

FISH SYMBOLISM IN ICONOGRAPHY

Abbreviations: l. = left; r. = right; f. = female; m. = male.

A question mark (?) after the date indicates that the no date was given in recent corpora or that dating is too imprecise for certainty.

CHART 1: MEAL SCENES WITH FISH

Introductory note to Chart 1. The descriptions in Section I are intentionally brief. More complete descriptions may be found in various publications listed for each item. I have examined most items (both in person and/or from photographs), and I include many elements based on personal observations. But often my descriptions in this section are close paraphrases of those found in the various excellent collections of Jastrzebowska, Deckers, Koch, and Himmelmann (and I often follow their interpretations of problematic images). The source for each of the descriptions is generally the first reference given for each item in the catalogue. These descriptions provide a critical reference point for the discussions and conclusions in the text of Chapter 4. All translations of inscriptions are my own.

Note on sarcophagi. All sigma couch banquet scenes on sarcophagi have bolsters, on which diners lean. In general, I simply assume that they are there and do not put them in the descriptions.

Section I. Sigma Couch Banquet Iconography

A. Early Christian sigma couch banquet paintings (see also Jast. bibliography)

Jast. 1 = Nestori 21 = Testini, pl. 143 = Döl. 4:283.1 (5:534-40) = Garrucci 2:11, pl. 5.2 = WPP, pp. 16-19, fig.9; pl. 27.2. CSac: 230-250 C.E. L. side wall of the chamber. Iconography: seven diners on a sigma couch lean on a bolster with many of them directing one of their arms toward platters in the center of the scene. One of those platters has a long form on it that is probably a fish. To the l. of this scene is a fisherman with a fishing line in the water and further to the l. is a baptismal scene.

Jast. 2 [pl. I.A *infra*] = Nestori 22 = Döl. 4:260.1 9 (pl.); 5:534-40) = Garrucci 2:13, pl. 7.4 = WPP, p. 26; pl. 41.3. CSac: 230-250 C.E. Back wall of the chamber. Iconography: seven diners on a sigma couch behind a thick bolster with some of them pointing an arm toward the two platters at the center of the scene. On those platters are large fish. In front of the platters are eight baskets filled with bread.

Jast. 3 [**pl. I.B infra**] = Nestori 24 = Döl. 4:260.2 (pl.); 5:534-40) = Garrucci 2:14, pl. 8.4 = Wpp, pp. 33-34, fig. 13; pl. 41.4. CSac: 230-250 C.E. Left side wall of the chamber. Iconography: seven diners on a sigma couch behind a bolster. In front of them is an enormous platter with two fish and three loaves of bread. In front of the platters are seven baskets of bread.

Jast. 4 = Nestori 25 = Testini, pl. 127 = Döl. 4:261.2 (pl.) = Garrucci 2:15, pl. 9.3 = Wpp, p. 33; pl. 15.2. CSac 230-250 C.E. Right side wall of the chamber. Iconography: seven diners on a sigma couch behind a thick bolster move their arms in various directions, some of them toward the platters with fish in front of the bolster. At each side are five baskets of bread.

Jast. 5 = Nestori 39 = Döl. 4:261.1 (pl.); 5:503ff, pl. 317.2 = Wpp, pl. 15.1. CapGrec: 300-325 C.E. On the front wall above the vault in the second room of the chamber. Iconography: seven diners on a sigma couch behind a long flat bolster. They seem to speak with one another and extend their arms toward the platters at the center of the scene. One of them is a woman with a veil over her hair. In front are at l. a small jug with two handles, in the center a platter with two fish on it, and at r. a platter with three loaves of bread. To the l. of the bolster are four baskets of bread, and to the r. are three baskets of bread.

Jast. 6 = Garrucci 2:65, pl. 60.2 = Döl. 5:538, pl. 317.1. Rome, Coemeterium Maius: 300-325 C.E. In the lunette and the vault of an arcosolium at the back of the chamber. Now almost completely destroyed, but preserved in the sketch of Garrucci. Iconography: seven diners on a sigma couch behind a thick bolster. Three of them are women (far l., third from l., and second from r.). In front are seven baskets of bread and two jugs.

Jast. 7 = Nestori 3. Rome, Coemeterium Maius: c. 250 C.E. Lunette of the arcosolium to the left of the entrance. Iconography: seven diners on a sigma couch. At l. seven large baskets of bread. Five fish are placed beneath the scene.

Jast. 8 = Garrucci 2:72, pl. 68.1. Rome, Catacomb of the Giordani: 250-300 C.E. No longer exists. Iconography: seven diners behind a bolster, in front of which are two platters with a fish on each and fives loaves of bread (with cross marks). Below is a row of seven baskets of bread.

Jast. 9 = Deckers/Nestori 78 = Ferrua, "Una nuova regione" (1968): 51-54, fig. 21 = de Bruyne 183, fig. 137. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. The lunette of an arcosolium in the back wall. Iconography: five diners with striped tunics on a sigma couch and with various gestures, as some of them point to the platter at the center. In front at center is a round table with three legs covered by a full tablecloth. On it is a large platter with a fish. To the l. a f. servant carries a platter and a long napkin. At r. a f. servant in a long striped tunic carries a decanter and a glass cup. In the two corners of the scene are garden images including plants, rocks and a pillar. To the l. of the r. servant is the name Irene.

Jast. 10 = Deckers/Nestori 78 = Ferrua, "Una nuova regione" (1968): 51-54, fig. 20. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. The lunette of the arcosolium on the l. wall. Iconography: four diners on a sigma couch behind a thick bolster. In front is a table with three legs. To the r. is a f. servant holding in her raised r. hand a cup. On her head she wears a veil. Above her is the inscription Agape misce ("Agape, mix it").

Jast. 11 [**pl. II infra**] = Deckers/Nestori 76 = Ferrua, "Una nuova regione" (1970): 24, fig. 15 = de Bruyne 185, fig. 142. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. The lunette of an arcosolium in the back wall of the chamber. Iconography: a bearded m. youth and a m. boy on a sigma couch. At the far r. is a woman seated in a cathedra. On the other side a f. servant carries a cup. In front there is a table with three legs decorated in the upper parts with animal heads. It is covered with a large tablecloth with a fish on it. At the l. upper corner are the words Misce mi Irene ("Mix it for me Irene").

Jast. 12 = Deckers/Nestori 75 = Ferrua, "Una nuova regione" (1970): 33-35, fig. 22 = de Bruyne 186, fig. 145. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. The lunette in the arcosolium in the back wall. Iconography: four diners on a sigma couch behind a bolster. They drink, speak, and gesture with their arms (one of them pointing toward the table at the center). In front is a table with three legs with a platter of fowl and a small loaf of bread. To the l. of the table are two jugs and to its r. are a decanter and a pitcher. To the l. of the scene, a f. servant carries a jug and a cup. To her l. is a cooking pot placed on a table with three legs. To the above r. of the servant is the inscription Sabina misce ("Sabina, mix it").

Jast. 13 = Deckers/Nestori 73 = Ferrua, "Una nuova regione" (1970): 75-77, fig. 48. CatPM 300-325 C.E. Lunette of an arcosolium. Very fragmentary. Iconography: remains of a sigma couch and a man. To the r. is written NOB (probably for nobis, "... for us").

Jast. 14 [**pl. III.B infra**] = Deckers/Nestori 45 = de Bruyne 204 = Döl. 4:262.2 (pl.); 5:492-500 = Garrucci 2, pl. 56.2 = Wpp, pl. 133.2. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. The lunette of an arcosolium in the back of the chamber. Iconography: four diners including an infant on a sigma couch. They lean on the bolster. At the further ends of the couch are found two f. servants who are standing. The l. one carries a cup. Above are found two inscriptions: (l.) Agape misce nobis ("Agape, mix it for us"); and (r.) Irene porge calda ("Irene, serve it hot").

Jast. 15 [**pl. V.B infra**] = Deckers/Nestori 50 = de Bruyne 202 = Döl. 4:263.2 (pl.); 5:492-500 = Wpp, pl. 184. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. Iconography: five diners on a sigma couch drinking, gesturing, and talking. Second from the r. is a woman. In front is a round table with three legs, and on top of it is a fish. In front one sees two servants; l. is m. and r. is f. (the upper bodies of whom only remain). The one at the l. is m. and the one at the r. is f. She bears a cup in her extended right hand. In the upper corners are two inscriptions: (l.) Agape da calda ("Agape, serve it hot"); (r.) Irene misce ("Irene, mix it").

Jast. 16 [**pl. V.A infra**] = Deckers/Nestori 47 = de Bruyne 202 = Döl. 4:263.1; 5:492-500 = WPP, pl. 157.2. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. The center of a lunette. Iconography: three diners with striped tunics in long sleeves on a sigma couch behind a bolster. They drink, talk, and gesture (some of them toward the table at center). At r. a f. servant carries a cup in her raised r. hand. Above are found two inscriptions: (l.) Agape [por]ge calda (“Agape, serve it hot”); (r.) Irene misce (“Irene, mix it”).

Jast. 17 [**pls. III.A and IV infra**] = Deckers/Nestori 39 = de Bruyne, p. 209, pl. 157 = Döl. 4:262.1 = Garrucci 2, pl. 56.1 = WPP, pl. 157.1. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. Center of a lunette. Iconography: three diners on a sigma couch lean on a bolster. They point their arms toward the table at the front. On the table is a fish. To its l. is an amphora. At the l. end of the sigma couch, a woman sits in a cathedra; at the r. end remains the head of a woman. To her l. a boy servant holds a cup in his extended r. hand. Above the scene are two inscriptions: (l.) Irene da calda (“Irene, serve it hot”); (r.) Agape misce mi (“Agape, mix it for me”).

Jast. 18 = Deckers/Nestori 48 = de Bruyne, p. 199 = WPP p. 279, fig. 25; pl. 133. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. Lunette of the arcosolium in the back of the chamber. Very little is still preserved. Iconography: a bolster on the r. and a diner behind it. The heads of two other diners.

Jast. 19 = Deckers/Nestori 52 = Döl. 5:510 = Garrucci 2, pl. 57.2 = WPP, pl. 167. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. The front wall above an arcosolium in the corridor. For accurate description, one must rely on the drawing of Bosio. Iconography: three m. diners seated behind a huge rectangular table with four legs and covered by a fully draped tablecloth. They are gesturing, talking, and drinking. From the l. and the r. two servants (one apparently f.) bring a bowl and a platter. Various bowls are on the table.

Jast. 20 = Deckers/Nestori 14 = de Bruyne, p. 175 = Döl. 5:509 = Garrucci 2, pl. 45.1 = WPP, p. 466, fig. 45; pl. 62.2. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. Front wall in a corridor above the door of a chamber. Iconography: two diners (one f. to the l.) on a sigma couch behind a bolster. At r. a f. servant carries something unrecognizable; at l. a m. servant (only traces remaining) carries a cup. At the center of the scene is an empty table.

Jast. 21 = Deckers/Nestori 13 = de Bruyne, p. 174 = Döl. 5:509 = Garrucci 2, pl. 47.1 = WPP, pl. 65.3. CatPM: 300-325 C.E. Lower part of back wall between loculi. Almost completely destroyed. Iconography: six diners on a sigma couch gesturing; part of the bolster; and three tables with three legs in front.

B. Sigma couch banquet paintings of uncertain origin

Jast. 24 (with extensive bibliography) = Döl. 4:218-219 (pls.). Mausoleum of Clodius Hermes beside the catacomb of San Sebastian in Rome: 200-225 C.E. The attic of the mausoleum. Iconography: from l. to r.— three shepherds and a herd of sheep. In the center, four groups of diners are seated on sigma couches. There are five or six diners for each couch. In front of these couches, there are loaves of bread, large jugs with two handles, and platters with objects that are indiscernible. In front of these groups there is a row of servants. To the r. of this scene are more persons standing, as well as a group of boards.

Jast. 25-26 (with further bibliography) = A. Ferrua, “La catacomba di Vibia (1 and 2)” = C. Cecchelli, *Monumenti cristiano-eretici di Roma*, pp. 167-180 (with pls. on pp. 169-170) = Döl. 4:264 (pl.); 5:485-91. Hypogeum of Vibia in Rome: 350-400 C.E.

Jast. 25. Lunette of an arcosolium. Iconography: a man in tunic and pallium guides a woman in tunic and pallium through an entry gate. Above the gate is the inscription inductio (“admission”); above the woman is the name Vibia; above the man is the inscription angelus bonus (“good angel”). To the r. is a sigma couch with six diners seated behind a bolster. They are wearing striped tunics, and they have flower garlands around their necks and heads. Behind them and in front of them is a variety of garden imagery, including plants and flowers. They seem to be talking and gesturing to one another, as well as to the platters in front of them. Above the diners are three inscriptions: (l.) bonorum iudicio (“judgement of the good”); (center above the middle diner) Vibia; (r.) iudicati (“the judged”). In front of the diners is a platter with a large cake on it. To its r. is a platter with a large fish. At the l. is a m. youth in a short tunic bearing a platter with cooked fowl. At the far r. is an amphora. Furthest to the front are two m. youthful servants playing in the grass and flowers. The one at the l. seems to be picking them, while the one at the r. seems to be pouring water on them.

Jast. 26. The vault of an arcosolium. Seven male diners sit on a sigma couch behind a bolster. Three of them wear Phrygian caps, as well as tunics and pallia. They seem to hold glasses in their l. hands. Above them is the inscription: septem pii sarcerdotes (“seven pious priests”, i.e. of Sebazius). Over the figure third from r. is inscribed the name Vincentius. In front are four large platters and four loaves of bread with cross marks in front of the platters. On the platter furthest to the r. is a fish; the others have nothing on them.

C. Pagan sigma couch banquet paintings (see Jast. for bibliographic references, including photographic plates that are not found in Jast.)

Jast. 22. Columbarium of the Vigna Codini in Rome: 200-225 C.E. The tomb is destroyed, but preserved in the Musée du Louvre in Paris. Iconography: the banquet takes place outdoors beneath a bower of vines, leaves, and clusters of grapes. Seven diners are seated behind a semi-circular table. They are gesturing and conversing. One of them holds a platter and one of them holds a cup. Some of them seem to have garlands in their hair. The three feet of the table are in the form of lion paws. In the middle there is a tray with eleven loaves of bread and at the far r. a small pitcher. In front of the table to the l. is a small servant carrying a platter.

Jast. 23. Columbarium of the Claudii in the necropolis of the Via Laurentina in Ostia: 200-300 C.E. Originally on the entry wall above the door of the central chamber. Now in the MusPC. Lower part destroyed. Five diners on what would have been a sigma couch. They wear white striped tunics and mantles. They are gesturing or raising their hands with glasses. Above the head of each person is a name: Mus?, Felix, Foebus, Restutus, and Fortunatus.

Jast. 27. Hypogeum of the Aurelii on the Viale Manzoni in Rome: 220 C.E. Principal hall of the hypogeum. Iconography: Twelve diners seated on a sigma couch. They wear striped tunics and long cloaks with sleeves. Behind them is seated a woman who has a white tunic and seems to place her hand on the head of the third person from the l. In front are three m. servants: l. one is gesturing; center one is raising a glass in his r. hand; and r. one is carrying a large platter.

Jast. 28. Hypogeum of Arangio in the Villa Landolina in Syracuse (Sicily): c. 350 C.E. Iconography: one diner in a tunic on a sigma couch behind a large bolster. In front is probably a large platter. Above the scene are two huge birds, one in flight and one standing. In front at center is a m. servant who is standing. To his r. is another bird in flight. On the r. side is another m. servant who prepares a boar(?). Above are found two flowers.

Jast. 29. Necropolis of Carmona in Spain: date unknown. Back wall beneath two niches with cinerary urns and above a short bench. Iconography: eight persons seated in a semicircle around a rectangular object. At the l., a m. bearded servant enters, apparently dancing and carrying a crown and scepter. The second diner from l. plays the double flute. The two diners at the far right drink from huge rhytons. To the r. of the scene is another m. servant in a short tunic. In both his hands, he carries platters with objects that are not recognizable.

Jast. 30. Columbarium of the Villa Pamphili in Rome: late first century B.C.E. to early first century C.E. Wall to the l. of the entrance staircase above a series of niches containing cinerary urns. Iconography: six

diners in long tunics with long sleeves sit in a semicircle (probably on a sigma couch). Some hold wine cups. In front is a large platter with an unrecognizable object on it, as well as drinking vessels. At the r. is a building with eleven arches. To the lower r. is painted the name L. Ap. Spur. I. Bassus.

Jast. 31. Hypogeum of Caivano near Naples: 130-160 C.E. Lunette in the back wall of the hypogeum. Iconography: the banquet takes place amidst an outdoor bucolic scene. To its immediate l. and r. are two rocky promontories. Beside the r. promontory is a sacrificial scene with an altar, column, tree, and a fisherman casting his line in the water. Above the banquet is a ship with four persons on board and three oars. Above that is a house in the midst of trees. At the two extremities of the lunette are shepherds and goats. In the banquet itself, six diners are on a sigma couch. One at the l. raises a wine glass. They wear long tunics and garlands of flowers on their heads. In the middle is an empty platter. To the l. of the scene beside the l. promontory is a round table with three legs and three drinking vessels on it. In front, a m. servant carries a cup in his l. hand and a jug in his r. hand. He seems to cross a pool of water.

Jast. 32. Tomb of Vestorius Priscus in Pompeii: 75-76 C.E. The southern side of the base of the tomb altar above a marine scene. Iconography: six diners on a high sigma couch. They gesture in various ways seeming to converse with one another. The second from l. raises a rhyton (to pour wine in his mouth). At the far r. is a male servant who brings a jug. On the same side there is another m. servant standing behind the diners. At the upper r. there is a repositorium, which would normally contain gifts from the guests of the banquet, and which here is an open cabinet composed of two trays on top of one another. On those trays are found a variety of drinking vessels. Behind this cabinet is a third m. servant. At far l. is a musician playing a flute. In front of the diners is a table with three legs, whose feet are in the form of lion paws. On it are found six silver drinking vessels. The ground beneath the tables is covered with flowers. Above the scene is a parapetasma. At each side of the scene behind the diners are two rectangular pillars that bear statues of peacocks.

D. Early Christian sigma couch banquet sarcophagi

Rep. 150 (pl. 34) [**pl. IV infra**] = Himm. 8 (pl. 47 b) = Jast. 7 = Döl. 3:62.2 (pl.) = Gerke 366 VI.II.B.1, pl. 25.3 = WPs pl. 8.2. MusPC. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: l. is the baptism of Christ. R. of it there is a sun dial, a man bearing a fish and bread to r., a tree, and a sigma couch meal with four diners who drink, sleep, and call the servants. In front of that are seven baskets of bread and between them a platter with a fish.

Rep. 151 (pl. 34) [pl. VII *infra*] = Him 24 = Jast. 8 = Döl. 3:63 (pl.), 5:462 = Gerke 337 I.5, pl. 32.1 = WPs pl. 2.1. In the MusPC, inv. no. 172. Date: 280-290 C.E. Iconography: l. to r.—female orans with scroll; m. reader in tunic and pallium on stool; f. orans; a man in pallium with scroll facing l. and a bundle of scrolls at his feet; man with bread facing r. and four men on sigma couch. In front of the couch, there is a table with three legs (whose feet are in the form of lion paws) between two loaves of bread. The whole scene takes place in front of a parapetasma.

Rep. 298 = Him. 32 = Jast. 12 = Döl. 5:443, n. 12 = WPs 254.1. San Sebastiano. Fragmentary (but sigma couch meal complete). Date: 275-300 C.E. Inscription: Dep(ositio) Berae/ V kal(endas) Mart(ias). [“Burial of Vera on the the fifth of the Kalends of March.”] Iconography: in front of a parapetasma, five men on sigma couch (who drink, speak, and eat); in front of it a boar head between two loaves of bread. At l. there is a man rushing with glass; r. of him is a man who drinks while standing. At l. edge are two men beside a huge pitcher. In r. corner is a young male head.

Rep. 557 (pl. 85) = Him. 30 = Döl 5:446, pl. 309.1 = Gerke 365 VI.I.10 = WPs 254.9. Catacomb of Praetextatus (Rome). Small sarcophagus of an infant is decorated by marine scenes surrounding a central clipeus with the portrait of the deceased. Date: 300-325 C.E. Inscription in a tabula: Curtiae/ Catianae/ c(larissimae) p(uellae) in pace. [“To Curtia Catiana who is illustrious. In peace.”] Iconography: Clipeus— bust of boy looking l. in tunic and pallium. R. and l. of clipeus are bearded centaurs on top of which are nereids, who have garments on their lower bodies. On the outer side panels are sea centaurs swimming toward the outside. In their r. hands are horns, and to the r. half-clothed nereids feed them. Under the clipeus is a boat, which one boy steers and from which the other boy fish. L. of the tabula is a meal scene: oven with pot and man who puts wood into it and pours from a jug into the pot; a man bearing tableware; a man with bread facing r.; two men on sigma couch; in front of the couch, plate with fish between two loaves of bread; male mask with long flowing hair. R. of tabula: boys in fist-fight; the r. one is falling and held by a referee. After this are pillars and boys in fight; and a corner mask as above.

Rep. 591 (pl. 90) = Him. 2 = Jast. 2 = Gerke 366 VI.II.A.8, pl. 29.1.2 = WPs 161.3. Catacomb of Praetextatus. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: a) at l. Jonah is under a gourd tree. Beside him is a fragment of a cetos. At r. there is a sigma couch meal with four un-bearded male diners. The second diner at l. raises both his arms by holding in his hands the border of his garment which falls, uncovering his nude torso; all the others wear tunics with long sleeves. In front of it, a man puts a small loaf of bread into a bread basket; b) ship from which Jonah is thrown into the belly of the cetos.

Rep. 778 (pl. 124) = Jast. 1 = Döl. 4:259 (pl.) = Gerke 365 VI.II.1, pl. 26.1 (24.2; 26.2) = WPs 53.3. MusNazRom. Date: 275-300 C.E. Inscription (CIL 6.37231 = ILCV 1585): Caenabi Cons[t]an[t]i/ Marc. Iul. Baebiae Hertofile (corr. Mercurelli; CIL: Hermophile) h(onestae) m(emoriae) f(emina) unice casti/tatis <s>orori et comiti/ super finem amoris/ diligens maritum/ coniug(i) benigniss(imae) et in/comparab(ili) matrone, Valer/ius Valentinianus b(ene)f(iciarius) pref(ectorum) p(re-torio)/ cum coheredibus suis. [“To Marcia Iulia Baebia Hertofile, (daughter) of Caenabus Constantius, a woman of honorable memory, of unique purity, a sister and companion beyond the end of love, an extremely kind spouse, and an incomparable woman. In love for his wife, Valerius Valentinianus, a beneficiarius to the Pretorian Prefect (has set this monument up) along with his fellow heirs.”]

Iconography: clipeus—bust of a man in tunic and pallium; in his l. hand he had a scroll, while his r. hand is positioned in an oratorical gesture in front of his chest; l. of him, a bust of a woman (l. shoulder removed) in tunic and behind her head (with earrings) a palla. Under the clipeus in an unframed field, a bearded shepherd sits at the l. in exomis and boots; in his l. hand, he has a staff, while he feeds a dog with his r. hand. To his r., a goat and ram and a goat chewing at a tree. There are columns at far r. and l. of the sarcophagus. Cover: l. of the tabula—Jonah resting under the gourd tree; l. in front of him a cetos beside a ship with seaman in exomis at the rudder and man stepping to r. in exomis with head turned back and raised hands (orant?). R. of the tabula on sigma couch are five men in tunics with sleeves and pallia; two on l. are bearded; both on the r. have their r. hands raised; the third from r. puts a glass to his mouth; the fifth holds in his l. hand a kantharos and greets with his raised r. hand two servants stepping from l.; the servant in foreground removes bread from basket; in front of the sigma couch, five round loaves of bread with cross-formed and star-formed lines. Masks are at l. and r.

Rep. 793 (pl. 127) = Him. 5 = Jast. 9 = Döl. 3:56.1 (pl.), 5:462 = Gerke 366 VI.II.A.7 = WPs 27.1. Rome, Mus. Naz. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: at l. mask with richly flowing hair to his neck. In front of the parapetasma and at the l. is a tree. Three diners are sitting on a sigma couch with exomis (one speaks and the other two listen). At l. a man holds a glass. In front of the sigma couch, there are three round loaves of bread. To the l. of the sigma couch, a young man in exomis takes bread out of a basket. To r. of sigma, there is a young shepherd in short tunic. In his l. hand he has a long staff and, in his r. hand, he has a syrix turned toward the sigma couch. R. of him is the extended arm of an orans. They seem to be wearing barbarian garments and hair styles. (The flautist here is reminiscent of kline banquets.)

Rep. 794 = Him 13 = Jast. 24 = Gerke 365 VI.II.4, pl. 28.1 = WPs 163.6. Catacomb of Ponzianus (?). Date: 250-275 C.E. (Jast. 275-300 C.E.). Iconography: two male servants at r. and l. L. one shoves wood into a rock oven, and r. one in short tunic with sleeves steps toward diners. R. half of cover: Jonah narrative (ship, monster, and Jonah under gourd); and in the background there is a light tower with a fire at top and a tree.

Rep. 885 = Him. 48 = Jast 13. Rome, now in the Campo Santo Teutonico (Vatican) and formerly in the catacomb of Callixtus. Date: ? Inscription: [. . .]no nisi/ [. . .] secunda/ [. . .]tis depos/ [. . .] ti V idus/ [vixi]t annos/ [. . . d]ies XX/ [. . .]lio fic/ [. . .]tisi des/[. . .] entia. Iconography: r. of tabula—rock oven with pot; figure who puts wood in it; and figure who pours water into a pot. Further to r., a frontal servant carrying something that is not easily recognizable.

Rep. 890 = Him. 21 = Jast. 3 = Gerke 365 VI.II.5 = WPs 163.2. From the floor of St. Peters in the Vatican and now in the Campo Santo Teutonico (Vatican). Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: from l. to r.—remains of a man, who bears an amphora on his shoulder; a man carrying bread in his hands; tree; probably a sigma couch meal in the upper part; a ship; and remains of cetos (i.e. Jonah).

Rep. 893 = Him. 17 = Jast. 5 = Gerke 266.B.9 = WPs 255.7. Campo Santo Teutonico (Vatican). Date: beginning of fourth century C.E. Iconography: at l. Noah in ark in orans position with bird holding a branch in its mouth flying beside him; at r. a parapetasma, in front of which is a m. figure on sigma couch with his r. hand in an oratorical gesture. In front of the sigma couch there are three loaves of bread.

Rep. 942 = Him 27 = Jast. 4 = Gerke 365 VI.II.A.3 = WPs 163.1. Rome, Palazzo Corsetti. Fragmentary. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: l. of the tabula without inscription—Jonah narrative (ship, cetos, and Jonah under gourd). R. of tabula: pot on rock oven; man at bread basket; man with bread facing r.; four men on sigma couch who speak, listen, and drink with one another; and in front of the sigma couch five loaves of bread.

Him. 34 = Jast. 14 (pl. 3.2) = E. le Blant, Les sarcophages 27f., no. 39, pl. 9.1 = “Orange,” DAcL 12.2:2289, fig. 9074 = Döl. 5:457 = WPs 2, p. 347. Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. 4.1851, purchased from a private collection in Orange. Date: ? Inscription: [. . .]/ animae d[ulci]/ in pace qu[i vi]/xit ann XLV m[enses]/ VIII d[ies] XVI [. . .]. [“To a sweet soul who lived forty-five years, seven days, and sixteen . . . “] L. of tabula: rock oven with pot; man who puts wood into rock oven; and man who is occupied with pot. R. of this, a sigma couch meal with four diners. On the couch there is bread. In front of the couch, there is a table with three legs with a fish on it.

Him. 52 = Jast. 11 = Döl. 3:42.4 (pl.); 5.455, 467 = WPs 2, p. 347, fig. 216. No longer extant (1859 found in Ostia; 1866 in Palazzo Castellani, 1869 allegedly in Palazzo Poli). Fragmentary. Date: early fourth century C.E. Inscription: Ἐπίκτη[τος]/ Ἀννί[α]νος ζή/ ἐν κυρίῳ Χ(ριστῷ) or Ἐπίκτη[σις] Ἀννί[α] ζή ἐν κυρίῳ Χ(ριστῷ). ["Epictetus Annianus (or Epiktēsis Annia) who lives in the lord Christ."] Iconography: r. half of sigma couch with three diners. In front of it is a platter with a fish and a loaf of bread. R. section is the inscription.

Jast. 6 (pl. 2.4). Museum of Merida, province of Badajoz in Spain. Date: fourth century C.E. Iconography: at l. Noah in his ark—at r. a banquet. Behind a rather narrow sigma couch are placed three diners. At l. are found a male and a female servant and at r. is a service person. They wear long tunics. In front of the sigma couch is indicated a rather large object in the form of table with something unrecognizable on it.

E. Early Christian sigma couch banquet sarcophagi whose identification is based on context

Him. 3 = Jast. 55 = Döl. 4:244.2 (pl.) = Gerke 365 VI.I.A.7, pl. 25.1. Found in the catacomb of Praetextatus. Date: 275-300 C.E. Inscription: Asinio Ciaroci. Iconography: Genius holds up a tabula. R. of tabula on a sigma couch are three bearded males drinking, eating, and gesturing (the r. one holds his hand over his head). In front of them on the ground is the head of a boar between two loaves of bread.

Him. 9 = Jast. 19 = Gerke 365.VI.II.A.6 = WPs 255.4. Found in the catacomb of Priscilla (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 260-270 C.E. Iconography: at l. is a man carrying bread between two trees. Three men sitting on sigma couch. In front of them are platters and bread (including fish?).

Him. 11 = Jast. 23 = Döl. 4:243.1 (pl.) = Gerke 365 VI.II.A.2 = WPs 53.1. Found in the catacomb of the Giordani (Rome) and now in the MusPC, inv. no. 164. Fragment (but sigma couch scene complete). Date: 250-325 C.E.? Iconography: five men on sigma couch drinking and gesturing toward the five bread loaves in front of them; and at the l. a man, who has taken bread from a bread basket and offers it to the man at the l.

Him. 15 = Jast. 20 = Döl. 5:443, pl. 314.1 = Gerke 366 VI.II.B.2.7 = WPs 255.3. Found in the catacomb of Priscilla (Rome). Fragment. Date: 250-300 C.E. Iconography: (in front of a parapetasma and a tree) remains of a diner on sigma couch, who grasps a platter with a fish in front. The r. end of sigma couch is broken off; and there are remains of two figures.

Him. 16 = Jast. 25 = Döl. 5:440, 443 = Gerke 366 VI.II.B.2.5 = WPs 255.6. From the catacomb of Ponzianus (Rome) and now in MusNazRom. Fragment. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: a) l. end of sigma couch; in front of it two loaves of bread and a platter with two small fish; b) a piece of couch with remains of two figures.

Him. 29 = Jast. 15 = Döl. 5:434, pl. 311.1 = Gerke 365 VI.I.B.11, pl. 25.4 = WPs 254.6. Catacomb of Callixtus (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: at l. a man kneeling before a fire; r. of him, four men on a sigma couch; man in middle has armor and a paludamentum—the remaining are in tunic and sagum. In front of the couch are a dog and a table with three legs with a fish on it; the man at far r. of sigma couch grasps it with his r. hand. To the r. of the couch there is a man sitting to r., who speaks with a man who is standing. Between them is a dog. R. of the r. acroterion is the fragment of a head of Mars.

Him. 31 = Jast. 21 = Döl. 5:443, pl. 313.1 = Gerke 366 VI.II.B.2.4 = WPs 255.2. Catacomb of Priscilla (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 275-325 C.E. Iconography: ;. to r.—tree, man stepping to r. bearing bread and a fish; tree, on which a parapetasma is attached; three men on sigma couch; and, in front of it, bread and the remains of a food platter.

Him. 33 = Jast. 49 = Döl. 5:441ff., pl. 311.2 = Gerke 365 VI.I.A.1, pl. 38.1 = WPs 254.8. San Sebastiano (Rome). Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: tabula without inscription; Mars head as acroterion. L. in front of parapetasma are six men on a sigma couch; l. of it, man standing with pitcher; and r. of it, a man bearing a platter with a fish. In front of the couch is a boar head on a small low table between two loaves of bread. To the l. of bread and table is a platter with a fish. At the l. edge of scene is a huge pitcher on table. At the r. is a scene showing a hunt for red deer.

Him. 35 = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom 70.314 (photo) = Pontificio Commissione di Archeologia Sacra 4096 (photo). Rome, catacomb of Callixtus (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: ? Iconography: two men in short tunics facing l. and serving.

Him. 36 = Jast. 17 = Inst. Rom 70.314. Catacomb of Callixtus (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 300-325 C.E. Iconography: l. pot on fire; r. of it in background two men turned to r.; and in front of them, the upper parts of two men turned to r.

Him. 37 = Jast. 18 = Inst. Rom 70.314.58.1397. Catacomb of Callixtus (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 300-350 C.E. Iconography: l. to r.: man at pot on rock oven (under it is perhaps the head of a man putting in wood); two men facing r., the first bearing bread; three figures on the middle part of the sigma couch; on the couch bread; and in front of it a fish.

Him. 41 = Jast. 22 = Döl. 4:293.2 (pl.) = Gerke 365 VI.I.B.8 = WPs 254.3. Catacomb of San Sebastiano (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 300-325 C.E. Iconography: l. half of sigma couch with remains of diners; on the couch, one loaf of bread; in front of the couch dog and table with three legs (whose feet are in the form of lion legs), on which lies a fish.

Him. 44 = Jast. 35 = Döl. 3:59.1 (pl.) = Gerke 366 VI.II.B.2.6 = WPs 257.1. Campo Santo Teutonico (Vatican) and formerly in the courtyard of S. Maria dell'Anima (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: lower bodies of three men on sigma couch; and, in front of them, bread and a fish.

Him. 45 = Jast. 50 = Pontificio Commissione di Archeologia Sacra 8623 (photo). Catacomb of Praetextatus (Rome). Fragmentary. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: middle part of sigma couch with diners; in front of them, head of a boar and table with three legs, whose feet are in the form of lion paws.

Him. 51 = Döl. 3:61.1 (pl.). Catacombs of Rome, but now lost. Date: ? Iconography: two men at sigma couch drinking and gesturing; r. arm of a third diner at r.; at l. a servant; and, in front of the couch, a platter with a fish between two loaves of bread.

F. Probably pagan sigma couch banquet sarcophagi

Him. 49 = Jast. 45 = Espérandieu, Recueil 1, no. 553 (with photo). Found in 1869 in a private house in Cessenon (France). Date: 300-350 C.E. Inscription (CIL 12.4290: Suplicio A[. . .] prestanti A[urelia?]/ Vitalinia [coniux]/ karissima [suo et libero?]/rum ipsius i[. . .]/ sarcofagu[m . . .] exhibere cur[avit . . . cu]rante Euseb [io . . .] amantis[simo. ["For Sulpicius [. . .] a fine man, his precious spouse A[urelia] took care of the setting up of the sarcophagus," etc.] Contra Jast. this sarcophagus is not necessarily pagan, though more probably so. Iconography: l. section——seven persons on sigma couch (all men and with partially preserved heads; Espérandieu also sees two women); r. in background, a man standing; l. beside the sigma couch, a man standing with platters of food; in front of couch, a table covered by cloth, on which lies meat; and, beside the table, a dog. R. section: a tabula held by an eros.

Him. 50 = Jast. 44 = H. Bloch, Notize degli scavi di antichità, series 8, 7 (1953): p. 294, no. 57, fig. 43 (photo). Ostia museum, inv. no. 1020 (from the Via Laurentina? in Rome). Date: ? Inscription: D [M]/ L Licinio M/ [. . .] / eq R decur(ioni)/ homini p[. . .] hered(es) [. . .]. Iconography: l. of tabula, an incomplete sigma couch with two preserved

diners (one in the process of drinking); and, in front of them, two loaves of bread.

G. Pagan sigma couch banquet sarcophagi

Him. 1 (pl. 44b) = Jast. 61. Leiden, Rijksmuseum from Oudheden, inv. no. H* 6. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: r. section—four men on sigma couch; two of them with wine cups in their hands; behind the couch, a parapetasma between two trees; in front, the head of a boar between two loaves of bread. L. section: in background, man who passes over a glass; in foreground, dancer; and at l. remains of a flute player.

Him. 4 (pl. 45 c) = Döl. 4:245.2 (pl.). Now in Berlin in the Staatliche Museen, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, inv. no. 3060. Fragmentary (broken on l.). Date: ? Iconography: at the l. a broken off tabula; r. of it, a gate out of which a man steps to r. with a platter; and r. of him, a parapetasma, in front of which is the l. half of a sigma couch with two diners eating and holding drinking cups in their hands. In front of the sigma couch is bread.

Him. 6 (pl. 47 d) = Döl. 3:62.1 (pl.), 5:449. Now in the Galleria Lapidaria 160 a (Vatican Museums). Fragment (but sigma scene complete). Date: ? Inscription (CIL 6.1367): C(aio) Carellio/ Pollittiano c(larissimo) v(iro) proco(n)s(ule) provinc(iae) Macedoniae Boncii Victorinus Agentius et Brutto patrono incomparabili. ["Boncii Victorinus Agentius (set this monument up) for Gaius Carellius Pollitianus, a vir clarissimus and proconsul of the province of Macedonia, and for Bruttus, his incomparable patron." Iconography: l. of tabula, a f. figure broken off; r. of tabula, a rock oven with pot; man who puts wood in rock oven; man who pours from an amphora into pot; further r., man with pitcher and glass facing r.; four men on sigma couch; the one at l. taking a cup to drink from a servant and, to his r., another man drinking; in front of the couch, loaves of bread and meat(?) or fish(?) on a mat; and in the background, a parapetasma between two trees.

Him. 10 = Jast. 56 = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, inv. no. 33.1135. Rome, Palazzo Merolli (south wall of courtyard). Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: in front of parapetasma, there are four persons eating on a sigma couch, which is here bent more severely than is customary. In front of the couch are a flask and a large table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws), on which lies meat and another object.

Him. 12 (pl. 44 a) = Döl. 4:243.2 (pl.) = Gerke 365 VI.I.A.6 = WPs 254.2. Now in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican Museums. Fragment (but sigma couch scene complete). Date: ? Iconography: At l., a rock oven with pot, into which a man puts wood; and above this a man who pours water into a pot; r. of this, a man bears a platter (probably with a fish on it); small (child) figure in background; three men on sigma couch drinking and talking; in front of couch, an animal club between two loaves of bread; and in the background, a parapetasma between two trees.

Him. 14 (pl. 46) = Jast. 59 = Döl. 3:42.3 (pl.) = Gerke 365 VI.I.A.4 = WPs 254.10. Found in the National Museum of Naples, inv. no. 6595. Date: 275-300 C.E. Fragment (but sigma couch scene complete). Iconography: l. to r.—rock oven with pot; man with jug and glass facing r.; three men on sigma couch drinking, gesturing, and talking; two of them are drinking and one of them raises his l. hand upward; and, in front of the sigma couch, the head of a boar between two loaves of bread.

Him. 18 = Jast. 29 = Gerke 366 VI.II.B.2.8 = WPs 255.8. Now in the museum of Ostia. Fragmentary. Date: 300-325 C.E. Iconography: piece of the l. half of sigma couch with remains of three diners.

Him. 19 = F. W. Goethert, Katalog der Antikensammlung des Prinzen Carl von Preussen im Schloss zu Klein-Gliencke 46, no. 219, pl. 80. Iconography: four men on sigma couch; and, at l., the remains of a man who bears bread.

Him. 20 (pl. 48 a) = Jast. 42 = Döl. 3:57.1 (pl.). Found in the Loggia Scoperta 13 of the Vatican. Fragment. Date: ? Iconography: at l., a servant with dead rabbit hanging from r. hand; and r. of him a servant with the meat of rabbit on platter. R. of him is the l. half of a sigma couch, on which a f. figure, but with m. head, sits (= idealised kline scene, Jast., p. 74). R. of her arm is the arm of a figure, who drinks from a glass. In front of the sigma couch there are a demijohn and a table (with three legs, whose feet are in the form of lion paws), on which a fish lies. In the background there is a parapetasma (Him. suggests that originally a female was there).

Him. 22 (pl. 45 a) [**pl. VIII infra**] = Jast. 34. Vatican Magazine. Fragment. Date: 275-325 C.E. L. to r.: tree; two men at rock oven with pot; three persons bearing loaves of bread, platter with a fish, and glass in r. hand; and, at l. end of the sigma couch, a f.(?) figure.

Him. 23 = Jast. 30 = Gerke 366 VI.II.B.1.3 = Döl. 5:467, pl. 306.2 = WPs 255.5. Bishop's palace in Ostia. Fragment. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: r. half of sigma couch with two diners (the one on the r. holding a loaf of bread) and remains of a third; and, in front of it, a fish on a table (whose three legs are in the form of lion paws) and bread.

Him. 25 = Jast. 52 = Gerke 365 VII.A.5 = Döl. 3:57.3 (pl.) = WPs 254.4. MusPC, inv. no. 117.1. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: in front of the parapetasma, a sigma couch, on which three men are drinking and eating; and in front of the couch is an animal club. At l., there are the remains of a rock oven. Coming from the r. is a m. servant bearing bread.

Him. 26 (pl. 48b) = Jast. 60 = Gerke 365 VII.A.3. Copenhagen, Nyls Carlsberg Glyptothek 832a, inv. no. 2233. Date: 275-325 C.E. Iconography: four men on sigma couch; in front of it, head of a boar between two loaves of bread. At l. are two figures standing, one with a glass. At l. is a man standing.

Him. 28 = Jast. 31 = Döl. 5:443, 460, pl. 314.2 = Gerke 365 VI.I.B.11, pl. 25.4 = WPs 255.1. Bishop's palace in Ostia. Fragmentary. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: middle part of sigma couch with remains of four diners gesturing and talking; one of them pointing toward the center platter; and, in front of the couch, four loaves of bread and a platter with a fish.

Him. 38 = Döl. 5:430, pl. 310.1-3. Sesto Fiorentino, Villa Guicciardini. Cover. Date: 300-325 C.E. Iconography: in the middle, a tabula without inscription held by victories. There are heads of the sun and moon used as acroteria in the corners of the sarcophagus. In the l. section is a chariot moving. It has four wheels and is led by two horses, which are guided by a driver. On the chariot sits a man on a stool as if talking; and l. beside him is a woman. Beside the r. horse jumps a dog. In front of the horses steps the cursor with a jug in his l. hand. In the background is a round building crowned with statues (perhaps the tomb of Caecilia Metella). R. of the column is a sun dial, to which an outstretched finger points (of a figure behind the horses). R. section: sigma couch meal with four diners gesturing, drinking, and talking; above them are garlands; in front of the couch are doubled flasks, a table with three legs, on which a fish lies, and a dog. L. in the background is a figure who passes over a glass; and at r. two further servants.

Him. 39 = Jast. 62 = Espérandieu, Recueil 2, no. 1560 (with photo) = F. Cumont, Symbolisme, 449f. fig 93 = A. V. Melucco, "Sarcofagi romani di caccia al leone," no. 28 (pp. 32-33), pl. 19.44. Déols (France), church of St. Étienne. Cover of a hunting sarcophagus. Date: 325-350 C.E. Iconography: in the middle is a tabula without an inscription, which is held up by erotes. L. section: four men on sigma couch; on it is bread and, in front of it, a glass or a small flask, a table with three legs covered by a cloth on which two loaves of bread and a platter with food lie, and a dog; l. of sigma couch, remains of a figure and a rock oven; r. of sigma couch in background, a man drinking. R. section: the exit to hunt; and the hunt for boar, bear, lion, and deer.

Him. 40 = Jast. 40 = Döl 3:57.2 (pl.) = WPs 254.3. not extant; from Arles. Fragmentary. Date: 320-330 C.E. Iconography: four diners eating on sigma couch, on which lie loaves of bread; in front of the couch are a doubled flask and a table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws), on which lie a fish and a dog.

Him. 42 = Jast. 48 = Gerke 365 VII.B.9 = WPs 23.6. Bieda. Fragment. Date: Fourth century C.E. Iconography: l. of the tabula without an inscription—wagon moving and guided by two persons. R. of the tabula: tree, rock oven with pot, amphora from which is poured water into a pot, and remains of a man who puts in wood.

Him. 43 = Jast. 58 = G. A. Mansuelli, Galleria degli Uffizi 1, no. 290 (with photo). Florence, Uffizi, inv. no. 458. Fragmentary. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: l. to r.—man rushing to l., tree, diner at l. end of sigma couch; and in front of him are platters of food on a mat.

Him. 46. Palazzo Corsetti. Date: ? Iconography: in front of parapetasma are two men on an incomplete sigma couch.

Him. 47 = Jast. 43 = D. Vaglieri, Notizie degli scavi di antichità (1909): pp. 234-36, no. 13, fig. 4. Ostia, museum. Date: ? L. end of a grave closure in form of the front of a sarcophagus with cover and acroteria. Iconography: on the front, an eros hovering to r.; and, at l. end, a fruit-bearing tree, on which bows and quivers hang. On cover from l. to r.: rock oven and man kneeling who works at the fire and at the same time pours something into a pot; flute player; man with pitcher and glass facing r.; frontally standing woman with platter of food; and diners on the l. sigma end. (Flute player recalls kline banquets).

Him. 53 = Jast. 28 = Döl. 4:244.1 (pl), 5:436. Now lost, but found on the Aventine in Rome. Date: 275-325 C.E. R. half of sigma couch with three diners; the one on the l. holding a glass. All three of them point in front them to the platter with a fish and bread beside it. To the r. is a tree.

Him. 54 = G. Rodenwaldt, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung 36/37 (1921/22): 70 = Foto Moschioni 24017. Baths of S. Peter in Ferentillo, but now lost. Date: ? Inscription (CIL 6.26200): Cn(aeo) Sentio Asclepiade bixit an(nos) XIII m(enses) V d(ies) XX h(eres) f(ecit) b(ene)merenti. ["His heir constructed (this monument) for Gnaeus Sentius Asclepiades, who lived fourteen years, five months, and twenty days."] Iconography: l. of tabula is a sigma couch meal with three men, to whom a servant approaches gesturing with a spear and whom another nude man threatens; and, r. of tabula, hunt of bears and deer.

Him. 55 = Jast. 41 (pl. IV.1) = Döl. 4:250.1, 251 (pls.); 5:433. Museo Chiaramonti (Vatican Museums), inv. no. 2165. Fragmentary sarcophagus of child. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: at l. woman, man, and child behind a long table with four legs; from l. come four m. figures with glasses and pitchers; from r., a figure comes with a pitcher. Remains of a corresponding scene at the r. end of relief: in the middle, two men and a women on sigma couch; in front, a table with three legs with food and a

dog beside it; l. of sigma couch, a m. figure with a large basket; r. of couch, a m. figure with long object; and a flute player.

Him. 56 (pl. 49 b) = Jast. 33 = Döl. 3:61.2 (pl.) = Gerke 366
VI.II.B.2.10. MusPC, inv. no. 117.4. Date: c. 320 C.E. Iconography:
six figures on sigma couch. In front are bread and a platter with a huge
fish. At l. are the remains of a further diner or a servant.

H. Pagan sigma couch banquet sarcophagi that depict the banquet of Meleager

Koch 127 (pl. 114 d) = Jast. 69. Museo Chiaramonti (Vatican Museums). Date: Middle Antonine. Iconography: on the l. fragment is the upper part of a man, who holds a wine skin in his hands in order to drink from it. R. under perhaps the remains of a second wine skin is a tree top. On the r. fragment are the upper bodies of six diners above a sigma couch; Atalante in chiton with glass in the l. hand; a youth with kantharos in the r. hand; another with glass in the l. hand; a Dioscurus with small garland in the r. hand and glass in the l. hand; and his brother with glass in the l. hand. At the edge, there is the upper body of a figure directed to r.

Koch 128 (pl. 114 c) = Jast. 63. Rome, crypt of S. Cecilia in Trastevere. Date: Late Antonine. Iconography: at l. a rock oven with a cup; and a servant puts wood in it. Beside it a man pours wine from an amphora into a large cup. In the middle, four persons lie on a sigma couch. Behind the parapetasma: Atalante, who supports her on l. arm and holds a bow; Meleager, who stretches out his r. arm and holds cup in his l. hand; and the two Dioscuri—the l. one grasps a garland with his l. hand, while the r. one prob. holds a cup and a glass in his l. hand; both turn their heads to r. toward a wine-bearing servant. At r., three men kill a boar with a spear. At the corners are heads of men with long curly hair and unkempt beards; and the r. one has a wing in his hair—probably a wind god.

Koch 129 (pl. 115 d-h) = Jast. 77 = F. W. Goethert, Katalog der Antikensammlung des Prinzen Carl von Preussen im Schloss zu Klein-Gliencke, p. 28, nos. 131-135, pls. 51-53. Berlin, Schloss Klein-Gliencke in Potsdam. Date: 200-224 C.E. Iconography: In D a servant raises a cover from a huge pot, which stands on the fire. On E dines Atalante who leans with her l. arm on the sigma couch and puts her r. arm on her head; beside her a tree; a knee and a short chiton of a standing servant. F shows only a piece of a parapetasma, which extends to G and H. On G are remains of three youths dining on a couch; at l., the head of a Dioscurus; then the body of a youth, probably Meleager, who supports his l. arm on the couch, raises his r. arm, and bears a band in his hair; and then probably the r. arm of the second Dioscurus, which is pre-

served on H. He has in his r. hand a small garland and stretches his l. arm to the side. On H there is also dining an older bearded man, who supports himself with his r. arm and bends his l. arm on his head.

Koch 130 (pl. 114 f) = Jast. 64. Ostia, Isola Sacra, now lost due to theft. Date: Middle Antonine. Inscription: Berri Zosime/ fecit sibi et/ Berrio Euhelpisto/ coiugi suo. ["Berri Zosime constructed (this monument) for her family and for her spouse Berrius Euhelpistus."] Iconography: l. section—rock oven with pot; a servant puts wood into flames; beside it are two servants who cut up a boar with knives; and further r. a servant cuts the meat into little pieces on a block. Section to the r. of tabula: five persons lie on a couch; l. a bearded man who stretches out his r. arm and holds an unclear object in his hand; under his l. hand lies a bow, at whose edge stands a skyphos; then the two Discouri; the l. one holds with his r. hand a glass to his mouth and holds a branch in his l. hand; the r. one holds a glass in his r. hand; at the edge, lies at l. an overturned basket; and at r. stands another cup. At r. Atlante and Meleager turn toward one another; she grasps a cup with her r. hand and lays her l. hand on the couch; and he holds in his l. hand a glass and puts his r. hand on his head.

Koch 131 (pl. 114 g) = Jast. 68. Florence, Villa Bardini. Date: late third century C.E. Inscription: D M/ Aur. Olypiadi kastiss/me femine que vixit annis XXXIII/ menses V dies XXVI Iulius Eu/frosynus coiugi dulcissime fecit. ["To the manes, Iulius Eufrosynus constructed (this monument) for his chaste and sweet wife Aurelia Olypiade, who lived thirty-three years, five months, (and) twenty-six days." Iconography: l. of tabula—meal preparation with a kneeling servant, who pours wine from an amphora into an open cup, which another servant holds; oven (broken off); and two men bear full bowls. R. of tabula: sigma couch with four diners; outside are the Dioscouri; in the middle are Atalante and Meleager; at l., a servant with bowl; further bowl on the sigma couch; at r., a tree; perhaps a wine bearer came from r.; and at l., Dioscoursus, Atalante, and Meleager look toward him.

Koch 132 = Jast. 72. Rome, Studio Canova. Date: 200-250 C.E. Iconography: at l., meal preparation; at r., a meal; in the middle are busts with broken-off head, behind which a garland is held by two erotes. In the l. part, a servant at oven and a man who chops wood; another who pours out wine from an amphora; and a third who takes a stick from his belt. R. section: meal on a sigma with Atalante, a Dioscoursus, Meleager, the second Dioscoursus, a m. figure in back view, and one servant walking from l. and another from r.

Koch 133 = Jast. 73. Rome, house on the Via Lanziana 26. Iconography: at l. was a half-length portrait of person sitting in front of a parapetasma; and at r., a meal at which are preserved the remains of Atalante and a man.

Koch 134 = Jast. 70. now lost; formerly in Rome, Villa Borghese park. Date: late Constantinian. Iconography: remains of three persons who rest on a rock in front of parapetasma. At l., Atalante with short chiton, chlamys, and boots,; in her l. hand (raised up), she holds a drinking cup. At r., is the lower body of a naked man; above the upper body of another in exomis, who bends toward the former.

Koch 135 (pl. 118 d) = Jast. 78. Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut der Universität. Date: 200-220 C.E. Iconography: hunting meal. In front of a parapetasma on an elevated couch, a man with a beard and a band in his hair (probably Meleager) stretches out his r. arm; a Dioscoursus who puts his finger on his chlamys and puts his r. arm on the couch; and his brother who holds a spear in the l. hand.

Koch 136 (pl. 118 c) = Jast. 74. Lost; formerly in Rome, private collection. Date: 200-250 C.E. Iconography: four figures in hunting meal on sigma couch in front of parapetasma; r. below, part of boar head. Atalante with bow in her l. hand puts her r. hand to her mouth and touches her index finger to her lower lip; a Dioscoursus with pilos; an older man with portrait of head (hair close fitting as cap, divided by chiselings, with beard); and outstretched l. arm of a further figure, which is not further preserved. At l. edge is the l. hand of a another person, probably a servant.

Koch 137 (pl. 118 f) = Jast. 76. Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée des Antiquités Nationales, inv. no. 15519 (originally from Rome). Date: late third century C.E.. Iconography: hunting meal; a sigma couch, on which three small cloths are placed; in front of parapetasma are three persons—Atalante, Meleager, who stretches out her r. arm, and a Dioscoursus who puts a glass to his mouth. At r. is a servant in short-belted sleeved chiton; she bears a platter, on which is an unrecognizable object.

Koch 138 = Jast. 75 (pl. 116 d). lost; formerly in a private collection of Velletri. Date: ? Very fragmentary. Iconography: preserved are the man who stokes a fire under a pot; another who pours liquid into the pot from an amphora; a servant with shell and jug; a figure in background; and three figures lying at a couch; and, under them, Atalante. Apparently there were also loaves of bread in front.

SECTION II. KLINE MEAL SARCOPHAGI

A. Early Christian Kline banquet paintings

1. Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus = Jast., p. 12, n. 40 = Deckers/Nestori 10 b = WPp 107.1 = T. Klauser, Cathedra, 138, pl. 20.1-2 = J. Kollwitz, Malerei, 52 = de Bruyne, p. 171 = L. de Bruyne, "Refrigerium intermim," 102, fig. 6. Date: fourth Century C.E. Inscription: [B]lin ken tia (= "Vincentia"). Iconography: on the entrance wall are found two servants, one of whom bears a glass in his r. hand; another bears a pitcher in his r. hand. Above their l. arms both have napkins. In the lunette above the loculus on the back wall a woman (with the inscription Bincentia above her) reclines on a kline and gestures with her r. hand. On the two panels to the r. and l. of the loculus are two persons in orant positions.

2. Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus, second chamber = region Y: Jast., p. 12, n. 40 c = Deckers/Nestori 60 = J.-P. Kirsch, "Un gruppo di cripte inedite del cimitero dei SS. Pietro e Marcellino," RAC 7 (1930): 203-34, fig. 4 = J. Kollwitz, "Malerei der konstanischen Zeit," 45 = A. Stuiber, Refrigerium Interim, 129. Date: fourth century C.E. Iconography: fragments of a kline meal scene.

3. Hypogeum of the Flavi in the catacomb of Domitilla: Jast., p. 12, n. 40 a = Nestori, Repertorio, 119, no. 11 = Döl. 5:504 = WPp 7.4 = L. Pani Ermini, "L'ipogeo detto dei Flavi in Domitilla," 140, fig. 10. Date: 200-220 C.E. Iconography: on a kline are seated two males, the first in dark yellow and the second in dark brown. They seem to be conversing. In front of them is a table with three legs with loaves of bread and a fish on it. Beside the table on the r. is a figure in ungirded tunic and without sleeves.

B. Early Christian Kline banquet sarcophagi

Rep. 119 = Him. 34 = Gerke 356 II.5; 360 II.7 = WPs 22.5. Vatican Museums, Galleria Lapidaria, parete VIII no. 29. Date: 275-300 C.E. Definite Christian Inscription: Αδδα κ(α)ι | Λαμπαδια | συμβιω αυ | τοδ και τεκνοις | Ειρηνεω συμβιω | και Ησυχιω και | Ειρηνεω | Μαρταμμη | τεκνοις | Μαρκιανη | εν θεω chi-rho. ["Adda for her spouse Eireneus and her children; Lampadia for her spouse Hesyechius; Mariamme for Eireneus; and Marciana for her children. In God." Iconography: the tabula above a rabbit hunt; at l., a wagon travelling; at r., a high-belted f. servant in front of parapetasma.

Rep. 680 = Jast., p. 12, n. 39. Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. Date: 359 C.E. A fragment of cover with Christian inscription (See Deichmann's description for full inscription and discussion of this extremely important sarcophagus). Iconography: a woman standing in long tunic leaning her thumb on the back of a couch.

C. Early Christian Kline banquet sarcophagi whose identification is based on context

Him. 13 (pl. 34 c). Rome, catacomb of Domitilla. Date: ? Very fragmentary. Iconography: two females, table with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws, double flask, etc.

Him. 21 (pl. 38). Rome, catacomb of Praetextatus. Date: ? Iconography: r. of tabula without inscription, huge jug on table with three legs, beside which is a servant on stool. R. of it are two servants facing r. (the former with food platter). In front of them is a figure in a long garment. Then there is the kline with a marital pair on it; servant to r. with pitcher and wine strainer. In front of kline: dog beside a table with three legs, whose feet are in the form of lion paws. On the table are a fish, bread, and double flask.

Him. 26 (pl. 40) = Döl. 5:448 = WPs 288.2. Tunis, Musée Alaoui, inv. no. C 968. Date: ? Iconography: at l. edge is a good shepherd before lying sheep. At r. edge is a reclining bench with cloth. There are remains of two clothed reclining figures. In front l. to r.: high-belted f. servant standing in a frontal position, sheep, table with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws. On the table is a cooked bird.

Rep. 806 (pl. 129) = Him. 27 = Dölger 3:60 (pl.) = Gerke 338 II.3 = Wps 10.2-5. Formerly in the gardens of the Antiquarium Communale (earlier the Orto botanico gen.). Now in the Capitoline Museum. Date: 250-275 C.E.. Iconography: around two-thirds of the middle section is destroyed until the feet of the figures. In the middle of the broken-off section are the feet of a woman, who is framed by two trees to her r. and l. To her r. are the feet of a figure lying leftward. In front of her is a dog, and beside it is a table with three legs with a fish on it. To its r. is the hand of another figure. To its r. is a f. servant with a platter. At far r. is a fisherman turned toward the r. with a basket in his l. hand; at his feet is water. In the l. section of the sarcophagus is the lower body of a boy servant, as well as the remains of the legs of a table. At l. is the line of a cliff; at its l. is a body lying (upper body missing) and under the body a ram (sheep). To its l. is a tree. At furthest l. is a shepherd with an animal on its shoulder. L. side panel has a lower body of a shepherd, who

watches over his herd. R. side panel shows the lower body of a man in a pallium. In his r. hand, he holds a fish.

D. Pagan Kline Banquet Sarcophagi

Him. 1 (pl. 25) = Döl. 3.53 (pl.). London, British Museum. Found in the 17th c. in S. Cesareo (Rome). Date: ? Iconography: in the middle is Cupid (with cup in his hand) and Psyche on the kline, on the end of which an eros with a bird steps. In front of the kline is an eros, who plays with a rabbit, and a table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with a fish and a flask on it. L. of the kline is a f. pandurium player on a stool and a f. servant with a pitcher (both females in the form of Psyche); behind is an eros with flowers and tree; r. of kline is an eros as Apollo with a cithara, as well as a peacock, an eros with a garland and a flower basket, an eros with a rabbit, and a tree.

Him. 2 = S. Reinach, Répetoire de reliefs 3:231.2 (pl.). Rome, Villa Albani. Date: ? Iconography: On a chair a f. pandurium player sitting to r. with portrait head; r. of her, a f. recliner on kline; l. behind her, a bearded man standing behind her looking r.; and r. of her a male servant with platter.

Him. 3 (pls. 26-29) = Gerke 25 = Döl. 3:53 (pl.), 5:423ff. Lateran, inv. no. 9539, found between Fornello and Scrofano. Date: ? Iconography: in the middle of sarcophagus front, the deceased on the kline; an eros hovering above him who bears a garland; on the foot end of the kline an eros walks with a flower basket; in front of the kline, there is one child sitting and one child standing (who plays with a dog), a table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with a fish on it, a flask toward which a servant walks in the clothing of a child; l. of kline, a f. pandurium player on a stool, f. servant with high belt, f. flute player, and two servants; r. of kline are more table servants. On the back side of the sarcophagus in flat relief: the deceased in hunt for lions. In the middle of the cover, a tabula with an inscription, r. and l. of which are scenes of selling. The inscription runs as follows: D M/ P. Caecili/ Valliani/ A. militis/ vixit ann/ LXVIII [“A grave sacred to the manes of Publius Caecilius Vallius, a soldier who lived sixty-four years.”]

Him. 4 (pl. 32) = Döl. 5:420ff., pl. 308.2. courtyard of Lateran hospital. Date: ? Iconography: in the middle of the sarcophagus, marital pair on the kline, on which there is an eros who dines and steps on the foot end. In front of the kline (l. to r.) are a child with dog, a child standing, a table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws), and a flask. L. of the kline is a f. pandurium player on a stool and a servant. R. of the kline are two table-servants in short-belted tunics with a platter of food, a pitcher, and a wine strainer.

Him. 5 (pl. 30). Sassari (Sardinia), Museo Nazionale. Date: ? Iconography: leg of a dining figure and eros walking with a flower basket. At far l. is a small figure sitting at the front edge of the kline and a garland-bearing eros hovering above him. In front of the kline are the remains of a child who is standing. L. of the kline is a f. lyre player on a stool and a m. flute player.

Him. 6 = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom 68.1078 (photo). Rome. Date: ? Iconography: r. end of a kline with the upper body of a dining marital pair on it. In background is an eros hovering with a garland. In front of the kline are the remains of table. R. of the kline is a lightly outstretched arm.

Him. 7 (pl. 35a). Rome, Palazzo Giustiani. Date: ? Iconography: marital pair on a kline covered with a cloth. In front of it from l. to r.: two children with a dog and a table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws), on which lies meat. L. of the kline is a f. musician on stool. Behind her is a small flute player and remains of a large standing figure.

Him. 8 = C. C. Vermeule, The dal Pozzo Drawings 32, no. 8489, fig. 103. Iconography: at r., the kline with deceased and two crowned erotes on the foot end; above, a hovering eros with garland; in front at l., a sitting eros who plays with a dog; and, at r., a front table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with fish and bread on it. L. of kline in front of parapetasma: sitting f. lyre player; behind, f. figure with crossed legs; two flasks. Further l. are a high-belted f. servant with a glass, a doubled flask, a high-belted f. servant with a pitcher and a glass in the foreground; and a flute-player and dancer with krotala in background. Far l. is a m. servant with a glass.

Him. 9 = C. C. Vermeule, Ibid., 32, , no. 8497, fig. 107. Date: ? Iconography: m. servant bearing a fish beside the r. end of a kline. Under the kline is a peacock.

Him. 10 = Döl. 5:419ff., fig. 307.1.2 = Vermeule, Ibid., 28, no. 8432, fig. 85. Date: ? Iconography: marital pair on kline; an eros on foot end. In front of kline: eros with flower basket; small boy on a couch playing with a dog; table (with legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with fish; double flask; and pitcher. L. of kline is a high-belted f. servant with a pitcher and glass; f. pandurium player placed on stool; beside her, a child or an eros snuggling; and two servants who are occupied with a garland. R. of kline are three frontally standing servants with service platter, pitcher, and wine strainer; between them, a small flute player; and outside r., a servant who brings in a garland.

Him. 11 (pl. 37 b). Vatican magazine from Lateran excavation. Date; ? Iconography: in front of the parapetasma is a marital pair on a kline. In front of the kline: dog and table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with fish and bread on it. R. of kline, a naked servant bears a platter of food.

Him. 11a (pl. 34 b). Vatican magazine Inv. no. 9530. Date: ? Iconography: small kline meal with marital pair and servant. At r. are the remains of a large eros.

Him. 12 (pl. 35 b). Erlangen, Kunstsammlung of the University, inv. no. I 483, from the Palatine (Rome). Date: ? Iconography: f. musician, eros, and dancing children.

Him. 14 (pl. 39 a). Vatican Museums, Museo Chiaramonti 116. Date: ? Iconography: parapetasma, marital pair on kline, eros, and servant with food platter.

Him. 15 (pl. 31). Rome, grotto of St. Peter. Date: ? Iconography: two diners, eros at foot end, table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with fish on it in front of kline, and f. lyre player.

Him. 16 = F. W. Goethert, Katalog der Antikensammlung des Prinzen Carl von Preussen im Schloss zu Klein-Glienicke, 41, no. 195, pls. 71-72. Date: ? Iconography: parapetasma, marital pair, eros at foot end of kline, l. of kline is a f. pandurium player on a stool, and a dog in front of kline.

Him. 17 = Goethert, Ibid., 41, no. 196, pl. 71. Date: ? Iconography: eros at foot end of kline, garlands held by hovering eros, wing of another eros at r., f. pandurium player and flute player at l. of kline.

Him. 18 = Goethert, Ibid., 41-42, no. 197, pl. 72. Date: ? Iconography: f. musician on stool; above, a flute player; and parapetasma in background.

Him. 19 (pl. 36 b) = Döl. 4:250.2, 252 (pls.); 5.409ff. Vatican Museums, Museo Chiaramonti 69: meal scene to r. of tabula without an inscription. In front of the kline from l. to r.: dog, table (with three legs in the form of lion paws) with fish and double flask on it. L. of kline: f. cithara player on stool and a flute player. R. of kline are two naked boys with service platter, pitcher, and wine strainer. L. of tabula: departure of two children in goat-drawn wagon. Sun and moon function as corner masks.

Him. 20 (pl. 42 a). Louvre, inv. no. MA 1520, from Florence. Date: ? Iconography: at l. departure with sheep-drawn wagon; and, in the middle, a philosopher (sitting frontally) between muses. At r. is a meal scene in front of a parapetasma. The deceased is missing from the kline.

Above the foot end of the kline is an eros with a flower basket and a garland. In front of the kline: naked boy sitting who plays with dog; table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with fish on it. L. of the kline: double flask and f. servant with glass. R. of the kline there is a servant. L. side panel: farmer with twig while bird hunting; and a putto with basket and base. R. side panel: flute-playing putto and dancing putto with base and basket.

Him. 22 (pl. 36 a). Rome, Vigna Codini. Date: ? Iconography: two figures lying on kline, one in a tunic and a mantle, and the other a man in a short-sleeved tunic. In front of the kline is a three-legged table with fish and bread; under the kline is a peacock. R. of the kline is a high-belted f. servant with pitcher and glass, service stand, and double flask.

Him. 23 = S. Reinach, Repertoire de reliefs 2:44.5 (pl.) = H. Sichtermann, Späte Endymion-Sarkophage 54, fig. 41 (p. 59). Berlin, Pergamon Museum, inv. no. 838, from Rome. Date: ? Iconography: at r. the kline with a dining man. In front of kline: dog, table (with three legs whose feet are in the form lion paws) with fish and flask on it. L. of the kline: f. pandurium player on stool; behind her a f. figure with crossed legs. At l. edge, a servant pours out from a pitcher hanging on a stand. The entire scene is set in front of parapetasma.

Him. 24 (pl. 43) = Gerke 365 VI.I.C.12 = Döl. 5:419, pl. 306.1 = WPs 254.5. MusNazRom. Date: ? Iconography: beneath the garlands is a marital pair on a kline. At l. are the remains of an eros with a flower basket. In front of kline: table with fish and double flask. At r. of kline, small servant with wine strainer and two large servants with fan, napkin, and pitcher.

Him. 25 (pl. 41 a). Rome, MusNazRom, inv. no. 113065, found on Via Ostiense in 1930. Date: ? Iconography: the majority of sarcophagus— ship travel with erotes. R. end: bed covered with cloth; clothed f. figure with glass; l. beside her, a naked eros; and further l., upper body of a clothed figure who stands beside the bed. In front of the bed: table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with fish; r. of it a flask and a standing eros with glass. L. of the table, a fishing eros, who belongs to a sea scene.

Him. 28 (pl. 33) = Döl. 5:427, pl. 309.2 = Gerke 365 VI.I.C.15 = WPs 164.2. Porto Torres, S. Gavino. Date: ? Iconography: L. tabula without an inscription: erotes in vines; and r. of tabula, a kline meal. The dead are on the kline. In front of it is a table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with fish and double flask on it. L. of the kline there are three servants with a pitcher, a wine strainer, and a platter of food. There are two further high chairs behind the l. end of the kline. R. of the kline are a servant with a platter of food and a high-belted f. servant with glass and pitcher. Theatre masks function as acroteria.

Him. 29 (pl. 37 a) = Döl. 3:56.2 (pl.), 5.426f. Vatican magazine. Date: ? Iconography: marital pair on kline; above it, garlands held by hovering erotes; eros with flower basket stepping toward foot end of the kline. In front of the kline is a table with a fish. R. of the kline is a small servant with a platter of food.

Him. 30 (pl. 39 b). Ostia, museum. Date: ? Iconography: marital pair on a kline. At foot end of the kline there is an eros with a garland. In front of the kline: flask and table (with three legs whose feet are in the form of lion paws) with a huge fish. R. of the kline there is a f. servant with a platter of meat.

Him. 31 = Photo Atalay. Rome, catacomb of S. Callixtus, in the wall at the back of the bolleteria. Date: ? Iconography: at the r. end of kline there is a diner. Further to the r. (where the stone breaks) there are the remains of a servant.

Him. 32 = Deutsches Archäologische Institut Rom 29.417 (photo). Rome, Palazzo Mattei. Date: ? Iconography: in front of parapetasma, there are two servants with platters of food. At l. there are the remains of a high-belted f. servant, who holds a cup.

Him. 33 = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom 41.2361 (photo). Private collection. Date: ? Iconography: fragment of a servant with platter of fowl; and l. of it there is a piece of the kline.

Him. 35. Naples, National Museum, inv. no. 6583. Iconography: in front of parapetasma, there are the upper parts of two servants turned to l. The l. one bears a platter with fowl; the r. one bears a pitcher.

Him. 36 = Döl. 4:247.5 (pl.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, inv. no. 3061, from Rome. Date: ? Iconography: m. servant looking to r. with napkin and wine strainer. Above him in half relief is another m. servant, whose arm grasps to the side. At side is a raised arm with an open hand.

Him. 37 = J. Wilpert, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia 3 (1924-25): 68-69., pl. 5.1. Ostia, Casale del Principe Aldobrandini. Date: ? Iconography: tabula with fragmentary pagan(?) inscription. L. of it there is chariot in movement; r. of tabula, there is a f. pandurium player on a stool, beside whom leans a f. figure.

Him. 38 = Döl. 4:247.3 (pl.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, inv. no. 6135. Date: ? Iconography: servant stepping to r. with a platter of fowl. L. beside him there are the remains of two corresponding figures. On the ground there is a bird.

Him. 39 = Döl. 4:247.3 (pl.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, inv. no. 6135. Date: ? Iconography: three frontally standing table servants with platters of food in front of the parapetasma.

Him. 40 = Döl. 4:247.4 (pl.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, inv. no. 3062.1903, from Rome. R. end of the front of child's sarcophagus Date: ? Iconography: two frontally standing servants; the first with a platter of food; the second with a napkin, pitcher, and wine strainer. At l. edge on the ground there is a bird.

Him. 41 (pl. 34 a). Rome, catacomb of Praetextatus. Date: ? Iconography: f. pandurium player on a stool; and, behind her, a f. figure with crossed legs.

Him. 42 = Pontificio Commissione di Archeologia Sacra 4350 (photo). Rome, catacomb of Callixtus. Date: ? Iconography: l. of tabula without an inscription, there is a standing figure in long clothing facing l. R. of tabula, there are a high belted f. servant, a flute player, and a f. musician on a stool.

E. Pagan kline banquet sarcophagi with Meleager

Koch 140 (fig. 10). Now lost; formerly in Rome, Vigna Sassi. Date: ? Very fragmentary. Iconography: man sits at a kline with his r. hand outstretched toward another, whose l. arm is raised. In front of them is a boar.

Koch 141. Rome, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut R 22 (photo). Date: ? Very fragmentary. Iconography: a part of the preparation of the hunting meal. A youth measures the length of an enormous boar (only the head of which is remaining).

Appendix 5

CHART 2: ISOLATED FISH ICONOGRAPHY ON GRAVE MONUMENTS

Section I. A SAMPLING OF FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS WITH IMAGES OF FISH AND/OR THE IXΘΥΣ ACRONYM (all translations are my own)

1. Aegrilius Bottus: Döl. 2:399-400, 3:39.3 (pl.) = Leclerq 21. Found in the above-ground cemetery in the vicinity of the tomb of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia in Rome and now in the MusPC.

Aegrilius/ Bottus/ Philades/potus dul/cissimus/ et pientis/simus; sui/ parentes fecerunt./ Vixit an(nos) VII d(ies) XL/ M S/. (fish and anchor). “Aegrilius Bottus Philadespotus, sweet and pious. His parents have constructed (this monument) for him. He lived for seven years and forty days.”

2. Aelius Titus Batonis: Döl. 2:392 (no. 7), 3.41.2 (pl.). Dalmatia (in the part that is now Bosnia-Herzegovina). Probably Christian because of location (contra Döl.).

Two fish facing a bowl (patera): D(iis) M(anibus/ [. . . qu]i vixit an(nis) LXV. Posuit Ael(ius) Titus Batonis et sibi. “To the manes. For [. . .] who lived sixty-five years. Aelius Titus Batonis set up (this monument) for him/her and for his family.”

3. Ancotia Auxesi: Döl. 5:697-704, pl. 322.1. Cemetery beneath the basilica of San Sebastiano in Rome. Date: 150-250 C.E. It is most likely Christian because of the archaeological context and because of the familial relationship to Gaius Ancotius Epaphroditus et al. in another inscription that is almost definitively Christian (see I.4 below; contra Döl.).

(anchor and fish to. l.)/ Ancotiae Auxesi/ Ancotius Epaphrod(itus)/ et Ancotia Irene/ parentes/ b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt). “Her parents Ancotius Epaphroditus and Ancotia Irene have constructed (this monument) for Ancotia Auxesi, who is well-deserving.”

4. Ancotia Irene: Döl. 4:220.1 (pl.), 5:697-704. Cemetery beneath the basilica of San Sebastiano in Rome. Date: 150-250 C.E.

To the l. a vertically and upwardly placed fish and to the r. an anchor: Γ. Ανκώτιος Ἐπαφρόδιτος | Ανκοτία Ἰρήνη συμβίω | και Γ. Ανκώτιος Ρούφος | και Γ. Ανκώτιος Ρουφείνος | μητρὶ ἀγαπητῇ φιλοθέω και φιλοχῆρα και φιλάνδρω και | φιλοτέκνω μνείας χάριν.
“Gaius Ancotius Eraphroditus (has constructed this monument) for the memory of his spouse Ancotia Irene. Gaius Ancotius Rufus and Gaius Ancotius Rufinus (have constructed this monument) for their beloved mother, who loved God, who loved widows, who loved her husband, and who loved her children.”

The context is almost certainly Christian, as is the use of φιλοχῆρος (“loving of widows”). In addition, the string of φίλος- compound adjectives—φιλόθεος, φιλοχῆρος, φιλάνδρος, and φιλότεκνος—is particularly characteristic of Jewish inscriptions in Rome of the first through fourth centuries C.E. and may well suggest the influence of the Jewish community on early Christians (see the index of [CII](#)).

5. Atimetus: Döl. 5:697-704, pl. 332). Cemetery beneath the basilica of S. Sebastiano in Rome. Date: 150-250 C.E.

Anchor to the l.; huge vertically and upwardly placed fish to r.: Atimetus Aug(usti) vern(a)/ vixit annis VIII/ mensibus III/ Earinus et Potens filio.
“Atimetus, a house slave of Augustus, lived eight years and three months. Earinus and Potens (have constructed this monument) for their son.”

6. Betton: Döl. 1:218, fig. 20, 4:195 (pl.) = Leclerq 50, fig. 6070. Catacomb of S. Callixtus in Rome.

Bettoni in pace. Deus cum spiritum tuum. (IXΘΥΣ acronym)/ Decessit VII Idus Feb(ruarias) annorum XXII. “For Betton in peace. (May) God (be) with your spirit. (IXΘΥΣ) He died on February 7th at the age of twenty-two years.”

7. Calvilius: CII 84* = Döl. 4:185.2 (pl.), 5:695-96 = Leclerq 17. Date: 400 C.E. Found in the catacomb of Apronianus and now in the city museum of Urbino.
- fish, house or altar, balance above house, menorah?, Lazarus in tomb, chi-rho: Calevius bendidit (= vendidit) Avin(io) trisomu(m) ubi positi erant vini (= bini) et Calvilius et/ Lucius in pa(ce) Co(n)s(ule) Stil(ichone). "Calevius sold this three-person sarcophagus to Avinius. Here were placed both Calvilius and Lucius in peace in the consulship of Stilicho."
8. Cecilia Placidina: Döl. 1:214, fig. 19, 4:194.1 (pl.) = Leclerq 20. Found in the Catacomb of Hermetis and now in the MusPC.
- Cecilius maritus Ceciliae/ Placidinae coiugi optime/ memoriae cum qua vixi annis bene sene ulla querella./ IXΘΥΣ. "Her husband (constructed this monument) for his spouse of great memory, with whom I lived well for years without any complaint."
9. Cornelia Paula: Leclerq 15. Catacomb of Hermetis in Rome, but now longer extant: 234 C.E.
- Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Marcianus et/ Cornelia Hilartas/ Corneliae Paulae par(entes)/ fec(er)unt quae vix(it) ann(is) X dieb(us)/ VIII Dec(embris) X Kal(endis) Aug(usti) Max(imi) et/ Urb(ici) Co(n)s(ulibus)/ fish swimming to l. and anchor. "Her parents, Tiberius Claudius Marcianus and Cornelia Hilaritas, constructed (this monument) for Cornelia Paula, who lived ten years (and) eight days on November 22nd in the consulships of Augustus Maximus and Urbicus."
10. Dionysodora: Döl 4:225.1 (pl.), 5:693 (no. 1). Found in the Catacomb of S. Agnese in Rome and now in the MusPC.
- Fish and anchor at l. side: Dionysodora filiae dulcissimae/ Victoria mater Faustinus pater/ Nice soror Victor frater. "Her mother Victoria, her father Faustinus, her sister Nice, (and) her brother Victor (constructed this monument) for Dionysodora, their sweet sister."
11. Domitia: Döl. 5, pl. 324.1-2. Catacomb of Cyriaca in

Rome.

To l. fish above four loaves of bread and to r. anchor; in the center a shepherd bearing a sheep on shoulders: Domitia/ spirito/ tuo bono. "In your good spirit, Domitia."

12. Domitia and Lucius: Döl. 4:186.1 (pl.). Catacomb of Callixtus.

Lucio filio/ et Domitiae/ uxori sanc/tissime (fish swimming to r.)/ iustus ma/ritus Fel[. . .].
"For his son Lucius and for his holy wife Domitia, her just husband Fel[. . .] (constructed this monument)."

13. Domitianus: Döl. 2:395, 3:37.7 (pl.): Boulogne-sur-mer.

D(iis) (fish to l.) M(anibus)/ filis par/bulis (fish to l.)/ Domiti/anus/ tr(iercha). "To the manes. Domitianus, captain of a trireme (constructed this monument), for his tiny children."

14. Domitilla: Döl. 4:187.1 (pl.). Catacomb of Soteris in Rome.

Domitilla ino/cens sanctissi/ma te in pace (fish swimming to r.). "In peace with you, innocent and holy Domitilla."

15. Emilius: Döl. 5:693. Found in the Catacomb of S. Agnese in Rome, but now lost.

At the l. side, fish swimming to r., chi-rho, and dove facing l.: Emilius in pace/ vix(it) ann(os) XV d(ies) III. "Emilius lived fifteen years and three days. In peace."

16. Eutyechianus: Döl. 1:192, fig. 13; 4:190 (pl.) = Leclerq 6, fig. 6051. Perugia, Museo d'Antichità, Gal. Lap., no. 195.
- Eutychiano/ filio dulcissimo/ Eutyclus pater/ d(e)d(icavit). V(ixit) a(nno) I m(ensibus) II d(iebus) IIII/ Dei servus/ I chi-rho/ IXΘΥΣ. "His father Eutyclus dedicated (this monument) on behalf of his son Eutyechianus. He lived as a servant of God for one year, two months, (and) four days. Jesus Christ. IXΘΥΣ."
17. Exuperius: Döl. 3:39.2 (pl.) = Leclerq, fig. 6060. Campo Santo Teutonico in Vatican City.
- D(iis) M(anibus) (fish)/ [. . .]ia filio suo Exuperio vixit anno[s . . .]: "To the manes. [. . .] for his son Exuperius. He lived [. . .] years.
18. Gaudentius: Döl. 3:92.1 (pl.): cloister of S. Paolo fuori le mura.
- Fish swimming to r. beneath the name "Gaudentius."
19. Gorgonia [**pl. X.B infra**]: Döl. 1:101, 4:174.1. Catacomb of Pamphilus.
- "Γοργωνία," followed by anchor facing r. and fish swimming to l.
20. Iulia Martina and Iulius Marius Silvanus: Döl. 5, pl. 323. Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus in Rome.
- (At l. is a representation of) a fish offering)
Iulius Marius Silvanus/ et Iulia Martina VVI/ fecerunt sibi ut in/ Deo vivant. "Iulius Marius Silvanus and Iulia Martina have constructed (this monument) for their family so that they might live in God."

21. Heliopais [pl. **XI.B infra**]: Döl. 2:397-99, 3.68.9 (pl.) = Leclerq 13, fig. 6055. Found in the garden of the Villa Giustiniani in Rome in 1727 and carried to Strassbourg by Schöpflin, but now lost.

One sheep between two fish at top of inscription
Ἐνθάδε κείμε βρέφος κοινὸν βιώτοιο αμοιρος, | ἡδίστου
πατέρος καὶ μητέρος εὐμορφίης | πρωτότοκον, διετές,
θεῶ μεμελημένον ἡδύ, | Ἡλιοπαις, λυπῶν γλυκεροῦς
χρηστούς τε τοκήας. | Θ Ο. TKH: “Here lies Helio-
pais, the two-year old infant, who is bereft of an
or dinary life and who is the sweet object of love
to God. He was the first-born child of a sweet
father and a beautiful mother. He grieves for a
sweet and good offspring.”

For the last series of letters Döl. (n. 8) proposes
Θάρρει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ or θάρρει, οὐ-
δεὶς ἀθάνατος τὸ κοινόν or something similar. The
solution still, however, remains unclear.

The reference to “God” (θεός) and the use of the im-
ages of sheep suggest a Christian identification
(*contra* Döl.) The use of Θάρρει, οὐδείς ἀθάνατος
may well suggest Roman Jewish influence; see n. 54
in L. Kant, “Jewish Inscriptions in Greek and Latin.”

22. Leontia: Döl. 2.93.2=Leclerq 54, fig. 6074. Catacomb
of Peter and Marcellinus in Rome.

Leontie in pace qu(a)e/ vixit annis XXVII/ mens(i-
bus) IIII die(bus) XXVIII/ fecit Primus cum laborone
sue/ (fish swimming to r.). “By his own labor, Pri-
mus constructed (this monument) for Leontia, who
lived twenty-seven years, four months, and twenty-
eight days.”

This might be the inscription of a stonemason.

23. Licinia Amias [pl. X.A **infra**]: Döl. 1.159-177 and 3.48 = Leclerq 2, fig. 6019 = Becker 13 = ICUR 2.4246 = Wehrhahn-Stauch, p. 8 (n. 58), fig. 4. Found in the Vatican Cemetery and now in the MusNazRom 67646. Date: c. 200 C.E.

D(iis) (garland) M(anibus) | IXΘΥΣ ζώντων | (fish,
anchor, fish) | Liciniae Amiati | benemerenti. vixit
[. . .]: “To the manes. IXΘΥΣ of those who are
living. For Licinia Amias. She lived [. . .]”

24. Lucius: Dol. 5:696-97. Formerly in the catacomb of Apronianus, but now lost. C. 400 C.E.

Deo sancto (chi-rho) uni
Luci te
(chi-rho) cum pa fish swimming to r.
ce chi-rho
(cup)
shepherd with sheep above
shoulders

“To the one God who is holy. He is with you in peace.”

25. Lucius Septimius Severinus: Döl. 1:197, 3:45.22 (pl.) = Leclerq 6, fig. 6052. Cloister of S. Paolo fuori le mura.

L(ucius) Septimius Severinus Aug(usti) li(ertus)/
fecit munimentum a solo cum/ agello concluso sibi et
suis libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum habet;
autem agellus/ conclusus latitiae p(assus) LXXV lon-
gittiae p(assus) CXXXVII. H(ic) l(ocus) e(redem)
n(on) h(abebit): “Lucius Septimius Severinus, a
freedman of Augustus, constructed this monument in
this piece of land by himself for his family, for
his freedman, and for their descendants. It is sev-
enty-five paces in width and one-hundred and thirty-
seven paces in length. This place will not have an-
other owner.

26. Macedon: Döl 1:107, 4:178 (pl.), 5:710-714 (along with another inscription) = Wehrhahn-Stauch, 8, fig. 2, n. 55. Found in cemetery in Thessaloniki (Macedonia, Greece) and now in the Campo Santo Teutonico in Vatican City.

Καλόκερος Μακεδὸ | νι κὲ Σωσιγενία τὸς | γλυκυτάτοις
γονεῦ | σιν τὸ κοιμητήριον ἕως | ἀναστάσεως | (fish).
“Caloceros (has constructed) this grave until the
resurrection for his sweet offspring Macedon and
Sosigenia.”

27. Marcellus: Döl. 1:379-81, fig. 64 = 4:215 (pl.).
Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome. See G. de Rossi,
Bullettino di archeologia cristiana 6 (1888-89):
30-37.
- ‘Ο πατήρ τῶν πάντων ὅς ἐποίησες κ(αι) | παρελάβης
εἰρήνη ζῶν κ(αι) Μαρκέλλον | σοῦ δόξα ἐν (chi-rho,
anchor). “Father of all whom you have made. You
have received life in peace (including) Marcellus.
Glory to you in Christ.”
28. Marcianus: Döl 5:729-30 = Wehrhahn-Stauch 8 (n. 56).
Found in the catacomb of Pontianus and now in the
chapel of the Borgia in Velletri (Italy).
- (fish moving to l.)/ Marcia/nus <n>eo/fitus/ reces-
<s>it./ Celi tibi pa/ten<t>. Bisbes in pace.
“Marcianus a neophyte has passed away. The heavens
open for you. You live in peace.”
29. Marcus Aurelius Ammianus: Döl. 4:173.2 (pl.) =
Leclerq 47. Found in the catacomb of Hermetis and
now in the MusPC.
- M(arcus) Aur(elius) Ammianus fecit/ sibi et coiugi
suae Corne/lia<e> et Ruferrati bene convenientibus/
(fish swimming to l.). “Marcus Aurelius Ammianus
constructed (this monument) for his family, for his
spouse Cornelia, and for Ruferratus, who are well-
deserving.”
30. Marcus Aurelius Hermaiscus: Döl. 2:395 = Becker 16.
From Rome.
- D(iis) (fish to r.) M(anibus)/ M(arco) Aurelio
Er/maisco/benemerenti/ quen omnes sodales sui que-
runt/ (ship to r.). “To the manes. For Marcus Au-
relius Hermaiscus, whose companions all mourn for
him.”

31. Marcus Gutius Verinus: Döl. 2:393 = CIL 11.5976.
From Tarugo, but now in the palace at Urbino.

At the top two vertically placed fish surround D M, above which is an amphora; to the sides are at l. a pitcher and at r. a dish: D(iis) M(anibus)/ M(arco) Gutio M(arci) l(iberto) Verino/ et Divilena Primitivae/ coniugi/ L(ucius) Hoenius M<a>millianus/ cum M(arco) Gutioni tale/ filio et coherede(bus)/ bene merentibus posuerunt: “To the manes. Lucius Hoenius Mamilianus has put (this monument here) for Marcus Gutius Verinus freedman of Marcus and for Divilena Primitiva his spouse, along with their son Marcus Gutionis and their well-deserving descendants.”

32. Marinna: Döl. 1:219, no. 11, fig. 21, pl. 2;
4:196.2, 197 (pls.). Syracuse (Sicily), Syracuse
Museum, no. 6494.

ἐνθάδε κῆτε Μαρίννα
chi-rho σεμν(ω)ς ἀμέμπτ(ω)ς βιώσα(σα)
ἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον ἀπε-
2 chi-rhos χωρι πρὸς κύριον ἐτών
ἰζ' [δ](εκ)ην πράττουσ[α] τ[η]
πρὸ θ' καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰανουαρι-
chi-rho ων. [Τ]ὸν δὲ θεὸν σε, φίλε,
μὴ μου σκύλης τὸν βό[θ]-
ρον μὴ μοι δίζῆς φῶς ἐ-
[α]ν δὲ θελήσης φ[ω]ς μοι
δῶξε, σοὶ τὸ φῶς
ὁ θεός) χόλιον δῶση chi-rho in alpha-omega IXΘΥΣ

“Here lies Marinna who lived a holy and blameless life. She departed this life for the Lord at the age of seventeen on December 24th. Do not mistreat this trench. Do not show me light. If you wish to show me light, may God give you an angry light.”

33. Maritima: Döl. 2:485 (pl.), 5:736 = Leclerq 9.
Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome.

Μαρίτιμα σεμνή γλυκερὸν φάος οὐ κατέλειπας·
σχῆς γὰρ μετὰ σου an anchor πανάθανατον·
with 2 fish
εὐσέβεια γὰρ σὴ πάντοτε σε προάγει

“Pious Maritima, you have not left the sweet
light,
for you have with you immortality (that is,
through Christ).
For your piety always leads you.”

34. Mercurius Vibius: Döl 4:186.2 (pl.). Catacomb of Calixtus in Rome.

Mercurio Vibio/ L(ucia) Vibia uxor f[ecit]/ two
fish: top one swimming r. with ring? in its mouth,
and bottom one swimming l. with grapes in its mouth.
“His wife Lucia Vibia constructed (this monument)
for Mercurius Vibius.”

35. Nonius Vitalio: Döl. 3.94: Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome.

Two dolphins at side: Nonius/ Vi/talio Eilenti/o
alumno s/uo fidelissim/o fecit. “Nonius Vitalio has
constructed (this monument) for Eilentius, his
faithful foster-son.”

36. Pastor: Dol. 1:204, no. 7; 4:192 (pl.) = Leclerq 16
and 19, fig. 6058. Original location unknown, but
now in MusPC in the Vatican Museums: 400 C.E.

IKΘΥΣ/ Bono et innocenti filio/ Pastori, q(ui)
v(i)xit an(nis) IV/ m(ensibus V d(iebus) XXVI Vita-
lio/ et Marcellina parent(es)/ (palm branch). IKΘΥΣ.
“His parents Vitalio and Marcellina (constructed
this monument) for their good and innocent son Pas-
tor who lived four years, five months, and twenty-
six days. IKΘΥΣ.

37. Pomponia Fortunula: Döl. 4:187.2 (pl.) = Becker 15. Found in the catacomb of Praetextatus in Rome and now in the Casa Rinuccini in Florence.

D(iis) M(anibus)/ Pomponiae Fortunu/lae que deces-
set in pace/ que vixit ann(is) II men(sem) I dies
XX/ (fish at bottom r.). “To the manes of Pomponia
Fortunula, who died in peace after two years, one
month, (and) twenty days.”

Deceset and pax definitely indicate Christian iden-
tification, as does the original location in a
Christian catacomb.

38. Populenia: Döl. 4.187.3 (pl.) = Becker 14. Found in
the Coemeterium Helenae on the Via Labicana in the
area of the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus in
Rome and now in the city hall in Urbino. The loca-
tion in a clearly Christian funerary context cata-
comb indicates a Christian identification.

Δ Μ | ποπυληνια | απεθληνηνω [. . .] A fish and anchor
are placed to the sides: “To the Manes. Populenia
died [. . .]”

39. Postumius Eutherion: Döl. 1:184, 3:39.2 (pl.), 4:188 (pl.)
= Leclercq 22, fig. 6050. Found in the catacomb of
Gordianus and Epimachus in Rome, but now lost.

I. Postumius Eutherion fidelis qui gratia
X. sancta consecutus pridie natali suo serotina
Θ. hora reddit deditum vite sue qui vixit
Υ. annis sex et depositus quinto Idus Iulias die
Σ. Iovis quo et natus est cuius anima.
N. cum sanctos in pace filio benemerente
Postumi felicissimus et Lutke-
nia et Festa Avia ipseius.

“Postumius Eutherion, who died in holy grace on the
day before his birthday at a late hour, returned his
debt to life. He lived six years, and he was buried
on Sunday, July 11th. And his soul was then born.
He is with the saints in peace. Felicissimus, Lutke-
nia, and Festa the grandmother (have constructed this
monument) for their well-deserving son, Postumius.”

40. Quintus Vettina Eunoetus: Döl. 2:400-01 = Leclerq 12 = CIL 12.611. Aubagne in Marseille.

(anchor)/ Q(uinto) Vetinae Eunoeto/ qui vix(it)
ann(is) XV M III/ (fish) Vetinii Hermes et Acte
(fish)/ parentes fil(io) piissimo/ et dulcissimo
fecerunt/ et Hermais soror lib(ertis) libertabu(s-
que) posteris eorum: “His parents Hermes Vetinii
and Acte and his sister Hermais constructed (this
monument) for their son Quintus Vetinii Eunoetus who
lived fifteen years and three months, as well as for
his freedmen and their descendants.”

41. Satrius: Leclerq 75. Santa Maria la antigua near
Haba (Spain): 622 C.E.

chi-rho above fish swimming to r./ Satrius famulus
Dei/ vixit ann(os) LXXI m(ensis) I d(ies) VI/ ac-
cepta poenitentia/ requievit in pace VIII/ Kalend(is)
Februar(iis)/ Era DCXXII: “Satrius a servant of
God lived seventy-one years, 1 month, (and) six days
and, when his penitence was accepted, he rested in
peace on January 25th in 622.”

42. Scirti: Döl. 3:45.1 (pl.). Naples Museum, Depot 6.

Trident with two dolphins facing it: Tib Claud Aug
L/ Scirti/ PR/ SBU/ Vettia/ Tuche/ Scirti.

43. Sempronia Agathouti: Döl. 5:703, pl. 332. Cemetery
under the basilica of San Sebastiano in Rome.
Date: 150-250 C.E. It is probably Christian be-
cause of its archaeological context and because it
is situated directly beside the clearly Christian
inscription of Ancotia Irene (I.4 above; contra
Döl.).

Μ(άρκος) Ουλπ(ιος) Καλόκαι | ρος Σεμπρωνία | Ἀγαθοῦτι
μητρὶ εὐ | σεβεστάτη ἐποίη | σεν ἕνεκε μνείας | (fish swim-
ming to l. in water). “Marcus Ulpius Calocairos has
constructed (this monument) for the memory of Sempro-
nia Agathouti his sweet mother.”

44. Syntrophion: Döl. 3:40.4 (pl.) = Leclerq 23, fig. 6061.
Modena: “Συντροφιόν” above two fish, between which

are five loaves of bread.

45. Theodorus: Döl. 3:90 (pl.), 5:726-28 = Leclercq 26, fig. 6062 = Wehrhahn-Stauch, p. 8 (n. 57). Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome.

Κλ(αύδιος) Φιλώτα γλυγκυτάτω | ἀδελφῷ Θεοδώρῳ· | Ζῶμεν | ἐν θεῷ | (fish to I). “Claudius Philota for his sweet brother Theodorus. We live in God.”

46. Titus Flavius Eutychius: Döl. 2:401-03=Leclercq 10: Catacomb of San Lucina in Rome: at the bottom, two eels and two bread loaves. The use of dormitio makes it probable that this inscription is Christian (contra Döl.).

Dormitioni T(ito) Fla(vio) Eutu/chio qui vi/xit an-
n(os) XVIII/ mes(es) XI D III/ hunc locum/ donabit
M(arcus)/ Orbius Heli/us amicus/ karissimus/ kare
ba(le)/ two eels at bottom and two bread loaves.
“Marcus Orbius Helius a dear friend will give this
place as a sleeping room for Titus Flavius Eutychius,
who lived nineteen years, eleven months, (and) three
days. Fearwell dear one.”

47. Valeria Victoria: Döl. 1:394 (pl.), 5:706.1 =
CIL 10.3076. Found in Baiae (Campania, Italy) and
now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples (Fiorelli 671).

D(iis) fish M(anibus)/ Valeriae Vi/ctoriae que/
vixit annis/ XLVIII me(ensibus) VI/ di(ebus) XXVII
L(ucius) Istav/erius Ireneus/ matri dulcisi/mae et
Istaveru/s Victorinus et/ Istaveria Victorina aviae
dulcisi/mae b(ene)m(erenti) f(ecerunt). “To the
manes. Lucius Istaverius Ireneus, Istaverus Victori-
nus, and Istaveria Victorina constructed (this monu-
ment) for Valeria Victoria, their sweet mother (and)
grandmother, who lived forty-nine years, six months,
(and) twenty-seven days.”

48. Victor: Döl. 1:265-66 (no. 39), fig. 33, pl. 1.101.
Found in the catacomb of Hippolytus in Rome and now
in the Campo Santo Teutonico Vatican City.

κιτε Βικτωρ κατηχόμενος | αἰτῶν εἰκοσι παρθένος |

δοῦλος Κυρίου εἰηόσου | ΕΙΧΘΥΣ (below it an anchor).
“(Here) lies Victor, a catachumen, who was a youth
of twenty years and a slave of Jesus the Lord.”

49. Zosimus [pl. **XI.A infra**]: Döl. 1:201, fig. 15 =
4:196.1 (pl.) = 5:728-29. Original location un-
known, but now in the MusPC.

πιστὸς ἐκ πισ | τῶν Ζώσιμος ἐνθάδε κέῖμε | ζήσας· στε-
σιν | β· μή(σιν)· α· ἡμέ(ραις) κέ' | (fish and an-
chor). “Here lies Zosimos a faithful man from the
faithful. He lived two years, one month, and
twenty-five days.”

50. No Name: Döl. 4:177 = ILCV 4265 E = SICV 296. Found in
the catacomb of Hermetis in Rome and now in the MusPC.

(fish swimming to r. with only head extant) Carae
coiugi benemerenti/ posuit/ quae anis vixit me cu(m)
XIII/ meses X dies V. “He set up (this monument)
for his well-deserving spouse, who lived thirteen
years, ten months, and five days with me.”

51. No Name: Döl. 4:179 (pl.) = Leclerq 16. Found in Rome
and now in the Campo Santo Teutonico in Vatican City:
392 C.E.

[ben]e merenti qu[i vixit . . .]/ [annos] II et
dies VII/ [. . . i]n/ (fish swimming to r. with only
head extant; to its r. chi-rho and alpha-omega inside
chi-rho)/ pace d(ecessit) VIII id[us . . .]/
[. . . Arc]adio II et Rufino v(iris) c(larissimis)
c(onsulibus). 296

52. No Name: Döl 4.182, 5.704: Museum of San Sebastiano in
Rome.

[. . . fe]cit ut [. . .]/ [. . .] deposita
[. . .]/ [. . .] to ma[. . .]/ fish swimming l.

53. Uncertain name: Döl. 1:198, no. 5; 4:191 (pl.).
Formerly in a storeroom of the Villa Borghese and
now in the Campo Santo Teutonico in Vatican City.

S US
[. . . C]olonus hic [tibi f]inis e[rat v]itae dulciissime nate
(ivy leaf)
[. . . p]rima set pater omnipotens oro miserere lab[orum]
[. . . a]more tantorum misere animae non dig[na]
[ip]se lavacro ferentis IXΘΥΣ

“This will be the end of a sweet life. But, omnipotent father, I beg
you to take pity on such great labor and take pity on a soul which
has too much to bear. IXΘΥΣ.” Cf. Vergil, Aen. 2:143-44.

54. Graffito: Döl. 4:220.2 (pl.). Cemetery beneath the
basilica of San Sebastiano in Rome: ITXΘΥΣ graffito.

Section II. A Sampling of Grave Closures With Images of Fish

1. Grave Closure: Döl. 3:91.1 (pl.) = Leclerq 27, fig.
6063 = ICUR 1.2057. Found in the Catacomb of Her-
metis in Rome and now in the MusNazRom in Rome
(67672): Five bread loaves above two fish.
2. Grave Closure: Döl. 4:170 (pl.) = Wehrhahn-Stauch,
p. 9 (fig. 4). Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome: Two
vertically and upwardly placed fish inside an anchor.
3. Grave Closure: Döl. 4:172.1 (pl.). Catacomb of Prae-
textatus in Rome and now in MusPC (Tav. XXIX 3,
inv no. 32580, now in Parete XV). Dolphins swimming
in water toward anchors; and two peacocks in center
on kylix full of bread.
4. Grave Closure: Döl 4:181 (pl.). Catacomb of S. Agnese
in Rome: fish, bread, and Chi Rho.

Section III. Sarcophagus Covers With Isolated Images of a Fish or IXΘΥΣ Acronym

1. Livia Primitiva: *Dol.* 4:167 (pl.), 5:629-33 = *Leclercq* 8, fig. 6054 = *Wehrhahn-Stauch*, p. 9 (n. 61, fig. 50); good photo in *ICUR* 2, pl. 32. From a cemetery in the Vatican and now in the Louvre (Paris): 175-250 C.E. (letter style is clearly not fourth century C.E., but earlier).

Livia Nicarus/ Liviae Primitivae/ sorori fecit/
q(uae) v(ixit) an(nos) XXIII m(enses) VIII/ (below
the inscription) large vertically and upwardly
placed fish, two sheep flanking a shepherd carrying
a sheep on his shoulders, and an anchor.
“Livia Nicarus has constructed (this monument) for
her sister Livia Primitiva, who lived twenty-four
years (and) eight months.”

The combination of imagery (especially the correlation of shepherds and fish) is more likely Christian than not.

2. Paulinus of Nola: *Döl.* 1:228-31, fig. 24; 4.200 (pl.): silver lamella: IXΘΥΣ below chi-rho with alpha-omega inside it.

APPENDIX 5

**CHART 3: A SELECTION OF GEMSTONES
WITH FISH AND THE IXΘΥΣ ACRONYM**

Introductory Note: For the history of these materials I rely on F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ (= Döl); and O. M. Dalton, Catalogue of the Engraved Gems (= EG). In a few cases, I use close paraphrases or quotations of their descriptions (especially when I depend upon photographs that are small).

Italy

Milan

1. Döl. 1:328-29, no. 54, fig. 52; 4:210.6 (pl.). Location now unknown, but formerly in the possession of Giuseppe Grassi. Cameo gemstone. Iconography: IXΘΥΣ below a shepherd holding a sheep on his shoulders. At his side are the letters “alpha” and “omega.”

Rome

2. Döl. 1:263-64, no. 36, pls. 3.2-2a; 4:208.2-2a (pls.). In the Cabinet of the Medallions in the MusPC. Iconography: IXΘΥΣ and chi-rho below a pastoral scene with a shepherd with a sheep on his shoulders. He is flanked by doves. On the back side, there are three naked figures before a figure. Below them is a tree supporting the scene, a ship with two persons, and (on the very bottom) a chi-rho with an anchor and two fish flanking it.

3. Döl. 1:267-72, no. 41, figs. 35-35a; Döl. 4:209.12, 4:211,2 (pls.). Location uncertain, but cited by Garrucci and Marini. Iconography: ICHTHYS beneath the shepherd with sheep on shoulders. The name “Iao” is above the shepherd. There are twelve figures (the apostles) surrounding the shepherd (six on either side of him).

4. Döl. 1:320-21, no. 49, fig. 39; Döl. 4:209.4 (pl.). Now lost. Seal ring. Iconography: IXΘΥΣ surrounds a fish intertwined on the shaft of an anchor.

5. Döl. 1:327-28, no. 53, pls. 3.12-12A; 4:208.12-12A (pls.): MusPC. Red jasper. Iconography: ΘXIΥΣ (which is probably equivalent to IXΘΥΣ) beside shepherd holding a sheep on his shoulders; anchor, and dolphin beside his feet.

6. [pl. XIII.A infra] Döl. 1:329, no. 55, fig. 43 = Döl. 4:210.1 (pl.). Now lost. In 1734 it was in the possession of Dominicus Vallarsi. This composition is now the insignia for the Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Iconography: IXΘΥΣ beside the fishing line of a fisherman. At the end of the line there is a fish.

7. [pl. **XIII.B infra**] Döl. 1:332-33, no. 64, fig. 48; Döl. 4:210.2 (pl.). Location unknown since 1748; formerly in the possession of P. Giuseppe Sandi, the librarian of S. Giustina in Padova. Iconography: IXΘYΣ above a dolphin swimming r. At its sides are the letters “alpha” and “omega.”

Germany

8. Dol. 1:327, no. 52, fig. 41; Dol. 4:209.1 (pl.). Berlin Museum. Iconography: IXΘYΣ surrounds a shepherd bearing a sheep on shoulders and a staff.

Great Britain

London

9. EG 501, pl. 17: British Museum (given by a Captain Egerton). Sard. Iconography: shepherd with sheep on shoulders. He faces r. and holds a staff in his l. hand. To r. and l. are two sheep behind a tree. In the field are the letters NY and below the bottom bar the letter Σ. “The stone is chipped along the side facing the figure, and there appear to be traces of the letter ‘X’” = ??IXΘYΣ.

10. EG 505, pl. 17: British Museum (Hamilton Collection, 1772). Iconography: an anchor with a dolphin intertwined on its shaft. Inscription on the outside: ἐπιτυγχάνου (“Much success!”). This could be pagan.

11. EG 506, pl. 17: British Museum (Hamilton Collection, 1772). Green Jasper. Iconography: an anchor with two vertically placed dolphins swimming parallel to its shaft. In the field are the letters PLA.

12. EG 507, pl. 18: British Museum (Castellani Collection, 1865). Sard. Iconography: a dove facing l. as it stands upon a fish and holds an olive branch in its beak. In front of it is a chi-rho. Behind it are the letters RUFI.

13. EG 510, pl. 17: British Museum (Hamilton Collection, 1772). Sard. Iconography: IXΘYΣ in the center of a garland composed of two palm branches.

14. EG 522, pl. 17: British Museum (Castellani Col. 1865). Pyramidal onyx of three layers. Iconography: shepherd standing with a sheep on his shoulders. On either side of him is a fish.

15. EG 526, pl. 17: British Museum (Hamilton Coll., 1772). Sard. Iconography: composite subject divided into two separate panels. (quoting O. M. Dalton) “To l. beneath a tree extending over half the gem is a figure with hands raised in the attitude of prayer [orant position] between

two animals (Daniel between the lions?). In the middle is the Good Shepherd, carrying the sheep across his shoulders; at his feet are two sheep, and below, are two fish. Above his head is a star, and beneath his l. arm is a monogram, towards which flies a dove holding an olive branch. On the r. is the story of Jonah, with the ship, the monster, and the prophet reclining beneath the gourd which extends over a great part of the stone, almost meeting the tree; between the two is a star.”

16. EG 527, pl. 17: British Museum (Hamilton Coll., 1772). Sard. Iconography: (quoting O. M. Dalton) “The subject is divided into two parts by a horizontal media line. In the upper part the Good Shepherd stands between two sheep with another across his shoulders. To l. is a hut or fold, and in the field above a dove. To r. Jonah reclines beneath the gourd, on which another dove is perched. In the lower part to r. is the monster, perhaps swallowing the prophet as he falls from the ship, and apparently touching the heads of two kneeling figures. Above the ship is an anchor, below it a fish, while to the extreme l. a dove stands upon a rectangular object (the Ark).”

17. EG 534, pl. 17: British Museum (given by A. J. Hammer, 1836). Square canelian. Iconography: a dove turns to r. and holds an olive branch in its beak. It stands on a fish. In front of it is a palm branch.

17a. [**pl. XII infra**] EG 535, pl. 17 : British Museum (Hamilton Collection 1772). Sard. Iconography: three items placed parallel and on top of one another——staff (crook) of a shepherd, fish to r., and palm branch.

18. EG 539, pl. 17: British Museum (Castellani Collection, 1872). Chalcedony. Iconography: an anchor with two fish vertically swimming parallel to its shaft. Beside the fish are palm branches. On the upper bars are two doves.

19. Döl 1:359, fig. 61; 4:209.15 (pl.) = C. W. King, Handbook of Engraved Gems (London, 1885), pl. 14.6. Chalcedony. Iconography: fish. Above it are the letters ΕΙΣΗΛ (= Εἰς Ἡλ = “One EI” = “One God”) and ΙΗ ΧΡ (= Ἰησοῦς Χριστός = “Jesus Christ”).

20. Döl. 1:334-37, no. 66, fig. 50; Döl. 4:209.5, 4:210.9 (pls.). Now lost; seems to have disappeared from the Hamilton Collection (there are two exemplars of this gemstone; one of them is probably a forgery of the older). ICHTHYS is around the circumference of the stone. At l. is an anchor with two fish vertically placed swimming along (one up and one down) the shaft. Above the anchor is a scroll. To the lower r. of the anchor is an unidentifiable object with a sheep to its r. Above the sheep is a "T" cross with a dove on its cross bar. The dove has an olive branch in its beak. To the r. of the dove is the Greek "sigma." Below the "sigma" is an unidentifiable object, and below that object is a fish. To the r. of the object is a shepherd with a sheep on his shoulders.

Appendix 5

CHART 4: FISHERMAN ICONOGRAPHY

Section I. Fishermen on Sarcophagi

See “Introductory note to Chart 1” for explanation of my iconographic descriptions in this section.

Rep. 35 (pl. 11) [**pl. XIV infra**] = Dölger 4:287 (pl.) = Gerke 339 VI.1, pls. 1.1-3, 16.3 = WPs 9.3 = Wehrhahn-Stauch 11-12 (fig. 8). Found in the Vatican; now in the MusPC. Date: 290-300 C.E. Iconography: Lazarus at far upper l. In the center is the Jonah series, including the sailors throwing Jonah out into the jaws of a sea monster. In total, there are three sea monsters to the r. of the ship and several fish beneath the ship. Above the sail of the fish is the bust of a man (sun?). At far lower l., there are two fishermen, one of whom is clothed with a subligaculum, while carrying a basket of fish. At the upper center is the water from the rock miracle of Peter, with four figures drinking. R. of that is the harassment of Moses (?). Just slightly to the above r. of the sea monsters is Noah in the ark with a dove. To the r., Jonah is spewed out by the sea monster and lies under the gourd tree, beneath which are rocks, worms, and lizards. To the upper r. is a man with a staff in front of a stable, with the front portion of a sheep (ram) leaning out. Behind the stable are woods with lizards and other animals. At the far right is found a fisherman catching a fish, while two other fish swim in the water. Beside him is another small male figure. In front of them a heron (eating a fish?).

Rep. 70 (pl. 22) [**pl. XV infra**] = WPs 7.3. Found in the Vigna Pacca outside of Porta Cavaleggi in Rome; now in the MusPC. Date: 275-325 C.E. Christian inscription: *Fyrmi dulcis anima sanct(a). [“Sweet holy soul of Fyrmus.”]* Iconography: in the central square, Orpheus plays on his lyre beside a sheep. In the l. side panel, a fisherman holds a fish. In the r. side is the fragment of a fisherman.

Rep. 557 (pl. 85) = Him. 30 = Döl 5:446, pl. 309.1 = Gerke 365 VI.I.10 = WPs 254.9. Catacomb of Praetextatus (Rome). Small sarcophagus of an infant is decorated by marine scenes surrounding a central clipeus with the portrait of the deceased. Date: 300-325 C.E. Inscription in a tabula: *Curtiae/ Catianae/ c(larissimae) p(uellae) in pace. [“To Curtia Catiana who is illustrious. In peace.”]* Iconography: Clipeus— bust of boy looking l. in tunic and pallium. R. and l. of clipeus are bearded centaurs on top of which are nereids, who have garments on their lower bodies. On the outer side panels are sea centaurs swimming toward the outside. In their r. hands are horns, and to the r. half-clothed nereids feed them. Under the clipeus is a boat, which one boy steers and from which the other boy fish. L. of the tabula is a meal scene: oven with pot and man who puts wood into it and pours from a jug into the pot; a man bearing

tableware; a man with bread facing r.; two men on sigma couch; in front of the couch, plate with fish between two loaves of bread; male mask with long flowing hair. R. of tabula: boys in fist-fight; the r. one is falling and held by a referee. After this are pillars and boys in fight; and a corner mask as above.

Rep. 747.1-3 (pl. 117) = Dölger 4:286 (pl.), 5:657ff. = Gerke 337 I.3, pls. 52.2, 58.3-4, 59.60 = WPs 3.1 = T. Klauser, Frühchristliche Sarkophage 50-51, pl. 1.1 (pagan) = Wehrhahn-Stauch 13 (fig. 10) = Engemann 1075. Found in Santa Maria Antiqua al Foro Romano (Rome). Date: 250-275 C.E. Iconography: in the center, a bearded man in a philosophical pose seated on a chair covered over by a cloth reads a scroll. To his l. in between two trees is a f. orans (= the deceased); her face is not filled in. She has a veil over her hair. To the r. at her feet is a dove. Behind the seated man to the right are two trees with a shepherd carrying a sheep on his shoulders between them. There is another sheep to the l. of his feet and another to the r. of his feet. To his r. is the scene of a tall, large bearded man in a pallium (probably John the Baptist) and cloak in the act of baptizing a short, small, naked, and unbearded m. youth (probably Jesus) on the shore, which is slightly raised. A dove flies over them. On the r. side panel, two fishermen hold a net with both hands. This scene is framed by three trees. A few fish heads can be seen below the meshing of the net. The older fisherman at l. wears a hat, and his face is turned l. toward the baptismal scenes. L. of the above-mentioned orans, Jonah reclines under the gourd tree. Beside him is the cetos. Above and behind him on a rock are found one goat and two sheep. On the l. side panel is found a boat with a sail and a bow flag. To its r. in bow, a man stands in orant position. Behind him is the helmsman. The sail is gathered up. At far l., a sea god arises from the waves with a trident in his l. hand and with his r. hand leaning on an overtuned jug, from which the waves of the sea flow forth.

Rep. 777 (pl. 124) = Dölger 4:287 (pl.), 5:669ff. = Gerke 341 II.I, 361 IV.I.I; pls. 48 1, 65.3 = WPs 19.6. Found in the Farnesina on the Via della Lungara in Rome and now in the MusNazRom. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: in the center, in an aedicula with two acanthus-crowned columns, is a f. orans (= the deceased) with veil over her hair. To her r. and l. are trees. On the l. tree perch three doves and on the r. one perch two doves. On the captitals of each column perch one dove, each facing outwards. In the l. corner panel on the front side is a bearded fisherman on a pedestal in an exomis with a fishing rod in his r. hand. At the end of the line is a captured fish. In his l. hand, he holds the strap from a bag of fish. In the r. corner panel of the front side is a shepherd with a sheep on his shoulders and a sheep to his r. On the left side panel is found a baptismal scene: at l. a reed branch and at r. a tree; in between a tall, large bearded man in a pallium (probably John the Baptist) with a scroll in his l. hand; the finger of his r. hand on the hair of a small naked male figure (probably Jesus), who stands in the water up until his knees; and trees on r. and l. (cypresses). On the r. side panel are found eleven sheep in three horizontal rows on top of one another (+ the one on the

shoulders = twelve sheep, as in the twelve apostles). The cover displays the ocean with sheep and steer on r., and with sheep and cow on left entwined in the tail of a dolphin; on left and right corners, two dolphins frolic in the water.

Rep. 806 (pl. 129) = Him. 27 = Dölger 3:60 (pl.) = Gerke 338 II.3 = Wps 10.2-5. Formerly in the gardens of the Antiquarium Communale (earlier the Orto botanico gen.). Now in the Capitoline Museum. Date: 250-275 C.E.. Iconography: around two-thirds of the middle section is destroyed until the feet of the figures. In the middle of the broken-off section are the feet of a woman, who is framed by two trees to her r. and l. To her r. are the feet of a figure lying leftward. In front of her is a dog, and beside it is a table with three legs with a fish on it. To its r. is the hand of another figure. To its l. is a f. servant with a platter. At far r. is a fisherman turned toward the r. with a basket in his l. hand; at his feet is water. In the l. section of the sarcophagus is the lower body of a boy servant, as well as the remains of the legs of a table. At l. is the line of a cliff; at its l. is a body lying (upper body missing) and under the body a ram (sheep). To its l. is a tree. At furthest l. is a shepherd with an animal on its shoulder. L. side panel has a lower body of a shepherd, who watches over his herd. R. side panel shows the lower body of a man in a pallium. In his r. hand, he holds a fish.

Rep. 832 (pl. 134) = Dölger 4:285 = WPs 10.3. Found in a wall of S. Valentino at Mile 1 of the Via Flaminia in Rome. Now in the Capitoline Museum. Date: early fourth century C.E. Iconography: on the r. on a rocky promontory, an unbearded man in subligaculum holds a fishing rod with his r. hand and takes from it a fish in his left hand. To his l. is a ship, beneath which is found the inscription Thecla. In the stern is a bearded man (the helmsman) who also wears a subligaculum and who holds on to the r. mast of the sail with his r. hand and to the rudder with his left hand. Beside him is the inscription Paulus. To his left at the bow is a seaman, who handles the foremast.

Rep. 955 (pl. 154) = Dölger 5:649 = Gerke 333 III.4 (Christian?). Walled in the triumphal arch of the Villa Doria Pamphili in Rome. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: at center is a male figure (the deceased; upper body damaged and reworked) seated to r. on a cathedra in a tunic with sleeves and cloak. At the r. of this section is a tree. R. corner: a fisherman in short tunic facing l.; a purse with fish in his r. hand and a rope (possibly carrying a net?) in his l. hand over his shoulder. L. corner: bearded shepherd in short tunic with his head turned back and a sheep over his shoulders.

Rep. 958 (pl. 154) = Dölger 5:644-45 = Gerke 110, 355 I.5, 358 V.6, 366 VII.A.I, pl. 23.4 = WPs 10.1 = Wehrhahn-Stauch 14 (fig. 11). In a wall of the casino of the Villa Doria Pamphili in Rome. Date: 275-300 C.E. Iconography: to the r. of the tabula (destroyed), a ship with helmsman at l. and a fisherman at r. who draws in a net. R. of this, the cetos swims in the ocean and Jonah reclines under the gourd tree. At the

far r. corner is the a mask of a male with rich flowing hair. To the far l. of the tabula a naked, youthful shepherd sits on a rock, supported with his r. hand on a staff. His l. hand is on his knee. R. beside him are a tree and a dog. R. and behind are four sheep and another tree. Far l. corner is another mask of the same type as above.

Dölger 3:59.2 (pl.), 5:645; (I cannot find in Rep.). According to Döl., it was found in the courtyard of S. Maria dell' Anima in Rome and moved to the Campo Santo Teutonico in the Vatican (perhaps not there anymore?). Iconography: ship with an oarsman at l. and fisherman with fishing rod at r. Fish are found beneath them in the ocean and at l. a foot (Döl. suggests the foot of Jonah).

Dölger 4:284 (pl.), 5:654-57 = Gerke 266 = WPs 1.3 = Klauser, "Studien," 112-13 = Engemann 1071ff. = Wehrhahn-Stauch 12 (fig. 9) = Leclercq 673-80 (fig. 4878). The sarcophagus of La Gayole, found in the church at Brignole in France. Date: third century C.E.? Inscription (prob. fifth century C.E. and clearly later than the sarcophagus): Hic requiescit in pace bone memoriae Syagria qui obiet XIII Kal[endas] Februarias [. . .]ndic undecima. ["Here Syagria of good memory rests in peace. She died on January 25 [. . .]"] Iconography: four trees, on which birds sit, divide the front of the sarcophagus into five sections. Central section: a reading scene with a man facing r. He is seated on a chair (his upper body and head broken off); to his r., a child with outstretched arm (?) faces him. In the far r. section, a bearded man with a naked upper body facing l. seated on a rock supports himself by means of a staff in his l. hand. His r. hand is outstretched in greeting or in an oratorical gesture. In the section to the l. of that is a bearded shepherd with a sheep on his shoulders and a sheep to the r. of him. In the section to the l. of the central scene is a f. orant with one sheep standing to the r. of her and three sheep on a raised mound. On the mound lies an anchor (?). In the furthestmost l. section, a bearded fisherman bears a basket in his l. hand and draws a fish out of the water with his fishing rod in his r. hand. Above the fisherman at l. is a bust of the sun god.

Dölger 5:650-54 = WPs 2.1 = Garrucci 5:371.2-4. From a grave in Classe in Ravenna. Date: ? Iconography: center is a man seated on a chair (with an unrolled scroll in his hands) and with a blank face ready to be carved. He faces to his l. a woman (who seems to be speaking to him) with her r. hand on a column and with her l. hand on her cheek. In the background is a curtain. To the r. of this scene, two sheep flank a shepherd who also has a sheep on his shoulders. The sheep at r. drinks water that flows from a rocky grotto above. In that grotto is found a sheep and, to its r., a shepherd with a bent staff placed in his r. hand over his r. shoulder. He is facing r., but turns his head back to the sheep. To the l. of the central scene a girl holds a dove (head broken) in her hands. To her l. are a tree and a woman with a veil. Her r. hand is raised up (f. orans). To her l. is a smaller male figure with a scroll in his l. hand, at the

end of which he puts the finger of his r. hand. L. side panel: a winged Genius rowing in a small boat. R. side panel: a fisherman in front of a cliff, with a basket in his l. arm and a fishing rod drawing a fish from the water in his r. hand. Behind the man is a tree.

WPs 4.1. In the Giardini Boboli in Florence. Date: ? Strigillated sarcophagus. Iconography: Center——tondo with face of a male figure (deceased) with his upper body showing. His r. hand is crossed over his chest. Below the tondo, an unbearded shepherd is seated on a rock beside a tree. A staff is at his l. (in his l. hand?), and his r. hand is extended toward a sheep with two other sheep to the r. R. corner: a fisherman facing l. beside a tree with a basket in his r. hand and a fishing rod with a fish at its end in his l. hand. L. corner: a f. figure with her right hand raised up (f. orans).

WPs 141.2 = Gar. 5:395.5, p. 138 = Gennaro Pesce, Sarcofagi di Sardegna (Rome, 1957), n. 19, p. 51 = Wehrhahn=Stauch 14 (fig. 12). Found in the Museo Archeologico in Cagliari, Sardinia. Date: ? Iconography: l. panel of a sarcophagus depicts a fisherman in the act of netting several fish in the attitude of a male orant.

Wilpert I.VII.1 is in Lateran, but I cannot find it in Rep.

Section II. Fishermen on a Marble Container from Grottaferrata

1. Döl. 3:100 (pl.), 5:659-62 (with bibliography) = Goodenough, Symbols 1:100 = Wehrhahn-Stauch 22-23. Found in the abbey of Grottaferrata in Italy (first in a baptistery, and then moved into the museum). Date: early fourth century C.E. (Dölger, Eisler) or ninth to eleventh centuries C.E. (WS). Iconography: a rock on top of which sit two naked fishermen to the r. and l. Into the rock is set a richly ornamented door, out of which flows water. Each of the fishermen has a fish on their rods. The l. one holds the rod with his right hand and draws up the line with his l. hand to take the fish, while the r. one seems at the very beginning stage of catching a fish. Below the captured fish by the l. fisherman swims one fish, and below that fish swims a flat fish. Below the fish caught by the r. fishermen is a swordfish on the verge of stabbing the leg of a large water-bearing man, who is probably a water god (Aquarius?). In his r. hand, he carries a jug, out of which flows the waters of the ocean. To the l. a swimmer dives from a column. The cover of the urn bears a staff, above which are dolphins.

Section III. Fishermen in Paintings

1. Döl. 3:99 (pl.), 5.655-56 (with bibliography). Found in a niche in a crypt of Abou Girgeh, 35 kilometers southwest of Alexandria in Egypt. Date: Ptolemaic. Iconography: f. orant with halo in a field of flowers. To l. and r. are four-legged tables with a cross mark in a circular object (bread?) on top of them. To l. is a fish and to r. is possibly a fisherman.
2. Döl. 4:283.2 (pl.) = Nestori 22 = WPP 27.2. Catacomb of Callixtus (Rome). Date: 200-250 C.E. Iconography: man at l. fishing; baptism by large man of a small youth with dove flying at r.; and healing of the paralytic.
3. WPP 27.3 = Döl. 4:283.1 (pl.) = Nestori 22 = Engemann 1077 = Wehrhahn-Stauch 20. Catacomb of Callixtus (Rome). Date: 200-250 C.E. Iconography: water, rock miracle, fishing, and meal scene.
4. G. B. de Rossi, "Cubiculi," 144ff. (with figs.) = Wehrhahn-Stauch 14. A painting (now lost) from a tomb in Cagliari, Sardinia. Date: ? Iconography: scenes of naked boys playing in water and sailing boats. There are two boats with seven boys in the l. boat (two masts and sails) and five boys in the r. boat (one mast and sail). In front of the r. boat is a sea-monster spitting out Jonah. To the r., there is a boy jumping in the water. In front of the l. boat, three swimmers are caught in a net. From the ship protrudes a gangplank on which a lamb walks. A boy jumps off the gangplank.

Section IV. Fishermen on Funerary Mosaics

1. Wehrhahn-Stauch, 12-13 (for more bibliography see n. 82) = Sister C. Murray, Rebirth and Afterlife, 64-97, figs. 17-19 = Engemann 1078. Tomb of the Julii in the cemetery of St. Peter's: Painting iconography: faux marble. Mosaic iconography: vine scroll (extending from ceiling to walls). On walls are four figurative depictions: fisherman (North Wall), shepherd (West Wall), Jonah scenes (East Wall), Christ-Helios (South Wall). The fisherman is depicted with his fishing line at the end of which is a fish, and another fish swims away from the fisherman.
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Section V. Fishermen in Churches

1. Basilica of Theodore in Aquileia [**pl. XVI infra**]. For bibliography and analysis, see pp. 632ff. above. Date: 314-319 C.E. Iconography: in the front section of the basilica is a huge seascape with sea creatures of every variety swimming around. On the l. side is a boat with three m. passengers: r. one (naked) is rowing; center one (naked) is throwing Jonah into the jaws of the sea monster; and the l. one (in a tunic) is an orant (two arms raised). On the r. side, Jonah is spit out into a pool, and then he reclines naked under a bower. Below that are two boats with naked erotes who are fishing. On the l. boat, two erotes use nets to draw in fish, and the r. eros rows. In the r. boat, the l. eros holds a fishing rod, and the r. one holds the fish by means of the line. Beside him is a basket filled with fish. To the r. on a rocky promontory is a naked man fishing with a rod and line. Beside him is a basket filled with fish. In front of the r. boat on a raised platform is a naked eros reeling in a fish with his rod and line. Beside him is a basket filled with fish. In front of him is a single fish on the platform.

2. Church (later S. Agatha?) on Monte Giustizia in Rome. For bibliography and analysis, see pp. 632ff. above. Date: 375-400 C.E. Central apse iconography: in top band, Christ is enthroned with a scrinium filled with scrolls at his feet, as he is surrounded by six apostles (a total of twelve) standing on either side of him. On his head, the chi-rho is inscribed in red. In the middle band, fish of various species are swimming about. In addition, there are ships and several figures involved in a variety of fishing activities (nets, poles, and lines). Bottom band is faux marble.

3. Santa Costanza, Rome. For bibliography and analysis, see pp. 632ff. above. Date: 320-335 C.E.(?). Iconography: according to drawings of the now lost mosaics in the cupola there were depictions of a marine scene in the lower band—aquatic birds (cranes, ducks, and swans); fish and marine monsters swimming; erotes fishing with lines and nets; an eros capturing an octopus with a trident; erotes pursuing swans; and a fence in the water designed for trapping fish. Above the lower band were a variety of distinctively biblical scenes: Susannah and the elders; sacrifice of Cain and Abel; sacrifice of Elijah; Tobit and the fish; Lot receiving the angels (?); Moses and the rock; unidentifiable images; and the miracle of the centurion.

4. Apses of Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome. For bibliography and analysis, see pp. 633ff. above. Date: thirteenth century C.E., but clearly based on older models. Iconography: essentially the same items as in the no. 3 above.

Section VI. Fishermen on a Glass Bowl

1. Wehrhahn-Stauch 20-21 = Engemann 1083 = Vilette, "Une coupe chrétienne." Found in the Baths of Antoninus in Carthage. Date: ?
Iconography: a fisherman sits on the shore with his fishing line. There is beside him a basket containing three fish. In front of him is the ocean, which is populated by all kinds of sea creatures. On the opposite shore is another fisherman, who holds a huge empty net spread out. In between the fishermen lies a stone base with two fish placed crosswise on it. Above is a building with three corners and four columns. An inscription names the fishermen as Peter and John.

Table for Plates

Plate I.A = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:260.1 (Jast. 2) = Appendix 5.1.I.A infra = painting in the catacomb of Callixtus (Sacrament Chapel).

Plate 1.B = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:260.2 (Jast 3) = Appendix 5.1.I.A infra = painting in the catacomb of Callixtus (Sacrament Chapel).

Plate II = L. de Bruyne, “La peinture cémétériale constantienne, pl. 95 (Jast. 11) = Appendix 5.1.I.A infra = painting in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.

Plate III.A = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:262.1 (Jast. 17) = Appendix 5.1.I.A infra = painting in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.

Plate III.B = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:262.2 (Jast. 14) = Appendix 5.1.I.A infra = painting in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.

Plate IV = photocopy of L. de Bruyne, “La peinture cémétériale constantienne, pl. 108 (Jast. 17) = pl. 5.1.I.A infra = painting in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.

Plate V.A = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:263.1 (Jast. 16) = Appendix 5.1.I.A infra = painting in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.

Plate V.B = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:263.2 (Jast. 15) = Appendix 5.1.I.A = painting in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.

Plate VI = photocopy of N. Himmelmann, Typologische Untersuchungen, pl. 47 b = Rep. 150 in Appendix 5.1.I.D infra = sarcophagus.

Plate VII = photocopy of F. Deichmann, Repertorium 151, pl. 34 = Appendix 5.1.I.D infra = sarcophagus.

Plate VIII = photocopy of N. Himmelmann, Typologische Untersuchungen, pl. 45 a = Him. 22 in Appendix 5.1.I.G infra = sarcophagus.

Plate IX = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:162.1 = painting in the catacomb of Callixtus (Crypt of Lucina).

Plate X.A = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 3:48 = Appendix 5.2.I.A.23 infra = inscription of Licinia Amias.

Plate X.B = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:174.1 = Appendix 5.2.I.A.19 infra = inscription of Gorgonia.

Plate XI.A = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:91.1 = Appendix 5.2.I.A.49 infra = inscription of Zosimus.

Plate XI.B = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 3:68.9 = Appendix 5.2.1.A.21 infra = inscription of Heliopais.

Plate XII = photocopy of British Museum photograph = Appendix 5.3.17a infra = ring gemstone.

Plate XIII.A = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:210.1 = Appendix 5.3.6 infra = ring gemstone.

Plate XII.B = photocopy of F. Dölger, IXΘΥΣ 4:210.2 = Appendix 5.3.7 infra = ring gemstone.

Plate XIV = photocopy of F. Deichmann, Repertorium 35, pl. 11 = Appendix 5.4.I infra = sarcophagus.

Plate XV = photocopy of J. Wilpert, I sarcofagi 7.3 = Appendix 5.4.I (Rep. 70) infra = sarcophagus.

Plate XVI = photocopy of figs. 180-182 in Da Aquileia a Venezia = Appendix 5.4.V = Basilica of Theodore in Aquileia.