

An Interpretation of the Frescoes of the Hypogeum of the Aurelii in Rome.

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Volume Two of Two.

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Figure 1: Location map of hypogeum of the Aurelii.

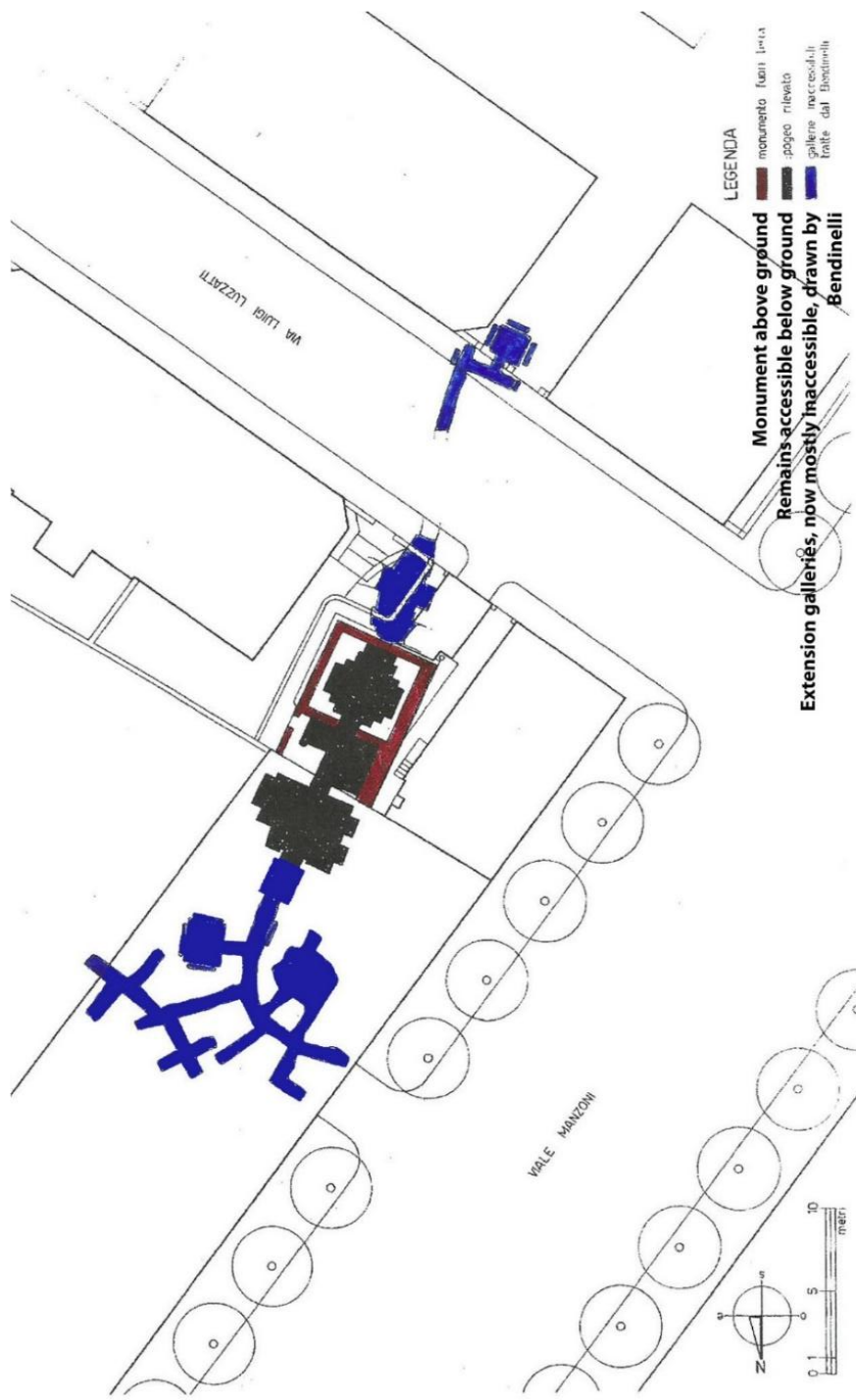


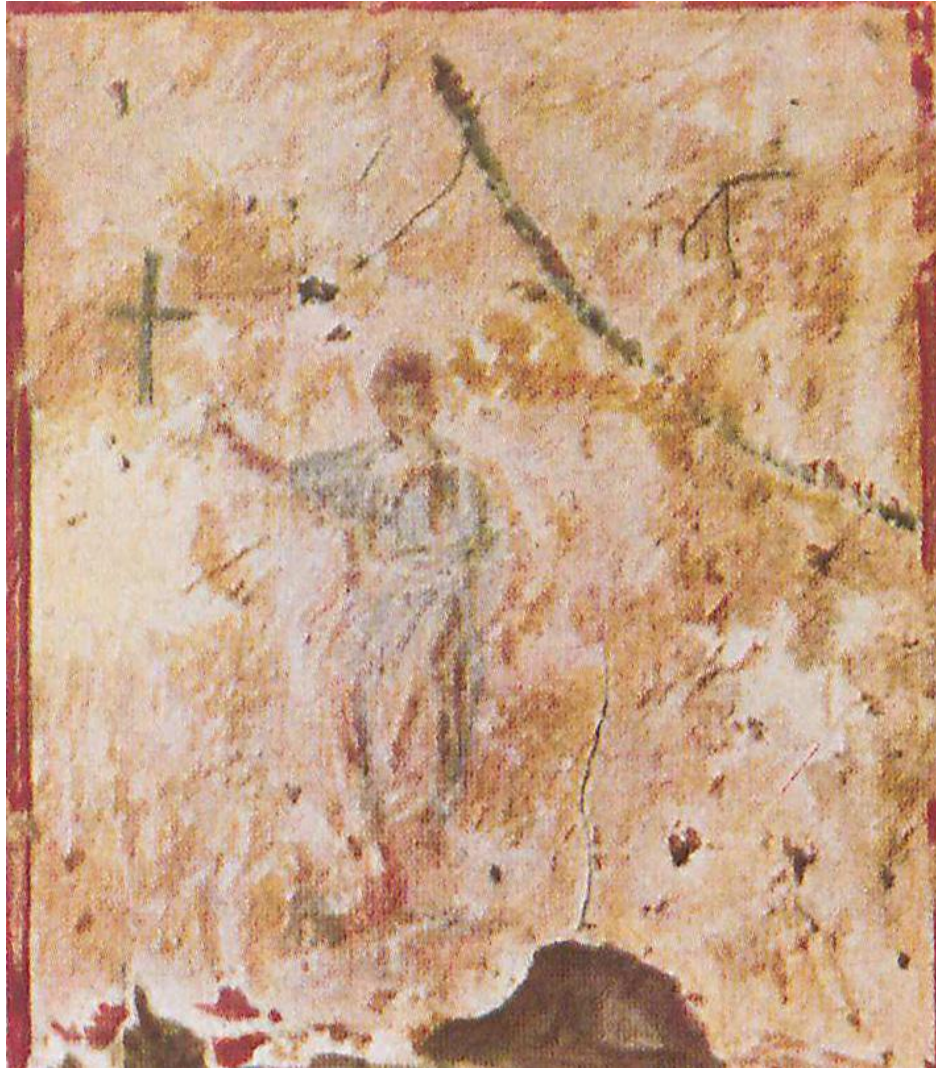
Figure 2: Plan showing extensions to hypogeum of the Aurelii. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 4.



Figure 3: Villa Piccola beneath S. Sebastiano. Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2009: fig. 99.



Figure 4: *Cubiculum* of the Good Shepherd, catacomb of Domitilla. Fioocchi Nicolai et al. 2009: fig. 101.



**Figure 5: Figure pointing to a Latin cross.
Wilpert 1924: tav. Xa.**

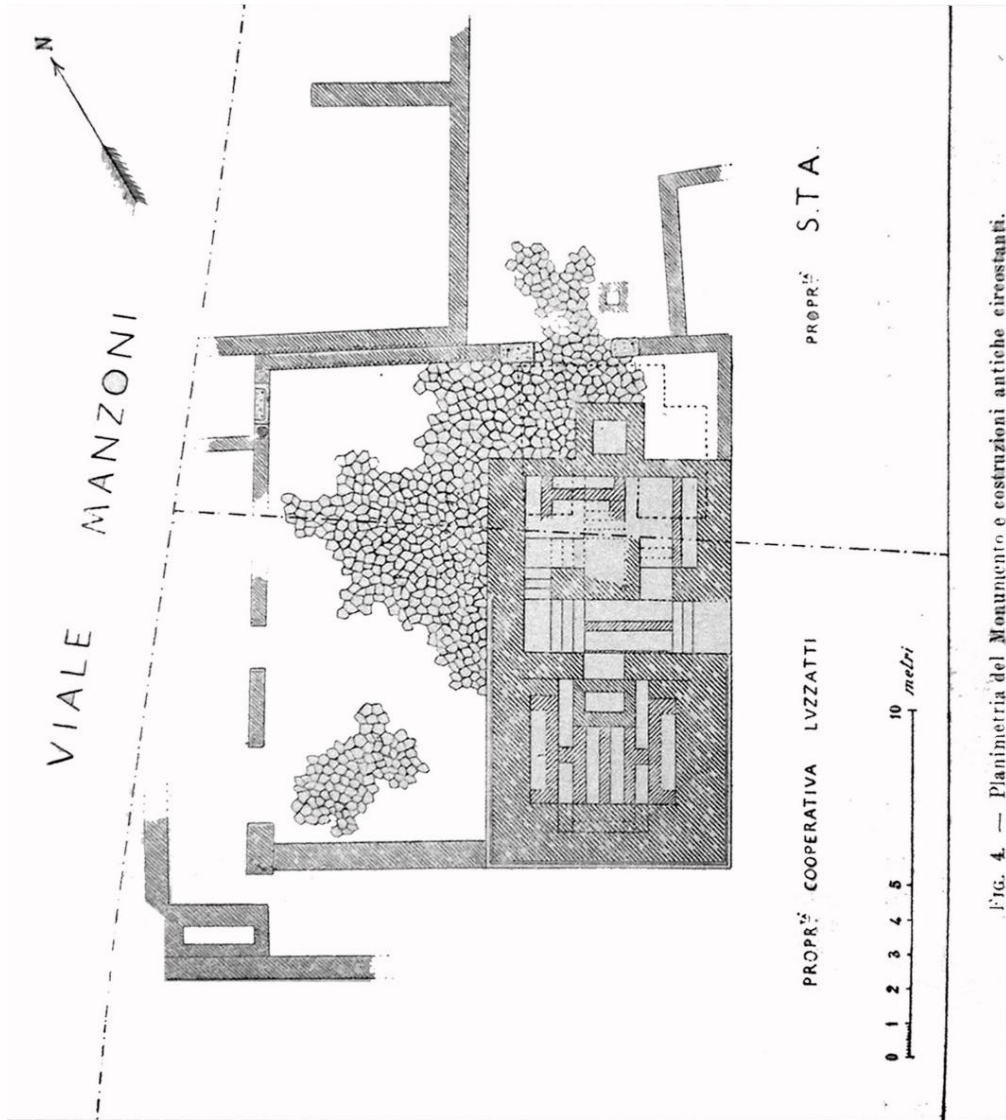


Fig. 4. — Planimetria del Monumento e costruzioni antiche circostanti.

Figure 6: Plan of hypogeum and courtyard around it. Bendinelli 1922: fig. 4.



FIG. 3.

- 1 — Casetta rustica, attualmente demolita, sovrapposta al monumento.
- 2 — Arco di scarico costruito nel 1920 per la elevazione del muro perimetrale sud della S. T. A.
- 3 — Residuo di antico cortile lastricato, con lucernario per cubicolo sotterraneo.

Figure 7: View of *casetta* (1) built on top of upper chamber with *lucernium* to *cubiculum* B and remains of paved courtyard (3). Bendinelli 1922: fig. 3.

Key.

- Solid red modern reconstruction.
- Outline red ancient remains of hypogeum and courtyard.
- Blue/grey modern buildings.

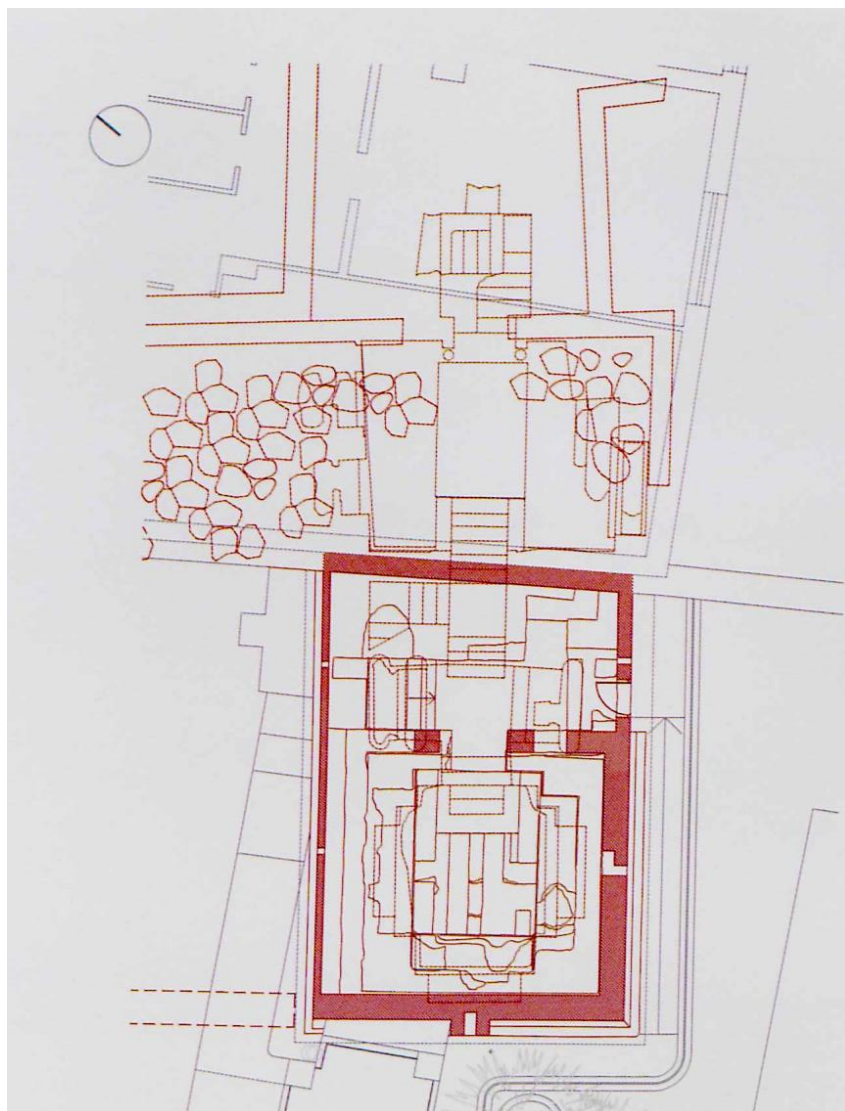


Figure 8: Plan showing boundaries of courtyard superimposed over *cubiculum B*. Adapted from Bisconti 2011a: tav. 2b.

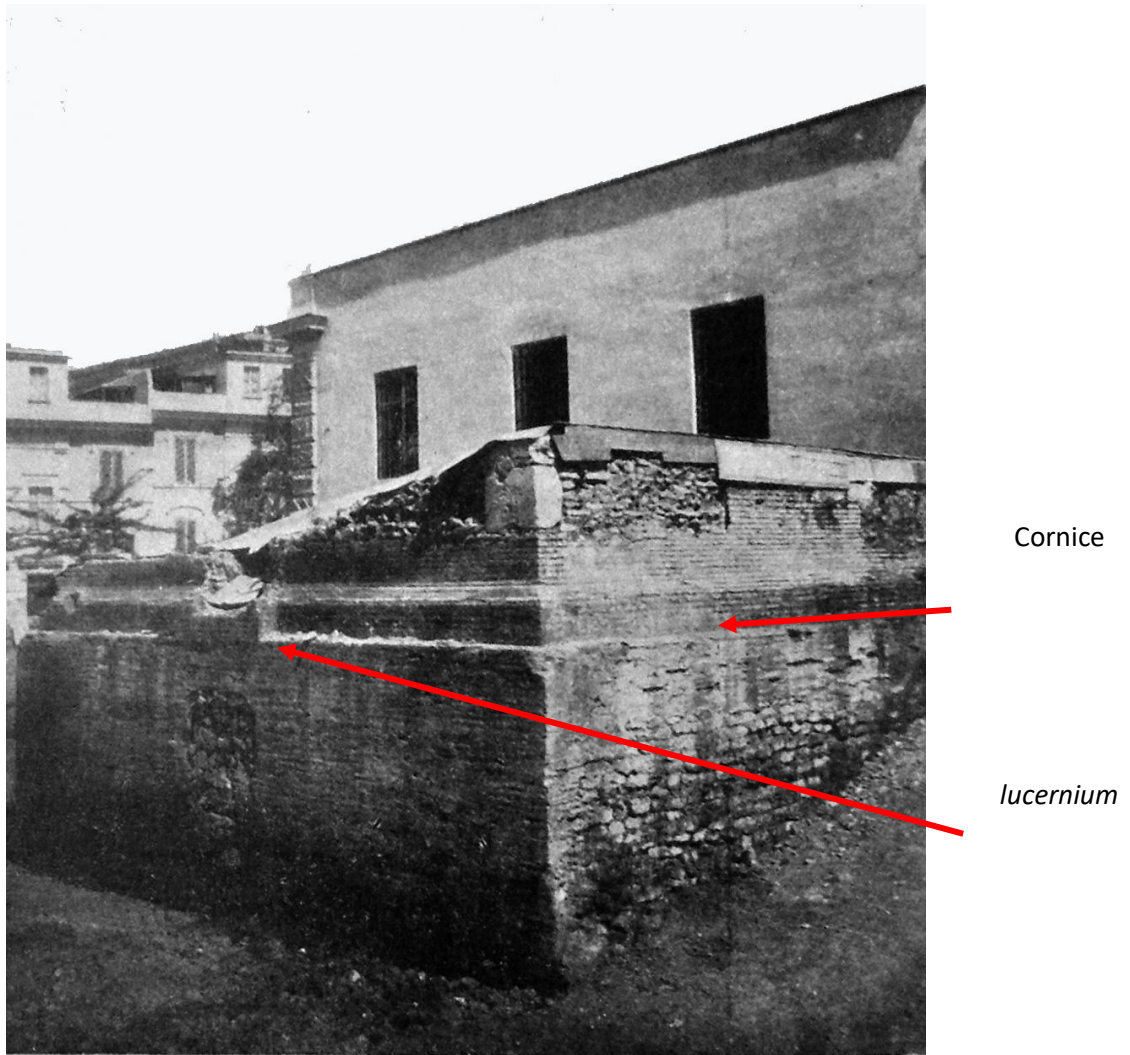


Figure 9: View of hypogeum podium at the time of excavation after the removal of the modern building. Bendinelli 1922: fig. 1.

Upper Chamber with cubiculum B directly underneath. Access stairwell. Cubiculum A on lower level. Abortive extension

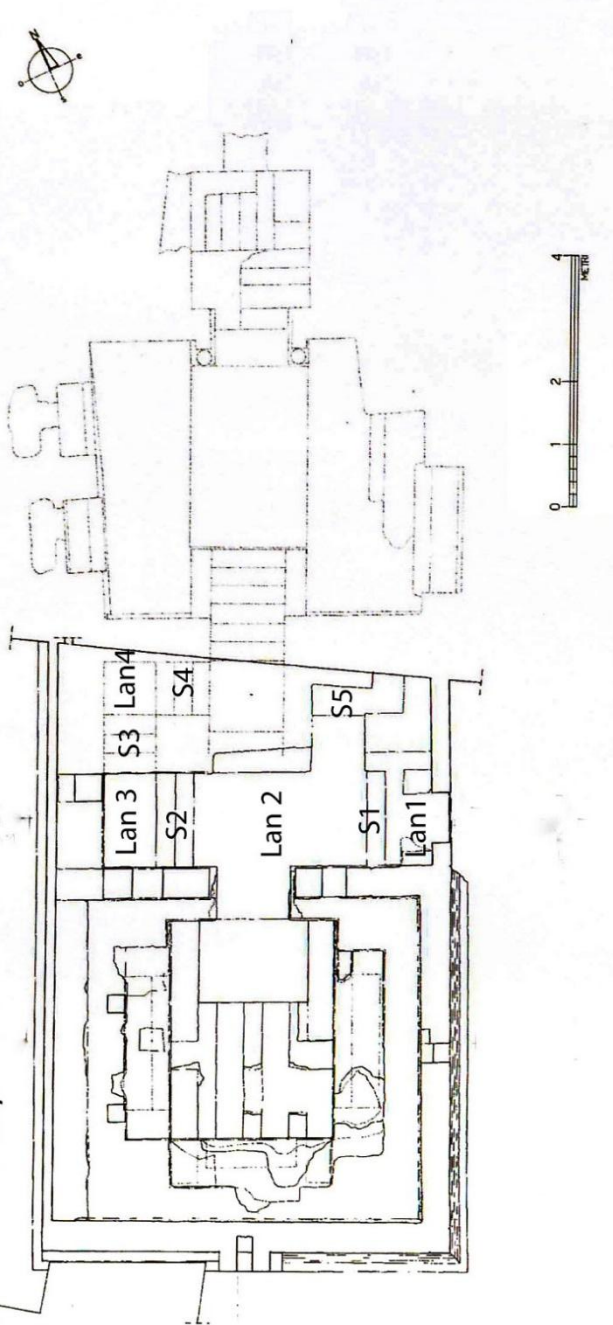


Figure 10: Plan of upper floor. Adapted from Bisconti 2011a: tav. 2a.



Figure 11: View of upper chamber (looking south) following demolition of *casetta*. Bendinelli 1922: fig. 5.

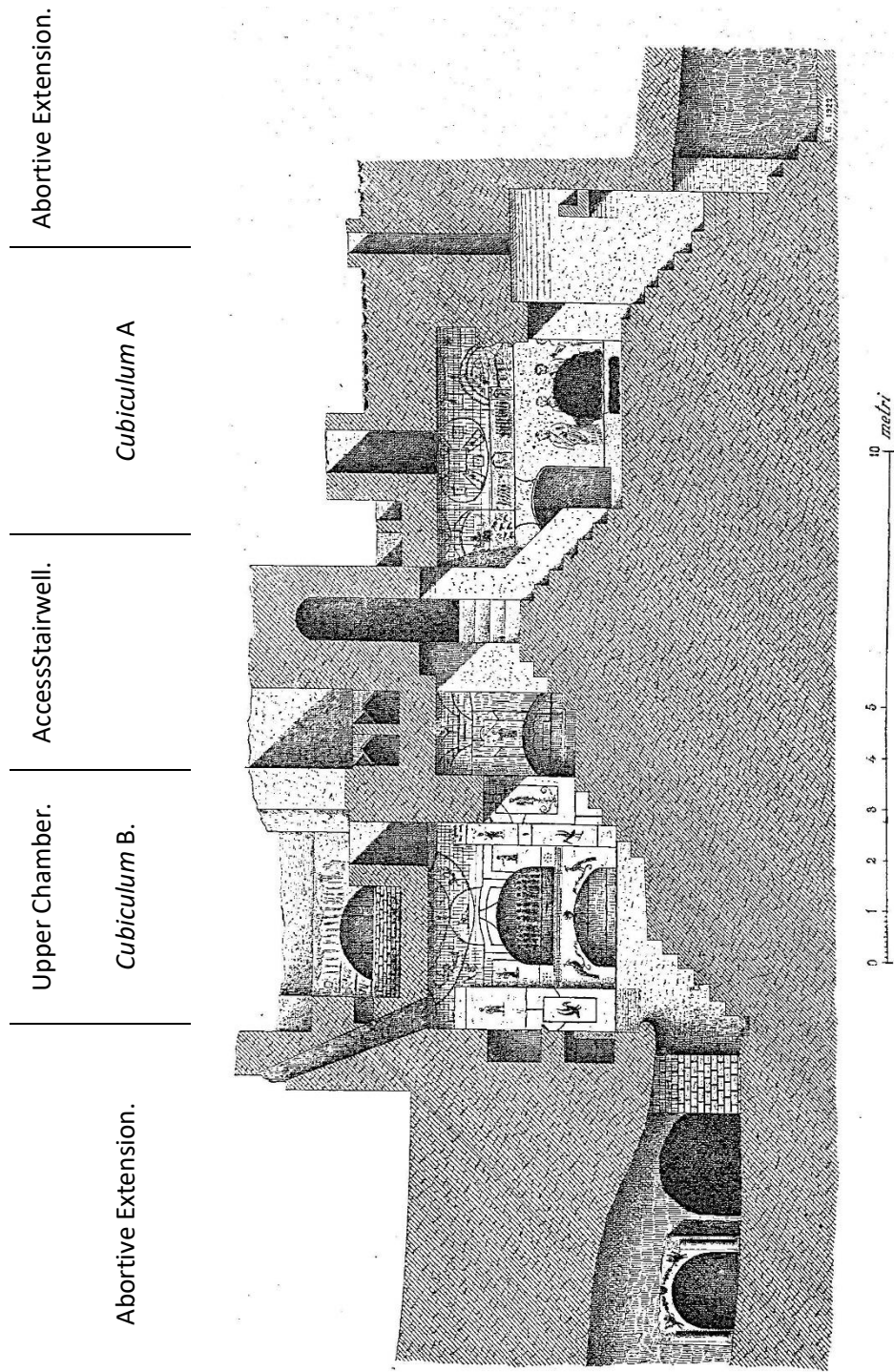


Figure 12: Cross-section through hypogeum of the Aurelii. Bendinelli 1922: tav. 1.

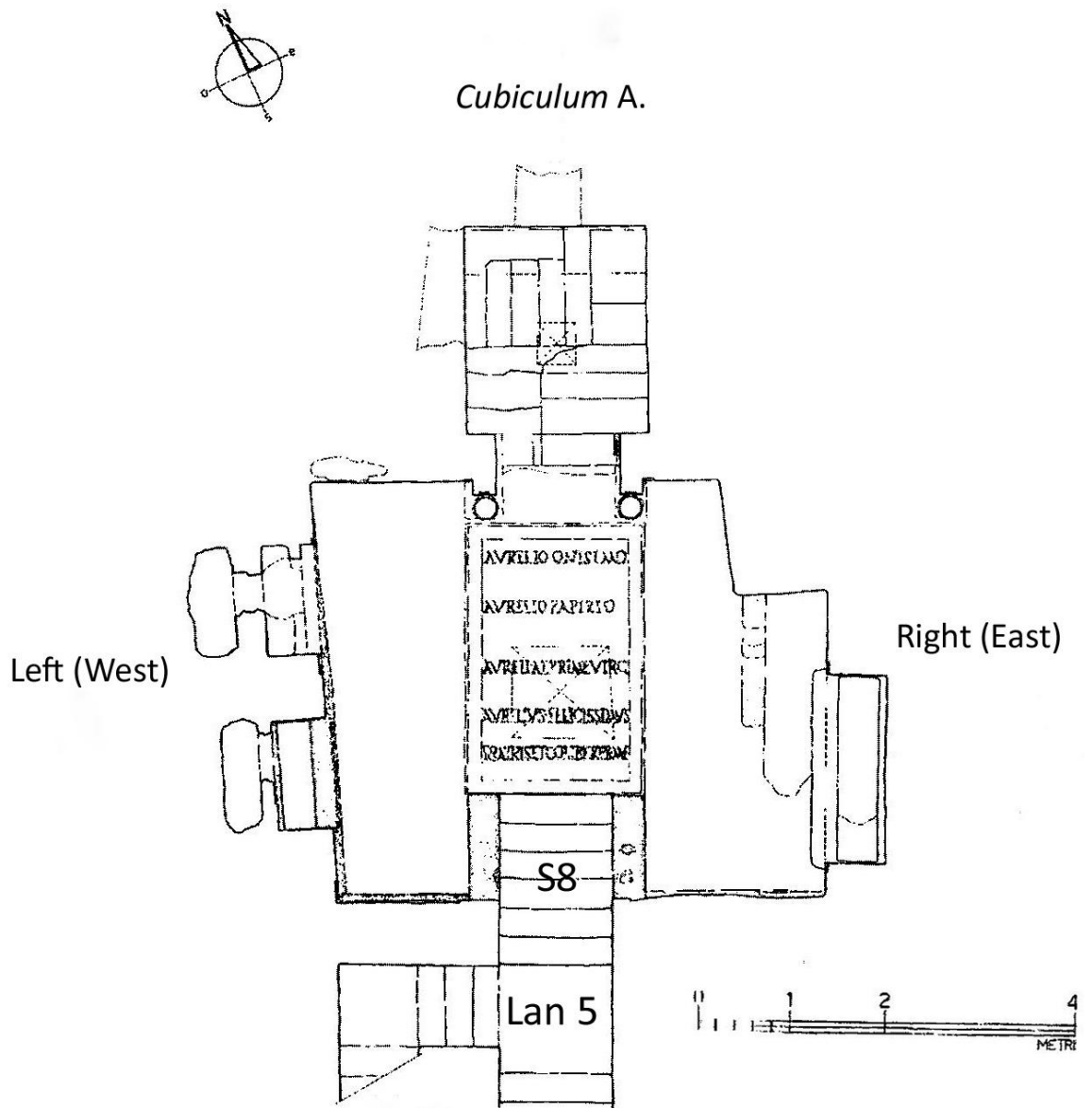


Figure 13: Plan of *cubiculum A.*
 Adapted from Bisconti 2011a: tav. 3a.

Vestibule and cubiculum B

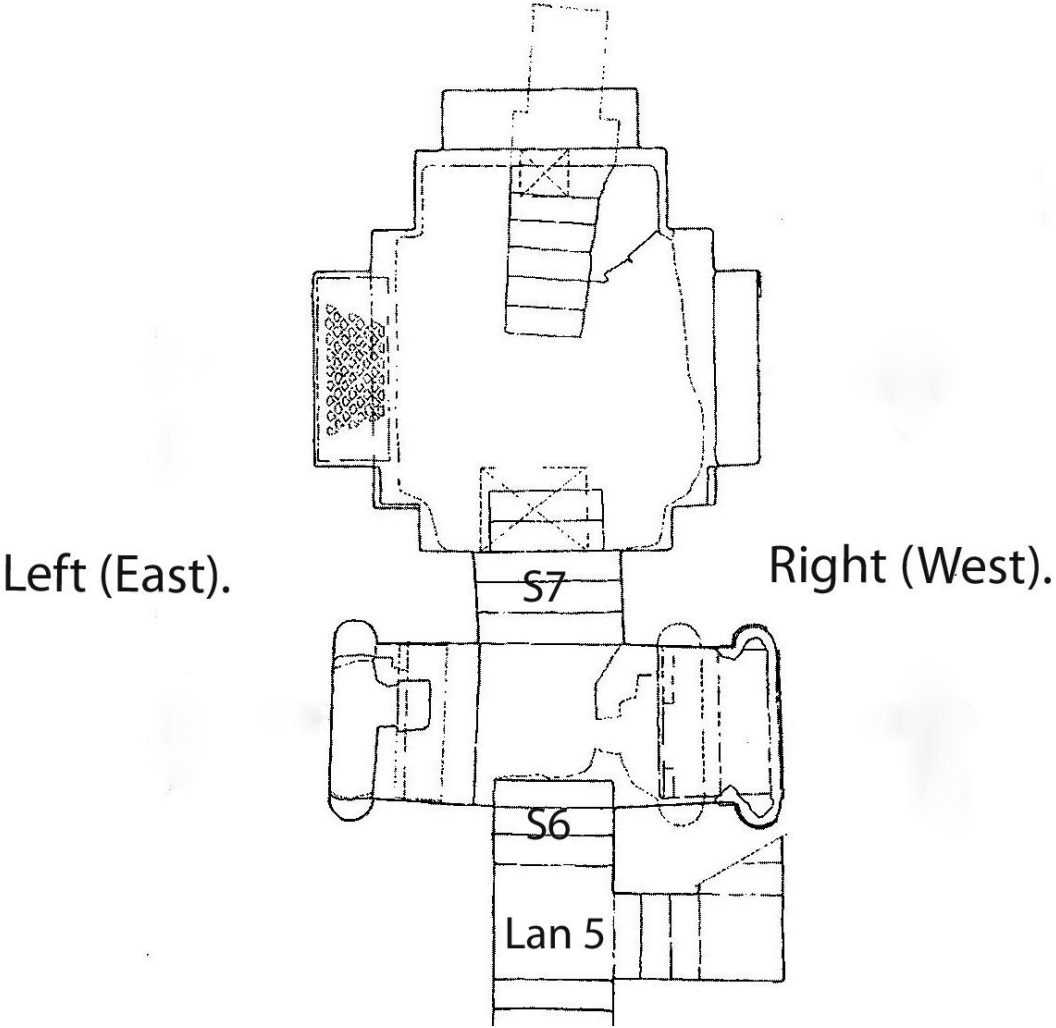


Figure 14: Plan of vestibule and *cubiculum* B.
Adapted from Bisconti 2011a: tav. 3a.



Figure 15: Dado decoration found during restoration. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 43.

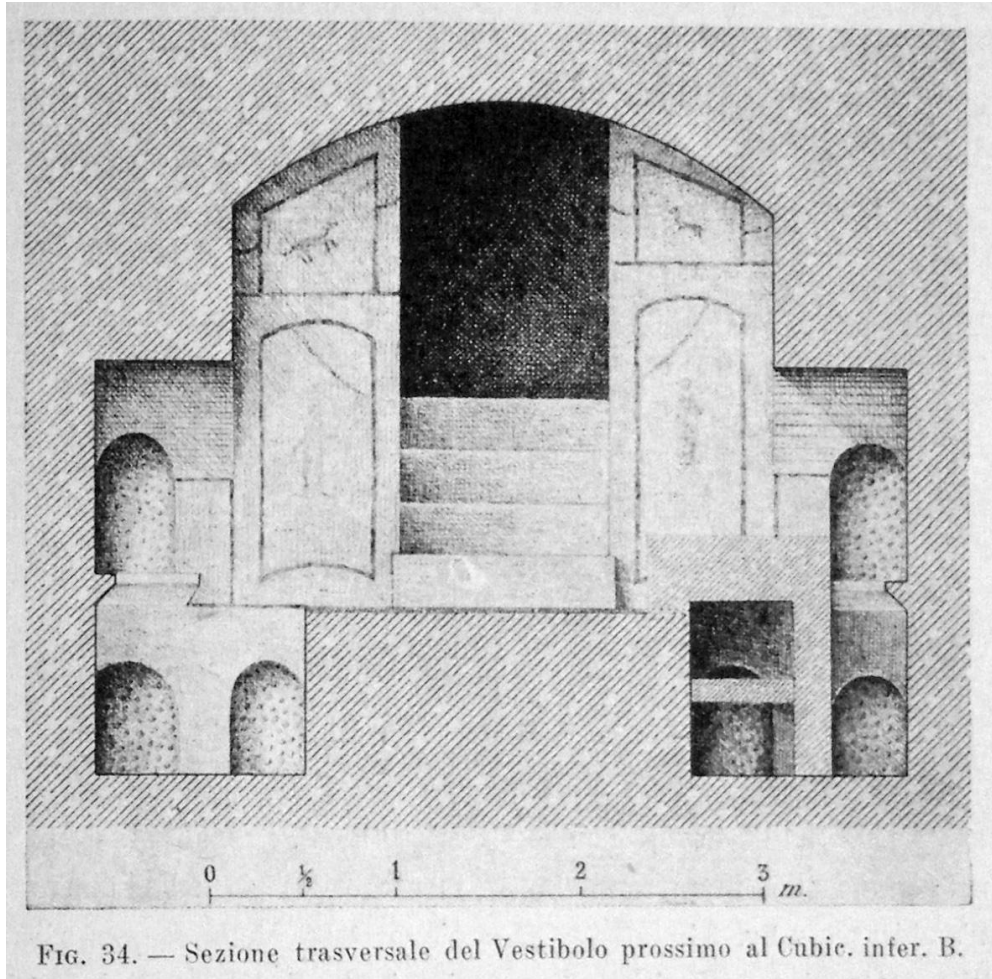


FIG. 34. — Sezione trasversale del Vestibolo prossimo al Cubic. infer. B.

Figure 16: Section through vestibule. Bendinelli 1922: fig. 34.



Figure 17: Vestibule. West wall. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 51.

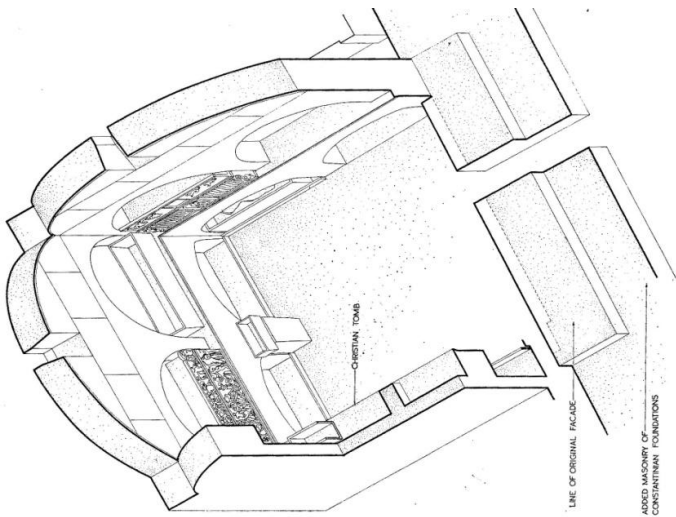


Fig. 7
 The 'Tomb of the Egyptians' (Tomb Z). The front half of the tomb (destroyed to make way for one of the foundations of the Constantinian nave) is restored to show the original plan. Later additions are omitted, except for the sarcophagi, which are shown as found. (Drawing by B. M. Apollonij-Ghetti.)

Figure 18a: Diagrammatic of Tomb Z, 'Tomb of the Egyptians', Vatican Necropolis.
 Toynebee and Ward-Perkins 1956: fig. 7.

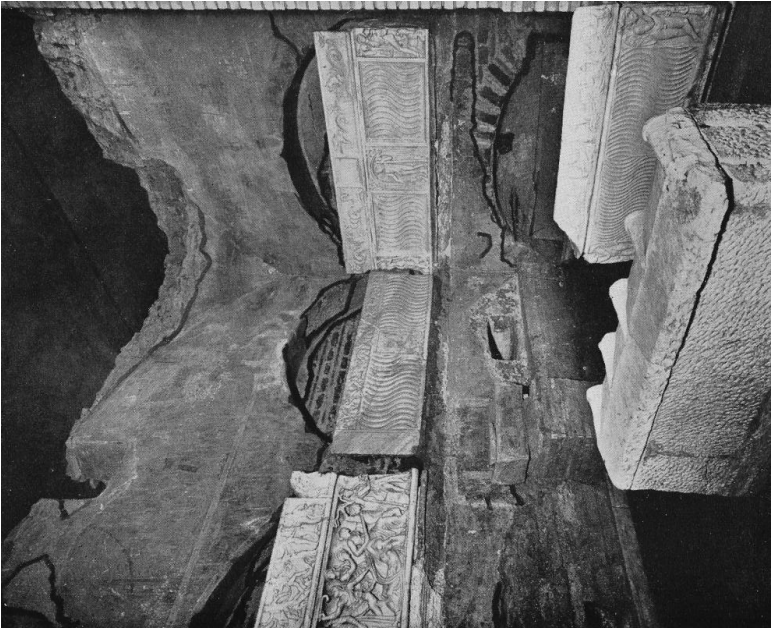


Figure 18b: Tomb Z, 'Tomb of the Egyptians', Vatican Necropolis.
 Toynebee and Ward-Perkins 1956: pl. 7.



Figure 19: Floor mosaic. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 41.

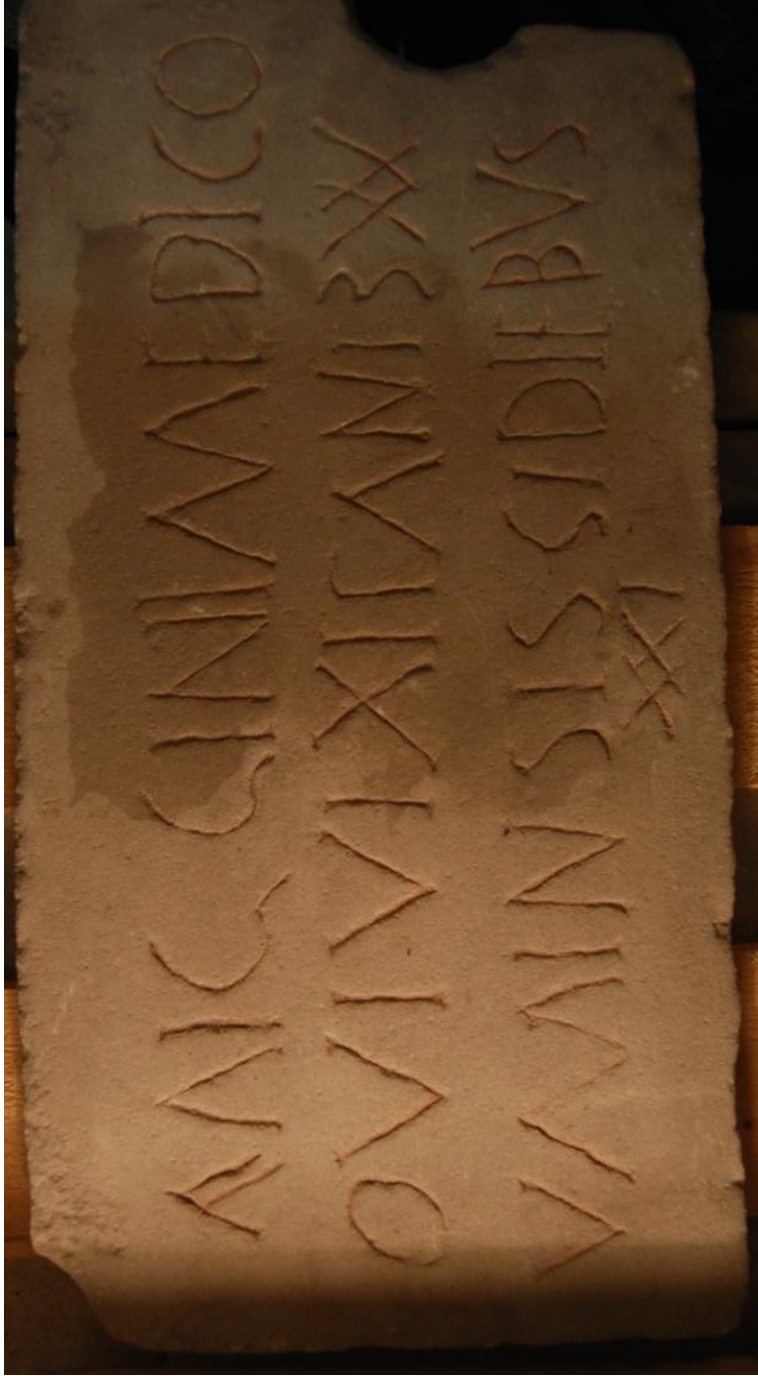


Figure 20: *CIL VI, 9592 = EDR115534. MAR Antonio Salinas, 322.*
Photograph - author.



Figure 21a: C/L VI, 10350 picture.

Photograph - Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby EDCS-16100559.

	nominaque adscripserunt decur(ionum)	
	ea quae i(nfra) s(cripta) s(unt)	
T(iti) Satelli Eutychi,		Hermæ Fonteï
T(iti) Satelli Lascivi,	fr(atrum)	Appulei Ampliati,
Asiatici Caesaris		Cesti Calpeni,
Besiaë lucundae p(ubli) l(ibertae)		Fonteï Euaristi,
Suavettiae Lacesis		luni Maximi
Suavettia Amaryll(is)		Suavettius Alexan[der]
	cu<r=p>(atores) loc(um) coll(egio) et nym(phis) d(ono) d(ederunt)	
	[lm]p(eratore) Caesare Ves[pa]siano Aϰ[g(usto) ---]	
	[T(ito) C]aesare Aug(usti) f(ilio). Vespa[siano] --- co(n)s(ulibus)]	

Figure 21b: *CIL VI, 10350* transcription.



Figure 22a: AE 2001, 0433 picture.
Photograph - adapted from EDR001386.

[T(itus) Sate]llius Euty]chus et Ş[uave]ttia Łaçeşiş

[fecerunt f]iliis suis et sibi

[T(ito) Sate]llio T(iti) f(ilio) Eutycho
[an]nōr(um) [---]l;

T(ito) Sate]llio T(iti) f(ilio) Lascivo
annor(um) VIII

[libertis libertabusque p]osterisque eorum. [In fr(onte) ped(es) ---, in ag]r(o) ped(es) XX.

Figure 22b: AE 2001, 0433 transcription.



Figure 23a: Tombs of the Via Caeliamontana. Photograph - author.



Figure 23b: Tombs of the Via Caeliamontana, detail of fig. 23a. Photograph - author.



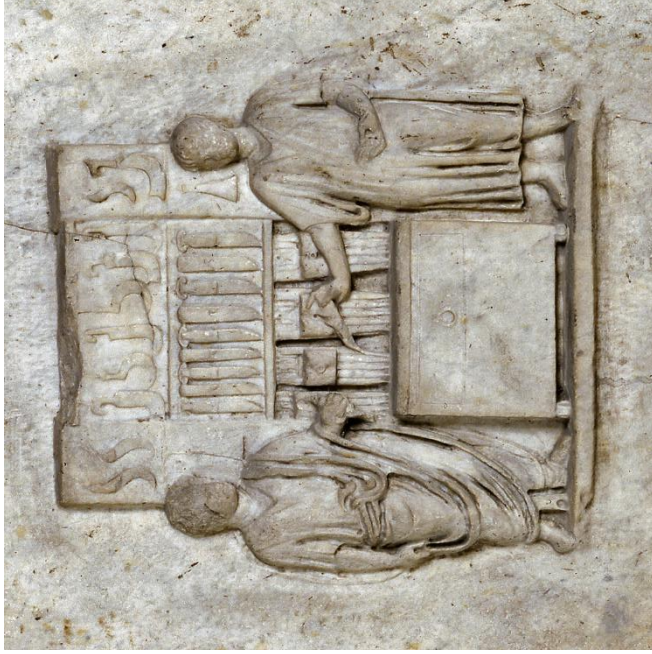
Figure 24: Funerary stele of the Licinii. British Museum, 1954,12-14,1.
Photograph - author.



Figure 25: Funerary stele of the *familia* Longidieni. MN Ravenna, 7.
Photograph - author



**Figure 26a: Funerary altar of L. Cornelius Atimetus.
Manufacturing scene.
Photograph – Musei Vaticani.**



**Figure 26b. Funerary altar of L. Cornelius Atimetus.
Shop scene.
Photograph – Musei Vaticani.**



**Figure 27: Memorial to D. Colius Arsaces. MNR Terme, 113198.
Photograph - author.**

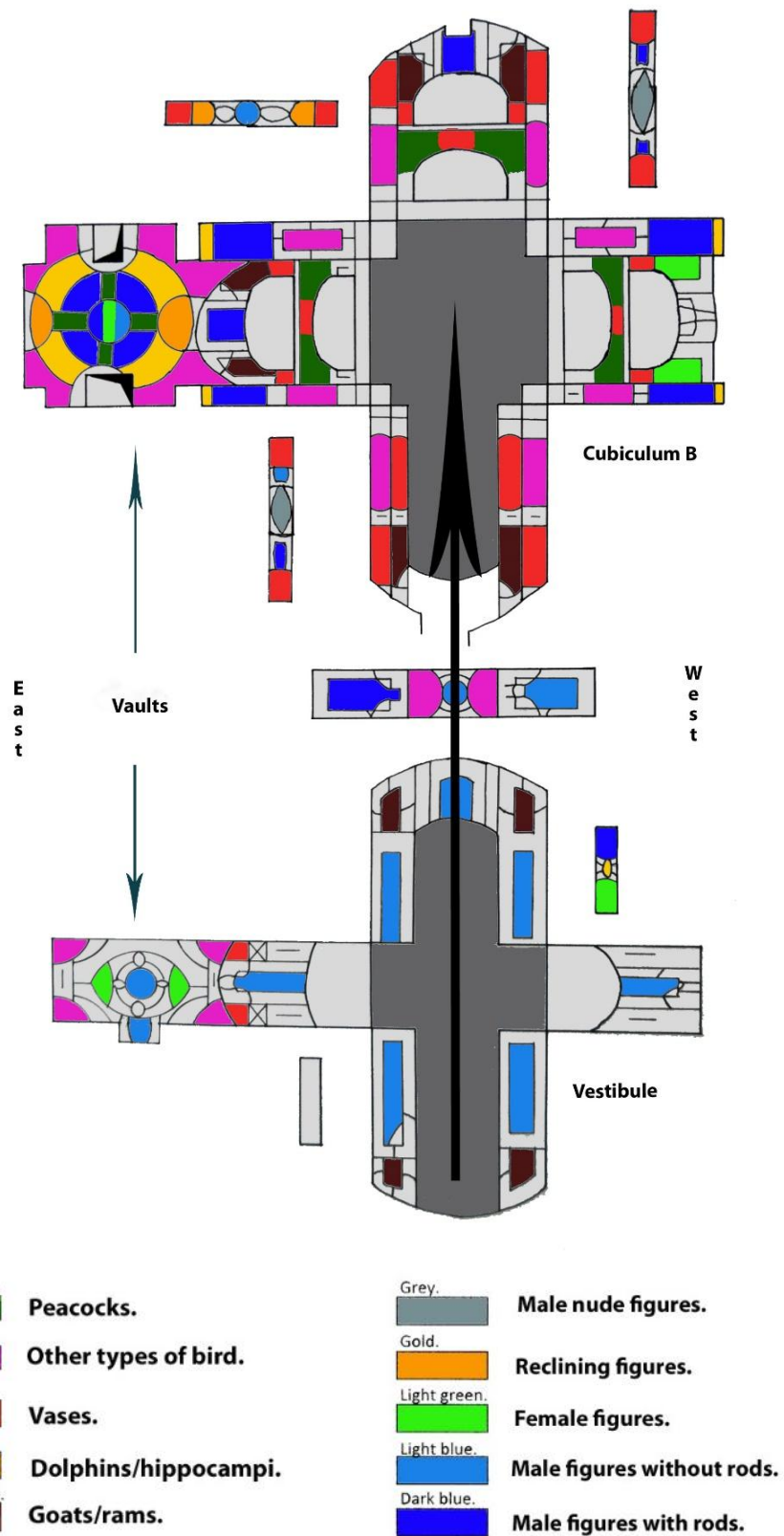


Figure 28: Diagram showing distribution of decorative motifs in *cubiculum B* and *vestibule*.



Figure 29: Vestibule. Entrance (north) wall. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 45.



Figure 30: Forecourt of Isola Sacra tomb no. 93. Photograph – author



Figure 31: Vestibule. Soffit of west *arcosolium*. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 53.



Figure 32: Vestibule. Rear (south) wall leading to *cubiculum* B.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 47.

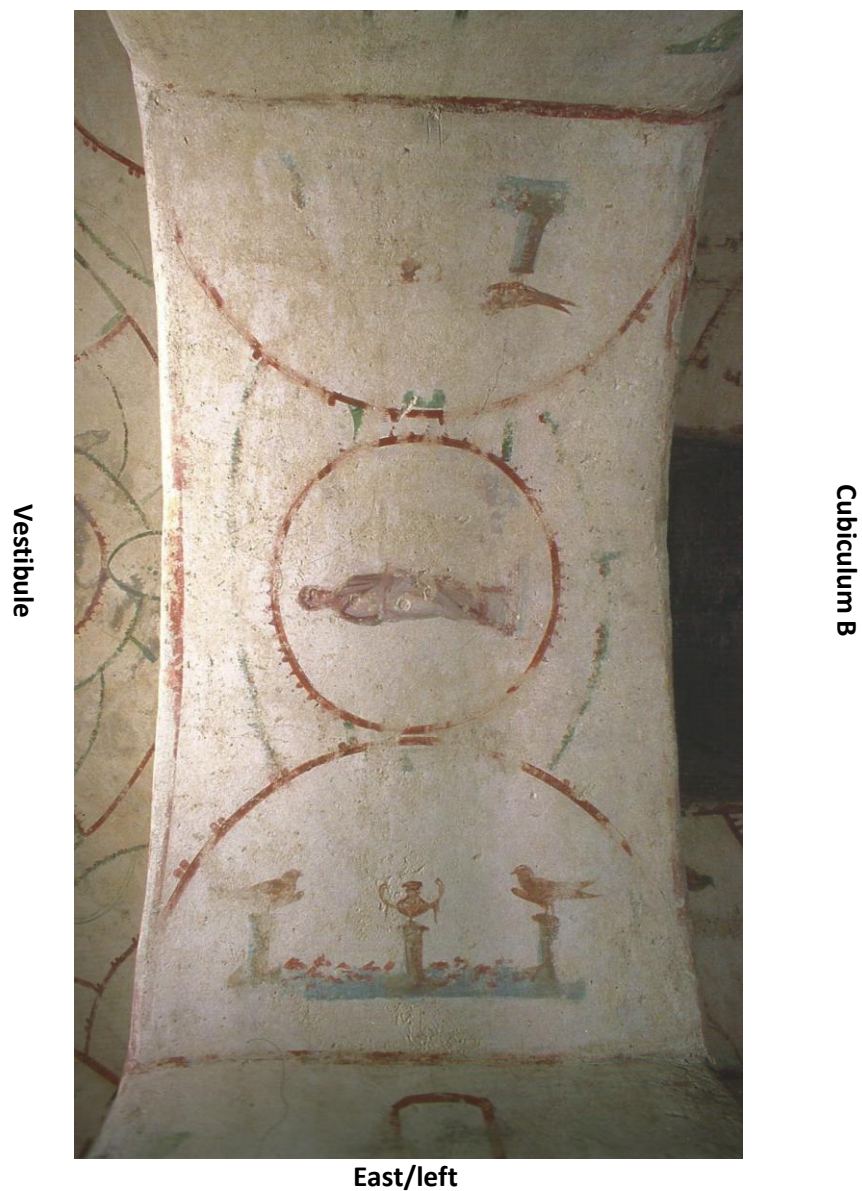


Figure 33: Portal between vestibule and *cubiculum* B, east side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. X, c.



Figure 34: Portal between vestibule and *cubiculum* B, west side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. X, b.

West/right



Vestibule

Cubiculum B

East/left

Figure 35: Soffit of portal between vestibule and *cubiculum* B.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 49.



Figure 36: Vestibule. East wall. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 46.

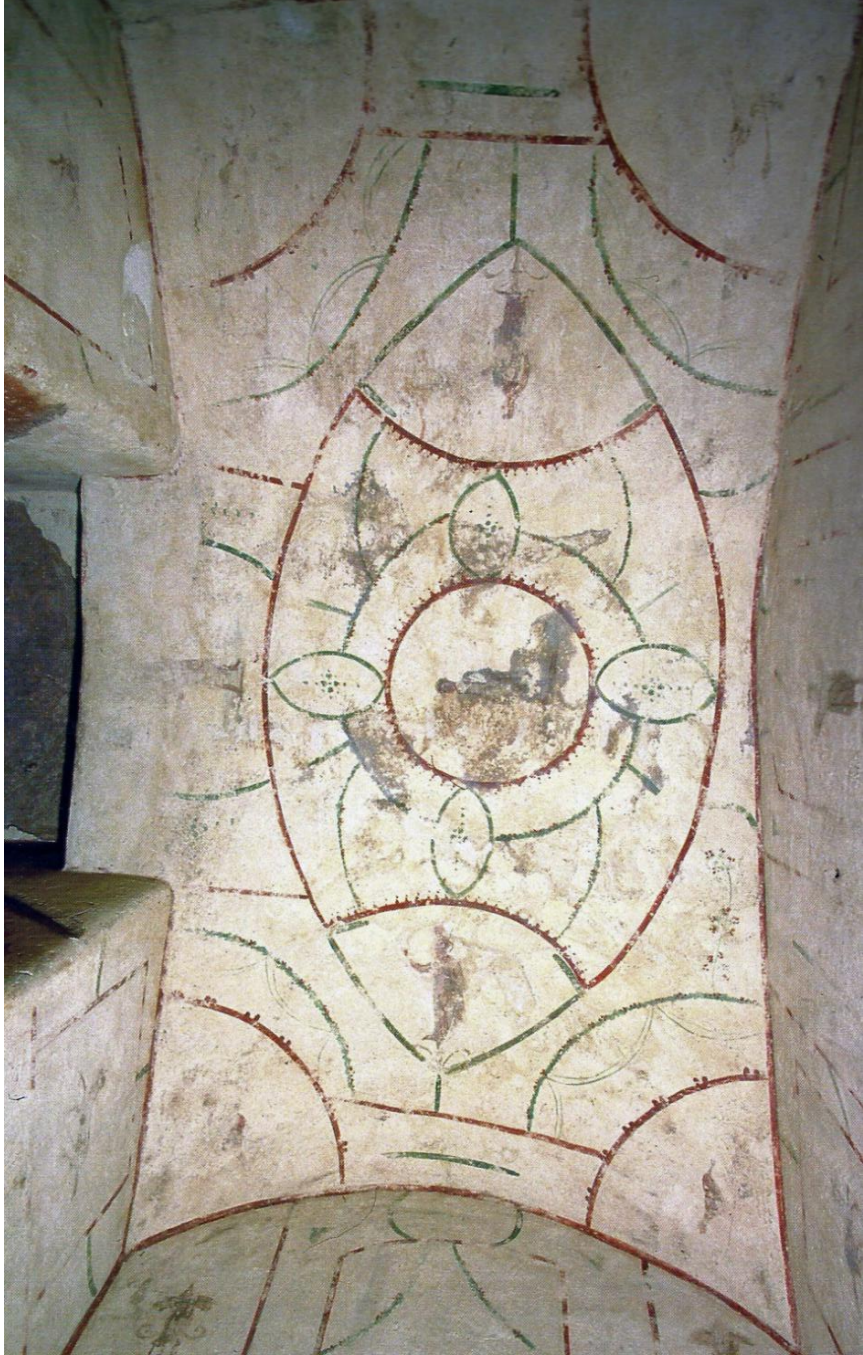


Figure 37: Vestibule. Vault decoration. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 44.



Figure 38: Vestibule. Figure above entrance portal. Wilpert 1924: tav. XI (detail).



Figure 39b: Vestibule vault mandorla apex.
Wilpert 1924: tav. XI (detail).



Figure 39a: Vestibule vault mandorla apex.
Wilpert 1924: tav. XI (detail).



**Figure 40: Second century AD funerary altar.
Vat. Mus. Galleria dei Candelabri, 2671.
Photograph – author.**



Figure 41a: Denarius, RIC 96, RSC 192,192a, BMC 290,291. AD 199.
Obverse showing *Spes*.



Figure 41b: Denarius, RIC 2, RSC 65, BMC 264. AD 221-222.
Obverse showing *Spes*.



**Figure 42: *Cubiculum* B. Entrance (north) wall and pilasters.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 61.**



**Figure 43: Garland with Latin cross pendant.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_03b_003_002 (detail).**



Figure 44a: North pilaster, east (left) side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. VIII (detail).



Figure 44b: North pilaster, west (right) side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. IX (detail).



Figure 45: *Cubiculum* B. East (left) wall. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 62.

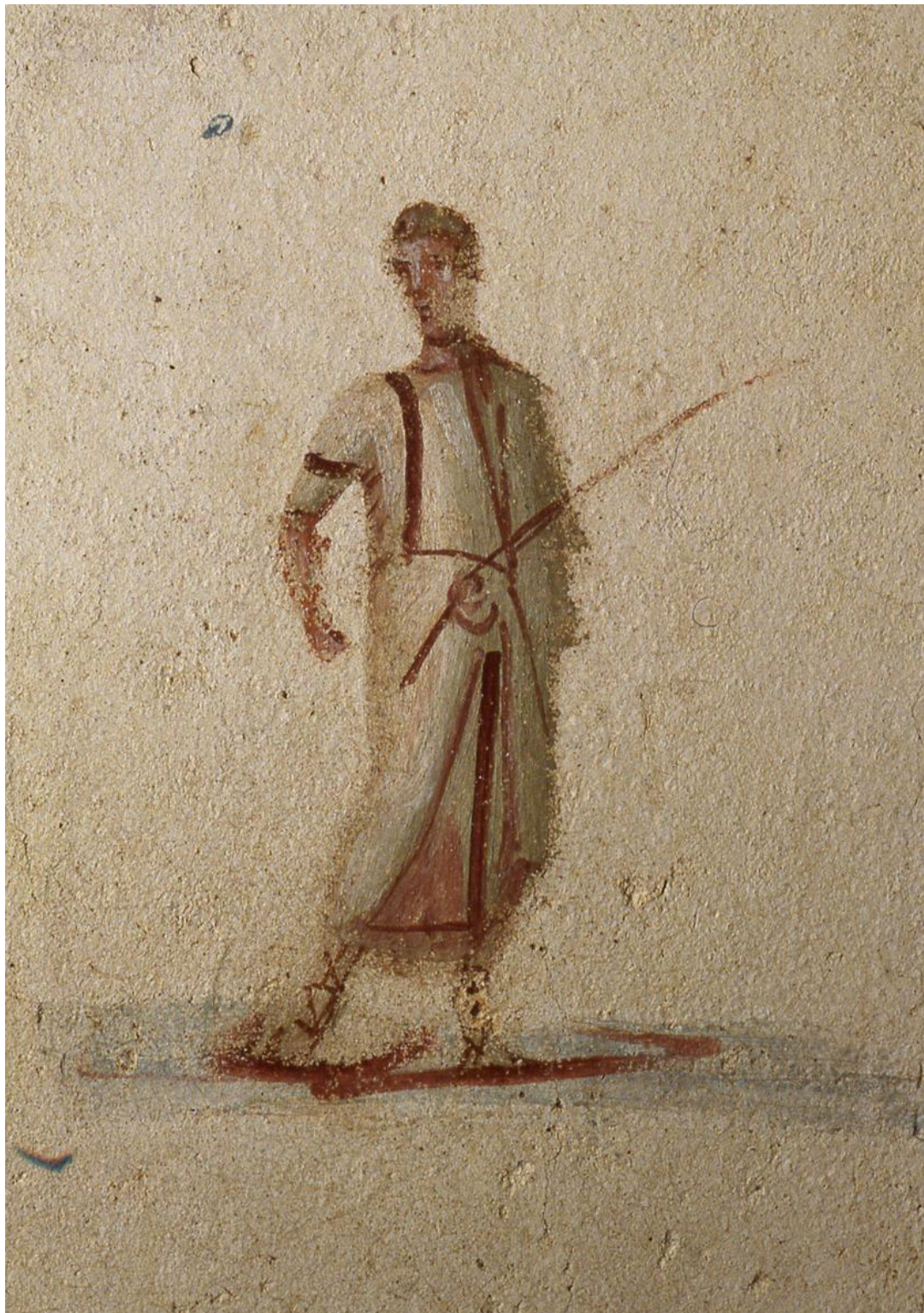


Figure 46: *Cubiculum* B. Male figure with rod above left hand *arcosolium*.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_03b_022_002R.



Figure 47: *Cubiculum B*. East (left) wall. Upper *arcosolium* soffit and lunette. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 67.



Figure 48: *Cubiculum* B. Central motif of left hand upper *arcosolium*.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_03b_025_003R.



Figure 49: *Cubiculum* B. Rear (south) wall and pilasters. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 68.



Figure 50a: *Cubiculum* B. South pilaster,
left (east) side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. VIII (detail).



Figure 50b: *Cubiculum* B. South pilaster,
right (west) side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. IX (detail).



Figure 51a: *Cubiculum* B. Soffit to rear upper *arcosolium*, left.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 69.

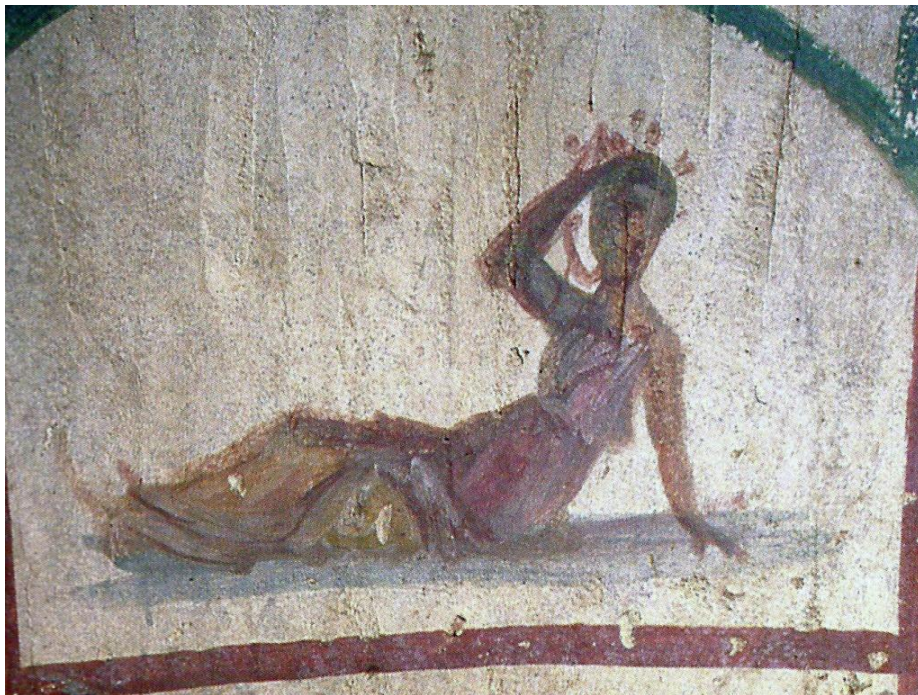


Figure 51b: *Cubiculum* B. Soffit to rear upper *arcosolium*, right.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 71 (detail).



Figure 52: *Cubiculum B*. Rear (south) wall. Upper *arcosolium* lunette. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 72.



Figure 53: *Cubiculum B*. Right hand (west) wall. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 73.

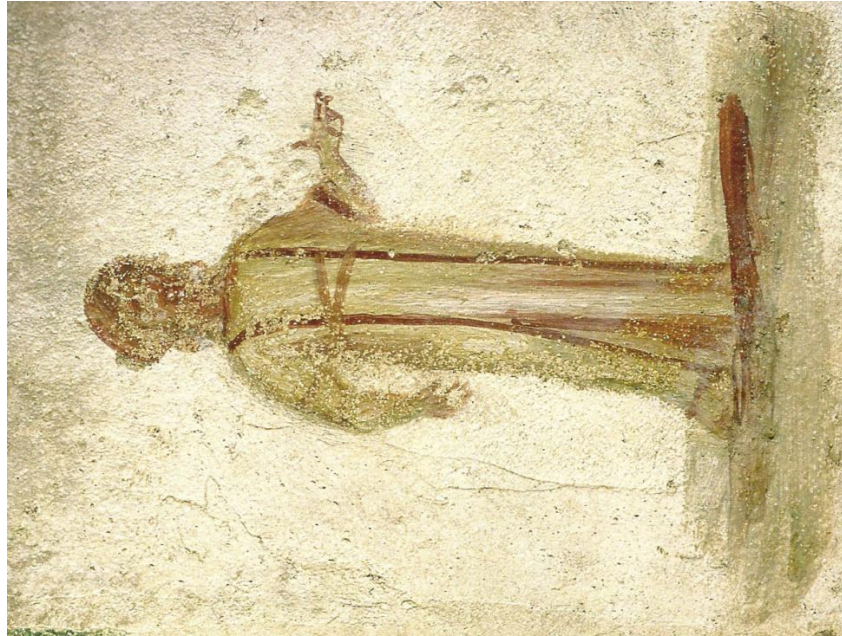


Figure 54a: *Cubiculum B*. Right hand (west) wall.
Left hand standing female figure.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 74.



Figure 54b: *Cubiculum B*. Right hand (west) wall. Right hand standing
female figure.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_03b_040_004R.



Figure 55: *Cubiculum* B. Soffit of right hand upper *arcosolium*.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 75 (detail).



Figure 56b: Detail of figure 56a. Right hand *arcosolium* lunette.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 78.



Figure 56a: *Cubiculum* B. Right hand *arcosolium* lunette.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 78.



Figure 57: *Cubiculum B*. Rear lower *arcosolium* soffit.
Wilpert 1924: tav. VII (lower).

West side (right as one enters the *cubiculum*).



East side (left as one enters the *cubiculum*).

Figure 58: *Cubiculum* B. Vault decoration. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 55.



Figure 59: *Cubiculum B*. Corner of vault.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_03b_003_002R.



Figure 60a: *Cubiculum* B vault. Male reclining figure.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_03b_007_004R.

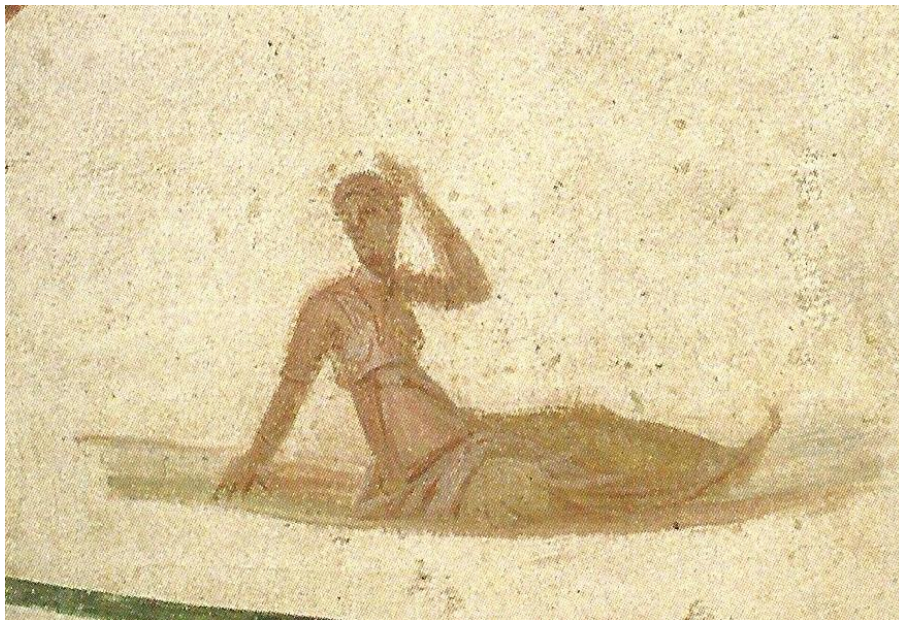


Figure 60b: *Cubiculum* B vault. Female reclining figure.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 60a.



Figure 61: *Cubiculum B*. Detail of central medallion in vault.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_03b_002_004R.

East side/ right wall.



North side/ rear wall.

Figure 62a: *Cubiculum A*, vault decoration. Wilpert 1924: tav. XIX.

West side/ left wall.

Key



Male figures in tunic and *pallium* with rod.



Male figures in tunic and *pallium* without rod.



Peacocks

GS

'Good Shepherd'

b

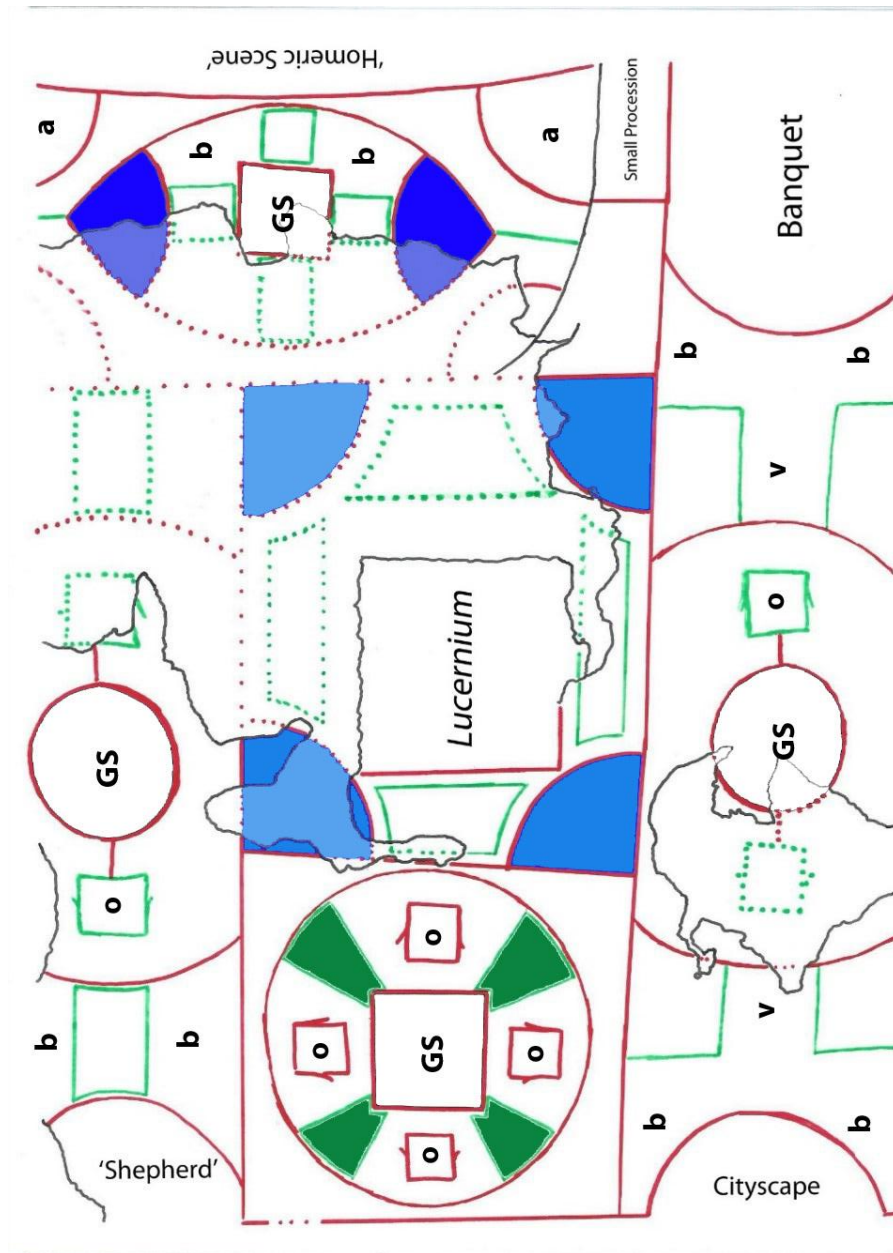
Birds.

a

Quadruped animals.

o

'oscilla'



North side/ rear wall.

Figure 62b: Layout of *cubiculum* A vault decoration showing red and green lines (presumed shown dotted) and key scenes.



Figure 63: *Cubiculum A* "Good Shepherd". Wilpert 1924: tav. XIX (detail).



Figure 64: Mask-like motifs, *Cubiculum A* vault.
Photograph – PCAS AUR_02_003_001R_dp.



Figure 65: Frontal displaying peacock, *cubiculum A* vault.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 16.



**Figure 66: Unknown motif, Cubiculum A vault. Photograph – PCAS
AUR_02_006_001R_dp.**

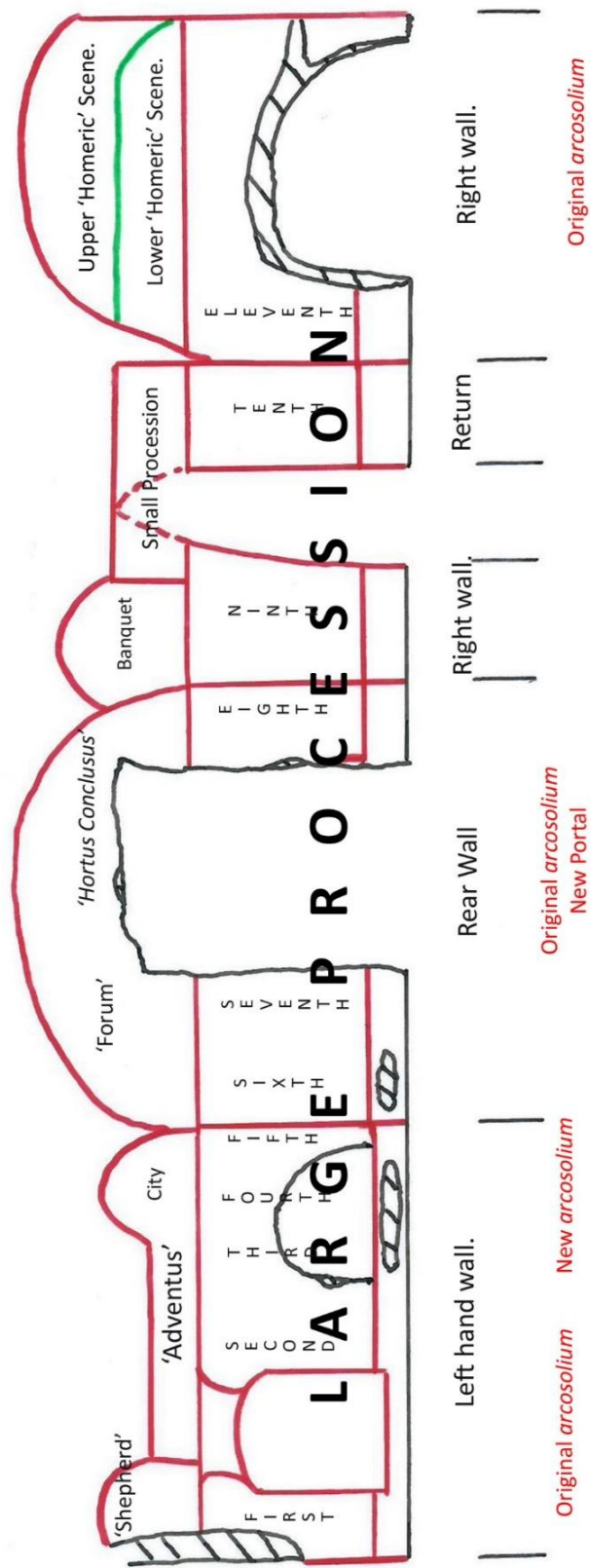


Figure 67: Basic layout of pictorial schemes in *cubiculum A* using current nomenclature.



Figure 68: Left hand wall, Lower Register. Sabatini 2011: fig. 5.



Figure 69a: 1st figure in Large Procession. Sabatini 2011: fig. 5.



Figure 69b: 2nd figure in Large Procession. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 26.

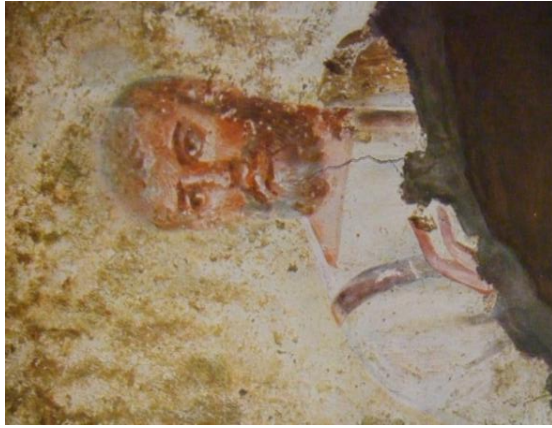


Figure 69c: 3rd figure in the Large Procession. Wilpert 1924: tav. XIV.



Figure 69d: 4th and 5th figures in the Large Procession. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 25b.



Figure 70b: 8th figure in the Large Procession highlighting red outlining to the destroyed *arcosolium*.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 33 (detail).



Figure 70a: 6th and 7th figures in the Large Procession.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 29 (detail).



Figure 71a: 9th figure in the Large Procession. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 34 (detail).



Figure 71b: 10th figure in the Large Procession. Wilpert 1924: tav. XV.



Figure 71c: 11th figure in the Large Procession. Bendinelli 1922: tav. VIII.



Shepherd' scene

'Adventus' scene

Cityscape with donkey.

Figure 72: Left wall Upper Register. Photograph - PCAS AUR_02_001_006R (extract).



Figure 73: 'Shepherd' scene. Wilpert 1924: tav. XII.



Figure 74: Left wall, Upper Register. 'adventus' scene. Wilpert 1924: tav. XX.



Figure 75: Rider in the '*adventus*' scene. Wilpert 1924: tav. XX (detail).



Figure 76: Crowd emerging from city in the 'adventus' scene.
Wilpert 1924: tav. XXI.



Figure 77: Detail of cityscape. Bisconti 2011a: tav. 24b.



Figure 78: Donkey set within the cityscape. Photograph - PCAS AUR_02_015_022R.



Figure 79a: Rear wall. Wilpert 1924: tav. XXII, detail.

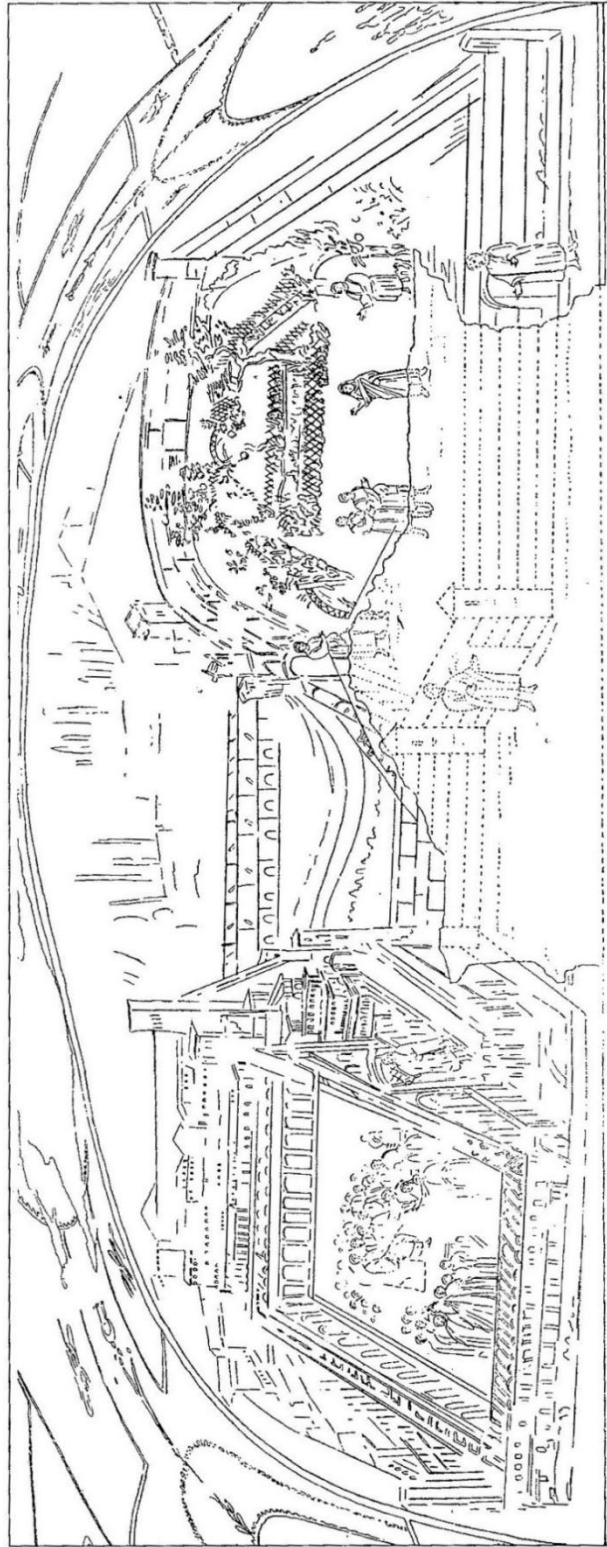


Figure 79b: Rear wall. Wilpert 1924: fig. 9 reproduced in Bisconti 2004b: fig. 12.

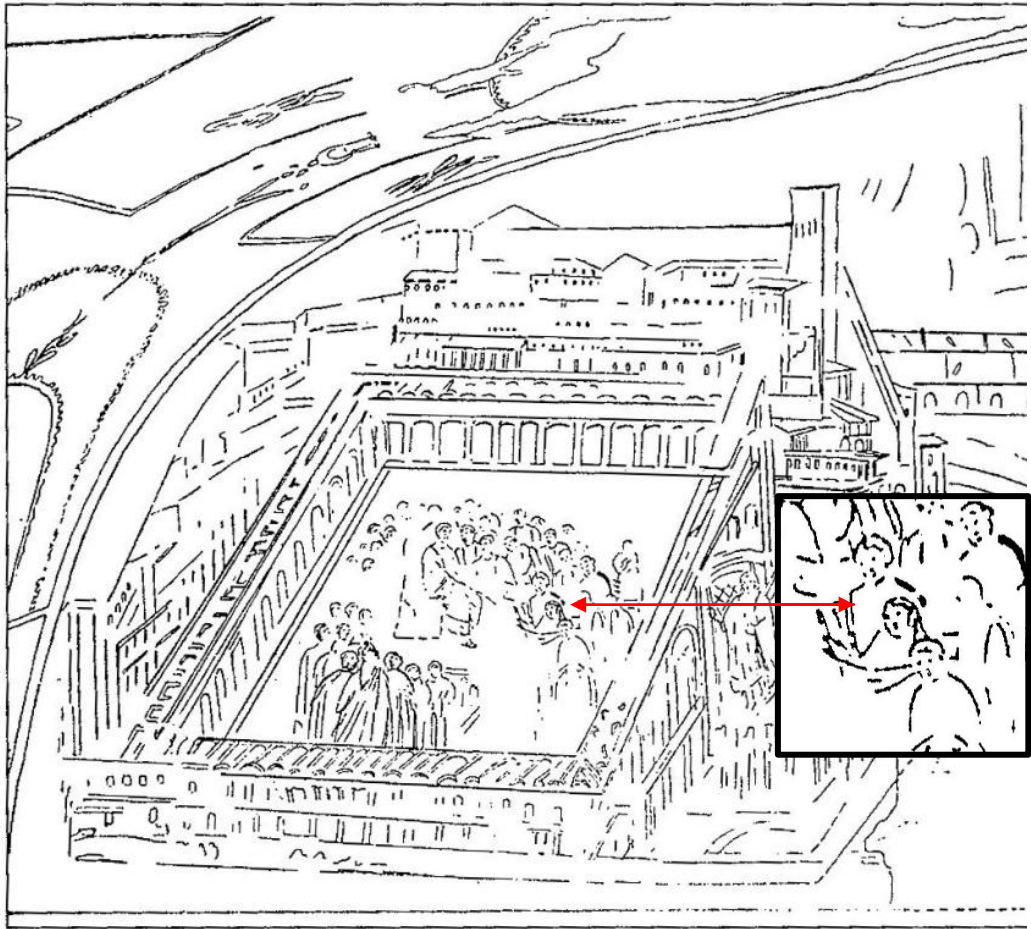


Figure 80: 'Forum' scene. Wilpert 1924: fig. 9 reproduced in Bisconti 2004b: fig. 12 (detail). Red arrow highlights female figure.

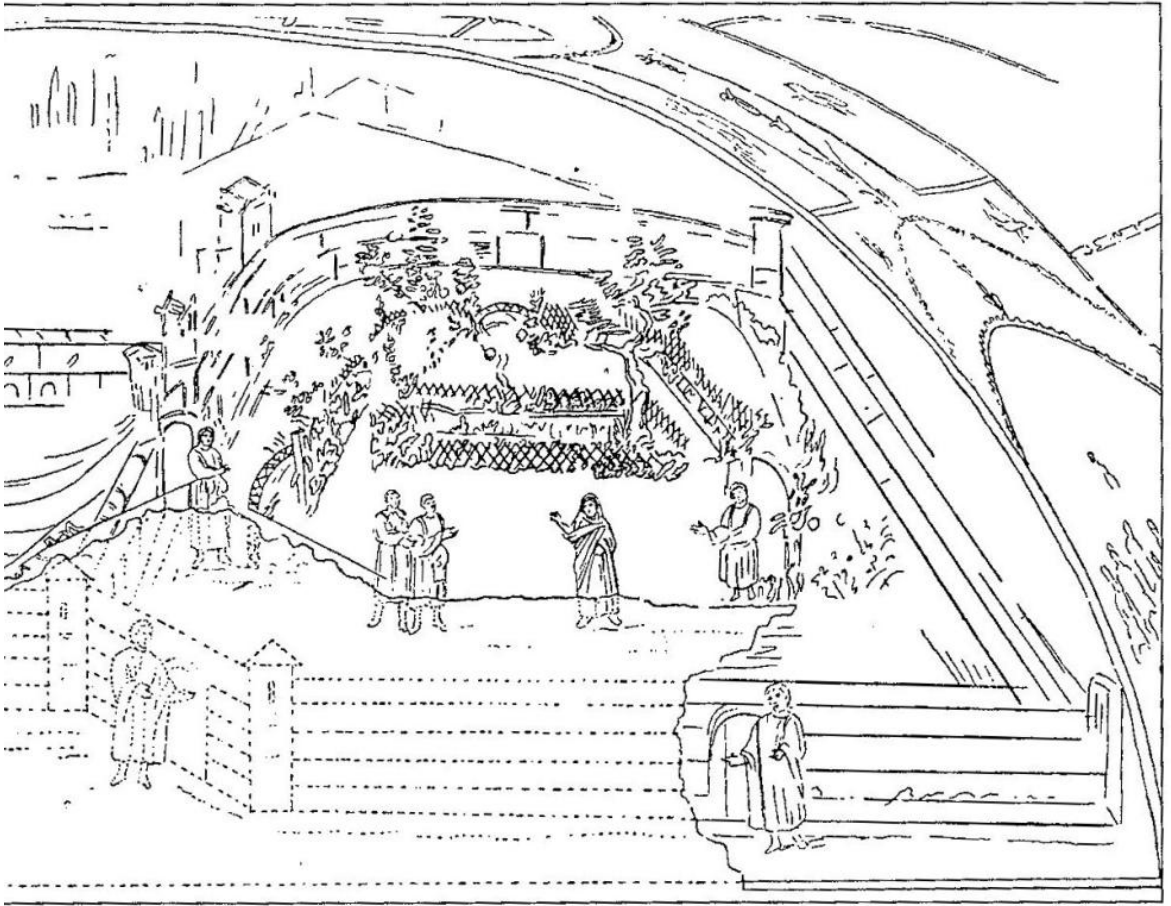


Figure 81a: '*hortus conclusus*' scene. Wilpert 1924: fig. 9 reproduced in Bisconti 2004b: fig. 12 (detail).



Figure 81b: 'hortus conclusus' scene. Bendinelli 1922: tav. 11 (detail).



Figure 82a: *Cubiculum A*. Banqueting Scene. Wilpert 1924: tav. XVII.



Figure 82b: 'Banquet Scene'. Photograph - PCAS AUR_02_016_005R.



Figure 83a: 'Small Procession' . Wilpert 1924: tav. XVII.

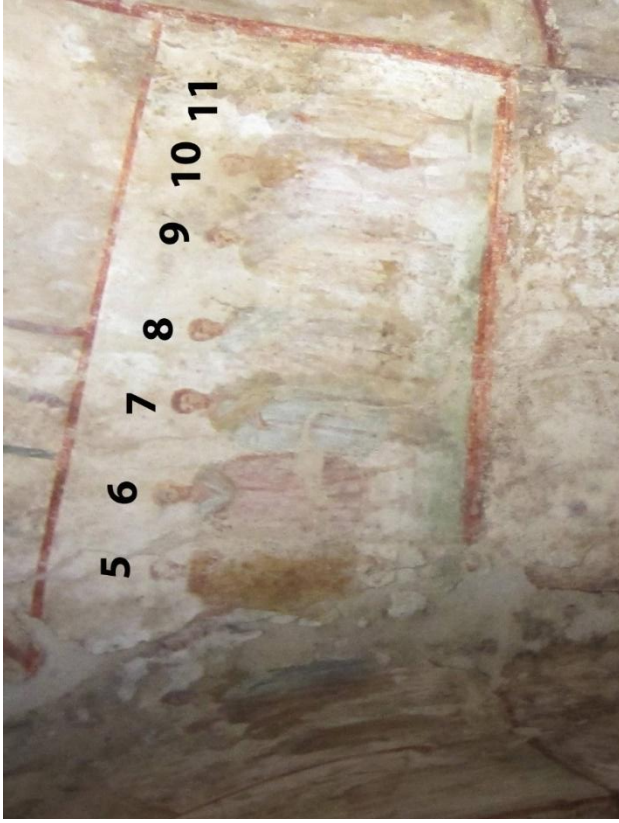


Figure 83b: 'Small Procession' . Photograph - Dr E. Rubery.



Figure 84a: 'Homeric' scene. Wilpert 1924: tav. XVI.



Figure 84b: 'Homeric' scene. Photograph - PCAS AUR_02_025_004R_dp.



**Figure 85b: Right hand niche 'prothesis' scene.
Photograph - PCAS AUR 02_025_004R (detail).**



**Figure 85a: Right hand niche 'prothesis' scene.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 38.**



Figure 86: Archbishop Theodorus' sarcophagus in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. Bovini 1991: fig. 77.



Figure 87: Via Portuense Tomb C columbarium. NMR Terme Museum. Photograph - author.



**Figure 88: Birds in Chapels of the Sacraments A3, Area I, S. Callisto.
Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2009: fig. 132 (detail).**



Figure 89: *Cubiculum B*. Pilaster between rear and right hand wall (south west corner).
Photograph PCAS AUR_03b_013_008R.



Figure 90a: Dolphins on pagan tomb. S. Sebastiano in Capite, Rome. Photograph - author.

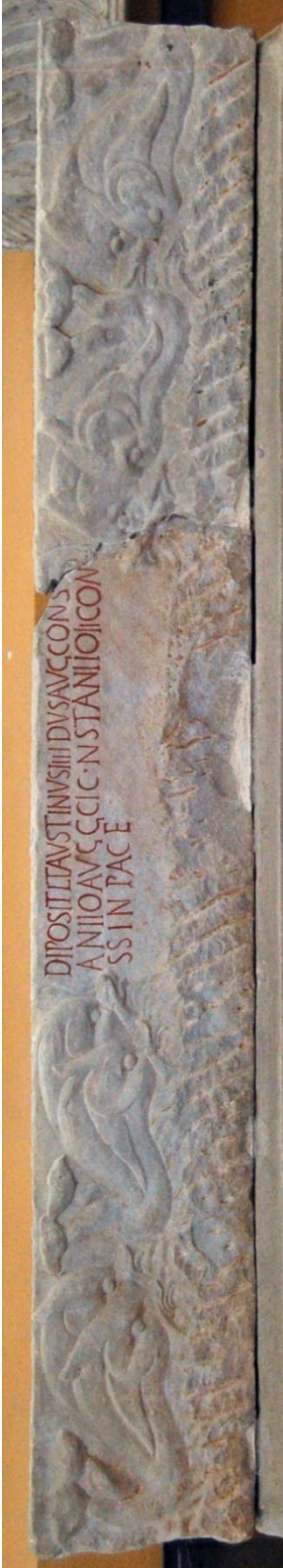


Figure 90b: Dolphins on Christian tomb. Vat. Mus. Pio Cristiano, 31583 (ex 228).

Photograph - author.



**Figure 91: Villa Piccola, S. Sebastiano.
Entrance to room 34 highlighting dolphin decoration.
Joyce 1981: fig. 39 (detail).**



Figure 92: Vault of *lucernium* in *cubiculum* of Miltiades.
Focchi Nicolai et al. 2009: fig. 105.



Figure 93: Detail from fresco, Room E8, *domus* beneath Piazza dei Cinquecento now in MNR, Palazzo Massimo. Photograph – author.



Figure 94a: *Cubiculum* of the Seasons, catacomb of S. Callisto.
Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2009: fig. 106.



Figure 94b: Detail of Season in fig. 94a.

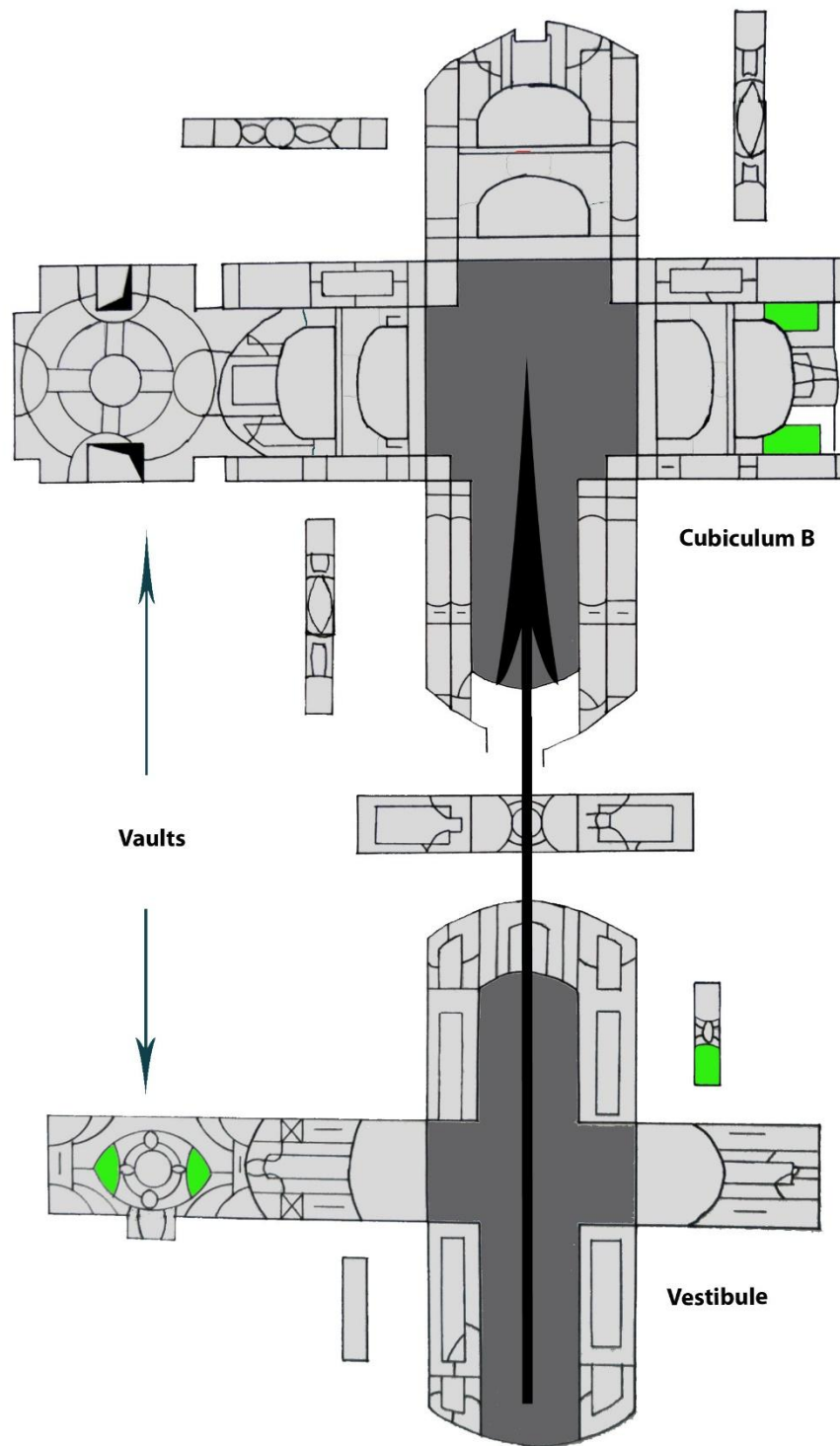


Figure 95: *Cubiculum B* and vestibule showing positions of solitary female figures.



Figure 96: Piazza Armerina mosaic of *domina* and servants. Gentili 1999: fig. 1.

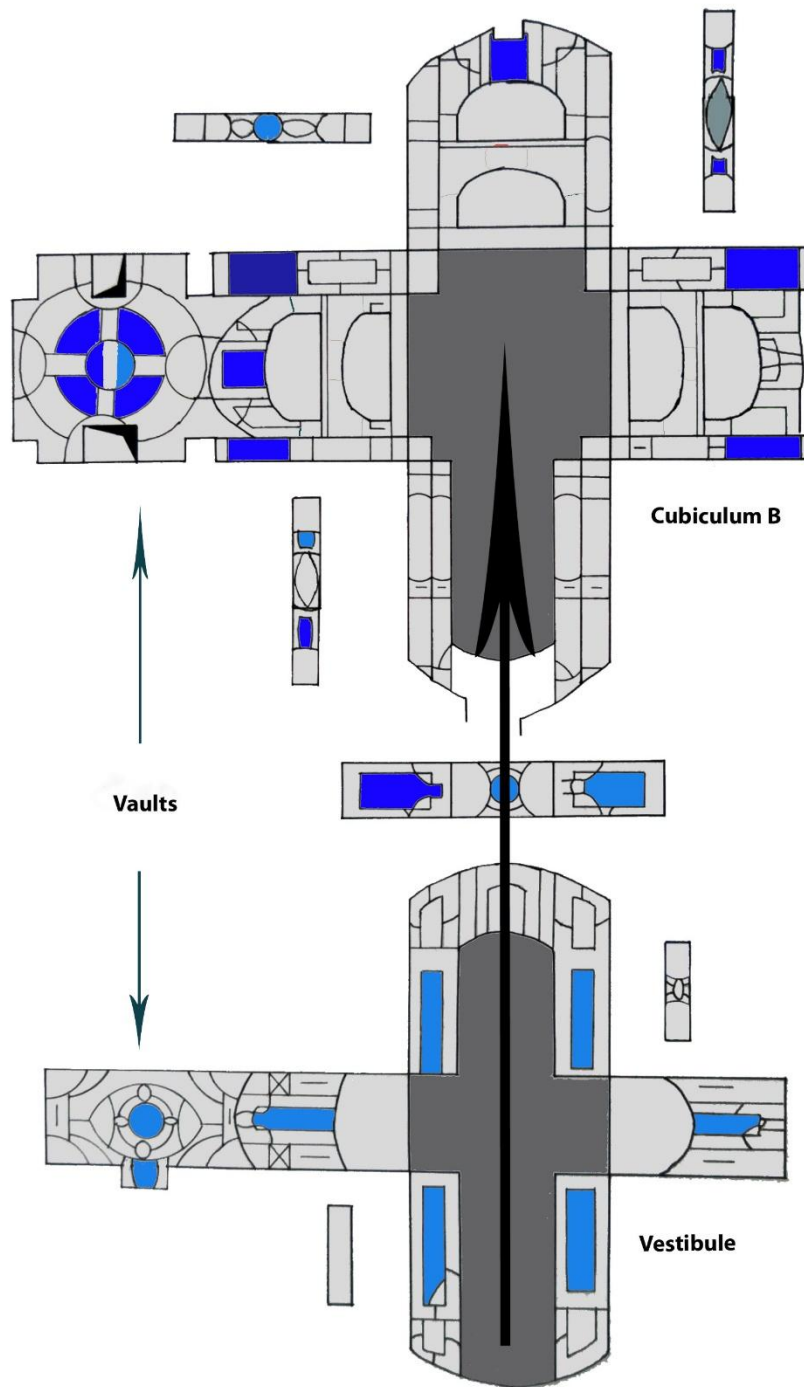


Figure 97: *Cubiculum B* and vestibule showing positions of male figures with rod or *rotulus*.

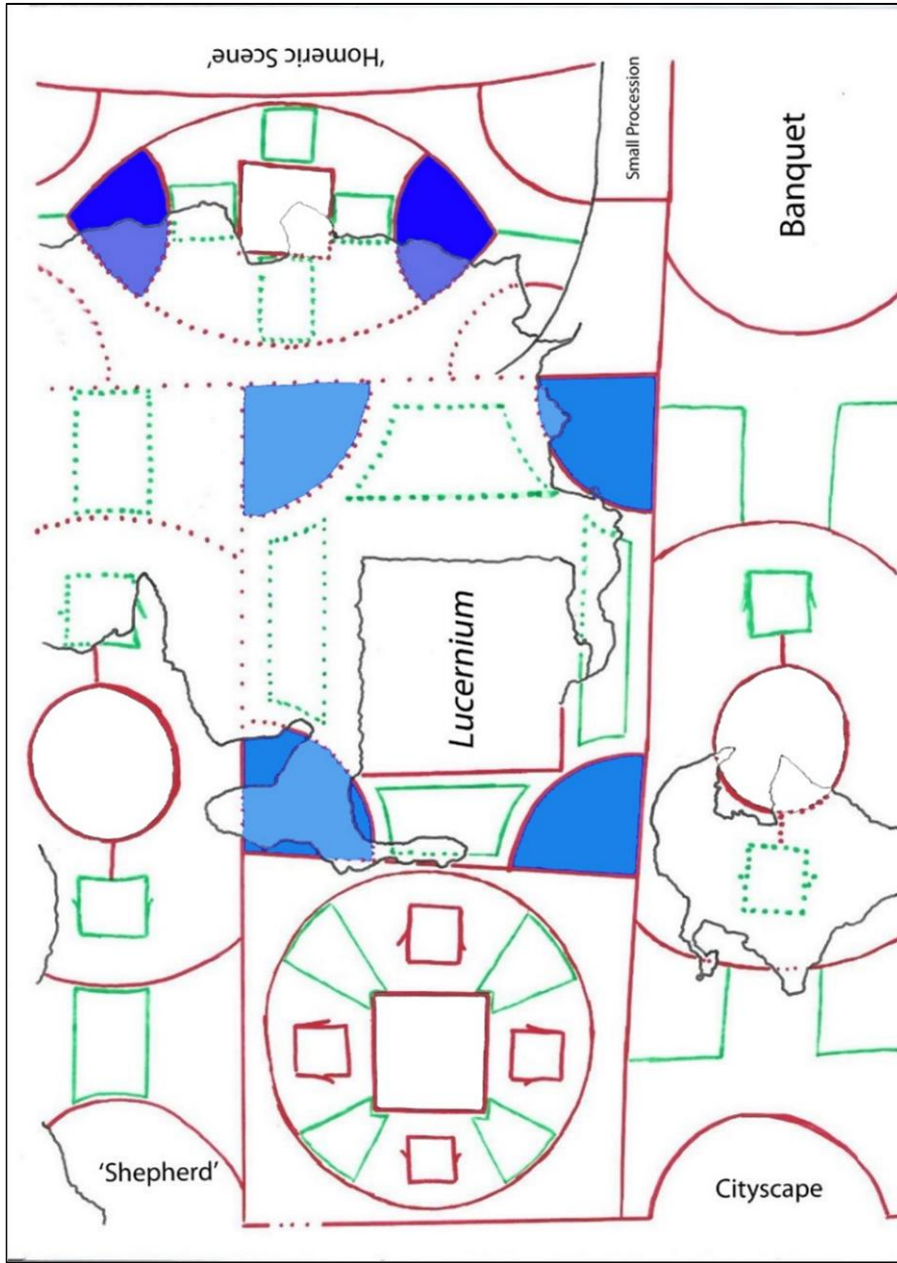


Figure 98: *Cubiculum A* vault showing positions of male figures with rod or *rotulus*.



Figure 99: Gold glass of Christ without Lazarus. Museums of the Vatican Library, 60668. Morey nr 162. Photograph - author.



Figure 100: Gold glass of Lazarus without Christ. Museums of the Vatican Library, 60673. Morey nr 158. Photograph - author.



Figure 101: Figure with rod from hypogeum of Campana. *BullAC* 1886: tav. II.



Figure 102: Figure from catacomb of S. Gennaro, Naples. Carletti 1992: fig. 14.



Figure 103: Arcade mosaic to S. Costanza. Photograph - author.



Figure 104a: *Cubiculum* of Miltiades, vault.
Catacomb of S. Callisto.
Fiocchi Nicolai et al. 2009: fig. 105.



Figure 104b: *Cubiculum* of Miltiades, vault.
Catacomb of S. Callisto.
Wilpert 1903: tav. 128, 1.

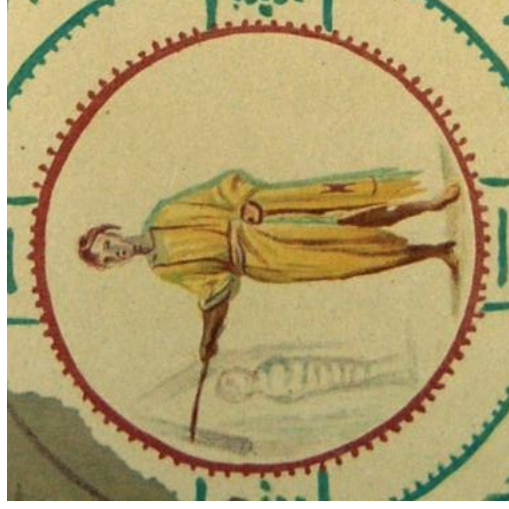


Figure 104c: *Cubiculum* of Miltiades, vault.
Catacomb of S. Callisto.
De Rossi 1864 II: tav. XXIV.

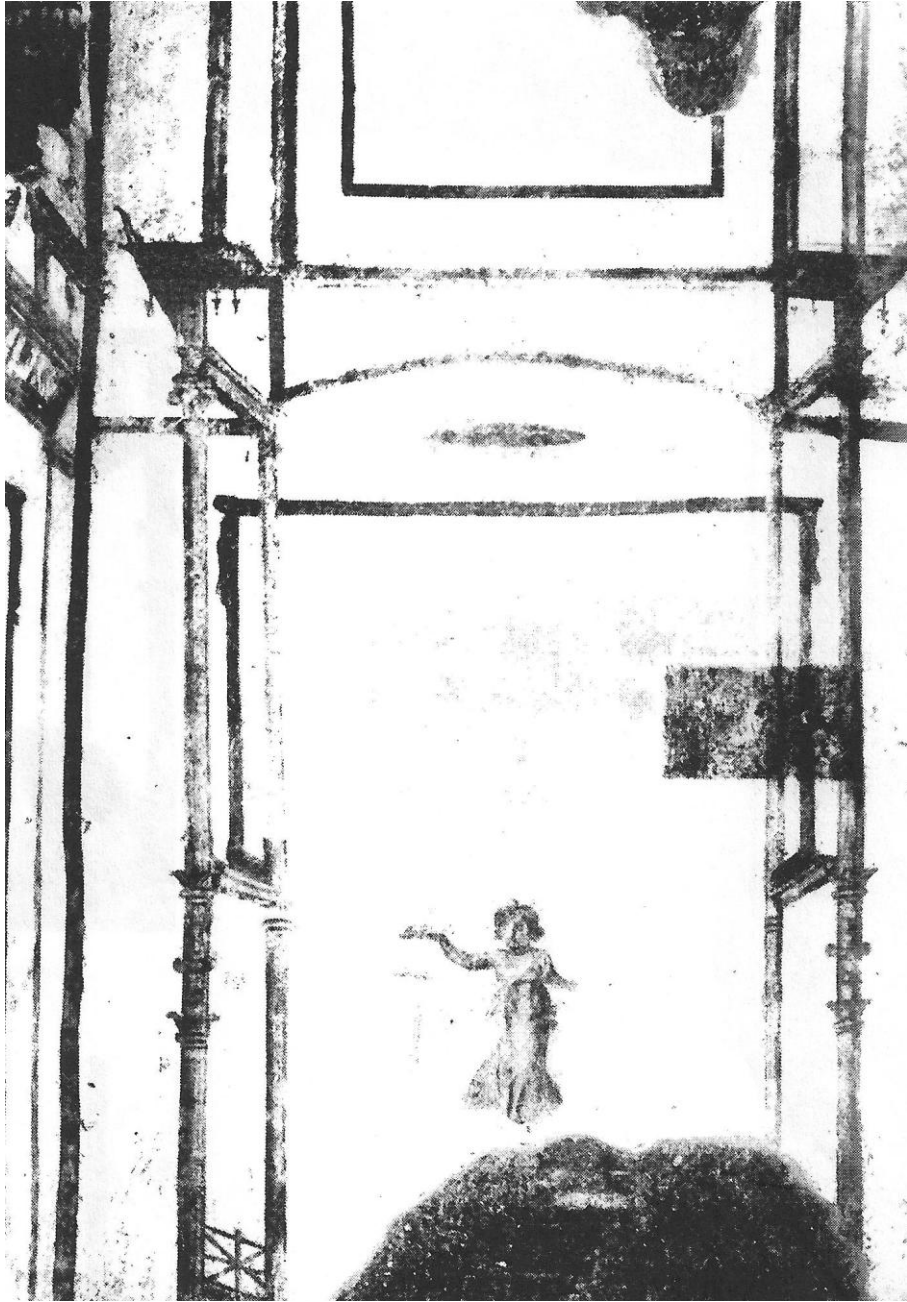


Figure 105: *Cubiculum* of Miltiades. Detail of architectural decoration in the *lucernium* .
Carletti 1992: fig. 5.

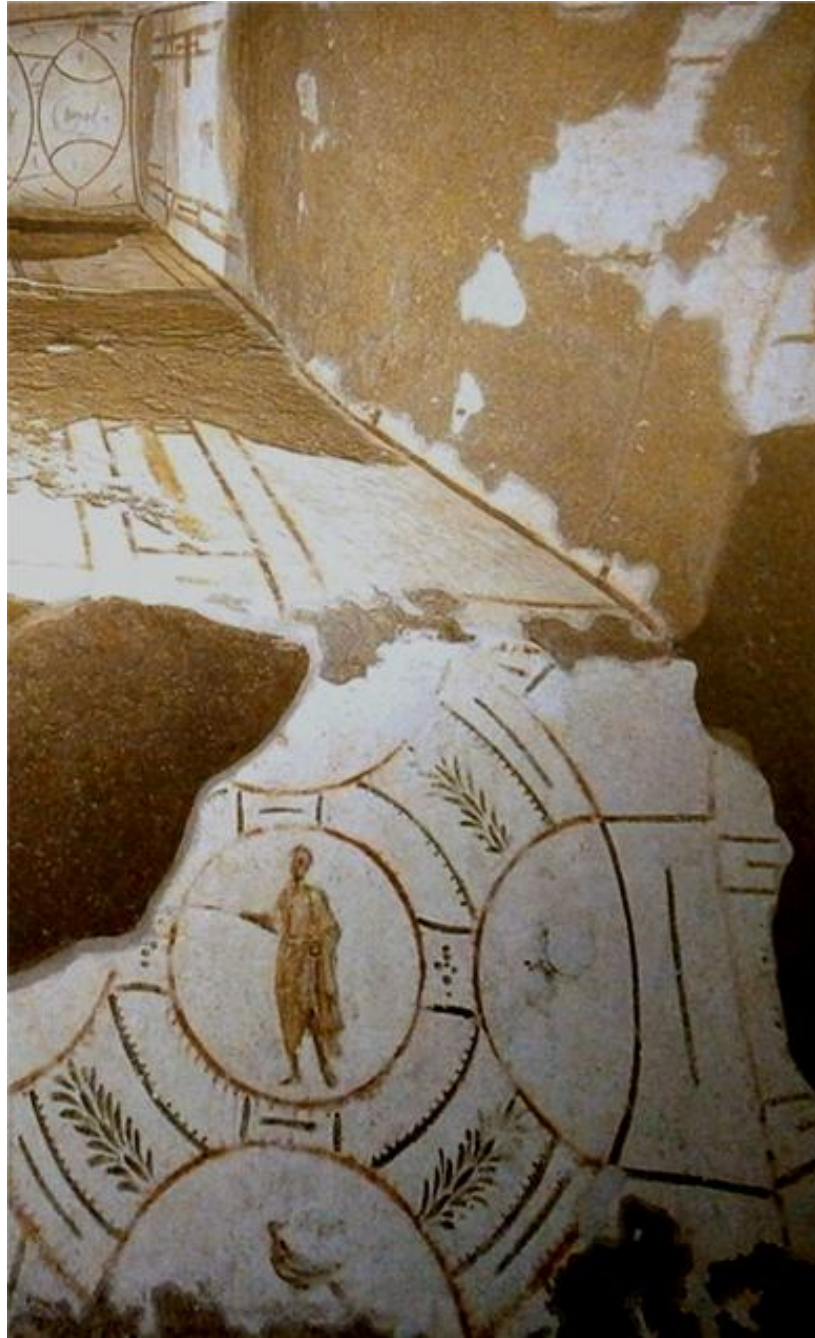


Figure 106: *Cubiculum* of Miltiades. Detail of junction between *lucernium* and *cubiculum*.
Photograph - author.

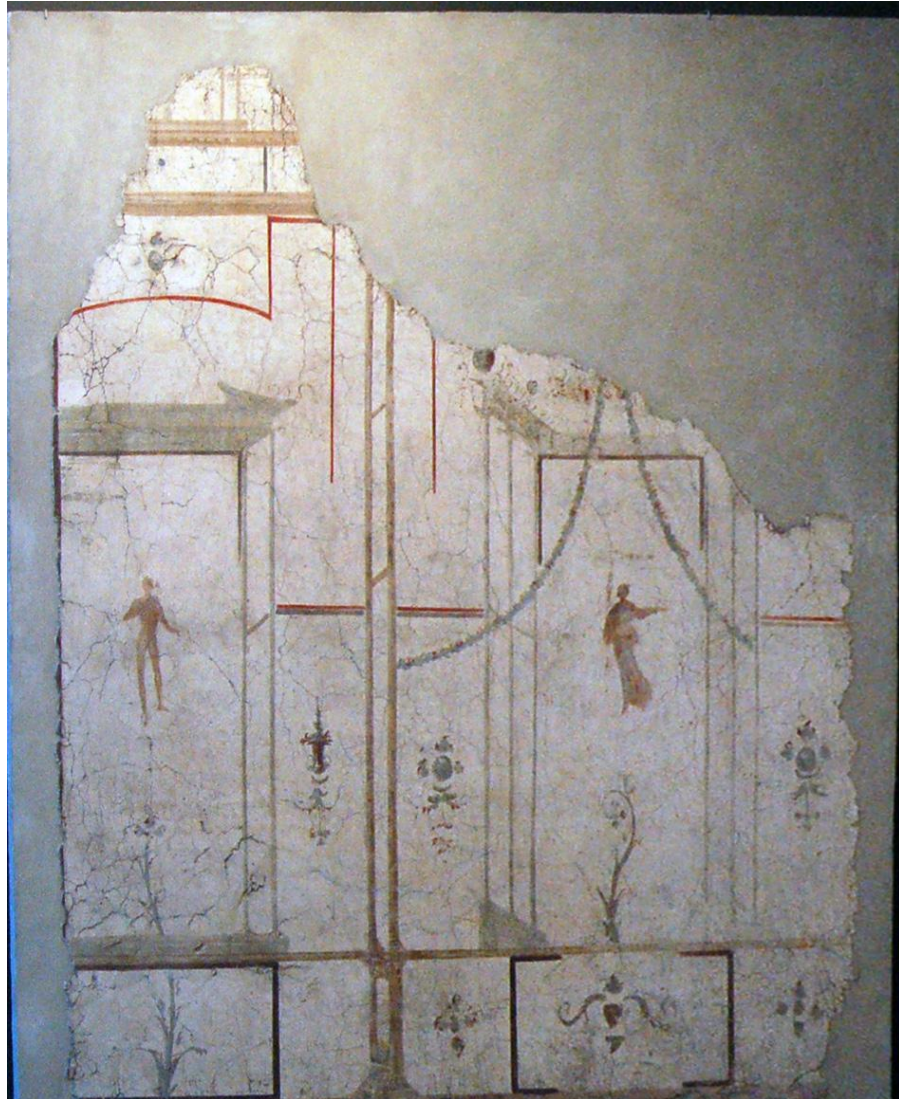


Figure 107: Fresco from Room E8, *domus* beneath Piazza dei Cinquecento now in MNR, Palazzo Massimo. Photograph – author



Figure 108: Fresco from the so-called Schola Praeconum on the Via dei Cerchi.
Strong 1916: pl. III.

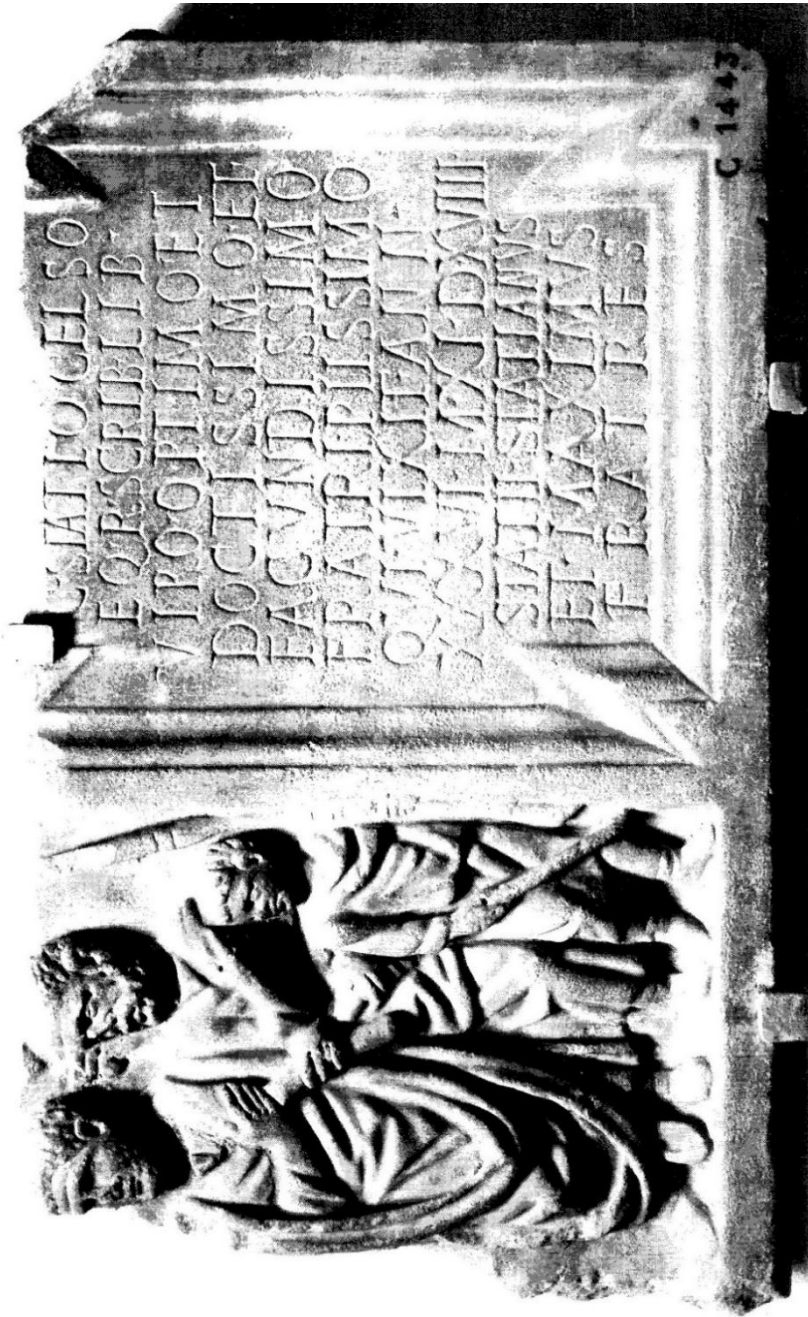


Figure 109: Funerary relief of C. Staius Celso. Bardo Museum, C1443. Himmelmann 1973: taf. 2.



Figure 110: Use of rod by *Ianista*. Bignor Villa. Photograph – author.



Figure 111: Mariémont relief.
Reinach 1909-12: II, 164,3.



**Figure 112: Coin of 43/42 BC.
Barber Institute of Fine Arts, R. 780**



**Figure 113: Relief from Este. Copy in Museo della Civiltà Romana, EUR.
Photograph - author.**

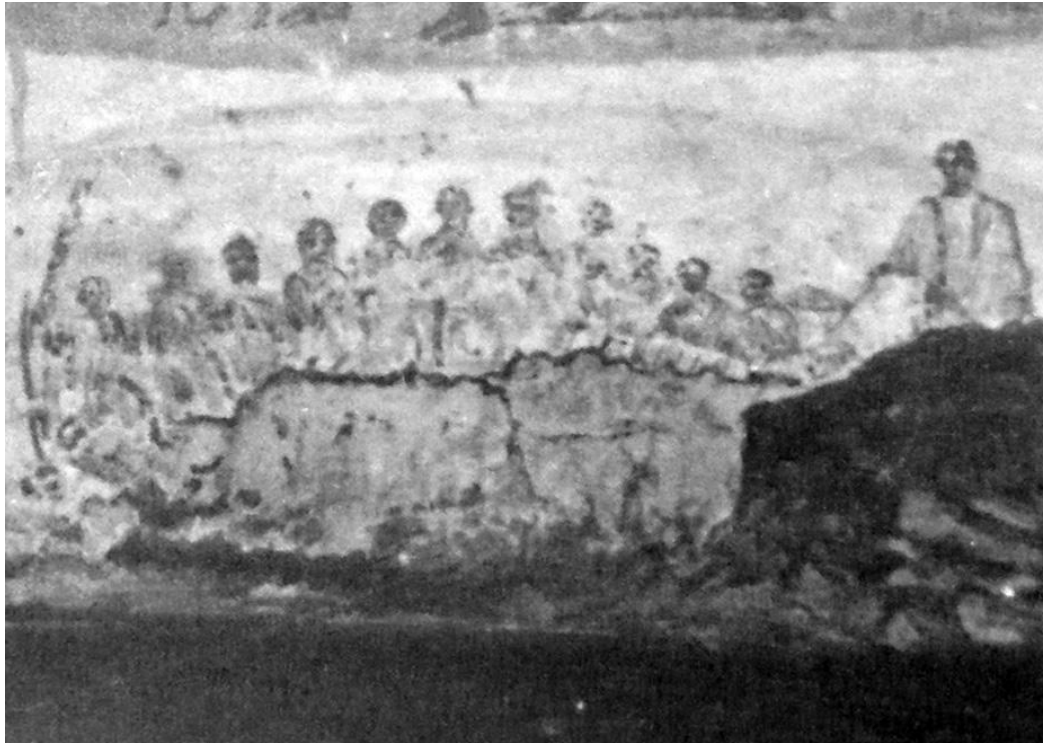


Figure 114: Twelve seater *stibadium*, fourth century. Kanzler 1903: tav. vi.



Figure 115: Last Supper, sixth century mosaic, S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna. Bustacchini 2012: 116.



Figure 116: Vibia being presented to Dis Pater by Mercury Psychopompus.
Wilpert 1903: tav. 132.



Figure 117: Vibia being led towards the diners by the *angelus bonus*.
Wilpert 1903: tav. 132.



Figure 118: Detail banqueting mosaic from Duar-ech-Choatt. Blanck 1981: taf. 145, 1.



**Figure 119: Detail from Julio-Claudian dynastic commemorative relief, Ravenna.
MN Ravenna, 5. Photograph - author.**

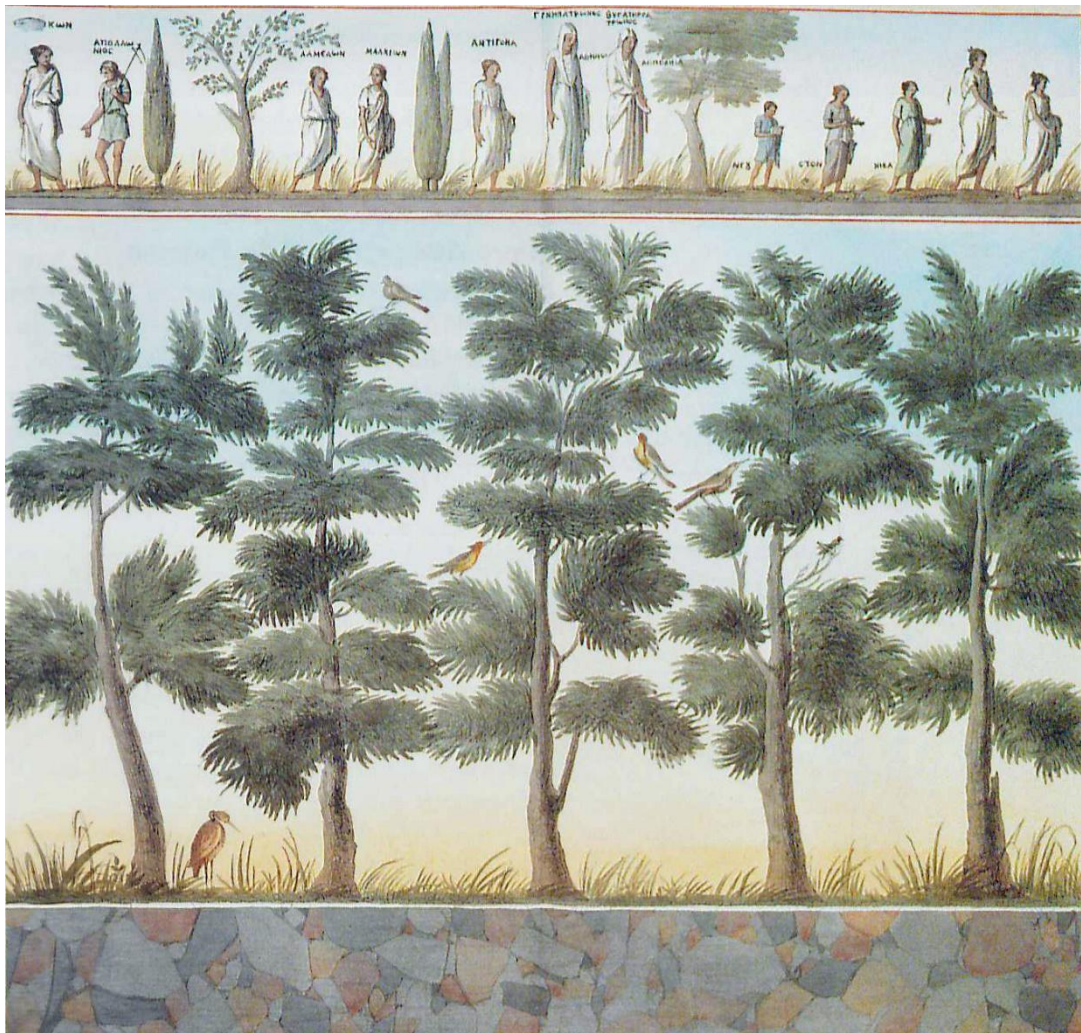


Figure 120: Tomb of Patron. Martinez 1998: 87 nr 34.



Figure 121: Odysseus and Penelope, *Macellum*, Pompeii. Latini 2011: fig. 7.



Figure 122: Odysseus and Circe. *Skyphos* from the sanctuary at Cabeirion, Thebes. British Museum, 1893,0303.1.



Figure 123: Sarcophagus of Iulius Achilleus. MNR Terme, 125802.
Photograph - author.



Figure 124: Avezzano relief. Campenelli 2003, fig. 56.



Figure 125: Tomb of the Haterii. Vat. Mus. Gregorio Profano, 9999.
Photograph - author.

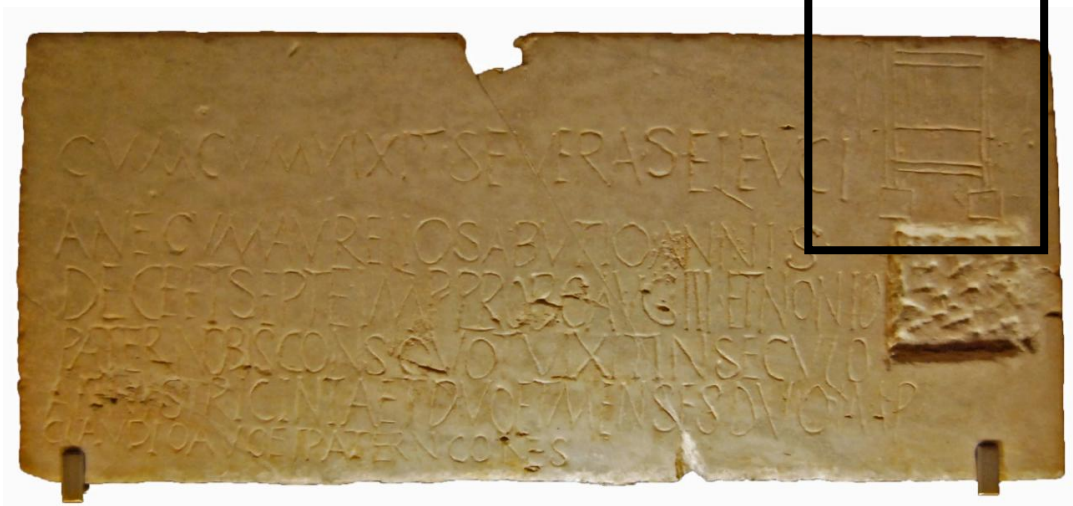


Figure 126: Epitaph of Severa Seleuciane. Capitoline Epigraphic Museum, NCE 2799, Rome.
Photograph - author.



Figure 127a: CIL VI, 34004.
 Photograph - adapted from EDR118433.

Q(uinto) Supicio Camerino C(aio) Poppaeo Sabino co(n)s(ulibus)
curatoribus his qui
L(ucio) Munio Gnomone, Q(uinto) Volumnio Amphione
qui recte soci(i) monumenti sunt

C(aius) Curtius Theotimus
L(ucius) Marcius Philomusus
M(arcus) Remmius Iucundus
Sestia Rufa
C(aius) Nautius Amphio
M(arcus) Peccellius Hilarus
Aristia Pithusa
Licinia Epigone
C(aius) Flavius Sosia
C(aius) Petronius Varia
M(arcus) Allius Sabinus
Tiberius

Clodia Automate
A(ulus) Valgius Eros
Pollia M(arci) f(ilia)
M(arcus) Livius Anteros
Cordia Nardis
Lutatius Hilarus
Rabiria Eucumene
L(ucius) Marcius Primus
Helvia Helpis
Fannius Pelops
Aelia Thalea
L(ucius) Sestius Phileros

(in lower margin)
L(ucius) Sestius Primigenius.

Figure 127b: CIL VI, 34004, transcription – female names in bold.



Figure 128: Funerary relief of L. Vibius Tro and family. Vat. Mus. Chiaramonti, 2109. Photograph - author.



Figure 129: Funerary altar to Q. Sulpicius Maximus. Cap. Mus. Montemartini, 1102. Photograph - author.



Figure 130: Child sarcophagus. Vat. Mus. Galleria dei Candelabri, 2422.
Photograph - author.

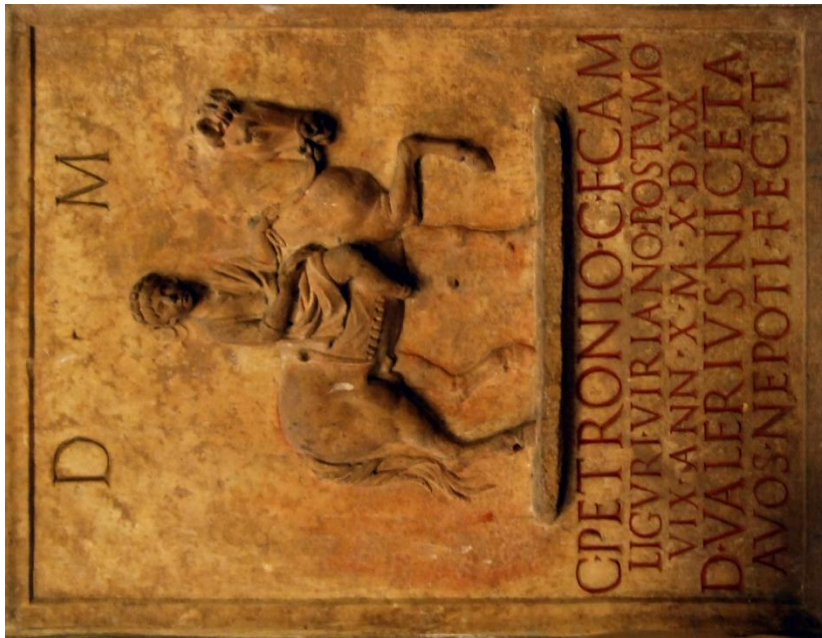


Figure 132: CIL VI, 24011.
 Cap. Mus. Sala del Fauno, NCE 2637.
 Photograph – author.



Figure 131: Image from funerary inscription CIL VI, 9484 to the
 two year old child Sindriilius. MAR Antonio Salinas, 3833.
 Photograph - author



Figure 133: Grave stele of the two year old Eutyches. Reproduction in Museo della Seconda Legione Partica, Albano Laziale. Photograph - author.



**Figure 134: Child memorial from a tomb in Acilia, Rome.
MNR Terme, 115164. Photograph - author.**



Figure 135: Equestrian figure of child rider with attendant. Ostia Antica Site Museum, SBAO 33. Photograph - author.

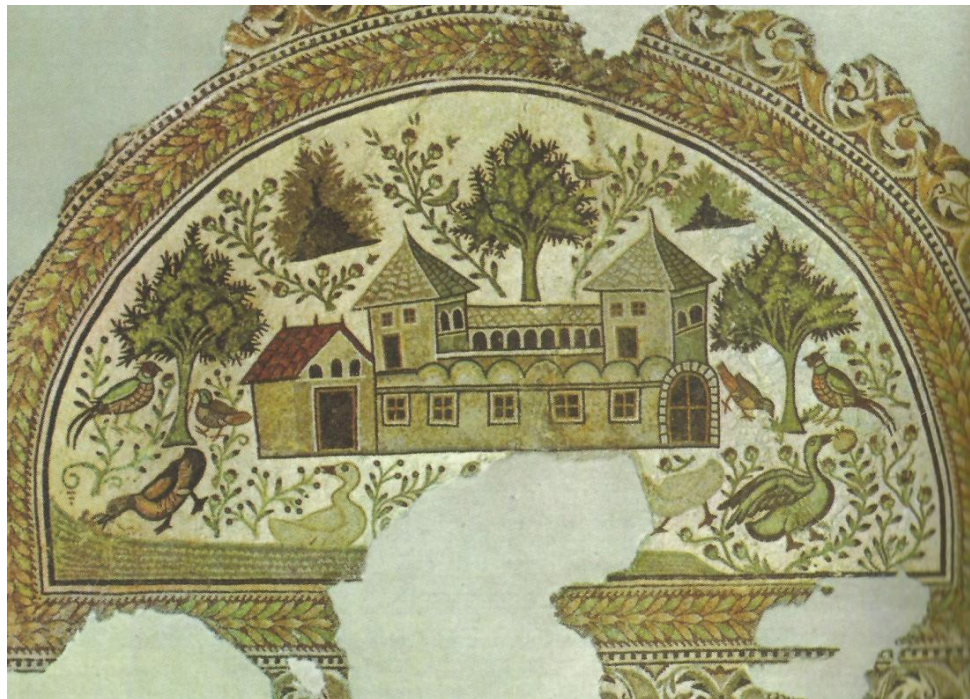


Figure 136: Image of *villa rustica*. Bardo Museum, Tunis. Braconi 2011, fig. 17.

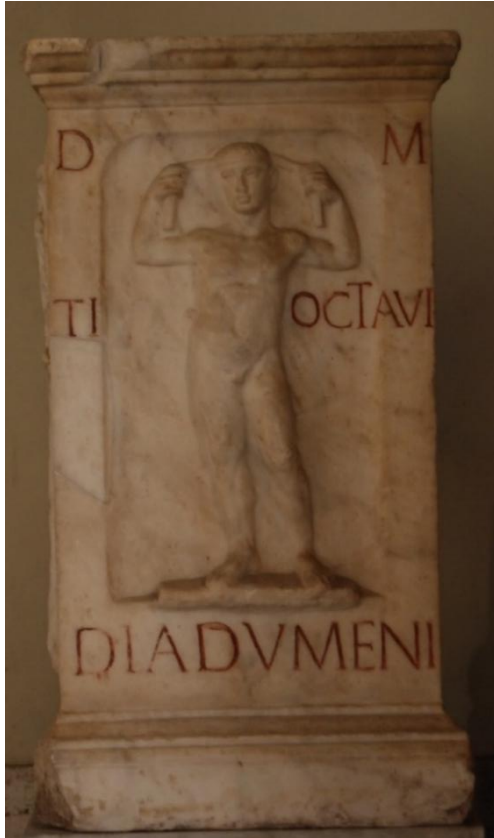


Figure 137: Funerary altar of Tib. Octavius Diadumenus. Vat. Mus. Cortile del Belvedere, 1142. Photograph -author.



Figure 138. Funerary Stele of the Gavii. Epigraphic Database Roma, EDR103944.



Figure 139: Epitaph to Cepasius. Ritti 1977, tav. IX, 2.



Figure 140: Funerary altar to M. Gavius Amphion Mus. MNR Terme, 54748.
Photograph - author.

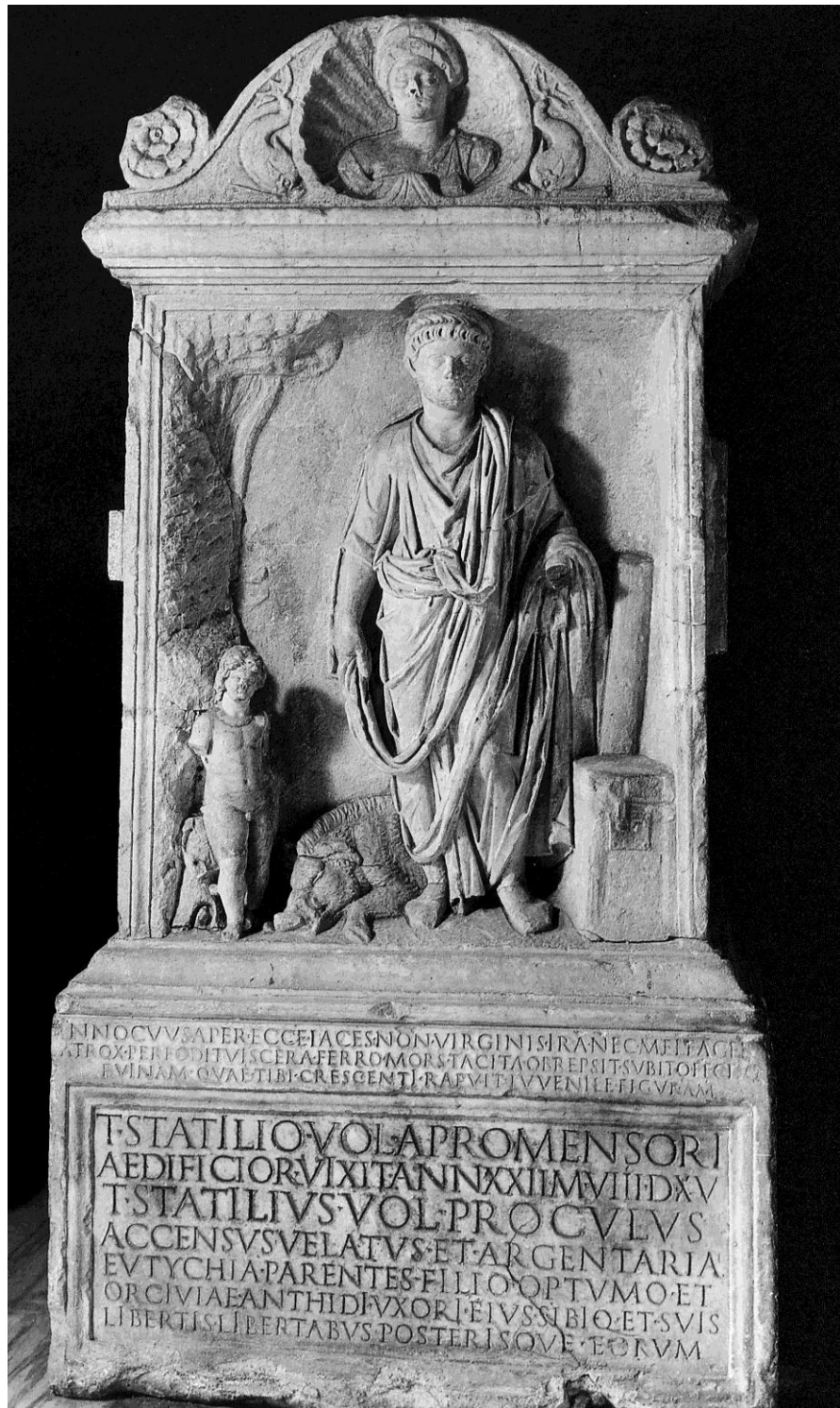


Figure 141: Funerary altar to T. Statilius Aper. Capitoline Museum, S 209 = NCE 235.
Dunti 2010: 291.



Figure 142: Rear wall detail of hypogeum of Trebius Iustus. Bisconti 2004a: 138, fig. 109 (detail).



Figure 143: Entrance wall of hypogeum of Trebius Iustus. Bisconti 2004a: 136, fig. 108.



**Figure 144a: Image of calf on funerary altar of N. Naevius Moschus.
Vat. Mus. Sala della Biga, 2345. Photograph - author.**



**Figure 144b: Image of sow on funerary altar of N. Naevius Moschus.
Vat. Mus. Sala della Biga, 2345. Photograph - author.**



Figure 145: Detail from Altar to the *lares* of the *vicus Aescultus*.
Zanker 2010, fig. 65a (detail).



Figure 146: Grave altar of Cornelia Cleopatra.
Østergaard 1996: 47, nr. 15.



Figure 147b: Amedick 1991, kat. 198, taf. 54,1.



Figure 147c: Amedick 1991, kat. 198, taf. 54,2.

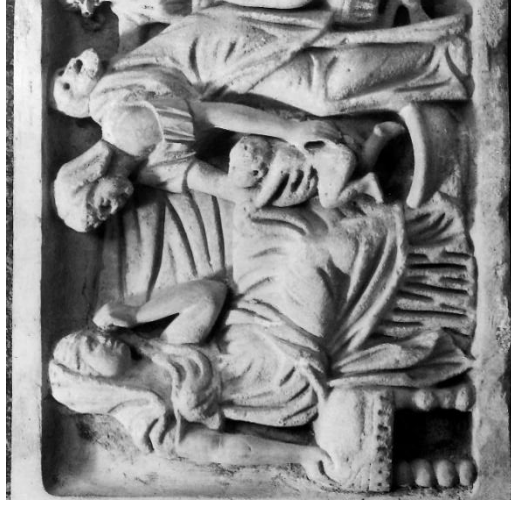


Figure 147d: Amedick 1991, kat. 198, taf. 54,3.



Figure 148: Upper chamber, east (left) side. Wilpert 1924: tav. IIa.



Figure 149: Upper chamber, west (right) side. Wilpert 1924: tav. IIb.



**Figure 150a: Upper Chamber. Detail of east wall, right hand figure.
Bisconti 2011a: tav. 9.**



**Figure 150b: Upper Chamber, east wall, right hand figure.
Wilpert 1924: tav. IIa (detail).**

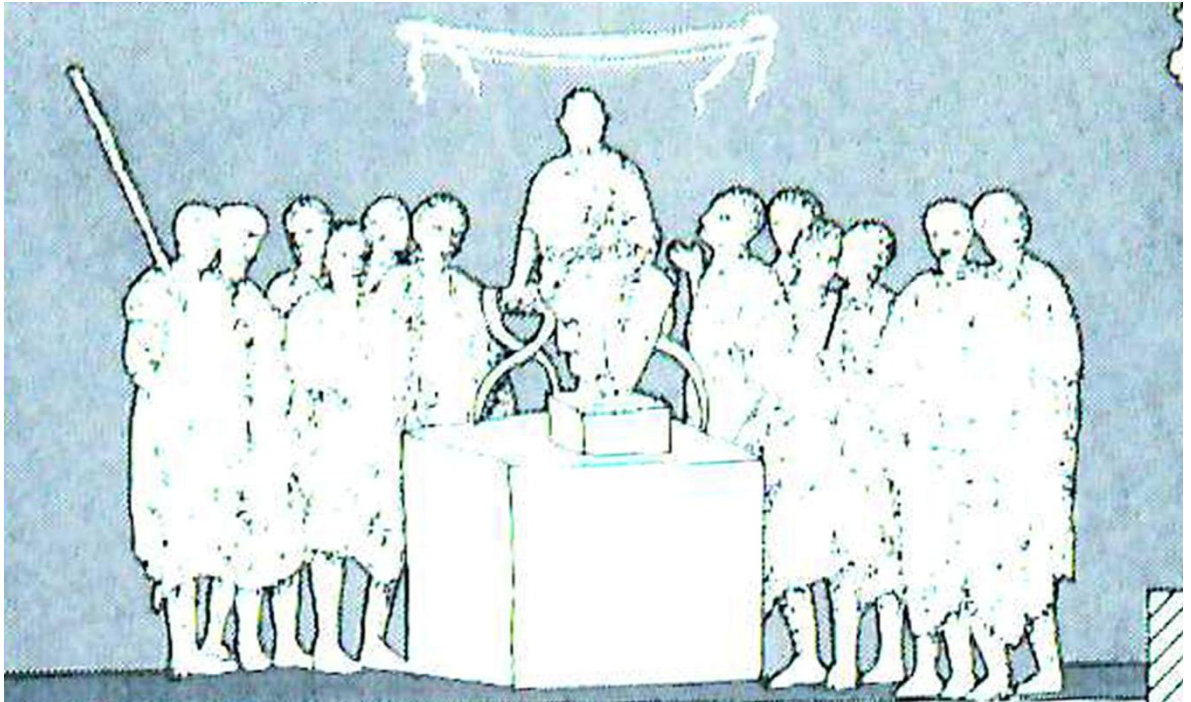


Figure 151: Tomb of Vestorius Priscus, Pompeii. Clarke 2003: 109, fig. 14.

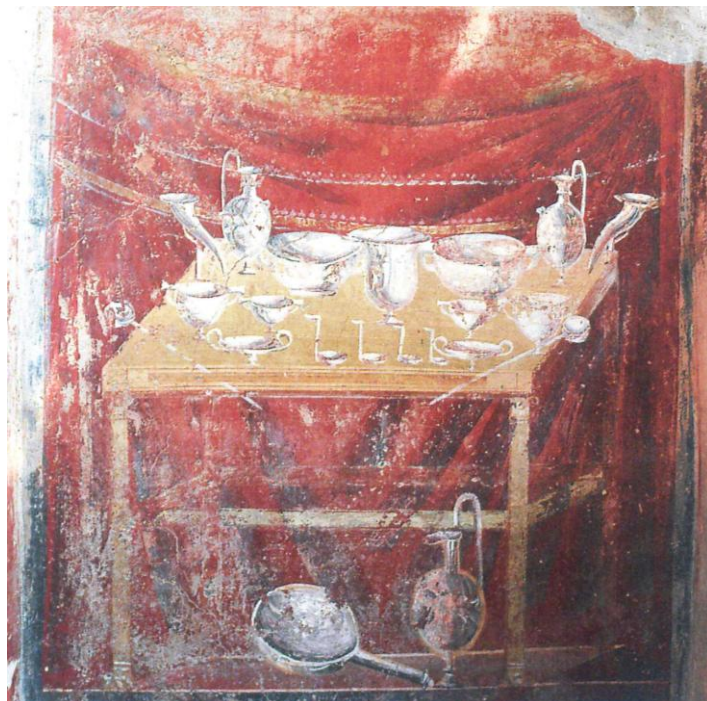


Figure 152: Tomb of Vestorius Priscus, Pompeii. Clarke 2003: plate 14.



Figure 153: Tomb of Trebius Iustus. Detail of rear wall.
Bisconti 2004a: 138, fig. 109.



Figure 154: Sarcophagus illustrating 'philosopher' (right) in bucolic landscape as pendent to male figure in *clipeus* Antikenmuseum, Basel. Sammlung Ludwig, 256. Ewald 1999: A11, taf. 8.



Figure 155: Sarcophagus of 'Plotinus'.
Vat. Mus. Gregoriano Profano, 9504. Photograph - author.



**Figure 156: Deceased in the company of philosophers wearing *pallium* only.
MNR Terme, 113227.
Photograph - author.**



Figure 157: Deceased in the company of the Muses and his wife who is portrayed as one.
Vat. Mus. Cortile del Belvedere, Ottagone 34. Photograph - author.



Figure 158: Deceased, wearing feathers, in the company of others also possibly deceased.

MNA Tarragona (P) 60. Ewald 1999 kat. C6, tav. 28.3.



Figure 159: Brother Sarcophagus indicating a single individual (*) in various guises.
MAN Naples, 6603.

Photograph - <http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=5149>



Figure 161: Coin of Gordian III (r. 238-244). RIC IV, 313.



Figure 160: The *arringatore* statue of Aule Meteli.
Early 1st C. BC. NAM Florence, 2.
Esposito and Guidotti 1999: 46.



Figure 162a: Philosopher with two fingered 'pointing' gesture.
Louvre, Ma 475.
Réunion des Musées nationaux. Agence Photographique.



Figure 162b: Detail of Philosopher with two fingered 'pointing' gesture.



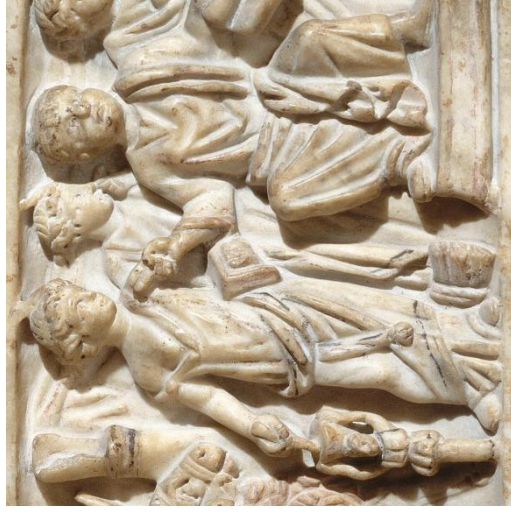
Figure 163b: End of sarcophagus illustrating 'vertical' two finger gesture. Vat. Mus. Chiaramonti, 1256. Ewald 1999: A23.



Figure 163a: End of sarcophagus illustrating 'horizontal' two finger gesture. Vat. Mus. Chiaramonti, 1258. Ewald 1999: A24



Figure 164: Sarcophagus lid showing multiple philosophers, attributes and gestures. Cagliari cathedral. Ewald 1999: 15.



**Figure 165b: Detail of Child sarcophagus.
Louvre, Ma1520.**



**Figure 165a: Child sarcophagus. Louvre, Ma1520.
Réunion des Musées nationaux. Agence Photographique.**

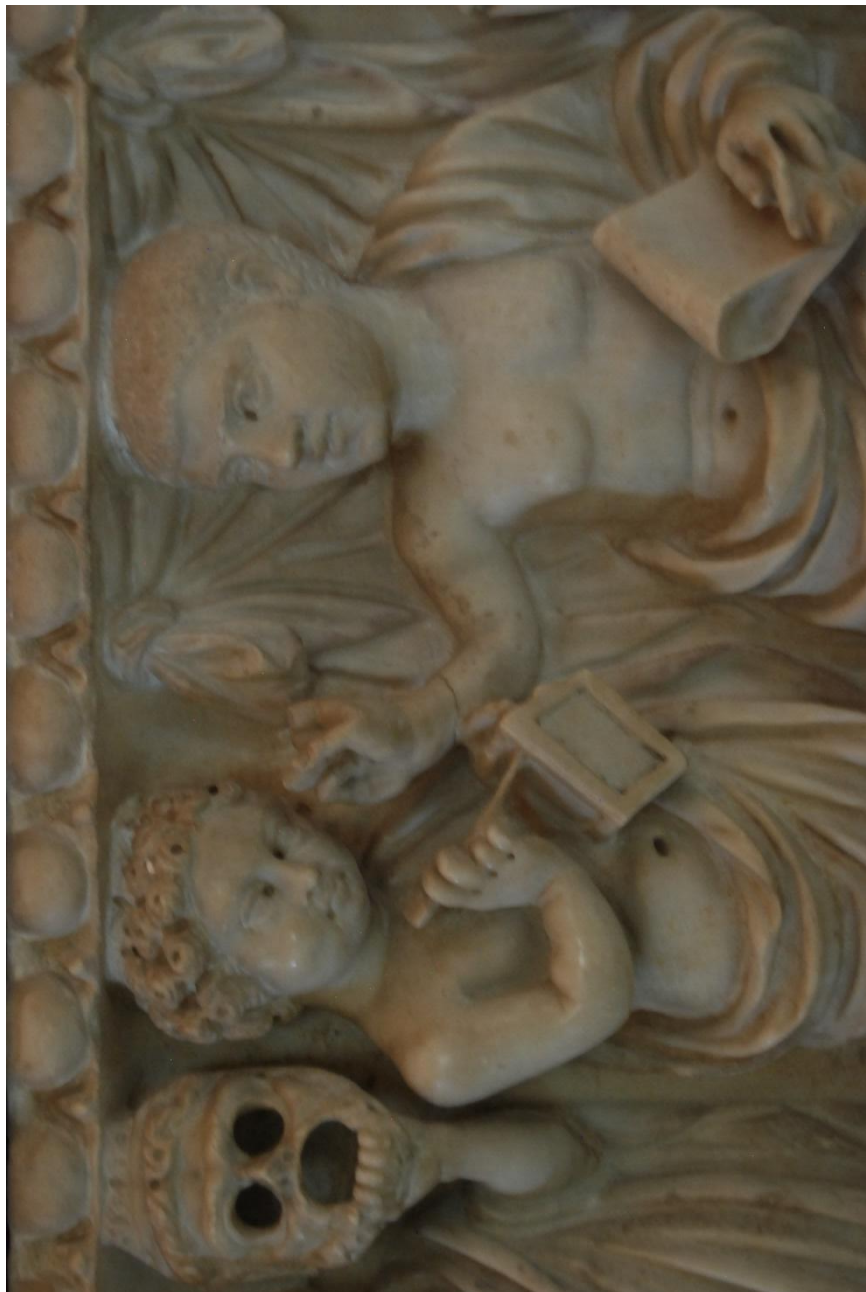


Figure 166: Detail of Child sarcophagus (Figure 130) demonstrating 'vertical' gesture. Vat. Mus. Galleria dei Candelabri, 2422. Photograph – author.



**Figure 167: Ivory statuette of Septimius Severus discovered in the Templum Pacis.
Spinola 2014: fig. 7a.**

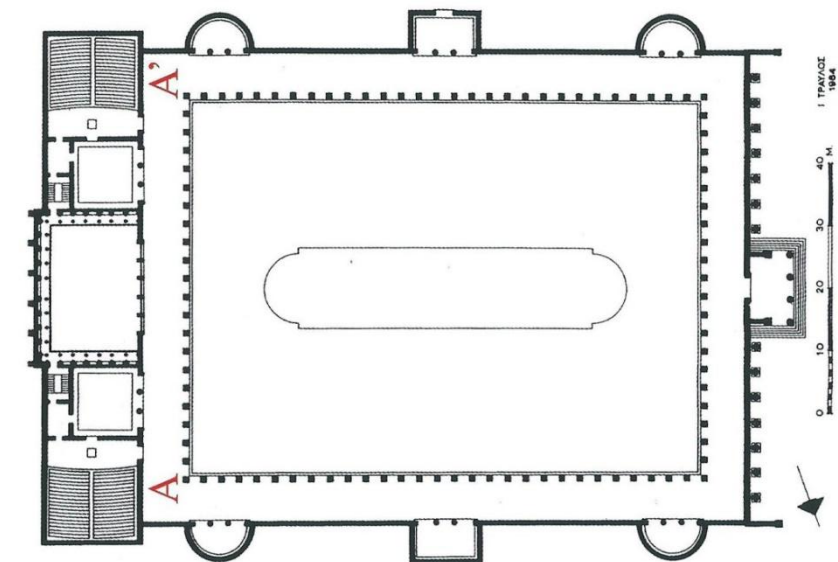


Figure 168b: Plan of Library of Hadrian at Athens.
From Meneghini 2014: fig. 7.

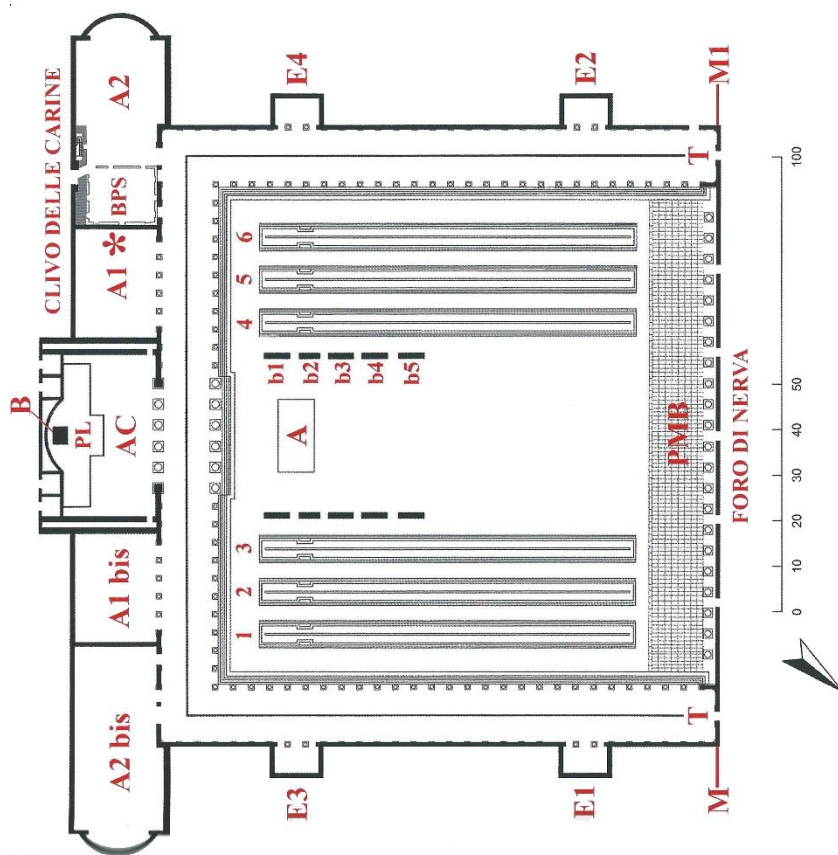


Figure 168a: Plan of *Templum Pacis*. Library marked 'BPS'.
From Meneghini 2014: fig. 1.



Figure 169: Pompeian villa landscapes.
Ward-Perkins and Claridge 1976: cat. nr. 6. MAN Naples, 9406.



**Figure 170a: Side panel of 'The Altar of the Scribes', Rome.
Photograph - author.**



**Figure 170b: Side panel of 'The Altar of the Scribes', Rome.
Photograph - author.**



Figure 170c: Upper panel of 'The Altar of the Scribes', Rome.
Photograph - author.



Figure 170d: Lower panel of 'The Altar of the Scribes', Rome.
Photograph - author.



Figure 171: Upper chamber, rear wall. Photograph PCAS AUR_01a_008_006R_dp.



Figure 172a: Rear wall, right side.
Photograph - PCAS AUR_01a_010_002R.



Figure 172b. Rear wall, right side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. I detail.



Figure 172c: Line drawing of rear wall, right side highlighting supposed third figure.
Bisconti 2004b: fig. 14 (graphics by B. Mazzei).

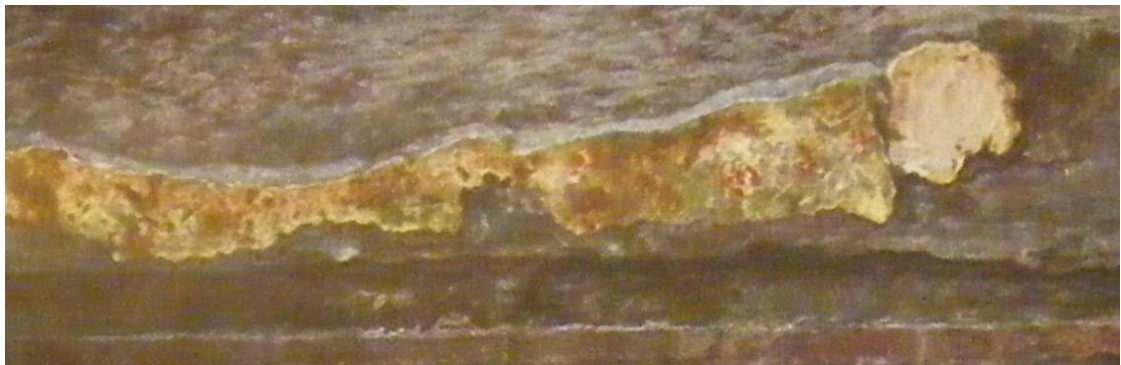


Figure 173: Rear wall, centre. Wilpert 1924: tav. I detail.



Figure 174a: Rear wall, left side.
Photograph - PCAS
AUR_01a_008_006R_dp (detail).



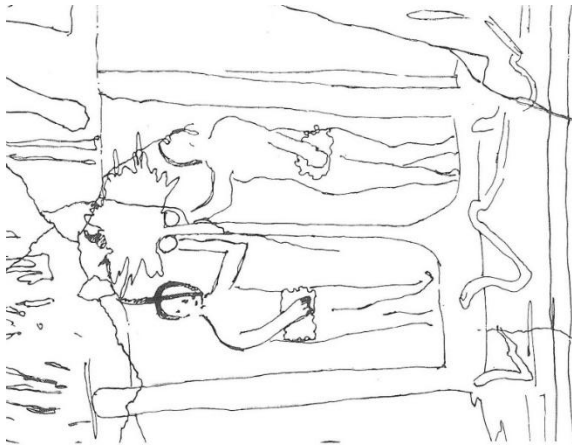
Figure 174b: Rear wall, left side.
Wilpert 1924: tav. I (detail).



Figure 175c: Adam and Eve graffito.
Vat.Mus. Pio Cristiano, 32458.
Photograph - author.



Figure 175b Adam and Eve. Sarcophagus detail.
Vat. Mus. Pio Cristiano, 31495 (ex 154)
Photograph - author.



**Figure 175a: Adam and Eve, Dura
Europas Church (tracing).**
Kraeling 1967: Plate XXXII, 3.



Figure 176: Adam & Eve sarcophagus from Trier.
Schindler 1970: abb. 257.



Figure 177a: Velletri sarcophagus. Photograph - author.



Figure 177b: Velletri sarcophagus, detail of fig. 177a.



Figure 178b: Detail from Trinquintaille sarcophagus.
Engemann 1976: taf. 10.

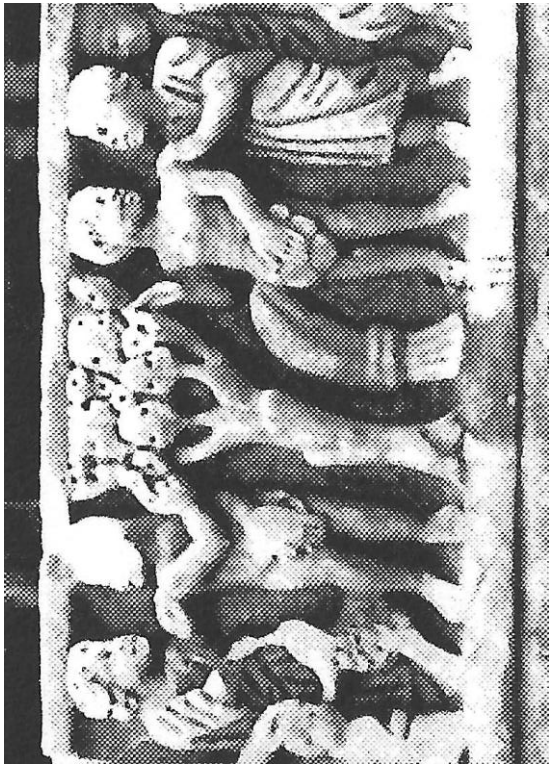


Figure 178a: Detail from Trinquintaille sarcophagus cover.
Engemann 1976: taf. 10.



Figure 179: Detail from the 'Dogmatic' sarcophagus. Vat. Mus. Pio Cristiano, 31427 (ex. 104).
Photograph - author.



**Figure 180: Altar of Cantinea Procla. MNR Terme, 125406.
Photograph - author.**

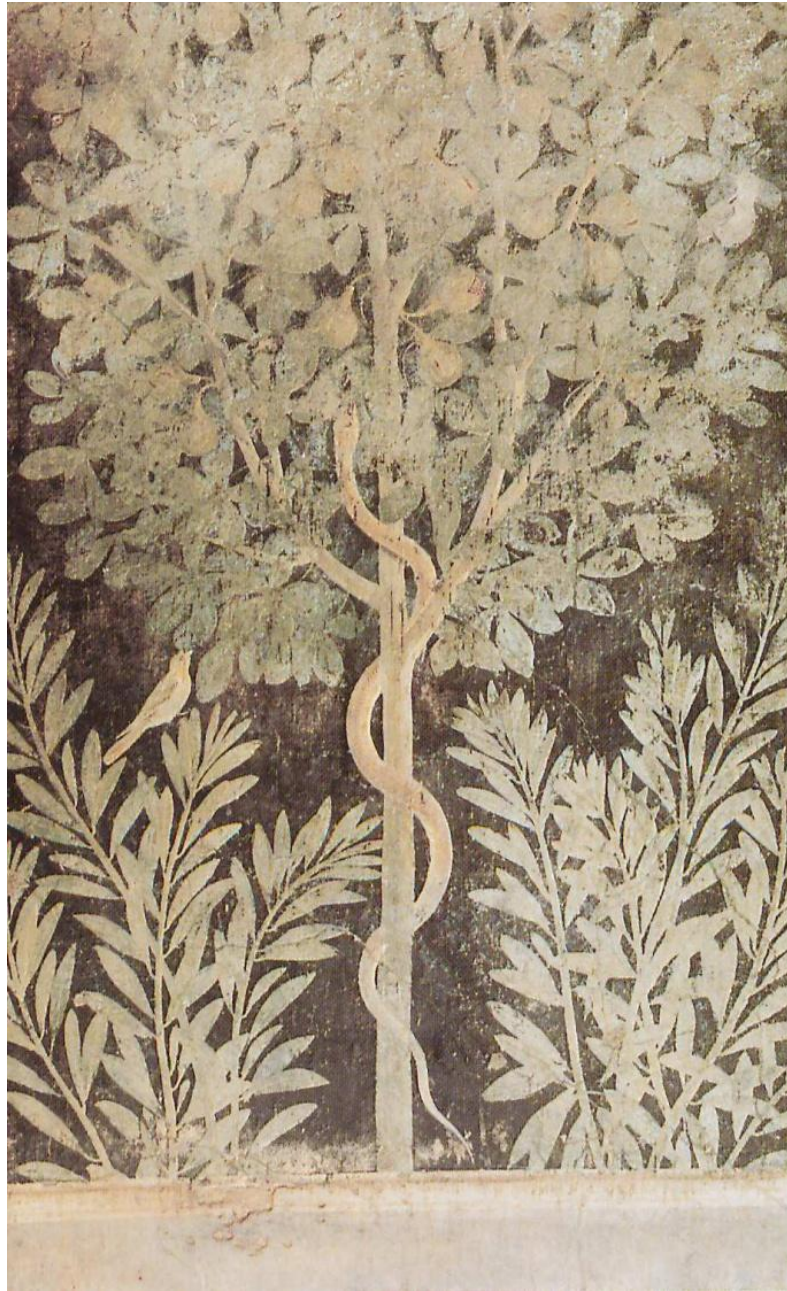


Figure 181: Image of snake from the House of the Orchard, I.ix.5, *cubiculum* 12, Pompeii.
Baldassare 1988-1998: vol. 2.121, fig. 148a.



Figure 182: Snake arising from Tellus. Sarcophagus MNR Terme, 255953.
Photograph - author.



Figure 183: 2nd century AD funerary sculpture. NM Athens.
Stavridis 1984: 170, fig. 15d.



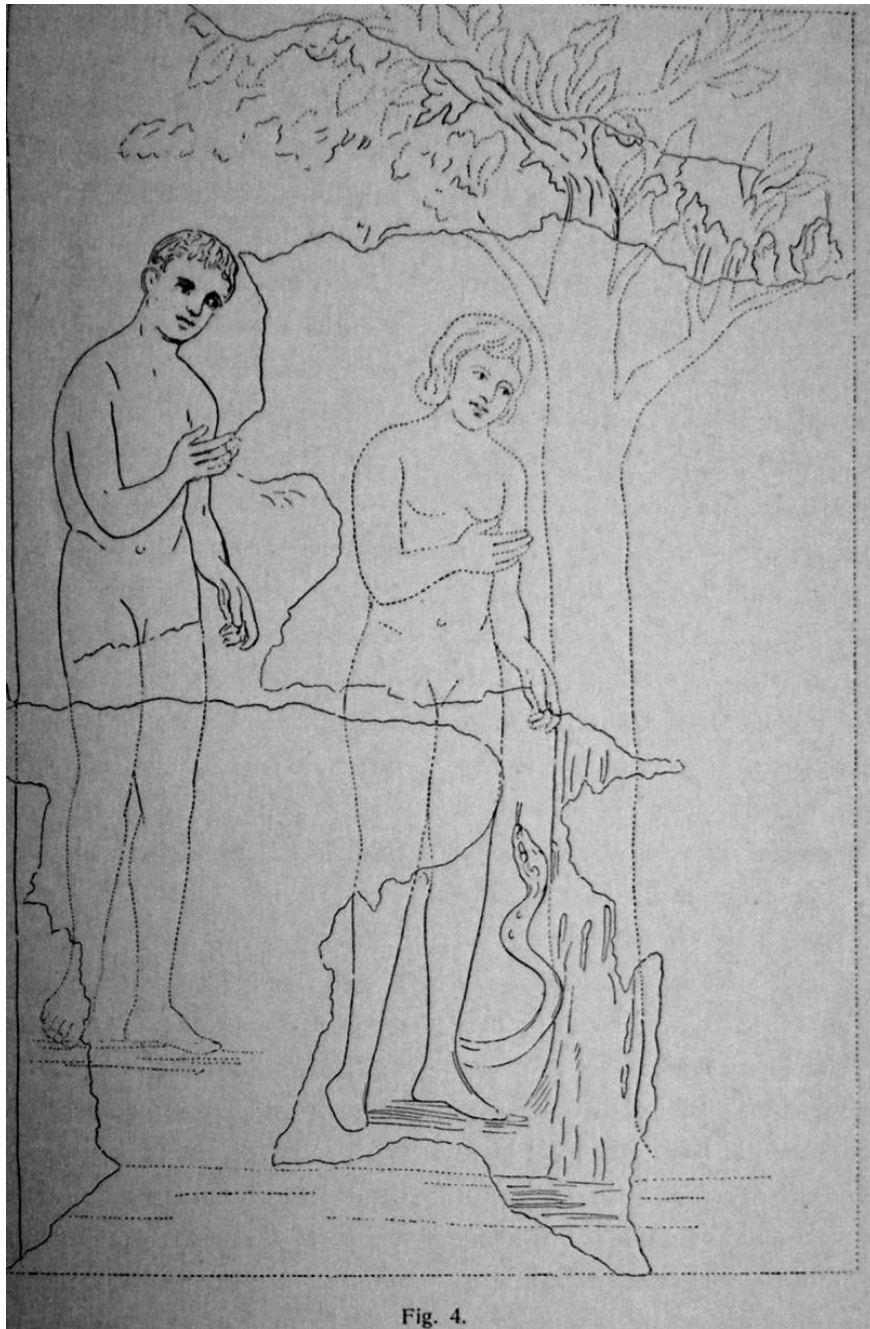
Cliché Anderson 23653

3 - Couvercle de sarcophage. Sommeil d'un adolescent tenant un œuf.
Musée des Thermes.

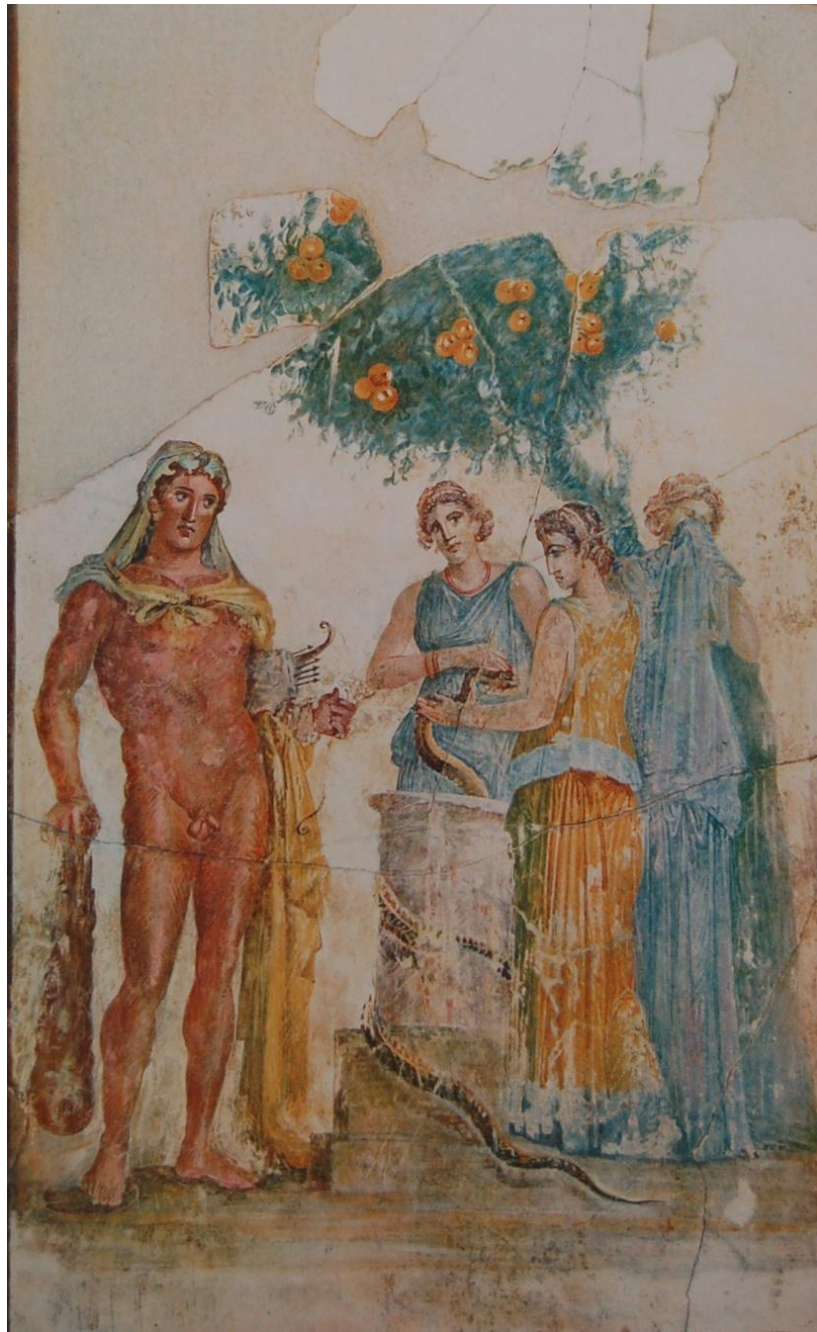
Figure 184: Youth with egg and snake. 1st century AD. MNR Terme, 61586.
Cumont 1942, plate XLI, 3.



Figure 185: Kline monument. Vat. Mus. Cortile del Belvedere, 891.
Photograph - author.



**Figure 186: Adam and Eve reconstruction.
Wilpert 1924: fig. 4.**



**Figure 187: Hercules and the Hesperides from Casa del Sacerdos Amandus.
Maiuri 1938: tav. A.**



**Figure 188: Hercules and the Hesperides on Antonine medallion.
Gnecchi 1912: tav. 54,1.**



Figure 189: Prometheus fresco Via Ostiensis.
Via Ostiensis Museum, Rome.
Photograph - author.



Figure 190: Sarcophagus fragment from Ephesus.
Himmelmann 1975: tav. 22a.



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Figure 192: Antonine medallion. Gneecchi 1912: tav. 54, 8.

Figure 191: Glass plate, Cologne (now lost). Fremersdorf 1951: taf. 5.



Figure 194: Prometheus gem. Photograph - British Museum, 1987, 0212.250.



Figure 193: Albani fragment, Louvre Museum. Bucolo 2011: fig. 4.



Figure 195: Terracotta lamp (now lost). LIMC II/1: 1103, s.v. Minerva 404.

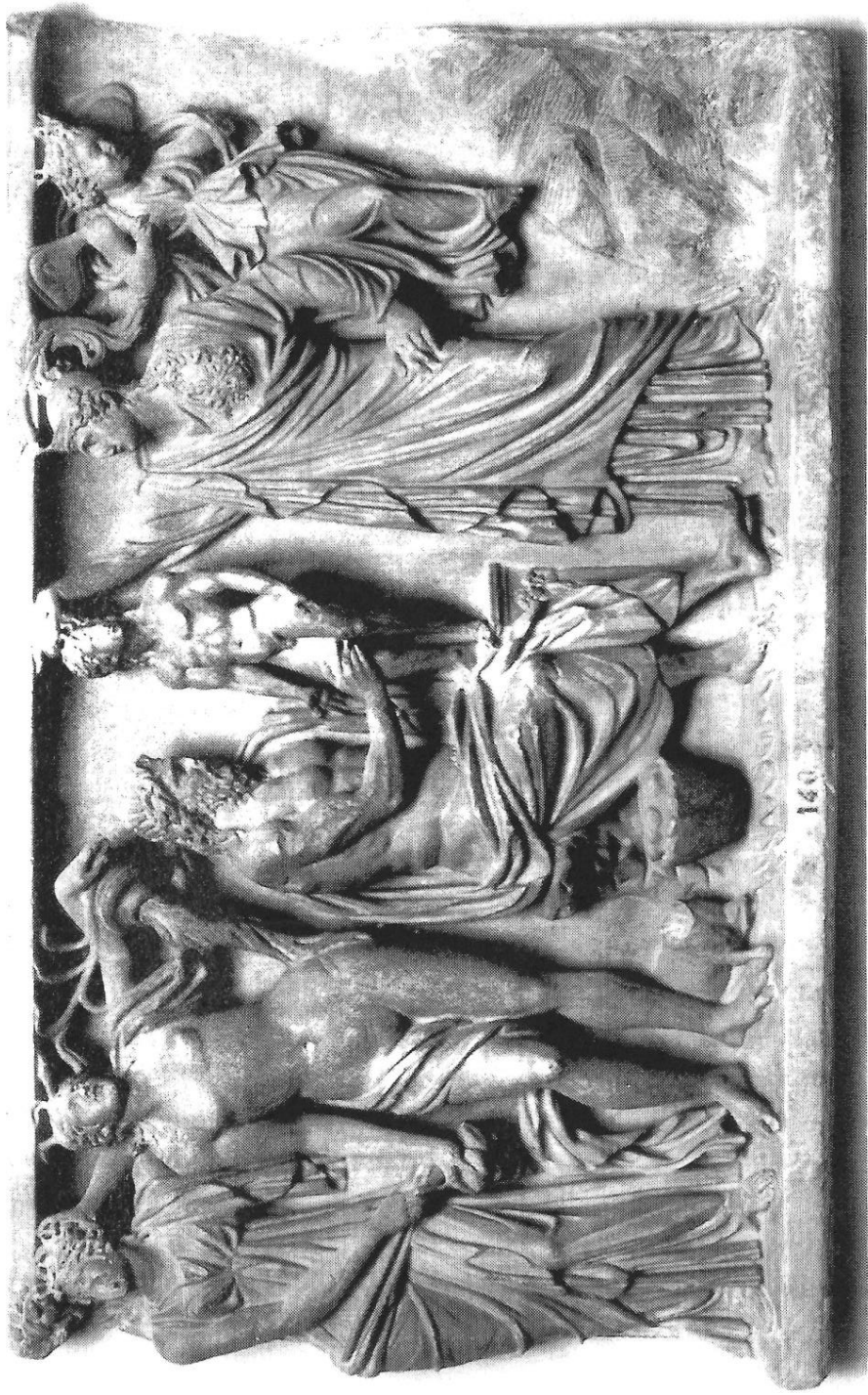


Figure 196: Promethean Sarcophagus. Prado Museum, Madrid. Schröder 2004: kat. Nr. 214.



**Figure 197: Peacock fresco Via Ostiensis. Via Ostiensis Museum, Rome.
Photograph - author.**

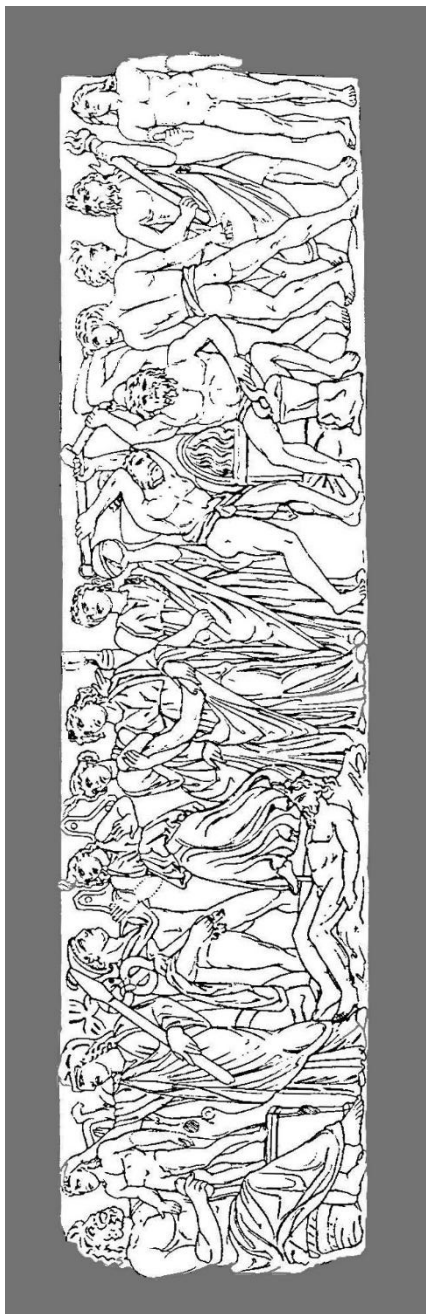


Figure 198: Promethean sarcophagus. Rome. Louvre Ma 355. Robert ASR kat. 351.



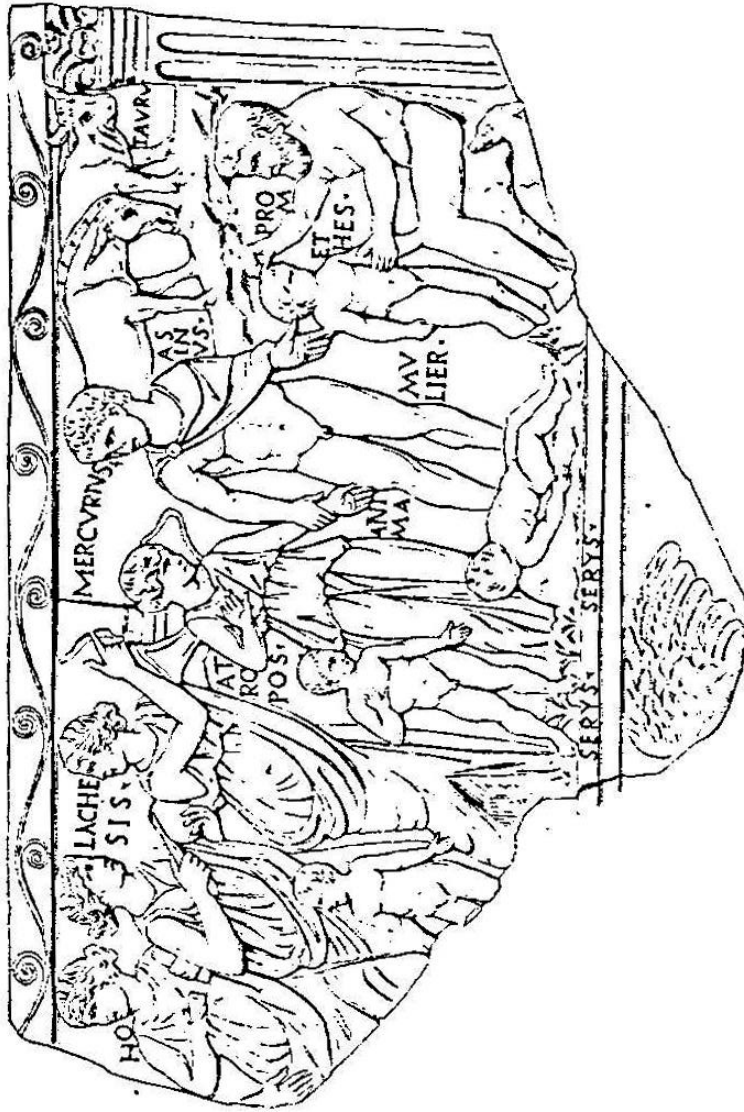
Figure 199: Promethean sarcophagus. Arles. Louvre Ma 339. Réunion des Musées nationaux. Agence Photographique.



Figure 200: Promethean sarcophagus. Palazzo Nuovo 329, Capitoline Museum, Rome (detail).
Photograph - author.



Figure 201: Prometheus sarcophagus - detail left side.
Palazzo Nuovo 329, Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photograph - author.



354. *Rom, Vatican.*

Figure 202: Promethean sarcophagus fragment. Vat. Mus. Sala dei Busti.
ASR III,3: cat. 354, tav. CXVI.

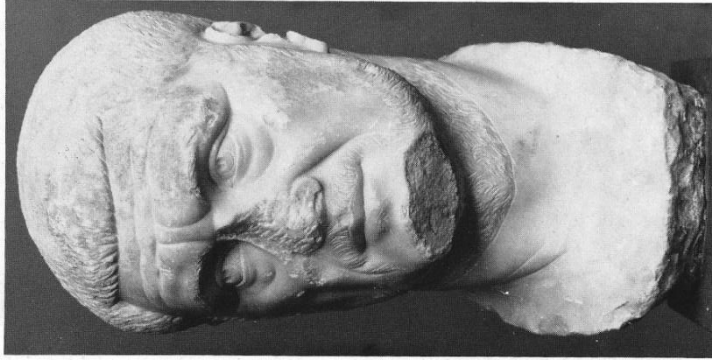


Fig. 3a. Maximinus Thrax, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, cat. 744.

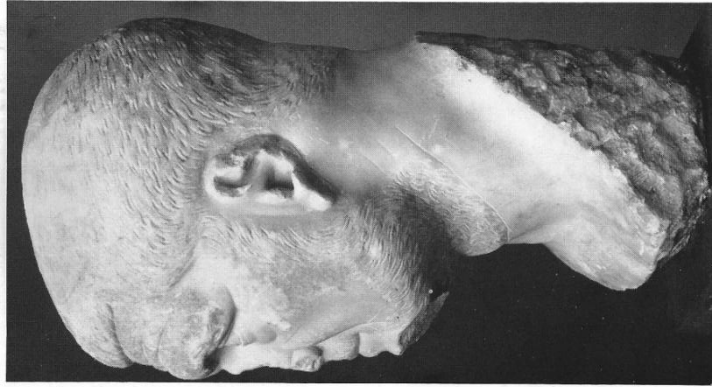


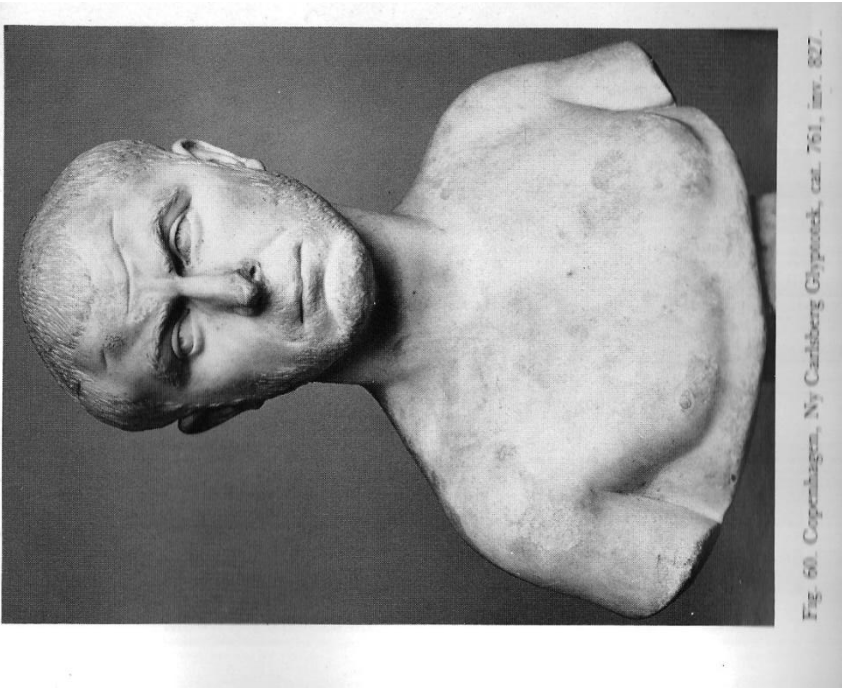
Fig. 3b. Maximinus Thrax, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, cat. 744, profile.



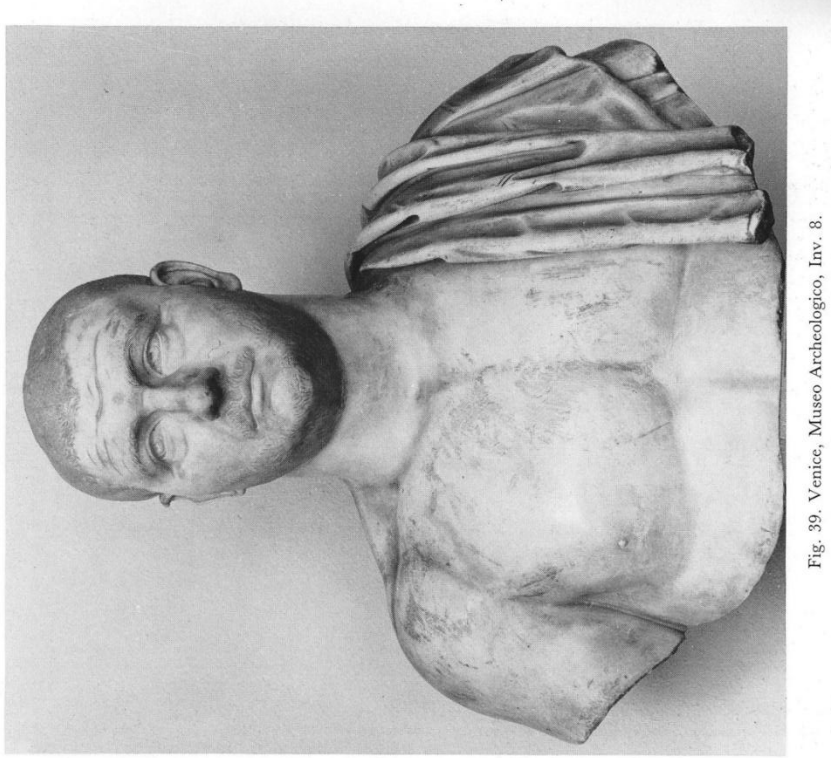
Fig. 9. Philip the Arab, Rome, Vatican, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 2216.

Figure 203a: Maximinus Thrax (r. 235-238).
Wood 1986: fig. 3, pl. II.

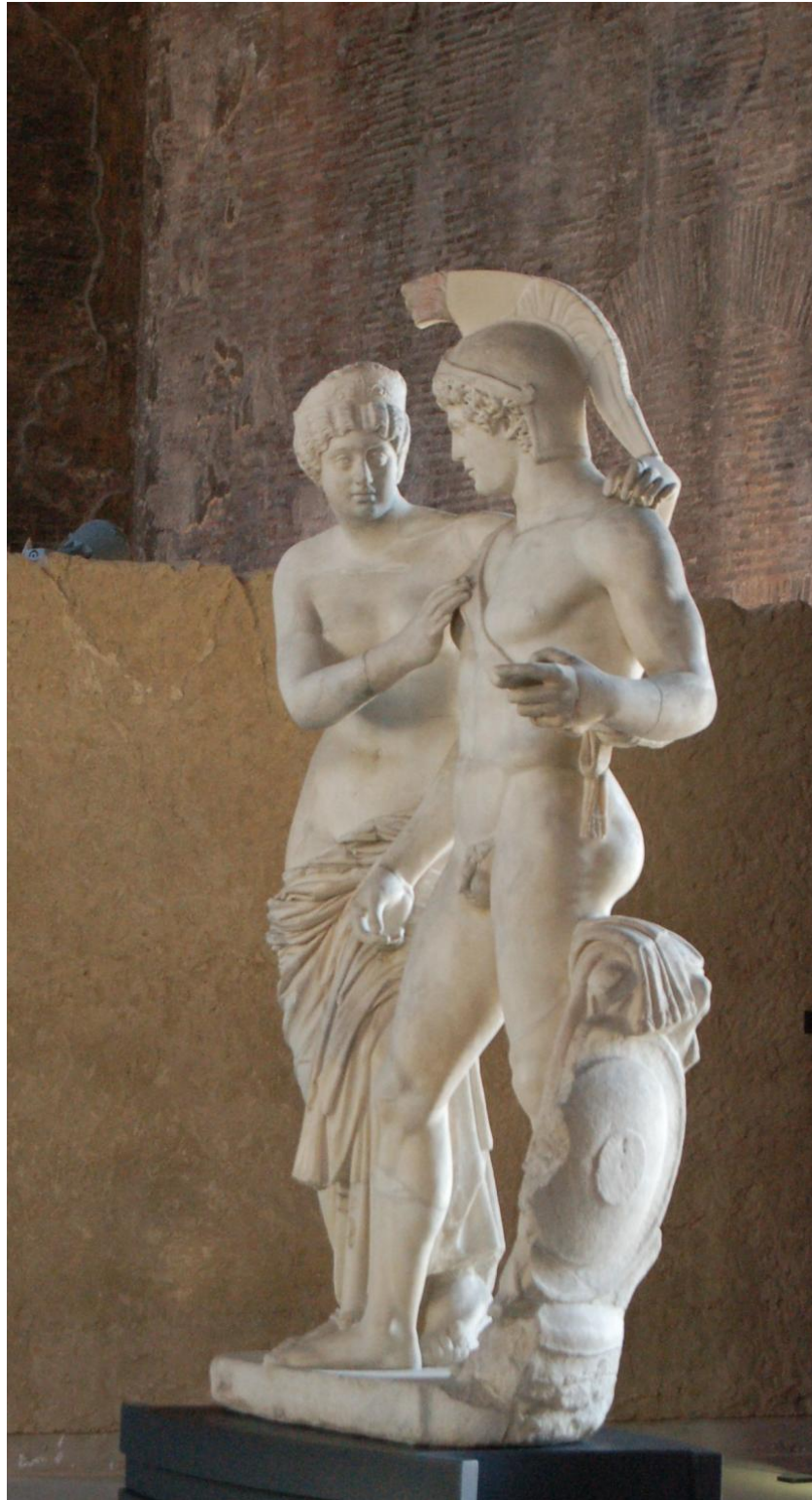
Figure 203b: Philip the Arab (r. 244 - 249).
Wood 1986: fig. 9, pl. VI.



**Figure 203c: Unknown private portrait c. AD 240s.
Wood 1986: fig. 60, pl. XLV.**



**Figure 203d: Unknown private portrait c. AD 230.
Wood 1986: fig. 39, pl. XXVII.**



**Figure 204: Commodus and Crispina (?) as Mars and Venus.
MNR Terme, 108522.
Photograph - author.**



**Figure 205: Funerary altar to L. Marcius Pacatus.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 152.
Photograph - author.**

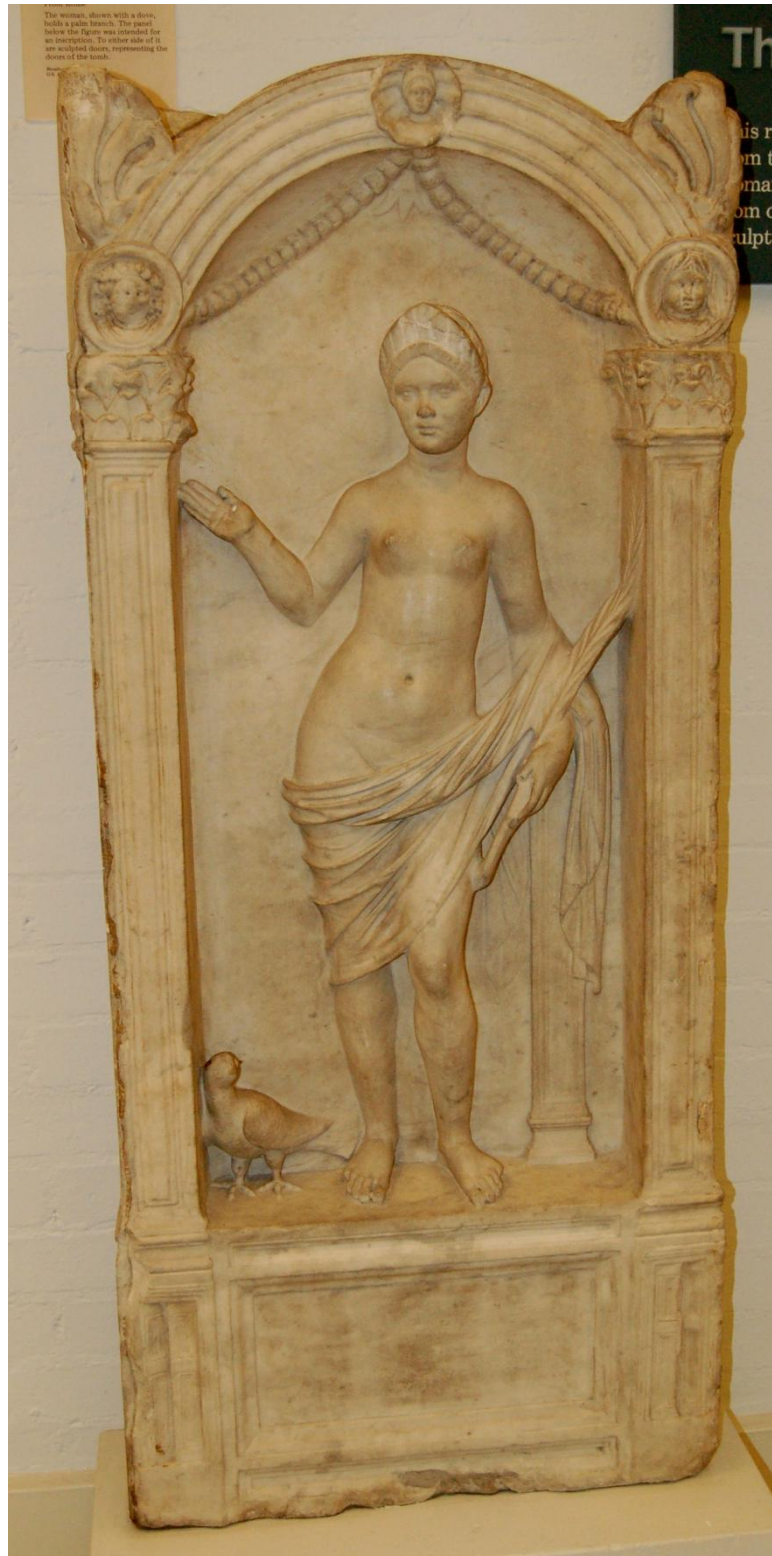


Figure 206: Memorial to Claudia Olympia in the guise of Venus Victrix. c. AD 100-120. British Museum, 1948, 0423.1. Photograph – author.



Figure 207: Image of Pyramus and Thisbe Isola Sacra tomb nr. 87.
Calza 1940: tav. IV (detail).

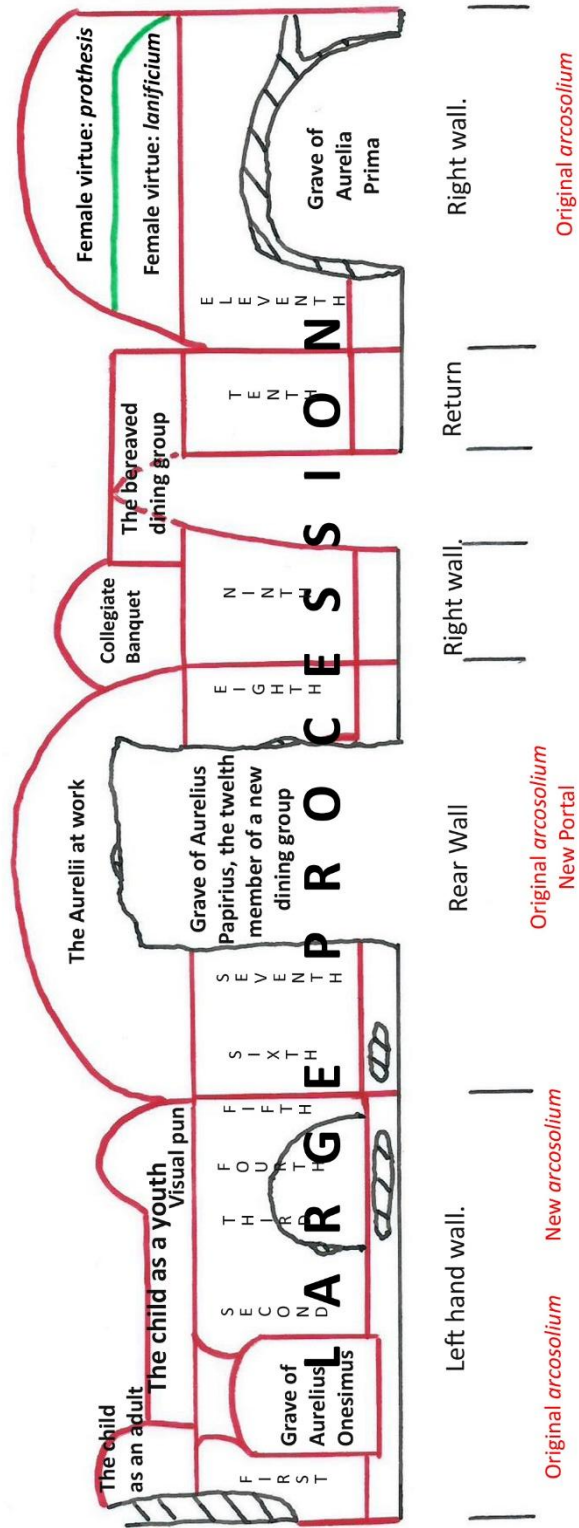


Figure 208: Revised diagrammatic showing interpretations arising from this thesis.

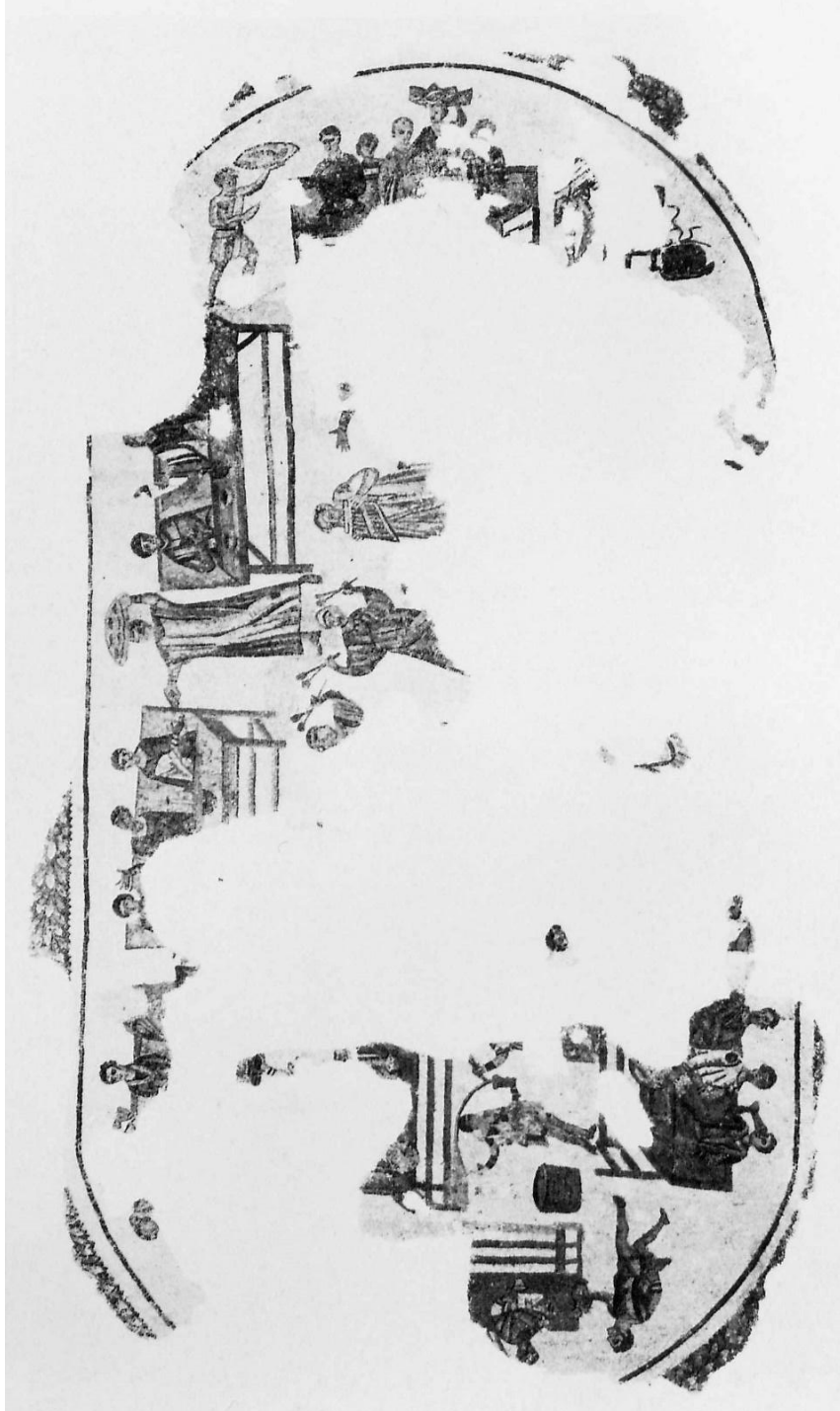


Figure 209: Mosaic of 24 seater meal from Carthage. Blanck 1981: taf. 142.



**Figure 210: Portrait statue of Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus, Grammaticus Graecus.
Copy from Museo Civiltà Romana, EUR, original in Palazzo Altieri, Rome.
Photograph - author.**