



University of Roehampton

DOCTORAL THESIS

**What can art tell us about the cult of the Virgin Mary in the early Roman Church?
A re-evaluation of the evidence for Marian images in Late Antiquity**

Parlby, Geri

Award date:
2010

Awarding institution:
University of Roehampton

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**What can art tell us about the cult of the Virgin Mary
in the early Roman Church?
A re-evaluation of the evidence for Marian images in
Late Antiquity**

by

Geri Parlby BA, MA

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
PhD**

School of Arts

Roehampton University

March, 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	iv -v
Acknowledgements	vi
List of Illustrations	vii - xx
Introduction	1 - 16
Chapter One – The birth and rediscovery of the Catacombs of Rome	17 - 32
Chapter Two – Catacomb Archaeology in the 19th and 20th Centuries and the ‘oldest images of Mary’	33 - 54
Chapter Three – Depictions of the Annunciation and the Adoration of the Magi in Catacomb art	55 - 67

Chapter Four –	68 - 80
A Deconstruction of the Iconography of the Adoration of the Magi	
Chapter Five –	81 - 99
From Solium to Cathedra – Wisdom, Mary and the Seat of Power	
Chapter Six –	100 - 111
Through a glass darkly – Mary versus the Martyrs	
Chapter Seven –	112 - 125
Mary and the Goddess Myth	
Chapter Eight –	126 - 139
Ambrose – the Father of Mariology?	
Chapter Nine –	140 - 157
<i>Ecclesiae</i> in Conflict and the Gentile Bride	
Chapter Ten –	158 - 167
From Virgin to Widow – Mary Re-veiled.	

Conclusion	168 - 170
Appendix	171 - 173
Abbreviations	174 - 176
Bibliography	176 - 206
Illustrations	207 - 309

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to re-evaluate the evidence of Marian images in Rome in late antiquity. It argues that centuries of misreading the iconography of Paleo-Christian art has produced unreliable evidence of an early Marian cult in the Roman Church.

Surviving examples of images previously identified as Mary are compared with other forms of representation and personification alongside goddess images from around the Roman world. The conflicts present within the emergent Roman Church and the influence they may have had on the developing artistic traditions are re-considered, with particular emphasis on the iconography of the 'Adoration of the Magi'.

Powerful female figures such as martyr saints and widows are presented as more popular models of early Christian womanhood. In particular virgin martyrs, the eroticisation of whose cult with its sado-masochistic tendencies, catered for a Roman society still deeply influenced by its appetite for violent games and sports.

The thesis also examines images identified as Mary, but much more probably originally intended as ecclesia and explores the role of Christ as the bridegroom to ecclesia, the martyrs and the consecrated virgins. It goes on to argue that the growing issue of anti-Judaism in the emergent Roman Church had a particular effect on how Mary was perceived by church leaders.

In conclusion it suggests that the figure of Mary only begins to acquire personal and representational significance when her characteristics could be appropriated by a powerful male hierarchy in the newly institutionalized church. This appropriation, it is argued, was designed to control women and deprive them of influential roles and attendant role models to which some had had access in the emergent church.

Acknowledgements

My first debt of gratitude is to Tina Beattie. She has nurtured the birth, early years and full development of this work. Without her wisdom, insight and understanding this thesis might have easily faltered at the first hurdle.

I would also like to thank Aislinn Laconte and Dorothy Rowe for their invaluable contributions to the art history aspects of this work. Thanks also goes to Sarah Boss and all the other members of the Centre for Marian Studies for their encouragement and useful contributions throughout my research.

I especially wish to thank my husband David for his tireless proof reading and my children Michael and Rebecca. All three have all endured far too many years of putting up with a distracted wife and mother.

Researching and writing this thesis would have not been feasible without the financial support of Roehampton University.

List of Illustrations

All images are from Rome unless stated otherwise.

Chapter One

- Figure 1. 'The Work of St. Priscilla'.
(Wilpert, G., *Die Katakombengemalde und ihre alten Copien*).
- Figure 2. Painting in the catacomb in the cemetery of Novella depicting Noah in the Ark and the late 16th century copy of a similar painting, interpreted as St. Marcellus preaching.
(Wilpert, G., *Die Katakombengemalde und ihre alten Copien*).
- Figure 3. Painting in the catacomb of Domitilla depicting the adoration of four Magi, and the late 16th century copy of the painting, interpreted as the martyrdom of a saint.
(Wilpert, G., *Die Katakombengemalde und ihre alten Copien*).
- Figure 4. Coloured sketch of a painting of an orante from the Catacomb of Domitilla. Entitled *Virgo Dei paratrix* by the 17th century copyist.
(*The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo Vol. 2*).
- Figure 5. Pen and ink drawing of a relief of 'Madonna and Child', attributed to Pietro Testa (1612-50).
(*Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo Vol. 2*).
- Figure 6. Pen and ink drawing of a relief of the 'Madonna and Child' with shepherds attributed to Pietro Testa (1612-50).
(*Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo Vol. 2*).
- Figure 7. Pen and ink drawing of a relief of 'The Adoration of the Magi' attributed to Pietro Testa (1612-50).
(*Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo Vol. 2*).

Chapter Two

- Figure 8. Detail of seated woman and child from the fresco of the 'Velatio', Catacomb of Priscilla.
(*Catacombs of Priscilla Guidebook, PCAS 2005*).
- Figure 9. Entire fresco of the 'Velatio',
Catacomb of Priscilla.
(*Catacombs of Priscilla Guidebook, PCAS 2005*).

- Figure 10. Sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Statius. Ostia, Hadrianic period. (Louvre Museum, Paris) (Author's own photo).
- Figure 11. Fresco of mother and son in lunette of arcosolium from Coemeterium Maius Cemetery. (© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 12. 17th century drawing of frescoes from arcosolium in Coemeterium Maius Cemetery. (Bosio, A., (1632) *Roma Sotterranea*).
- Figure 13. Female orante from arcosolium from Coemeterium Maius Cemetery. (Grabar, A., (1980) *Christian Iconography: a study of its origins*).
- Figure 14. Male orante from arcosolium from Coemeterium Maius Cemetery. (Grabar, A., (1980) *Christian Iconography: a study of its origins*).
- Figure 15. Marble Funerary relief of a mother and son c.110-20 CE. (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).
www.vroma.org/images/mcmanus_images/index8.html.
- Figure 16. Detail of tomb fresco featuring mother and child and pointing figure from Catacomb of Priscilla. (© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 17. Logo of the International Mariology Project. (© Parvo Pirttimaa).
- Figure 18. Stucco and fresco tomb decoration from Catacomb of Priscilla. (© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 19. Drawing of stucco and fresco tomb decoration from Catacomb of Priscilla. (Northcote, J.S., and Brownlow, W.R. (1879) *Roma sotterranea*)
- Figure 20. Antonio Bosio's sketch of stucco and fresco tomb decoration from Catacomb of Priscilla. (Wilpert, J., *Die Malereien der katakomben Roms*).
- Figure 21. Fresco of veiled orante woman from Catacomb of Vigna Massimo. (Wilpert, J., *Die Malereien der katakomben Roms*).
- Figure 22. Engraving of detail of tomb fresco featuring mother and child and pointing figure from Catacomb of Priscilla. (Northcote, J.S., Brownlow, W.R. *Roma sotterranea* Vol 2).

- Figure 23. Colourised photograph of stucco and fresco tomb decoration from Catacomb of Priscilla.
(Wilpert, J., *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*).
- Figure 24. Colourised photograph of detail of tomb fresco featuring mother and child and pointing figure from Catacomb of Priscilla
(Wilpert, J., *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*).
- Figure 25. Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780-1867)
Virgin of the Adoption, oil on canvas, 1858. Private Collection.
www.allartclassic.com/pictures_zoom.php?p_num...
- Figure 26. Restoration work on stucco shepherd from tomb decoration From Catacomb of Priscilla.
(Wilpert, J., *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*).

Chapter Three

- Figure 27. Ceiling fresco in the Cubicle of Annunciation from the Catacomb of Priscilla.
(© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 28. Antonio Bosio's drawing of ceiling fresco in the Cubicle of Annunciation from the Catacomb of Priscilla.
(Bosio, A., (1632) *Roma Sotterranea*).
- Figure 29. Drawing of ceiling fresco from the Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.
(Wilpert, J., (1891) *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katakomben der heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus*).
- Figure 30. Photograph of ceiling fresco from the Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.
(Wilpert, J., (1891) *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katakomben der heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus*).
- Figure 31. Silver flagon with repoussé decoration of biblical scenes featuring 'Adoration of the Magi'. Part of the Traprain Law Hoard.
(National Museums Scotland).

- Figure 32. Silver flagon with repoussé decoration of biblical scenes featuring the ‘Miracle of the Quails’. Part of the Traprain Law Hoard. (National Museums Scotland).
- Figure 33. ‘Adoration of the Magi’ fresco from Greek Chapel in the Catacomb of Priscilla. (© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 34. ‘Adoration of Magi’ fresco from Catacomb of Domitilla. (© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 35. Drawing of the ‘Adoration of the Magi’ fresco from the Catacomb of Domitilla (Northcote, J.S., and Brownlow, W.R. (1879) *Roma Sotterranea*).
- Figure 36. 19th century colourised photograph of cubiculum of the ‘Adoration of Magi’ fresco from Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus. (Spier, J., (ed.) (2008) *Picturing the Bible: The Earliest Christian Art*).
- Figure 37. Detail of mother and child from the ‘Adoration of Magi’ fresco from Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus. (© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 38. Detail of Parthian prisoner from Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus. Author’s own photo.
- Figure 39. Fragment of sarcophagus featuring ‘Adoration of the Magi’, (Pio Christian Museum). Trexler, R.C., (1997) *The Journey of the Magi, Meanings in History of a Christian Story*, (Princeton University Press: New Jersey).
- Figure 40. Fragment of sarcophagus featuring ‘Adoration of the Magi’. (Museo delle Terme). Trexler, R.C., (1997) *The Journey of the Magi, Meanings in History of a Christian Story*, (Princeton University Press: New Jersey).
- Figure 41. The sarcophagus of a child featuring scene of ‘Adoration of the Magi’. (Pio Christian Museum). Author’s own photo.
- Figure 42. Sarcophagi fragments of Adoration and Nativity scenes. (Pio Christian Museum). Author’s own photo.

Chapter Four

- Figure 43. Reconstructed statue of St Hippolytus (side view).
(Vatican Museum). (Brent, A., (1995) *Hippolytus and the Roman church in the third century*).
- Figure 44. Reconstructed statue of St Hippolytus (front view).
(Vatican Museum). (Brent, A., (1995) *Hippolytus and the Roman church in the third century*).
- Figure 45. Drawing of unreconstructed statue from Pirro Ligorio's notes.
(National Library of Naples). (Brent, A., (1995) *Hippolytus and the Roman church in the third century*).
- Figure 46. Drawing of reconstructed statue from Manuscript of Fulvius Orsinus (1564 -1570).
(Brent, A., (1995) *Hippolytus and the Roman church in the third century*).
- Figure 47. Fresco of 'the three youths in fiery furnace' from the Greek Chapel in Catacomb of Priscilla.
(© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 48. Fresco of 'the Adoration of the Magi' from the Greek Chapel in Catacomb of Priscilla.
(© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 49. Fresco of banqueting scene from the Greek Chapel In Catacomb of Priscilla.
(© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 50. Fresco of the Baptism of Christ from Catacomb of Callistus.
(© Foto PCAS).

Chapter Five

- Figure 51. Damaged fresco from the Catacomb of Domitilla.
(© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 52. Antonio Bosio drawing of damaged fresco from the Catacomb of Domitilla.
(Bosio, A., (1632) *Roma Sotterranea*).
- Figure 53. Detail of sarcophagus 'Adoration of the Magi' scene.
(Pio Christian Museum).

- Figure 54. Drawing of curule chair. (Smith, W., (1875) *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*).
- Figure 55. Grave stele of Hegeso, a Lady of Athens seated on a klismos. 5th century B.C. (Athens National Museum)
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/565087/Stele-of-Hegeso>
- Figure 56. Fresco of a poet Menander seated on a klismos/cathedra. Late first century BC. (House of Menander, Pompeii)
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Menander.
- Figure 57. Hades enthroned on Apulian Vase painting. Fourth century BC. (Museum of Antiquities, Munich). www.theoi.com/Gallery/K14.1.html.
- Figure 58. Stone seat from Etruscan burial chamber sixth century BC.
- Figure 59. Detail of sarcophagus 'God creating Man' scene. (Pio Christian Museum). www.bstorage.com
- Figure 60. Third century metal bath from Herculaneum. www.icteachers.co.uk/.../herculaneumbath.jpg.
- Figure 61. Fourth century tub sarcophagus. (Pio Christian Museum). Author's own photo.
- Figure 62. Funerary relief of the wife of a potter. (Museum of Fine Arts, Virginia, USA).
D'Ambra, E., (1995) 'Mourning and the Making of Ancestors in the Testamentum Relief', *AJA*, Vol. 99, No. 4, 667-681.
- Figure 63. Trinity sarcophagus with seated figures. (Musée de l'Arles Antique, Arles, France). Author's own photo.
- Figure 64. Stone seats carved from tufa in Coemeterium Maius. (Stevenson, J., (1978) *The Catacombs: Rediscovered Monuments of early Christianity*).
- Figure 65. Stone seat from the sixth century cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč, Croatia. (Terry, A., & Maguire, H., (2007) *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*).
- Figure 66. 'Seat of Moses' from the site of a second or third century synagogue, Delos. <http://www.pohick.org/sts/delos.html>.
- Figure 67. The Cathedra of St Peter donated to Pope John VIII by Charles the Bald in the 9th century. (St Peter's Basilica Treasury Museum).
<http://4.bp.blogspot.com/.../s400/peters+chair.jpg>.

- Figure 68. Throne of Maximianus. 547 A.D. Ivory over wood, (Archiepiscopal Museum, Ravenna).
<http://campus.belmont.edu/.../MaximiansThrone.jpg>.
- Figure 69. Silver reliquary casket end of 4th century (general view). (San Nazaro Maggiore, Milan).
 Volbach, W.F., and Hirmer, M., (1961) *Early Christian Art*, (Abrams: New York).
- Figure 70. Lid of silver reliquary casket with Christ and the apostles. (San Nazaro Maggiore, Milan).
 Volbach, W.F., and Hirmer, M., (1961) *Early Christian Art*, (Abrams: New York).
- Figure 71. Seated woman and child with philosophers. Silver reliquary casket with Christ and the apostles. (San Nazaro Maggiore, Milan).
 Volbach, W.F., and Hirmer, M., (1961) *Early Christian Art*, (Abrams: New York).
- Figure 72. Daniel and the Three Youths. Silver reliquary casket with Christ and the apostles. (San Nazaro Maggiore, Milan).
 Volbach, W.F., and Hirmer, M., (1961) *Early Christian Art*, (Abrams: New York).
- Figure 73. Daniel and the elders. Silver reliquary casket with Christ and the apostles. (San Nazaro Maggiore, Milan).
 Volbach, W.F., and Hirmer, M., (1961) *Early Christian Art*, (Abrams: New York).
- Figure 74. Judgement of Solomon. Silver reliquary casket with Christ and the apostles. (San Nazaro Maggiore, Milan).
 Volbach, W.F., and Hirmer, M., (1961) *Early Christian Art*, (Abrams: New York).

Chapter Six

- Figure 75. Fresco of the martyr Petronilla with Veneranda from the Catacomb of Domitilla (© Foto PCAS).
- Figure 76. Base of gilded glass vessel featuring image of married couple in gold leaf. 4th century. (British Museum, London).

- Figure 77. Base of gilded glass vessel with representation of St. Agnes from Catacomb of Panfilo. (Nicolai, V.F., Bisconti, F., and Mazzoleni, D., (2002) *The Christian Catacombs of Rome*).
- Figure 78. Base of gilded glass vessel featuring veiled orante identified as Maria standing between figures of Petrus and Paulus. 4th cent. (Ernesto Wolf Collection, Württemberg Landesmuseum, Stuttgart).
- Figure 79. Base of gilded glass vessel featuring figure identified as Maria standing between figures of Petrus and Paulus. (Northcote, J.S., & Brownlow, W.R. (1879) *Roma Sotterranea*).
- Figure 80. Base of gilded vessel featuring two female orante one identified as Maria the other Agnes. (Bologna Museo Civico). Morey, C.R., (Ferrari, G., ed.) (1959) *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library. With additional catalogues of other gold-glass collections*, (Città del Vaticano).
- Figure 81. Base of gilded glass vessel featuring figure identified as Mara. (Vatican Library). Morey, C.R., (Ferrari, G., ed.) (1959) *The Gold-Glass Collection of the Vatican Library. With additional catalogues of other gold-glass collections*, (Città del Vaticano).
- Figure 82. Drawing of gold glass roundel featuring Petrus and Paulus with Peregrina. (Bosio, A., (1632) *Roma Sotterranea*).

Chapter Seven

- Figure 83. Isis Nursing Horus woodcut. (Jameson, A., (1892) *Legends of the Madonna as Represented in the Fine Arts*).
- Figure 84. Terracotta group of Isis nursing Harpocrates. First century BC. (British Museum, London).
- Figure 85. Wall painting of Isis and Harpocrates from a house in Karanis in Fayum. Doxiadis, E., (2000) *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt*, (Thames & Hudson: London).

- Figure 86. Marble statue of Isis. Second century AD. (Palazzo Nuova - Capitoline Museums). www.vroma.org/images/raia_images/isis.jpg.
- Figure 87. Image of Isis from an antoninianus of Claudius II 269-270 AD. www.forumancientcoins.com.
- Figure 88. Isis (on the left, holding a sistrum), Sarapis (wearing a modius), the child Harpocrates (holding a cornucopia) and Dionysus (holding the thyrsus). Marble relief, last quarter of the second century AD. (Louvre Museum, Paris). Author's own photo.
- Figure 89. Tellus Mater panel from the *Ara Pacis Augustae*. <http://www.bluffton.edu/~sullivanm/italy/rome/arapacis/arapacis.html>
- Figure 90. Coin of Empress Fausta wife of Constantine nursing two imperial children 325-326 AD. www.forumancientcoins.com.
- Figure 91. Wall painting of *Galaktotrophousa* Virgin from Monastery of St Jeremiah, Saqqara, Egypt. 6th/7th century. www.coptic-cairo.com/.../files/page27_7.jpg.
- Figure 92. Icon of the *Triumph of Orthodoxy* featuring the original Hodegetria icon in its shrine. Egg tempera on wood about 1400. (British Museum, London).
- Figure 93. Coin of Empress Julia Domna depicted with a seated Cybele and an inscription that designates the empress as 'Mother of Gods'. www.forumancientcoins.com.
- Figure 94. Artemis of Ephesus. Roman copy of the cult statue of the Temple of Ephesus. (Museum of Efes, Turkey).
- Figure 95. Coin of Antoninus Pius 138-161 AD with Ceres and Proserpina. www.forumancientcoins.com.
- Figure 96. Boetian terra-cotta statuette of mother goddess with small daughter on lap c.500 BC. (Antiken Sammlung, Munich). http://www.vroma.org/images/mcmanus_images/.
- Figure 97. Seated Goddess 5th century BC. (Milns Antiquities Museum, University of Queensland).

- Figure 98. Left: Mother and child cinerary urn 400 BC.
(Etruscan Archeological Museum, Chianciano Terme)
Right: Mary on the Lion Throne, 1360.
(Hemsdorf, Germany). Baring, A, and Cashford, J., (1993) *The Myth of the Goddess: Evolution of an Image*.
- Figure 99. Terracotta figurine from a child's grave found near Arles.
(Musée de l'Arles). Author's own photo.
- Figure 100. Denarius of Antoninus Pius with Annona.
www.forumancientcoins.com.
- Figure 101. Bronze Coin of Constantine with Felicitas 4th century AD.
www.forumancientcoins.com.
- Figure 102. Coin with Concordia clasping hands with the
Emperor Aurelian. 270-275 AD.
www.forumancientcoins.com.
- Figure 103. The triumphal arch of Septimius Severus 203AD with carving
of defeated Parthians paying tribute to seated figure of Roma.
Author's own photo.
- Figure 104. Megalographic image of Roma. 4th century AD.
(National Museum of Rome). Author's own photo.
- Figure 105. Mosaic panel featuring Euteknia (boon of good children) seated
between Dikaiosyne (Justice) and Philosophia (Philosophy). 3rd
century AD. (Damascus Museum). Ling, R., (1998) *Ancient Mosaics*,
(British Museum Press: London)

Chapter Eight

- Figure 106. Apse and triumphal arch of Santa Sabina Church, Rome.
Author's own photo.
- Figure 107. Dedicatory Panel at Santa Sabina Church, Rome.
Author's own photo.
- Figure 108. Detail of figures of *Ecclesia ex Circumcisione* and *Ecclesia ex
Gentibus*. From dedicatory panel at Santa Sabina Church.
Oakeshott, W., (1967) *The Mosaics of Rome*, (New York Graphic
Society: Greenwich).

Figure 109 Sarcophagus fragment with veiled female figure holding open book flanked by characters from the Old and New Testament. 330-360AD. (Pio Christian Museum). Author's own photo.

Figure 110. Apse of Santa Pudenziana Church, Rome. Author's own photo.

Chapter Nine

Figure 111. Interior of the Church of St Maria Maggiore, Rome. Author's own photo.

Figure 112. Restored right hand side of S. Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. Author's own photo.

Figures 112a & 112b

Details from scene identified as Holy Family meeting Aphrodisius the governor of Sotinen-Hermopolis in Egypt. S.Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

Figure 113. Detail from scene identified as Annunciation. S.Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

Figure 114. Detail from scene identified as Adoration of Magi. S. Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

Figure 114a Detail of veiled woman from Adoration scene. S. Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

Figure 115. Detail from scene identified as Presentation in the Temple. S. Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

Figure 115a. Detail of veiled woman from Presentation in the Temple. S. Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

Figure 115b. Detail from the Presentation in Temple. S. Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

- Figure 116. Portrait medallion of Licinia Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Licinia_Eudoxia.
- Figure 117. Marble statue of Empress Aelia Flaccilla, ca. 386 A.D. (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
Volbach, W.F., and Hirmer, M., (1961) *Early Christian Art*, (Abrams: New York).
- Figure 118. Steelyard Weight with a Bust of a Byzantine Princess, 400–450 (Metropolitan Museum, New York).
<http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/1980.416ab>.
- Figure 119. Mosaic Panel from nave of S. Maria Maggiore.
Top panel: Jacob argues with Laban having been tricked into marrying Leah;
Lower panel: Jacob married Rachel.
(Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).
- Figure 120. Mosaic Panel from nave of S. Maria Maggiore.
Top panel: Rachel stands between Laban and Leah
(Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).
- Figure 121. Mosaic Panel from nave of S. Maria Maggiore.
Marriage ceremony of Moses and Zipporah.
(Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).
- Figure 122. Base of gilded glass vessel featuring married couple being crowned by Christ. (British Museum).
- Figure 123. Lid of the Projecta Casket with marriage portrait of Projecta and her husband. c.380. (British Museum).
- Figure 124. A seventeenth century drawing of the triumphal arch by Marco Tullio Montagna.
(Spain S., (1979) ‘The Promised Blessing: The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore’ *The Art Bulletin*).
- Figure 125. Restored mosaic panel featuring the annunciation scene from the triumphal arch of S Maria Maggiore.
Vassilaki, M., (ed.) (2000) *Mother of God, Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, (Skira: Milan).

- Figure 126. Detail of the right hand side of the presentation in the temple scene from the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).
- Figure 127. Restored left hand side of S. Maria Maggiore triumphal arch. Author's own photo.
- Figure 128. Detail of 'massacre of the innocents' scene from the triumphal arch of S Maria Maggiore (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).
- Figure 129. Detail of the three magi before Herod scene from the triumphal arch of S Maria Maggiore (Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).

Chapter Ten

- Figure 130. Mosaic Panel from nave of S. Maria Maggiore
Moses being presented to the Pharaohs' daughter.
(Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).
- Figure 131. Mosaic medallions of martyr saints.
Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna. Author's own photo.
- Figure 132. Detail of mosaic medallion of St. Perpetua.
Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna.
www.traditioninaction.org/.../D006_Thecla.jpg.
- Figure 133. Procession of female martyrs from the
Nave of the basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo,
Ravenna. Author's own photo.
- Figure 134. Main apse of the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč
With mosaic medallions of martyr saints
(Terry, A., & Maguire, H., (2007) *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*).

- Figure 135. Detail of mosaic medallions of martyr saints.
Apse of the cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč.
(Terry, A., & Maguire, H., (2007) *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*).
- Figure 136. Mosaic medallions of martyr saints with detail
of St. Euphemia. Apse of the cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč.
(Terry, A., & Maguire, H., (2007) *Dynamic Splendor: The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*).
- Figure 137. Mosaic medallion of St. Felicitas.
Archbishop's Chapel, Ravenna.
<http://vatopaidi.files.wordpress.com/2010/02/st-feli..>
- Figure 138. Mosaic panel featuring the New Testament story of
the Widow's mite from S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
Author's own photo.
- Figure 139. The processing female martyrs, three magi
and enthroned Virgin and Child from
S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
Author's own photo.
- Figure 140. The enthroned Virgin and Child
flanked by a double guard of angels from
S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.
Author's own photo.
- Figure 141. Triumphal arch from S. Maria Maggiore.
with *Etimasia*. www.paradoxplace.com/Perspectives/Rome%20...
- Figure 142. Detail of *Etimasia* from the triumphal arch
of S Maria Maggiore
(Wilpert, J., (1916) *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten, vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*).
- Figure 143. Widow Turtura, fresco, Comodilla Catacomb c. 530
(© Foto PCAS).