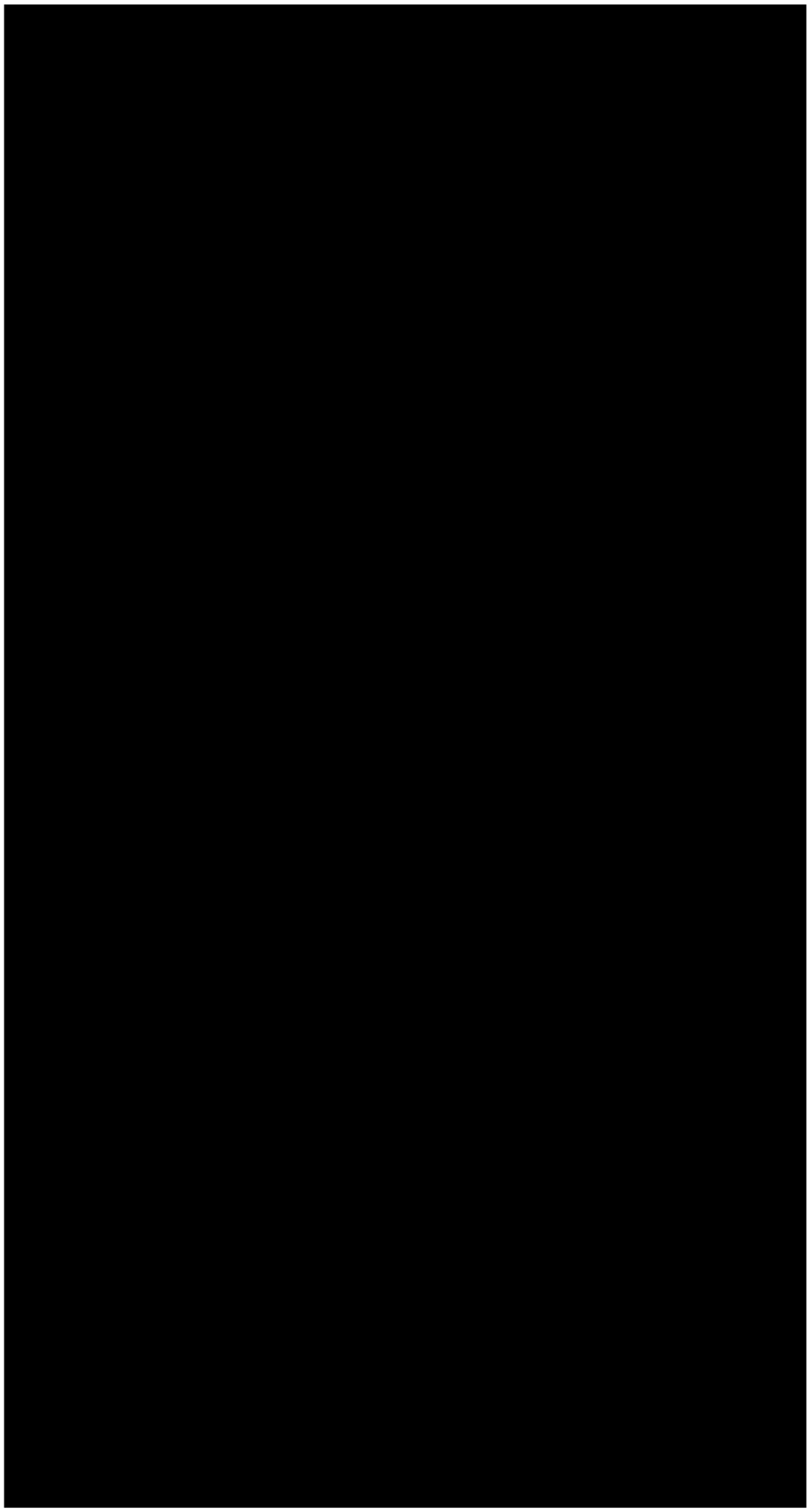


Figure 3: Mosaic panel E (Tévar 2013, Fig 20).

M66: Busts of family members(?)

Date: Late fourth century
Place of Origin: La Olmeda, Palencia, Spain
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaic is located in a large rectangular room directly off the central courtyard of the villa. The primary focus of the mosaic is a central scene showing the discovery of Achilles in his hiding on the island of Skyros. Below the story of Achilles is a large hunting panel and to the sides geometric panels. Directly surrounding the Skyros tableaux, however, is a wide border decorated with fantastic birds and vegetal motifs, and the seasons placed at the corners. All around the border are oval medallions that have been made to look like they are suspended from a string. Inside each oval is the portrait of an individual and it has been suggested that these represent the family that owned the villa. Given the attention paid to each individual hanging medallion this may be the case. Fifteen portraits in total have survived out of what was once eighteen, nine women and six men. While there appears to be distinctions in age and hair colour, all the women wear their hair in the *Scheitelzopf* style. Other commentators have suggested the portraits instead represent women of the Theodosian family, previous Roman emperors, and mythological heroes (see Arce 2012), however this is less likely.

Bibliography:

Arce Martinez, J. (2012). Los retratos de los medallones del mosaico de Aquiles de la villa de Pedrosa de la Vega (La Olmeda, Palencia). In: C. Fernández Ibáñez and R. Bohigas Roldán eds., In durii regione romanitas: estudios sobre la romanización del Valle del Duero en homenaje a Javier Cortes Álvarez de Miranda. Palencia: Diputación de Palencia, pp.87-91.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (1999). Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.321.

Guardia Pons, M. (1992). Los mosaicos de la Antigüedad Tardía en Hispania: estudios de la iconografía. Barcelona: PPU, p.151, Figs 58, 65.

Kiilerich, B. (2001). Ducks, Dolphins and Portrait Medallions: Framing the Achilles Mosaic at Pedrosa de la Vega (Palencia). *Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia* 15, pp.245-267 (with further references).

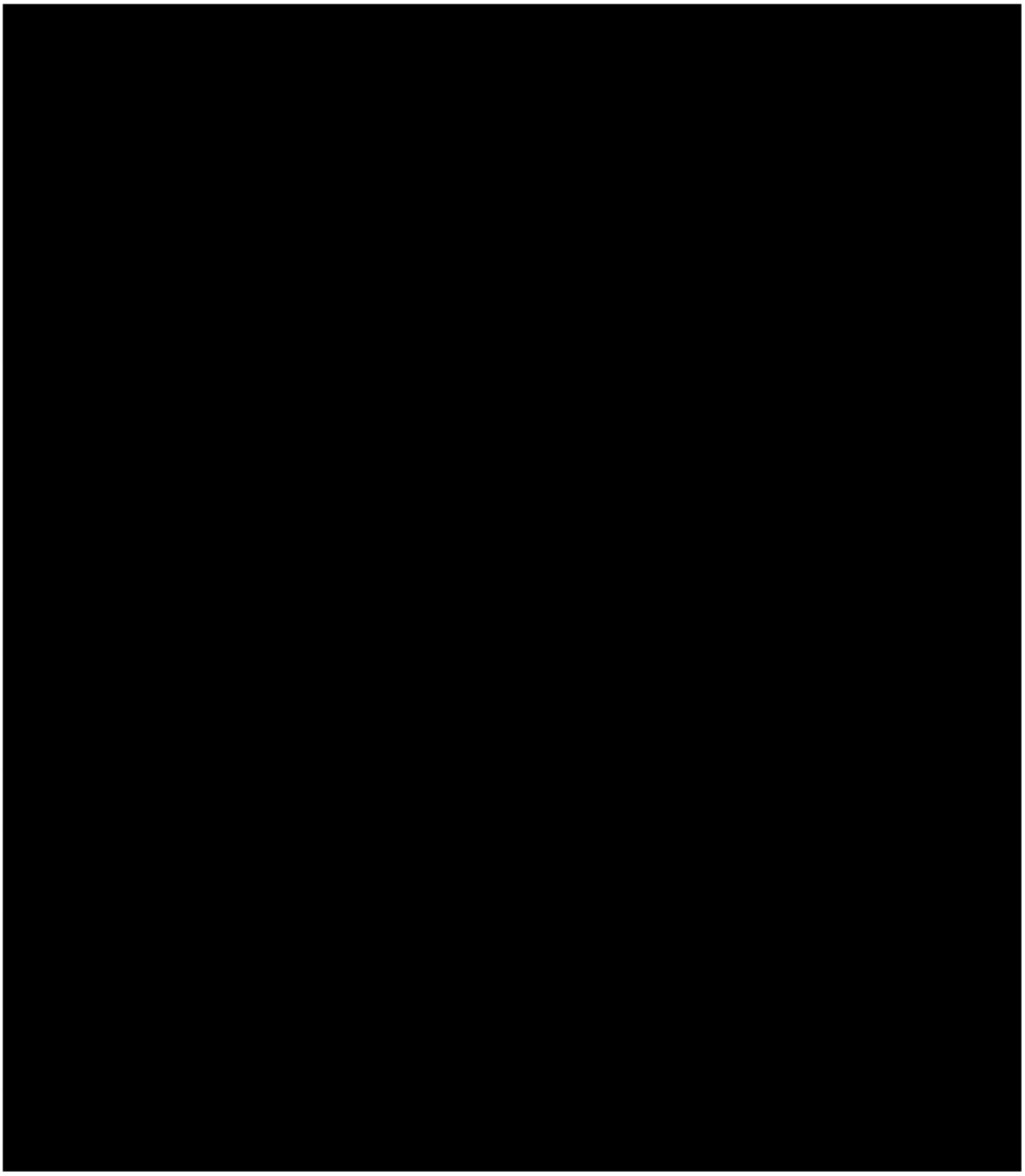


Figure 1: Drawing of the mosaic, with the portrait medallions numbered 1-15 (Kiilerich 2001, Fig 4, after Palol).



Figure 2: Detail of two portrait medallions, a man and a woman (Dunbabin 1999, Plate 27).



Figure 3: Detail of two portrait medallions, a man and a woman (Kiilerich 2001, Fig 10).

M67: Couple with Venus

Date: Mid third century?
Place of Origin: Italica, Spain
Current Location: Lost

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

A small scene from a much larger mosaic composition from a villa that included depictions of the seasons and victorious chariot racers, now lost and known from drawings. Known as the "Mosaico Grande de Itálica". In a small rectangular panel we see a couple depicted on either side of Venus. Unfortunately the mosaic is heavily damaged, but they may have been shown in the *dextrarum iunctio* pose. The inscription above them is incomplete but appears to identify the woman, probably the *domina* of the villa, as Tulia. The clothing of the figures is unclear as the mosaics only survive in coloured copies, but Tulia seems to wear a white tunic with a red mantle. The hairstyle of Tulia, thought to be similar to Otacilia Severa, has been used as an important indicator for the date of the mosaic. However, the drawings seem to indicate more volume at the crown of the head, perhaps indicating she instead wears the *Scheitelzopf*. This may push the potential dating into the late third or early fourth century.

Inscription:

(above the heads of the figures)
…PRO VENVS TVLIA

Bibliography:

Mañas Romero, I. and Blanco Freijeiro, A. (1978). Mosaicos Romanos de Itálica Vol 1. Madrid: Instituto Español de Arqueología "Rodrigo Caro" del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, No. 41, pp.53-54, Plate 76 (with further references).

San Nicolás Pedraz, M. P. (1994). La iconografía de Venus en los mosaicos hispanos. In: C. M. Batalla ed., VI Coloquio internacional sobre mosaico antiguo Palencia-Mérida Octubre 1990. Spain: Asociación Española del Mosaico, pp.393-406, Fig 13.

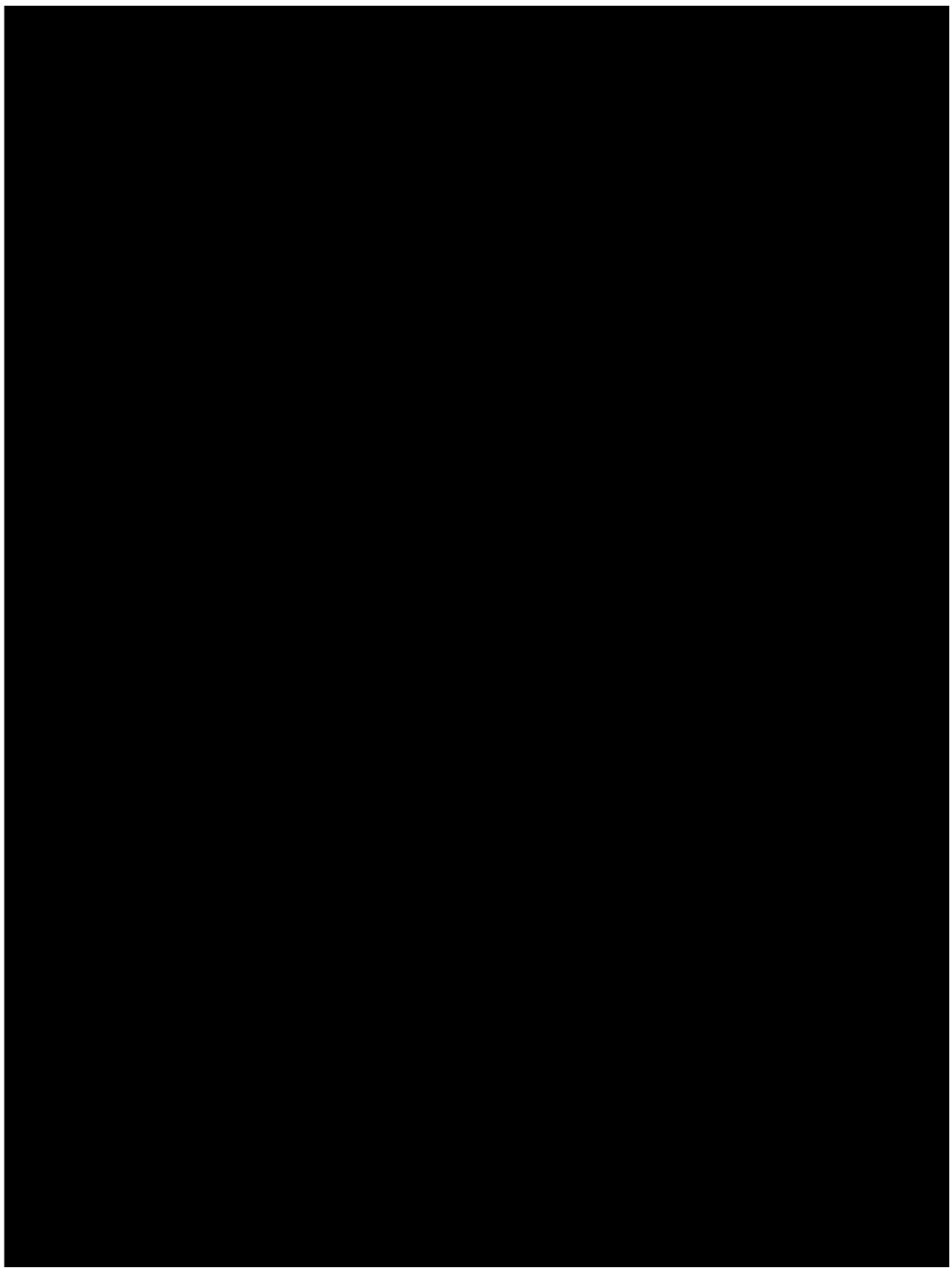


Figure 1: Colour drawing of the now lost mosaics (Mañas Romero and Blanco Freijeiro 1978, Lám.76, after José Amador de los Ríos).



Figure 2: Detail of figure 1, showing the couple flanking Venus.

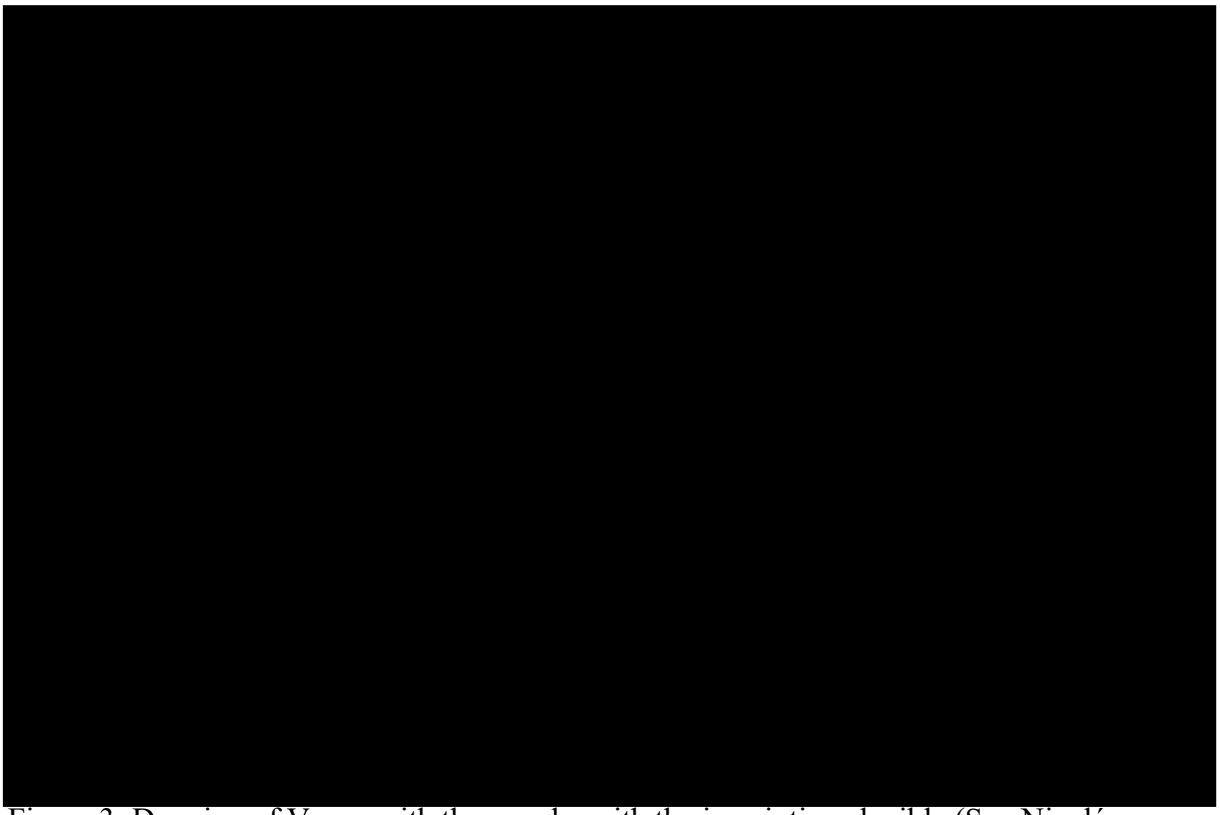


Figure 3: Drawing of Venus with the couple, with the inscriptions legible (San Nicolás Pedraz 1994, Fig 13).

P1: Tomb painting of Theodosia

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Antinoopolis, Egypt
Current Location: In situ (at least partially destroyed since initial publication)

Dimensions of whole painting unavailable
Theodosia – H: 1.25 m
Chapel – 2.40 m x 3.00 m

Description:

Tomb painting of a lady identified by painted inscription as Theodosia. The painting was found in what is described as a *cappelletta* off a small basilica, under an arch on one of the walls. The painting shows three figures: in the centre stands the deceased woman, Theodosia, in the *orans* position. To the viewer's left is Saint Colluthus, who places his left hand on Theodosia's right shoulder, and to the right Saint Mary. It is not clear which Saint Mary this refers to. On another wall was a damaged image of Christ enthroned between two angels. The paintings has been at least partially destroyed since its discovery, but photographs indicate that it was initially well preserved, and was recorded in detail in a watercolour reproduction, from which this description derives.

The scene is framed by a red semi-circular border, above which are peacocks and vegetal motifs. The background of the scene shows trees and plants, perhaps indicating Paradise. In the centre stands Theodosia, wearing a long-sleeved yellow tunic embellished with purple details at cuffs. Over this she wears a matching long tunic also in yellow with matching purple designs on the hem, collar, shoulders, and clavi. This is belted under the bust. Over this tunic she wears a diaphanous purple mantle which is also shown framing the back of her head. She wears a number of bracelets, necklaces, and an elaborate jewelled headpiece. Fragments of clothing discovered by the excavators indicate that Theodosia was buried in similar clothes to those she was shown in in the image. Saint Colluthus is dressed in the tunic and mantle, and is nimbed, while Saint Mary wears a tight-fitting white head covering under a black mantle and a black tunic.

Inscription:

(over the heads of the figures)
Saint Colluthus Theodosia Saint Mary

Bibliography:

Breccia, E. and Donadoni, S. (1938). Le prime ricerche italiane ad Antinoe (Scavi dell'Istituto Papirologico Fiorentino negli anni 1936-1937). *Aegyptus*, 18.3/4, pp.285-318.

Durand, M. (2002). Usages des textiles coptes. In: M. Durand and F. Saragoza eds., Egypte, la trame de l'Histoire: Textiles pharaoniques, coptes et islamiques. Paris: Somogy, pp.76-81 and Fig 1.

Rassart-Debergh, M. (1997). Textiles d'Antinoé (Égypte) en Haute-Alsace. Colmar: Muséum d'histoire naturelle de Colmar, pp.102-103

Rutschowscaya, M.-H. (1990). Coptic Fabrics. Paris: Adam Biro, pp.50-52.

Salmi, M. (1945). I dipinti paleocristiani di Antinoe. In: Università di Firenza ed., Scritti dedicati alla memoria de Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte. Firenze: Felice le Monnier, pp.158-169.

Thomas, T. K. (2016). Material Meaning in Late Antiquity. In: T. K. Thomas ed., Designing Identity: The Power of Textiles in Late Antiquity. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp.45-46.

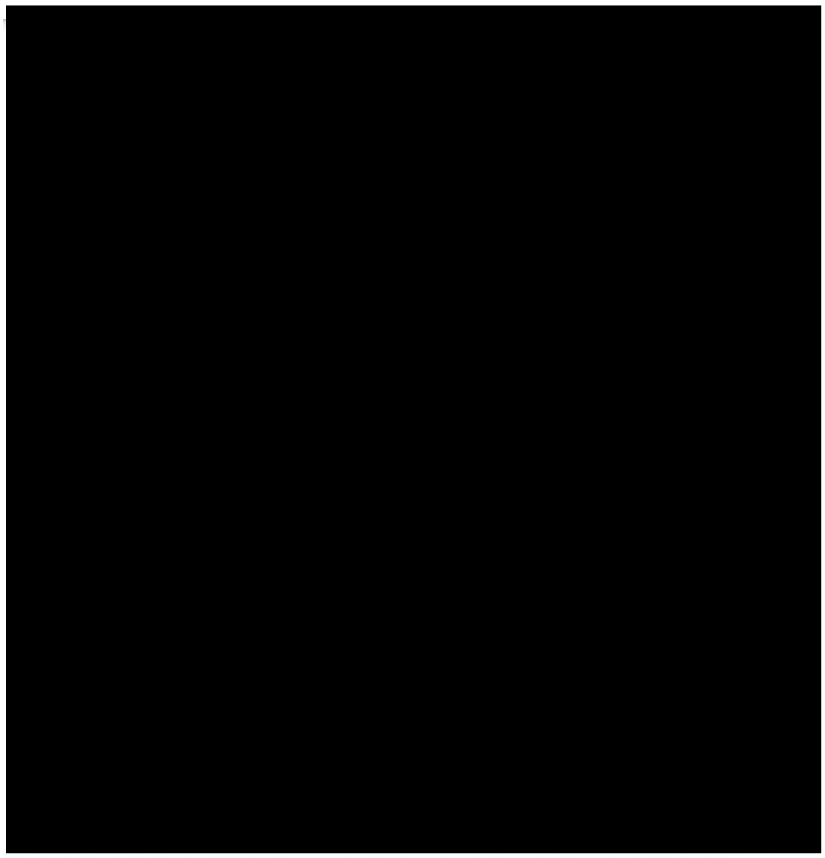


Figure 1: Photograph of the tomb painting of Theodosia (Breccia and Donadoni 1938, Fig 6).



Figure 2: Watercolour copy of the funerary painting of Theodosia (Salmi 1945, Tav. h).

P2: Banquet scene with female diner and servant

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Amheida, Egypt
Current Location: In situ (re-buried)

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

A small scene of a *convivium*, from the wall-paintings of the west wall of Room 1 in a house in Amheida. The scene shows four diners holding drinking cups reclining at a banquet, interpreted as the owners of the house and their guests. On the viewer's left we first have two small male figures, one wearing a white tunic and the other yellow. Next comes a larger male figure, assumedly the *dominus* in what appears to be a white tunic and purple mantle. On the far right next to him is a female figure, shown wearing a voluminous purple tunic and a white mantle that is also draped over her head. All the diners direct their gaze to the left side of the scene, which shows a seated figure playing the double flutes and a smaller figure, perhaps about to serve from the amphora in front of them. The smaller of these two figures appears to be female from her head-dress and long tunic, the other figure is more ambiguous. Other paintings from the same house concern mythological themes, such as satyrs and nymphs, Perseus and Andromeda, and Odysseus, Penelope, Eurykleia.

Bibliography:

McFadden, S. (2015). Art on the Edge: The Late Roman Wall Painting of Amheida, Egypt. In: N. Zimmermann ed., Antike Malerei zwischen Lokalstil und Zeitstil: Akten des XI. Internationalen Kolloquiums der AIPMA, 13.-17. September 2010. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, pp.359-370, esp. 365-367.



Figure 1: Painted scene of a banquet with a female diner and server (McFadden 2015, Taf.CXXVII, Abb.9).

P3: Donor portraits of Elizabeth and her daughter

Date: Seventh to eighth century
Place of Origin: Jeme, Egypt
Current Location: In situ?

L: approx. 3.5 m; H: approx. 1.5 m

Description:

The donor portrait of Elizabeth and her daughter is found in a chapel located within the former temple of Rameses III at Jeme (Medinet Habu) in Egypt. The portraits were incorporated into wall-paintings in the chapel that depicted the life of St Menas, who had a major pilgrimage site at his tomb near Alexandria. The name "Menas" was common in papyri discovered at Jeme and there are mentions of a church and monastery of Menas (see Wilber 1940, p.94). Wall-paintings decorated the east and west walls of the chapel. The figures on the east wall are badly damaged and consist of depictions of saints in two registers, some shown in the *orans* pose, others suffering execution or torture. The west wall is decorated with a single register of narrative scenes related to St Menas. Moving from left to right we see a potential representation of Menas' famous shrine, the saint himself in the *orans* position, a building labelled specifically as Menas' martyrion, Menas giving an object to a man holding the reigns of camels, Menas on horseback, a miracle scene probably representing Menas raising a man from the dead, and finally at the far right two female figures. Unfortunately these frescoes are very damaged and we must therefore rely on drawings made of them for their interpretation.

The two female figures are both clad in red and stand in the *orans* position. The figure on the viewer's left is much smaller than the other, and this is explained by an inscription above the right-hand figure which reads "Elizabeth and her daughter" (see Figure 2). Illegible words are found below this inscription, which Wilfong suggests once recorded the name of Elizabeth's daughter, perhaps beginning with an 'M' (Wilfong 2002, p.97, note 3). The figures do not engage with any others and appear isolated from the rest of the action of the frescoes. Elizabeth was probably a donor who paid for the chapel's decoration.

On the opposite wall of the chapel there are a series of unidentified figures shown over two registers which include at least two women. Unfortunately, Wilbur does not discuss them in his article, stating that all the figures are saints. The presence of two smaller female figures, however, perhaps a woman and child, question this identification and raise the possibility that this is a another group of donors (see Figure 6). As far as I am aware the accompanying fragmentary inscriptions have not been studied and their significance for the identification of the figures is therefore unknown.

Bibliography:

Edgerton, W. F. (1937). Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimilies. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Pl.98-101.

Wilber, D. N. (1940). The Coptic Frescoes of Saint Menas at Medinet Habu. *The Art Bulletin* 22.2, pp.86-103.

Wilfong, T. (2002). Women of Jeme. Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt. University of Michigan Press, pp.95-98, Fig 6.



Figure 1: Restoration drawing of the frescoes from the church representing the life of Saint Menas. Elizabeth and her daughter at the bottom right. (Wilber 1940, Fig 1).



Figure 2: Copy made of the of Menas cycle frescoes shown in the drawing in Figure 1 (Edgerton 1937, Plate 98).

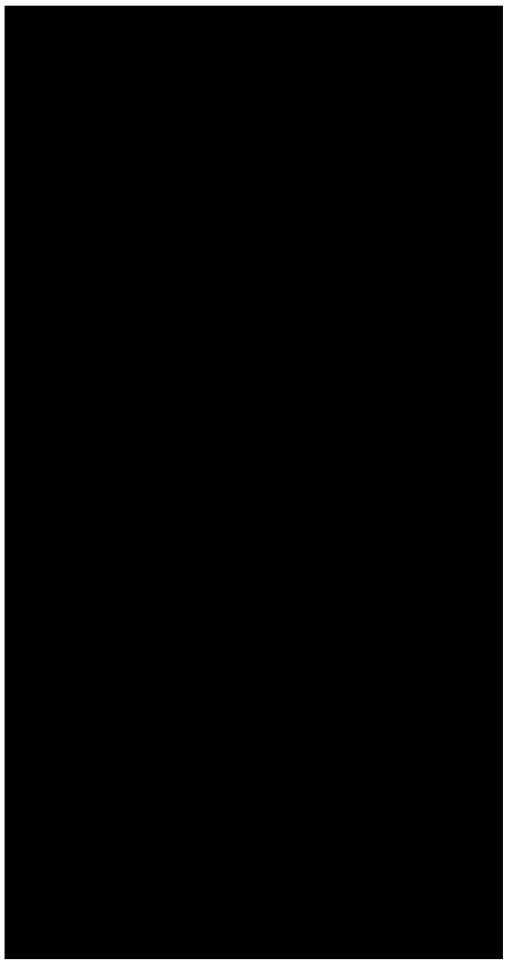


Figure 3: Detail showing Elizabeth and her daughter (after Edgerton 1937, Plate 98).



Figure 4: Inscription labelling Elizabeth and her daughter (Wilber 1940, Fig 3i).



Figure 5: Location of the chapel and frescoes within the temple of Rameses III (Wilber 1940, Fig 11).

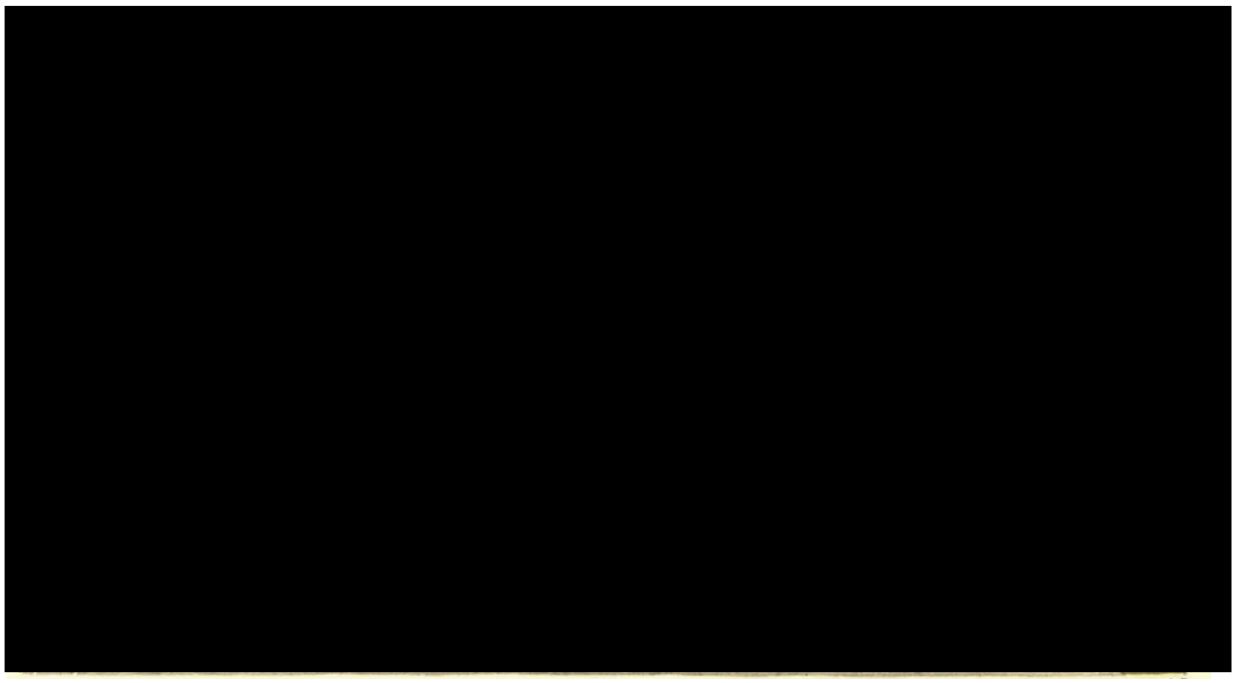


Figure 6: Copy of frescoes from the opposite wall of the chapel, showing four individuals in the *orans* position. The two figures on the viewer's left are much smaller and may represent a mother and daughter (Edgerton 1937, Plate 99).



Figure 7: Copy of further frescoes from the opposite wall of the chapel, showing saints (Edgerton 1937, Plate 100).



Figure 8: Further fragmentary surviving frescoes from the chapel (Edgerton 1937, Plate 101).

P4: Wall painting of Ama Rachel

Date: Sixth to eighth century
Place of Origin: Monastery of Apa Apollo, Bawit, Egypt
Current Location: Uncertain. Maspero says it was given to the Institut Francais (p. XIII).

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The wall painting is located on the north wall of Room 40, a vaulted chapel, from the south complex at the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit. It is possible that the complex was used by the female monastic community of this monastery. The excavators Maspero and Drioton identified that to the north was the domain of the male monks, but that in the south complex the appearance of rooms with an abnormal frequency of women's names, and this fresco featuring Ama Rachel, may be explained by the area representing a community of nuns (p.vi). In the room in which was found the fresco of Ama Rachel, all names mentioned in the extensive graffiti bar one were female: "My brother Joseph, the son of Ama Théodote" (No.488). If this is the women's area then it was composed of a small complex of some six rooms organised around a courtyard. This area has not been well excavated, however, and the complex may have been larger.

The fresco consists of ten figures between two horizonal borders featuring plants and garlands. In the centre is the Archangel Uriel and on the far left Saint John the soldier, followed by Apa Hôr of Preht (Abraht, a small town near Antinoopolis), St Ammonios, Saint Peter the Apostle, Saint Apollo the Great. To the right of the angel is a second Ammonios (?), Apa Anoup (of an unknown locality), another Apa Apollo, and on the far left Ama Rachel. She wears a plain tunic and mantle which covers her head, under which she wears a tight-fitting head covering. Behind her head is a nimbus. She also holds a book, as do the other male figures, bar Saint John and Uriel. Colour copies of other parts of the fresco indicate that her tunic would have been a neutral colour, perhaps cream, and that her mantle would have also been neutral, maybe a greyish-white. Her nimbus and book, on the other hand, would be bright tones of orange, red, and blue.

Inscription:

(next to Ama Rachel)
'Ama Rachel, mother of the monastery, who rested on the 27th day of Paôné'

Bibliography:

Maspero, J. and Drioton, E. (1931). Fouilles Exécutées à Baouît. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire V.59, Cairo: Impr. De l'Institut Française d'Archéologie Orientale, pp.xiii-xvi, 41, Pls.XLVII-L, for inscriptions, see pp.140-142.

Rapp, C. (2011). Early Monasticism in Egypt: Between Hermits and Cenobites. In: G. Melville and A. Müller eds., Female vita religiosa between Late Antiquity and the High Middle Ages. Structures, developments and spatial contexts. Berlin: Lit, p.41.

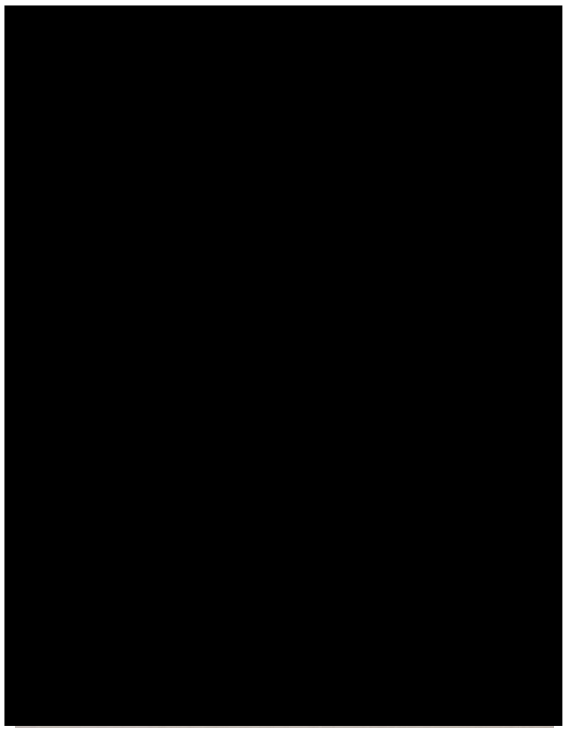


Figure 1: Plan of the south complex at Bawit (Maspero and Drioton 1931, Fig 50).



Figure 2: Photograph of the fresco of Ama Rachel (Maspero and Drioton 1931, Pl.XLVII.B).



Figure 3: Detail of the fresco showing Ama Rachel (Maspero and Drioton 1931, Pl.XLIX).

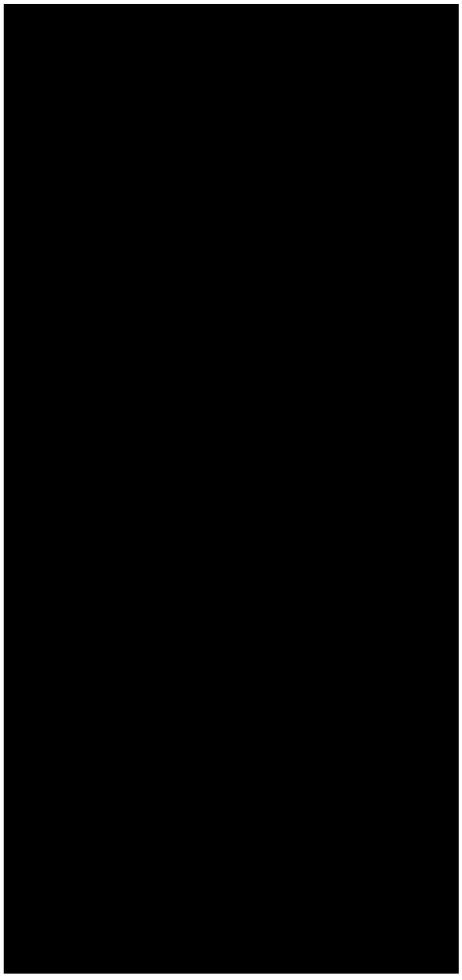


Figure 4: Detail of the previous figure, showing Ama Rachel (after Maspero and Drioton 1931, Pl.XLIX).



Figure 5: Watercolour copy by Daumas, showing the original colours of the fresco (Maspero and Drioton 1931, Pl.XLVIII).

P5: Female servant carrying fish

Date: Mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Hanghaus 2, Ephesus
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

A small fresco on the west wall of a cubiculum (H 2/14a-d) of Hanghaus 2 in Ephesus depicts a waiting servant carrying a fish on a platter. She wears a long yellowish-brown tunic and has her dark hair uncovered.

Bibliography:

Strocka, V. M. and Vetters, H. (1977). Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesos, pp.109-110, Plate 231.

Strocka, V. M. (2002). Die Fresken von Hanghaus 2 – Ein vierteiljahrhundert später. *Österreichische Jahreshefte* 71 pp.285-298.

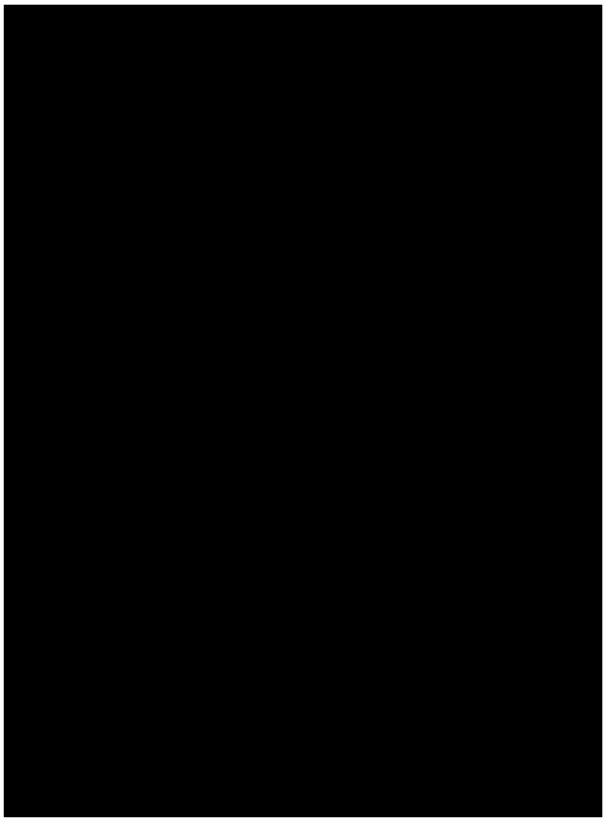


Figure 1: Female attendant carrying a fish (Strocka and Vetters 1977, Plate 231).

P6: Erotic scene

Date: Fifth to sixth century
Place of Origin: Casa del Cortile Dorico, Hierapolis
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

A tiny wall painting from the Casa del Cortile Dorico, showing what appears to be an erotic scene. A standing figure approaches another lying supine on a couch, likely a man and woman.

Bibliography:

Zaccaria-Ruggiu, A. (2005). Pitture dalla 'Casa del Cortile Dorico' di Hierapolis di Frigia: presentazione preliminare. In: P. Gros ed., Théorie et pratique de l'architecture romaine. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, pp.325, 331, Fig 5.



Figure 1: Photograph of wall showing motif of erotic scene on right side (Zaccaria-Ruggiu 2005, Fig 5).

P7: Tomb painting of Aelia Arisuth

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Gargaresh, Libya
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The funerary paintings of Aelia Arisuth and (probably) her husband Aelius Magnus were found in a tomb outside Tripoli in Libya, at the modern site of Gargaresh. Large rectangular niches were carved out of the rock for both husband and wife and then decorated with extensive paintings. Each niche originally had a shaft in which the body was placed, covered with a perforated stone slab. These no longer survive, but were apparently covered with plaster and each painted with a lion and lioness, with "The lioness who lies (here)" painted over the leaping lioness on Aelia's tomb. These are sometimes taken to be references to the Mithraic cult, however this has been questioned.

Aelia's tomb shows her at the back of the niche in a medallion held by two small female figures, surrounded by roses and garlands. She is shown in bust form holding a scroll, dressed in a bluish-green tunic and wearing a white mantle. Her hair is wrapped in a tight-fitting white hair-covering which appears similar to a turban. On the side walls of the niche are two reclining naked figures. On the wall around the niche we see two male figures holding lit candles on either side of the niche, chariot racing below, and two winged *erotes* holding a medallion with an inscription above. The paintings from the tomb of Aelia's husband are much more fragmentary, but the back of the niche sems to have shown him reclining surrounded by flowers, trees, and garlands. Aelia's tomb is significantly larger and better decorated than that of her husband.

Inscription

(above Aelia's tomb)
'Consecrated to the souls of the departed. Aelia Arisuth lived approximately sixty years.'

(above Aelius' tomb)
'Consecrated to the souls of the departed. Aelios Magnus/Maximus, son of Iurathanus, lived approximately forty-/fifty-five years.'

Bibliography:

Chalupa, A. (2005). Hyenas or lionesses? Mithraism and women in the religious world of late antiquity. *Religio: revue pro religionistiku* 13.2, pp.198-230.

Clermont-Genneau, C. (1903). Sépultures mithriaques découvertes aux environs de Tripoli de Barbarie (Libye). *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 47.4, pp.357-363.

De Marre, M. (2016). Aelia Arisuth - Mithraic Matron or Popular Patron? In: W. Henderson and E. Zacharopoulou eds., Greece, Rome, Byzantium and Africa. Studies Presented to Benjamin Hendrickx on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday. Athens: Herodotos, pp.215-239 (with further references).

Griffith, A. (2006). Completing the Picture: women and the female principle in the Mithraic Cult. *Numen* 53.1, pp.48-77.

Romanelli, P. (1922). Tomba romana con affreschi del IV secolo dopo Cristo nella regione di Gargaresh (Tripoli). *Notiziario archeologico Fasc III,* Roma: Luigi Alfieri, pp.21-34.



Figure 1: Tomb paintings of Aelia Arisuth ((Image from http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm113 [accessed 19/11/20]).

P8: Tomb painting of a couple with servants

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Silistra, Bulgaria
Current Location: In situ

Tomb chamber – L: 3.30 m; W: 2.60 m, H: 2.30 m

Description:

The paintings adorn a vaulted tomb chamber discovered in the necropolis of ancient Durostorum, modern Silistra. The eastern wall bears the entrance and is decorated with candles either side of the entrance way. The ceiling is painted with octagonal motifs filled with human, plant, and animal figures. On the opposite wall to the entrance we see the couple for whom the tomb was presumably made, shown underneath a motif of peacocks and a kantharos. On the viewer's right is the *dominus*, shown holding a scroll and dressed in a tunic and *chlamys*. Positioned slightly behind him to the left is *domina*, shown in a blue *dalmatica* with gold clavi and bands at the sleeves. She is shown holding a rose in her right hand, her left hand is placed on her husband's right shoulder. Her hair is covered by what is probably a tight-fitting bonnet-style cover.

On either side of the couple are a parade of servants, four on each side. On the west wall with the couple we find one on the viewer's left holding equipment for hand washing, and one on the right holding a large piece of cloth. They both have long loose hair and wear long tunics. On the south wall moving towards the west, we see a male servant holding a cloak with a large fibula attached to it, another holding a pair of trousers, and a female servant holding a silver casket attached to a chain. She wears a pinkish colour *dalmatica* with dark clavi and her hair in the *Scheitelzopf* style. The male attendants wear short tunics over trousers, one has long hair and the other has short hair. On the north wall, moving again towards the west, we see a male servant holding a belt, another with a piece of cloth, and an attendant wearing a long tunic and loose hair holding a mirror. While the four servants wearing long tunics and long loose hair are often identified as female, I am not so sure this is the case. This style is very similar to the 'page boy' representational style, used to depict young beautiful male slaves. It is particularly questionable whether these figures are female since there is a female slave shown and she wears her hair dressed in the typical late antique style of the *Scheitelzopf*.

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Valeva, J. (1990). La signification du cortège représenté dans la tombeau de Silistra. Essai de datation. *Revue Archéologique de Picardie* 1-2, pp. 113-116.

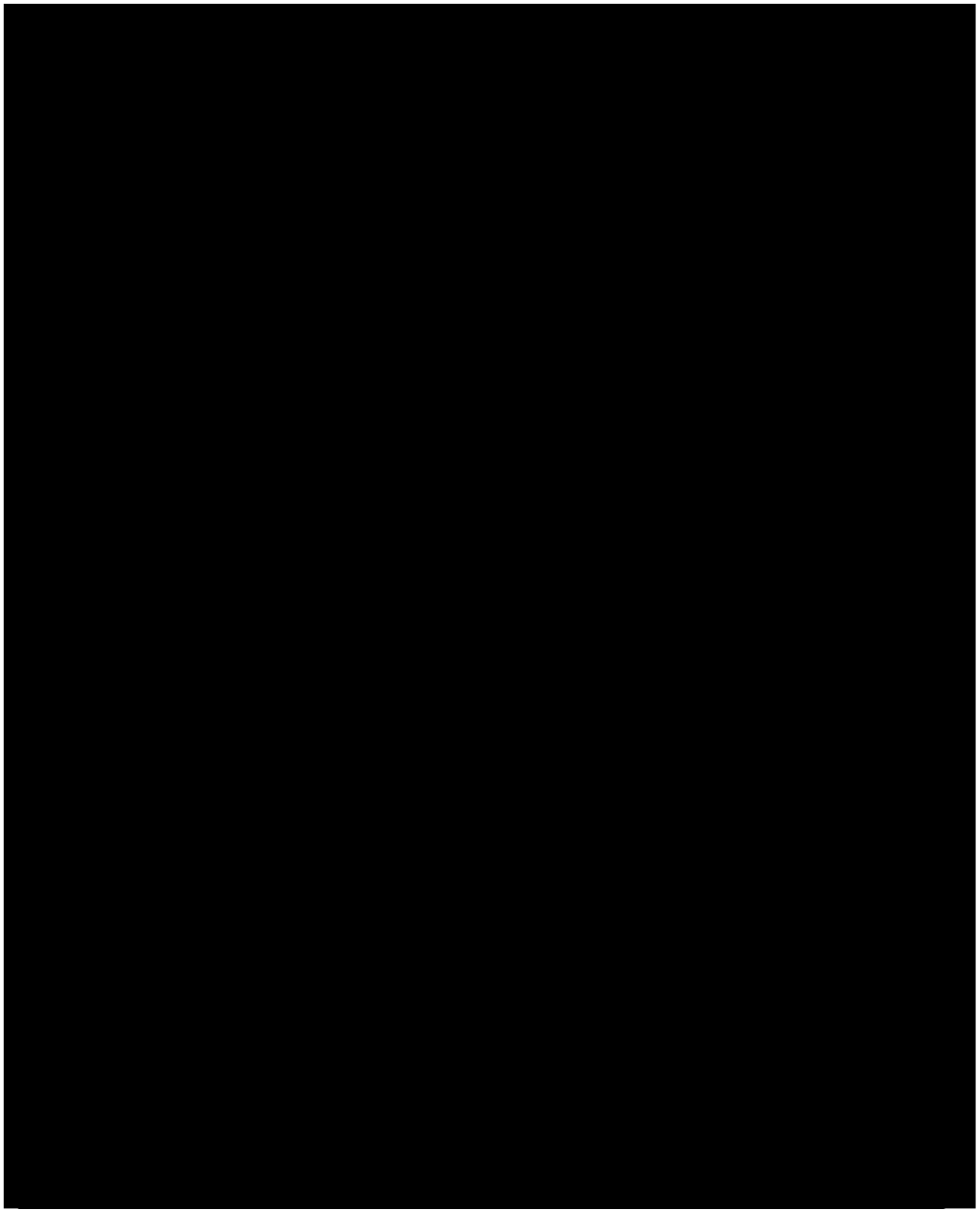


Figure 1: Plan of the frescoes decorating the tomb of a couple (Atanasov 2009, Fig 6).



Figure 2: View of the western side of the tomb, showing the image of the couple (Atanasov 2009, Fig 5).

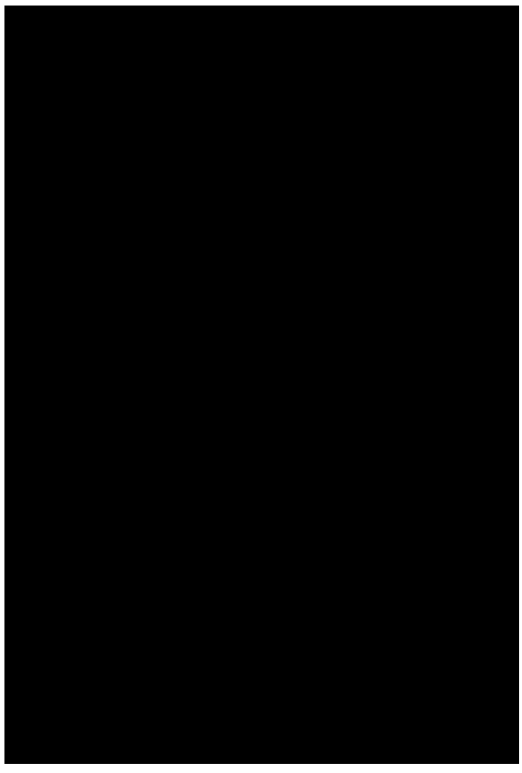


Figure 3: Figure of a female servant on the south wall (Valeva 1990, Fig 6).

P9: Tomb painting of Aurelia Eustorgia, with Aurelia Procla

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Tomb No.46, western necropolis, Thessaloniki
Current Location: Reconstructed in the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki

Tomb size – L: 2.11 m, W: 1.08 m, H:1.8 metres in height

Description:

The tomb was discovered in the western necropolis of Thessaloniki and is decorated by a series of wall-paintings. From inscriptions we understand that the owners of the tomb were a couple called Flavius and Aurelia Eustorgia, who we also see depicted. The vaulted ceiling of the tomb is painted with flowers encircling a wreath containing the Chi-Rho. The entrance to the tomb was from the east, with the west wall depicting the couple. They are shown beneath a lunette containing an inscription within a wreath. On the viewer's left is Flavius, shown in a tunic and *chlamys*. On the viewer's right is Aurelia Eustorgia, shown wearing a yellow *dalmatica* with dark clavi and her dark hair uncovered and dressed in the *Scheitelzopf* style. Both husband and wife hold olive branches. In between the adult figures are two male children, shown in short white tunics. They hold drinking cups and touch a jug in between them. While some consider these boys to be the couple's children, it is more likely that they represent slaves.

On the south wall of the tomb are peacocks in a landscape of trees and flowers, and a kantharos. On the northern wall we find again birds, flowers, and a rose basket. On the far right side of this wall we also see a fifth figure, who is identified by an inscription as Aurelia Prokla, 'mother of all'. She holds a drinking cup and jug, and wears a long *dalmatica* and a kerchief over her hair. Her identification is uncertain, she may represent another family member, a slave, or perhaps a nurse.

Inscription:

(lunette on western wall)
'To Flavios […] and Aurelia Eustorgia. Fare well passers-by'

(above image of Aurelia Prokla)
'and to Aurelia Prokla, the mother of all'

Translation from Behling 2015. The tomb gets its common name "The Tomb of Eustorgius" from an alternate reading of the first inscription by Pelekanidis.

Bibliography:

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Pelekanidis, S. (1969). Die Malerei der konstantinischen Zeit. In: Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Christliche Archäologie Trier 5-11 September 1965. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto de Archeologia Cristiana, pp.215-235.



Figure 1: Fresco showing a couple with two slave boys (Behling 2015, Fig 3).



Figure 2: Drawing of the northern wall of the tomb, showing Aurelia Prokla (Behing 2015, Fig 2).

P10: Tomb painting of an unknown woman

Date: Early fourth century
Place of Origin: Tomb G-2624, Viminacium, Serbia
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The paintings come from a small brick-built tomb discovered in Viminacium in Serbia, sometimes called the 'pagan tomb'. Within the tomb were also discovered two skeletons a man around 60 years old and a young woman of around 20. This young woman is probably the woman depicted on the western wall of the tomb. She is shown in the long bust from the hips up. She wears a very rich dark blue mantle with gold embellished panels and a large collar perhaps highlighted with jewels. She also wears a smaller necklace. Her dark hair is dressed in the *Scheitelzopf* style and is covered in a net. Behind the woman's head is a blue rectangular panel, similar to the kind of square nimbus later used to indicate living donors. Damage to the fresco means it is difficult to tell what she is doing with her right hand, which emerges from the mantle across her chest. The two side walls were decorated with peacocks and the opposite wall had a depicting of a male servant bringing food on a large platter.

Bibliography:

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Figure 1: Wall paintings from the tomb at Viminacium (Grašar and Tapavički-Ilić 2015, Fig 3).



Figure 2: Wall showing the image of the deceased woman (Grašar and Tapavički-Ilić 2015, Fig 4).

P11: Tomb painting of a couple with servants

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Beška, Serbia
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The painted tomb discovered at Beška near Smederevo in Serbia is similar in its formulation to the tomb at Silistra, although highly damaged (P8). On the western wall there is apparently a depiction of a man and woman, interpreted as the owners of the tomb. The woman apparently wears a yellow tunic and white mantle, and holds a lily in one hand, however the published photos make this difficult to confirm. Along one of the long walls of the tomb there is also a procession of servants bringing items to their masters, including a female slave in a red tunic carrying a tray of cakes. On the opposite wall to the couple is a group of three female figures, identified as the Fates.

Bibliography:

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Grašar, J. A. (2013). Symbol as Key to the Question of Roman Woman's Afterlife. *Tibiscum* 3, p.72.

Grašar, J. A. (2015). Funerary images of women in tomb frescos of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine period from the Central Balkans. In: G. R. Tsetskhladze et al., eds., The Danubian Lands Between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC - 10th Century AD) Proceeings of the Fifth International Congress on Clack Sea Antiquities (Belgrade - 17-21 September 2013). Oxford, Archaeopress, pp.269-275.

Špehar, O. (2017). Home for Eternity. A Possible Interpretation of the Late Roman Tomb Paintings from Beška. *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 45, pp.13-24.

Valeva, J. (2001). La peinture funéraire dans les provinces orientales de l'empire romain dans l'antiquité tardive. *Hortus Artium* Medievalium 7, pp.167-208.

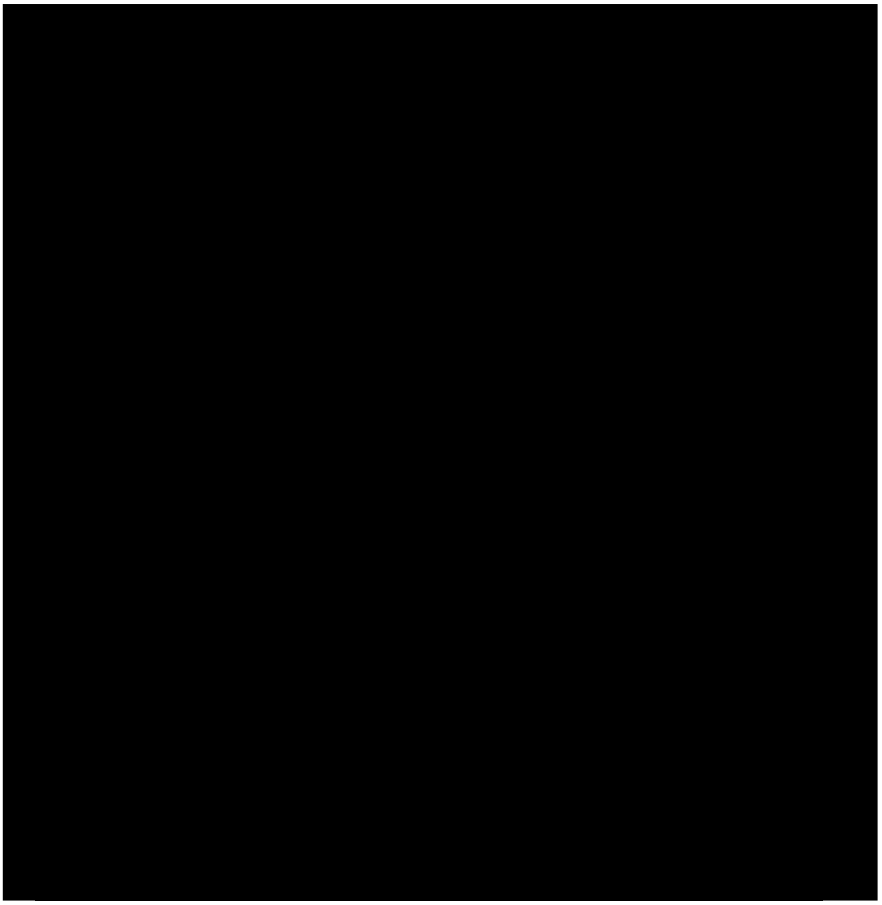


Figure 1: Painting apparently depicting a married couple from the western wall of the tomb (Špehar 2017, Fig 1).



Figure 2: Procession of servants from the south wall (Špehar 2017, Fig 3).

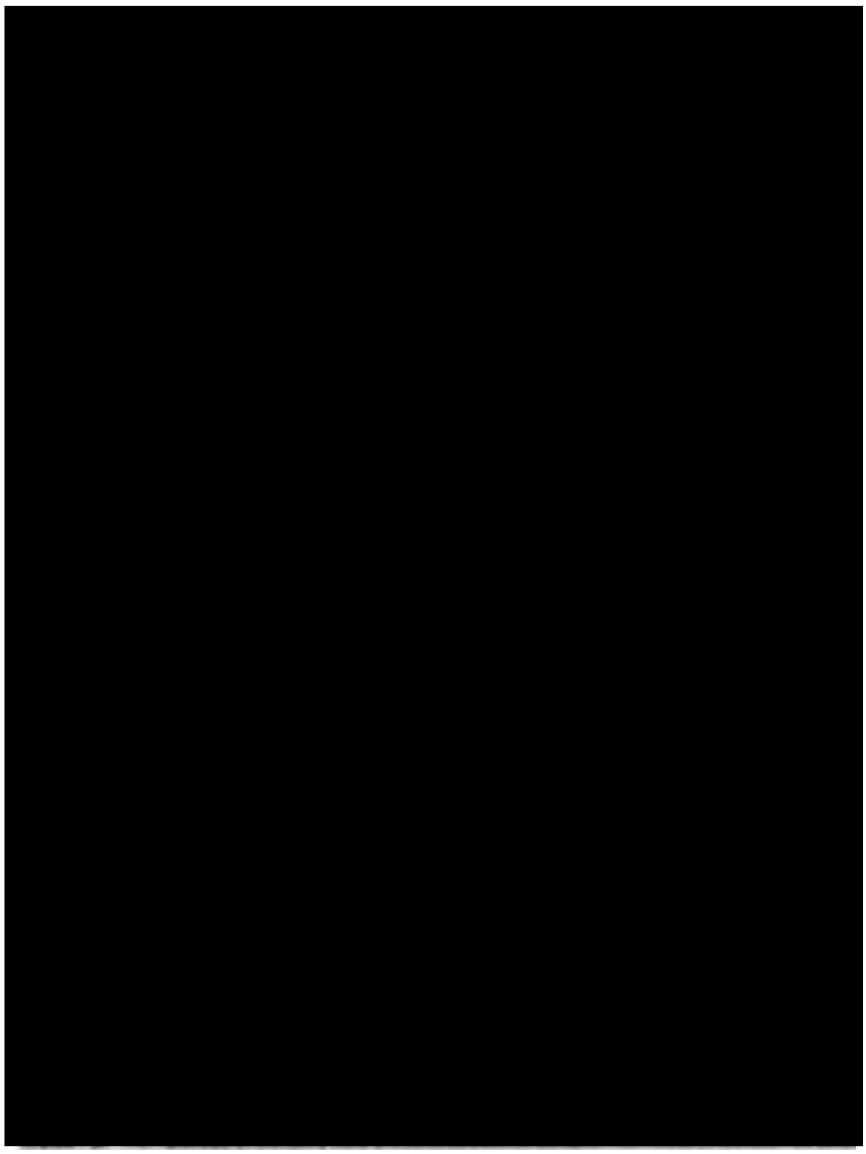


Figure 3: Female servant from the southern wall (Grašar 2013, Fig 15).

P12: Tomb paintings of a family group(?)

Date: Early fourth century?
Place of Origin: Or ha-Ner, Israel
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The painted tomb is comprised of a long vaulted hall with four adjacent rectangular vaulted burial chambers. Only the main hall, however, was painted, and their state of preservation is poor. On the upper part of each of the long walls of the tomb seven portrait busts within medallions were painted in a horizontal band, eleven male and three female. All show individualised features but are depicted at a relatively young age. It has been suggested that these individuals were part of a family buried in the tomb. Unfortunately, the tomb was robbed in antiquity and there is no surviving information that might confirm this. Only one of the female portraits is in good condition, on the eastern wall. It shows a frontal bust of a woman wearing a yellow tunic with green clavi. Her voluminous hair, stacked onto her head in the *Scheitelzopf* style is kept in check with a hairnet.

Inscription:

(northern entrance wall)
'Enter, no one is immortal'

Bibliography:

Michaeli, T. (2009) Visual representations of the afterlife. Six Roman and Early Byzantine Painted Tombs in Israel. Leiden: Alexandros Press, pp.83-109.

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Figure 1: Photograph of the tomb looking northwards (Tsafrir 1968, Plate 13.b).



Figure 2: Detail of the well preserved bust of a woman (Michaeli 2009, Fig 149).

P13: Servants carrying objects

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ (but heavily damaged)

Dimensions unavailable, roughly half life size.

Description:

The wall paintings are located in the same room as the mosaic of women gathering roses and stringing garlands, and boys hunting animals (M22). They are heavily damaged and primarily known from water colour reconstructions. The decoration concerned imitation marble panels populated with figures of servants holding a variety of objects, presumably shown waiting on their masters. The copies make it difficult to determine which figures are male and which female, but at least two from this room seem to wear the long tunics of female slaves, they carry small boxes. Gentili thinks that all the figures are female slaves.

Bibliography:

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Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 1. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.186-189.

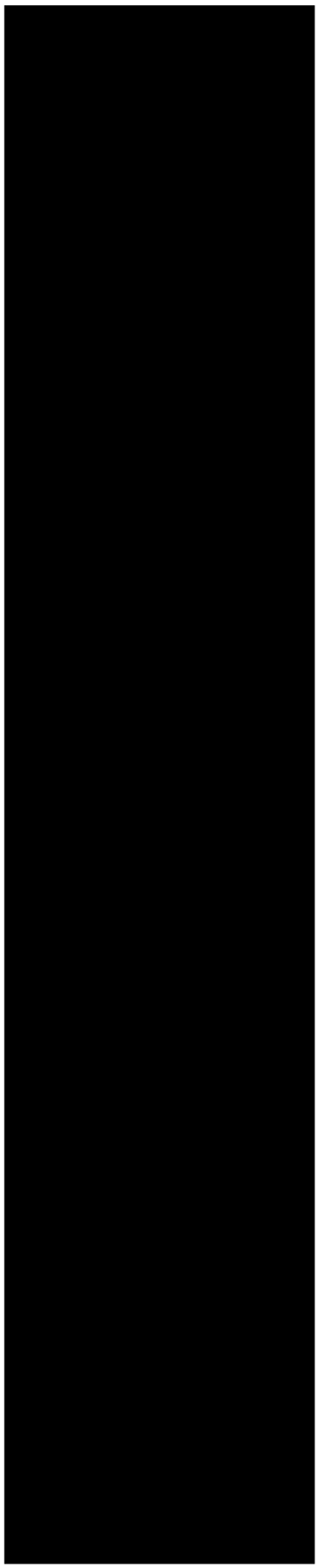


Figure 1: Water colour made of wall decoration showing slaves carrying various items (Gentili 1999, p.187, Fig 2).

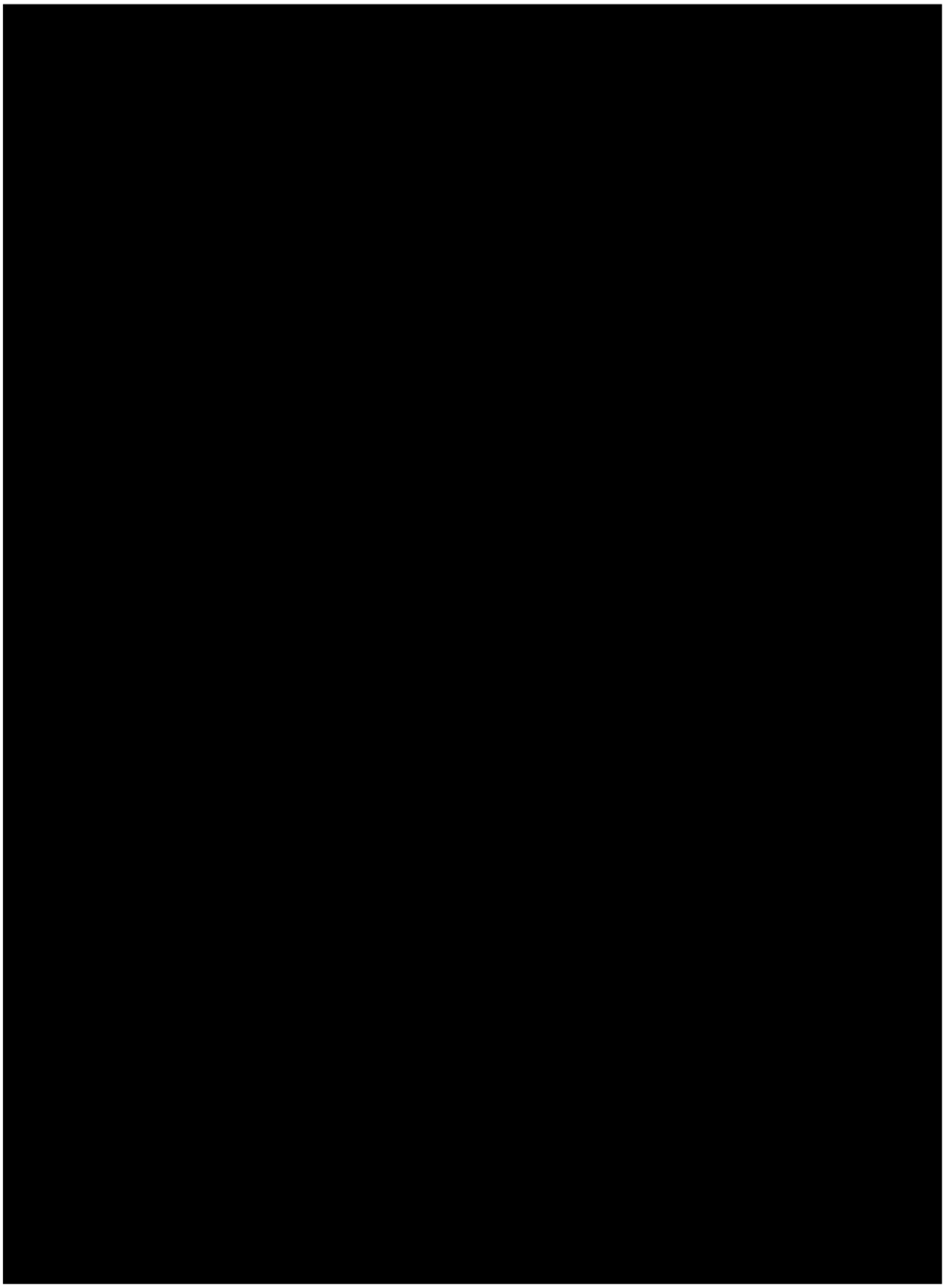


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the paintings are located in room 39 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

P14: Servants carrying objects

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ (heavily damaged)

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The wall paintings are located in the room immediate before the room containing the mosaic of the girls competing in a pentathlon (M19). They are heavily damaged and primarily known from water colour reconstructions. In a similar manner to other paintings from the villa, the decoration consisted of imitation marble panels populated with servants, shown carrying a chest, a box or basket, and a small container hanging from a chain. All of the figures appear to be female. They wear long tunics belted under the bust and soft shoes. They hair is uncovered and appears to be styled onto the top of the head in the *Scheitelzopf* or similar.

Bibliography:

Baldini Lippolis, I. (2008). Atletismo femminile e ideologia aristocratica nel programma decorativo della Villa di Piazza Armerina. In: C. Angelelli and F. Rinaldi eds., Atti del XIII Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico. Rome: Scripta manent, pp. 347-354.

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 1. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.120-124.



Figure 1: Wall paintings showing servants carrying a variety of objects (Gentili 1999, p.124, Fig 4).

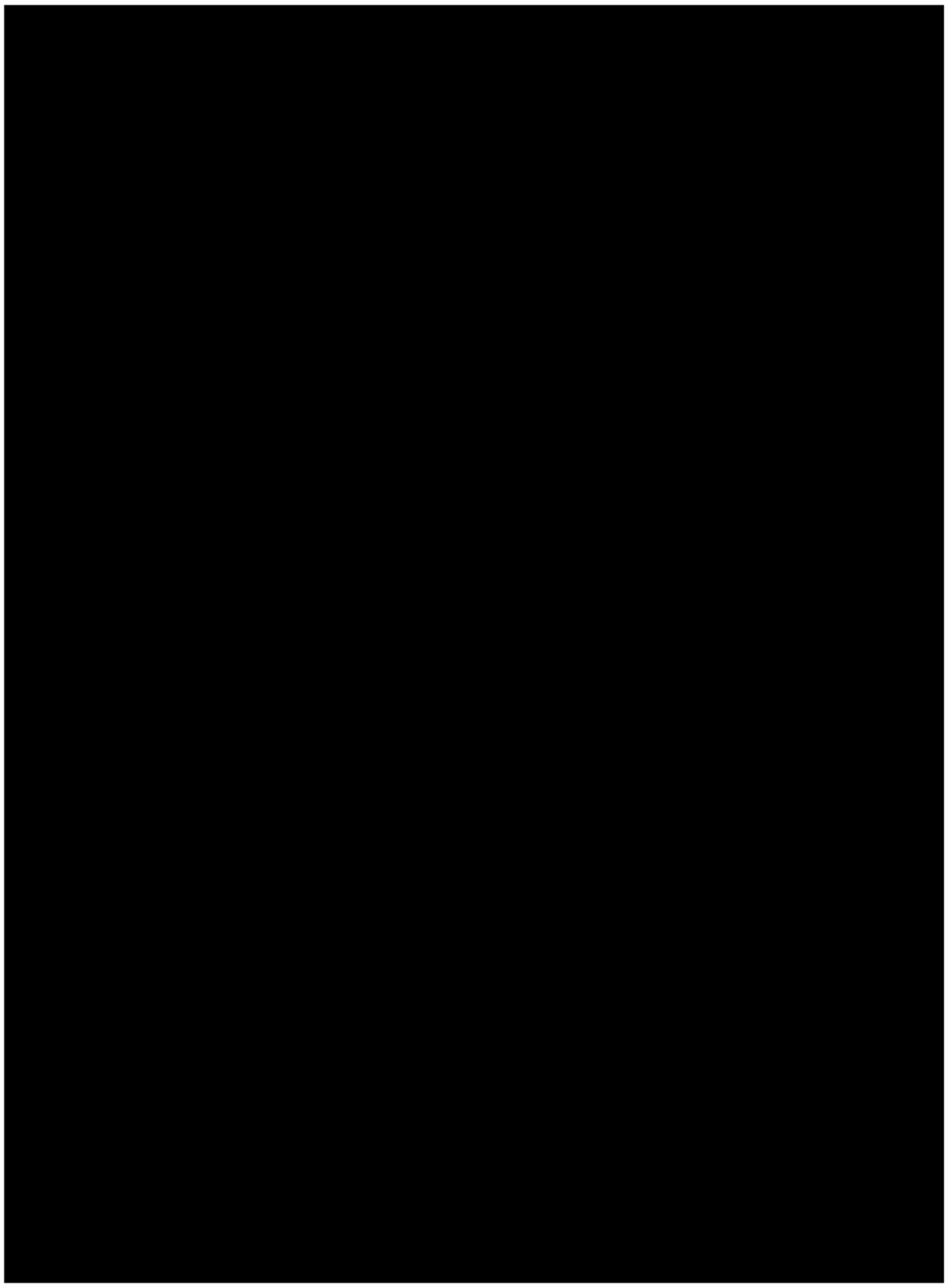


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the paintings are located in room 25 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

P15: Servant carrying a box

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The wall paintings are located in the small vestibule just off the *palaestra* of the baths. They are heavily damaged and primarily known from water colour reconstructions. They are similar to other paintings from the villa, showing imitation marble panels populated with figures of waiting servants. Here we see two figures, one male and one female. The female figure wears a long white tunic with green clavi over a dark blue tunic. She has her hair uncovered, and holds a box in her right arm while gesturing forward with the other. The male figure wears a short brown tunic and holds what appears to be a large sack over his left shoulder, also gesturing forwards with the other hand.

Bibliography:

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 1. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.58-60.



Figure 1: Wall paintings showing two servants (Gentili 1999, p.60, Fig 2).

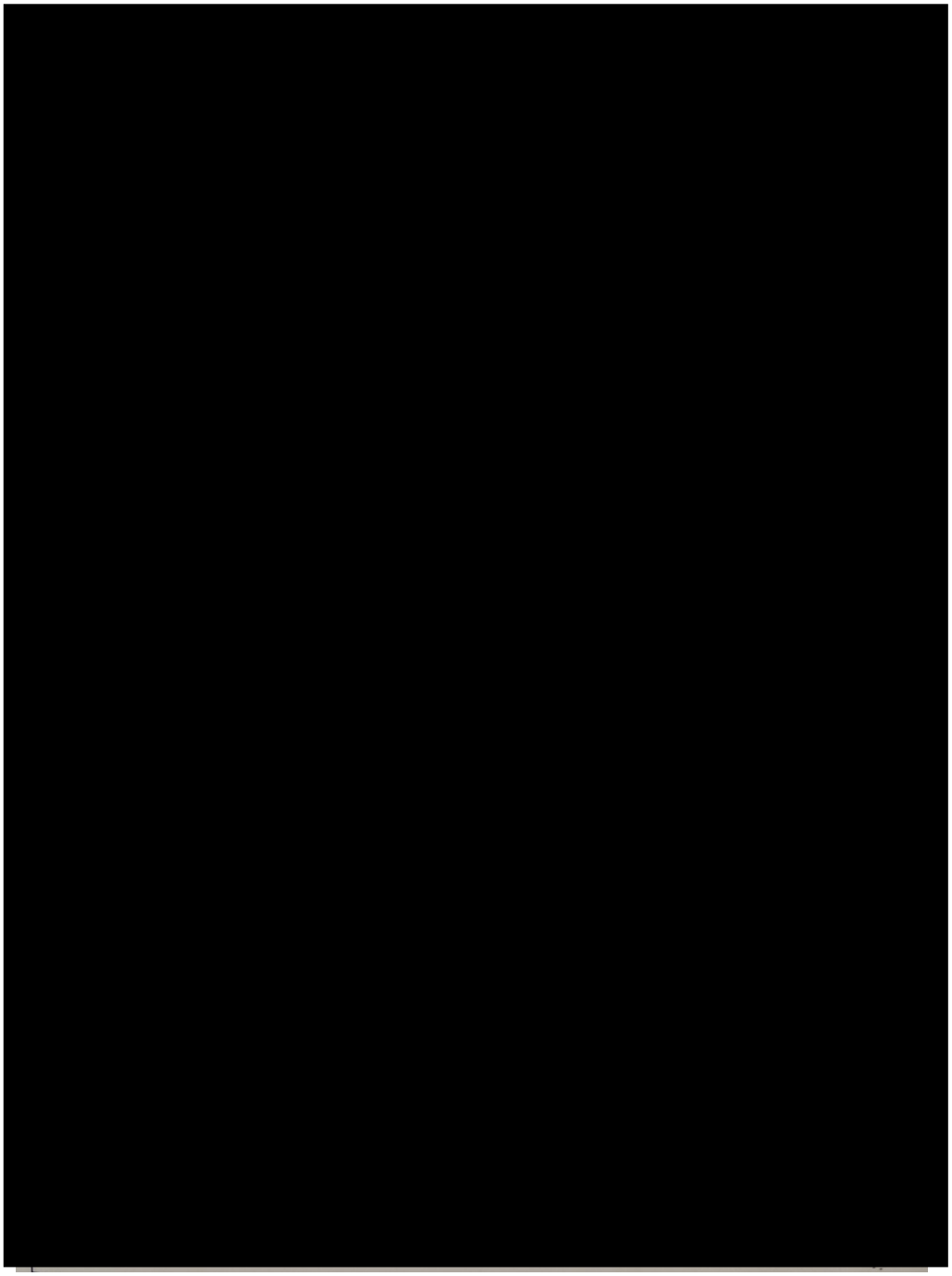


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the paintings are located in room 6 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

P16: Servants on thresholds

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ (heavily damaged)

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The wall paintings are located in a room on the north east side of the villa containing a geometric mosaic. They are heavily damaged and primarily known from water colour reconstructions. In a slight departure from the other wall paintings in the villa, they show three female servants framed with curtains in what appear to be the thresholds to other rooms. In the centre the female attendant wears a yellowish tunic with dark clavi and holds a small box or chest. The two on either side wear red tunics with dark clavi and stand with their arms held out to the side, touching the yellow curtains on either side of them. None of the women have their hair covered.

Bibliography:

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 1. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.114-116.



Figure 1: Three female servants shown standing on thresholds (Gentili 1999, p.115, Fig 3).

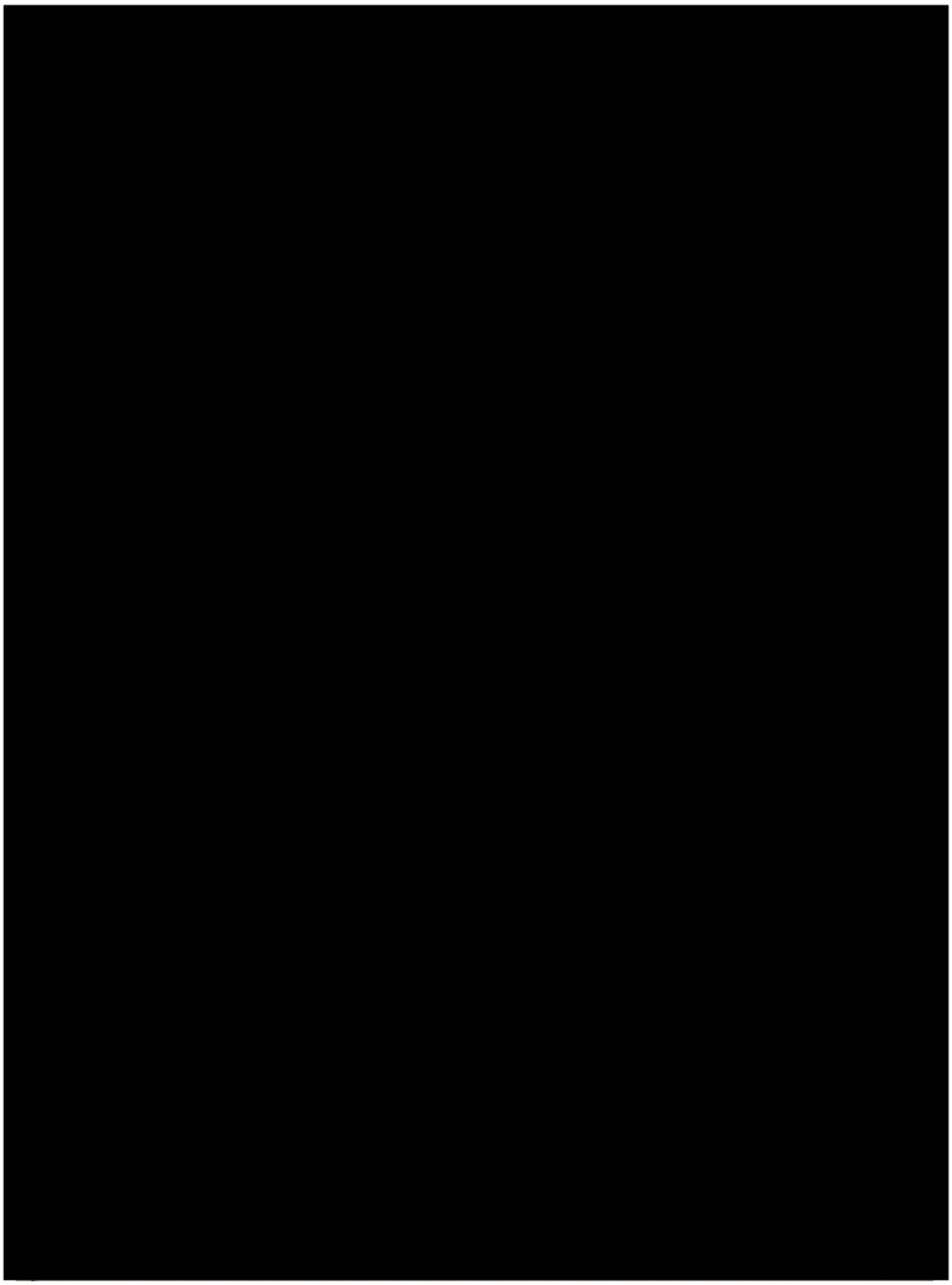


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the paintings are located in room 23 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

P17: Servants carrying objects

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ (heavily damaged)

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The wall paintings are located in the room that contains mosaics of a musical contest and women making rose crowns (M23). They are heavily damaged and primarily known from water colour reconstructions. In a similar fashion to other paintings from the villa, they concern two female attendants shown surrounded by imitation marble panels, one holding a box or basket and the other a dish. They both wear yellow tunics under red sleeved tunics(?). On either side of both women are curtains held back with ties.

Bibliography:

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 1. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.193-194.



Figure 1: Two female attendants holding objects (Gentili 1999, p.194, Fig 1).

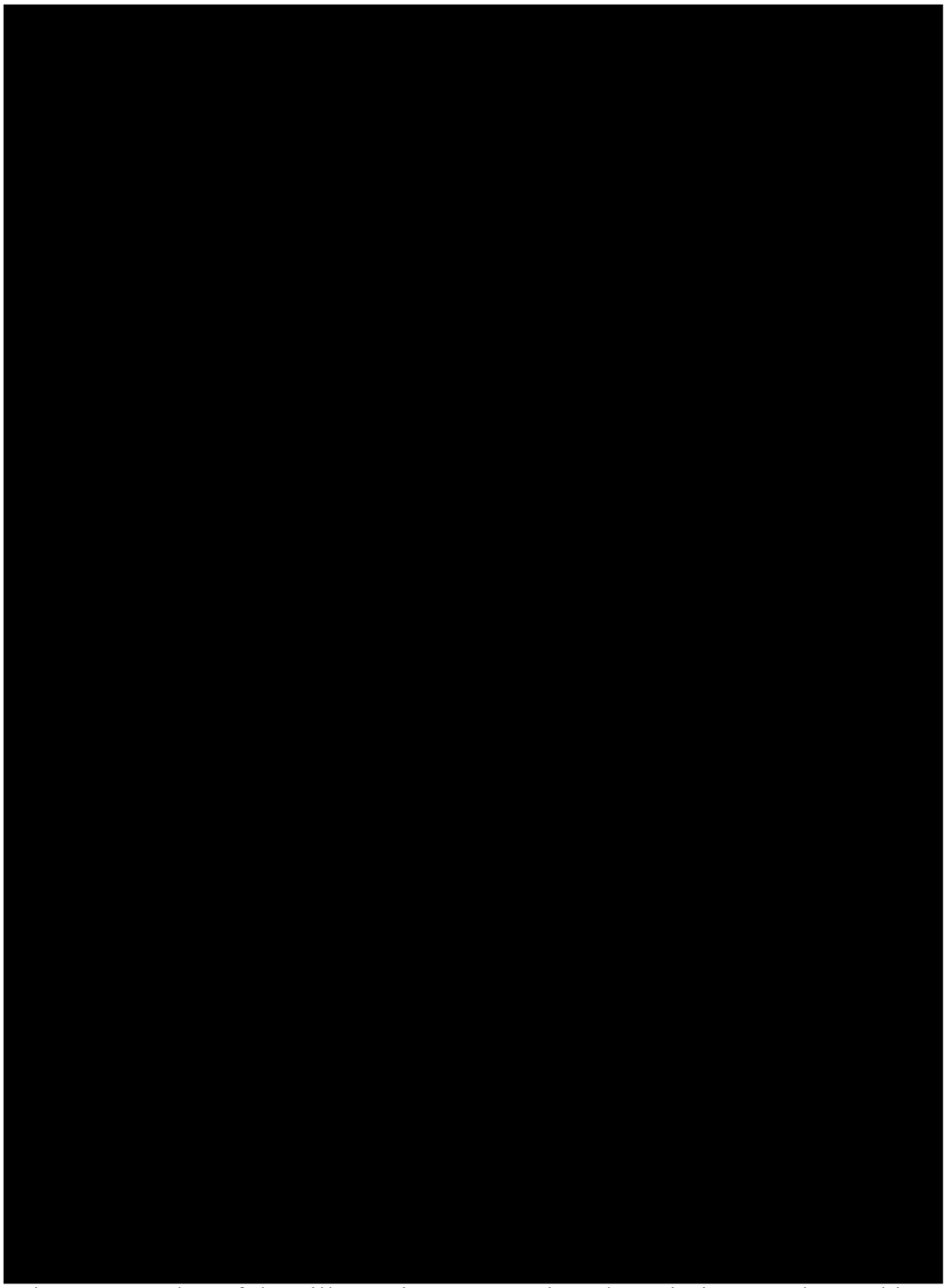


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the paintings are located in room 41 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

P18: Girls playing ball games

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The wall painting is located in the horseshoe shaped room at the south east side of the villa, in which are located mosaics depicting *erotes* as fishermen. The paintings are heavily damaged and are primarily known from water colour reconstructions. There are two scenes: one shows boys playing a game with hoops and sticks. The other shows three girls. Two are shown naked and play a ball game, the other wears a mantle and carries a palm branch. The figures directly reference the mosaic of the girls competing in a pentathlon (M19). The girls playing the ball game in particular very closely imitate the pose of the girls in the mosaic. A similar reference may be made by P19.

Bibliography:

Baldini Lippolis, I. (2008). Atletismo femminile e ideologia aristocratica nel programma decorativo della Villa di Piazza Armerina. In: C. Angelelli and F. Rinaldi eds., Atti del XIII Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico. Rome: Scripta manent, pp. 347-354.

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 1. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.175-179.



Figure 1: Wall painting showing girls playing ball games (Gentili 1999, p.178, Fig 3).

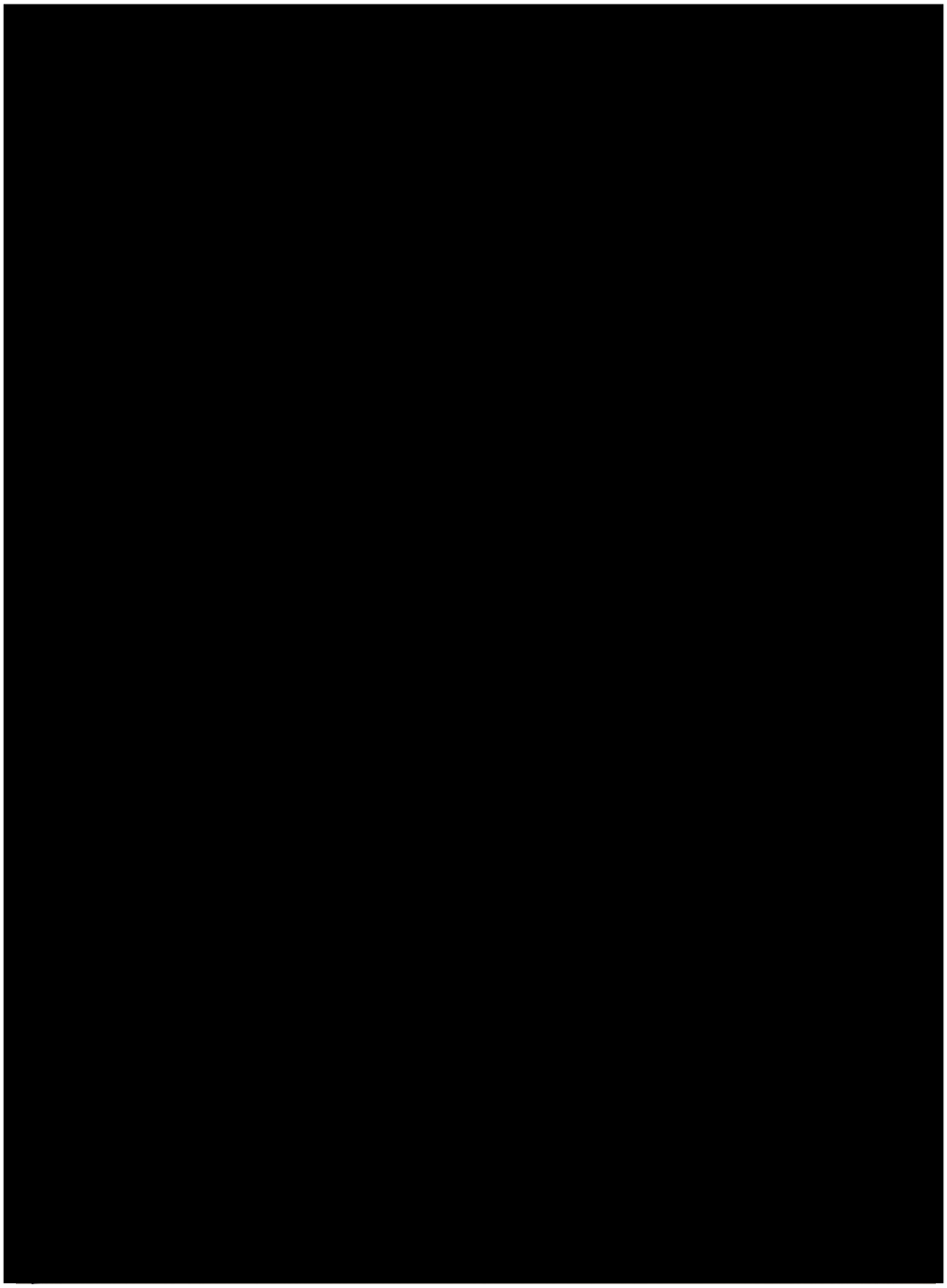


Figure 2: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the paintings are located in room 36 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

P19: Nude girls

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Piazza Armerina, Sicily
Current Location: In situ (heavily damaged)

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The mosaics are located in a room to the north east of the villa with geometric and floral mosaics. They are heavily damaged and primarily known from water colour reconstructions, although one figure has been retrieved through restoration. The figures concern nude girls figures shown framed between columns. The water colour reconstructions shows one wearing a blue cloak and another in a dynamic pose reaching to her head and with one leg flexed. The figure recovered through restoration concerns a nude girl wearing necklaces and armbands, her right arm held across her body and her right leg slightly flexed. It is possible that these figures are also meant to reference the mosaic of the girls at the pentathlon (P18, M19). Gentili considers the figure with the cloak to be male, but there is no indication of this from the reconstructions.

Bibliography:

Gentili, G. V. (1999). La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina Palazzo Erculio. Vol 1. Osimo: Fondazione Don Carlo, pp.168-173.



Figure 1: Water colour reconstructions showing two nude figures (Gentili 1999, p,169, Fig 2).

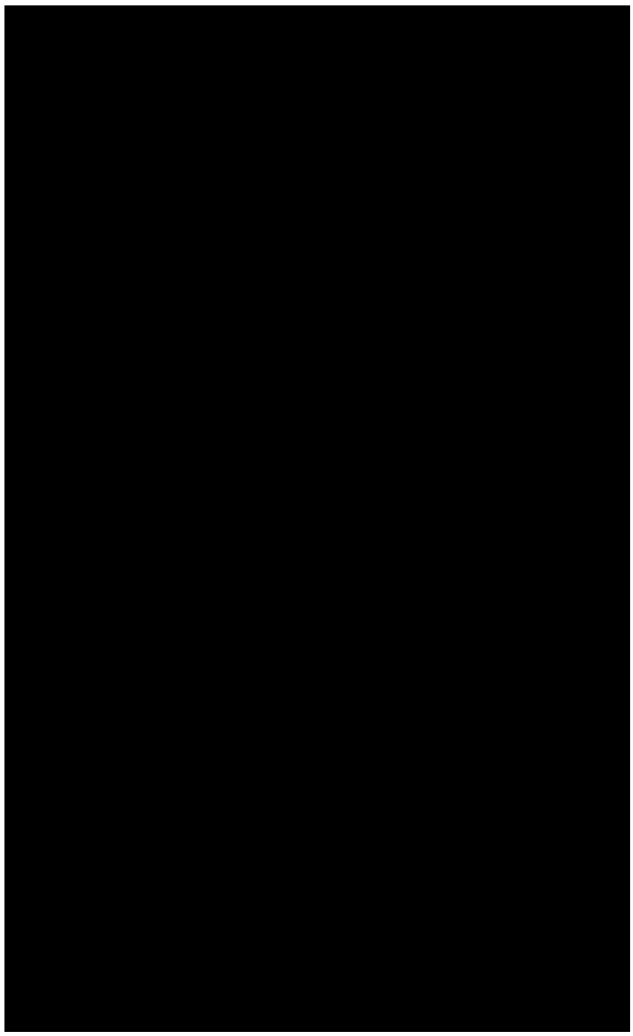


Figure 2: Recovered figure of a nude girl (Gentili 1999, p.170, Fig 2a).

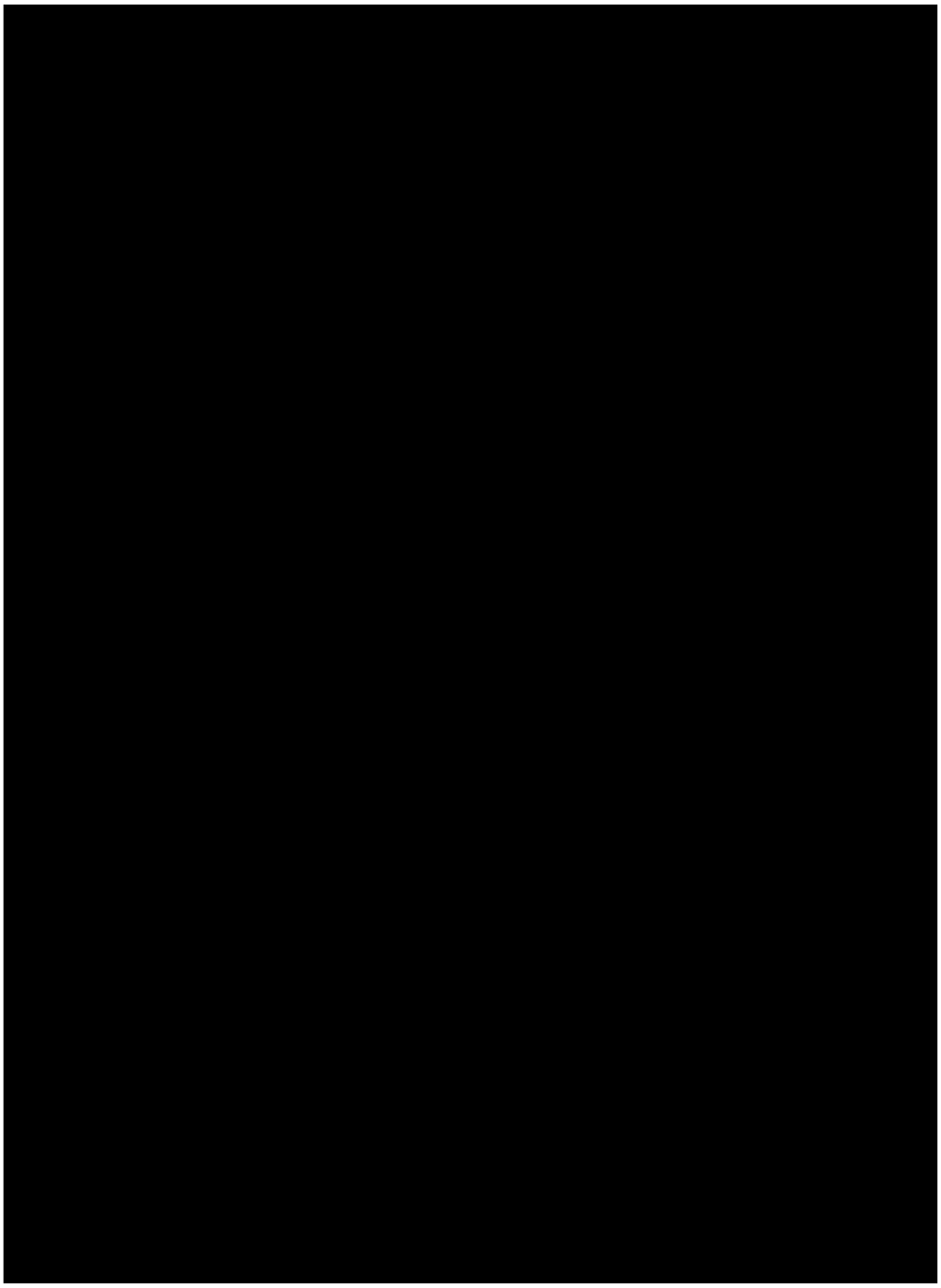


Figure 3: A plan of the villa at Piazza Armerina, the paintings are located in room 35 (Gentili 1999, Fig 2).

P20: Tomb painting of Nonnosa, Ilaritas, and Theotecnus

Date: Late fifth to early sixth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of San Gennaro, Naples
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The painted *arcosolium* tomb was found in cubiculum A23 of the catacombs of San Gennaro, along with another *arcosolium* for a man called Proculus. Our *arcosolium* painting depicts three figures: two parents and their small daughter. They are all shown in the *orans* position and flanked by two lit candles on either side. An inscription runs around the red framing band of the painting and between the heads of the figures. In the centre of the composition we see Nonnosa, who we know from the inscription died at the age of two years and ten months. She is shown full length, wearing a long-sleeved red tunic embellished with gold and belted under the best with a jewelled belt. Either the collar of her tunic is embellished or she wears a large collar necklace. She also wears earrings and over her close-cropped dark hair a jewelled head band. Above Nonnosa's head floats a golden wreath with a central gem. On the viewer's left is her mother Ilaritas, shown wearing a dark tunic and matching mantle draped over her head. Under her mantle she also wears a tight-fitting white hair covering. On the viewer's right is her father Theotectus, who wears a highly embellished tunic and *chlamys* fastened at his right shoulder with a large fibula. He is shown with a short beard.

Inscription:

(between the heads of the figures)
ILARI AS . VIX AN XLV THEOTECNVS VIX . AN . L
NONNOSA. VIX . AN . II M X

(around the outside of the painting)
QVE ABET DEPOSITIONEM IDVS IANVARIAS . QVI DEPOSITVS EST NONAS IANVARIAS.

Bibliography:

Bisconti, F. (2015). Napoli. Catacombe di S. Gennaro. Cripta dei Vescovi. Restauri ultimi. *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 91, pp.7-34.

Braconi, M. (2015-2016). L'Arcosolio di Cerula nelle Catacombe di San Gennaro a Napoli: Prime Intuizoni e Recenti Scoperte. *Campania Sacra. Rivista di Storia Sociale e Religiosa del Mezzogiorno* 46-47, pp.129-146.

Fasola, U. M. (1975). Le Catacombe di S.Gennaro a Capodimonte. Roma: Editalia, pp.73, 96.

Schultze, V. (1877*).* Die Katacomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel. Jena, pp.45-46.



Figure 1: *Arcosolium* of Nonnosa, Ilaritas, and Theotecnus (photo by author).

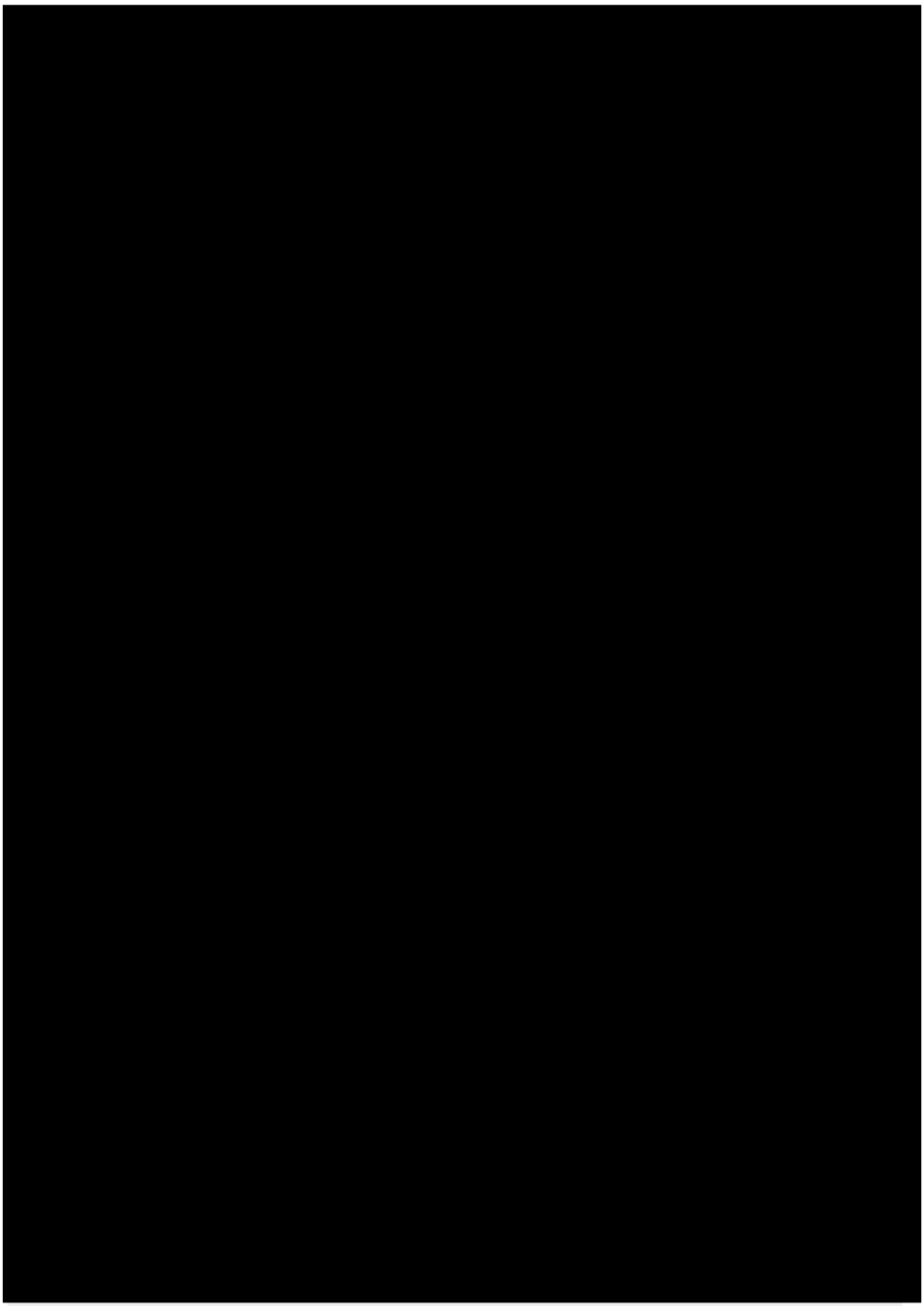


Figure 2: Plan of the upper part of the catacombs of San Gennaro, the paintings are in A23 (Bisconti 2015, Fig 1).

P21: Tomb painting of Cominia and Nicatiola

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of San Gennaro, Naples
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The *arcosolium* is located in cubiculum A43 of the upper level of the catacombs of San Gennaro and has paintings depicting three figures: a child called Nicatiola and her mother Cominia, and Saint Januarius, the patron of the catacombs. On the viewer's left is the small figure of Nicatiola, shown in the *orans* position and dressed in a white tunic with dark clavi. We know she is a young child as she is identified with the term *infans.* She looks up towards the saint, who is shown in a similar tunic, but with a gold mantle and a nimbus. On the viewer's right is Cominia, who is shown in a similar fashion to her daughter, although she wears a white tight-fitting hair covering and a white veil over the top. On either side of Saint Januarius are lit candles and crosses. Each of the figures is identified by an inscription over their heads.

Inscription:

SANCTO MARTYRI IANVARIO

HIC REQVIESCIT
BENEMERENS
IN PACE NICATIOLA
INFANS

HIC REQVIESCIT BENEM
RENS IN PA CE CO
MINIA

Bibliography:

Bisconti, F. (2015). Napoli. Catacombe di S. Gennaro. Cripta dei Vescovi. Restauri ultimi. *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 91, pp.7-34.

Braconi, M. (2015-2016). L'Arcosolio di Cerula nelle Catacombe di San Gennaro a Napoli: Prime Intuizoni e Recenti Scoperte. *Campania Sacra. Rivista di Storia Sociale e Religiosa del Mezzogiorno* 46-47, pp.129-146.

Fasola, U. M. (1975). Le Catacombe di S.Gennaro a Capodimonte. Roma: Editalia, p.102, Fig 70.

Calvino, R. (1970). L'immagine "orante" del santo patrono nella lunette di un arcosolio al secondo piano della catacomba di S. Gennaro "extra moenia". *Ianuarius* 51 pp.154-156.

Noga-Banai, G. (2008). The Trophies of the Martyrs: An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.69-72.

Schultze, V. (1877*).* Die Katacomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel. Jena, p.44.



Figure 1: *Arcosolium* of Cominia and Nicatiola (photo by author).



Figures 2 and 3: Details of Nicatiola and Cominia (Photos by author).

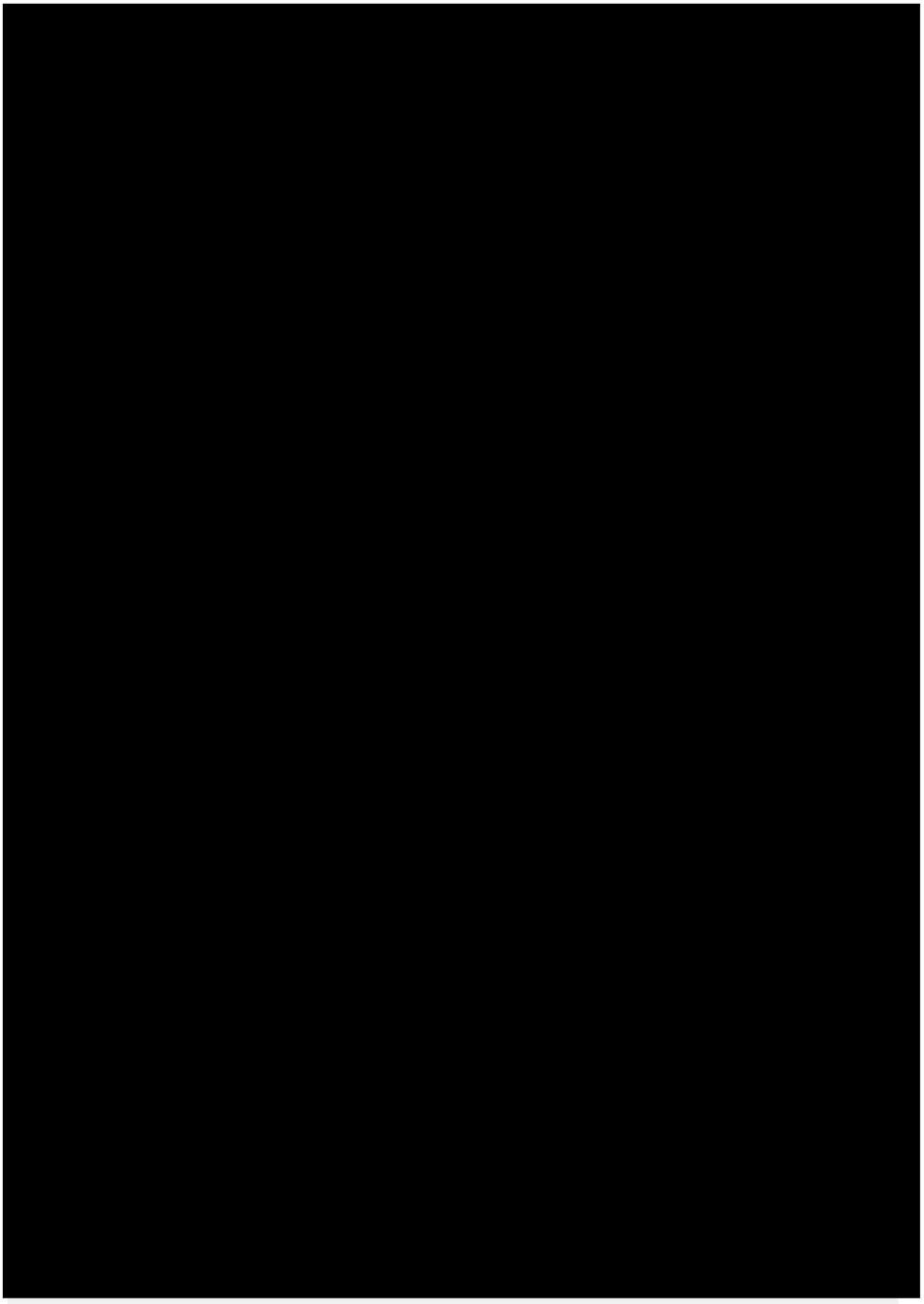


Figure 4: Plan of the upper part of the catacombs of San Gennaro, the paintings are in A43 (Bisconti 2015, Fig 1).

P22: Tomb painting of Cerula

Date: Late fifth to early sixth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of San Gennaro, Naples
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The recently restored tomb of Cerula is located at the end of gallery A50 on the first floor of the catacombs of San Gennaro. The paintings cover the entire surviving wall. At the top there is a red *tabula ansata* on which there is unfortunately no surviving inscription. Below this we find Saint Paul on the left side of the *arcosolium*, Saint Peter was presumably on the other side but much of the paintings have been lost around the niche. Underneath the *arcosolium* were painted panels imitating marble. In the niche itself we see Cerula in the *orans* position. She is shown in bust form from the waist up in the *orans* pose. She wears a pale blue/grey long-sleeved tunic with yellow bands at the cuffs under a darker blue tunic. Over this she wears a light pink mantle decorated with processions of human figures, which is draped over her shoulders, chest, and head. It is unclear whether her hair is shown covered by a tight grey cover under the mantle, or whether her natural hair is shown in a relatively schematic manner. Since women are not commonly shown with attributes of age such as grey hair, it is more likely that it represents a cover. Above Cerula's hands are gospel books that appear to have flames emanating from them, and above her head the *Chi-Rho* and alpha and omega. At the bottom of the painting is an inscription naming the deceased.

Inscription:

CERVLA IN PACE

Bibliography:

Bisconti, F. (2015). Napoli. Catacombe di S. Gennaro. Cripta dei Vescovi. Restauri ultimi. *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 91, pp.7-34.

Braconi, M. (2015-2016). L'Arcosolio di Cerula nelle Catacombe di San Gennaro a Napoli: Prime Intuizoni e Recenti Scoperte. *Campania Sacra. Rivista di Storia Sociale e Religiosa del Mezzogiorno* 46-47, pp.129-146 (with further bibliography)

Kateusz, A. (2019). Mary and Early Christian Women: Hidden Leadership. London: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.156-160. (arguing she is a bishop)



Figure 1: The *arcosolium* of Cerula's tomb (photo by author).



Figure 2: Tomb of Cerula covering the whole wall (Braconi 2015-2016, Fig 1).

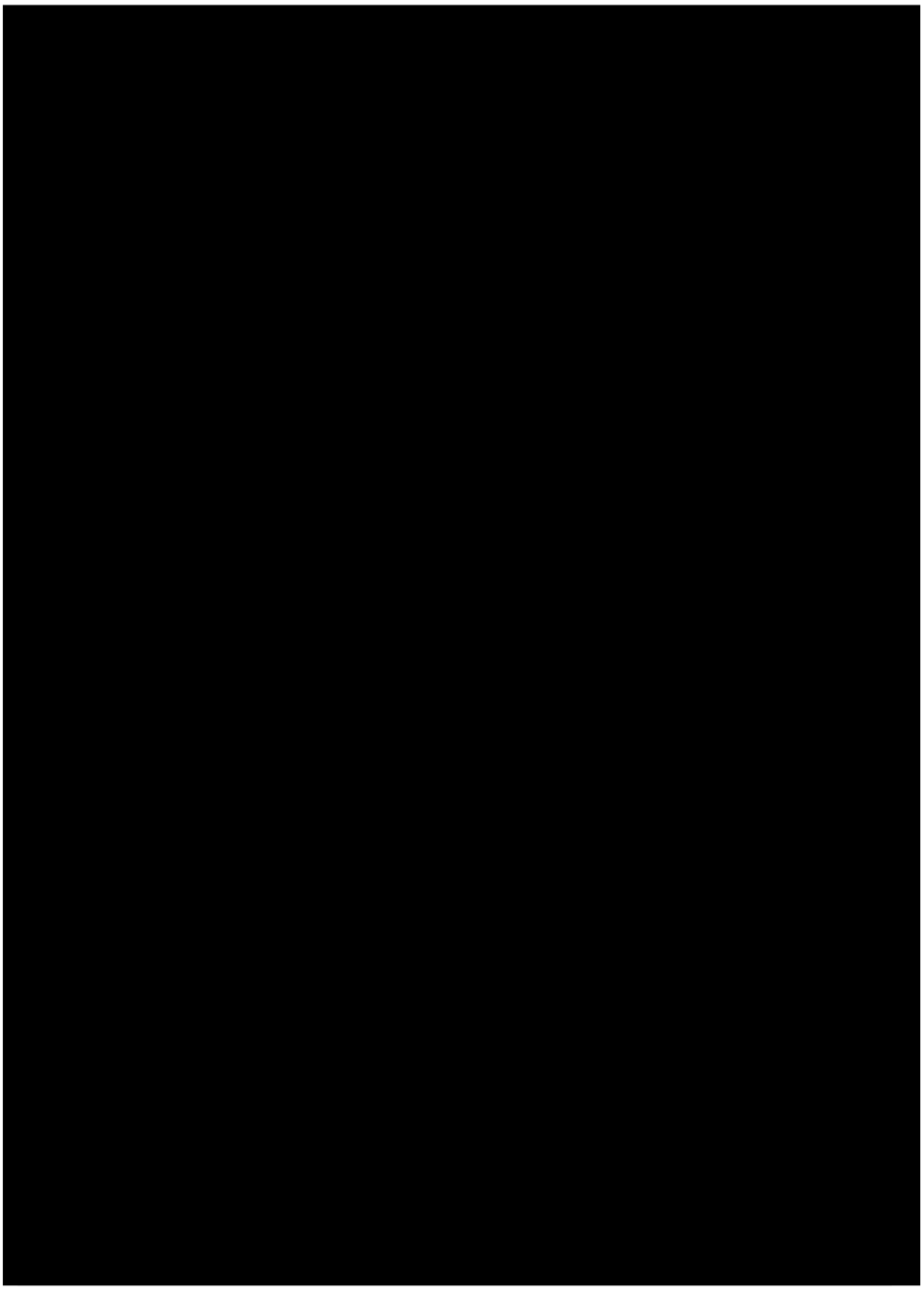


Figure 3: Plan of the upper part of the catacombs of San Gennaro, Cerula's tomb is located at the end of gallery A50 (Bisconti 2015, Fig 1).

P23: Tomb painting of Bitalia

Date: Late fifth to early sixth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of San Gennaro, Naples
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The painted *arcosolium* of Bitalia is located along gallery A50 in the upper part of the catacombs of San Gennaro, not far from the tomb of Cerula (P22). It is carved directly into the wall of the gallery. Just above the *arcosolium* niche is a red *tabula ansata* but there appears to be no surviving inscription. The painting shows Bitalia in a similar manner to Cerula and has been dated slightly later. She is shown in bust form from the waist up in the *orans* position. She wears a dark long-sleeved tunic under a red mantle which also covers her head. As with Cerula, it is likely she wears a tight-fitting grey head covering. Above her hands are gospel books and above her head the *Chi-Rho*. An identifying inscription runs along the bottom.

Inscription:

BITALIA IN PACE

Bibliography:

Bisconti, F. (2015). Napoli. Catacombe di S. Gennaro. Cripta dei Vescovi. Restauri ultimi. *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 91, pp.7-34.

Braconi, M. (2015-2016). L'Arcosolio di Cerula nelle Catacombe di San Gennaro a Napoli: Prime Intuizoni e Recenti Scoperte. *Campania Sacra. Rivista di Storia Sociale e Religiosa del Mezzogiorno* 46-47, pp.129-146.

Kateusz, A. (2019). Mary and Early Christian Women: Hidden Leadership. London: Palgrave MacMillan, pp.156-160. (arguing she is a bishop)

Schultze, V. (1877*).* Die Katacomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel. Jena, p.43.



Figure 1: *Arcosolium* of Bitalia (photo by author).



Figure 2: View along gallery A50 showing the relative positions of Cerula and Bitalia's tombs. Cerula's large tomb can be seen at the end of the gallery (left), while Bitalia's *arcosolium* is in shadow on the right (photo by author).

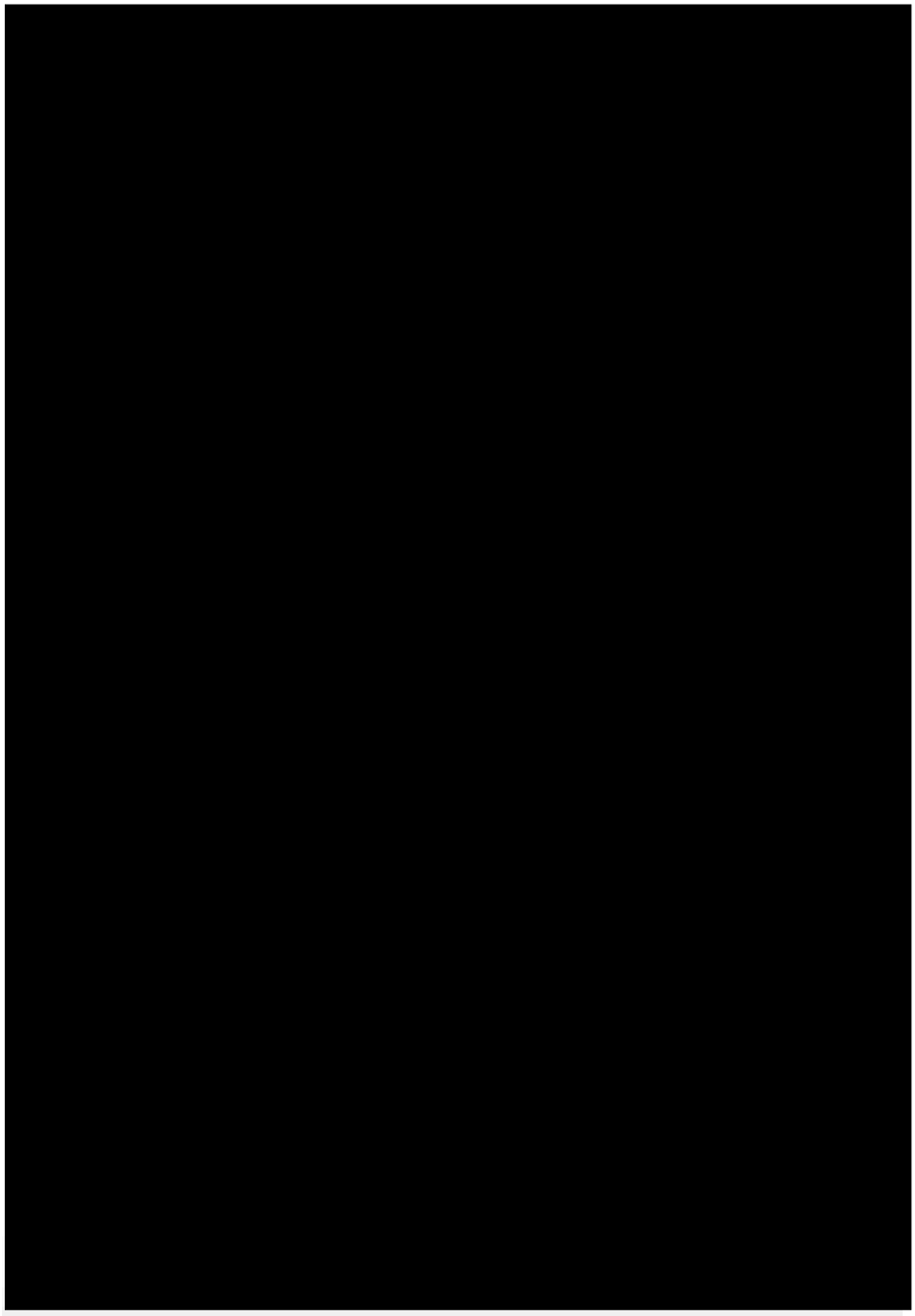


Figure 3: Plan of the upper part of the catacombs of San Gennaro, Bitalia's tomb is along gallery A50 (Bisconti 2015, Fig 1).

P24: Tomb painting of Rufina and her daughter

Date: Fifth century
Place of origin: Catacombs of San Gennaro, Naples
Current location: In situ?

H: c.50cm; W: (widest point) c.50cm

Description:

The tomb painting of Rufina and her daughter is located in the main corridor of the lower catacomb, over a grave decorated with a peacock, on the closing plate of a *loculus*. Images of two women survive, identified by the inscription as Rufina and her daughter, who died at the ages of 55 and 37 respectively. The woman on the viewer's left is much better preserved than the figure on the right, although both are clearly female, identified as such by their veils. The left-hand woman wears a tight-fitting cover and loose veil or mantle-veil over her hair. It is in the voluminous style also worn by Serena on the so-called Stilicho diptych (I4). Her facial features appear to also be similar in style, with large eyes, a long face and long nose indicating that the dating to the fifth century is likely to be correct. The right-hand figure definitely wears a loose veil or mantle-veil, visible between her proper right ear and shoulder. The rest of the figure is destroyed, but it is probable she shared a similar style. A painted inscription is partially preserved between the women. No colour image has been available to view. The painting suffers for being in poor condition, in a catacomb where there are many paintings that are spectacularly preserved. It is commonly overlooked and rarely illustrated.

Inscription:

…
VIXXIT RV[FI]
NA
ANNOS LV
ET FILIA IP
SEIVS
XXXVII

(CIL X, 1528)

Bibliography:

Achelis, H. (1936). Die Katakomben von Neapel. Leipzig: Verlag Karl W.Hiersemann, pp.40, 64, Taf.30 (with older bibliography).

Fasola, U. M. (1975). Le Catacombe di S.Gennaro a Capodimonte. Roma: Editalia, p.68 (not illustrated).



Figure 1: Tomb painting of Rufina and her daughter (Achelis 1936, Taf 30).

P25: Frescoes from the Lateran Chapel: two donors, woman with a torch, woman performing the laying on of hands(?)

Date: Second half fourth century; late fifth or sixth century
Place of Origin: Chapel under the Lateran, Rome
Current Location: Rome, in situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

A series of frescoes were discovered in rooms unearthed during excavations under the Ospedale di S. Angelo in Rome, near to the Lateran Basilica. Unfortunately the publication of the series of rooms leave many things unclear, including whether the rooms were part of a larger complex and a sense of the dimensions of the space. The rooms contained frescoes with a Christian context and as such have been described as chapels, although the true function of the space is unclear. Brenk argues strongly that they were used for catechesis, but the evidence is not strong. The frescoes in rooms A and B date to the late fourth century, those in room C to the late fifth to early sixth century. It is not clear how the spaces relate to each-other.

In room A we find two well-preserved scenes. The first depicts a woman wearing a greyish-blue *dalmatica* with dark clavi and a mantle draped across her chest. Her hair appears to be covered by a tight-fitting cover of the same greyish-blue, but the published images are unclear. In her hand she appears to hold a lit torch, but Brenk notes that this area has been heavily restored. To the woman's left is a small bucked hanging from a chain or cord attached to the wall, in which is a small fire. A graffito to the left of her head preserves three legible letters: PES. The woman's identity and purpose is unclear. The other scene in room A shows a standing male figure looking out to the viewer, who places his right hand on a smaller male figure in front of him. An inscription reads "Genovius servus sanctorum servit in eodem loco". Scrinari identifies him as a religious official anointing a boy, perhaps a bishop, however Brenk argues that he is more likely a layman performing the laying on of hands.

Room B contains frescoes with Biblical scenes. Those that remain legible are the raising of Lazarus and Christ with the Samaritan woman at the well. Beneath one scene with an image of Christ is another figural composition, unfortunately badly damaged, which shows a woman wearing a white head-covering similar to the woman from room A. She is shown touching the head of a figure next to her, identified by Scrinari as a girl. Scrinari considers this another scene of anointing, although if one follows Brenk it may represent the laying on of hands. The fragmentary nature of the wall-painting makes further speculation impossible.

Room C contains two large frescoes. The first represents the figure of Christ towering over two figures whom he crowns with laurel wreaths, on either side of these figures are palm trees. Scrinari originally identified the pair as the Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia, however as Brenk notes, the two figures are clearly both women. The woman on the viewer's left appears older and is less well preserved, however it is clear that she wears a head-covering. The other woman is younger, her hair uncovered, and she wears an attire similar to the procession of

female saints from San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna and GG6. The other panel in the room represents the Sicilian saints Crescentia, Modesto and Vito with Christ above them; all three saints are nimbed and labelled. Since the two women in the previous panel are neither nimbed nor named by any surviving inscription, it seems most probable that they are not saints, but are the patrons of the frescoes and of the space itself. Given the perceived age difference they may be mother and daughter.

Bibliography:

Andaloro, M. (1992). Pittura romana e pittura a Roma da Leone Magno a Giovanni VII. In: Committenti e produzione artistico-leteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale, XXXIX Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, aprile 1991). Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, pp. 569-616, especially p.579.

Brenk, B. (2003). Die Christianisierung der spätrömischen Welt. Stadt, Land, Haus, Kirche und Kloster in frühchristlicher Zeit. Wiesbaden: Reichert, pp.121-128.

Lidova, M. (2015). The Imperial *Theotokos*: Revealing the Concept of Early Christian Imagery in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. *Convivium* 2.2, pp.60-81, especially pp. 67-69.

Scrinari, V. S. M. (1989). Contributo all'urbanistica tardo antica sul Cmap Laterano. In: F. Baritel et al eds., Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne. Rome: Ecole française de Rome, pp. 2201-2220, especially pp.2213-2217.

Scrinari, V. S. M. (1995). Il Laterano Imperiale Vol II. Dalgi "horti Domitiae" alla Cappella Cristiana. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, pp.215-241.



Figure 1: Fresco of the woman with the torch next to the man and boy (Scrinari 1995, Fig 251).



Figure 2: Fragment of panel depicting Christ above and a woman below, during the excavations. Now in a more fragmentary state (Scrinari 1995, Fig 257).

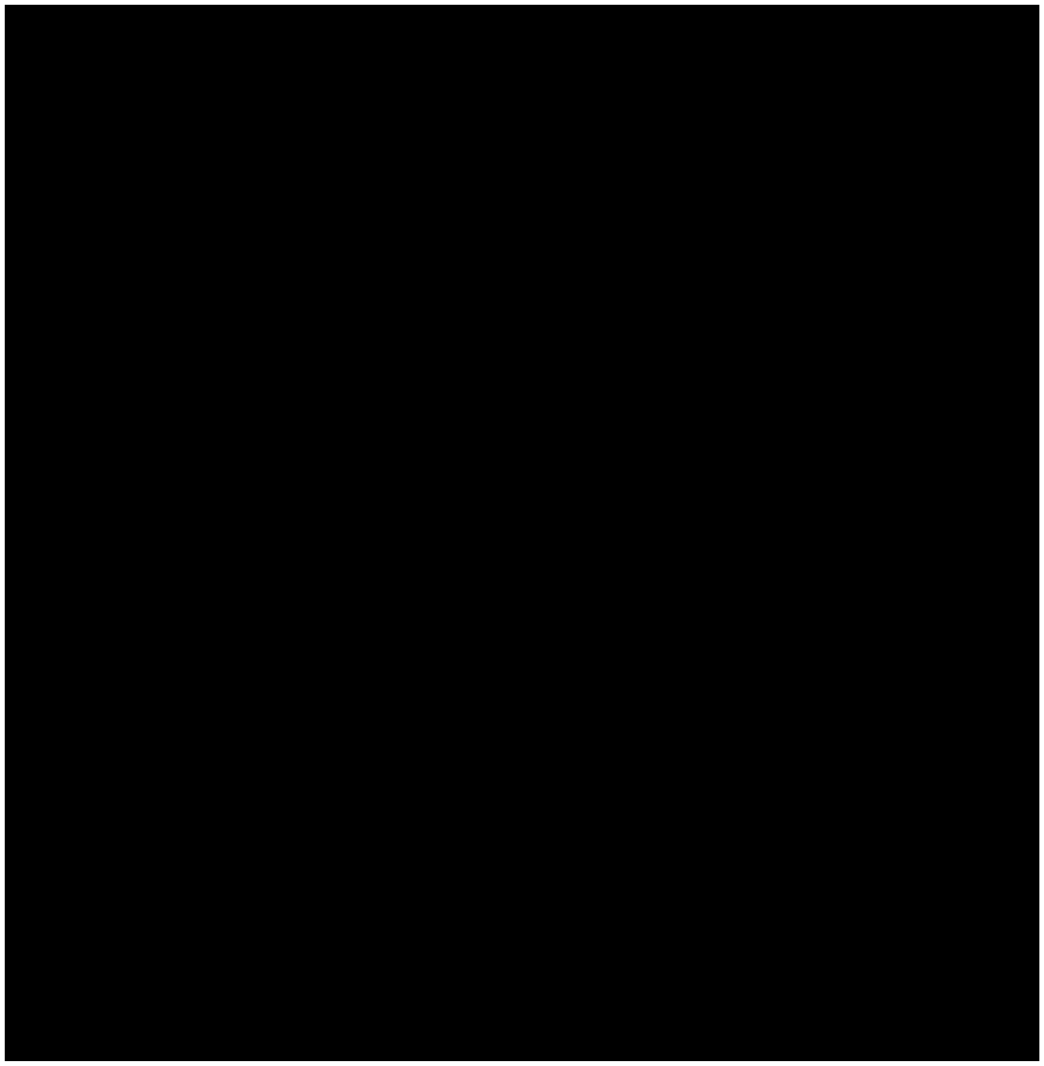


Figure 3: Two women donors crowned by Christ (Scrinari 1995, Fig. 264).



Figures 4 and 5: Details of the above fresco (Scrinari 1995, Figs 265b and c).

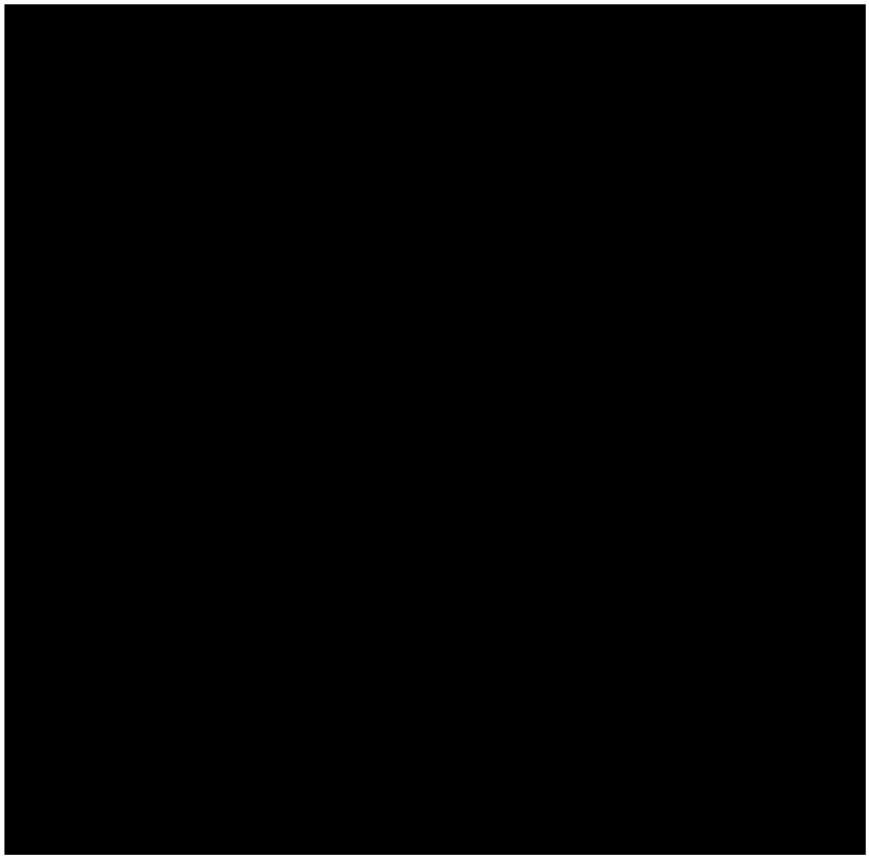


Figure 6: Fresco of Christ with SS Crescentia, Modesto, and Vito (Scrinari 1995, Fig 270).

P26: Tomb painting of Trebius Justus, Honoratia Saeverina, and Trebius Justus Asellus

Date: Mid fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome, Via Latina
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The paintings are found in the funerary hypogeum of Trebius Justus on the Via Latina in Rome. On the western wall of the burial chamber we find three elaborate scenes along with two *loculi* for Trebius Justus and his wife Honoratia Saeverina, and for their son, Trebius Justus Asellus. The paintings on this wall, however, appear to primarily commemorate the death of Asellus. The uppermost register of the scene shows a seated bearded man with his feet on a stool, wearing a white tunic with elaborate details at the hems, collar, shoulders, cuffs, and clavi. He gestures with his right hand to a large piece of cloth held out in front of him by the two people who stand either side. On the viewer's left is a female figure, presumably Honoratia Saeverina, wearing a voluminous yellow *dalmatica* with wide dark clavi and dark sleeves. Her hair is uncovered. On the viewer's right is another male figure dressed in a similar manner to that seated, although shown beardless. They should represent Trebius Justus junior and senior, probably the father is seated as he is shown clearly with a beard. In the cloth held by the standing figures are red rings, coins, and other unidentifiable objects, perhaps jewellery or other previous goods. In the *arcosolium* niche directly below this group we find a seated male figure surrounded with paraphernalia for study, including open diptychs, and a scroll box. This probably represents Asellus, who the above inscription tells us died at the age of twenty-one. Below this *arcosolium* (in which we find *loculi* openings for the bodies of the deceased) is another painted scene showing six male figures, five of which appear to be slaves and the sixth, Asellus. He is shown in the centre directing the slaves who have brought large baskets of produce. The other frescoes of the tomb are concerned with the family construction business.

Inscription:

(around the top of the *arcosolium*)
TREBIUS IVSTVS ET HO[N]O[R]ATIA SAEVERINA FILIO MAERENTI FECERUNT
TREBIO IVSTO SIGNO ASELLUS
QVI VIXIT ANNOS XXI
MESES VIIII DIIS XXV

(above bottom register)
ASELLAE PIAE Z(ESES)

Bibliography:

Bisconti, F. (2011). Le pitture delle catacombe romane: restauri e interpretazioni. Perugia: Tau, pp.209-220.

Rea, R. ed. (2004). L'Ipogeo di Trebio Giusto sulla via Latina: Scavi e Restauri. Città del Vaticano: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra.

Weitzmann, K. (1979). Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Centuries. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.253, pp.277-278.

Wilpert, J. (1913). Die Malerei der Grabkammer des Trebius Justus aus dem Ende der konstantinischen Zeit. *Römische Quartalschrift* 14.

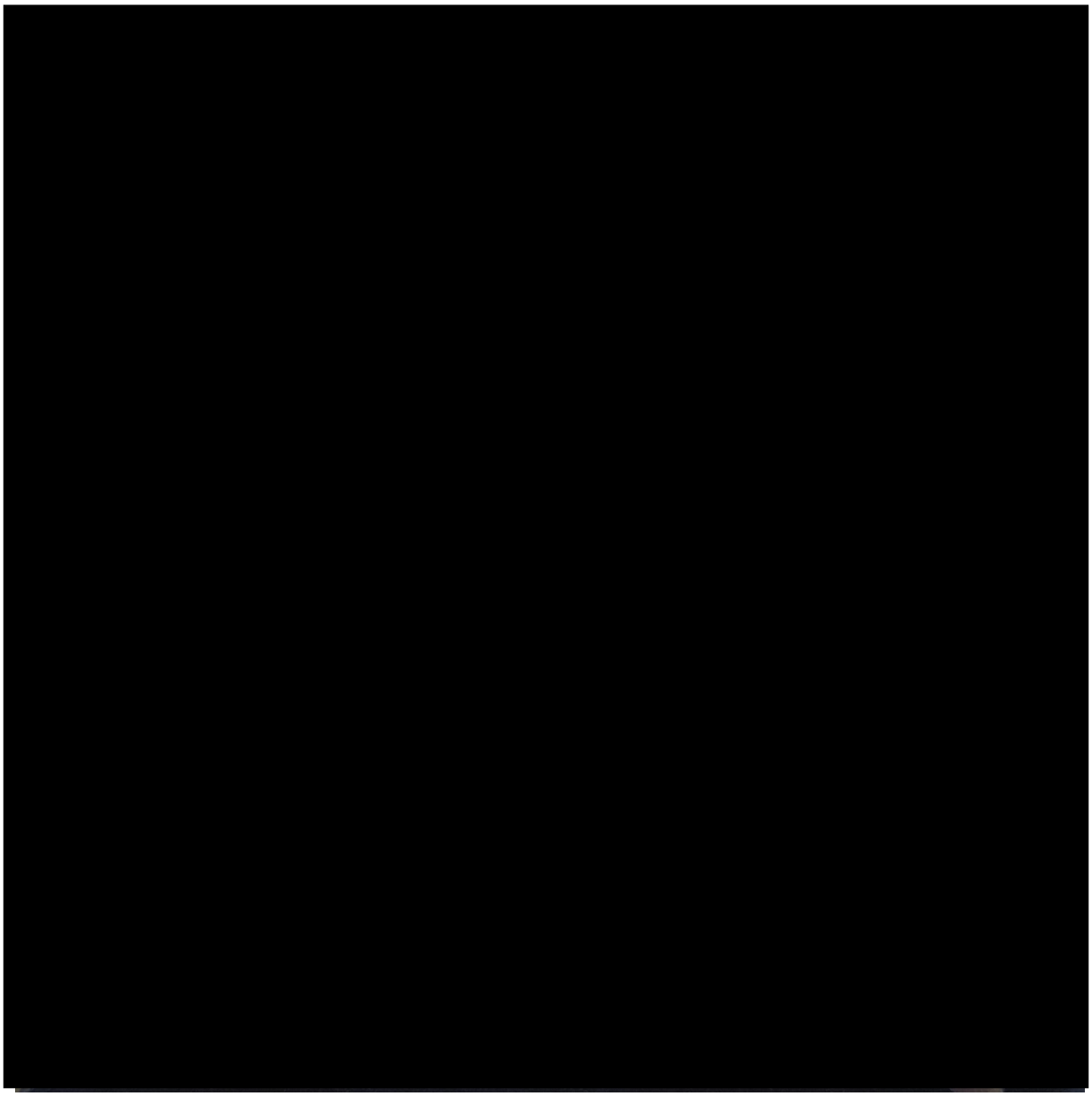


Figure 1: Tomb paintings of Trebius Justus, Honoratia Saeverina, and Trebius Justus Asellus (Rea ed. 2004, Fig 80).

P27: Tomb painting with dining and shopping

Date: Mid third century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus, Via Labicana, Rome
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The painting comes from the entrance wall of Room 6 in the Catacombs of SS Petrus and Marcellinus in Rome. The vault is painted with a scene of the Good Shepherd and on the walls are *orant* figures. Outlined with a red border, our painting is made up of two scenes. It is highly damaged and known primarily from water colours, and unfortunately a large portion of the centre of the panel is missing entirely. On the viewer's left we see two female figures out shopping: a small servant stands to the left of her mistress, who appears to be at some kind of produce stall. She is dressed in a *dalmatica* with dark stripes and wears her hair uncovered. On the right there is a scene of a banquet, with a seated couple served by two attendants. Assumedly one of the diners is the woman from the previous scene. It has been suggested that the first scene of shopping represents the woman acquiring something needed for the banquet, however with the missing parts this is unclear. In the reconstruction given by Wilpert it appears that the woman is shopping at the stall of a female vendor, although it is still unclear what she is selling.

Bibliography:

Bisconti, F. (2000). Mestieri nelle catacombe romane. Città del Vaticano: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, Cat. No.XVIa1, pp.89, 237-238.

Wilpert, J. (1903). Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, pp.506-509, Fig 49, Taf. 62.2.



Figure 1: Painting showing a woman shopping and a couple dining (Wilpert 1903, Taf.62.2).



Figure 2: Reconstruction of the scene given by Wilpert (Wilpert 1903, Fig 49).

P28: Tomb paintings of Dionysia, Nemesius, Procopius, Heliadora, and Zoë

Date: Late third to early fourth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of Callixtus, Rome
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable.

Description:

The paintings are located in the so-called cubiculum of the five saints, which has two *arcosolia*. Around one of the *arcosolia* is a large scene which appears to represent a paradisiacal setting, with peacocks, trees, other birds, and flowers. Directly above the *arcosolium* are depicted five figures in the *orans* pose, all labelled with their names: Dionysia, Nemesius, Procopius, Heliodora, and Zoë, all followed by 'in pace'. Above one of the peacocks is another inscription reading 'Arcadia in pace', but this is unclear whether this refers to another individual called Arcadia, or, perhaps to paradise in general. Given that these *orant* figures are labelled with individual names and shown with individualised dress and features, I have understood these to be real people, perhaps from the same family, who were buried there. Unfortunately damage to the paintings and *loculi* cut into the wall have caused a considerable amount of damage. Underneath the *arcosolium* are paintings of birds drinking from containers filled with water.

Dionysia is one of the better preserved figures, although a *loculus* does cut through her middle. She is shown wearing a yellow-orange *dalmatica* embellished with wide dark clavi and bands at the cuffs. She also appears to wear a band of cloth decorated with *orbiculi* over her shoulders. She wears a necklace and her voluminous hair is dressed elegantly, although it is now impossible to determine the style. It may be covered with a diaphanous veil. The other female figures shown on the other side appear to have been depicted in a similar manner.

Inscription:

(above or to the side of individual figures)
DIONYSAS NEMESI IN PACE PROCOPI IN PACE ELIODOR(?) IN PACE IN PACE

ZOAS IN PACE

(above the left-hand peacock)
ARCADIA IN PACE

Bibliography:

Caillaud, A. (2015). La figure du commanditaire dans l'art funéraire des catacombs de Rome (IIIe-Vie siècles). In: S. Brodbeck and A.-O. Poilpré eds., La culture des commanditaires.

L’oeuvre et l’empreinte. Actes de la journée d’étude organisée à Paris le 15 novembre 2013, Paris, pp.66-121.

Wilpert, J. (1903). Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, p.551, Taf. 110-111.

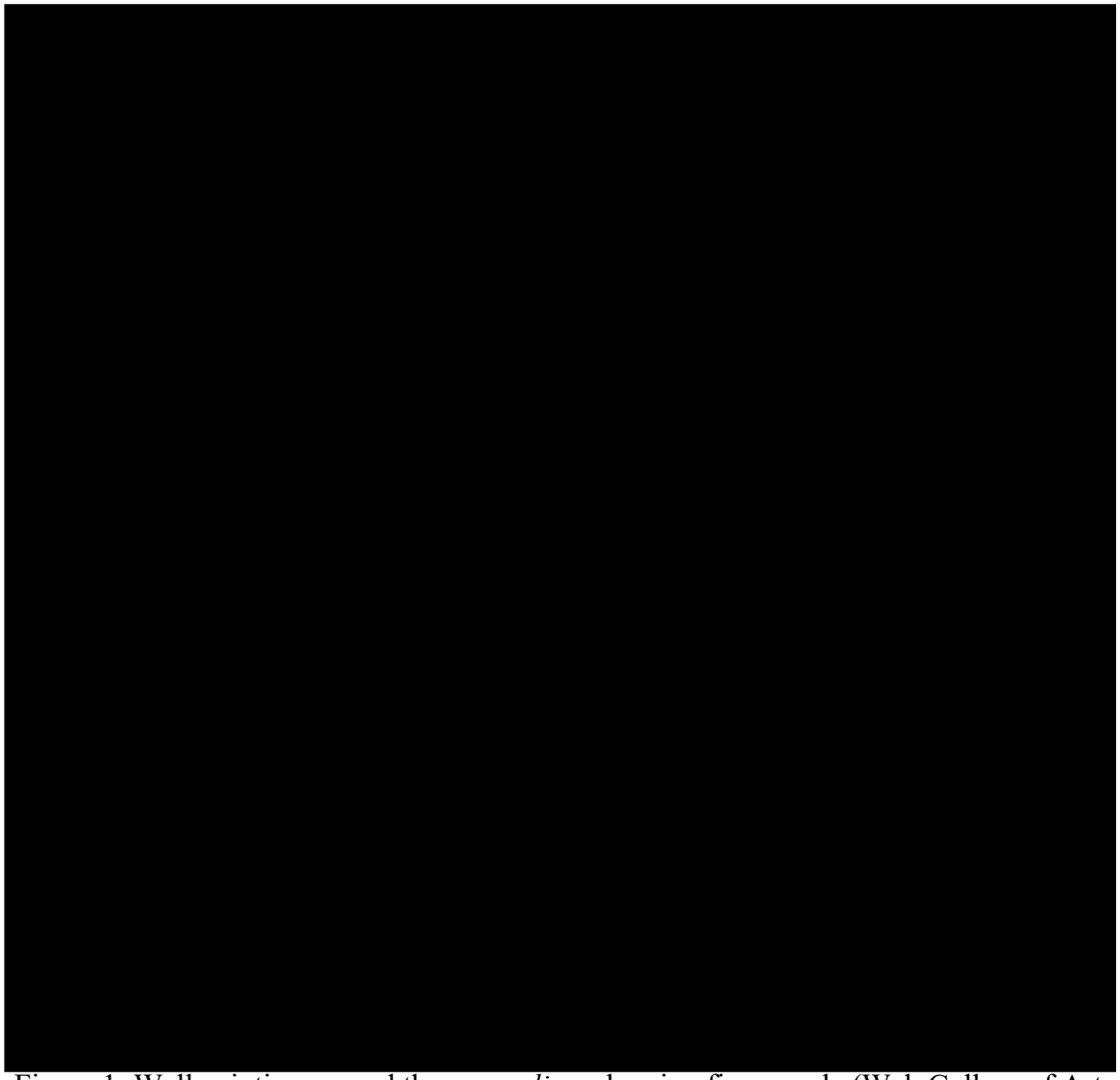


Figure 1: Wall painting around the *arcosolium* showing five people (Web Gallery of Art, https://www.wga.hu/html_m/zearly/1/2mural/4callist/callist4.html [accessed 15/12/2020]).



Figure 2: Water colour detail of the figure of Dionysia (Wilpert 1903, Taf.110).

P29: Tomb paintings of Vibia and Vincentius

Date: Mid fourth century
Place of Origin: Hypogeum of Vibia, Via Appia, Rome
Current Location: In situ?

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The so-called hypogeum of Vibia is located on the Via Appia and consists of three galleries cut into the tufa off to the side of a straight staircase which led to a well. On the left-hand wall off the main gallery was the *arcosolium* tomb of Vibia and her husband Vincentius, a priest of the god Sabazius. While an inscription above the tomb emphasises the position of Vincentius, the tomb paintings themselves focus on Vibia, which show her journey to the afterlife. On the left side under the arch we see Vibia being taken down to the underworld in a scene referencing the rape of Proserpina by Pluto. The inscription, however, reads "*abreptio* (carrying-off) and *descension* (descent) of Vibia". In the centre is a scene of judgement: Vibia (labelled), is presented by Alcestis and Mercury to the gods of the underworld and the Fates. In this scene Vibia is shown heavily draped and in a similar fashion to Alcestis, her mantle covering her head. On the back wall of the niche we see Vibia on the left, again shown draped and veiled, being led through an arch (labelled "*inductio Vibies*") by an "*angelus bonus*" to attend a lively afterlife banquet. On the right she is shown again, this time dressed in festal attire with her hair uncovered, the centre figure shown conversing with five other diners. They are attended by three servants who bring food. Her dining companions are labelled as "*bonorum iudicio iudicati*", or "those judged by the judgement of the righteous". On the right side of the *arcosolium* under the arch is the only scene concerning Vincentius. He is shown as part of an all-male dining party of seven, labelled as "Vincentius sacerdotes".

Inscription:

(above the tomb)
'Here you see the peaceful harbour of Vincentius. Many have preceded me and I await you all. Eat, drink, be merry and come to me. Here is buried the priest of the Sabazius, Vincentius, who practised the sacred rites with devotion.' (trans Claridge 2010).

Bibliography:

Claridge, A. (2010). Rome: An Oxford Archaeological Guide. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.425-426.

Ferrua, A. (1971). La Catacomba di Vibia. *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 47, pp.6-72 (with further references)

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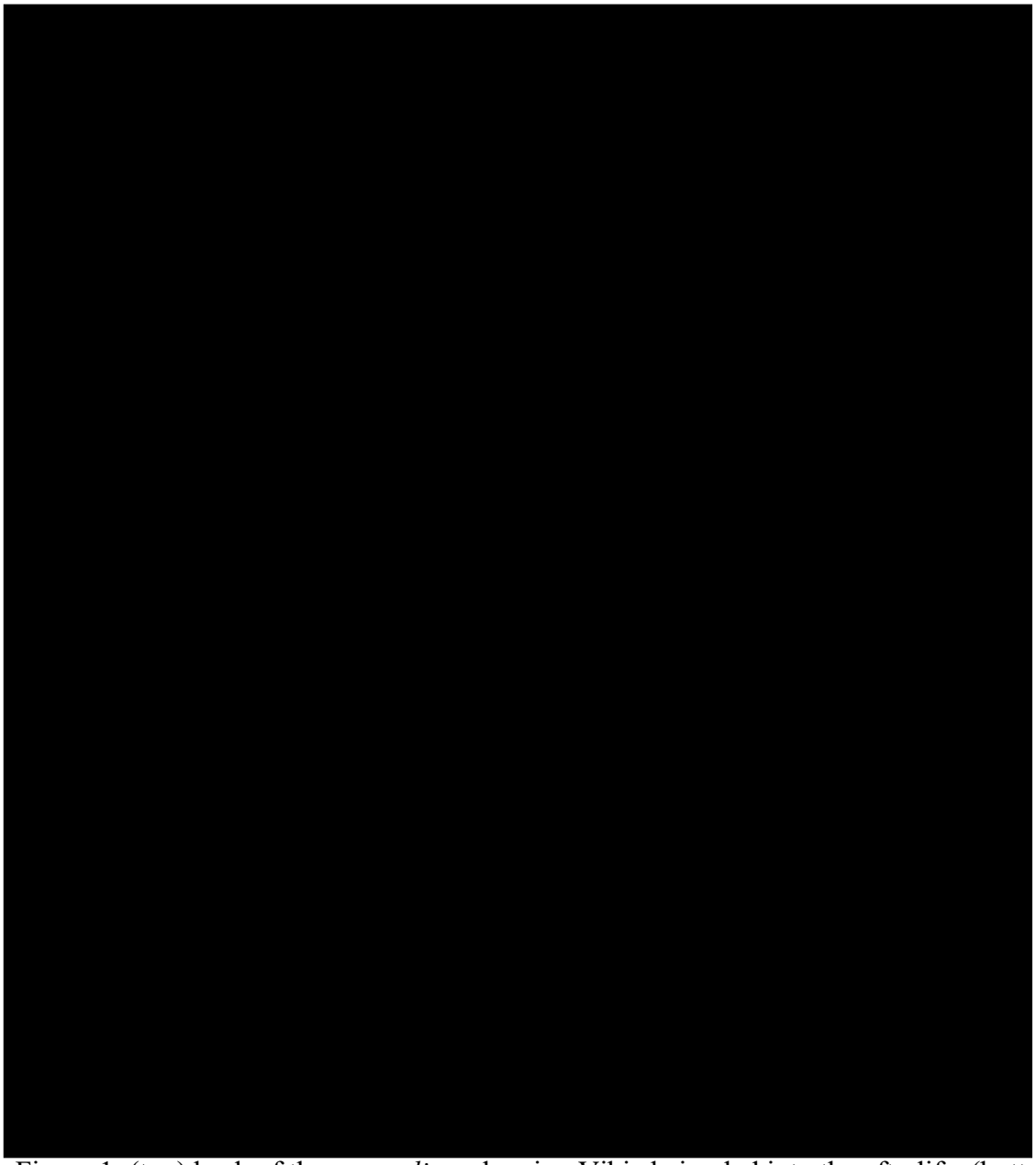


Figure 1: (top) back of the *arcosolium* showing Vibia being led into the afterlife, (bottom) central scene showing Vibia presented to the gods of the underworld, both watercolours (Wilpert 1903, Taf.132).



Figure 2: Plan of the hypogeum showing the location of the tomb of Vibia and Vincentius (Claridge 2010, Fig 201).

P30: Tomb painting of a vegetable seller

Date: Second half fourth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of S. Callixtus, Via Appia, Rome
Current Location: In situ

Lunette: 0.85 m x 1.00 m

Description:

The paintings are found in the catacomb of Saint Callixtus and decoration an *arcosolium* tomb for a female vegetable vendor. On the wall of the back of the *arcosolium* we see a standing female figure wearing a long yellow tunic with dark clavi. The top of her head is just visible, but it is unclear whether her hair is covered or uncovered. She is shown standing between a trestle table under which is a basket filled with vegetables (or greens of some kind) and a stand on which is further produce. Unfortunately a later *loculus* was cut into the painting so the majority of it is destroyed, but the details of the long tunic indicate that this was a woman. The arch of the *arcosolium* is decorated with vegetal and floral motifs with birds. On either side of the niche is Moses' water miracle (viewer's right) and Lazarus being raised from the dead (now almost entirely destroyed, left). Below the niche are roses and garlands.

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Wilpert, J. (1903). Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, pp.534-535, Taf. 143.



Figure 1: Tomb paintings of a vegetable seller (Wilpert 1903, Taf.143).

P31: Tomb painting of Veneranda

Date: After AD 356
Place of Origin: Catacomb of Domitilla, Rome
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The paintings are located in an *arcosolium* in a cubiculum in the catacombs of Domitilla in Rome, behind the apse of the basilica of Nereus and Achilleus. They concern the commemoration of a woman called Veneranda, shown in the centre of the wall-painting of the *arcosolium* in the *orans* position. She wears a long orange *dalmatica* with dark red or purple clavi. Her hair is covered in a tight-fitting covering over which she also wears a loose veil decorated with *orbiculi*. To the viewer's right and slightly behind Veneranda stands Saint Petronilla, shown wearing a long white tunic with gold hem and mantle draped diagonally across her body, much like the procession of female saints from the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, and on GG6. To the right of Veneranda is an open scroll box filled with scrolls, and an open book or diptych with writing on it. Unfortunately only the left side of the painting is missing, but roses indicate that it depicted a paradisiacal setting. Framing the *arcosolium* are paintings of garlands.

The dating is owed to an earlier inscription to a certain Karisia, inserted in the back wall of the *arcosolium* and later covered by Veneranda's painting, which names a specific consulship. The inscription was found in fragments but has been reattached it its original position and is now visible where part of Veneranda's painting has fallen away.

Inscription:

VENERAN/DA DEP/(OSITA) VII IDVS. IA/NVARIAS
'Veneranda buried here on the sixth of January'

PETRO/NELLA MART(YR)
'Petronilla, martyr'

Bibliography:

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Wilpert, J. (1903). Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, pp.466-476, Taf. 213.



Figure 1: *Arcosolium* of Veneranda (Pennesi 2006, p.164, Fig 1).

P32: Tomb painting with veiling scene(?)

Date: Late third century
Place of Origin: Catacombs of Priscilla, Rome
Current Location: Rome

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The paintings are found on the far wall of cubiculum 5 of the catacombs of Priscilla in Rome. The vaulted ceiling bears a depiction of the Good Shepherd surrounded by animals and birds. Under the arch on the back wall above the *loculi* we find three scenes: a seated elderly man with a young woman, and young man; a standing female *orant*, and a seated woman with a baby. The identities of these figures have been the subject of some debate. Wilpert and older commentators understood the scene on the viewer's left as the veiling of a virgin. An elderly man in a white tunic with dark clavi and a yellow mantle places his hand on the shoulder of a young woman wearing a yellow *dalmatica* with dark clavi and holding a white piece of material or scroll in her hands. Bisconti mentions that he holds a diptych, but this is not clear from the images. Just behind the young woman stands a young man in a dark tunic holding what has been identified as a veil. Wilpert also understands the central *orant,* wearing a red *dalmatica* with yellow clavi and a loose veil over her head to be the deceased, and the group on the right to represent Mary with Christ. More recent commentators, however, have preferred to see the left-hand scene as representing the veiling of the bride before her wedding and therefore the group as a sort of *cursus vitae* for the deceased woman. Certainly the young woman in the left-hand scene is shown in a very similar manner to the seated woman with the baby, suggesting that they may be intended to represent the same person. Ultimately the exact meaning of these paintings remains obscure.

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Caillaud, A. (2015). La figure du commanditaire dans l'art funéraire des catacombs de Rome (IIIe-Vie siècles). In: S. Brodbeck and A.-O. Poilpré eds., La culture des commanditaires. L'oeuvre et l'empreinte. Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris le 15 novembre 2013, Paris, pp.66-121.

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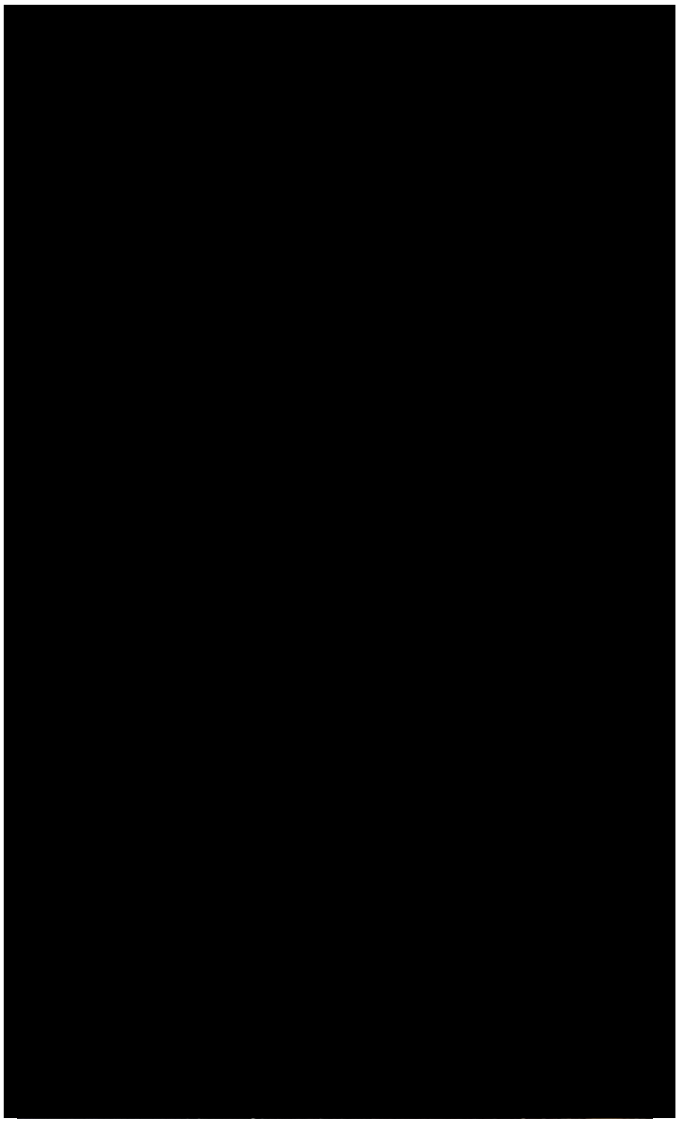


Figure 1: Photograph of the vault cubiculum, with the relevant frescoes visible at the bottom (Bisconti 2011, p.130, Fig 29).



Figure 2: Detail of the painting (Bisconti 2011, p.132, Fig 34).

P33: Tomb painting of an unknown woman and her daughter

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of Thecla, Rome
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The paintings are located in the so-called Cubicolo degli Apostoli in the catacombs of Thecla in Rome, named as such for the medallions containing busts of the apostles which adorn the ceiling, surrounding a depiction of the Good Shepherd. The room contains three *arcosolia*, the one we are concerned with is on the northern wall. Recently restored, the back wall of the *arcosolium* niche is decorated with the depiction of four figures, all preserved around waist height. In the centre is a woman who appears to wear a white tunic with dark clavi, and a necklace of a double string of pearls. Her hair is styled elegantly on the top of her head and covered with a loose diaphanous veil. She holds a scroll in both hands. Next to her stands a small girl in the *orans* position, assumedly her daughter, who seems to have her hair arranged in a similar fashion to her mother. On the underside of the arch of the niche *erotes* hold up garlands.

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Mazzei, B. (2010). La decorazione del cubicolo degli apostoli. In: B. Mazzei ed. Il cubicolo degli apostoli nelle catacombe romane di Santa Tecla. Cronaca di una scoperta. Città del Vaticano: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra, pp.33-88 (with further references).

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Figure 1: The north wall of the Cubicolo degli Apostoli, with the tomb of a woman and her daughter (Mazzei 2010, Tav.36).



Figure 2: Detail of the *arcosolium* of a woman and her daughter (Mazzei 2010, Tav.39).

P34: Tomb painting of Primenius and Severa

Date: Late fourth to early fifth century
Place of Origin: Catacomb of Saint Sebastian, Rome
Current Location: In situ

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The paintings come from an *arcosolium* tomb in the west wall of gallery F2 in the catacombs of Sebastian in Rome. Other paintings found on the inside of the arch of the *arcosolium* concern miracles of Christ. On the back wall we find a depiction of a family in bust form crowned by a small bust of Christ floating above them: Primenius, Severa, and their unnamed son. On the left is Severa, shown wearing a light-blue tunic, her voluminous hair covered by a tight-fitting light blue covering and a diaphanous loose veil. On the right is Primenius, wearing a brown *paenula*. Their son, shown in slightly smaller scale, is depicted between them, dressed in a dark *paenula*. On the far left of the scene next to Severa is an open scroll box filled with scrolls, and above her head to the right an alpha.

Inscription:

(on the red frame above the figures)
'Primenius et Severa benemerentibus'

Bibliography:

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Proverbio, C. (2006). L'arcosolio di Primenius et Severa sulla parete ovest della galleria F2. In: M. Andaloro ed. L'orizzonte tardoantico e le nuove immagini (312-468), Corpus, Volume 1. Milano: Jaca Book, pp.196-199.



Figure 1: *Arcosolium* of Primenius and Severa (Proverbio 2006, p.197, Fig 3).

P35: Tomb painting of Turtura

Date: Early sixth century or mid to late seventh century
Place of Origin: Catacombs of Commodilla, Rome
Current Location: In situ. Following damage it was removed, restored, and returned to original position

Dimensions unavailable, almost life-size figures.

Description:

The tomb painting of Turtura is found on the left wall of the crypt of SS Felix and Adauctus in the catacombs of Commodilla in Rome. The scene has a light blue background and is framed in red, white and black. There is a long painted inscription at the bottom. In the centre of the scene the Virgin is enthroned in a jewelled throne with the Christ child on her lap. On either side of her are the patron saints of the crypt, Felix and Adauctus, identified by inscriptions over their heads. On the viewer's right Felix is shown as an older man in a tunic and himation, his hair white and his head framed with a nimbus. On the viewer's left Adauctus, a young beardless man in the same dress, presents Turtura to the Virgin. Turtura is represented smaller than the holy figures, coming only to the saint's chest. She is dressed head to toe in loose dark garments, perhaps a black tunic and mantle that also covers her head, and a black tight cover underneath. She holds in her hands two candles to present to the Virgin, covered with a diaphanous white cloth. Her face is quite long and appears to have deep naso-labial furrows. The inscription informs us that Turtura widowed at the age of 24 but never remarried, outliving her husband by 36 years and dying at the age of 60. The painting was dedicated by her only son.

The dating of the painting is contested and good arguments are made for both the early sixth century and the mid to late seventh century based on contextual evidence from the crypt, for discussion see in particular Osborne 1985, and Karambinis 2009.

Inscription:

(painted, below the figures)

SVSCIPE NVNC LACRIMAS MATER NATIQVE SVPRESTIS
QVAS FVNDET GEMITVS . LAVDIBVS ECCE TVIS .
POS MORTEM PATRIS SERVASTI CASTA MARITI
SEX TRIGINTA ANNIS . SIC VIDVATA FIDEM .
OFFICIVM NATO PATRIS MATRISQVE GEREBAS
HIC REQVIEXCIT IN PACE TVRTVRA

IN SVMBOLIS FACIEM . VIR TIBI VIXIT OBAS
TVRTVRA NOMEN ABIS SET TVRTVR VERA FVISTI
CVI CONIVX MORIENS NON FVIT ALTER AMOR
VNICA MATERIA EST QVO SVMIT FEMINA LAVDEM
QVOD TE CONIVGIO . EXIBVISSE DOCES .
QVE BISIT PLM ANNVS LX

Translation unavailable.

Bibliography:

Braconi, M. (2015-2016). L'Arcosolio di Cerula nelle Catacombe di San Gennaro a Napoli: Prime Intuizoni e Recenti Scoperte. *Campania Sacra. Rivista di Storia Sociale e Religiosa del Mezzogiorno* 46-47, pp.129-146.

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Deckers, J. G., Mietke, G. and Weiland, A. (1994). Die Katakombe „Commodilla": Repertorium der Malereien. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, pp. 61-65, Farbtafel 8-13 (with further references).

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Osborne, J. (1985). The Roman Catacombs in the Middle Ages. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 53, pp. 278-328 (with further references).

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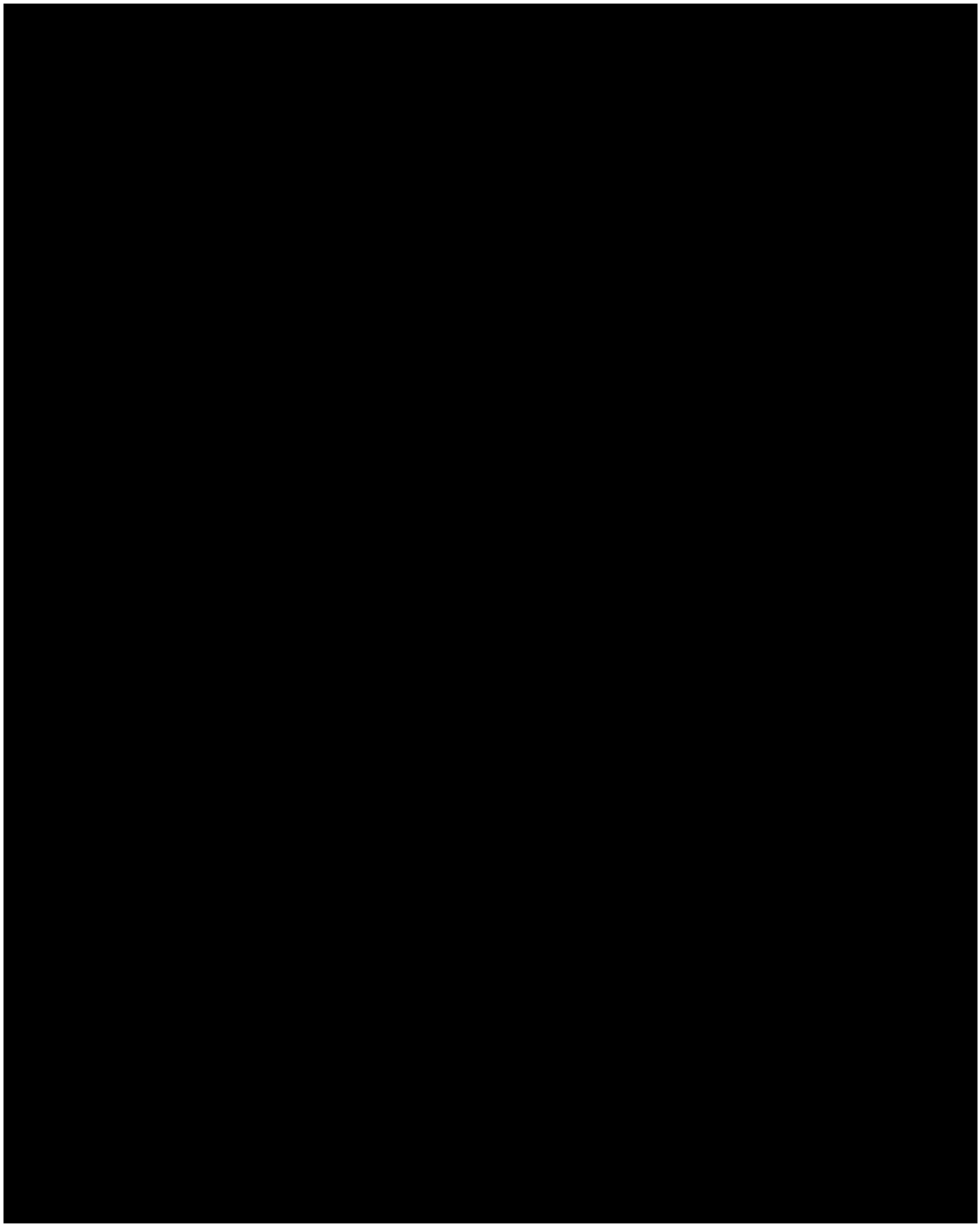


Figure 1: Tomb painting of Turtura (Deckers et al 1994, Farbtafel 8).

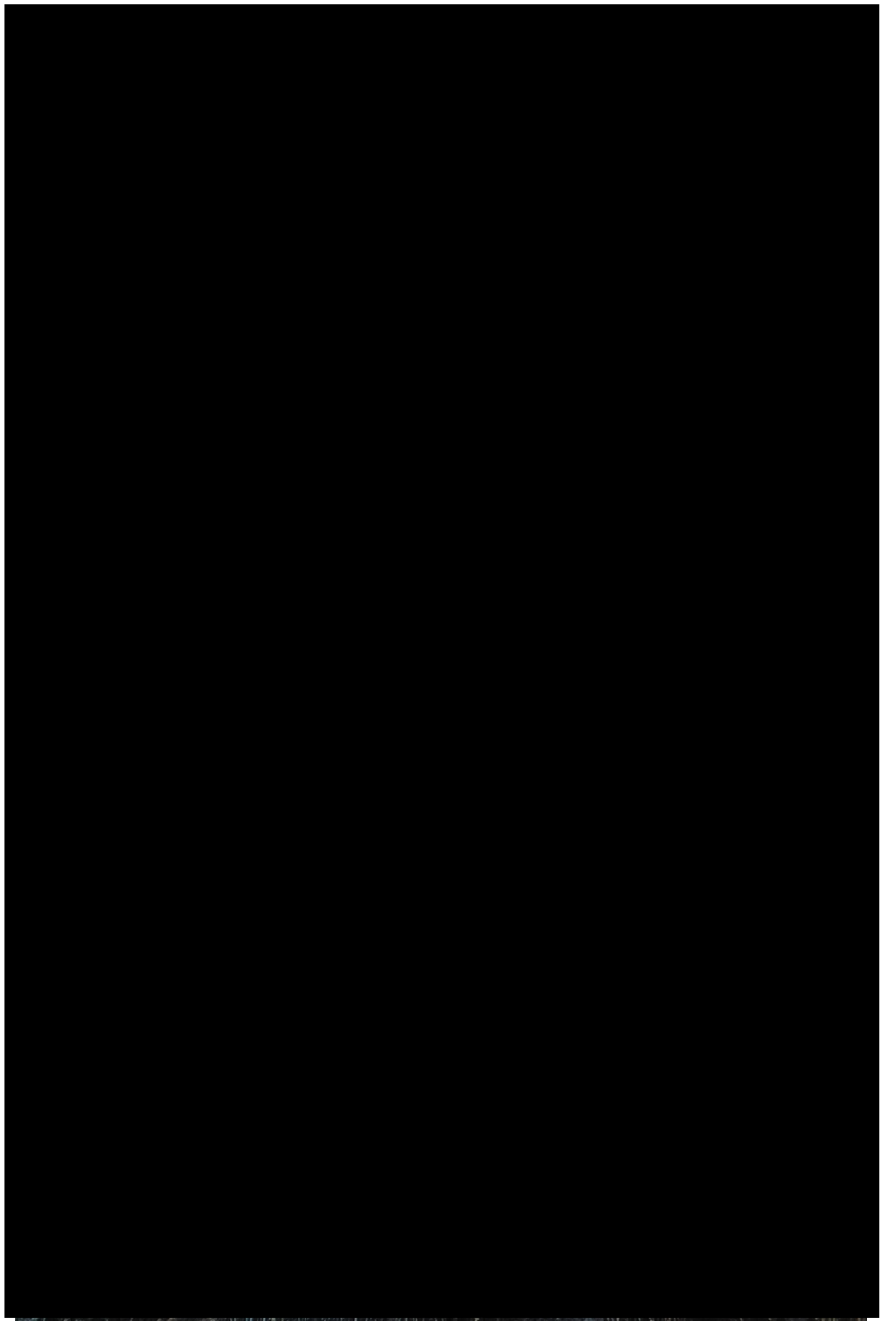


Figure 2: Detail of the face of Turtura (Deckers et al 1994, Farbtafel 13).

P36: Ceiling painting with family portraits(?)

Date: Fourth century?
Place of Origin: Caelian Hill, Rome
Current Location: Now destroyed, preserved in drawing

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The painting comes from the ceiling of the *domus* known as the 'Biblioteca Agapiti' on the Caelian Hill in Rome. An apsidal hall and subterranean chamber were discovered and destroyed in the early modern period, but drawings made reveal an elaborately decorated ceiling. While these are now impossible to confirm, they include a central tondo with the bust of a couple and outer tondi with other busts, perhaps the couple's children. At least two of these figures appear to be female by their necklaces. The other scenes are difficult to make out from the drawings but appear to concern *erotes* performing various activities.

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Hansen, S. L. (1997). The embellishment of Late-antique domus in Ostia and Rome. In: S. Isager ed., Patrons and Pavements in Late Antiquity. Odense: Odense University Press, pp.111-124.



Figure 1: Drawing of the painted ceiling with depictions of a couple and perhaps their children (Colini 1944, Tav.12).

S1: The Projecta Casket

Date: Mid to late fourth century
Place of origin: Rome, Esquiline Treasure
Current location: British Museum, London, 1866,1229.1

H: 28.6 cm; L: 56 cm (longest point); W: 48.8 cm (widest point)
Weight: 8200 g

Description:

The silver casket is part of the Esquiline Treasure, discovered in Rome in 1793. It is trapezoidal in shape, with all facets bar the base decorated with scenes both mythological and earthly in nature, executed in repoussé with gilding and stippling. On the top of the lid putti hold a tondo with a depiction of a married couple, the woman on the viewer's left holding a scroll and the man on the right with his hand in the speaking gesture. The back panel of the lid shows a scene of a woman in procession to the baths with her slaves. The other panels of the lid represent Venus at her toilet accompanied by putti and mythical sea creatures. On the body of the casket are scenes of a mortal woman also attending to her toilet, attended by a procession of slaves. On the basis of the inscription and the tondo portrait of the couple on the lid, the casket is traditionally assumed to have been a wedding gift to the couple Secundus and Projecta. It is unknown, however, when the inscription was added and if it indeed refers to the couple on the lid. Significant research has gone into identifying the owners of the casket and refining the dating of the treasure, however there have been no certain answers and it is best to accept a mid to late fourth century date and aristocratic patrons living in Rome.

Inscription:

(rim of the lid bears an inscription)
SECVNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHRISTO
'Secundus and Projecta, live in Christ'.

Bibliography:

Barbier, E. (1962). La Signification du Cortège Représenté sur le Couvercle du Coffret de "Projecta". *Cahiers Archéologiques* XII, pp.7-33.

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Figure 1: Frontal view of the Projecta Casket, showing a woman seated at her toilet below Venus at hers (© British Museum).



Figure 1: View of the lid of the Projecta Casket, showing Venus at her toilet (© British Museum).



Figure 3: View of the back of the lid of the casket, showing a woman processing with her slaves to a bathhouse (© British Museum).



Figure 4: View of the top of the lid of the Projecta Casket, showing clipeus with portraits of a couple (© British Museum).

S2: The Muse Casket

Date: Mid to late fourth century
Place of Origin: Rome, Esquiline Treasure
Current Location: British Museum, London 1866, 1229.2

D: 33.5 cm; H: 26 cm (without chain up); H: 55.8 cm (with chain up)
Weight: 4800 g

Description:

Silver 16-sided circular casket with a domed lid and chain, used for carrying perfume vessels or other cosmetics. Also part of the Esquiline Treasure. The concave panels of the body of the casket carry representations of eight of the nine Muses, each identified with specific attributes. The other panels are decorated with motifs such as vases, vines, and birds. On the top of the lid is a medallion with another female figure shown seated in a landscape setting, stringing roses onto a garland fixed to a tree, while a bird perches on her arm. This may be intended to represent the ninth Muse, or the patron of the casket *as* the ninth Muse. The motif of a woman stringing roses in the manner is also known from mosaics at Piazza Armerina and Antioch (M1; M22).

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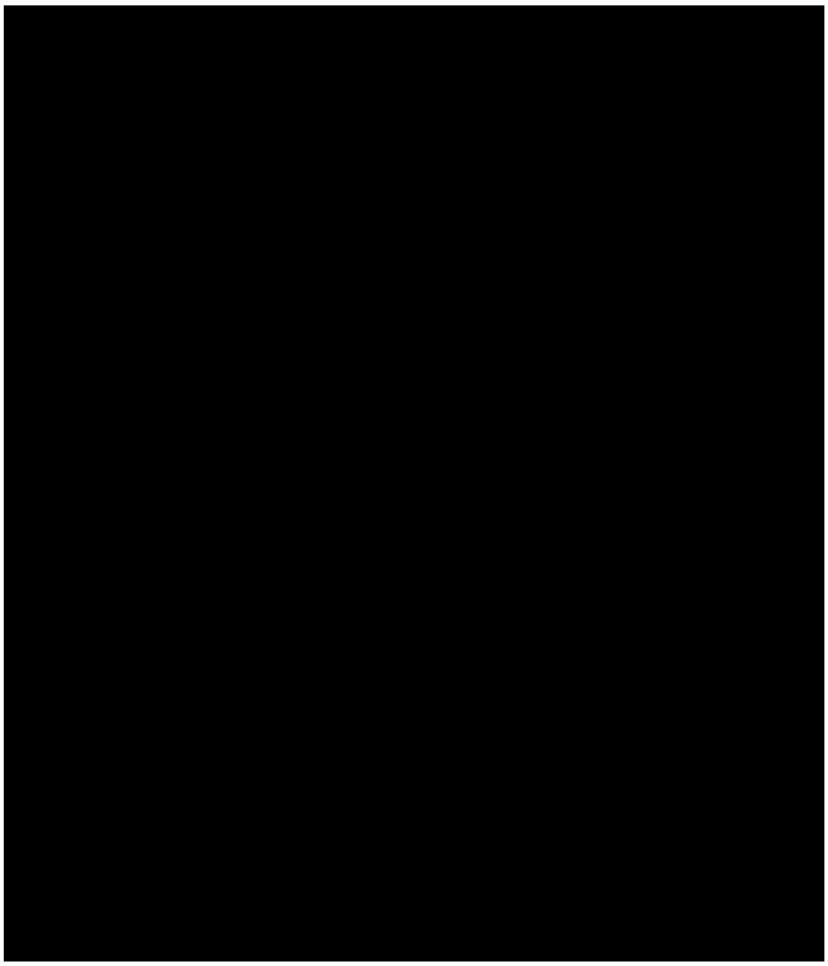


Figure 1: The Muse Casket with containers inside (© British Museum).



Figure 2: The central medallion on the top of the lid, perhaps showing the owner of the casket as the ninth Muse, stringing a rose garland (© British Museum).

S3: Naples situla

Date: Second half of fourth century
Place of Origin: Italy? (Said to be from Herculaneum)
Current Location: Museo Nazionale di Napoli Inv. 25289

H: 27 cm; Max diameter: 26 cm

Description:

Large silver situla with surviving handle and foot. The body of the bucket is decorated in relief with two scenes, separated by a lion-headed fountain and a depiction of a domed bath-building. In the background of both scenes are continuous arches supported by columns. One scene shows a central woman removing her tunic, assisted by a naked slave. Another naked slave holding a situla, much like the object itself, moves away from the central woman, opening the door to the bath structure that separates the scenes. The other scene shows a naked woman seated on a stool or bench. She is attended by four naked slaves: one combs her loose hair, another massages her leg, one offers her a small pot, and the last carries a basin to her. The woman carrying the basin appears to have perhaps just collected some water from the fountain behind her. The scenes are set in the bathhouse, indicated by the bath-building and lion-headed fountain.

The seated woman and the woman removing her tunic are the same individual. As the woman removes her tunic she reveals the end of a body-chain under her clothes; the seated woman is nude but for a body chain with the same decorative end-piece seen poking out under the tunic.

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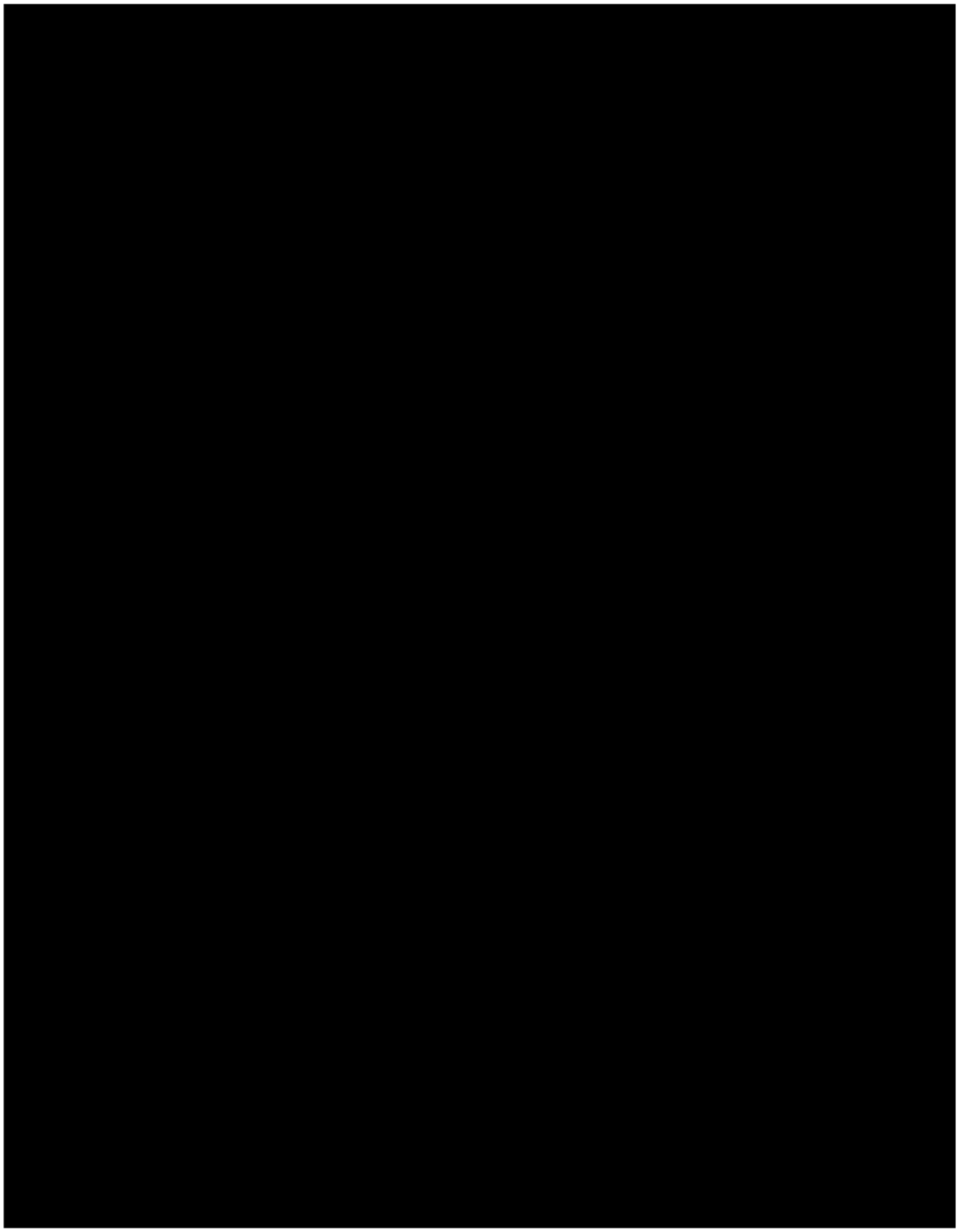


Figure 1: Scene of woman removing her tunic assisted by a nude slave (photo by author).

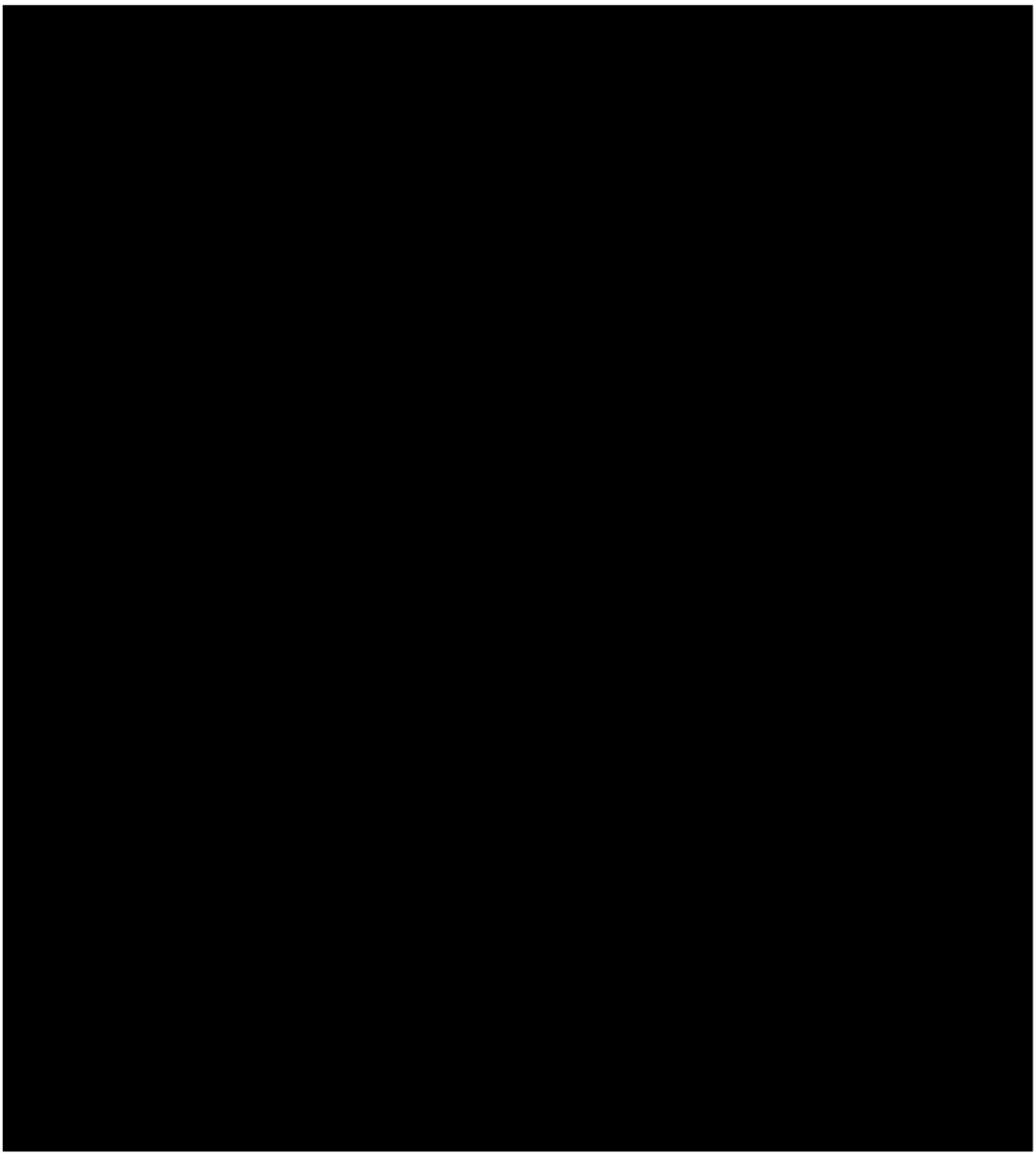


Figure 2: Scene representing the woman seated at her toilet attended by slaves (photo by author).

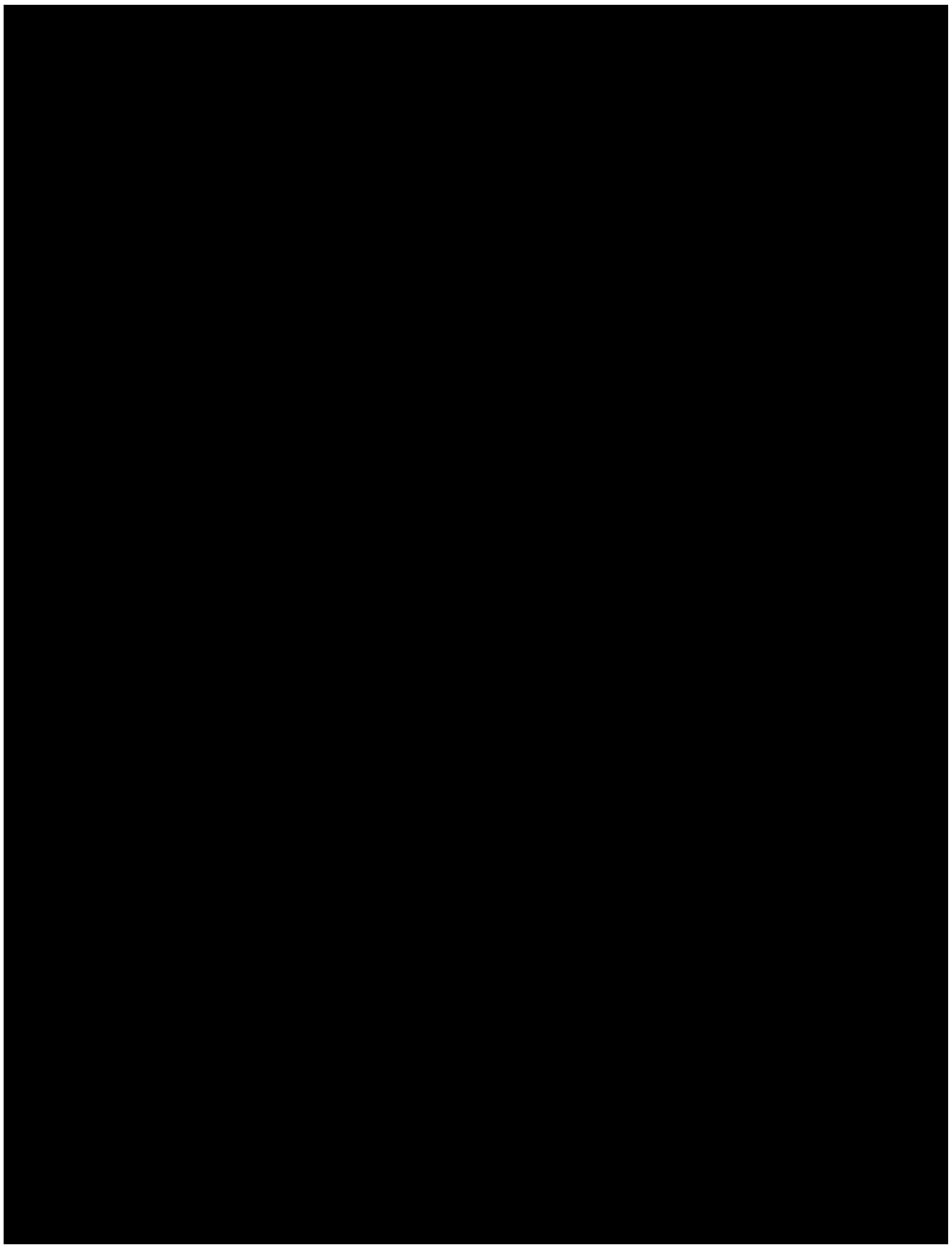


Figure 3: The domed bath building and an attendant opening at door (photo by author).

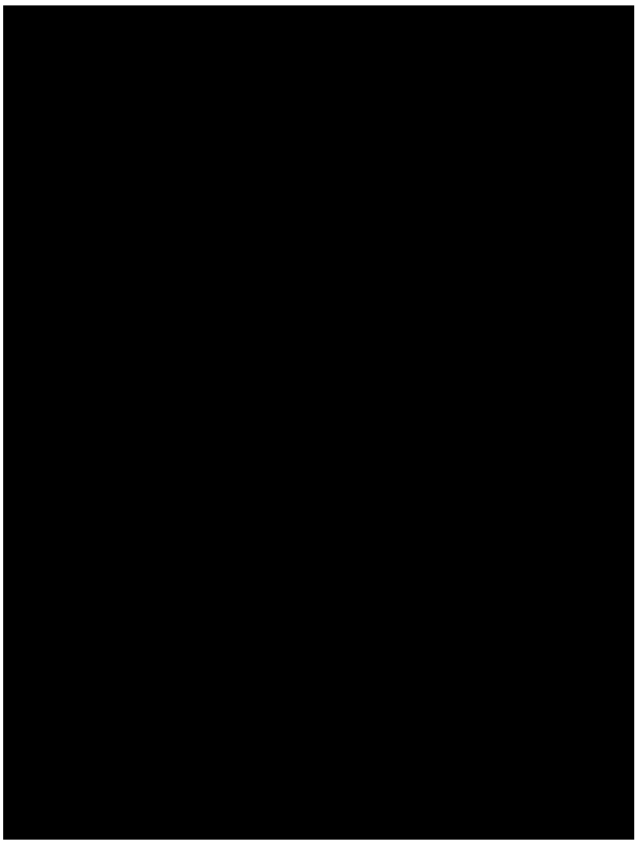


Figure 4: Lion-headed fountain spewing water into a large basin (photo by author).



Figure 5: Detail of the end of the body chain underneath the tunic of the woman (photo by author).

S4: Consular spoons of Eusebius

Date: Fourth century
Place of origin: Aquileia
Current location: Lost

Dimensions unknown. Cameron comments they are “large”.

Description:

Discovered at San Canziano near Aquileia and first published in 1792, but now lost. A set of six spoons discovered along with a *bulla* in the shape of two shells, on which was an acclamation to a man called Eusebius. On at least two of the spoons was also inscribed an acclamation to Eusebius. Only drawings of these objects survive.

The spoon we are concerned with shows Eusebius seated in the centre on a large chair and with his feet on a foot stool, holding his right hand in the speaking pose and wearing a belted tunic and *chlamys* pinned at this right shoulder. Around him are arranged three other persons. To Eusebius’ right is a female figure holding a scroll and leaning on a column half-concealed behind her. She wears a long-sleeved tunic and mantle. Her gender is marked by a necklace around her neck, her longer tunic than the male figures in the scene, and the shape of her hairstyle, which is meant to mark the typical fourth-century hairstyle braids gathered at the nape of the neck and folded back on the head (*Scheitelzopf*). Her pose leaning on the column and holding a scroll makes reference to the Muses, however it is most likely that she represents Eusebius’ cultured wife. Her pose is similar to that of the *domina* on the Dominus Julius Mosaic (M29). The male figure to the left of Eusebius stands on a small platform and wears a tunic and *chlamys* pinned at the right shoulder. This perhaps represents Eusebius’ son, or an important member of his entourage. To the right of the female figure is a smaller male figure, who appears to be dressed in a similar fashion. His identity is not clear. On the extreme left of the spoon (from the viewer’s perspective) is a flaming torch, and to the right a curtain held back with a tie.

Another spoon also shows four figures. Eusebius is most likely the figure in the centre wearing the consular *trabea*, interacting with a man wearing a cloak with an object dangling from it. The other two figures are also male, and their identities are not clear. On the extreme left (from the viewer’s perspective) is an altar(?) and on the right a stand with an open book on it and a curtain held back with a tie. The other spoons in the set depict what are probably all Biblical scenes. Discernible is the sacrifice of Isaac and the Magi bearing gifts. Another spoon depicts a scene of baptism, and the other is too fragmentary to be sure what it depicts.

Inscription:

EVSEBIORVM DIGNITAS

Bibliography

Cameron, A. (2013). The Origin, Context and Function of Consular Diptychs. *Journal of Roman Studies* 103, pp.174-207, here p.178, Figs 3a-b.

Cabrol, F., and Leclercq, H. (1907). Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Vol 7.2. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, Nos.2681-2682, Fig.877.

Garrucci, R. (1880). Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa: corredata della Collezione di tutti i monumenti di pittura e scultura. Band 6: Sculture non cimiteriali. Prato: G. Guasti, pp.90-92, Tav.462, 4-5.



Figure 1: Silver consular spoons of Eusebius, the first showing his wife and possibly son (Cameron 2015, Figs 3a-b, after Garrucci 1880, Tav. 462, 4-5).

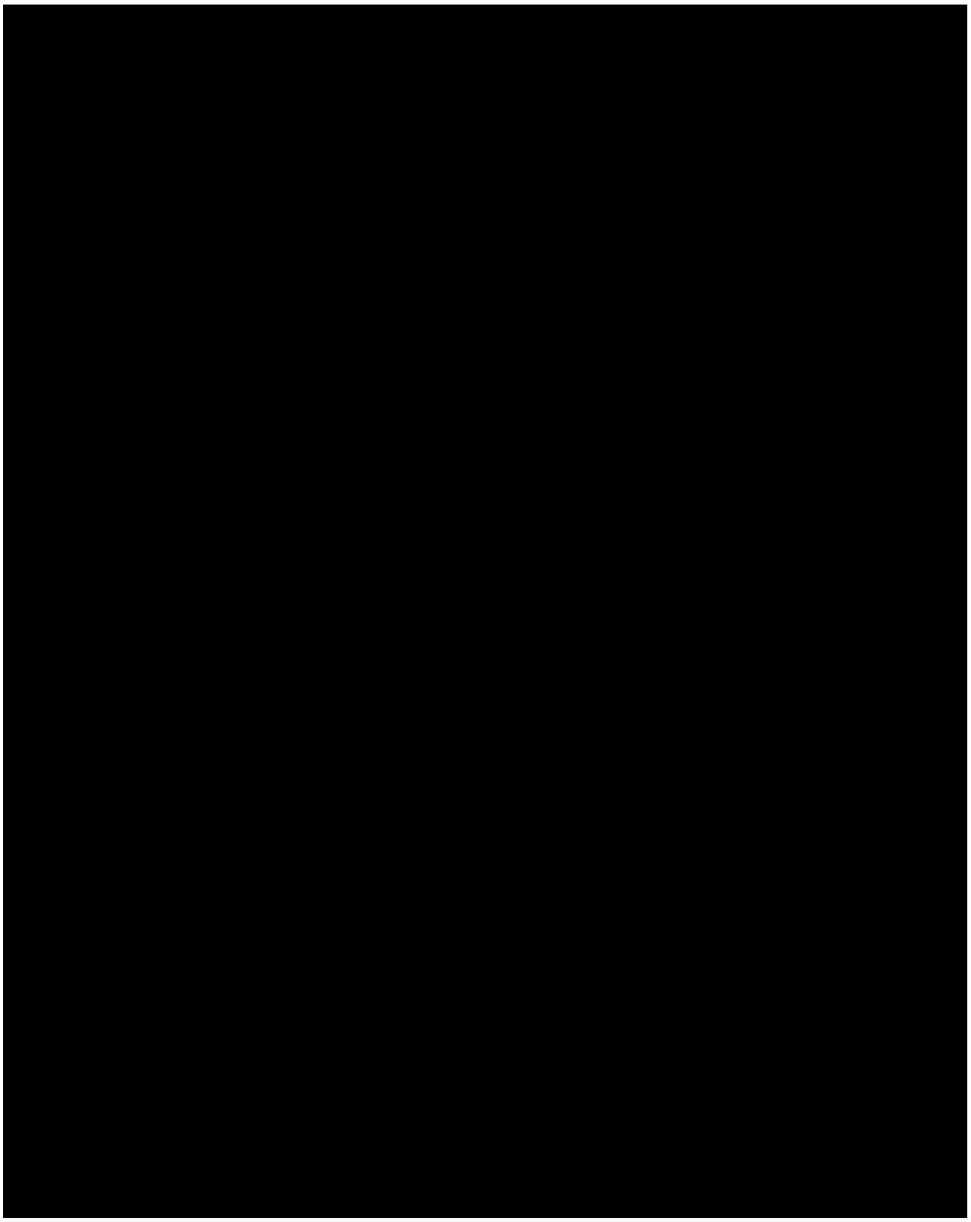


Figure 2: Drawing of the whole set of six spoons, with scenes of Eusebius and Biblical scenes (After Cabrol and Leclerq 1907, Vol. 7.2, Fig.877).

S5: The Sevso Plate

Date: Mid to late fourth century
Place of Origin: Unknown/contested
Current Location: Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

D: 70.5 cm (plate); D: 17.3 cm (central medallion); H: 3 cm
Weight: 8873 g

Description:

Large silver plate, partially gilded and inlaid with niello, from the Sevso Treasure. The edge is decorated with beading, incised patterns, and a continuous niello-inlaid scene of hunting. In the centre of the plate is a medallion, encircled by an inscription. The scene on the medallion is a hunters *al fresco* picnic: at the centre is a *stibadium* under a canopy with five diners being served by slaves. This dining scene is surrounded by motifs of hunting and fishing. While four of the five diners (and all the slaves) appear from their hair and dress to be male, the second diner from the left side of the *stibadium* wears an elaborate hair-style and necklace that marks her as female. As far as I am aware, this is the only depiction of a hunt picnic that indisputably includes the presence of a woman.

Inscription:

(around the medallion)
XP (ISTOS).H(A)EC.SEVSO.TIBI.DVRENT.PER SAECVLA.MVLTA.
POSTERIS.VT PROSINT.VASCVLA.DIGNA TVIS

‘(Christ) May these, O Sevso, yours for many ages be,
small vessels fit to serve your offspring worthily.’

Bibliography:

Dági, M. and Mráv, Z. (2019). A Seuso-kincs. Pannonia fénye. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, pp.88-99.

Dunbabin, K. (2003). The Roman Banquet: Images of Conviviality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.149.

Mundell Mango, M. (2006). The Sevso Treasure: a private exhibition. London: Bonhams, pp.2-8.

Mundell Mango, M. and Bennett, A. (1994).The Sevso Treasure. JRA Supplementary Series No. 12, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Journal of Roman Archaeology, pp.55-97.



Figure 1: The Sevso Plate (Hungarian National Museum, https://seuso.mnm.hu/en/the-seuso-treasure/the-artefacts/the-seuso-platter#&sobj=0 [accessed 14/12/2020]).

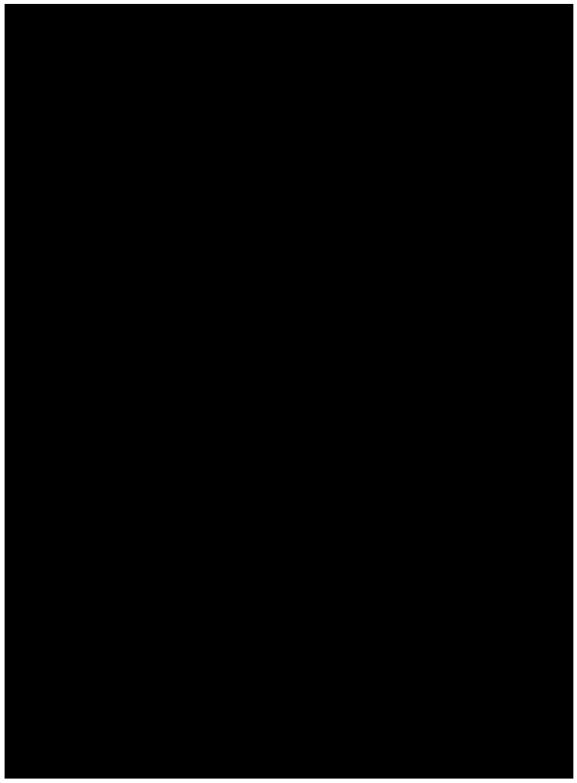


Figure 2: Detail of the central medallion showing the diners, the female diner is the second from the left (after Dági and Mráv 2019, p.63).

S6: The Sevso Casket

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Unknown/contested
Current Location: Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

H: 32 cm (body and lid); H: 15 cm (body); D: 20.7 cm (base)
Weight: 2051 g (including lid and internal disk)

Description:

Silver perfume casket with a cylindrical body and conical lid, the top knob in the form of a head of Medusa in relief, from the Sevso Treasure. The interior of the casket contains a pierced disk with seven holes to hold toilet flasks, similar to the Muse Casket from the Esquiline Treasure (S2). Chains that once suspended the casket are missing. The lid of the casket is decorated in repoussé relief with erotes holding garlands and masks. The body bears two main scenes: the first shows a seated woman attended by a procession of slaves on either side bringing her toilet objects; the other shows a scene of a bath, with two naked women (likely representing two of the Graces) and another woman in the process of removing her tunic assisted by a dressed slave. The presence of lion's head spouts spewing water in the background in the direction of large vessels on the floor place the scene in a bathhouse.

Bibliography:

Dági, M. and Mráv, Z. (2019). A Seuso-kincs. Pannonia fénye. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, pp.140-146.

Dunbabin, K. M. D. (2003). The Waiting Servant in Later Roman Art. *American Journal of Philology,* 124.3: 443-467, p. 459.

Mundell Mango, M. (2006). The Sevso Treasure: a private exhibition. London: Bonhams, pp.109-117.

Mundell Mango, M. and Bennett, A. (1994). The Sevso Treasure. JRA Supplementary Series No. 12, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Journal of Roman Archaeology, pp.444-473.

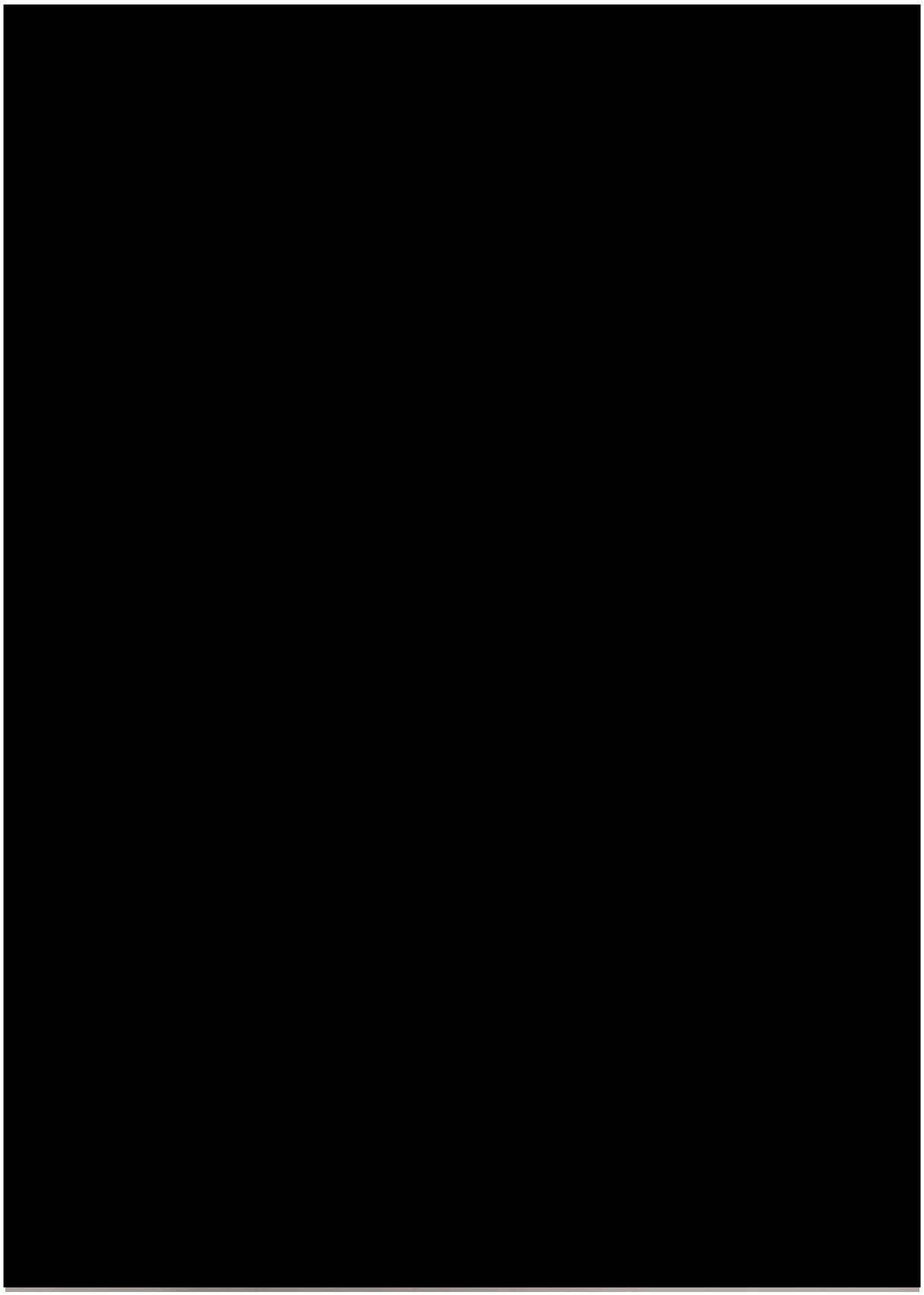


Figure 1:View of the Sevso Casket showing procession of slaves carrying bathing equipment (Dági and Mráv 2019, Figure p.147).

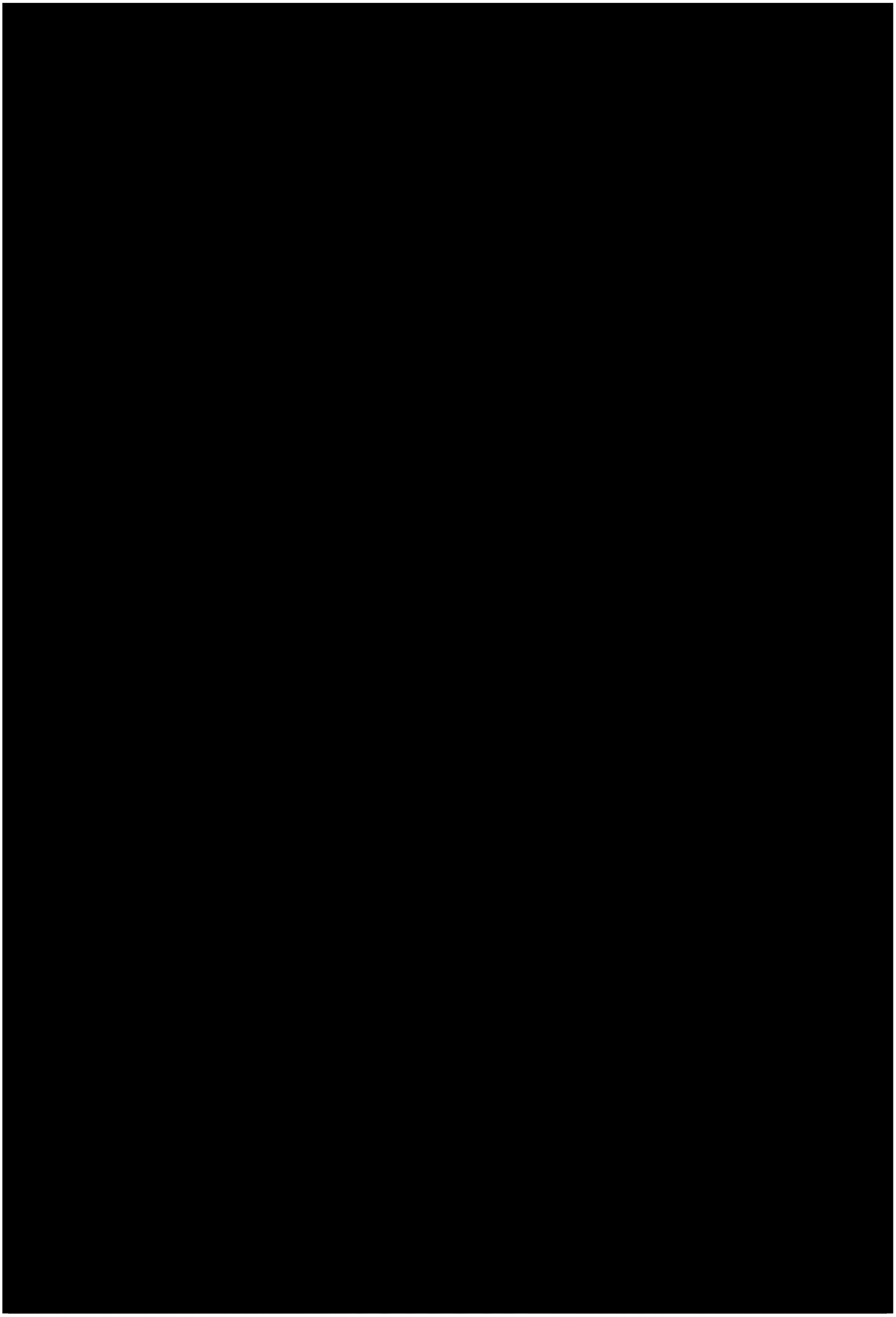


Figure 2: View of the Sevso Casket showing a woman removing her tunic, and the Graces (Dági and Mráv 2019, Figure p.140).

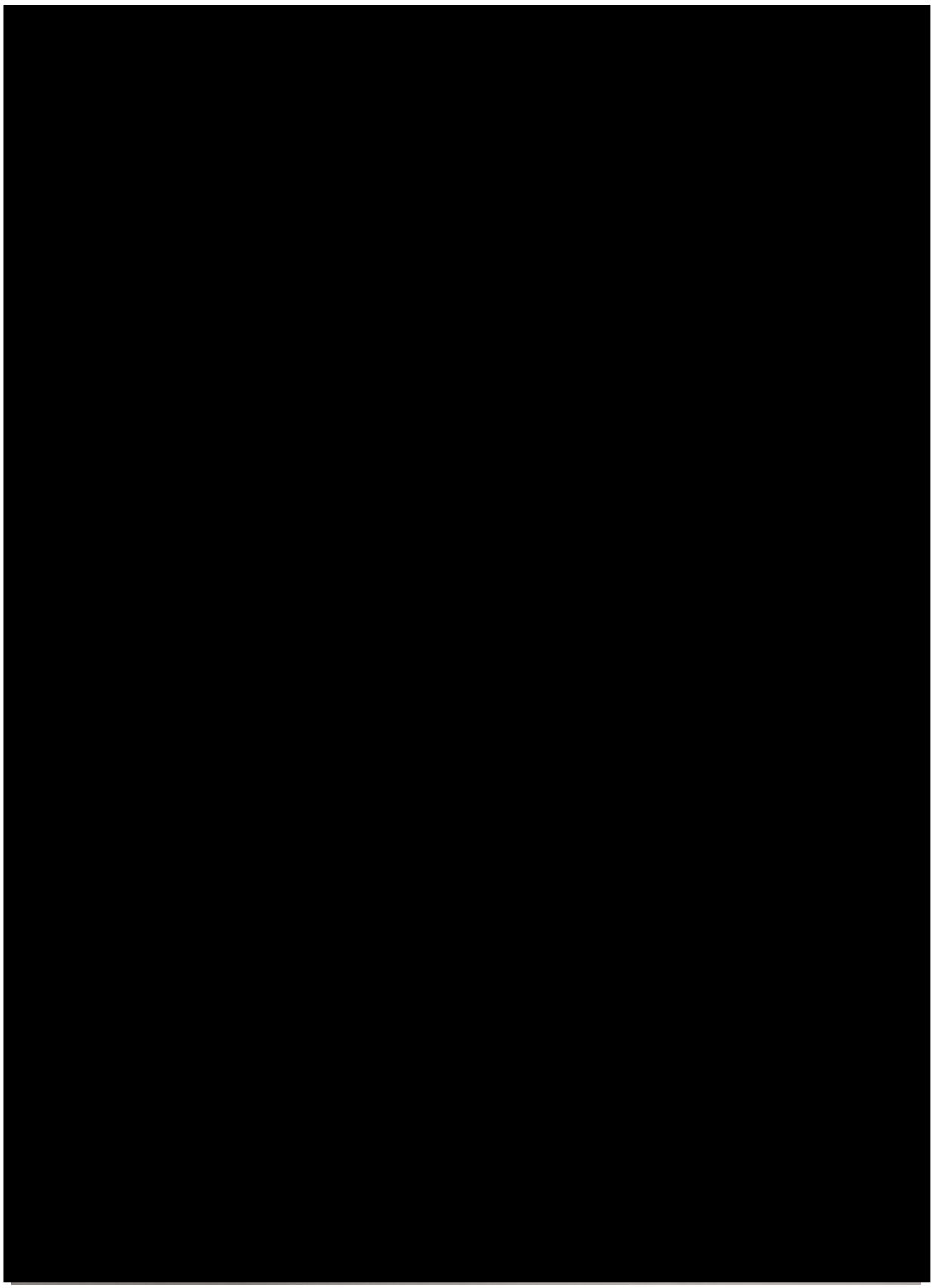


Figure 3: View of the Sevso Casket with procession of slaves bringing toilet equipment to their mistress (Dági and Mráv 2019, Figure p.145).

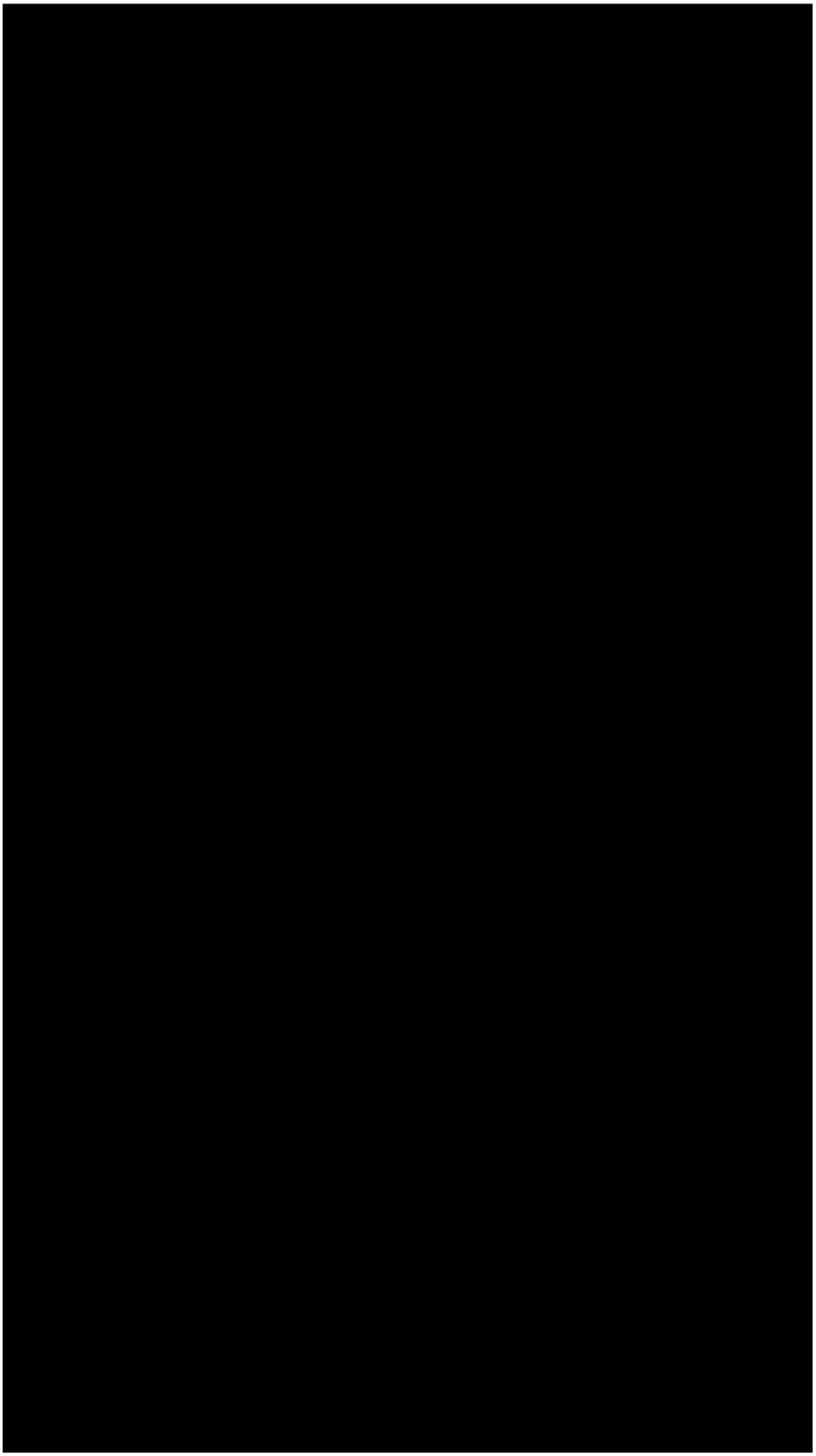


Figure 4: Detail from the Sevso Casket, showing *domina* seated taking something from a slave (Dági and Mráv 2019, Figure p.142).

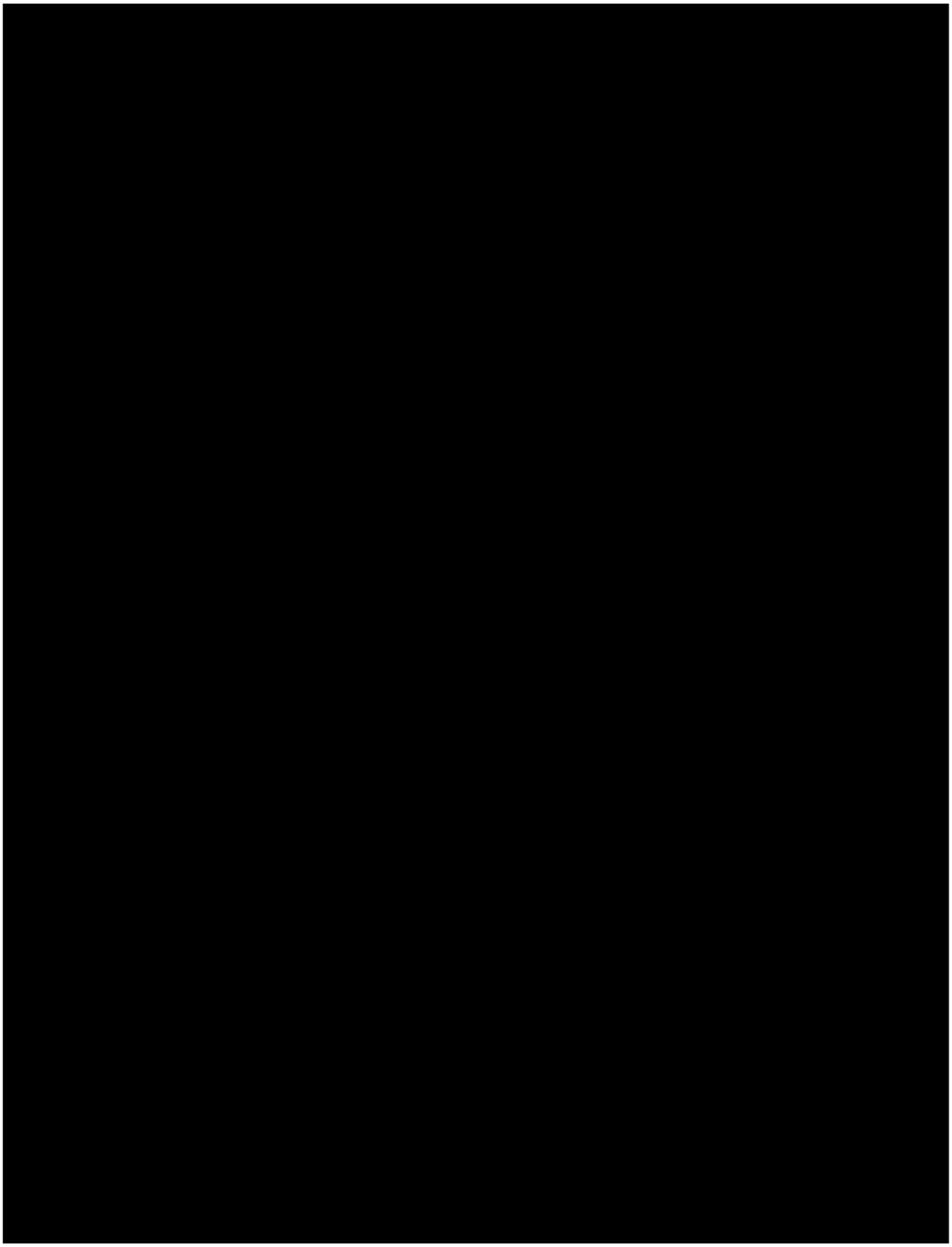


Figure 5: Detail of the Sevso Casket, showing a woman removing her tunic with the help of a slave (Dági and Mráv 2019, Figure p.143).

S7: The ‘Empress’ Pepper Pot

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Suffolk, UK
Current Location: British Museum 1994,0408.33

H: 10.3 cm; D: 3.3 cm (internal disk); W: 5.8 cm
Weight: 107.9 g (approx.)

Description:

Silver gilt pepper pot in the form of a bust of an aristocratic woman holding a scroll, from the Hoxne Treasure. She wears a tunic with clavi over a long-sleeved under-tunic, and a large necklace. Her hair is styled in the *Scheitelzopf.* Small knobs on the top of her hairstyle may represent hairpins. The bust is soldered onto a separate base. Although referred to as the ‘empress’ pepper pot, there is no evidence to suggest it depicts any member of the imperial family. It is similar in style to metal steelyard-weights in the form of empresses, however many of these examples wear a diadem that may link them more securely to imperial identification.

Discovered as part of the Hoxne Treasure in Suffolk in 1992. The hoard itself is dated by coin finds, which give a *terminus post quem* of AD 407-8 for deposition, while the hairstyle of the woman suggests a fourth century date for the object.

Bibliography:

Bland, R. and Johns, C. (1993). The Hoxne Treasure. An Illustrated Introduction. London: British Museum, pp.25-26.

Johns, C. (2010). The Hoxne Late Roman Treasure: Gold Jewellery and Silver Plate. London: British Museum. Cat no. 33, pp.78-85.

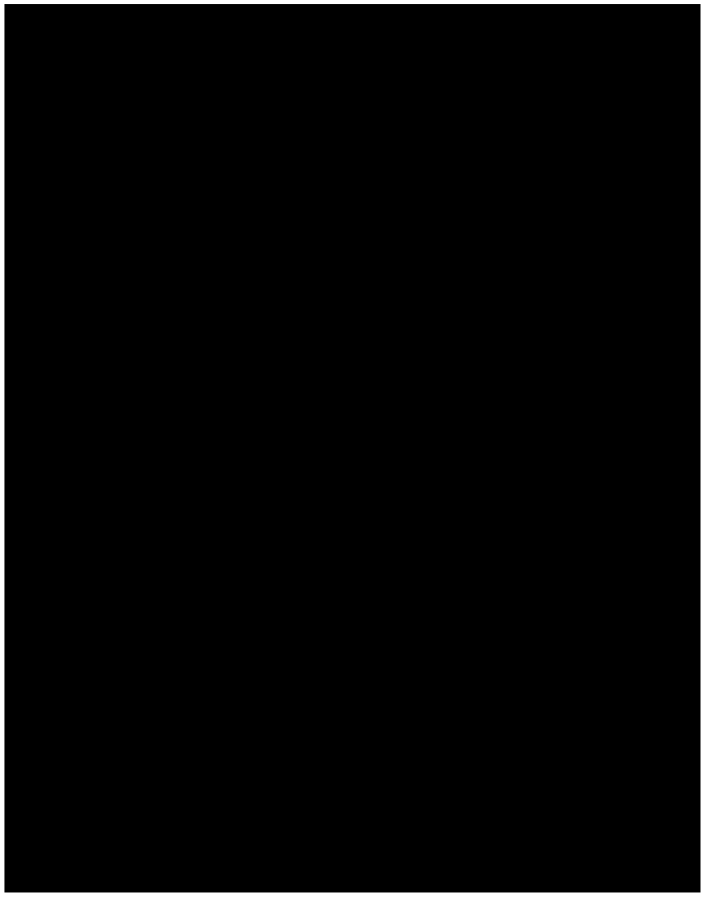


Figure 1: Frontal view of the pepper-pot (© British Museum).

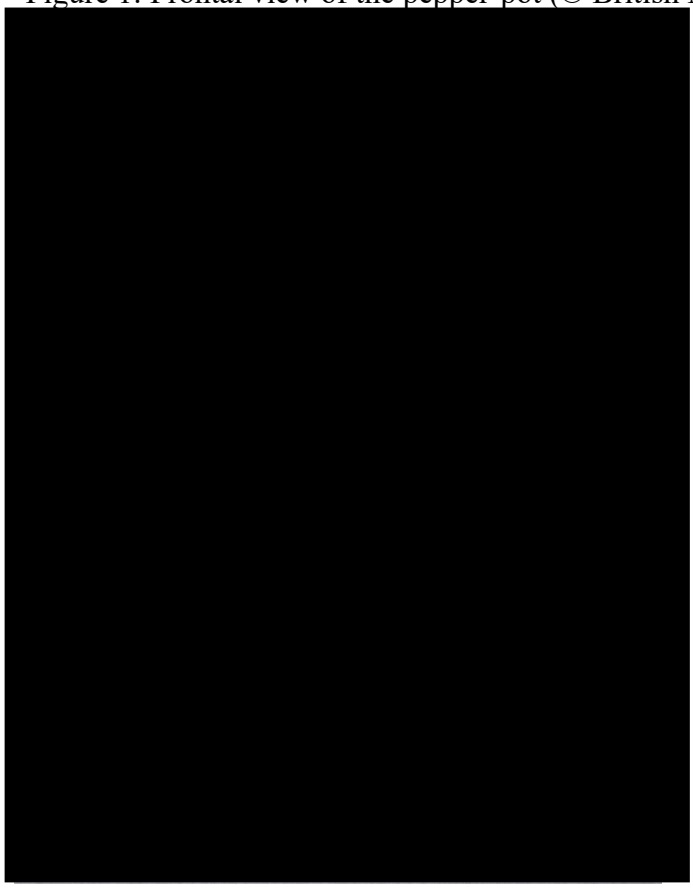


Figure 2: View slightly from the side (© British Museum).

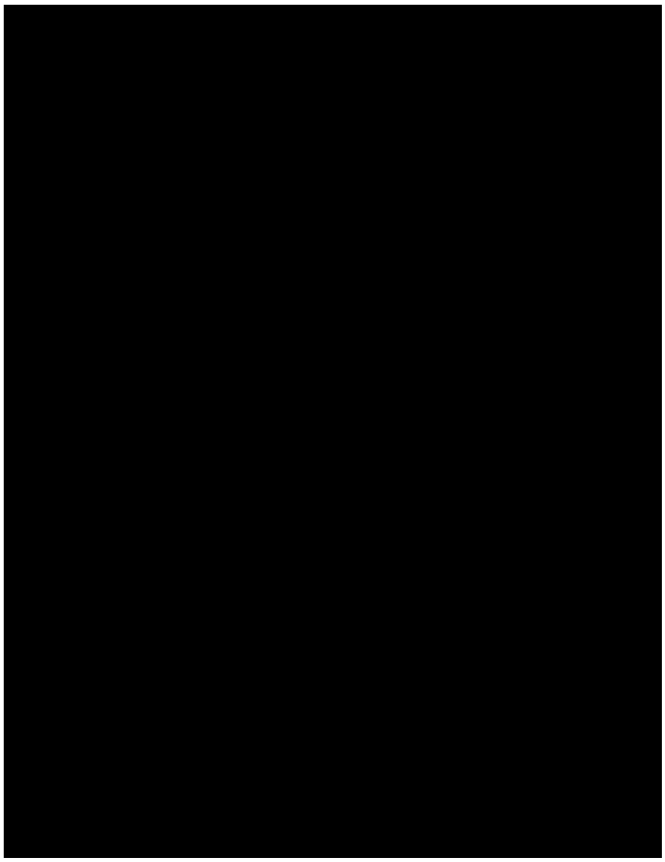


Figure 3: Back view (© British Museum).

S8: Silver bust of a woman

Date: Late fourth to early fifth century
Place of Origin: Sirzenich, Germany
Current Location: Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Inv. G O 4

H: 14.2 cm

Description:

Small silver bust portrait of a woman (with restored face) from Augusta Treverorum (Belgica II). She wears a long sleeved tunic, mantle, and elaborate necklace/embroidered collar. Her hair is arranged in the typical *Scheitelzopf* style. Her right hand is held across her front resting in the folds of the drapery of her mantle, and the right is wrapped up in the folds of the cloth and held perpendicular to the body. The base of the bust forms an attachment and may have been originally affixed to a square-shaped wooden element. Found with S9.

Bibliography:

Donati, A. and Gentili, G. (2005). Costantino il Grande. La civiltà antica al bivio tra Occidente e Oriente. Milan: Silvana Editorale, p.277, no. 114a (S. Faust).

Last Statues of Antiquity Database No. 2403 (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=2403&_submit=Go [accessed 15/12/2020])

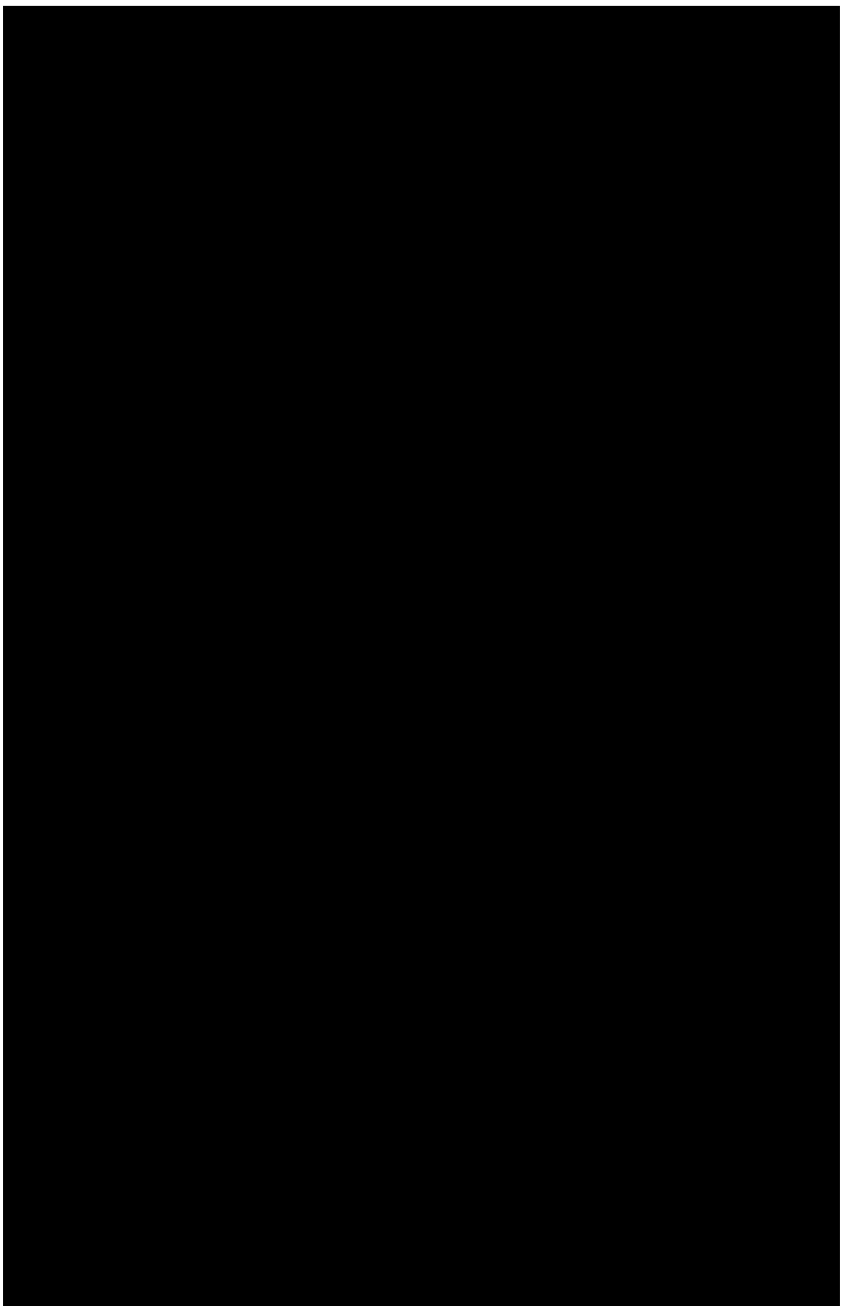


Figure 1: Front view of the bust (Last Statues of Antiquity Database).

S9: Silver bust of a woman

Date: Late fourth to early fifth century
Place of Origin: Sirzenich, Germany
Current Location: Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Inv. G O 5

H: 13.9 cm

Description:

Small silver portrait of a woman from Augusta Treverorum (Belgica II). She wears a long sleeved tunic, mantle, and elaborate necklace/embroidered collar. Her hair is arranged in typical late-antique style with a central braid folded back over the head. Her right hand is held across her front resting in the folds of the drapery of her mantle, and the right appears to be wrapped up in the folds of the cloth and held perpendicular to the body, although she may conceivably be holding a separate piece of material. The base of the bust forms an attachment and may have been originally affixed to a square-shaped wooden element. Found with S8.

Bibliography:

Donati, A. and Gentili, G. (2005). Costantino il Grande. La civiltà antica al bivio tra Occidente e Oriente. Milan: Silvana Editorale, p.277, no.114b (S. Faust).

Last Statues of Antiquity Database No.2404 (http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail.php?record=LSA-2404 [accessed 16/12/2020]).

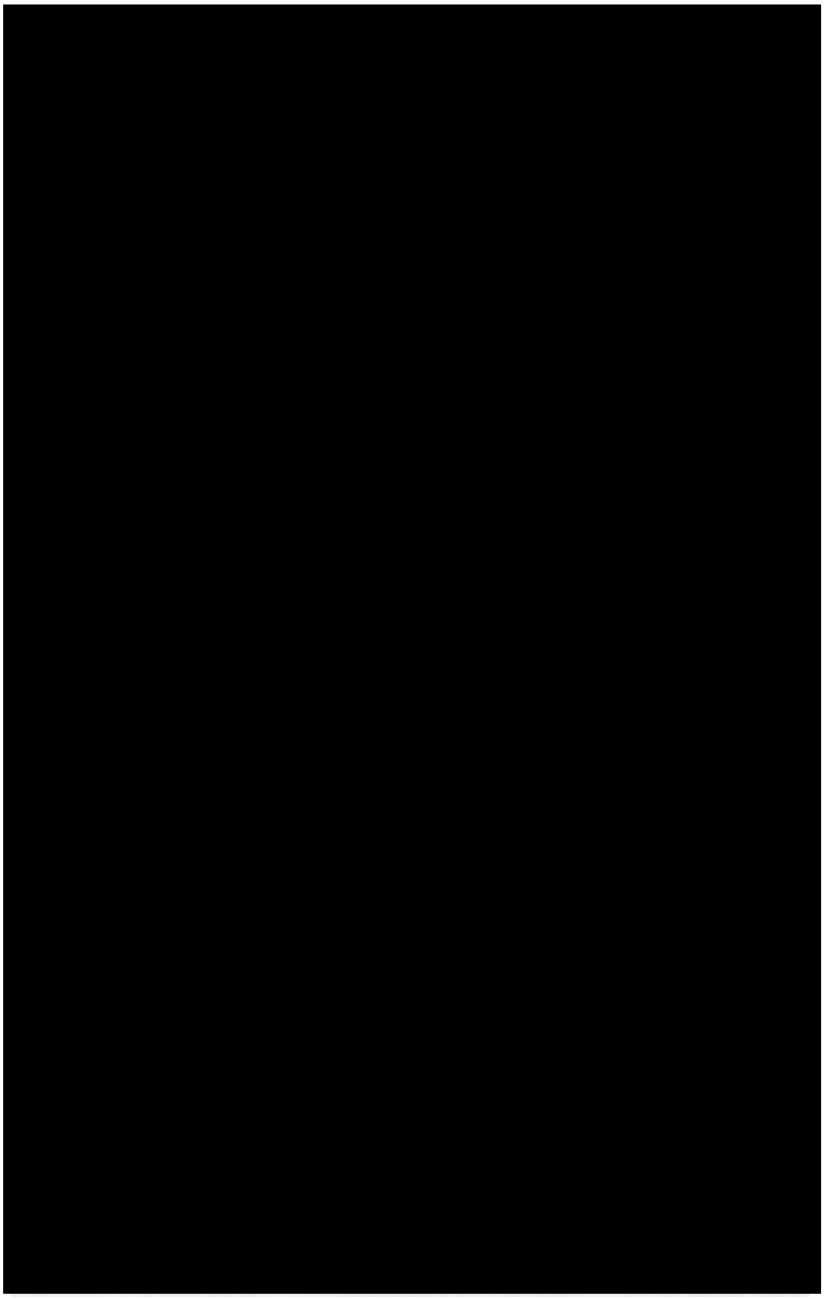


Figure 1: Front view of the bust (Last Statues of Antiquity Database).

S10: Silver box with a couple

Date: c. AD 400
Place of Origin: Thrace, Jabalkovo
Current Location: Sofia, Narodni Muzej no. 2519

2.9 cm x 4.5 cm x 3 cm

Description:

Small silver box. The sides are decorated with relief images of Christ and the apostles, while the lid is dominated by a large jewelled cross and a man and a woman shown in profile. Buschhausen dated the box to the second quarter of the fourth century, however this has been challenged by Grabar and Vikan, both of whom place it around 400 based on the iconography of the cross. This box and S11 are often taken to be reliquaries (by both Buschhausen and Grabar), however Vikan argues compellingly that this is unlikely given how small they are and how early in date. He highlights the imagery related to marriage (the paired portraits and *omonoia* inscription), suggesting they may be associated with the marriage ceremony, perhaps containing rings.

Inscription:

(above the cross-arm of the cross)

OMONOIA
'Concord/harmony'

Bibliography:

Buschhausen, H. and Lenzen, H. (1965). Ein konstantinisches Silberreliquiar aus Jabalkovo in Bulgarien. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (formerly *JÖBG*) 14, pp. 157-206.

Buschhausen, H. (1971). Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare. Wien: Hermann Böhlaus, Vol 1. Cat No. B3 pp.181-190, B Tafel 7-12. (with further bibliography).

Grabar, A. (1964). Un reliquiare provenant de Thrace. *Cahiers archéologiques* 14, pp.59-65.

Vikan, G. (1990). Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, pp. 145-163. (here pp. 149-150).

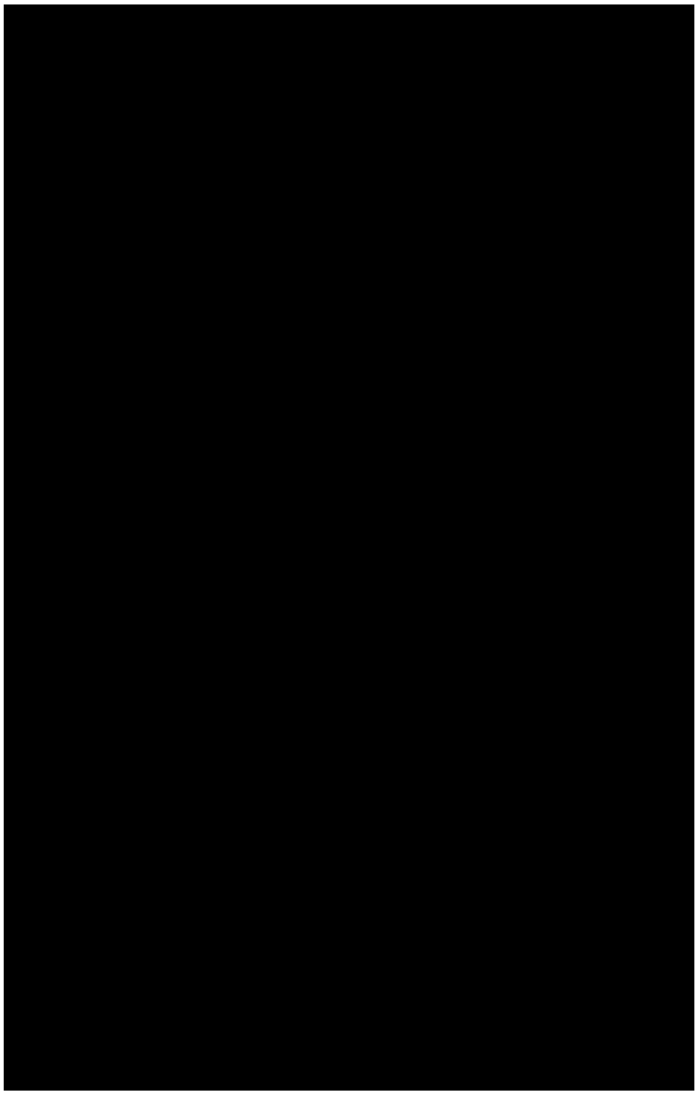


Figure 1: Lid of box showing paired portraits of a couple (Buschhausen 1971, B Tafel 8).

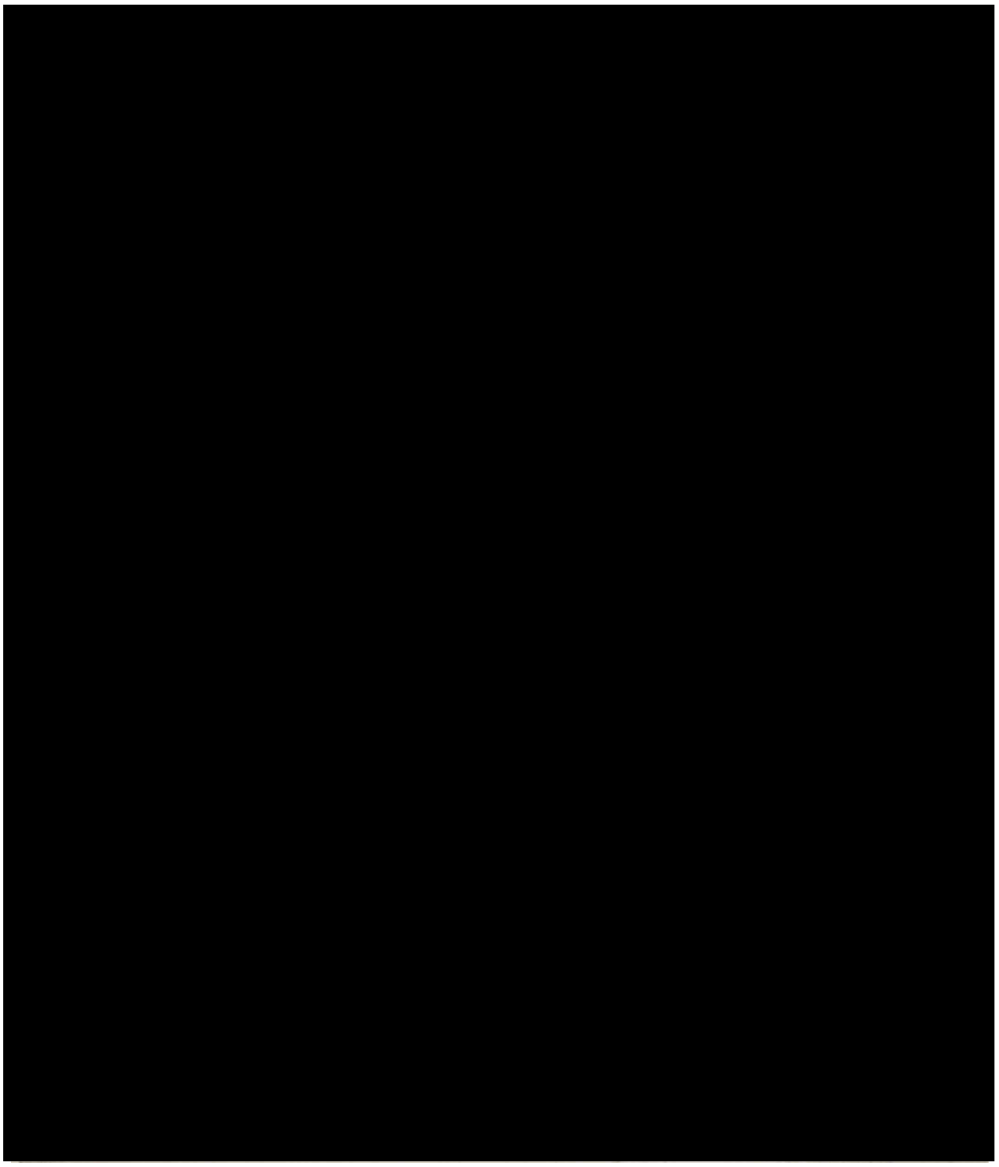


Figure 2: Side views of the box, showing Christ and apostles (Buschhausen 1971, B Tafel 7).

S11: Silver box with couple

Date: Mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Cilicia
Current Location: Adana, Eski Eserler Müzesi

4.8 cm x 9.8 cm x 4 cm

Description:

Small silver box, sides and lid decorated with images of Christ, apostles, saints Konon and Thecla, and a frieze of animal figures. The short ends of the box are both embellished with images of a large jewelled cross flanked by profile portraits of a man and woman. Above the cross-bar are two birds. This box, like S10, is often taken to be a reliquary, however Vikan has emphasised the iconography related to marriage and suggested that it might better represent a box related to the ceremony, perhaps to hold rings. The actual find-spot of the box is unclear. Buschhausen notes that according to a statement by the people found it, it had been hidden in a stone container in a church in Çirga, however Buschhausen considers it probably came from an illegal excavation. If the box were found in a church, this may give more weight to its use as a reliquary.

The inscriptions located on the box are difficult to read, and have been read and reconstructed in a number of different ways. On these see Buschhausen 1971.

Bibliography:

Buschhausen, H. (1962-1963). Frühchristliches Silberreliquiar aus Isaurien. *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (formerly *JÖBG*) 11-12, pp. 137-168.

Buschhausen, H. (1971). Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare. Wien: Hermann Böhlaus. Vol 1. Cat No. B4, pp. 190-207, B Tafel 13-19 (with further bibliography).

Grabar, A. (1962). Un reliquiare prevenant d'Isaurie. *Cahiers Archéologiques* 13, pp.49-59.

Vikan, G. (1990). Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44, pp. 145-163. (here pp. 149-150).

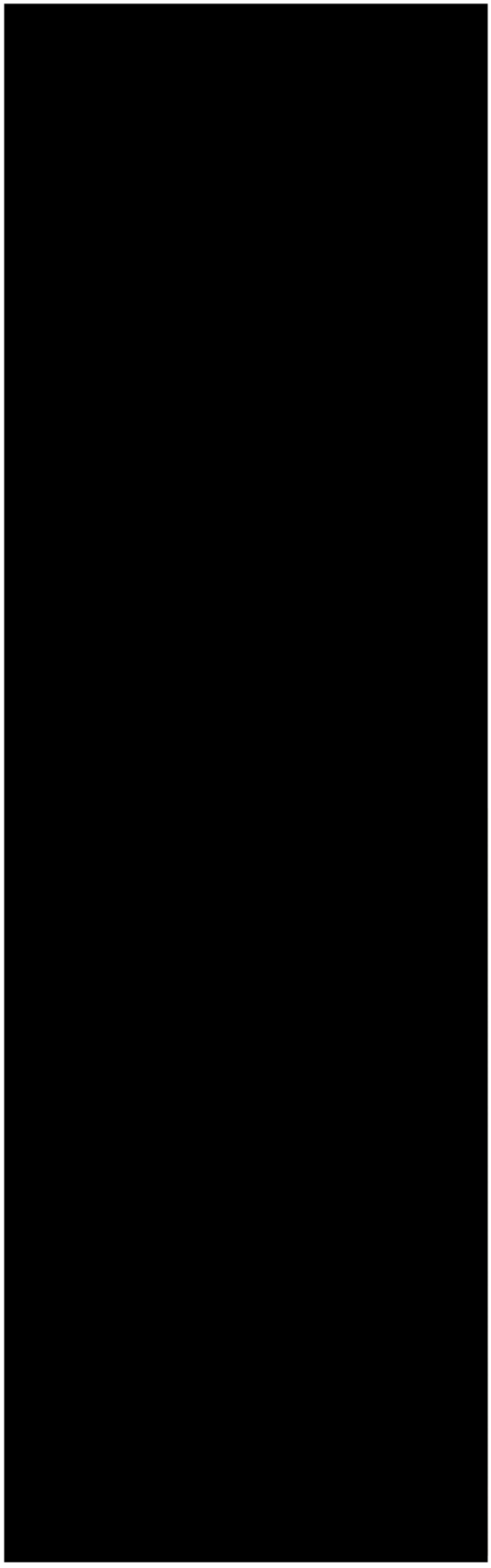
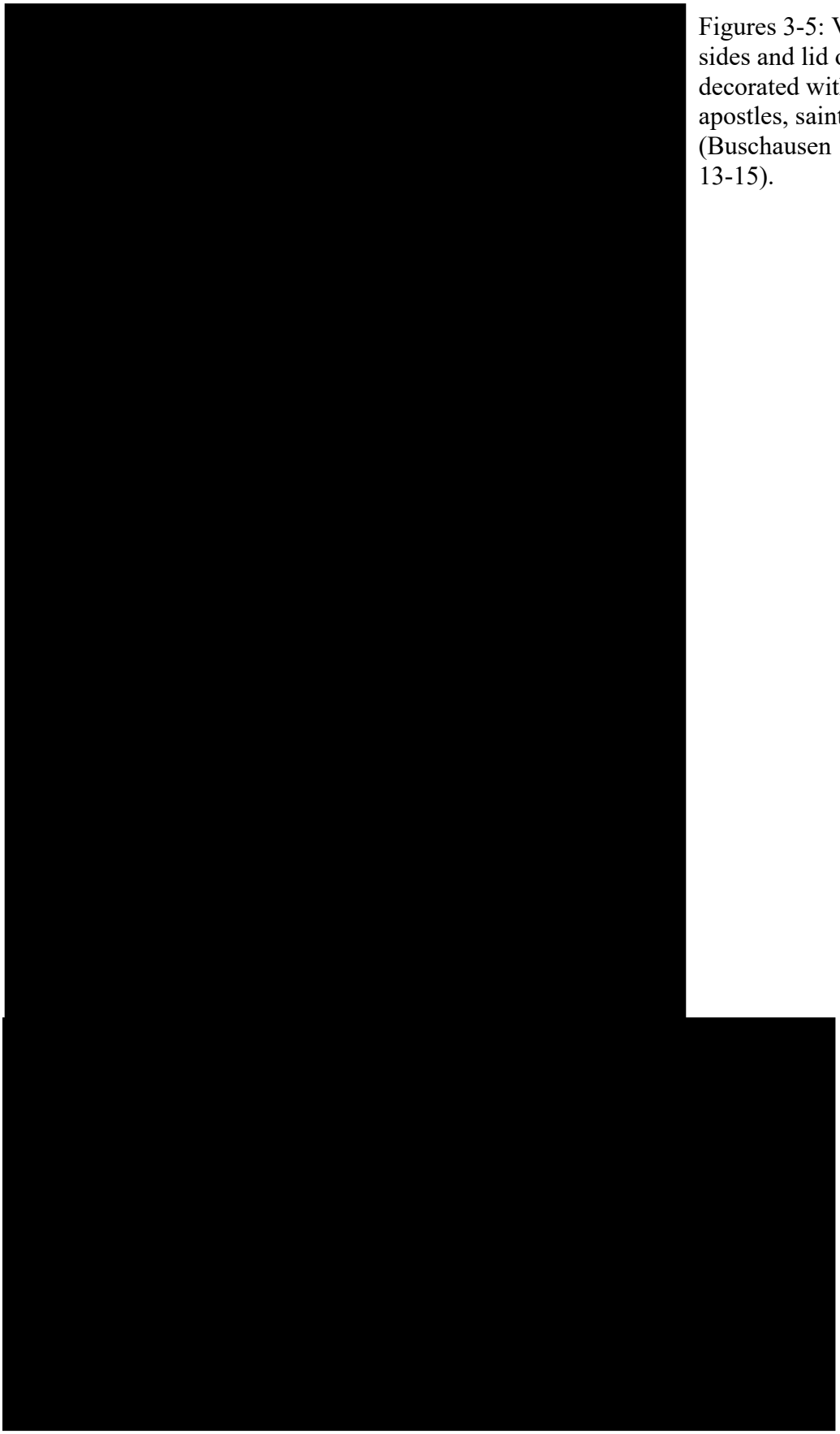


Figure 1: End of silver box, showing couple flanking jewelled cross (Buschhausen 1971, B Tafel 16).

Figure 2: End of silver box, showing couple flanking jewelled cross (Buschhausen 1971, B Tafel 17).



Figures 3-5: Views of the sides and lid of the box, decorated with Christ, apostles, saints, and animals (Buschausen 1971, B Tafeln 13-15).

S12: Plate with shepherdess and child

Date: Fifth to sixth century
Place of Origin: Alexandria?
Current Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenabteilung 10824

D: 23.6 cm

Description:

Silver plate decorated with a bucolic scene featuring a shepherdess with a child slung on her back. She holds a basket of fruit in her left hand and stick to guide her flock in the other. We find similar scenes of a shepherdess on an ivory pyxis (I12) and a textile orbiculus (T3).

Bibliography:

Weitzmann, K. ed. (1979). Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century. Catalogue of the exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978. New York: Metropolitan Musuem of Art, Princeton University Press, No. 231, pp.251-252 (with further references).



Figure1: Silver plate with shepherdess and child (Weitzmann 1979, Figure p.251).

S13: Silver cross of Theodote

Date: Sixth to seventh century
Place of Origin: Egypt (exact location unknown)
Current Location: Lost during WW2 (photographs and line drawings survive)

30.2 cm x 25.3 cm

Description:

Silver votive cross (in the shape of a 'Greek cross'), decorated with incised images and inscriptions on both sides. The inscriptions mention both the donor (a nun called Theodote) and the dedicatee (probably the monastery of Apa Shenoute). Evidence of an ancient(?) repair, a sheet of silver(?) held in place with rivets. Coquin et al. think it was probably made in the Near East, with the Coptic inscriptions added by an Egyptian workshop.

Recto: Central part of the cross dominated by a scene of the crucifixion, Christi's nimbus differentiated from the other figures in that it is cruciform. On either end of the cross-arm is a roundel with a bust inside: the Virgin Mary on the viewer's left and a Saint John on the right (Coquin et al. prefer John the Baptist). On either side of the crucifix is an inscription in Coptic (see below). On the upper part of the cross is a medallion with the bust of an angel (Coquin et al. prefer Michael). At the bottom on the cross is a woman shown from the knees up (perhaps kneeling?), holding a candle in either hand. She is probably to be identified with the donor, Theodote.

Inscriptions:[1]

(proper right, viewer's left)
'Ama (Mother) Theodote the nun'

(above crucifix, below angel)
'Ama Mannou hegoumenos and great archimandrite.'

(above the head of Christ)
'The tree of the Lord (?)'

(proper left, viewer's right)
'This is the cross which Theodote had made for Apa Shenoute'

Verso: Central figure is a female bust, nimbed and flanked by two angels who fly forwards to crown her with wreaths. They are identified by inscription as angels of the Lord. The woman holds some kind of object similar in shape to a club, and below her is a face, obscured by the repairs. One of Coquin et al. would see this woman as the Virgin, but admits this is a simplistic reading. Given the inscriptions, it appears most probable that the central female figure represents Ama Mannou. On the top part of the cross is Apa Shenoute, rendered as a full-length

[1] All translations MacCoull 1996.

figure, nimbed and holding his right hand in the speaking gesture. On the bottom part of the cross is a medallion with a bust of the angel Gabriel.

Inscriptions:

(directly above central female figure)
'Ama Mannou the archimandrite.'

(behind the angels)
'Angel of the Lord'

(either side of the head of Shenoute)
'Abba (Father) Senouthios the archimandrite'

(just above bust of angel)
'Archangel Gabriel'

(between sun/moon and inscription of Gabriel)
'Ama Matermoute, the *deuterarios*.'

Bibliography:

Coquin, R.-G., Leroy, J. and Van Moorsel, P. (1989). La croix, dite de Théodote, du Musée de Berlin-Est. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 89, pp.73-80, Plates VIII, IX. (drawings and photographs).

MacCoull, L. S. B. (1996). The Coptic Inscriptions on the Votive Cross of the Monastery of Shenoute. *Cahiers Archéologiques* 44, pp.13-18.

Wulff, O. (1909). Altchristliche und mittelalterliche, byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke. Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Vol III, No. 1106, pp.226-227, Abb. 16, Pl. LV-LVI.

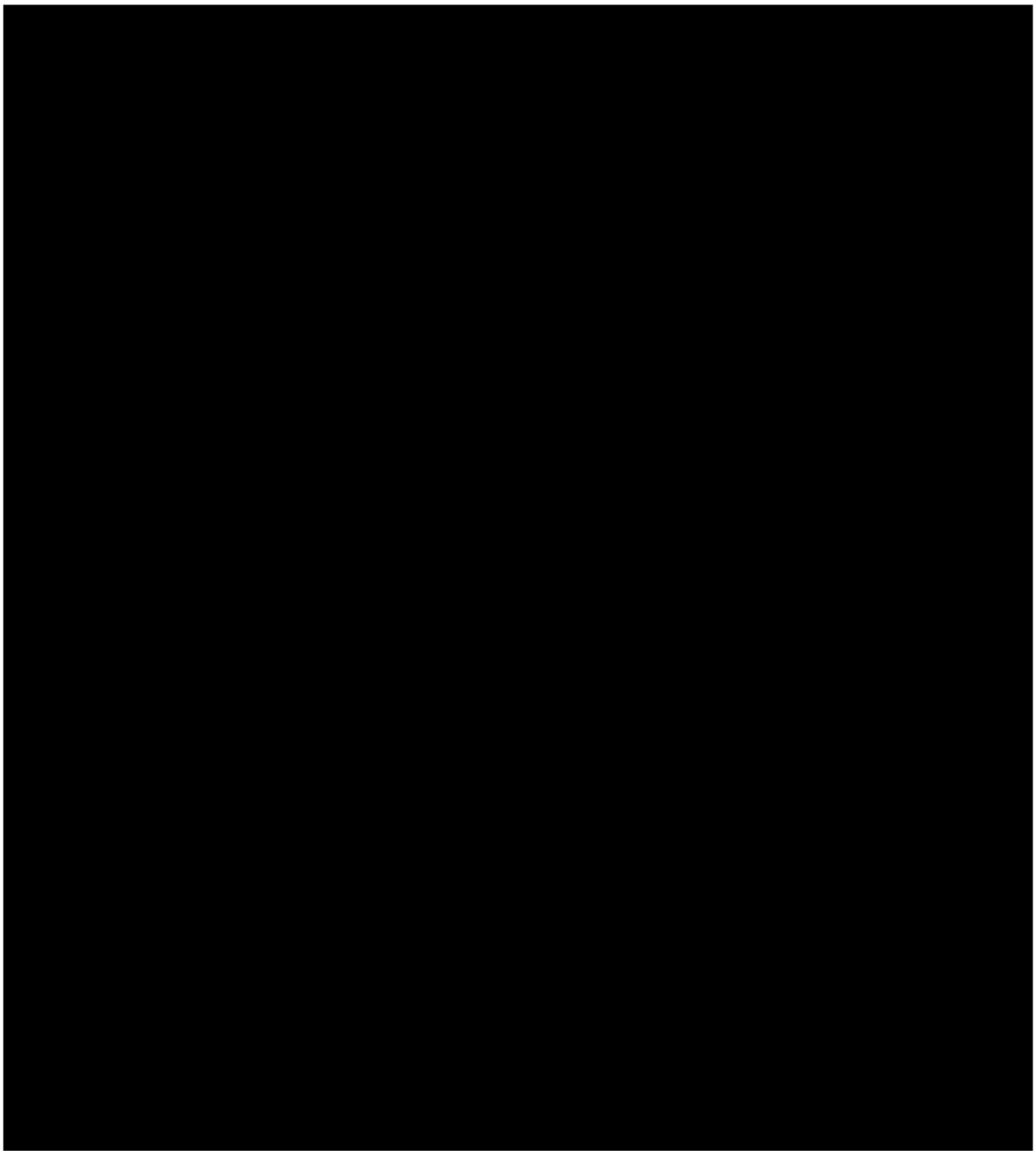


Figure 1: Line drawing of the recto of the votive cross (Coquin et al. 1989, line drawing of Plate VIII).

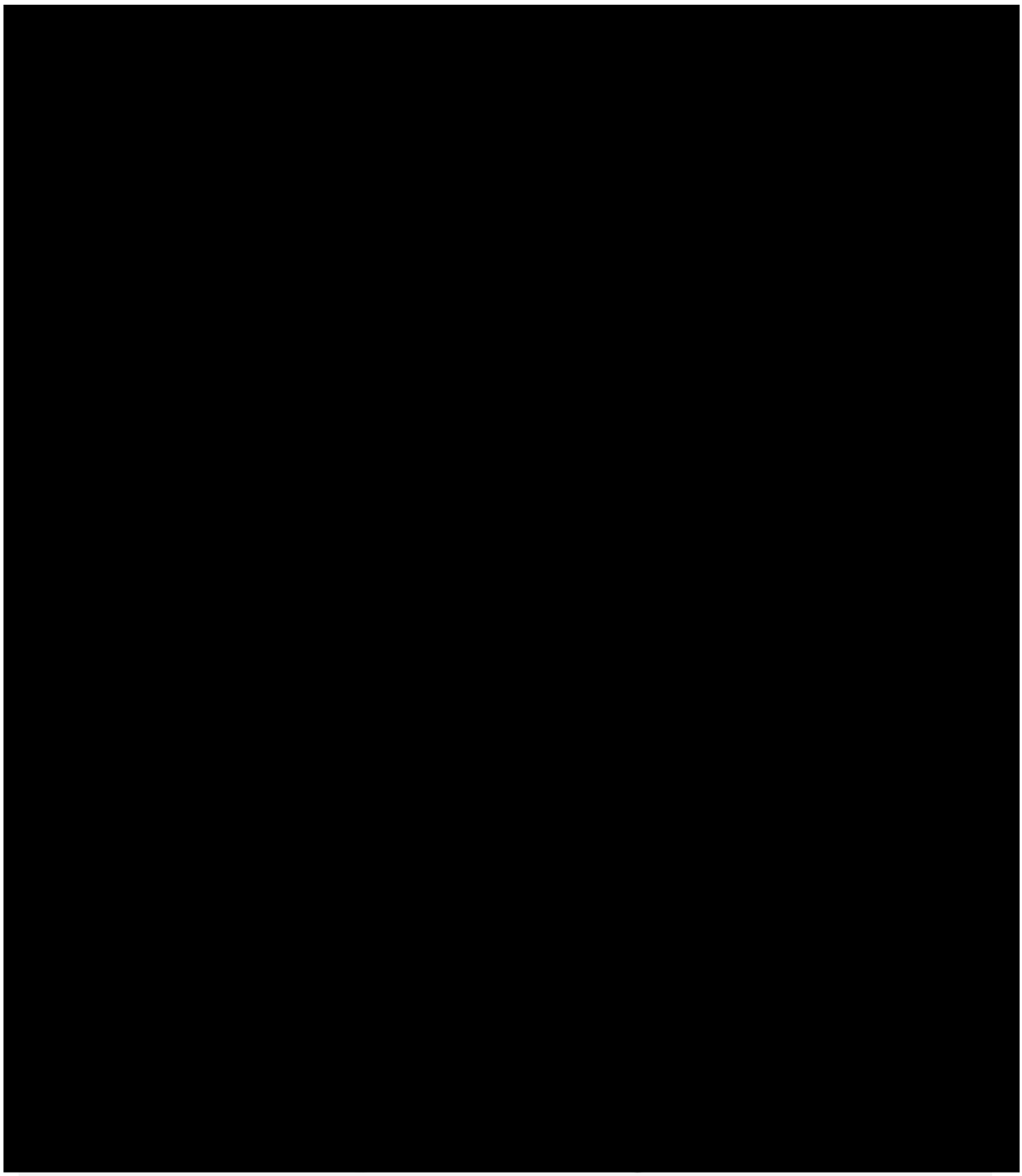


Figure 2: Photograph of the recto of the now lost votive cross (Coquin et al. 1989, Plate VIII).

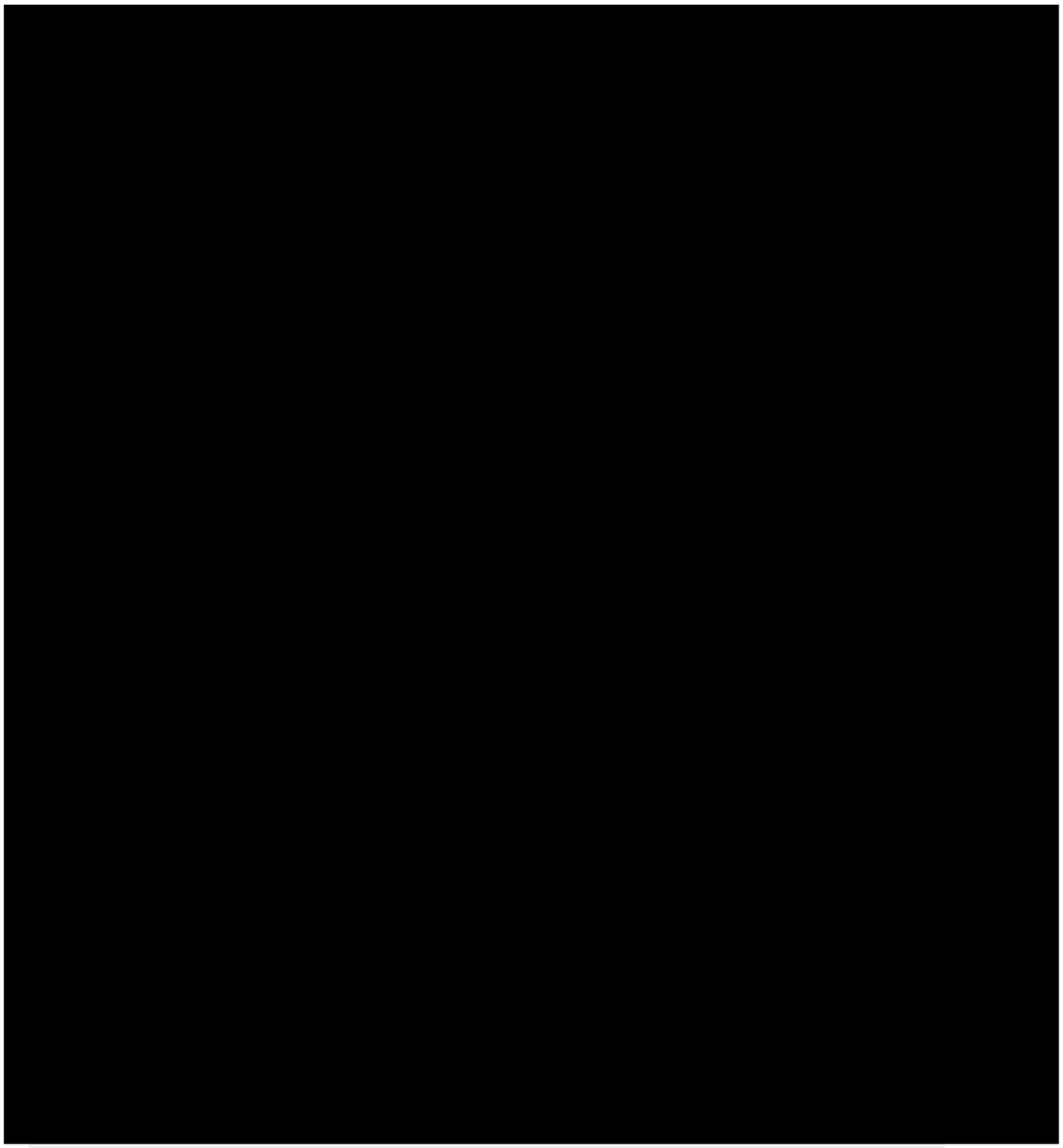


Figure 3: Line drawing of the verso of the votive cross (Coquin et al. 1989, line drawing of Plate IX).

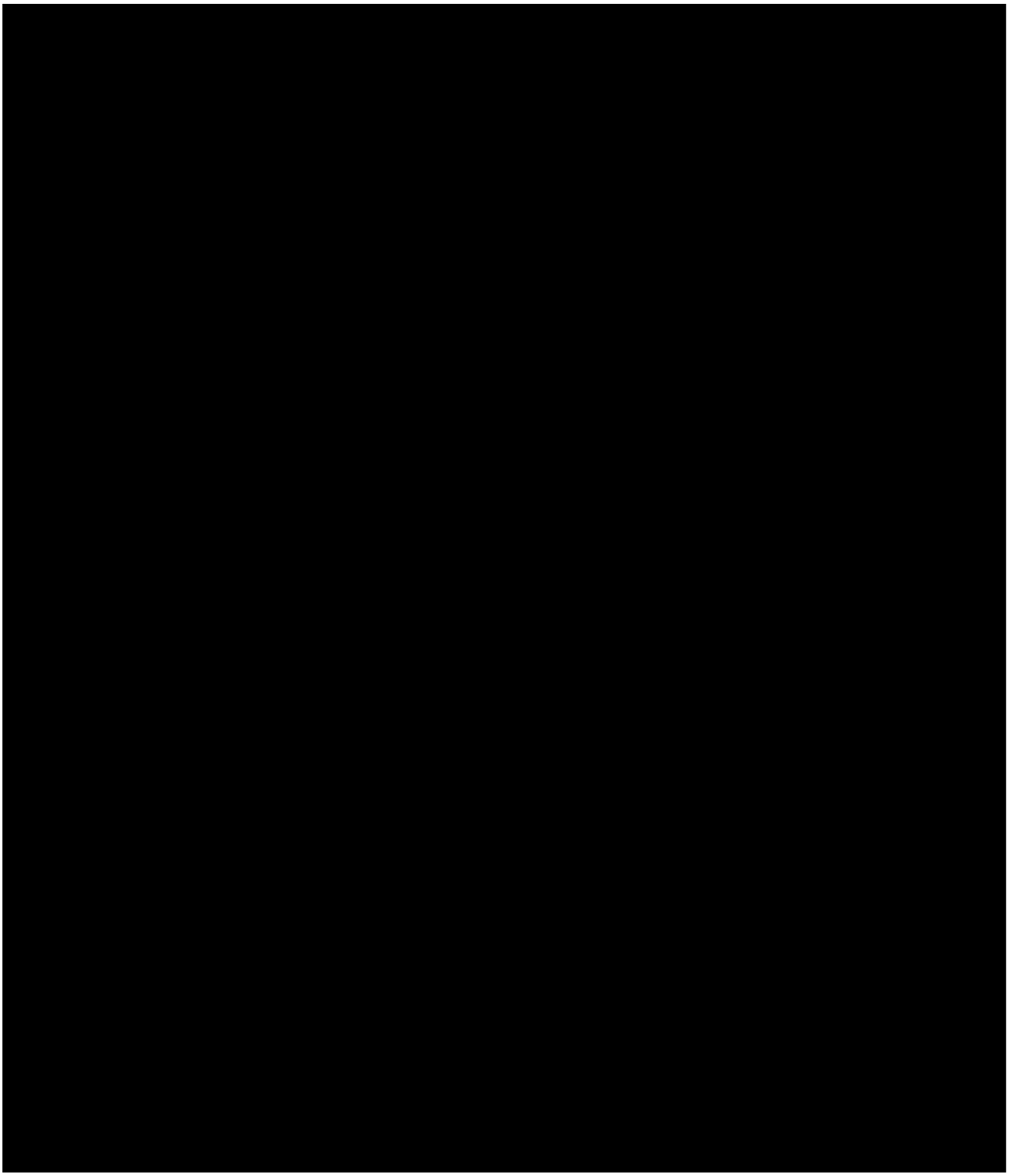


Figure 4: Photograph of the verso of the now lost votive cross (Coquin et al. 1989, Plate IX).

S14: Statuette of a seated dancer

Date: Late fourth century
Place of Origin: Eastern Greece
Current Location: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 69.72

H: 12 cm

Description:

Gilded silver statuette of a dancer at rest, seated on a cylindrical stool. She has her right leg bent, held at a 90-degree angle over her left, holding her right foot in her hands. A shoe shown on the base of the statuette indicates she is perhaps taking off her shoes after a performance or putting them on in anticipation. She wears bracelets and a short-sleeved tunic that reaches to her mid-thigh. Clasps on her shoulders indicate detailing on the tunic, and it is also belted under the bust. Her hair is held in the common style in which the hair was gathered at the nape of the neck and folded on top of the head (*Scheitelzopf*). It is gilded and decorated with some kind of circular beads that incircle the head.

Bibliography:

Kalavrezou, I. ed. (2003). Byzantine Women and their World. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums. Cat. No. 72, p.149 [A. Walker] (with further references).

Kleiner, D. E. E. ed. (1996). I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome. New Haven: Yale Art Gallery, Cat. No. 53, pp.89-90.

Vermeule, C. C. (1974). Greek and Roman Sculpture in Gold and Silver. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Cat. No. 97, pp.33-34.

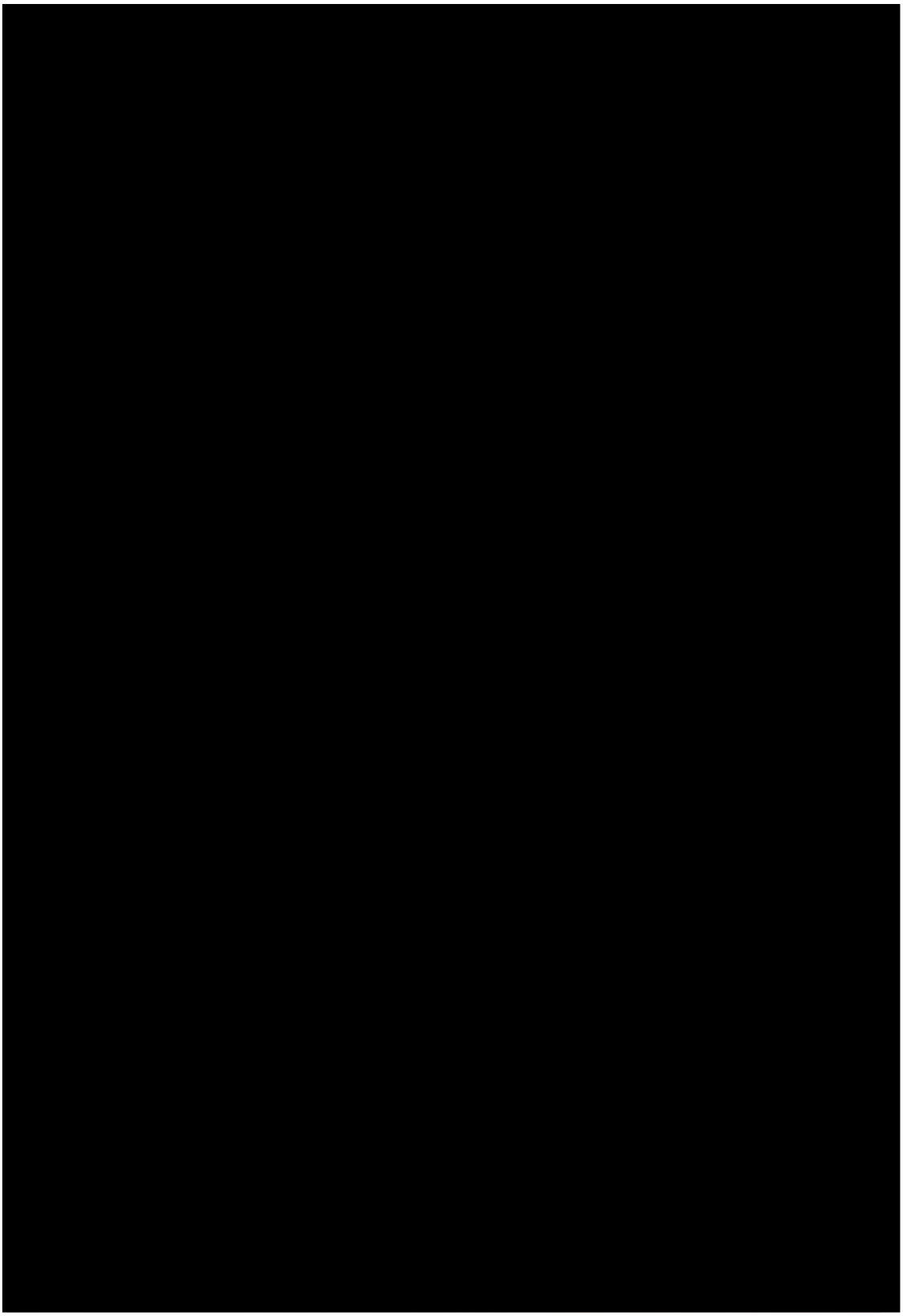


Figure 1: Front view of the gilded statuette of a seated dancer (Kalavrezou ed. 2003, Fig 72).

T1: Donor portrait of Hethyme

Date: Fifth to sixth century?
Place of Origin: Antinoe, Egypt
Current Location: Benaki Museum, Athens, No.7145

H: 129 cm, W: 89 cm (with fringe); H: 105 cm, W: 86 cm (without fringe)

Description:

Linen wall-hanging with loop-weave design, said to come from a monastery in Antinoopolis. The wall-hanging depicts two standing figures in the *orans* position, framed by a multi-coloured arch supported by composite columns. On the viewer's left is a male figure wearing a red tunic with green clavi, a blue mantle, and dark brown(?) shoes. He has a dark beard and moustache and a multi-coloured striped halo. On the right is a female figure, wearing an orange tunic with yellow and green clavi, a purple mantle worn around her shoulders and over her dark hair, and green shoes. The inscription (see below) indicates that the male figure is Apa Macarius, possibly Saint Macarius of Egypt. The female figure is identified as a woman called Hethyme, presumably the individual who commissioned the piece.

Inscription:

"Hethyme (the daughter of) Kyriakos (and) Apa Makare"

This is the reading of Maximillien Durant cited in Cormack and Vassilaki 2008. Apostolaki preferred to read it as an invocation to the saints Kyriakos and Makare, but this makes less sense given the depiction of the woman and man.

Bibliography:

Apostolaki, A. (1953). Proseuchomenoi upo apsida epi belou. *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* 23, pp.669-675.

R. Cortopassi in Cormack, R. and Vassilaki, M. (2008). Byzantium 330-1453. London: Royal Academy of Arts, No.180, p.424 (with further references).

De Francovich, G. (1963). L'Egitto, la Siria e Constantinopoli: Problemi di Metodo. *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 11-12, p.156.

Delivorrias, A. (1980). Guide to the Benaki Museum. Athens, Benaki Museum, p. 33.

Schrenk, S. (1995). Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst. Münster: Aschendorff, p.137.



Figure 1: Wall-hanging of Hethyme (public image, Princeton Index of Medieval Art).

T2: Funerary tapestry of Tisoia and Aurelius Colluthus

Date: Mid fifth century
Place of Origin: Antinoopolis, Egypt
Current Location: Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Tx. 2470

2.05 m x 1.44 m

Description:

A linen and wool tapestry discovered in the tomb of Aurelius Colluthus and his wife Tisoia. Papyrus finds from the tomb date it to the middle of the fifth century. The textile shows two figures, a man and a woman, who appear behind what seems to be an architectural façade. The decoration of the tapestry is split into two horizontal registers. The majority of the decoration of the piece is taken up with the lower register, depicting geometric and floral motifs flanked by columns. The upper register is smaller and shows two arches supported by columns in which appear the busts of the couple. The male figure is shown on the viewer's left, shown in an orange tunic with clavi, holding a cup(?) and wearing a wreath in his hair. He appears to be shown in the guise of Dionysus. The female figure is shown on the other side, wearing a green tunic with yellow clavi. Her hair is uncovered and arranged on the top of her head. While it may be that these figures do not represent the deceased couple but rather Dionysiac figures, the lack of any Dionysiac references in the depiction of the woman argues for them as mortal people.

Bibliography:

Rassart-Debergh, M., De Jonghe, D., Wouters, J. and Housiaux, K. (1994). Le suaire d'Aurelius Colluthus = De Ligkwade van Aurelius Colluthus. *Bulletin de l'Institut royal du patrimoine artistique* 26, pp.7-19.

Rutschowscaya, H.-M. (1990). Coptic Fabrics. Paris: Adam Biro, p.47.

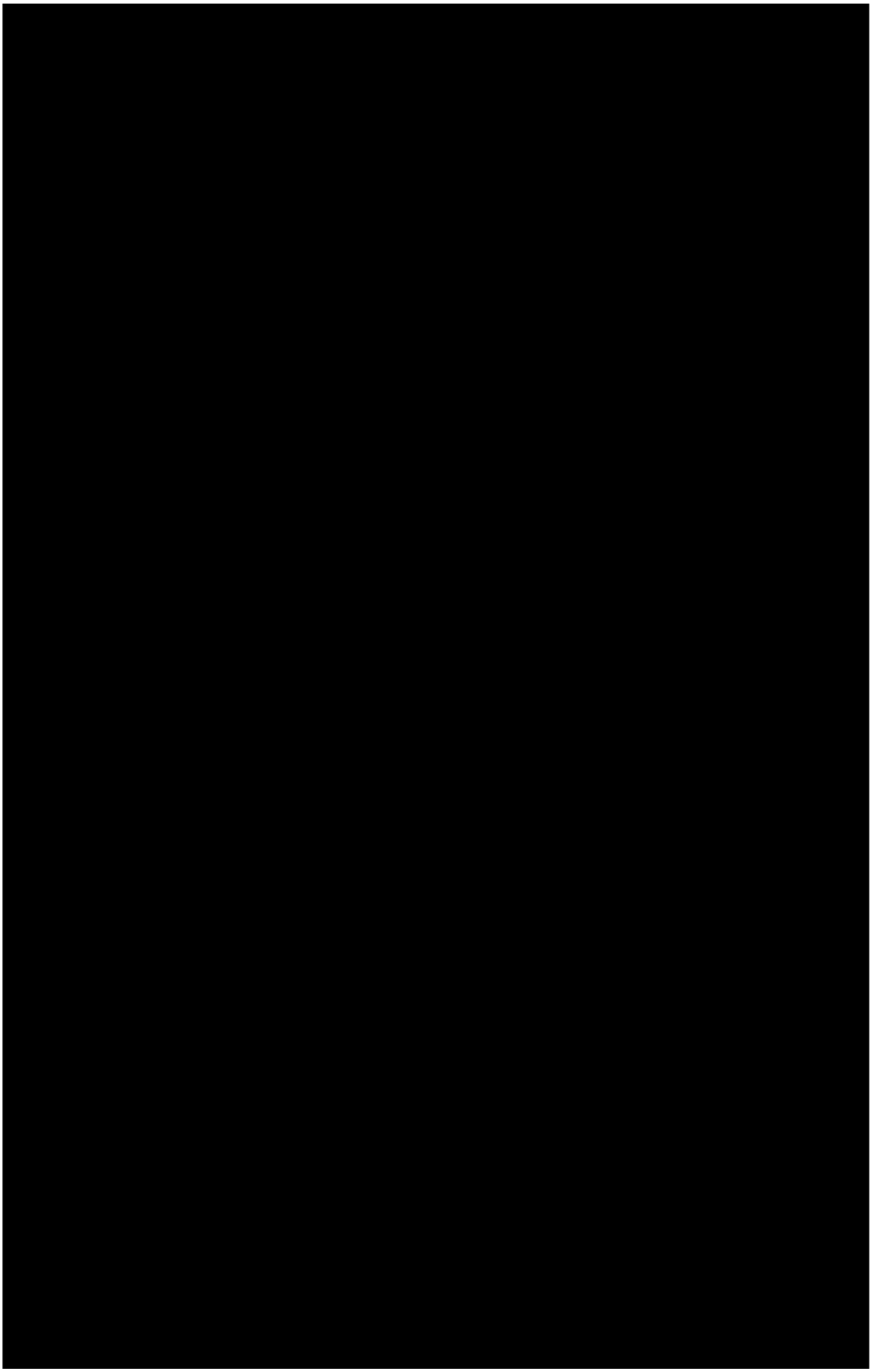


Figure 1: Funerary tapestry of Tisoia and Aurelius Colluthus (Rutschowscaya 1990, p.47).

T3: Orbiculi with rural genre scenes

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Antinoopolis?, Egypt
Current Location: New York, Brooklyn Museum inv. 44.143 (A-D)

44.143a: 11.9 cm x 12.1 cm
44.143b: 12.2 cm x 10.9 cm
44.143c: 11.9 cm x 11.5 cm
44.143d: 11.8 cm x 11.5 cm

Description:

A set of four *orbiculi* that would have decorated a larger textile, all of which depict rural genre scenes. Three of them have motifs of women (44.143a, b, d). The first of these (44.143a), shows a seated woman holding a small child on one knee. The other scenes include a shepherd and a man seated on a rock. The second (44.143b) shows a seated woman breastfeeding at the top of the *orbiculus*, almost identical to M9. Other motifs show a men watering cattle. The last one that has a motif of a woman (44.143d) has a shepherdess with a baby slung on her back, very similar to S12 and I12. The other *orbiculus* concerns an *al fresco* banquet scene.

Bibliography:

Rutschowscaya, H.-M. (1990). Coptic Fabrics. Paris: Adam Biro, pp.104-105.

Weitzmann, K. (1977). Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, third to seventh centuries. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nos.227-230, pp.249-251.



Figures 1-4: Textile *orbiculi* with rural genre scenes (Brooklyn Museum, Creative Commons-BY).

T4: Fragment of a wall-hanging with family group

Date: Carbon-14 dated 333-545 (98.9%)
Place of Origin: Akhmim/Panopolis (alleged)
Current Location: Abbeg-Stiftung, Inv. No. 8 a, b.

Fragment 1 (with figures): H: 69 cm, W: 102 cm
Fragment 2 (geometric and animals): H. 82.5 cm, W: 103 cm

Description:

Fragment of a woven textile of which two fragments survive. Plain-weave fabric background with pattern created by knotting thread, made of linen and wool. One fragment concerns primarily geometric decoration and the stylised depiction of birds. The other preserves the figures of four people standing next to each-other, framed on two sides by geometric bands. Moving from the viewer's left, there is a male figure in a white tunic with dark clavi and a dark coloured cloak worn wrapped around the shoulders and with one fringed end falling onto the chest. Then a small figure, probably a child, wearing a yellow/orange tunic with dark clavi, followed by two women. The first wears a green tunic with red and white clavi, a yellow/orange mantle around her shoulders, a red veil that hangs down her back, and large earrings. The other woman wears a yellow tunic with black/dark blue and white clavi, a similar dark mantle, matching veil, and large earrings. All four figures stand in the orans position and wear dark-coloured shoes. The presence of a child in the group indicates that this is a depiction of a family, perhaps the donors of the hanging.

Inscription:

Above the male figure are the remains of an inscription which probably identified the figures, now only the letters 'A' and 'N' are visible. Traces of red paint were identified under the letters, clearly visible where the dark wool thread fell out.

Bibliography:

Schrenk, S. (2004). Textilien des Mittelmeerraumes aus spätantiker bis frühislamischer Zeit. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, Cat. No. 8, pp.51-53. – With further bibliography.

Schrenk, S. (1995). Typos und Antitypos in der frühchristlichen Kunst. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsbd. 21. Münster: Aschendorff, Pp.113-137, Taf. 28-31.



Figure 1: Fragment of wall-hanging depicting a family group (Schrenk 2004, p.51).



Figure 2: Fragment of wall-hanging depicting geometric patterns and birds (Schrenk 2004, p.51).

Misc1: Casket panels

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Saqqara, Egypt
Current Location: Coptic Museum, Cairo.

Lid: 31.9 cm x 22.3 cm
Complete trapezoidal panel: H = 39 cm; W = 35. 8cm – 25.5 cm
Damaged trapezoidal panel: H = 18.8 cm; W = 35.8 cm – 30.5 cm (at the break)

Description:

Two full panels and one fragmentary panel preserved from a casket that was similar in shape to the Projecta Casket (S1). Panels made from wood and bone, cut in intaglio and filled with red and black wax. The panels depict a wealthy woman and a female slave. This casket is sometimes referred to as a 'bridal casket' and the wealthy woman as a bride. There is no justification for this, nor is there any wedding imagery.

Rectangular lid panel:
Two figural scenes side-by-side, set in an architectural setting framed with fluted columns and curtains. In the viewer's left-hand scene, a serving woman holds an open box or casket, which appears to be round in shape. A second woman, her mistress, reaches into the box with one hand and holds a mirror in the other. Both women are elaborately dressed: the serving woman wears a long tunic with decorated mantle, and the mistress a long tunic and a dark-coloured mantle. The serving woman's hair is uncovered, but her mistress wears a tight-fitting head-covering tied with a band and over which appears to be draped a thin loose veil. In the viewer's right-hand scene the same figures are repeated but with different attributes: the serving woman holds a rectangular casket with a trapezoidal lid, and her mistress holds a scroll in both hands.

Fragmentary trapezoidal panel:
Only the top half of the panel survives. Two figural scenes side-by-side, set in an architectural setting framed with fluted columns and curtains. In the viewer's left-hand scene is the serving woman holding a shell-shaped basin. She is dressed as in the other scenes. In the viewer's right-hand scene is the mistress holding a scroll, dressed as in the other scenes.

Complete trapezoidal panel:
Two figural scenes side-by-side, set in an architectural setting framed with fluted columns and curtains. In the viewer's left-hand scene is the mistress: she wears a long tunic and mantle, a tight-fitting hair-covering and a thin loose veil over the top. With her right hand she holds her veil near her neck in the *pudicitia* gesture. It is unclear what she does with her other hand. In the viewer's right-hand scene the serving woman stands holding a casket. She wears a tunic with decorated clavi.

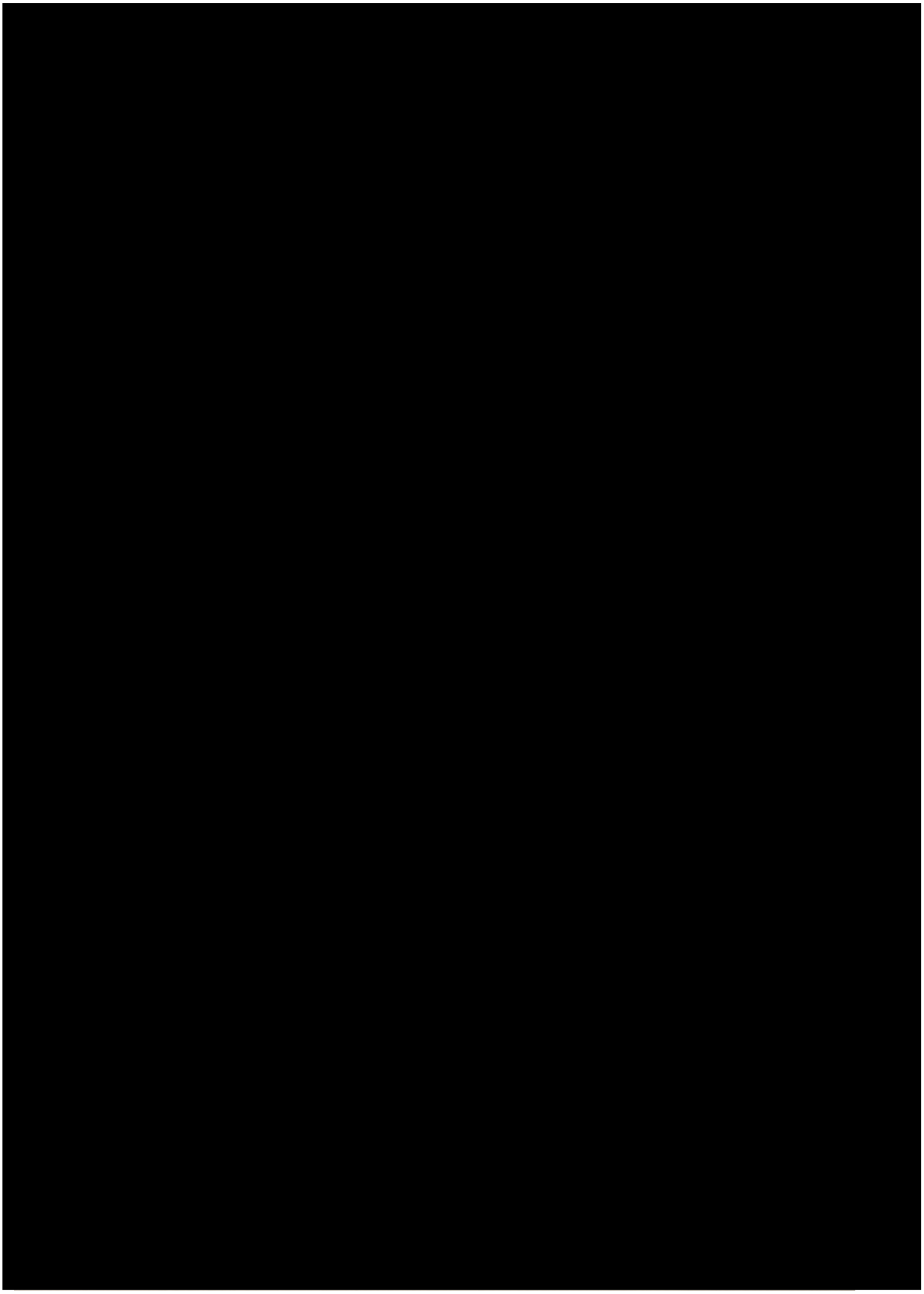
Bibliography:

Buschhausen, H. (1971). Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare Vol 1. Wien: Hermann Böhlaus, Cat No. B9, pp.217-219, B Taf. 30-32.

Strzygowski, J. (1904). Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Koptische Kunst Vol 83. Vienne: A. Holzhausen, Nos. 7060-7064 (with further bibliography).

Weitzmann, K. (1977). Age of Spirituality: Late Antique an Early Christian Art, third to seventh century. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 311.





Figures 1-3: Views of the panels of the casket with scenes of a mistress and her female slave (Strzygowski 1904, Taf. XI, XII, XIII)

Misc2: Casket panel fragment

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Egypt
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1980.31

H: 6.5 cm x W: 3 cm

Description:

Fragment of a bone panel, carved with the figure of a woman in a very similar style to Misc1, probably a fragment from a decorative panel of a similar casket. It has been said that the woman is nimbed and therefore may represent a divine figure, however, given the similarity in iconography to the more complete panels of Misc1, it is more likely that the curved line visible refers to the voluminous coiffure covered by a tight-fitting head-covering. The woman holds a round box or platter from which she is about to take a smaller round object. While some have considered this to be a bracelet, the diagonal line across the centre of the circle suggests that this may represent a scroll, the box a circular scroll box, viewed straight on. This would also accord with the scenes in Misc1 where the mistress is shown holding a scroll.

Bibliography:

Helen C. Evans in: Wixom, W. D. ed. (1999). Mirror of the Medieval World. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, No.32, p.28 (with further bibliography).

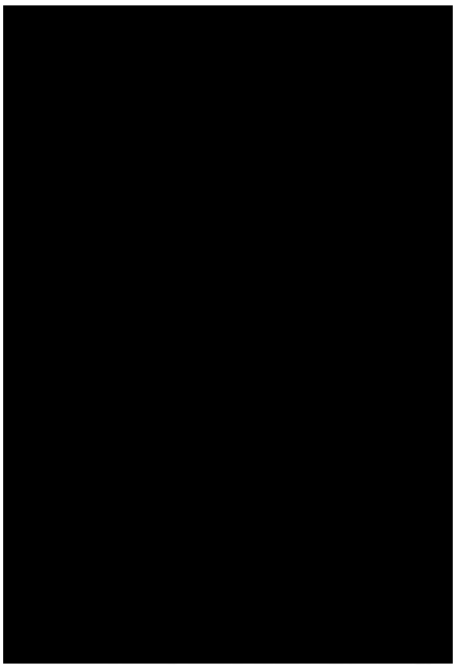


Figure 1: Bone fragment depicting a woman (Wixom 1999, p.28).

Misc3: Casket panel fragment

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Unknown, Egypt or Rome
Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 623-1884

H: 12.7 cm; W: 8.9 cm

Description:

Fragment of an incised bone panel, carved with a figure of a standing woman in a style very similar to Misc1, probably a fragment from a decorative panel of a similar casket. The woman wears a long tunic with a mantle draped around her shoulders, and she carries a scroll in her left hand. Her right hand is held across her chest in a gesture similar to the speaking pose. She appears to wear a tight-fitting head-covering like the other women from similar panels. A curtain is visible on the viewer's left and a flowering plant on the right. Williamson notes the similarity with panels found in Egypt but also suggests such panels were made in Rome and that therefore Rome is an alternative provenance.

Bibliography:

Longhurst, M. H. (1927-1929). Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory. London: Board of Education, p.20.

Williamson, P. (2010). Medieval Ivory Carvings. Early Christian to Romanesque. London: V&A Publishing, pp.32-33, No.2.

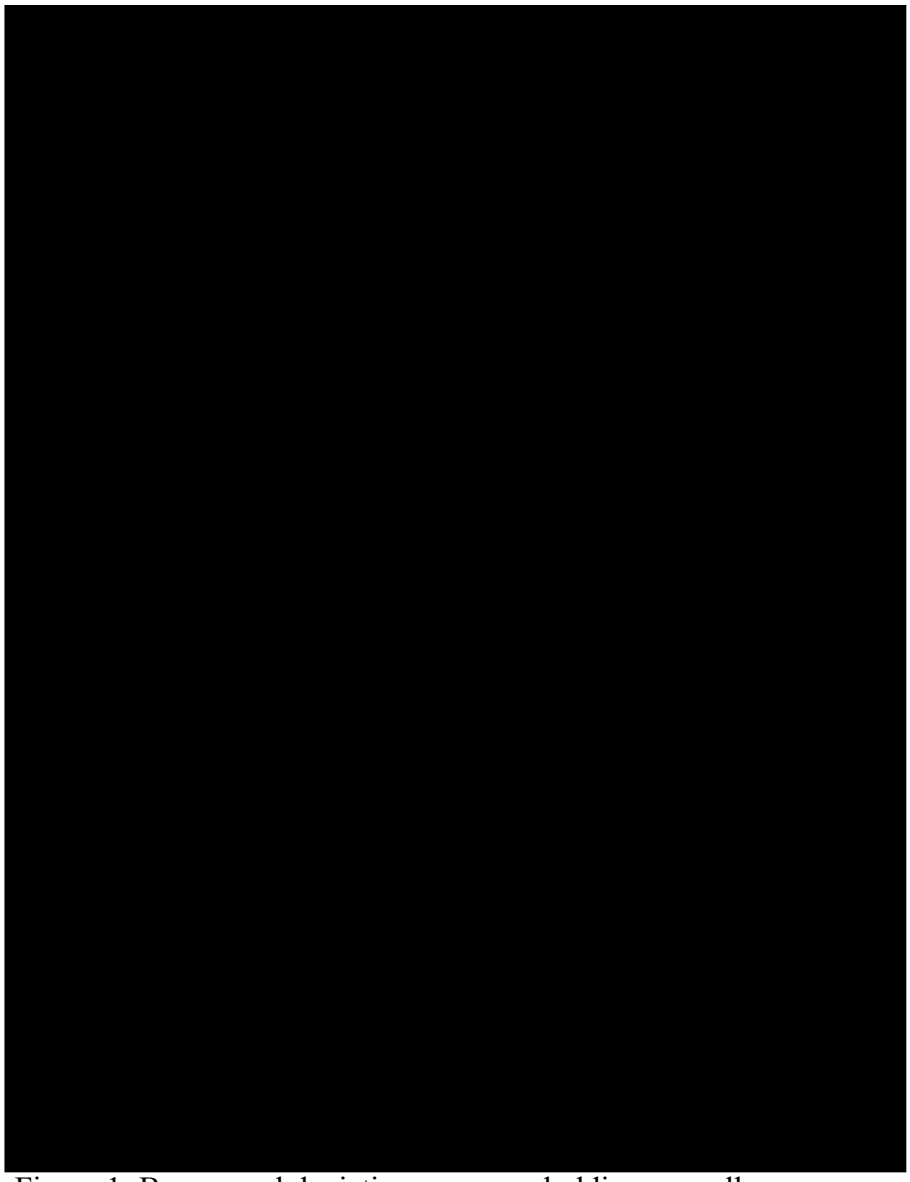


Figure 1: Bone panel depicting a woman holding a scroll (https://media.vam.ac.uk/media/thira/collection_images/2009CA/2009CA5310_jpg_l.jpg; Williamson 2010, p.32).

Misc4: Fragment of a plaque

Date: Fourth century
Place of Origin: Unknown, probably Egypt
Current Location: Victoria & Albert Museum, London A 165-1920

H: 12.1 cm

Description:

Fragment of a curved bone plaque incised with a depiction of a standing woman. She wears a long tunic belted at the waist with a mantle over the top. In her right hand she holds a long-stemmed flower, her left hand is not preserved. Her hair-style is not clear, perhaps gathered at the nape of the neck in a low bun. The style of woman's clothing and the carving are similar to other bone plaques in this catalogue, see Misc1.

Bibliography:

Longhurst, M. H. (1927-1929). Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory. London: Board of Education, p.20, Plate IV.

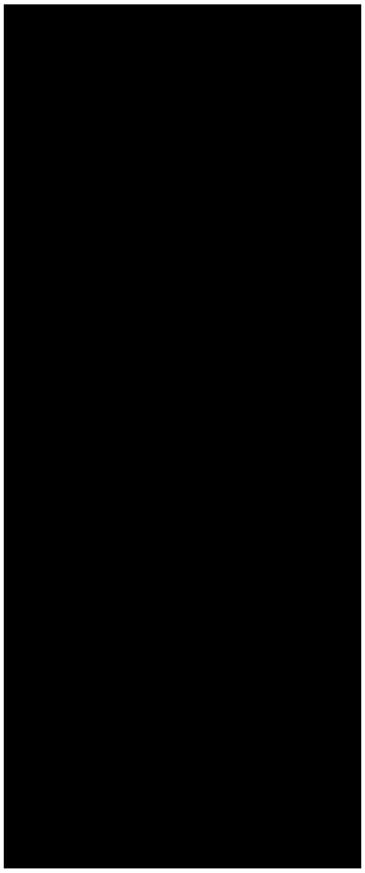


Figure 1: Bone panel fragment of a standing woman holding a flower (Longhurst 1927-1929, p.20, Plate IV).

Misc5: Seated female figurine

Date: Fifth to eighth century
Place of Origin: Antinoopolis, Egypt
Current Location: Louvre, Paris, Inv. E. 12429

H: 18.1 cm

Description:

A painted terracotta figurine of a girl or young woman sitting on a stool. Her long white tunic is adorned with colourful decorative motifs at the shoulder, collar, and hem. Over brown hair she wears a voluminous striped headband, either worn alone or to keep a veil in place, several of which survive from Egypt in this period. Her arms are unfortunately broken at the shoulder and elbow, however it appears that her hands are preserved holding a roll of fabric(?) on her lap. Her shoes are a reddish-pink. The form of the eyes and in particular the strong eyebrows are reminiscent of the women from the casket panels (Misc1). The function of the figurine is unknown, she may represent a toy or a votive figure. It was discovered in a child's tomb and may therefore be intended to represent the deceased.

Bibliography:

Bel, N. (2012). L'Orient Romain et Byzantin au Louvre. Arles: Actes Sud, Fig 88.

Durand, M. (2002). Egypte, la trame de l'histoire, textiles pharaoniques, coptes et islamiques. Paris: Somogy, No 92, p.128.

Rutschowscaya, M.-H. (1990). Coptic Fabrics. Paris: Adam Biro, p.58.

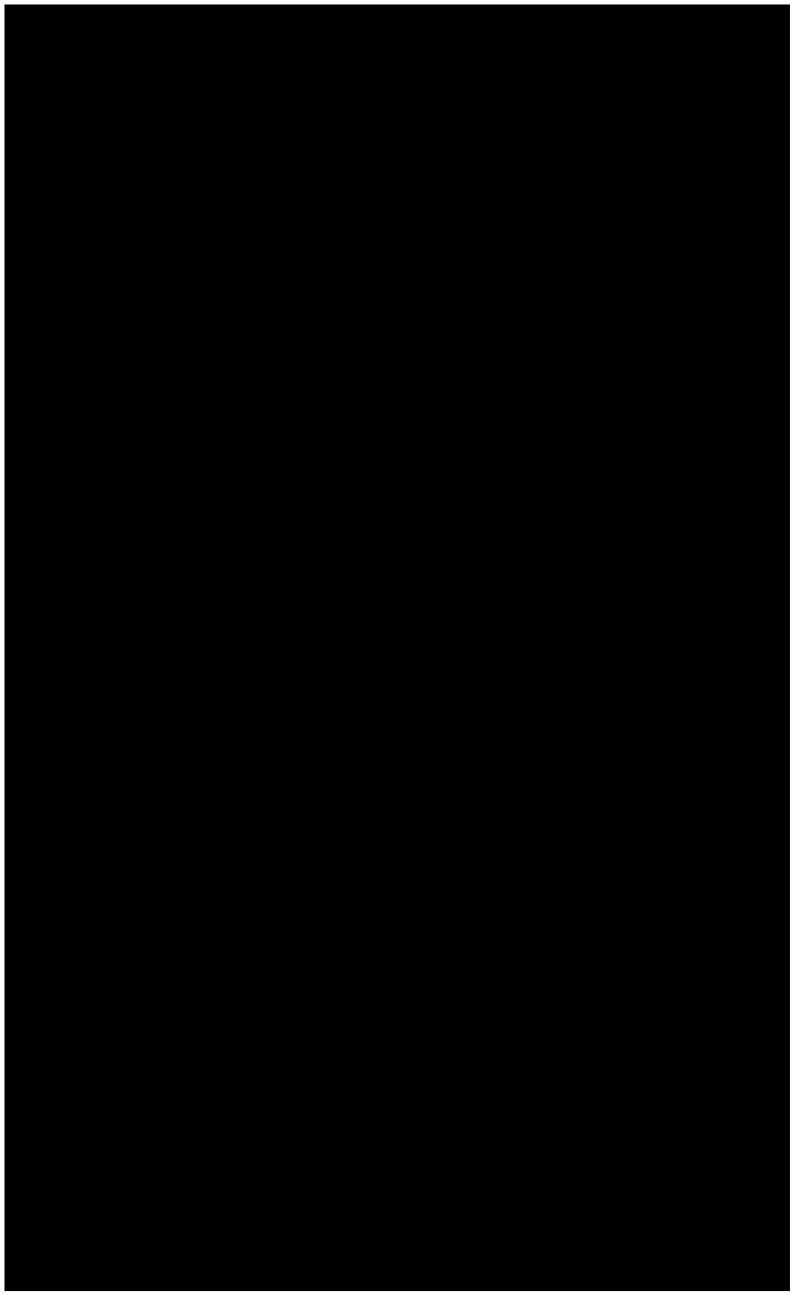


Figure 1: Terracotta figurine of a seated girl or young woman (© 2003 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski).

Misc6: Standing female figurine

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Attributed to Eshmumein, Egypt
Current Location: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12.185.4

H: 38.4 cm; W: 14.7 cm; D: 9.6 cm

Description:

A brightly painted plaster figurine of a standing woman found in a tomb. The woman stands in a contrapposto position and wears a short-sleeved greyish-white tunic decorated with red clavi, belted under her bust. Black lines indicate the folds and drapes of the tunic. Her shoes are a reddish-brown colour. Her hair is dark but the style is unclear, looking closely it has a similar overall shape to the *Scheitelzopf*. Her right arm is missing just below the shoulder but under her right arm she holds a an unknown object decorated with red and black dots. Around her neck is a cross pendant picked out in gold paint, and at her left wrist a bracelet. Only a small portion of the facial paint survives on the proper left side of her face, revealing pinkish highlights on the checks and heavy black lining of the eyes and eyebrows, as with the other figurine in this catalogue (Misc5).

Bibliography:

Thomas, T. K. (2016). Designing Identity: The Power of Textiles in Late Antiquity. Princeton: Princeton University Press, No. 1, pp. 3, 144, ill. frontispiece.



Figure 1: Plaster statuette of a standing woman (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Image in the Public Domain).



Figure 2: Side view of the statuette (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Image in the Public Domain).

Misc7: Magical figurine to bind Ptolemais

Date: Third to fourth century
Place of Origin: Antinoopolis?
Current Location: Louvre Museum, Paris

Dimensions for figurine unavailable
Lead curse tablet: 11 cm x 11 cm

Description:

A clay magical figurine in the shape of a naked woman found in a jar along with a lead tablet inscribed with a 'love spell'. The woman is shown kneeling, with her hands tied behind her back, naked by for a large necklace. The figurine was pierced with thirteen needles in the head, chest, vagina, and anus. The spell declared the wish of a man called Sarapammon to bind a woman called Ptolemais to him and prevent her having sexual relations with anyone else. We can therefore understand the figurine to represent a substitute for Ptolemais, a magical representation of the woman.

Inscription:

(on the lead tablet)
'I entrust this binding spell to you, gods of the underworld, Plutôn and Korê Persephonê Ereschigal and Adônis and BARBARITHA and Hermes of the underworld and Thôoth PHÔKENSEPSEU EREKTATHOU MISONKTAIK and to mighty Anoubis PSÊRIPHTHA who holds the keys to (the gates of) Hades, who infernal gods, to men and women who have died untimely deaths, to youths and maidens, from year to year, month to month, day to day, hour to hour, night to night. I conjure all spirits in this place to stand as assistants to this spirit, Antinoos. And arouse yourself for me and go to every place and into every quarter and to every house and bind Ptolemais, to whom Ais gave birth, the daughter of Ôrigenês, in order that she may not be had in a promiscuous way, let her not be had anally, nor let her do anything for pleasure with another man, just with me alone, Sarapammôn, to whom Area gave birth, and do not let her drink or eat, that she not show any affection, nor go out, nor find sleep without me, Sarapammôn, to whom Area gave birth. I conjure you, spirit of the dead man, Antinoos, by the name that causes fear trembling, the name at whose sound the earth opens, the name at whose terrifying sound the spirits are terrified, the name at whose sound rivers and rocks burst asunder. I conjure you, spirit of the dead man, Antinoos, by BARBARATHAM CHELOUMBRA BAROUCH ADÔNAI and by ABRASAX and by IAÔ PAKEPTÔTH PAKEBRAÔTH SABARBAPHAEI and by MARMARAOUÔTH and by MARMARACHTHA MAMAZAGAR. Do not fail, spirit of the dead man, Antinoos, but arouse yourself for me and go to every place, into every quarter, into every house and draw me to Ptolemais, to whom Area gave birth, the daughter of Ôrigenês and with a spell keep her from eating and drinking until she comes to me, Sarapammôn, to whom Area gave birth, and do not allow her to accept for pleasure the attempt of any man, just that of me, Sarapammôn. Drag her by the hair and her heart until she no longer stands aloof from me, Sarapammôn, to whom Area gave birth, and I hold Ptolemais herself, to whom Aias gave birth, the daughter of Ôrigenês, obedient for all the time of my life, filled with love for me, desiring me, speaking to me the

things she has on her mind. If you accomplish this for me, I will set you free.' (trans Gager 1992, pp.99-100).

Bibliography:

Gager, J. G. (1992). Curse Tablet and Binding Spells from the Ancient World. Oxford: Oxford University Press, No.28, pp.97-100 (with further bibliography).

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Figure 1: Magical figurine of a nude woman pierced with needles (Photo (C) Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Georges Poncet).



Figure 2: Figurine representing Ptolemais (© Marie Nguyen, Wikimedia Commons, CC-BY 2.5).

Misc8: Wooden door panel

Date: Seventh century?
Place of Origin: Egypt?
Current Location: Brooklyn Museum, New York, 30.28

17.4 cm x 14.8 cm x 2 cm

Description:

A small squarish wooden panel, apparently a door, with pivots on the top and bottom of the right edge and an iron lock on the left side. Perhaps from a cabinet? The panel is decorated with relief carving showing a woman standing in the *orans* position, a basket to the left below the lock containing unknown objects and above the lock an unidentified object or floral motif. The woman is shown in a long tunic, mantle, a large collar necklace and a smaller band necklace. She has dark curly hair covered by what appears to be a mantle framing the back of her head. The entry on the Brooklyn Museum's website interprets the woman as a saint on the grounds that she has a nimbus. However, the shape framing the back of the woman's head, which clearly extends down her back, is more consistent with a head-covering. Given that there are several caskets in this corpus decorated with scenes of women in their daily lives, it is plausible that the woman represented here is an ordinary woman and not a saint. Her hands, feet, and face seem to preserve traces of white pigment, her hair and eyes black pigment, and her tunic red.

Bibliography

Unpublished?



Figure 1: Wooden door panel showing a standing orant woman (Brooklyn Museum [in collaboration with Index of Christian Art, Princeton University], Creative Commons-BY).

Misc9: Architectural relief of monastics

Date: 600-800
Place of Origin: Atripe, Egypt
Current Location: Unknown. Attempts to locate unsuccessful

L: approx. 80 cm

Description:

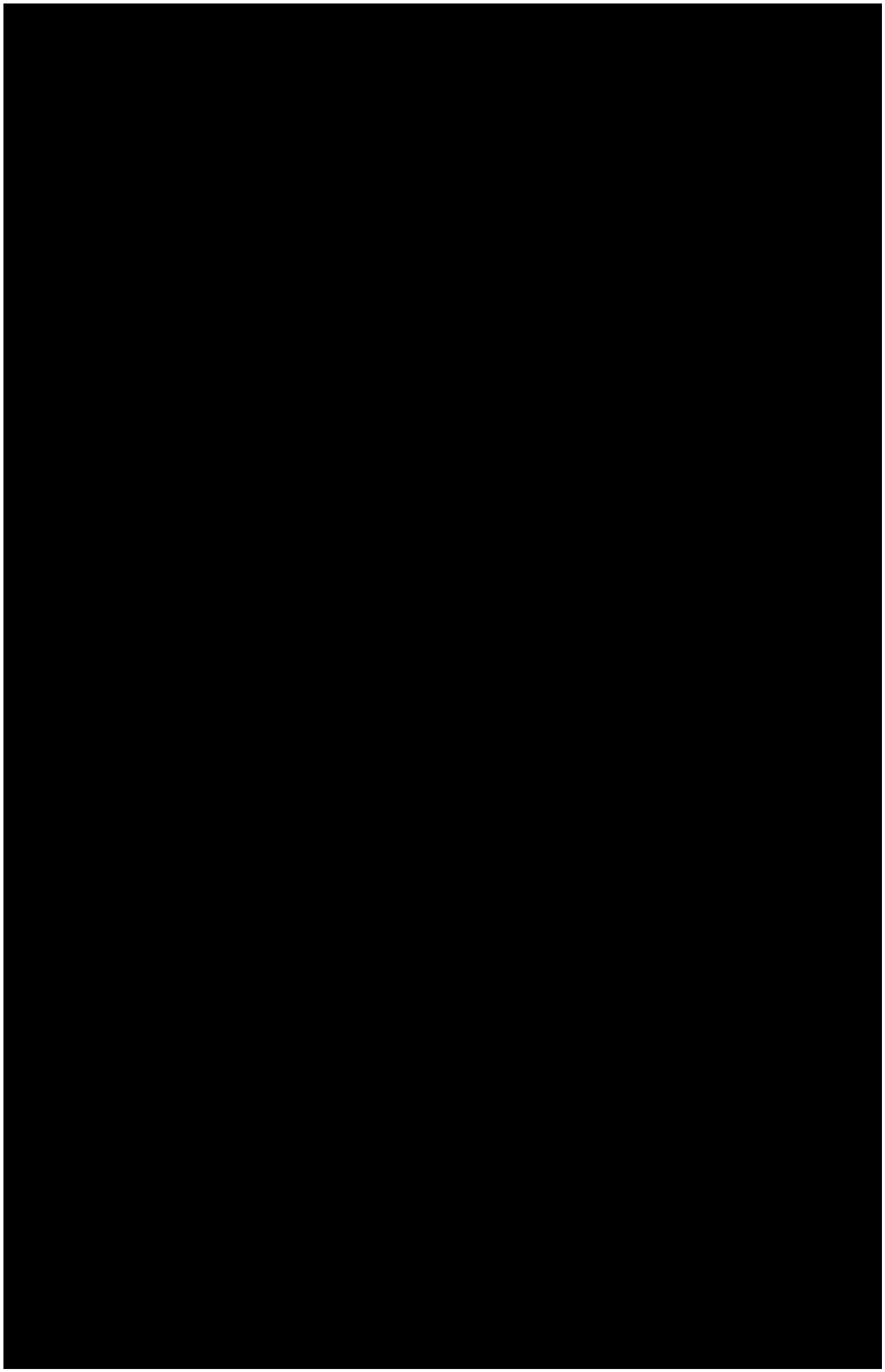
Part of a painted architectural relief, of which three pieces survive. The pieces were excavated in 1980 at the Ptolemaic Temple of Atripe, where the women's community of the White Monastery Federation was located. The three fragments depict a total of nine figures in low relief, framed by a plain border on which are preserved painted inscriptions. Two large fragments are illustrated below, but another fragment with a male figure does not appear to be published. The figures depicted are monastics: eight monks and a nun. Bolman notes that seven of the eight men wear "the distinctive apron always shown in representatives of Shenoute" (p.24), but it is unclear what items of clothing this actually entailed. Four of the men appear to wear a long tunic belted at the waist with a cloak(?) around their shoulders tied at the chest, and a cross-body sash. Three stand in the orans position and the other holds a chalice. Two other men wear a similar costume without the belt and with the addition of a large piece of cloth worn draped over the left shoulder. One figure appears to wear a tunic and a thin scarf-like garment draped around his shoulders and over his chest. These three latter figures are shown in the speaking pose. Traces of pigment are preserved on the tunics. The woman is shown wearing a long dark tunic, a mantle draped over her shoulders and chest, a tight-fitting head-covering and a loose veil, perhaps her mantle draped over her head. She holds her right hand in the speaking position or a gesture of blessing, and in her left hand she holds a book decorated with a cross.

The painted inscriptions indicate that the figure on the far right holding the chalice is Apa Stephen, "the deacon and master architect, who founded this dwelling". The woman's name unfortunately does not survive other than her standard title "Ama", 'mother'.

Bibliography:

Bolman, E. S. (2016). "The Possessions of Our Poverty". Beauty, Wealth and Asceticism in the Shenoutean Federation. In: E. S. Bolman ed., The Red Monastery Church: Beauty and Asceticism in Upper Egypt. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp.24-25, Fig. 3.8.

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Figures 1-2: Two published fragments of the architectural frieze (Bolman 2016, Fig.3.8).

Misc10: Brick fragment with graffito of family

Date: Sixth century
Place of Origin: Justiniana Prima (Caričin Grad, Serbia)
Current Location: National Museum Leskovac, Inv. 517 (ex K500)

27.7 cm x 14.7 cm

Description

Fragmentary piece of brick with a crudely incised graffito depicting a family group of two adults and a child all shown in the *orans* position. On the viewer's left is a male figure, shown as such with short hair indicated by short vertical and diagonal lines pointing up from the head. A female figure is shown on the right side has a smooth line around her head and extending over her shoulders which most likely indicates a veil, but may indicate long hair. The bodies of both adult figures are filled with cross-hatching. Between them is just visible the head of a child, barely reaching the waists of the adults. The child is shown with no hair. The depiction of the family on this graffito is very similar to standard family iconography in other media, such as gold-glass or wall-paintings. Found in Cariçin Grad, but exact find-spot unknown.

Bibliography

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Kondić, V. and Popović, V. (1977). Caričin Grad: utvrdeno naselje u vizantijskom Iliriku. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka I umetnosti, Cat no. 5, pp.188, 388, Pl.4.1. (In Serbian with significant French translation at the end).



Figure 1: Brick fragment with graffito of a family group (Behling 2015, Fig.4).

Misc11: Glass fragment with baptism scene

Date: Fifth century
Place of Origin: Near the Baths of Diocletian, Rome
Current Location: Vatican Library

Approx. 7.8 cm high, 7.5 cm wide

Description:

Fragment of engraved glass depicting a clothed(?) woman standing under a stream of water that seems to flow from an overturned jug. The baptiser only survives with his forearm and hand, laid upon her head. A haloed figure to the left gestures towards the woman being baptised, but looks away from her. A dove flies in from the right carrying an olive branch. Above the woman's head (and to the left) are the letters ALBA, perhaps beginning *albata*, referring to her status as newly baptised and wearing the white robe given to neophytes following baptism. To the left of the haloed figure are the letters MIR-AX. Some scholars suggest that the scene represents the woman's confirmation, rather than baptism, or both events rolled into one scene. The identity of the two other figures is equally controversial.

Inscription:

ALBA

MIR AX

Bibliography:

De Rossi, G. (1876). Insigne vetro, sul quale è effigiato il battesimo d'una fanciulla, ed oratorio domestico scoperto nel Monte della giustizia presso le terme Diocleziane. *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 3.1, pp.7-15.

Jensen, R. M. (2011). Living water: images, symbols and settings of early Christian baptism. Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae Vol 105, Leiden: Brill, pp.106-108, Fig.3.9. (with further references).



Figure 1: Drawing of the glass fragment (De Rossi 1876, Tav.1).



Figure 2: Photograph of the fragment (photo by author).

Misc12: The Walesby Tank

Date: Fourth century?
Place of Origin: Lincolnshire, UK
Current Location: The Collection Museum, Lincolnshire

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

Fragmentary lead tank intentionally broken into pieces, thought to be a baptismal tank. The decoration of the tank features a Chi Rho, and a relief scene comprising three groups of three people depicted in an architectural setting separated by columns. The preservation of the tank is poor, and it is only possible to get an idea of the iconography from drawings made of it. On the left and right appear to be groups of male figures wearing short tunics belted at the waist. The central group, however, depicts three women: in the centre an apparently naked woman with her hands clasped in front of her chest, flanked by two women heavily draped in long tunics, who each place a hand on her back or shoulder.

The identity of the central figures has been debated: while Thomas and Toynbee identify them as two women preparing the central nude woman for baptism, Crerar prefers to see them as a group of synchronistic deities. In this interpretation the naked woman would be inspired by depictions of Venus.

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Crerar, B. (2012). Contextualising Romano-British Lead Tanks: A Study in Design, Destruction and Deposition. *Britannia* 43, pp.146-150

Thomas, C. (1981). Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp.222-223, Fig 41.

Toynbee, J. (1964). Art in Britain under the Romans. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp.353-354.



Figure 1: The Walesby Tank, depiction of women in upper left corner of image (The Collection Museum: https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.thecollectionmuseum.com%2Fvisiting-us%2Fexhibit%2Fwalesby-lead-tank&psig=AOvVaw3RvVj2UAcGYBW6UqtDump3&ust=1608226660038000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CAIQjRxqFwoTCKDn_6mF0-0CFQAAAAAdAAAAABAE [accessed 15/12/2020])



Figure 2: Walesby Tank, drawing of the relief decoration panel (Thomas 1981, adapted from Fig 41).

Misc13: Honorific portrait of Anicia Juliana

Date: c.AD 512
Place of Origin: Constantinople
Current Location: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Dimensions unavailable

Description:

The portrait of Anicia Juliana is located on fol. 6v of the Vienna Dioscurides manuscript, a scientific codex illustrated with images of plants, herbs, birds, and treatises from Dioscurides, Nikander, and others. It can be dated to c.AD 512 and was presented to Juliana by the people of Honoratae, a district of Constantinople on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, in gratitude for her having built them a church. The dedication portrait miniature is framed by a circular band of golden cable and two interlaced squares forming an eight-pointed star. Each of the points of the star contains a letter that spells out her name, ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΑ. A white inscription in Greek (see below) is now almost invisible, but runs around the black octagonal inner outline of the portrait, making an acrostic which again spells Juliana. In the blue spandrels are depictions of putti in grisaille engaged in various building work.

Juliana is seated in the centre of the image on a golden throne with a foot-rest. She wears a long-sleeved white under-tunic, a purple over-tunic, and is wrapped in a gold and purple mantle wrapped diagonally. The form of her head-dress is difficult to discern, but certainly included a jewelled diadem or head-piece. In her left hand she holds a codex or scroll and in her right she scatters gold coins in the *sparsio* gesture, at her feet are scroll boxes. Juliana is flanked by two female figures in white tunics with gold clavi, the one to her right wears a blue mantle and the other a pinky/red mantle; both wear gold diadems. The woman wearing the blue mantle carries a heap of gold coins in its folds and is identified by an inscription as Megalopsychia (magnanimity, generosity). The other woman gestures to a scroll or codex she holds propped on her left knee and is labelled as Phronesis (prudence, practical wisdom). A small woman in white kneels at Juliana's feet and is labelled as 'Gratitude of the Arts', and a putto handing Juliana an open codex is identified as 'Desire to Build' or 'Love of Building'.

Inscription:

'Hail, oh princess, Honoratae extols and glorifies you with all fine praises; for Magnanimity (Megalopsychia) allows you to be mentioned over the entire world. You belong to the family of the Anicii, and you have built a temple of the Lord raised high and beautiful.'

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Figure 1: Portrait of Anicia Juliana from the Vienna Dioscorides manuscript (Image in public domain).