

LATE ROMAN GOLD-GLASS:  
IMAGES AND INSCRIPTIONS

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By

KATHERINE L. LUTRAAN, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Katherine L. Lutraan, B.A. (Hons.) (McMaster University).

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the images and inscriptions that decorate the extant corpus of gold-glass vessel bases, the majority of which dates to the mid fourth and early fifth centuries AD. There are an estimated 500 examples of gold-glass, but only a small handful of these have a known provenance. Those with documented findspots were extracted from funerary contexts, including the catacombs of Rome and other sites of burial in the former north and northwestern Roman provinces. Each gold-glass base originally served as the bottom of a vessel, but no intact examples of such vessels have survived from antiquity. The absence of a whole vessel and the lack of a secure archaeological context make it problematical to determine the original function of gold-glass vessels, as well as other elements of their production. On the basis of those bases that remain *in situ* in the Roman catacombs, it appears that gold-glass bases served as grave markers that were placed in the mortar of *loculi* tombs; evidence suggests, however, that this funerary function was secondary and not anticipated when the vessels were produced. The purpose of this study is to clarify the primary function of gold-glass vessels through an examination of the images and inscriptions that exist on a large portion of the bases. These two elements were conscious aspects of gold-glass design that were presumably chosen as part of filling a particular function, and as such, also reveal trends in the production and patronage of the vessels. The images and inscriptions are to

be surveyed as separate elements of gold-glass decoration in the outset of this study, but the ultimate objective is to examine the correspondence of the images and inscriptions. A case study that examines the inscriptions that accompany gold-glass portraits (the most popular type of image) will take place in the final portion of this thesis. The methodology of simultaneously assessing the image and text on gold-glass vessel bases reveals interesting information regarding gold-glass production, patronage, and primary function.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	vii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER TWO: Images on gold-glass.....	17
CHAPTER THREE: Gold-glass inscriptions.....	46
CHAPTER FOUR: Inscriptions on glasses with portraits.....	76
CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion.....	106
CATALOGUE: Inscriptions on gold-glass.....	116
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	166
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	186

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1 Gold-glass medallion, BMCr, after Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, p. 198, fig.11.
- Figure 2 Blobbed vessel, CRGM, after Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, no. 189 a-b.
- Figure 3 Gold-glass with Achilles on Skyros, PMA, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 284.
- Figure 4 Gold-glass with Adam and Eve, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VIII, no. 47.
- Figure 5 Gold-glass with the Sacrifice of Isaac, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XII, no. 71.
- Figure 6 Gold-glass with Jonah cast overboard to whale, PML, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXIII, no. 407.
- Figure 7 Gold-glass with Old and New Testament scenes, MET, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 448.
- Figure 8 Gold-glass with Raising of Lazarus, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. V, no. 31.
- Figure 9 Gold-glass with Good Shepherd, CP, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIV, no. 224.
- Figure 10 Gold-glass with boxers, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 27.
- Figure 11 Gold-glass with boxers, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 28.
- Figure 12 Gold-glass with musician and prize crowns, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 25.
- Figure 13 Gold-glass with Venus and erotes, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. I, no. 10.



- Figure 14 Gold-glass with Eros playing *trogus*, BAV, after Morey 1959, Pl. IV, no. 26.
- Figure 15 Gold-glass with Roma and Constantinople, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XV, no. 90.
- Figure 16 Line drawing of gold-glass with fruit and plant, BAV, after Pillinger 1984, pl. 53, fig. 119.
- Figure 17 Gold-glass with Torah shrine, MET, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 458.
- Figure 18 Gold-glass with contemporary male portrait, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VII, no. 41.
- Figure 19 Relief scene of *Liberalitas* from the Arch of Constantine, after Stone 1994, fig. 1.18.
- Figure 20 Gold-glass with family portrait, BNM, after Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, no. 109.
- Figure 21 Gold-glass with married couple, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XV, no. 93.
- Figure 22 Gold-glass with family portrait, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XV, no. 94.
- Figure 23 Gold-glass with female portrait bust, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. I, no. 2.
- Figure 24 Gold-glass with couple performing *dextrarum iunctio*, MET, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 447.
- Figure 25 Gold-glass with married couple and Christ, PBN, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXIII, no. 397.
- Figure 26 Gold-glass with Orfitus and Constantia, BM, after Harden 1987, pg. 280, no. 155.
- Figure 27 Gold-glass with married couple and eros figure, BM, after Harden 1987, pg. 281, no. 156.
- Figure 28a Gold-glass with Festa, Fidelis, and the saints, FMN, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 240.

- Figure 28b Line drawing of gold-glass with Festa, Fidelis, and the saints, FMN, after Pillinger 1984, pl. 92, fig. 210 (after Garrucci 1864, pl. 19, fig. 7).
- Figure 29 Gold-glass with married couple surrounded by biblical scenes, OPH, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no. 366.
- Figure 30 Gold-glass with family portrait, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 315.
- Figure 31 Gold-glass with family portrait, MDR, after Migotti 2002, fig. 7.
- Figure 32 Gold-glass with family portrait, PMA, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 289.
- Figure 33 Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IX, no. 56.
- Figure 34 Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XIX, no. 112.
- Figure 35 Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. X, no. 63.
- Figure 36 Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. X, no. 65.
- Figure 37 Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XI, no. 67.
- Figure 38 Gold-glass with portrait bust of Christ, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 305.
- Figure 39 Gold-glass with portrait bust of Christ, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 307.
- Figure 40 Gold-glass with portraits of Christ and saints, BM, after Harden 1987, pg. 284, no. 159.
- Figure 41 Gold-glass with Agnes, Peter, and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XIV, no. 83.

- Figure 42 Gold-glass with inscription only, OAM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXV, no. 233.
- Figure 43 Gold-glass with Raising of Lazarus (and diagonal 'S'), BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VII, no. 44.
- Figure 44 Gold-glass with Peter, Paul, and Christ, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 37.
- Figure 45 Gold-glass with portraits of the saints, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XVIII, no. 105.
- Figure 46 The Proiecta Casket, BM, after Shelton 1981, pl. 4, b.
- Figure 47 Mosaic depicting servants pouring wine, Dougga, after Dunbabin 2003, fig. 88.
- Figure 48 Gold-glass with Peter, Paul, and Christ, FMN, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 241.
- Figure 49 Biculius glass with portraits of Peter, Paul and Christ, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 314.
- Figure 50 Gold-glass with Saint Laurence, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 40.

## ABBREVIATIONS

These abbreviations refer to the collections and/or museums which conserve the gold-glasses examined in this study.

<b>BAV</b>	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	<b>MDR</b>	Museum Đakovo Region
<b>BM</b>	The British Museum	<b>MET</b>	Metropolitan Museum of Art
<b>BMC</b>	Bologna, Museo Civico	<b>MNM</b>	Munich, Nationalmuseum
<b>BMCr</b>	Brescia, Museo Cristiano	<b>OAM</b>	Ostia Antica, Museo
<b>BNM</b>	Belgrade, National Museum	<b>OPH</b>	Oxford, Pusey House
<b>CMCU</b>	Catania, Museo di Castello Ursino	<b>PBN</b>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Medailles
<b>CMOG</b>	Corning Museum of Glass	<b>PMA</b>	Pesaro, Musei d'Arte
<b>CN</b>	Cemetery of Novaziano	<b>PML</b>	Paris, Musée du Louvre
<b>CP</b>	Catacomb of Pamphilus	<b>PPP</b>	Paris, Petit Palais
<b>CRGM</b>	Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum	<b>RGS</b>	Rome, Galleria Sangiorgi
<b>CT</b>	Campo Teutonico	<b>TAMH</b>	Tel Aviv, Museum Haaretz
<b>FMN</b>	Florence, Museo Nazionale	<b>VIKM</b>	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
<b>HNM</b>	Hungary, National Museum	<b>VMC</b>	Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio
<b>LVAM</b>	London, Victoria and Albert Museum		

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### [1.1] Introduction to the gold-glass corpus

Glass objects, including vessels and other small ornaments, comprise a significant category of minor arts in the Roman period. Many glass products and other *arti minori*, such as objects produced in silver and ivory, were commissioned for private consumption and became increasingly popular media for artistic expression and commemoration in the late Empire. A remarkable number of *arti minori*, including glass objects, contain both images and inscriptions that are either incised or painted onto their surfaces, and these two elements are integral for analyzing the significance of such objects as cultural artifacts. In the case of late antique minor arts, such visual and epigraphic content may also document the religious and social transformations that characterize late Roman society. This thesis will explore a particular corpus of Roman glass known as gold-glass (*Zwischengoldgläser*, *vetri d'oro*), and will examine those examples which contain both images and inscriptions in order to evaluate the significance of gold-glass and aspects of its patronage, production, and function.

The gold-glass corpus comprises approximately five hundred whole and fragmentary glass disks.<sup>1</sup> Each gold-glass consists of two or three layers of circular glass disks, between which is sandwiched a thin sheet of gold-leaf incised with a stylus in the form of figural images and/or inscriptions. The technique used in the manufacture of gold-glasses was first introduced in the Hellenistic period, but the majority of the extant corpus dates from the third to fifth centuries AD and for this reason gold-glass is generally perceived as late antique craft.<sup>2</sup> The images featured on late antique gold-glasses incorporate a wide range of secular and religious subject matter, most of which was commonplace in the wider sphere of late Roman art; the imagery includes pagan and biblical narratives, agonistic, pastoral, and mythological figures, as well as Jewish and Christian cult symbols. By far the most popular type of image featured on extant gold-glasses is portraiture, which includes depictions of individuals, couples, families, as well as saints and other Christian figures. A significant portion of the images on gold-glasses are also accompanied by inscriptions that may include

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<sup>1</sup> Similar numbers of extant gold-glass are suggested in the two most recent pieces of scholarship on gold-glass (Migotti 2002, Grig 2004). Grig (2004, p. 204) approximates that there are “around five hundred” glasses. Alternatively, Migotti (2002, p.12) states that there are 520-550 extant examples of gold-glass (although in fn. 5 admits to only encountering 400-500 pieces). The number of glasses included in the catalogue contained in this thesis does not comprise all extant examples, but only those glasses that once served as vessel bases and contain legible inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Migotti (2002, p. 13), states that the technique for producing gold-glass likely originated in Hellenistic Egypt. For a discussion of the small corpus of Hellenistic gold-glasses see Auth 1983, and Oliver 1969. More elaborate literature on gold-glass production techniques is available in Pillinger 1984 and Stern 2001, p. 140.

nominative *tituli*, vocative names, and/or some form of benediction, exhortative phrase, or acclamation.

Although all late antique gold-glass was produced with a similar technique, each piece of extant gold-glass conforms to one of three distinct typologies, which include portrait medallions, gold-glass vessel bases, and sidewall blobs. Portrait medallions date to the third century AD, and consist of circular glass disks that measure 4-11 cm in diameter, which may be blue or green in colour and have smooth level surfaces and uniform edges. These medallions feature bust-length portraits of private individuals and are executed in minute detail with delicate brush strokes and polychromatic highlights (Figure 1). Vessel bases, which comprise the second type of gold-glass, date from the mid-fourth to early fifth century AD and typically measure 7-10 centimeters in diameter.<sup>3</sup> As the name implies, these gold-glasses initially served as the base of shallow vessels, which is evident from the small feet and rims that are present on the reverse sides of many examples. The majority of these bases also have jagged, broken edges that signify these bases were deliberately separated from larger vessels that are no longer extant. The images and inscriptions that decorate the obverse of these vessel bases, which are more summary in their execution than the images on medallions, would have been viewed while looking inside the complete vessel. Vessel “blobs” are the third type of late antique gold-glass and

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<sup>3</sup> Grig 2004, p. 204; Migotti 2002, p. 12. This proposed period of production for gold-glasses with sandwich bases (i.e. gold-glass vessel bases) has been formed on the basis that a large portion feature saints who had burgeoning cults in the mid-fourth century AD up through the early fifth century AD.

also date to the fourth century AD, but are smaller in comparison to bases and medallions, measuring a mere 2-6 centimeters in diameter.<sup>4</sup> These blobs contain only images and several would have been used in combination to decorate the sidewalls of the complete vessels (as opposed to serving as bases); only one partial example of such a blobbed vessel is known (Figure 2).<sup>5</sup> This study, and the catalogue that follows, will concentrate chiefly on the visual and epigraphic content of fourth century vessel bases, which comprise the largest extant type of gold-glass. The two other kinds of gold-glass, namely medallions and blobs, will not be emphasized, but mentioned in passing where it is relevant.

Most gold-glass vessel bases with recorded findspots were discovered in the catacombs of Rome following their more formal exploration in the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Only a handful of examples remain *in situ*, and these indicate that gold-glass bases served as grave-markers that were placed into the mortar that sealed *loculus* tombs. *Loculi* are the predominant type of early Christian sepulcher at Rome and line the numerous and narrow passageways of the Roman catacombs. Upon close examination of those glasses that remain *in situ*, it is evident that the walls of the intact vessel were deliberately broken prior to being placed on the tomb, which signifies, moreover, that the funerary use for

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, no. 189a-b. The partial vessel with applied gold-glass blobs was unearthed in the Cemetery of Saint Severin in Cologne. This vessel is currently located in the collection at the British Museum (inv. # P&E 81, 6-24, 1). A more thorough discussion of the images on gold-glass blobs, which primarily feature biblical narratives, is provided by Utro 2000.

<sup>6</sup> The catacombs were first used for burial as early as the second century and their use continued up to the late fifth century. Based on the evidence of graffiti, during the Medieval period various



gold-glass bases was secondary and not anticipated when the vessels were produced.<sup>7</sup> The insertion of small objects into the mortar façade of *loculus* tombs appears to have been typical funerary practice in many of Rome's catacombs. In addition to gold-glass, other modest objects intended for personal or domestic use, such as perfume bottles, spoons, jewelry, statuettes and articulated dolls, were also inserted onto *loculi* as humble funerary *spolia*.<sup>8</sup>

Given the substantial number of gold-glasses that have been found in Rome, the main centre of gold-glass production appears to have been within the capital itself.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the nineteenth century, however, several other glasses were discovered in the northern Roman provinces.<sup>10</sup> The partial vessel with gold-glass blobs (Figure 2), mentioned above, was found in a cemetery in Cologne (Germania Inferior), and several gold-glass bases have also been unearthed from Christian burials in modern-day Hungary and Croatia (Roman Dalmatia and Pannonia).<sup>11</sup>

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groups of pilgrims haphazardly explored the catacombs. For a discussion of the catacombs in the Medieval period see Osborne 1985.

<sup>7</sup> Smith 2000, pp. 175-76. Vopel 1899, p. 6 ff. believes that the complete gold-glass vessels were inserted into the cement base-first and the walls eventually broke away as time passed. Like Migotti (2002, pp. 16-17), I do not think this is a plausible suggestion. Several bases (Morey 1959, nos. 11, 68, and 103) have traces of the mortar on top of the broken edges of the glass. Another example (Morey 1959, no. 42) must have been broken prior to insertion as it was placed on the tomb backwards, so that the script does not face the viewer.

<sup>8</sup> Several studies specifically address this funerary practice, including: De Santis 1994 and Salvetti 1978. For vivid photographs and a discussion of the funerary objects placed on and inside *loculi*, see also Fiocchi Nicolai 2002, pp. 78-82, figs. 82-93.

<sup>9</sup> Migotti 2002, p. 13; Smith 2000, p. 179. According to Smith (2000, pp. 177-178), six glasses were also found near Rome at Ostia, four of which are on display at the museum there. Morey (1959, nos. 229-233) documents only five glasses from Ostia.

<sup>10</sup> Smith 2000, p. 7.

## [1.2] Problems with interpreting the significance of gold-glass

The major problems presented by the gold-glass corpus are not unique to this class of material, but resemble many of the general difficulties posed by late antique material culture. J.B. Ward-Perkins has identified many of these problems in a fundamental article that discusses late antique artistic production. These problems include: the dearth of properly documented finds, the lack of a secure chronology, the scarcity of datable comparanda for both secular and Christian crafts, and lastly, the absence of rapport between the material and textual record.<sup>12</sup> These problems are consistent with the gold-glass corpus and at this point deserve further elaboration.

Most of the problems presented by the gold-glass corpus are related to their archaeological context (or lack thereof). A significant portion of the extant examples with a recorded provenance come from sites that are funerary – not one gold-glass, for example, has been found in a domestic or workshop setting.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, because of their evident association with the funerary realm in the Roman catacombs and other sites of burial, as well as the fact that no intact gold-glass vessel exists, the details regarding their production and function prior to their re-use in the catacombs have not been conclusively resolved and remain contentious issues in the scholarship. Another problem related to the provenance of gold-glass in the catacombs is that of religious affiliation.

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<sup>11</sup> For literature on gold-glass from Cologne see Fremersdorf 1967. Information on glasses from Hungary and Croatia is available in Fülep 1968, Gáspár 2002, and Migotti 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Ward-Perkins 1978, p. 637.

Because the majority of gold-glass was found in the catacombs, which were primarily although not exclusively Christian, there has been an overwhelming tendency to view gold-glass as a solely Christian medium. Through an examination of the images and inscriptions on gold-glass, it will become clear, however, that gold-glass should be viewed as a body of late antique material without intrinsic religious connotations.<sup>14</sup> In analyzing material culture from the fourth century it is necessary to bear in mind that this century was not only an era of cultural and religious transformation, but that it was also a period of ambivalence, and above all of continuity, wherein many traditional Roman customs continued to be practiced and embraced. The diversity of the subjects portrayed on gold-glass vessel bases and the generic character of many of the accompanying inscriptions make the corpus of gold-glass vessel bases a body of evidence that is remarkably representative of the period in which it was produced and exploited.

### **[1.3] Survey of gold-glass scholarship**

Gold-glasses have been the subject of scholarly attention since their discovery in the Roman catacombs in the late sixteenth century. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries research on these objects was carried out by Italian scholars, who were primarily concerned with acquiring the pieces for

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<sup>13</sup> According to Smith (2000, p. 178, A.61), one fragmentary glass was discovered in a bath complex at Ostia; the current location of this glass is unknown.

<sup>14</sup> Grig 2004, p. 205.

private collections. The earliest publications of gold-glass take the form of simple catalogues that include line drawings and general descriptions.<sup>15</sup> Several of these early publications include some preliminary speculation regarding the use and function of gold-glass; in Fabretti's catalogue published in 1702, for example, he was the first to propose that some disks originally formed the bases of vessels, and soon after in 1720, Boldetti, who apparently extracted a complete gold-glass vessel in the Catacomb of Callixtus, suggested that the vessels were used in the funerary meal, or *refrigerium*.<sup>16</sup>

Large numbers of gold-glass continued to be extracted at Rome in the nineteenth century, and the number was yet again augmented during this century with the discovery of gold-glass in Germany. The larger number of examples resulted in the publication of more substantial catalogues, which at this point also began to include more scholarly discourse on the objects.<sup>17</sup> R. Garrucci compiled a catalogue published in 1864 that includes 380 examples of gold-glass, and several decades later, H. Vopel published a catalogue comprising

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<sup>15</sup> As noted by Smith (2000, pp. 2-5), these early catalogues include: Bosio, A. 1632, *Roma sotterranea*, Rome; Aringhi, P. 1651, *Roma subterranea novissima*, Rome; Ciampini, G.C. 1691, *Sacra historica disquisitio de duobus emblematis quae in cimelio eminentissimi Gasparis Cardinalis Carpinei asservantur*, Rome; Fabretti, R. 1702, *Inscriptionum antiquarum quae in aedibus paternis asservantur explanatio et additamentum*, Rome; Buonarroti, F. 1716, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro ornate di figure trovati nei cimiteri di Roma*, Florence; Boldetti, M. 1720, *Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri dei Santi Martiri ed Antichi Cristiani di Roma*, Rome. Unfortunately, I was unable to consult with these early catalogues first hand.

<sup>16</sup> The propositions of Fabretti and Boldetti are noted by Smith (2000, pp. 3-5). On the subject of Boldetti's intact vessel, which is only documented in the form of a line drawing, Smith (2000, p. 51) relates that this complete vessel likely did not exist, and the small loop handles on the vessel in Boldetti's drawing are inaccurate. Migotti (2002, p. 17) makes a further remark on this so-called complete vessel, stating that the shape is not consistent with the typology of late Roman glass vessels. For an illustration of Boldetti's line drawing see Pillinger 1984, pl. 46, fig. 107; Migotti 2002, fig. 2.

nearly 500 glasses, all of which he attempted to organize chronologically on the basis of the images.<sup>18</sup> While Vopel's catalogue includes the most examples of any catalogue that is widely available, many of these glasses are no longer extant, and this catalogue should be used with discretion.<sup>19</sup> Overall, the early publications from the 17<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> centuries are of significant value, for they record both the appearance and condition of the glasses as they were recovered. These works also provided a concrete foundation for successive research to be carried out in the twentieth century.

C.R. Morey's catalogue of gold-glass, which was posthumously published in 1959, is the most recognized catalogue in contemporary scholarship, and has proven to be a fundamental source for this thesis.<sup>20</sup> Morey includes 460 glasses in his catalogue, each with a corresponding photograph and descriptive entry that includes a brief comment on both the image and the inscription.<sup>21</sup> Morey formulated and utilized this catalogue for his own research on gold-glass, which had the objective to establish the particular workshops that created the glasses through an analysis of the techniques and styles of the decoration. The most recent catalogue of the gold-glass corpus is presented by S. Smith in the

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<sup>17</sup> Smith 2000, p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> Garrucci 1864, Vopel 1899.

<sup>19</sup> Migotti (2002, p. 12, fn. 5) refers to 500-550 pieces of gold-glass, a number shared with her by Dr. B. Asamer, who wrote a Ph.D. thesis on gold-glass (1985). This source was unavailable.

<sup>20</sup> Grig 2002, p. 204, fn. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Morey 1959. Morey's unfinished work with establishing workshops was later picked up by Faedo, who presents the results in her article published in 1978.

appendices of her Ph.D. Thesis published in 2000.<sup>22</sup> Her catalogue is basic and includes 426 glasses, all of which are examined and classified according to their images. The body of Smith's thesis is primarily concerned with the imagery, and much of her argument focuses on the significance of gold-glass in the funerary context and its role in preserving the so-called *domus aeterna*.<sup>23</sup>

Several other catalogues and articles include glasses that are not present in the sources mentioned above. Fülep, Gáspár, and Migotti are responsible for the publication of three glasses found from early Christian burials in Croatia and Hungary<sup>24</sup>, and an article by R. Noll includes two previously unpublished gold-glasses with duplicate images.<sup>25</sup> A recent series of catalogues have been published that contain the large collection of Roman glass at the Corning Museum. In the second volume, editor D. Whitehouse has included entries of the eighteen examples of gold-glass that belong to the collection. The other volumes are also significant, for they include many diverse glass vessels that contain epigraphic formulae and decoration that is comparable to that featured on gold-glasses.<sup>26</sup>

While gold-glass has been primarily dealt with in catalogues, much of the recent scholarship on gold-glass has been presented in the form of articles that

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<sup>22</sup> Smith 2000, Appendix B. Appendix A of Smith's thesis comprises a catalogue of gold-glasses for which the provenance is known.

<sup>23</sup> In Smith's thesis (2000), her argument for the *domus aeterna* is presented in Chapter 4, which is titled "Context and Function of the Gold-glass Vessels"

<sup>24</sup> See Fülep 1968, Gáspár 2002, and Migotti 2002.

<sup>25</sup> Noll 1973, pp. 31-4.

<sup>26</sup> Whitehouse 1997, vols. 1-3. Volume 2 of this series includes the eighteen examples of gold-glass. Several other catalogues have also provided me with examples of glass vessels and

consider the specific problems posed by the corpus. The methodology employed in many of these studies is art historical and emphasizes the significance of gold-glass images in order to provide a system of chronology for the glasses, and even to establish the centres of their production. Bovini, for example, attempts to provide a chronological sequence for the glasses on the basis of the styles, costumes, and hairstyles depicted in the portraits.<sup>27</sup> A similar study is presented by Zanchi Roppo, who forms a system of chronology for gold-glasses that is based on the parallels between gold-glass images and images featured on other datable media, such as sarcophagi and wall paintings.<sup>28</sup> Faedo's various articles of the 1970-1990s utilize the style and iconography of the images as well as production techniques to determine the number of different workshops (*officinae*) that produced the vessels.<sup>29</sup> The most recent article on gold-glass is presented by Grig, whose main concern is the hagiographic portraits of saints and other church figures, which, as she argues, eventually displaced secular portraits of contemporary persons, and thus played an integral role in Christianizing late antique Rome.<sup>30</sup>

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other minor arts with epigraphic content that is comparable to many gold-glass formulae; these include Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, Harden 1987, Matheson 1980, Ross 1962.

<sup>27</sup> Bovini 1950.

<sup>28</sup> Zanchi Roppo 1969.

<sup>29</sup> Faedo 1978, 1985, 1995.

<sup>30</sup> Grig 2004.

#### **[1.4] Approach and purpose**

While the bibliography for the gold-glass corpus is extensive, much of the recent scholarship mentioned above has reported that gold-glass remains an “understudied” and “controversial” class of material.<sup>31</sup> A considerable amount of this scholarship, with few exceptions, has concentrated solely on the images in order to approach the various problems of chronology and production. The images on gold-glass depict scenes that are usually not unique to this corpus alone, but were typically featured on other artistic media and in many different contexts. Furthermore, while the images on gold-glass may serve to identify the religion or tastes of the patrons (or even the recipients) who commissioned such glasses, the images alone provide only partial evidence that cannot account for how gold-glass bases functioned prior to their re-use in sites of burial.

Although all gold-glasses with recorded find spots come from funerary settings, the inscriptions on gold-glasses, which are to be examined more closely in this study, do not explicitly relate to their apparent function as grave markers. The inscriptions, therefore, are a source of evidence that is intrinsic for clarifying the original function of gold-glass vessels. Unlike gold-glass imagery, the accompanying inscriptions have not been thoroughly exploited. The epigraphic content featured on gold-glasses has been treated in the scholarship either on an individual basis or merely as data in catalogue entries. Consequently, only a handful of the inscriptions on gold-glass have been properly read and translated.



In order to understand the value and the significance of these inscriptions, it is necessary to consider each one individually and then all inscriptions collectively as a distinct epigraphic corpus. For these reasons, my approach has been to form a catalogue of the inscriptions (see catalogue; pp, 116 ff.). The catalogue provides an organized and comprehensive resource for analyzing this class of late-antique epigraphy, and classifies the inscriptions individually, which then are collectively organized according to the type of image accompanying each inscription respectively.

The phrases inscribed on gold-glasses, which are present on a significant number of glasses, aid in understanding the character of the occasions for which gold-glasses were used. Many of the formulae on gold-glass are generic and recurring; this could indicate that at some point there was a demand for these kinds of inscriptions, which in turn eventually provided the impetus for mass-produced items. Another important distinction to consider in classifying a gold-glass inscription is whether or not it includes a proper name. Gold-glasses may bear the names of either widely recognized individuals, such as saints or bishops, or more neutral names that appear to be those of private, contemporary individuals. Despite the very standard selection of images and generic inscriptions, it is clear that those glasses bearing the names of contemporary persons were personalized, and thus specifically commissioned to include the particular and desired name.

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<sup>31</sup> Such designations have been more recently related in similar words by Grig 2004, pp. 203-4,

When examined more closely, the content featured in the inscriptions on gold-glass has the capacity to reveal some details regarding production trends and patronage. Additionally, many of the formulaic phrases featured on gold-glasses, such as ubiquitous drinking toasts and other celebratory formulae, indicate that the intact vessels primarily functioned as vessels for feasting. It is on the basis of such inscriptions that several scholars have tentatively proposed that complete gold-glass vessels were used at banquets that celebrated special occasions, such as weddings, anniversaries, the New Year, and also the festivals that took place on saints' days.<sup>32</sup> In one article, Alan Cameron suggests (quite cautiously) that gold-glasses may have been presented as gifts at such occasions.<sup>33</sup>

In response to these propositions regarding the primary function of gold-glass vessels, this study employs an approach to the corpus that utilizes gold-glass inscriptions as the primary apparatus for analysis. The images, however, are not to be underestimated. That gold-glasses had a function in convivial contexts is evident in much of the epigraphic content, but if these inscriptions are considered more closely alongside the particular images they accompany, I propose that it is possible to gain more specific insight into the occasions that the glasses celebrated and commemorated.

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and Cameron 1996, p. 301.

<sup>32</sup> Cameron 1996, pp. 298-301; Engemann 1968, pp. 54 ff.; Grig 2004, p. 205; Noll 1973, pp. 32 ff.; Pillinger 1979, pp. 11-15.

<sup>33</sup> Cameron 1996, p. 298; Noll 1973, p. 33. Cameron (1996, fn. 26), also cites Harden and Painter, as well as Faedo, for making similar suggestions.

Before this study specifically investigates how the inscriptions correspond to particular images, it is necessary first to provide an overview of the corpus to illustrate more fully the character of gold-glass images and inscriptions as separate components of gold-glass decoration. In the chapter that follows (chapter two), the images depicted on gold-glass vessel bases will be surveyed in greater detail, with attention being paid to the typical styles, attributes, and arrangements that characterize the various subjects depicted. To permit a more organized survey, the images have been classified into four broad groups, and all of these are to be examined in the survey of imagery. However, one particular category, namely that which includes gold-glass portraits, will be reviewed in more detail in the final section of chapter two. Portraits comprise the largest category of gold-glass images and are the most feasible group with which to analyze the corresponding inscriptions in the final case study.

Chapter three will deal specifically with the inscriptions, which can be divided into four main groups (1, 2, 3, 4). Group 1 contains inscriptions with general wishes for a good life, which include standard drinking toasts, benedictions, and acclamations. Group 2 is comprised of inscriptions with names that identify and/or address the figures portrayed. Many of the names in these inscriptions are clearly Christian, but many are also neutral, some are mythological, and a few denote identifiable contemporary individuals. Group 3 includes complex inscriptions that are unique and non-typical, and some of these will be examined briefly. The final group, Group 4, contains fragmentary

inscriptions, many of which are unable to be accurately restored, and these will not be surveyed.

The proposed objective of this study is to analyze how particular inscriptions correspond to certain images and a case study that considers the inscriptions that accompany gold-glass portraits will be presented in the fourth chapter of this thesis. A review of the results from this case study and other concluding remarks will be included in the final chapter. The catalogue containing legible gold-glass inscriptions and images examined throughout this thesis is included in the section that follows the concluding chapter. In what follows, the citations for particular glasses, inscriptions, and images that are included in the catalogue will reference the number (e.g. C.1, C.2) that has been assigned to each glass.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Several glasses included in the catalogue contain imagery from two Image Categories (e.g. portraits and narratives), and these particular glasses have been included twice in the catalogue, and thus have two catalogue numbers that appear in the catalogue and in the citations, for example, as C.1X100, which denotes the cross reference.

## CHAPTER TWO

### IMAGES ON GOLD-GLASS

#### [2.1] A brief introduction to gold-glass images

Almost all extant examples of gold-glass vessel bases contain visual images that collectively represent a wide range of subject matter. More broadly the images may include pagan mythological figures, Jewish or Christian cult symbols, portraits of individuals, couples, families, Christian saints, as well as narrative scenes (the majority of which are biblical). While many gold-glass images contain figures or symbols that are unquestionably of a religious nature, the greater part being exclusively Christian, a significant number of glasses also feature neutral or ambivalent subjects. Gold-glass decoration may also combine religious subjects with those that are seemingly neutral on the same glass; for example, a portrait of a married couple may be surrounded by images of saints or biblical narratives.<sup>35</sup> The degree of artistic and technical skill manifested in the imagery is also quite varied, and ranges from realistic and meticulously executed representations to awkward, heavy-handed depictions. This chapter provides a general description of the various subjects that decorate gold-glass vessel bases, but because several studies are available that specifically focus on the imagery,

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<sup>35</sup> For example, C.9X96 (figure 28 a-b) features a married couple surrounded by the standing figures of saints, and C.40X165 (figure 7) depicts a male portrait in a central medallion from which radiates various Old and New Testament narratives.

the following consists of a rather condensed overview.<sup>36</sup> The methodology of this thesis is principally concerned with the correspondence of visual and epigraphic content, and, for this reason, the images to be surveyed in what follows include only those with which inscriptions are featured.

## **[2.2] The classification of gold-glass imagery**

The diversity and combination of subjects that decorate gold-glasses make classification of them an onerous process, which is a difficulty rarely acknowledged. It has been the norm in several recent studies to classify gold-glass images according to their specific religious or seemingly secular subject matter.<sup>37</sup> Generally such schemes of classification have been formulated to meet the specific objectives of the particular author; Grig, for example, separates the religious portraits from those that are secular so as to permit a concentrated analysis of hagiographic portraiture. The focus of the present study is interested in gold-glass portraits more broadly (both religious and 'secular') and the

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<sup>36</sup> Two studies that focus on gold-glass imagery more broadly are Smith's thesis (2000), and Vopel's book (1899).

<sup>37</sup> Grig's classification scheme (2004, p. 206, Table 1) includes eight groups of images: 1) Religious portraits 2) Secular portraits 3) Biblical scenes 4) Good Shepherd 5) Spectacles/miscellaneous 6) Myth/personifications 7) Judaica 8) Inscriptions only. Grig formed her categories in response to those formulated by Smith, who includes nine categories (or 'classes'). Smith's classes (2000, pp. 65 ff.) include 1) Old and New Testament Themes 2) Christ, saints, Apostles, and female orants 3) Good Shepherd and Orpheus 4) Couples, families, and individuals 5) Spectacle, hunting, animals 6) Mythology and personifications 7) Jewish imagery 8) Inanimate objects and inscriptions 9) Illegible decoration. Grig's scheme separates religious and secular portraits and has been formulated to meet the specific aims of her article that concentrates on gold-glasses with hagiographic portraiture. Making religious (pagan, Christian, Jewish) and secular distinctions obscure the similarities between related types of imagery (e.g. portraits). Making such distinctions neither addresses nor permits classification of those glasses with a combination of different subjects, as well as those that contain neutral subjects. The

inscriptions which accompany them; for this reason, I have formulated a classification scheme that includes one large category that consists of all glasses containing portraits. Upon separating the examples with portraits from the whole group of vessel bases, three types of images remain; these are narrative scenes, other figural representations, and miscellaneous images (which, for the most part include non-figural subjects). Of course these three remaining types of image may be further classified into several subgroups (i.e. in the case of narratives there are either biblical or mythological narratives), but given my primary focus on gold-glass portraits, making further classifications of these images is not necessary. Thus for my purposes in this study there are four groups of images, which are referred to here as Image Categories (IC); these include: portraiture (IC.1), narrative scenes (IC.2), other figural representations (IC.3), and miscellaneous images (IC.4). This chapter will first provide a brief survey of the gold-glass narrative scenes, other figural representations, and miscellaneous images (IC.2, 3, 4) and the last section of the chapter will carry out a thorough examination of gold-glass portraits (IC.1). A handful of gold-glasses contain only inscriptions that may be framed with garlands or other decorative motifs, and these constitute a fifth, adjunct category. While this group of glasses deserves mention, they will not be specifically addressed in this chapter because they do not include sophisticated figural or visual subjects.

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separation of religious subjects from the larger groups may also pose many interpretative

### [2.3] Survey of the imagery

#### Narrative scenes (Image Category 2)

A considerable number of gold-glasses bear images of either mythological or biblical narratives, the latter occurring with much more frequency throughout the extant corpus. Narrative scenes capture a particular sequence or moment in a story and are recognizable by the recurring compositions, attributes, gestures, and actions that involve and characterize the figures portrayed. The narrative scenes represented on gold-glass include episodes from fairly popular myths and bible stories that are commonly represented on other late antique media, including sculpture and painting.<sup>38</sup> The most popular narratives featured on gold-glass are from the Old and New Testaments, but there are several examples that represent pagan mythological narratives.

While a handful of glasses portray mythological figures, only a small number of these can be classified as narratives due to their composition and other details. Hercules, who is easily identified by his tawny lion-skin cloak, is featured on one gold-glass vessel base and two sidewall blobs.<sup>39</sup> In all of these examples, Hercules is depicted in the act of performing one of his numerous heroic labours. The vessel base portrays Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar,<sup>40</sup>

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implications relating to the patronage, production, and function of the intact gold-glass vessels.

<sup>38</sup> Smith 2000, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Smith 2000, p. 130.

<sup>40</sup> C.148. The image on this particular vessel base is somewhat fragmentary, and has been identified as Hercules and the Erymanthian Boar by both Morey (1959, no. 12) and Garrucci (1864, p. 71). Morey (1959, no. 12) also indicates that on the right side of this glass there are traces of an image that is likely the large pithos of Eurystheus.



and one of the two blobs represents Hercules and the Cerynian hind<sup>41</sup>, and the other portrays him stealing the Cretan bull.<sup>42</sup> The other mythological figure featured in gold-glass narrative scenes is the Greek hero Achilles, who is featured on only one extant vessel base. This base, currently in a collection at Pesaro, depicts Achilles on the island Skyros amongst the daughters of Lycomedes (Figure 3).<sup>43</sup>

Sequences from pagan myth appear on gold-glasses as isolated scenes that are not combined with other myths or other kinds of gold-glass imagery. Biblical narratives, on the other hand, are shown both as individual images and in combination with other bible stories.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, biblical narratives are used in several cases as border images that surround portraits of both Christian and contemporary, secular individuals.

The number of Old and New Testament stories featured on gold-glasses is considerable, and such narratives are also typically featured in other early Christian artistic media. The sequences from the Old Testament are taken from many different books, including Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, and Jonah. Scenes from the Book of Genesis include Adam, Eve, and the serpent (Figure 4) and the Sacrifice of Isaac (Figure 5)<sup>45</sup>. One vessel base with an inscription features two

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<sup>41</sup> Smith 2000, Appendix B, no. 6.356.

<sup>42</sup> Smith 2000, p. 31; Garrucci 1864, p. 71.

<sup>43</sup> C.150. According to Smith (2000, p. 133) and Engemann (1968, p.11) a second fragmentary glass depicts this same scene. This glass was included in Garrucci's catalogue, but its present whereabouts are unknown to me.

<sup>44</sup> Gold-glass blobs almost exclusively feature biblical narratives and figures.

<sup>45</sup> Adam and Eve: C. 151, see also C.153X171 and C.13X163. The Sacrifice of Isaac: C.153, see also C.13X163.

narratives from the Book of Daniel, and shows Daniel himself in the lion's den, and also the three Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace, which was a popular scene in early Christian art.<sup>46</sup> The image of the three Hebrew youths has a standardized composition, which includes three figures wearing Phrygian style caps, who are depicted side-by-side and equally distanced from each other and standing in flames. In a gesture of prayer much like the orant figure, the youths hold up their palms in a righteous plea to be saved from their suffering in the smoldering furnace. Only one vessel base with an inscription (Figure 6) depicts a narrative scene from the Jonah cycle, and this represents Jonah being cast from a ship before he is swallowed and spewed out by the whale.<sup>47</sup> Another scene from the Old Testament rendered on one vessel base is taken from the Book of Tobias, and depicts the figure of Tobias placing his hand in a fish's mouth.<sup>48</sup> According to Smith, this particular narrative is unprecedented, and is not found on other artistic media, although Tobias himself might appear occasionally.<sup>49</sup>

Several gold-glass vessel bases combine narrative scenes from the Old and New Testaments.<sup>50</sup> Narrative scenes from the New Testament quite often feature the figure of Christ performing one of his many miracles. These include: the Raising of Lazarus (Figure 8), the Healing of the Paralytic, the Multiplication

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<sup>46</sup> This particular vessel base (Morey 1959, no. 347) contains an inscription, but it is illegible, and for this reason not included in the catalogue.

<sup>47</sup> C.155.

<sup>48</sup> C.40X165. Tobias retrieves the entrails from the fish in order to ward off the evil demon from Sarah, his newly wed wife, and to cure his father's blindness.

<sup>49</sup> Smith 2000, p. 84.

of the loaves, and the Miracle of Wine and Water at Cana (Figure 7).<sup>51</sup> In the majority of these narrative representations, Christ appears as clean-shaven and youthful, wearing the tunic and *pallium*, and holding a magical wand (*virga thaumaturga*) to signify that he is conducting miracles.

### **Other figural representations (Image Category 3)**

Image Category 3 includes figures that are not represented as portraits and do not partake in narrative scenes. Subjects in this group include the good shepherd, or Orpheus, agonistic figures, mythological figures, and personifications. Orant figures, which will be discussed briefly in the survey of gold-glass portraiture, may also be included in this group.

The good shepherd is represented on many gold-glass vessel bases, and is a ambiguous image that can be interpreted either as the Greco-Roman character Orpheus (which is rare in the case of gold-glass), or as Christ, who was the metaphorical shepherd of the Christians.<sup>52</sup> The good shepherd may also be interpreted more simply as a generic pastoral image. This figure was one of the only artistic images available to the earliest Christians for expressing their religious beliefs, which explains its prevalence in early Christian imagery.<sup>53</sup> The

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<sup>50</sup> C.111X164, C.40X165; Morey 1959, no. 347 (supra fn. 46).

<sup>51</sup> Smith 2000, pp. 67-68. Lazarus: C.156, C.157; Healing of the Paralytic: C.40X165; Multiplication of the loaves: C.161; Miracle at Cana: C.162.

<sup>52</sup> For a discussion of the image of the good shepherd and its interpretation in later Roman art see Corby Finney 1994, pp.115 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Ward-Perkins 1978, p. 639. Corby Finney 1994, pp. 115 ff., also relates that the good shepherd was an image chosen by Christians as part of a process known as “selective

good shepherd is typically represented either bearing a lamb across his shoulders, and/or tending to his flock in a rustic landscape. Some very similar figures depict this same shepherd, although he grasps or plays the flutes.<sup>54</sup> This figure may be identified as Orpheus, rather than the symbolic manifestation of Christ. The image of the good shepherd, or Orpheus, in most examples is the primary image depicted on the glass, although two examples depict the image of the good shepherd in combination with other types of imagery. One glass portrays the good shepherd in the central medallion flanked by various Old Testament narratives (Figure 9), while on the other example he appears beside a female orant figure.<sup>55</sup> Such overt associations with other Christian figures underline the fact that by the fourth century, when the majority of vessels with gold-glass bases were produced, the good shepherd was an established Christian iconographic figure, and likewise, most images of the good shepherd on gold-glass are meant to be Christian, despite the resemblance in some examples to the figure of Orpheus.

A few images on gold-glass portray agonistic figures, who are either depicted in the midst of their competition or at their moment of victory. The competitions depicted represent a wide range of spectacles, such as chariot racing, boxing, or gladiatorial combat, as well as other forms of secular entertainment. Two identical glasses feature a boxing match between two nude

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adaptation", wherein early Christians chose artistic subject matter that was available in the market and suited their needs differently from those of pagan clients.

<sup>54</sup> Smith 2000, Appendix B, no. 3.259

figures, Zenuarus and Asellus (Figures 10 and 11). A trainer (*lanista*) in the background, labeled Constantius, oversees the match as the stiffly rendered boxers swing their long arms.<sup>56</sup> Only one glass features a gladiator, who in this case is an isolated *retiarius* brandishing his net and trident.<sup>57</sup> Another example featuring an agonistic figure (Figure 12) shows a victory at a musical festival, with a man in elaborate costume standing in the centre and holding pipes and a palm branch to symbolize his success. Two column bases flank this figure, one of which bears prize crowns, and the other a theatrical mask, which suggests this figure's victory at a dramatic and musical festival.<sup>58</sup> There are also several glasses that depict victorious charioteers leading their horses after the race with palm branches in hand. Two of these glasses with charioteers, like the glasses featuring the boxers just mentioned, appear to be duplicate copies.<sup>59</sup> Agonistic figures are not frequently represented in the extant corpus, and depictions of them are not combined with other types of imagery.

Mythological figures and personifications comprise another group of imagery in this category. Typically these figures are not part of a particular narrative scene, but can be identified by their common attributes and poses, and in some cases by an inscription. Mythological figures represented on gold-

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<sup>55</sup> Good shepherd and Old Testament narratives: C.153X171; Good shepherd and orant, Morey no. 57. See also Smith 2000, p. 108, and Appendix B, nos. 3.260 and 3.264.

<sup>56</sup> C.183 and C.184.

<sup>57</sup> C.182.

<sup>58</sup> C.182.

<sup>59</sup> C.188 and C.189; Noll 1973, pp. 31 ff., figs. 1 and 2. The only thing that is not similar on these two glasses is the name of the horse; one horse is named Invictus, while the other is Fanestrus.

glasses include erotes, Venus, and Cupid and Psyche.<sup>60</sup> The glass depicting Venus (Figure 13) shows the goddess at her toilet, and almost completely nude with only a bit of drapery hiding her sex.<sup>61</sup> In her right hand Venus holds a small hand mirror and two winged erotes stand to her side, one of which holds up a larger mirror that reflects her image.<sup>62</sup> Eroles are portrayed on more glasses than any other mythological figure, and are represented on three glasses as isolated figures. One of these glasses portrays a rather playful rendition of an eros dressed in a leopard skin and playing *trogus*, an exercising game involving a large hoop (Figure 14).<sup>63</sup> Like agonistic figures, mythological figures are rarely shown in combination with other types of images. Mythological figures may, however, oversee mortal enterprise, as is the case in one unique image that features a scene from contemporary life that portrays the goddess Athena watching over several men as they build ships.<sup>64</sup>

Related to representations of mythological figures are personifications, which are portrayed on two glasses. One of these glasses depicts the three *Monetae*, who personify the three mints for producing coin – the *aes* (bronze),

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<sup>60</sup> C.149.

<sup>61</sup> C.175. While it is not clear, this image of Venus could be a portrait of the woman, Partenopa, who is mentioned in the inscription on this glass. It is fairly common in Roman art for women to be depicted in the guise of female mythological figures, such as Venus or Diana (see D'Ambra 1998, pp. 107-109).

<sup>62</sup> Smith 2000, p. 134.

<sup>63</sup> The image of the eros playing *trogus*: C.178. In entry no. 26 of his catalogue, Morey incorrectly identifies the eros playing *trogus* as a putto. C.149 and C.21 also depict erotes. C.11 (figure 10) depicts an eros in the act of crowning a married couple. Putti are similar to erotes, but have no wings, and are also featured on several vessel bases with inscriptions (C.176 and C.177).

<sup>64</sup> C.179X192. This glass is exceptional for scenes from quotidian life are not commonly represented on gold-glasses. This gold-glass also contains the only representation of the goddess Athena in the extant corpus.

*argentum* (silver), and the *aurum* (gold). Images of the three *Monetae* were commonly rendered on coins beginning in the Severan era and these figures are represented as draped female figures, each bearing a cornucopia in one hand and scales in the other.<sup>65</sup> Another glass (Figure 15) depicts personifications of Rome and Constantinople, the capitals of the empire in the fourth century.<sup>66</sup> Each city is personified by a female figure, both of who are seated beside each other and wear elaborate costume that includes a diadem fashioned in the shape of city walls. Each of these figures holds an orb in one hand and a staff in the other, which is symbolic of their dominion and power, and a smaller female figure kneels at their feet in a gesture of submission.

#### **Miscellaneous images (Image Category 4)**

Many glasses do not feature human figures at all, but inanimate items and symbols, as well as animals and foliage. These glasses are relatively few in comparison to the much larger groups that portray human figures. It is for this reason that glasses with symbols, items, and other types of depictions are collectively classified in the category of miscellaneous images.

The inanimate items, such as scrolls and tablets, are depicted on only a few glasses as the sole image; typically such items are included alongside human figures in portraits and narratives. The image of the scroll has several

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<sup>65</sup> C.180; Smith 2000, p. 136.

<sup>66</sup> C.181.

potential meanings; in Roman art, the scroll is often a symbol of erudition, although it could also refer to either the Jewish or Christian scriptures.

Portraits and narratives not only feature inanimate objects, but also vegetal and floral motifs. Such motifs can be shown in isolation, such as a glass in the Vatican (Figure 16) that shows a plant with flowers and fruit.<sup>67</sup> Another example shows a wreath that frames a convivial inscription, which in this case is likely a reference to the wreaths donned by persons partaking in a banquet.<sup>68</sup> Such vegetal and floral motifs can symbolize prosperity and regeneration, while wreaths and crowns represent either marriage, victory, or authority.

Christian and Jewish symbols comprise another grouping of the miscellaneous images. The Christian Chi-rho does not commonly appear as a sole image, but one that is positioned alongside portraits of renowned Christian figures as well as and private Christians. Seven glasses in the extant corpus portray Jewish symbols and these glasses depict any number of these symbols in combination.<sup>69</sup> The most prevalent Jewish symbols include the Torah shrine, the menorah, and the scriptures (the Torah). The most elaborate example of a Jewish glass is from the collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Figure 17), which represents the Torah shrine, inside of which there is a menorah, a *rotulus* (referring to the scriptures), as well as a beautifully decorated table surrounded by cushions.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> C.198.

<sup>68</sup> C.205.

<sup>69</sup> C.194, C.195, C.196, C.201, and C.203. Five of the seven examples include inscriptions.

<sup>70</sup> C.203.



While animals may accompany and distinguish human figures (like Hercules or the charioteer), they are also depicted as the sole image on gold-glasses. The animals featured include asses, stags, horses, birds, and sheep. The one glass that depicts the horse is likely a reference to the circus, as the horse holds the palm branch of victory.<sup>71</sup> Stags, likewise, are symbolic of the hunt, while birds such as doves, in addition to sheep and asses, may be symbolic of the Holy Spirit, or Christ and his labours respectively.

### **Portraiture (Image Category 1)**

The survey has thus far reviewed and examined some of the diverse characters and images rendered on gold-glass bases that also include inscriptions. Narrative scenes, other figural representations, and miscellaneous images are only depicted on a small portion of glasses in comparison to portraiture, the final category of images to be examined in this chapter. Portraiture comprises the largest category of images represented on gold-glass vessel bases and includes all examples where one or a number of individuals are the central focus of the image.<sup>72</sup> Typically portrait figures do not partake in activities or narratives and are therefore not featured with props that might signify action or dialogue. Gold-glass portrait figures, however, may often flank or bear symbolic and decorative motifs, such as scrolls and tablets, or wreaths, crowns, and flowers, as well as Christian symbols.

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<sup>71</sup> C.202.

The most common type of portrait on gold-glass depicts one or more individuals in a circular frame, who are portrayed frontally from the shoulders up. Several portraits also feature figures from the waist up, full-length, sitting, or standing, and, additionally, some figures may be depicted in profile. In many ways, the composition of gold-glass portraits is similar in pose and aspect to portraits rendered in late Roman public and commemorative sculpture, which often lack individuality and appear to have stock physiognomies and apparel.<sup>72</sup> Very little physical or facial differentiation is apparent in gold-glass portraits, which is likely due, in part, to their mass production and to the considerable time and precision required to incise the details of individual likeness in miniature.

Gold-glass portraits are organized on the glass in numerous ways, but generally this depends on the number of portrait subjects depicted. When one to three figures are portrayed they often are placed in the centre of the image, either occupying the whole circular frame (Figure 21), or, if secondary subject matter is present (such as narrative scenes), the portraits still take precedence and are represented in a centrally placed medallion (Figure 29). When four or more persons are depicted, they may be organized in two rows, in separate registers, or, when a central medallion is present, the portrait subjects may be arranged radially in a surrounding ring (Figure 28a-b). In most cases, the organization of the portrait subjects also depends on who is being portrayed;

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<sup>72</sup> Portraits on gold-glasses depict up to seven individuals.

<sup>73</sup> Frontality is a common pose for of human figural representations on late antique public monuments, such as the Arch of Galerius and the Constantinian renditions on the Arch of Constantine. Similarly, many sarcophagi and late Roman paintings feature frontal portraits.

portraits of private individuals, for example, are always featured together in the same circular frame (or central medallion); portraits of Christian figures, on the other hand, may be featured in one frame, but generally if four or more are represented, they are organized into registers and/or in the radial arrangement surrounding the central medallion.

Gold-glass portraits can be divided into two main groups. The first main group of portraits features individuals who wear apparel, hairstyles, and other accoutrements that were typically donned by persons living in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The second main group of portraits features individuals in old-fashioned garments that were not in style among the general populace in late antiquity. In the majority of the examples from this second group, this archaic style of dress consists of the tunic and *pallium* or some related variation. Therefore, according primarily to the style of dress worn by gold-glass portrait subjects, one group of portraits may be identified as 'contemporary', and a second group as 'non-contemporary'. As will be seen, the majority of figures who wear non-contemporary garments are typically labeled with *tituli* that identify them as Christian martyrs, saints, apostles or other church figures. It should be noted that the titles employed here to classify the portraits, namely 'contemporary' and 'non-contemporary', should not be understood as temporal references that necessarily indicate the time period in which individuals depicted in the portraits were living; the terms refer only to the style of dress the portrait subjects wear. While many of the figures depicted in old-fashioned dress (i.e.

non-contemporary dress), were in actual fact not alive at the time when the glasses were produced (and hence were not contemporary figures), contemporary persons, such as the fourth century Bishop Damasus, are also depicted in this archaic style of dress.<sup>74</sup>

Specific identification of figures in portraits cannot be determined by facial features and particular hairstyles. Given the fact that many hands and workshops were responsible for rendering these portraits over the course of a generation (mid fourth to early fifth centuries AD), and that the specific portrait types for saints and Apostles had not yet been universally established, there are many variations in portrait physiognomies. This, of course, in addition to the larger margin of error inherent to executing portrait in miniature, makes it difficult to distinguish portraits that bear authentic likenesses from those that are generic representations. Determining the veritable identity of a portrait figure is only possible if the figure is accordingly labeled with a *titulus*.

### **Contemporary Portraits**

Portraits of contemporary individuals depict isolated figures, couples, or families, and represent figures of all ages, from infants to mature adults. “Contemporary” portraits feature figures who wear clothing and other accoutrements that were in style from the late third to early fifth century, which is the same period that the glasses were produced.

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<sup>74</sup> For glasses portraying Damasus see section 3.4, p. 69; see also Grig 2004, pp. 208 ff.

The contemporary males featured in gold-glass portraits typically wear the toga with the *contabulatio*, which is well illustrated in figures 18 and 22.<sup>75</sup> The *toga contabulata*, which was the predominant style of toga worn by Roman men in late antiquity, is characterized by a broad, flat piece of cloth that comes up over the left shoulder, sweeps across the front of the chest, and is tucked tightly under the right armpit. This style of banded toga is well documented in late Roman art, and first appears on the Arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna (AD 206-209) where it is worn by the emperor Severus himself and his son Caracalla in the *Concordia Augustorum* relief.<sup>76</sup> This band of the toga, or *umbo*, which was the distinguishing feature of the *toga contabulata*, evolved from being a simple flat fold, to becoming a much more isolated and emphatically placed band of cloth. Examples of this more emphatic *umbo* are illustrated on the left side of the Brother Sarcophagus in Naples, which dates circa AD 260, and also on the *Liberalitas* frieze (Figure 19) on the Arch of Constantine (AD 312-315).<sup>77</sup> After the first century, and even more so by the fourth, the toga was a garment reserved only for special occasions, but in their portraits men very often opted to be represented in this costume as a reflection of their status as Roman citizens.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> C.36 and C.24.

<sup>76</sup> Stone 24-25, fig. 1.15. Stone offers one of the more recent discussions on the evolution of the toga. For a fuller study of the toga, see Goette, H.R. 1990, *Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen*, Mainz, Philip von Zabern.

<sup>77</sup> Brother Sarcophagus: Stone 1994, fig 1.16. *Liberalitas* frieze : Stone 1994, fig. 1.18.

<sup>78</sup> Harlow 2004, p. 204. Harlow's article (2004) is primarily concerned with female dress in late antiquity, but the initial portion of the article examines forms of male dress and representation.

While the toga is the standard dress donned by contemporary men in gold-glass portraits, several examples also depict men wearing the tunic and chlamys (cloak), which was the official costume worn by Roman military men and civilian office-holders.<sup>79</sup> The tunic worn by men varied in length, but could be worn as short as at the knees, and the chlamys cloaked the upper body in such a way that it covered over the left shoulder, swept over the front of the chest, and was fastened with a fibula on the right shoulder.<sup>80</sup> The tunic and chlamys ensemble is modeled well by both the man and his young son who are portrayed on a gold-glass in the National Museum in Belgrade (Figure 20).<sup>81</sup> As it is illustrated in this last example, it is generally the norm that young men and boys appear in identical dress, be it toga or tunic, to their contemporary mature male counterparts.

Contemporary men in gold-glass portraits are generally represented with full heads of hair, which conforms in most instances to the 'Constantinian' model of hairstyle consisting of short, stylized curls or locks that have been combed forward from the crown of the head. The majority of contemporary men are also portrayed as clean-shaven, but there are two extant glasses which portray men wearing short, stubbly beards (Figures 21 and 22).<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *ibid.* Dr. K.M.D. Dunbabin communicated to me many of the details regarding men's official dress in late antiquity.

<sup>80</sup> The fibula was an important sign of rank, which was distinguished further by the type of material used to produce the fibula, be it gold, silver, or bronze.

<sup>81</sup> C.33.

<sup>82</sup> C.5 and C.24. Both of these examples feature vocative names, which, as will be seen in due course, indicate that a glass has been specifically commissioned. Given the relative infrequency of contemporary men sporting beards, it is possible that the patrons of these particular glasses

Much like portraits of contemporary men, gold-glass portraits of contemporary women also feature costumes and hairstyles from a fairly standard repertoire. The majority of women's portraits depict them wearing the tunic and *palla*, which was the typical ensemble of garments worn by women in the later empire.<sup>83</sup> The *palla*, or mantle, consisted of a rectangular piece of cloth that could be draped over the head or shoulders. In the majority of women's portraits the *palla* is draped over the shoulders with the two loose ends crossed one over the other in front of the body to form a v-shape on the woman's chest and upper abdomen. Several examples also depict women wearing a rather flat band of cloth that drapes over the left shoulder and comes diagonally across the body. This band of cloth is somewhat reminiscent of the *umbo*, but it is more than likely just another fashion for arranging the *palla*.<sup>84</sup> After the third century, a new, wider style of tunic was popular, as was the dalmatic style tunic, which had long, gaping sleeves.<sup>85</sup> Because the contemporary women featured on gold-glasses are generally featured as bust-length, it is not possible to observe the type or the length of the tunic worn. However, contemporary women generally have very emphasized shoulders, which could indicate an abundance of cloth beneath the *palla* consisting of these popular, looser styles of tunics. Many contemporary women also wear embroidered or jeweled collars which are either circular or are

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specified not only the names to be inscribed on the glass, but perhaps also the physical characteristics of the particular portrait subjects.

<sup>83</sup> Harlow 2004, pp. 205 ff.

<sup>84</sup> C.29, C.14, and C.15; see also figure 13.

<sup>85</sup> Harlow 2004, pp. 205. Figure 2 in Harlow's article, which shows a linen shroud from Antinoopolis, has a good representation of a woman wearing this dalmatic style of tunic.

formed in a series of scalloped roundels that lie at the base of the neck and sweep around the shoulders.<sup>86</sup> Women's hair is fashioned similarly in most portraits and frames the face with rows of waves that may be fastened at the top of the head with an ornamental headdress or capped with a snood. The amount of jewels and embroidery donned by women varies from portrait to portrait, but those who wear richly embellished costumes and accessories (which is generally the case) are clearly interested to show their status. The typical features portrayed in women's portraits on gold-glass are well represented on a glass in the Vatican (Figure 21), and are consistently portrayed by women of all ages.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, when two or more contemporary women are depicted, despite their age, they appear identically in their dress and hairstyle (Figure 30).<sup>88</sup>

### **Isolated portraits of contemporary individuals and married couples**

Both contemporary males and females can be depicted in isolated portraits, which feature only one person, and in this case sole figures are generally portrayed at bust-length and face the viewer (Figures 18 and 23).<sup>89</sup> The majority of portraits featuring contemporary individuals, however, depict male-female couples. These glasses generally feature the couple in a circular frame as bust-length and frontally posed, with the woman on the left side, and the man to the right. Typically the man is placed slightly in front of his female companion,

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<sup>86</sup> Such a jeweled collar is worn by Proiecta in her portrait featured on top of the casket (see figure 46).

<sup>87</sup> C.5.

<sup>88</sup> C.29.



and, aside from this pose, compositionally there is little to signify their connection. One exceptional glass (Figure 24) depicts a standing couple performing the *dextrarum iunctio*, a typical gesture in Roman art that signifies the legality of the marriage ceremony and, likewise, marital harmony.<sup>90</sup> That these couples are married is generally indicated by the particular symbols and items, as well as other figures, that accompany these portraits. Very often Christ appears between the couple (Figure 25), capping them with *corona lemniscata*, a crown with intertwining ribbons. One very famous glass in the British Museum (Figure 26) depicts an unconventional twist on this arrangement, and features Hercules, wearing his typical lion skin, in the act of crowning a married couple, while another glass in the Vatican portrays a couple being crowned by an eros figure (Figure 27).<sup>91</sup> The figure crowning the couple is not always present and some glasses simply depict the couple flanking a marriage crown (Figure 30).<sup>92</sup> Married couples are also shown flanking other items such as the scroll, which either person might also grasp in his or her hand, and several examples also show the couple flanking the Chi-rho symbol. While the majority of these examples feature only the portraits of male-female couples, a few examples

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<sup>89</sup> C.36 and C.42

<sup>90</sup> C.17.

<sup>91</sup> C.12 and C.21. Glass C.12, the famous glass in the British museum, depicts Orfitus and his wife Constantia. This glass is discussed at some length throughout this study (see pp. 67-8, 70, 72, 81-2).

<sup>92</sup> C.29.

feature portraits of couples in central medallions that are surrounded either by portraits of Christian figures (Figure 28 a-b) or biblical narratives (Figure 29).<sup>93</sup>

### **Portraits of family groups**

Family groups are another kind of contemporary portrait depicted on gold-glass vessel bases. Compositionally, portraits of family groups are arranged much like examples with contemporary individuals and couples and feature the family members frontally in a circular frame. Family portraits more commonly depict a married couple and children, but a few portraits represent either parent with one child.<sup>94</sup> The married couple in family portraits is the focal point of the image, due to their size, which is remarkably large in comparison to the one to four small children who are portrayed in front of them.<sup>95</sup> Additionally, the depiction of children is often concealed by the details and garment folds of the parents' apparel, requiring closer observation to make out their images. Such close examination reveals that these children appear identical in their dress and hairstyles to those of their respective parental counterparts. Two typical examples of family groups are illustrated in figures 30 and 31, which include both the mother and father and either one or two child(ren).<sup>96</sup> Some examples, however, include only one parent, such as the portrait of a mother and child on a

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<sup>93</sup> C.9X96 and C.13X163.

<sup>94</sup> C.27. The Brescia medallion (figure 1) portrays what looks to be a mother with her son and daughter.

<sup>95</sup> Smith 2000, p. 117.

<sup>96</sup> C.29 and C.32.

glass from the collection in Pesaro (Figure 32).<sup>97</sup> Like other portraits, family portraits may contain peripheral motifs, such as scrolls, crowns, and the Chi-rho symbol.<sup>98</sup>

### Non-contemporary portraits

The portraits classified here as non-contemporary depict figures who wear archaic, non-contemporary clothing. In the most of the examples this clothing consists of the tunic and *pallium* (or some related version) and such clothing is worn primarily by Christian figures, including apostles, saints, martyrs, and other Church figures, as well as Christ himself, all of whom, in most cases, are collectively identified by a *titulus*.<sup>99</sup> Like contemporary portraits on gold-glass, non-contemporary portraits may feature one, two, or multiple figures. It is not as common for non-contemporary portraits to feature isolated individuals, and more generally these figures appear as couples or in groups. A rather conspicuous feature that accompanies non-contemporary portrait subjects is *tituli* that name

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<sup>97</sup> C.27.

<sup>98</sup> C.23 and C.26, for example, both feature scrolls with family groups, while C.29 (figure 30) illustrates both the crown and Chi-rho symbol.

<sup>99</sup> The tunic and *pallium* was the traditional dress of the Greek philosopher, and according to Zanker (1995, p. 290), this dress (along with a beard) was deemed by church fathers (Tertullian, *De Pallio* 6; Clement of Alexandria, *Paid.* 3.11.60) to be the “suitable” costume for Christians. On the basis of the Carrand diptych (Zanker 1995, fig. 161), which portrays Paul and his followers and an imperial magistrate in contemporary dress, Zanker argues (and is probably wrong) that this reflects the contemporary clergy on the grounds that the magistrate is shown in the tunic and chlamys. There are, of course, several exceptions, for not all non-contemporary figures wear the archaic tunic and *pallium*. Some non-contemporary men wear a variation of this ensemble that features what appears to be a round brooch that fastens the cloak at the centre of the chest (see figures 44, 48, and 49). Obviously female non-contemporary figures, such as saints Agnes and Mary, do not wear the tunic and *pallium*, but instead wear dress that is nearly identical to that worn by contemporary women. These variations and exceptions will be discussed in more detail in what follows.

and label each individual depicted. This correspondence is something that will be further examined in the fourth chapter, but the appearance of *tituli* with non-contemporary portraits is difficult to avoid when examining them. Both the classification and the identification of contemporary figures in the preceding section were established primarily through a discussion of their typical features, including dress and other attributes. In the following survey of non-contemporary portraits, however, the *tituli* that identify the figures will be referred to and examined in addition to their distinguishing features.

### **Peter and Paul**

Non-contemporary portrait figures are most often shown in pairs, the most prevalent pairing being the Apostles Peter and Paul, who are represented on a remarkable number of gold-glasses. While gold-glass portraits generally portray frontal figures, Peter and Paul are almost always depicted in full or half profile, which is a standard pose that aids in their identification. According to Huskinson, this apostolic pose was a “conscious” imitation of double-face profile portraits commonly featured in later imperial art and coinage, and this pose was employed similarly in imperial and apostolic portraits in order to convey allusions of authority and *concordia*.<sup>100</sup> Several portraits, however, do not show Peter and Paul in their typical bust-length profile pose: a very poorly rendered gold-glass in the Vatican shows the apostles frontally (Figure 33), while several other glasses,

show them seated on low benches (Figure 34).<sup>101</sup> In almost every example, Peter and Paul are identified by the *tituli* “PETRVS (ET) PAVLVS” and, accordingly, Peter is situated to the left sitting slightly in front of Paul, who is situated to the right.<sup>102</sup> In all examples featuring these portrait companions, the apparel of Peter and Paul resembles that of philosophers, consisting of the wide-sleeved tunic covered with a *pallium* that sweeps across the front of the body and is folded between the arms and body on the left side, so as to create a slight v-shape on the chest. In several examples Peter and Paul also wear a variant fashioning of the *pallium*, which instead of being folded with the arms, is affixed with a circular brooch in the centre of the chest (Figure 37).<sup>103</sup> While this apostolic costume is standardized, the portrait physiognomies of Peter and Paul vary greatly. Some portraits, most of which are likely of an earlier date, feature the two apostles with almost identical facial characteristics (Figures 35 and 36), while some later examples represent distinct portrait physiognomies that typically

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<sup>100</sup> Huskinson 1982, p. 51. Huskinson (1982, p. 54) also makes the observation that such double-face portraits are similar to marriage portraits.

<sup>101</sup> Frontal pose: C.49; seated on low benches: C.58, and C.62.

<sup>102</sup> One example (C.73) features Paul on the left and Peter to the right. Huskinson (1982, pp. 55 ff.) discusses at some length the significance of left-right positioning, relating that the position of authority was traditionally on the right side, which is attested in marriage portraits and imperial iconography. In citing the example of a cameo depicting the emperor Honorius on the left side, and his wife, Maria, on the right, Huskinson states that in later Roman art the authority position may sometimes be reversed.

<sup>103</sup> Peter and Paul wear this variant style of *pallium* in C.51, C.52, C.56, C.63, C.67, and C.79. C.52 (Morey 1959, no. 62) features square brooches instead of circular ones, and C.48 (Morey 1959, no. 53) appears to have circular brooches, but as Morey notes (1959, p. 13), these are the hands of the two apostles folded in the drapery. Morey calls this style of *pallium* with the brooch the “omophorion type”. This might not be the accurate word to describe this particular costume. According to Lampe (1961, pp. 1556, s.v. “ὠμοφόριον”), who references various church fathers and other Byzantine sources, the word ὠμοφόριον refers to the stole, or “scant” worn by bishops. It is not exactly clear what this would have looked like, and therefore the use of the word is best avoided.

feature Peter with a full head of curly hair and short beard, and Paul with a balding head and long beard (Figure 37).<sup>104</sup> Such distinct portrait physiognomies for Peter and Paul seem to have been in place by the late fourth century (ca. 360), but from the evident variation of characteristics presented in the numerous examples bearing these portrait companions, it appears that even by the early fifth century some workshops chose not to render Peter and Paul in such a distinct fashion.<sup>105</sup>

Peter and Paul are depicted flanking numerous items or symbols, which most often include the scroll, representing the Christian scriptures, or the crown, which is symbolic of their *concordia*, and several examples, including the glass in figure 34, depict the apostles flanking the Chi-rho symbol.<sup>106</sup> Peter and Paul are often also shown being capped with laurel or oak crowns by the small figure of Christ, whose body is shown in full between the two (Figures 44, 48, and 49).<sup>107</sup>

### Portraits of Christ

The image of Christ is generally incorporated into narratives, although several examples depict Christ in portrait form and in the company of the apostles, other saints, and/or church figures. Like the image of Christ crowning the apostles, Christ is also commonly depicted in the act of crowning married

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<sup>104</sup> Huskinson 1982, p. 54.

<sup>105</sup> *ibid*; Huskinson relates that some workshops chose not to portray distinct physiognomies, because they had “a natural inclination to cling to tradition and retardate the style”.

<sup>106</sup> C.62.

<sup>107</sup> C.73, C.79, and C.81.

couples.<sup>108</sup> Christ is generally portrayed in the tunic and *pallium* and as a beardless youth, which is standard for the early images of Christ, and is well illustrated on two glasses in the British Museum (Figures 38 and 39), both of which feature Christ as the sole subject in a central medallion surrounded by saints.<sup>109</sup>

### **Other non-contemporary pairs and groups**

While Peter and Paul are frequently depicted as sole companions or with Christ, they are also portrayed either together or separately with one or more other saints or Church figures. A large number of saints other than Peter and Paul are depicted in portraits on gold-glass, including Timothy, Laurence, John, Simon, Luke, Agnes, and Mary, to name a few. These figures may be depicted as portrait companions or in groups of three or more. The male saints, much like Peter and Paul, wear the tunic and *pallium* (both with or without brooch), and flank various items, the scroll being the most predominant.<sup>110</sup> The same can be said for other male church figures who are featured in portraits, such as the bishops Sixtus, Cyprian (both also being martyrs), and Damasus, a bishop in the later fourth century. The saints and other Christian figures are depicted in diverse combinations and numbers, and Christ himself is at times included in the groupings. In the examples depicting a group of Christian figures, it is typical for each figure to be contained within a frame or register, or to be separated

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<sup>108</sup> For example, C.1 and C.9X96.

<sup>109</sup> C.106 and C.118. On one glass (C.73; Morey 1959, no. 37) Christ wears the circular brooch to fasten his *pallium*.

individually from the others by lines or columns. A glass in the British Museum (Figure 40) depicts seven figures, six of whom are clearly distinguishable: Paul, Sixtus, Laurence, Hippolitus, Christ, and Timothy.<sup>111</sup> The upper register in this image contains four standing saints, each marked off from the others by interposed columns and labeled with a *titulus*. The lower register contains three figures, the central one is presumably Christ, as indicated by the wreath he holds in his hands. While the saints do not face each other, much unlike Peter and Paul who do face each other, the close rapport of the saints is indicated in many examples by their slight turn towards one another that permits eye contact and indicates association.<sup>112</sup>

### **Non-contemporary women's portraits: female saints**

Female saints are generally represented as orant figures, who hold out the palms of their hands in a gesture of prayer. These female orant figures are depicted as full-length figures in long, wide sleeved tunics, who wear their hair pinned to their heads (Figure 41). The image of the orant is admittedly somewhat difficult to classify; in most cases, images of orants on gold-glasses have *tituli* that label them as either Agnes or Mary. However, in one example the

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<sup>110</sup> Morey 1959, nos. 87 (C.141), 254 (C.98), and 358 (C.108) all feature the saints in the *pallium* fastened with the brooch.

<sup>111</sup> C.120; Morey 1959, no. 344.

<sup>112</sup> Smith (2000, p. 88) relates that the pose of the Christian figures signals their "interaction". I do not agree with this wording, and believe more of a rapport or friendly association is indicated by the poses.



orant figure is labeled with the *titulus* "PEREGRINA"<sup>113</sup>, while another example of an orant image is anonymous.<sup>114</sup> Because the orant was a standardized early Christian representation, and was not attached to any particular Christian individual, orant figures on gold-glass can also be classified in Image Category 3 as other figural representations. The gestures of orants, which symbolize prayer, place emphasis on this gesture and its allusions to salvation, rather than on the individual as a portrait figure. Additionally, gold-glass images of orants cannot be accurately classified as non-contemporary portrait figures, as very often the embellished embroidery, hairstyles, and headdresses donned by orants are remarkably similar to those featured in the portraits of contemporary women.<sup>115</sup> In some examples, however, female saints wear headdresses with long, flowing veils, which are not commonly worn by contemporary women.<sup>116</sup> Because orants are depicted at full length, it is also possible to see various details, such as the length of the tunic and various accessories like brooches and belts that are not visible in bust-length contemporary women's portraits.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> C.113.

<sup>114</sup> C.189.

<sup>115</sup> Morey 1959, no. 221 (C.136) shows an orant wearing a hairstyle and embellished embroidery that is consistent with portraits of contemporary women. Morey 1959, no. 226 (C.137) represents an orant with a contemporary embroidered collar, and Morey 1959, no. 246 (C.138) depicts an orant wearing a scalloped contemporary collar.

<sup>116</sup> Female saints/orants wear long veils in Morey 1959, nos. 82 (C.133), 226 (C.137), 246 (C.138), and 265 (C.100).

<sup>117</sup> One gold-glass (C.135; Morey 1959, no. 85) features Agnes, who wears a circular brooch that fastens her *palla* at the waist. Belts are worn by female saints/orants in Morey 1959, nos. 82 (C.133), 83 (C.89), and 221 (C.136). The belts are worn over the tunic just below the bust, and according to Harlow (2004, p. 207), this accessory was typically worn in this fashion during late

## CHAPTER THREE

### GOLD-GLASS INSCRIPTIONS

#### [3.1] Introduction to the inscriptions on gold-glass

A large portion of gold-glass images are accompanied by inscriptions that vary in length, complexity and meaning. The majority of inscriptions on gold-glasses are best described as generic, in that they may include one or more of the following elements: a *titulus*, a personal name, and/or a phrase (or formula). The content of gold-glass formulae comprises generic wishes, exhortations, and acclamations that convey expressions of prosperity, conviviality, endearment, as well as spirituality (e.g. *in Cristo*). Many of these inscriptional formulae are not unique to the gold-glass corpus, but are inscribed on other minor arts including silverware, personal accessories, and other types of glassware. The *tituli* inscribed on some gold-glasses operate chiefly as labels that identify the particular figures featured in the images. Aside from *tituli*, many glasses may include other personal names that are incorporated into the formulae. Inscriptions on gold-glass primarily incorporate Latin script and vocabulary, although a small number of inscriptions are written in Greek.<sup>118</sup> It is also not unusual for the

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antiquity. A good example of a belted tunic is worn by one of the servants attending to the *domina* in the bath procession scene from a mosaic at Piazza Armerina (Harlow 2004, fig. 3).

<sup>118</sup> Gold-glass inscriptions with purely Greek script include: C.108, C. 148, C.167, C.187, C.196, C.200, C.210, C.213, C.108, C.225. Shelton 1981, p. 35, fn. 1, points out that Greek inscriptions on *arti minori* do not concretely indicate that such objects were produced by Greek craftsmen. But see also Painter 1987, p. 265.

inscriptions to feature phrases and words in Latinized Greek, and some formulae are bilingual and contain words in both Latin and Greek.<sup>119</sup>

Inscriptions are present on more than half of the extant gold-glass corpus, and for this reason the inscriptions are a substantial source of evidence which, in addition to the images, can significantly contribute to understanding the function of the glasses and aspects behind their patronage and production. This chapter includes a detailed survey of the inscriptions on gold-glass vessel bases, their appearance and arrangement, as well as their classification and content. The final section of this chapter will consider the epigraphic comparanda found on other minor arts in order to consider and contextualize gold-glass formulae outside of the funerary setting in which many of the glasses were discovered.

### **[3.2] The characteristics and arrangement of gold-glass paleography**

Similar to the technique involved to create the images, the inscriptions on gold-glasses are rendered in gold-leaf on a blank glass background.<sup>120</sup> Gold-glass inscriptions are executed in several different styles of lettering and are arranged on each glass according to the length and content of the inscription and the composition of the imagery. The inscriptions that appear on gold-glass medallions (Figure 1), which are generally believed to be products of the third

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<sup>119</sup> The most common Latinized Greek phrase is *pie zeses* which has various spellings. One legible gold-glass (C.45) includes both Greek and Latin script and words. For a discussion of bilingual inscriptions at Rome see Leiwo 2003.

<sup>120</sup> A small portion of glasses employ the reverse scheme, that is, the images and inscriptions are cut out from the gold-leaf, and the remaining gold-leaf serves as the background (see figures 30 and 31)

century AD, have lettering that is distinct from the lettering on the larger corpus of gold-glass bases from the fourth century AD.<sup>121</sup> Third century gold-glass medallions contain inscriptions executed in miniature capital letters that are thin, curved, and are arranged to the sides or above the image in a semi-circular band. Vessel bases from the fourth century, on the other hand, contain inscriptions that are executed with tapered block-style letters, which consist of conspicuous capitals that have vertical strokes that taper towards the top and are generally larger in comparison with the horizontal strokes of the letters (Figure 42).<sup>122</sup> Many of these block-like letters are also characterized by pronounced, sometimes even exaggerated serifs, and some are even stylized with horizontal crossbars at the top of the letters.<sup>123</sup> Other types of stylization manifested in gold-glass lettering include the diagonal S and the G with cedilla.<sup>124</sup> The diagonal S, which is well illustrated in Figure 43, is likely a result of assimilating the curvy letter S to the prevalent thick and block-style letters. Likewise, the letter A may be executed without a horizontal cross-stroke, and, like the diagonal S, occurs with frequency due to the typically thick vertical strokes which limit the space for horizontal lines. The G with cedilla, present in figure 44, appears to be more of an attempt at stylization, similar to the preponderance of serifs.

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<sup>121</sup> The third category of late antique gold-glass, namely sidewall blobs, do not contain inscriptions.

<sup>122</sup> A few examples have extremely thick horizontal strokes particularly for the letters 'E' and 'T', as for example C.86 and C.219 (figure 42).

<sup>123</sup> A good example of exaggerated serifs is demonstrated on C.24 (figure 22), while C.182 (figure 12) and C.130 (Morey 1959, no. 54) illustrate the horizontal crossbar, which manifests itself most clearly on the letter 'A'.

While the tapered block style of lettering is typical of fourth century gold-glass inscriptions, not all paleography on fourth century bases conforms to this style. The lettering of the inscriptions on fourth century vessel bases can vary from well-proportioned letters to those that are awkwardly shaped and untidily rendered. Additionally, some of the inscriptions written in Greek employ a different style of lettering that is overall more narrow and rounded at the edges.<sup>125</sup> A few inscriptions from the fourth century also employ simple and rectangular capital letters without tapering or serifs.<sup>126</sup> Morey makes the observation that several examples of gold-glass inscriptions have lettering that is similar to the paleographic style of the Damasian epigrams.<sup>127</sup> These epigrams were commissioned by the Roman Bishop Damasus (AD 366-384) for the tombs of Rome's early popes and martyrs and were executed with a new style of lettering consisting of large, evenly sized capitals with wavy, delicate serifs.<sup>128</sup> This paleographic style is indeed present in the examples stated by Morey, although the gold-glass letters are altogether more compressed and are not nearly as well-proportioned as Damasian letters.

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<sup>124</sup> Morey (1959) generally refers to these paleographic characteristics throughout the entries of his catalogue.

<sup>125</sup> See *supra* fn. 118 for examples with Greek script. C.167/Morey 1959, no. 14, in particular, shows Greek script with very rounded edges. Other examples, such as C.225/Morey 1959, no. 445, exhibit rounded edges particularly on the letter 'E'.

<sup>126</sup> For example C.38 and Morey 1959, nos.193 and 376.

<sup>127</sup> C.204 and C.208.

<sup>128</sup> The creation of this style is attributed to Furius Dionysius Philocalus, the renowned calligrapher responsible for carving the Damasian inscriptions, who was also the scribe (and probably the illuminator) of the Codex Calendar of 354 AD. See Elsner 2004, p. 79, and Marruchi 1974, pp. 342-3.

Gold-glass inscriptions are arranged on the glasses in a number of ways, including vertically, horizontally, in arches or full framing circles, and in most cases the positioning is determined by the accompanying image and the content of the inscription. *Tituli*, for example, serve to label the subjects in the image, and accordingly they are placed in proximity to the respective subject. Gold-glass formulae, on the other hand, which may incorporate several words and/or phrases, require more space and are arranged on the glass where sufficient space is available. Typically formulae are arranged in full or semi-circular rings that arch above or around the image, and many are also placed between two concentric circular bands that frame the entire image (Figure 18). The examples with double-band borders are generally the best planned in respect to spacing and proportion, making them among the most elegant and refined inscriptions in the corpus. Several glasses have inscriptions that are positioned horizontally and/or vertically (Figure 50)<sup>129</sup>, and a handful of examples also include inscriptions (most often consisting of *tituli*) that are placed on *tabulae ansatae*, which is well illustrated in figure 28 a-b.<sup>130</sup>

By and large, the arrangement of these inscriptions varies from well-planned and evenly spaced letters and words to compressed or staggered letters that are situated at random in the available spaces (Figure 22). While many

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<sup>129</sup> C.81. See also C.58 (Morey 1959, no. 69).

<sup>130</sup> *Tabulae ansatae*: C.9X96, C.59, and C.122. One glass (C.8) also employs an ansate panel to frame the inscription, although in this case the panel is placed above the portrait of a contemporary couple and frames a formula as opposed to a *titulus*. One example (C.88) has an inscription executed on the top of a foliate capital, while another glass (C.115) has inscriptions placed in small tablets (not *tabulae ansatae*) above the heads of the figures depicted.

glasses include inscriptions with fluid, uninterrupted script, in many cases the words in the inscriptions are broken up, with not much care being given to make continuous words or phrases. Fortunately, the formulaic character of gold-glass inscriptions and even the repetition of particular *tituli*, aid in transcribing and translating those inscriptions that pose difficulty due to their disarray.<sup>131</sup> On a related note, however, the character of the Latin inscribed on several glasses and the variation of the orthography make the correct reading of some inscriptions problematic.

### **[3.3] Classifying inscriptions on gold-glass: the Inscriptional Groups**

The glasses are organized in the catalogue by Image Category (IC), but the inscription belonging to each glass within these categories is classified according to its content and the state of its preservation. There are altogether four Inscriptional Groups (IG): Group 1 comprises inscriptions with generic formulae, and Group 2 classifies inscriptions with names, and includes both *tituli* and those names incorporated into the formulae. Groups 1 and 2 each have a number of subgroups that further classify and specify the types of phrases and names that appear in each individual inscription; these will be examined under their larger group heading (e.g. Group 1 or Group 2) in the following survey. Most of the inscriptions to be surveyed fall into Groups 1 and 2 in that they may

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<sup>131</sup> It should be noted here that interpunctuation is employed in several examples, sometimes consisting merely of gold-leaf or painted dots, or even leaf sprays or heart motifs (*hederae distinguentes*) to separate the words and/or formulae. For a good example of interpunctuation consisting of *hederae distinguentes* see figure 30 (C.21).

include both a phrase and name (personal or *titulus*). There are, however, a handful of inscriptions that contain phrases that are exceptional, and these have been separated into Group 3. Although inscriptions in Group 3 often contain generic expressions that are similar to those inscriptions in the first inscriptional group, they possess certain phrases or words that are unique and unable to be classified, and thus require separate attention. The remaining group, Group 4, consists of fragmentary inscriptions. Due to the fragility of the glasses, and the fact that many were hastily extracted, a considerable portion of the inscriptions are marred or incomplete. Despite the broken appearance of many glasses, in some cases fragmentary inscriptions are able to be restored with confidence. Other fragmentary glasses, however, contain traces of inscriptions that cannot be conjectured at all. This study shall consider only those glasses with inscriptions that can be fully restored.<sup>132</sup>

### **[3.4] Survey of gold-glass inscriptions**

#### **Inscriptional Group 1: Gold-glass formulae**

Group 1 includes all inscriptions from the gold-glass corpus with formulae, most of which contain generic vocabulary and phrases. The majority of the examples in this group include exhortations (generally benedictions) or acclamations which were likely intended for the recipient and/or owner of the

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<sup>132</sup> I have not had the opportunity to handle any of the extant glasses, and so the majority of my analysis utilizes the inscriptions recorded in the entries and photographs of the various gold-glass catalogues at my disposal. In doing this, one of the problems I have discovered is that a



glass. For example, consider the inscription “PIPERIO VIVAS”, (“Piperio, may you live!”), or another inscription from a gold-glass in the Vatican, which states “DVLCIS ANIMA” (“dear soul”).<sup>133</sup> Although very brief, both of these examples include vocabulary that is typical of gold-glass inscriptions and are thus classified in Group 1. The inscriptions belonging to Group 1, however, can be classified more specifically by the character of the phrase. For example, the first inscription above can be understood as a wish for a good life, while the second is an example of an acclamation. In order to identify the type of message that is expressed in the formulae, Group 1 has been divided into six subgroups (A, B, C, D, PZ, Z), which categorize the inscriptions according to their specific phrase.

Subgroup A of Group 1 (G1A) includes all inscriptions with formulae that can be classified as “general wishes for a good life”. The most common element in the formulae of subgroup A is some form of the Latin verb *vivere* (“to live”), which most frequently appears as “VIVAS” (“may you live”). While it is not as common, this same form of the verb appears in Greek with the word “ZHCHC”, (also inscribed as “ZHCAIC”), from the Greek verb ζῆν (also meaning “to live”). More common than these pure Greek forms is the transliterated Greek word “ZESES”, which appears in several different spellings, including, “ZESVS”, “ZESIS”, “ZISVS” and also “ZEISIS”.<sup>134</sup> In addition to the various forms for the verb “to live”, another common word in subgroup A is the Latin noun *vita* (“life”),

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catalogue entry may record an inscription that is not at all visible in the photograph; in these cases I have relied on the inscription documented in the catalogue entry.

<sup>133</sup> C.177 and C.176.

which in all the examples from the inscriptional corpus appears in the nominative singular form.

Subgroup A is the largest in Group 1, as nearly all inscriptions with formulae incorporate a wishful expression dedicated for the well-being and success of the individual to whom the glass was presented. The simplest inscriptions from this group include succinct phrases such as “VIVAS” (“may you live”), and “VITA TIBI” (“may there be life to you”).<sup>135</sup> An example of a more detailed version of this phrase is the inscription “VIVAS MVLTVS ANNIS ZESES”, or “may you live for many years, may you live!”<sup>136</sup>

Subgroup B of Group 1 includes inscriptions with convivial formulae. The most common elements in the convivial inscriptions are forms from the Latin verb *bibere*, and the Greek verb πίνειν, both of which translate “to drink”. Another verb that is used in several convivial inscriptions is the Latin verb *propinare*, meaning “to toast”.<sup>137</sup> Very often such convivial verbs appear in the active imperative singular form, such as *bibe*, πίε, or *propina*, which is well illustrated on a gold-glass located *in situ* in the Catacomb of Pamphilus that bears only the inscription “BIBE” incised beside an image of the Good Shepherd and various

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<sup>134</sup> “ZESVS”, C.1; “ZESIS”, C.23; “ZISVS”, C.91; “ZEISIS”, C.161. Another related example (C.156) is the inscription “ZESUS CRISTUS”, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

<sup>135</sup> “VIVAS”, C.215; “VITA TIBI”, C.206 and C.220.

<sup>136</sup> C.190. This inscription includes an excellent example of repetition. “May you live” is inscribed twice, once in Latin (“vivas”) and once in Latinized Greek (“zeses”). The repetition of formulae will be examined later in the chapter. There are also several examples of vessel bases whose inscriptions are rendered with gilded-glass rods (as opposed to gold-leaf), which wish their owner “ANNI BONI”, or “good years!”. For more on gilded glass rods (which are generally included in gold-glass catalogues), see Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, pp. 239-40, nos. 830, 831.

<sup>137</sup> C.166 and C.212. A gold-glass medallion (Morey 1959, no.1) also includes *propina*.

biblical scenes (Figure 9).<sup>138</sup> Although exceptional, a few examples of convivial phrases on gold-glasses use variant verbs such as *fruor* and *coronare*, to express the same jovial appeal.<sup>139</sup> One of these examples has the phrase, “ANIMA DVLCIS FRVAMVR NOS SINE BILE ZESES”, (“Dear soul, may we enjoy ourselves without bile, may you live!”).<sup>140</sup> This inscription serves to admonish the persons using the vessel, who, upon seeing the message after finishing their wine might reflect upon their current company and the rate of their consumption.

Related to both subgroups A and B of Group 1 is another subgroup titled PZ. This subgroup includes all inscriptions on gold-glass with the popular phrase *pie zeses*, which was a customary drinking toast in late antiquity, and translates simply as “drink, may you live”.<sup>141</sup> *Pie zeses* is a Latinized Greek version of the Greek phrase “ΠΙΕ ΖΗΧΗC”, (from πίνειν, “to drink”, and ζῆν, “to live”), and it is the Latinized phrase that is inscribed on the majority of gold-glass vessel bases.<sup>142</sup> A white glass medallion from the Vatican has an incised gold-leaf inscription that states “[O]M[N]I]BVS VESTRIS P.Z.”, which is notable in its inclusion of an abbreviated form for *pie zeses*.<sup>143</sup> Abbreviations were a standard part of Latin epigraphic language and were used in order to shorten phrases and

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<sup>138</sup> C.153X171.

<sup>139</sup> *Coronare*: C.205; *fruor*: C.149.

<sup>140</sup> C.149. This inscription is significant because it includes *zeses*, a wish for a good life, which is connected here more explicitly to conviviality.

<sup>141</sup> Several translations of this toast exist, including “drink that you might live” (Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, p. 248). Ross suggests “drink and prosper” (1962, p. 79). See also Ferrua 1975, p. 1115.

<sup>142</sup> C.167 is the one example that has this inscription in its pure Greek form (“ΠΙΕ ΖΗΧΗC”).

titles that were familiar and commonly used. That *pie zeses* appears in an abbreviated form is significant and further suggests its quotidian usage.<sup>144</sup> Like many of the formulae on gold-glasses, *pie zeses* may also be used in combination with names and/or other formulae, including general wishes, convivial phrases, as well as acclamations. A glass in the Vatican (Figure 3), for example, has the inscription “[HILARE]S OMNES SERBVLE PI[E ZESES]”, which translates as “may all be cheerful [to you] Serbulus, drink and may you live!”.<sup>145</sup>

Group 1 also includes inscriptions with acclamations that commend an individual’s merit or qualify the individual with an endearing soubriquet, and these formulae comprise subgroup C. These inscriptions, much like the toast *pie zeses*, either stand alone qualifying an often anonymous individual or are coupled with several other generic words and phrases. A common acclamation found on gold-glass bases is the phrase “DVLCIS ANIMA”, or “dear soul”. The word “DVLCIS” may appear by itself, and perhaps in these cases the meaning is to be understood as either “you are dear”, or perhaps even a reference is being made to the person or object depicted in the image. There is one example of this

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<sup>143</sup> C.25; Vopel 1899, p. 80 ff. Another gold-glass inscription, C.38, includes a variation of this abbreviation, that is “PIE Z(eses)”.

<sup>144</sup> See also Harden 1987, no. 128, which features a glass bowl with an etched rendition of Adam and Eve, and has the inscription “GAVDIAS IN DEO PIE Z”. Ferrua 1975, p. 1119 also provides some similar abbreviations found on other glass cups, and states that “Z” may also stand alone, as in “Maxime dulcis Z(eses)”, which is an inscription found on a gold-glass that is no longer extant (see Ferrua 1975, fn. 10).

<sup>145</sup> C.36.

phrase in Greek that is preserved on a gold-glass bearing only the inscription “ΓΛΥΚΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑΤΕ” or “dearest one, these things to you”.<sup>146</sup>

Another type of acclamation that frequently appears on gold-glasses is the phrase, “DIGNITAS AMICORVM”, which means, “(you are) the honour of your friends.” The ubiquity of this inscription throughout the gold-glass corpus provides the basis for Morey’s theory that this phrase was a trademark sign of a particular *officina* at Rome that decorated and produced gold-glass vessels.<sup>147</sup> This phrase is typically used in combination with several other phrases and words, but personal names are rarely used in combination with this acclamation.<sup>148</sup>

Group 1 of the inscriptions also includes subgroup D in its classification scheme. Subgroup D includes all inscriptions with what I term “ablative formulae”. The ablative formulae commonly featured on gold glasses include the phrases *cum tuis*, *cum parentibus*, or *cum parentibus tuis* all of which translate to “with your relations”. Other variations include the word *omnibus*, such as an inscription on a glass in the Vatican, which states “[DI]GNITAS AMICORVM PIE ZES[ES CVM TVIS OMNI]BVS VIVAS”.<sup>149</sup> In almost all cases where ablative

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<sup>146</sup> C.213; Smith 2000, p. 150. I thank my supervisor Dr. K.M. D. Dunbabin and Dr. W.J. Slater for their advice on the translation of this particular inscription, which, as they have indicated, is likely a visual play with “γλυκύ τατε ταῦτα”.

<sup>147</sup> Zanchi Roppo (1969) and Smith (2000) both remark on Morey’s tendency to order the gold-glasses according to their workshop. In his description of the letters, Morey argues for a workshop that commonly incised the inscription “DIGNITAS AMICORVM”. The use of this phrase and Morey’s *officina* theory will be examined further in Chapter 4 (pp. 96-7).

<sup>148</sup> Only one extant example (C.81) provides a personal name in combination with this phrase. The glass also includes *tituli* labeling the portraits of Peter and Paul, who both appear in the image.

<sup>149</sup> C.74; Morey 1959, no. 49.

formulae are present, the Latin preposition *cum* is employed. Some glasses, however, imply the *cum* by merely including nouns in the ablative case, like the inscription “BI[B]AS PA[RE]N[T]IB[VS] TVIS V[IR]O TVO” on a glass in the British Museum.<sup>150</sup> Because such ablative formulae in isolation do not include verbs, and therefore do not make complete sentences, the majority of ablative formulae are coupled with other generic formulae that include verbs, particularly those formulae classified in Group 1, subgroups A, B, and PZ.<sup>151</sup>

Subgroup Z, the last subgroup of Group 1 includes inscriptions with miscellaneous formulae. Generally the formulae included in this group are not unique, but do not occur with enough frequency to warrant a separate subgroup. Several inscriptions that are classified in this group are those that include the formulae “IN NOMINE...”, “IN PACE” or “IN DEO”. Now in the Hungarian National Museum, a glass found in a Christian burial at Dunaszekcső bears the inscription “SEMPER GAVDEATIS IN NOMINE DEI”, and another glass in Croatia has the inscription “VIVATIS FELICIS IN DEO”.<sup>152</sup> Similar to these inscriptions is the formula “IN PACE” which occurs in the phraseology of several gold-glasses. A glass located *in situ* in the Catacomb of Pamphilus is inscribed with “SABINA BIBE IN PACE CUM PARENT(IBUS)” (“Sabina, drink in peace with your relations”).<sup>153</sup> Two other glasses, one in Pesaro and the other in

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<sup>150</sup> C.47/Morey 1959, no. 343.

<sup>151</sup> One glass, Morey 1959, no. 110, includes only the ablative formulae “CVM TVIS”, but this inscription is seemingly fragmentary, and not included in the catalogue.

<sup>152</sup> Dunaszekcső glass: C.18; Fülep 1968, pl. 1, fig. 2; Migotti 2002, fig. 5; Croatia glass: C.32; Migotti 2002, fig. 7.

<sup>153</sup> C.170.

Oxford, both contain a remarkable combination of the phrases “IN DEO” and “IN PACE”, with both glasses having the identical inscriptions: “DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS IM PACE DEI ZESES”.<sup>154</sup>

### **Remarkable aspects of Group 1**

While the formulae which comprise Group 1 of gold-glass inscriptions have a generic character, there are several special features present in the formulae that require separate attention. These remarkable characteristics include dual meanings, repetition, and the standard usage of singular verbs (despite plural subjects).

A notable characteristic of many gold-glass inscriptions is their use of diction that implies a dual meaning. An epigraphic tendency in late antiquity was to interchange the letters “B” and “V”, an occurrence that was likely the result of the similar pronunciation of these consonants.<sup>155</sup> The interchangeability of such letters is represented in several gold-glass inscriptions, including one from the glass of Pompeianus and Theodora in the British Museum that includes the word “VIBATIS”, which cleverly indicates a reference to both “vivatis” as well as “bibatis” (“may you live/drink”). Thus a dual interpretation is evident that is

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<sup>154</sup> C.162 and C.111X164. Such duplication of the inscriptions verbatim is not common even though the inscriptions are very generic. It should be noted here, too, that although the miscellaneous formulae reviewed here contain a Christian nuance (many inscriptions similar to these, in fact, characterize early Christian epigraphy), there is not always a corresponding Christian image (such as Christograms, or a biblical scene). The two inscriptions considered here, C.162 and C.111X164, however, do contain Christian images.

<sup>155</sup> Noll 1972, p. 31.

convivial while simultaneously imploring the prosperity of the recipient.<sup>156</sup>

Convivial leisure and the good life were viewed as interrelated prospects in themselves, and this particular inscription conveys these two corresponding meanings with the one word. The interchangeability of the letters “B” and “V” makes it possible to hypothesize that any given gold-glass with an inscription bearing some form of *vivere* or *bibere* was recognized by its owner as having both meanings; this may further suggest that complete vessels were primarily used for celebratory drinking.

Another notable feature present in gold-glass formulae is the combination of the word *zeses* (commonly in the phrase *pie zeses*) with the word *vivas*. A glass from the collection in Corning illustrates this combination with the inscription “DIGNITAS AMICORVM PIE ZESES VIVAS”, which translates as “Honour of friends, drink, may you live, may you live!”.<sup>157</sup> The Latinized Greek word *zeses* and the Latin word *vivas* have the same meaning, and examples that employ both of these words therefore have a repetitive message. This repetition could suggest that the phrase “may you live” was intended for emphasis and requested by the patron. It is more likely, however, that the two formulae *vivas* and *pie zeses* had accumulated such popularity among clientele, that workshops responded by producing ready-made vessels that incorporated both phrases without consideration of the inscription’s duplicated meaning.

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<sup>156</sup> C.28. The full inscription on this glass is “POMPEIANE THEODORA VIBATIS”.

<sup>157</sup> C.172; Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, no. 842.



Many of the formulae from Group 1 include simple wishes and benedictions directed at one or more recipients, which is specifically signaled when personal names are included alongside the inscription. The majority of the exhortative verbs that convey these wishes, however, such as *vivas*, *zeses*, or *bibas*, are inscribed in the second person singular form of the subjunctive, indicating that only one person, in theory, is being addressed.<sup>158</sup> The repetitive usage of a singular verb form regardless of the number of persons being addressed by name, further demonstrates the generic nature of gold-glass formulae not only in their meaning, but also in their grammatical form.

The inscriptions containing formulae (Group 1) appear with the most frequency on gold-glass vessel bases, and the popularity of such formulae, which relate expressions of prosperity, conviviality, endearment, and friendship, suggests that gold-glass vessels were commissioned to commemorate particular occasions and to inspire celebration accordingly. Alternatively, in the funerary context, where the majority of gold-glasses with recorded provenance was found, such messages could have been multivalent and took on other meanings, which bridged the blessings of mortal enjoyment and celebration to prospects for the afterlife.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Consider, for example, the inscriptions “PALINE GAZOSA ZESES” (C.3) and “SEBERE COSMAS LEA ZESES” (C.29), both of which include more than one name (or persons addressed), but have a singular form of the verb.

<sup>159</sup> For examples of *pie zeses* in Christian funerary epigraphy see Ferrua 1975, 1116-1118, nos. 1-19. In this article Ferrua discusses how the phrase *pie zeses* originated in convivial contexts

### **Inscriptional Group 2: names and *tituli***

Group 2 of the inscriptions on gold-glass classifies glasses with proper names, which may take the form either of a *titulus* labeling the image it accompanies, or a personal name that is incorporated into the formulae (and may or may not refer to the subject in the image). The majority of gold-glass inscriptions with names include only one name per individual depicted, and are both Greek and Roman in origin. By late antiquity most individuals had at least two names, but it was also common for people to have a longer sequence of names; on gold-glasses, however, and on many other minor arts in general, the only name present is the *cognomen*.<sup>160</sup> Because only the *cognomen* is used, in most cases it is impossible to connect these names with any known individuals, and furthermore, most of the *cognomina* appear to belong to a class of individuals, about whom very little is known. Although no conclusive biography of gold-glass owners can be formed, the inscribed names, nevertheless, are instrumental for examining the nature of the relationship between the persons named or depicted in the image. The inscriptions with names may even have the capacity to provide a testimony for small scale dedications and gift exchange in late Roman society among the private individuals who commissioned and received these glasses

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and was later adopted in funerary inscriptions. I might add that here that the popularity of this phrase on gold-glass bases could have been a reason for their deposition in the catacombs.

<sup>160</sup> For a discussion of the evolution of the Roman naming system, see Salway 1994.

Altogether there are six subgroups in Group 2 (A, B, C, D, F, Z) and when a name is present in an inscription it generally belongs to at least two of these subgroups. The subgroups broadly define two main types of criteria: firstly, the number of names an inscription contains, be it one or multiple individuals (subgroups A and B respectively), and secondly, the type of name that is indicated (Subgroups C, D, F). Many of the names inscribed on the glasses are immediately recognizable as those belonging to saints or apostles, and these have been classified into subgroup C. Subgroup F of Group 2 is a very small subgroup and contains those inscriptions with names that belong to identifiable contemporary individuals. Other names have been placed in subgroup D, which includes names that are neutral and belong for the most part to non-identifiable individuals. The last category of names in Group 2 is subgroup Z, which includes names that are exceptional and do not occur with enough frequency to warrant separate subgroups. Included in subgroup Z, for example, are inscriptions with family names and even those with mythological names.

Group 2, subgroups A (inscriptions with one name) and B (inscriptions with multiple names) classify the number of people who are mentioned in the inscription. It is important to make such distinctions because when two persons are mentioned it may be possible to deduce some idea of how they relate to each other. For example, an inscription from a gold-glass in the Vatican (Figure 23) states “[SALVTI PIE ZE]SES CVM DONATA”, and translates as “Salutius, drink

and may you live with Donata”.<sup>161</sup> The individual Salutius in this case is distinguished as the recipient of the glass, for his name is in the vocative case, and therefore the message (and likely the glass itself) is intended for him. Donata is more than likely a close relation to Salutius, perhaps even his wife or betrothed, and that she is mentioned at all indicates some degree of closeness in their relationship, as well as indirectly indicating some occasion that involves these two individuals. As the image on the glass is a portrait of a woman, Donata herself might even be the individual who commissioned the glass.

Subgroups C, D, and F all indicate the type of the name that is inscribed, be it a the name of a Christian saint or apostle, or a commonplace neutral name. The names of saints and apostles, which comprise subgroup C of Group 2, are generally inscribed in the nominative case, and in most cases are not combined with any type of formula.<sup>162</sup> A significant portion of the names of Christian saints and apostles are inscribed as *tituli* that label the figures in the image. The inscription “PETRVS/ PAVLVS” appears frequently throughout the corpus, and serves primarily to identify the portraits of the two apostles depicted on the glass.<sup>163</sup> Subgroup C of Group 2, classifies the many inscriptions that list the names of other saints, and as was the case for the Apostles Peter and Paul, the names of the other saints typically appear as *tituli* in the nominative case. For

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<sup>161</sup> C.42.

<sup>162</sup> There is one inscription that is an exception, which states “PETRVS PROTEGE”, or “Peter, protect!”. The imperative “protege” is a unique formula not appearing in any other examples.

<sup>163</sup> C.9X96, C.26, C.48, C. 49, C.50, C.51, C.52, C.53, C.54, C.55, C.56, C.57, C.59, C.60, C.61, C.62, C.66, C.67, C.68, C.69, C.70, C.73, C.75, C.76, C.78, C.79, C.80, C.81, C.82, C. 87, C.89, C.97, C.98, C.109, C.110, C.113, C.115, C.117, C.129.

example, one gold-glass (Figure 45) includes the inscription “LV CAS / PETRVS / IVLIVS / PAVLVS / SVSTVS” with each name labeling one of the five individuals who are portrayed in the image.<sup>164</sup> Female saints, who are depicted as orant figures, in most cases are labeled only by their name in the form of a *titulus*.<sup>165</sup>

The name of Christ is also included in subgroup C of Group 2. Christ's name appears in a considerable number of inscriptions on gold-glass, and is either the sole inscription on the glass or may appear in combination with other names. One glass contains only the name of Christ, which is inscribed simply “CRISTVS”, which is a nominative *titulus* that accompanies his portrait (Figure 38).<sup>166</sup> Christ's name is more typically inscribed alongside the names of other Christian figures than it is in isolation.<sup>167</sup> One gold-glass, for example, portrays six individuals with Christ and has the inscription “PIE ZESES / PAVLVS / SVSTVS / LAVRENTIVS / IPPOLITVS / CRISTVS / TIMOTEVS”; here there are six persons labeled, and the inscription for the seventh person has been lost.<sup>168</sup>

On several glasses the name of Christ is also incorporated into and inscribed alongside the inscriptional formulae. It is also in these few instances that Christ is identified as something that resembles his name Jesus, or Iesus. One inscription on a glass from the Vatican Library bears the phrase “PIE

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<sup>164</sup> C.115/Morey 1959, no. 105. There are six portraits on this particular glass, but the *titulus* for one is lost.

<sup>165</sup> In almost every example, saints and church figures are labeled with nominative *tituli*. The one exception is Saint Agnes, whose name is inscribed in what appears to be the vocative case on four glasses (C.89, C.133, C.134, and C.146).

<sup>166</sup> C.106.

<sup>167</sup> C.75, C.76, C.94, C.101, C.102, C.103, C.110, C.120, C.124, C.125.

ZESVS".<sup>169</sup> The glass portrays Christ crowning a married couple, and while both the image and the inscription are typical, the spelling of "ZESVS" is notable. That Christ himself is depicted in the image might suggest that the spelling "ZESVS" is a play on the name Jesus, while at the same time acting as *zeses* and a blessing for the couple's marriage; if the word "ZESVS" refers to the name Jesus, similarly *pie* may serve as an acclamation which qualifies the pious character of Christ. Multiple meanings contained within gold-glass inscriptions are not unheard of; the prominence of twofold formulae, like "VIBATIS", for example, was discussed earlier in the chapter.<sup>170</sup> Another glass has the inscription "ZESVS CRISTVS", which indicates a similar play on words and a twofold meaning that refers to the name of Jesus Christ, while simultaneously referring to the typical formulae *zeses*.<sup>171</sup> The image that accompanies this particular inscription (Figure 8) portrays Christ raising of Lazarus, and the meaning of the inscription could very well be a clever quip referring to the revival of Lazarus himself...may <<he>> live (again)!

Many gold-glasses with inscriptions include names that are appropriate for (and, in most cases, accompany) contemporary figures, and are identified here as neutral names as they contain no religious nuance or affiliation. Some neutral names that are featured in the inscriptions include: Lucius, Valerius, Rufus, Maxima, and Sabina. The majority of these so-called neutral names are

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<sup>168</sup> C.120. As was discussed in the previous chapter, many examples feature an unlabeled Christ depicted alongside private persons, often acting in the role as overseer of matrimony.

<sup>169</sup> C.1.

<sup>170</sup> See pp. 59-60.

inscribed on the vessel in the vocative case immediately before, or within the formula, and are thus incorporated into the formula itself (unlike *tituli* in the nominative case, which stand apart from the formula). Because these vocative names are situated with the formula, it is plausible that such names are related to the formulae, and indicate the person for whom the formula's message is intended. One glass in the Vatican depicts a married couple and states "PALINE GAZOSA PIE ZESES", or "Palinus, Gazosa, drink, may you live!".<sup>172</sup> This example includes two neutral names, both of which are inscribed in the vocative case, and, in their proximity to "PIE ZESES" it is clear these people are the intended recipients of the message "may you live!". Therefore, neutral names, which typically appear in the vocative case, do not operate like *tituli*. It is possible that names situated with formulae may indeed refer to the subjects depicted in the image, but their vocative form also distinguishes them as the recipients of the message conveyed by the formulae.

Subgroup F of Group 2 is small, but classifies some very notable and unique names. Subgroup F contains those few inscriptions that mention the names of identifiable contemporary figures, all of which have been discussed in an article by Alan Cameron.<sup>173</sup> The most conclusive example of an inscription bearing the names of identifiable individuals is on the Orfitus glass in the British Museum (Figure 26).<sup>174</sup> According to Alan Cameron, this glass was likely

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<sup>171</sup> C.156.

<sup>172</sup> C.3.

<sup>173</sup> Cameron 1996.

<sup>174</sup> C.12.

presented to Memmius Vitrasius Orfitus, a prefect of Rome in the mid-fourth century. The glass depicts Orfitus himself and his wife Constantia (likely a relative of the imperial family) who are both crowned by a figure of Hercules, who bears the Apples of the Hesperides (which could be a reference to a wedding gift).<sup>175</sup> The inscription states “ORFITVS ET CONSTANTIA IN NOMINE HERCVLIS ACERENTINO FELICES BIBATIS”, which Cameron translates as “Orfitus and Constantia, may you live/drink in happiness in the name of Hercules of Acerentia”.<sup>176</sup> Another gold-glass in the British Museum depicting a family portrait and a Christogram has the inscription “POMPEIANE THEODORA VIBATIS”, which translates as “Pompeianus, Theodora, may you live/drink!”.<sup>177</sup> Cameron makes the suggestion that the name Pompeianus could refer to the *consul suffectus* Iusteus Pompeianus, who held this office in the early fourth century.<sup>178</sup> Whitehouse agrees with this tentative identification of Pompeianus, but as an alternative suggests that the name could refer to Barbarus Pompeianus, who was the *consularis* of Campania in AD 333.<sup>179</sup> In addition to these identifiable individuals depicted and named on gold-glass, Cameron makes two more suggestions. Another inscription, which likely has a reference to a

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<sup>175</sup> Cameron 1996, p. 298. The Apples of the Hesperides were presented by Gaia as a gift to Jupiter and Juno at their wedding. Sometime later, Hercules was assigned to retrieve them as his eleventh labour.

<sup>176</sup> *ibid.* Other translations for this inscriptions have been suggested; Painter (1987, p. 280) provides the translation “Orfitus and Constantia, live happily in the name of Hercules, the conqueror of the Underworld”, and as such understands “Acerentino” to refer to *Acheruntius*, or *Acheronticus*, both of which relate to Acheron, or the Underworld. Cameron also cites Mommsen *CIL*, IX, p. 43, nos. 6193-94, 640-5, who believed “Acerentino” to be a reference to the wine of Acerentia.

<sup>177</sup> C.28.

<sup>178</sup> Cameron 1996, p. 300.



(more or less) identifiable contemporary individual, is from a gold-glass in the catacomb of Domitilla.<sup>180</sup> This gold-glass has only the inscription “AVSONIORVM”, which is likely a family name in the genitive form, and could refer to the Ausonii family. The most recognized member of this family was the late-antique poet Decimus Magnus Ausonius (AD 310-395), who was a tutor to the emperor Gratian, later in his life a prefect of Gaul, and finally consul in AD 379.<sup>181</sup> That this inscription refers to the family name in the genitive plural, in addition to having no image, could suggest that the inscription functioned much like a monogram, indicating the household to which the vessel belonged; in connection to this, Cameron relates the possibility that this particular gold-glass belonged to a Roman resident, who was a dependent of the Ausonii family.<sup>182</sup> One last individual who can be included in this subgroup of identifiable figures is Damasus, the Bishop of Rome from AD 366 to 384. There are five examples of glasses bearing the name of Damasus, all of which are inscribed with nominative *tituli* that label his portraits. In each of these examples Damasus is depicted in the company of saints.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, pp. 240-41.

<sup>180</sup> C.209.

<sup>181</sup> Brown 1971, pp. 30, 130.

<sup>182</sup> Cameron 1996, p. 300.

<sup>183</sup> C.92, C.93, C.97, C.119, C.123. On the subject of gold-glass portraits of Damasus, Grig (208 ff) examines how these gold-glasses could have been part of Damasus' campaign for promoting himself as Bishop via material culture, something for which Damasus is well known. That these gold-glasses served in some form or another as Church propaganda is thoroughly argued by Huskinson (1982). Another interesting personage, who deserves a note here, is an unidentified man labeled as Florus. Florus is portrayed beside Damasus on one glass (C.93; Morey 1959, no. 107), and on another is portrayed among other saints (C.110; Morey 1959, no. 364). Grig (2004, pp. 210-212), establishes that Florus was not a widely known Christian figure, but nonetheless an individual with a particular connection to Damasus, who apparently composed one of his famous

The final subgroup of Group 2 is subgroup Z, which includes all inscriptions with miscellaneous names. There are very few inscriptions in this subgroup, and those that are included either cannot be appropriately classified into one of the preceding subgroups or do not appear with enough frequency to necessitate a separate subgroup. There are two general types of names in this group: family names (of which there is only one: that of the Ausonii discussed above), and the names of mythological figures. While several gold-glasses have mythological imagery, only two contain a mythological name in the inscription. The glass of the pagan prefect Orfitus, which was just discussed, includes the name of Hercules, who apparently had a cult at Acerentia, a city where Orfitus himself likely had a role as patron.<sup>184</sup> In this case it is likely that the hero Hercules is mentioned in the inscription to qualify Orfitus' association with Acerentia.<sup>185</sup> The other glass bearing a mythological name in the inscription is from a glass at the Musei d'Arte in Pesaro (Figure 3). This gold-glass, discussed in the previous chapter, depicts Achilles and the daughters of Lycomedes, and has simply the *titulus* "ACILLIS" to identify him in the narrative image.<sup>186</sup>

### **Other observations on Group 2**

The majority of the names in the inscriptions, whether one or many are included, appear in either the nominative or vocative case; there are only a few

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epitaphs for Florus' daughter, Proiecta (a woman who Grig does not believe to have any relation to the Proiecta who owned the famous Esquiline casket).

<sup>184</sup> Cameron 1996, p. 298.

<sup>185</sup> C.12. Cameron 1996, p. 298.

examples of names in the ablative case, and even fewer are in the dative and genitive cases.<sup>187</sup> What is remarkable is that those inscriptions with names of Christian figures are almost exclusively inscribed in the nominative case, for instance, the ubiquitous gold-glasses with “PETRVS / PAVLVS”, or those of Christ and the other saints. On the other hand, private contemporary individuals, who have neutral names, in most cases have their names inscribed in the vocative case. This distinction is advantageous for solving the various problems that names on gold-glass potentially pose, particularly as it relates to their accurate classification. Names such as Peter, Paul, or Marcellinus are often the only inscription present on vessel bases, and such names could refer to the Christian saints, but also to private contemporary individuals. Some names, therefore, are ambiguous, and other indicators must be sought to determine the identity of the individual named. The fact that the names of saints and other church figures appear exclusively in the nominative case can potentially solve this problem of identification. As was noted in the previous chapter, many Christian figures are also identifiable on the basis of their archaic apparel, most often the tunic and *pallium*, as well as other distinguishable attributes that aid in assigning more concrete identities to the persons featured in portraits.

### **Inscriptional Group 3: exceptional inscriptions**

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<sup>186</sup> C.150.

<sup>187</sup> There are no inscriptions that include names in the accusative case.

Group 3 of the inscriptions comprises exceptional formulae that include unique elements and phrases. Only a few examples belong to this group, and two representative examples will be examined here to illustrate some of the remarkable features. One example in this subgroup is from a glass in the Vatican that features only the inscription “CENA BENANTI ET CLAVDIANI QVISE CORONABERIN(T) BIBAN(T)” which translates “the dinner of Venantius and Claudianus who have crowned themselves, may they drink”.<sup>188</sup> This inscription is accompanied with appropriate decoration that includes a wreath and a crown. This inscription also belongs in subgroup B of Group 1, as it clearly has associations with the banquet and is thereby convivial in its character. However, the formula used to imply such explicit conviviality is unique to the corpus in its inclusion of the noun *cena* and the verb *coronare*, which are not included in any other examples.

Another example of an exceptional inscription comes from the aforementioned gold-glass of Orfitus and Constantia (Figure 26).<sup>189</sup> The inscription on this glass is exceptional in its reference to a particular geographical location (the city of Acerentia, modern-day Acerenza, in Apulia) and the reference to the God Hercules, whose image appears on several glasses but whose name is never so explicitly included in a formula. The inclusion of these more specific references, in addition to the fact that two identifiable persons are mentioned, make this glass and its inscription remarkable.

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<sup>188</sup> C.205.

### [3.5] Epigraphic comparanda

A notable aspect of gold-glass inscriptions is their similarity to inscriptions found on other minor arts and domestic instruments. The various problems posed by the gold-glass corpus as a whole, including their fragmentary nature and the lack of securely datable contexts, require the use of epigraphic comparanda to clarify further the significance of gold-glass, and to reconstruct the contexts in which they were intended to be used. The epigraphic formulae that operate as comparanda for gold-glass inscriptions come from various portable items, including accessories, silverware, ceramics and other types of glassware.

Exhortations for a good life that use a form of *vivere* are present on several examples of *arti minori*. An exquisite gold and niello cruciform fibula from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, has the inscription “IVLIANE VIVAS”. This fibula was probably commissioned in the mid to late fourth century (circa AD 361-3), and was likely distributed as part of the *sacrae largitiones*.<sup>190</sup> The inscription from the Proiecta Casket in the Esquiline Treasure (Figure 46) also includes an inscription similar to those found on gold-glasses. The inscription, located on the edge of the casket’s lid, reads “SECVNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHRISTO”.<sup>191</sup> Another good comparison is the Populonia bottle

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<sup>189</sup> C.12.

<sup>190</sup> Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, pp. 228-9, fig. 43.

<sup>191</sup> Shelton 1981, pp. 37-40.

from the Corning Museum of Glass, which includes the inscription, “ANIMA FELIX VIVAS”.<sup>192</sup>

In its frequent use and appearance in gold-glass inscriptions, it is evident that the phrase *pie zesēs* was a familiar and recognizable exhortation used on many occasions and among many individuals. This phrase provides compelling evidence that the vessels these bases decorated were used as drinking vessels in convivial contexts. This is further confirmed by the use of this phrase on other forms of media, which also have associations with the banquet. Several examples of glass beakers and vases from the Roman provinces bear this inscription; an earlier example of this phrase is from a glass bottle dating to the beginning of the third century, which was uncovered in the Eastern Mediterranean. The bottle has mold-blown decoration on the body of the vessel in the form of Dionysus and several from his retinue, including Silenus and Pan, and contains the inscription “ΠΙΕ ΖΗΧΗC” on its base.<sup>193</sup> The same inscription has also been found on glass fragments from Dura Europus, a city on the easternmost border of the Empire, while another example of this inscription is rendered on a gilded beaker from either North Africa or Syria that dates from the third to fourth centuries AD.<sup>194</sup> The inscription on this particular beaker is “ΠΙΕ ΖΗΧΗC”, and is wrapped around the top of the narrow neck of the vase, the body

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<sup>192</sup> Harden 1987, no. 116; Whitehouse 1997, vol. 1, no. 458. According to Gary Vikan (1990, p. 149), the phrase *vivas* and its Greek counterpart, *zesēs* and even *zoe*, are standard components of wedding benedictions, and are featured on items relating to marriage. This is further examined in chapter four of this thesis (p. 90).

<sup>193</sup> Matheson 1980, no. 280.

<sup>194</sup> Matheson 1980, 107.

of which is decorated with rosette patterns rendered in gold.<sup>195</sup> The inscription also appears on more extravagant types of glass, including a cage-cup from Cologne, which has delicate tendrils of glass in yellows, greens, and reds that form the inscription “ΠΙΕ ΖΗΧΑΙC ΚΑΛΩC ΑΕΙ” around the cup’s rim.<sup>196</sup> In addition to examples on glass vessels, the inscription *pie zeses* is also represented in other artistic media including mosaics. One mosaic from the site of Dougga, which dates to the fourth century AD, depicts two servants pouring wine for a banquet (Figure 47). One of these servants holds an amphora marked “PIE” and the other holds a similar vessel marked accordingly with “ZHCHC”.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> Matheson 1980, no. 257.

<sup>196</sup> Harden 1987, no. 135.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE IMAGES AND INSCRIPTIONS ON GOLD-GLASS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON GLASSES FEATURING PORTRAITS

#### [4.1] The purpose and organization of the case study

The preceding two chapters have surveyed the visual and epigraphic content featured on fourth century gold-glass vessel bases. The aim of the present chapter is to consider the relationship of these two aspects and examine whether particular types of inscriptions are featured with certain images. The underlying principle that directs the analysis in this chapter is that some of the phrases, especially those used in combination with personal names, are a tangible and conscious aspect of a vessel's production and were chosen by patrons as part of fulfilling a particular function. In this chapter I propose that particular types of gold-glass inscriptions exhibit a notable correspondence to certain kinds of imagery, and that this correspondence is significant in its capacity to relate more specific information regarding the patronage, production, as well as the function of the gold-glass vessels.

Given the considerable size of the corpus of gold-glass bases and the wide range of subjects depicted therein, the following analysis will concentrate on

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<sup>197</sup> Smith (2000, p. 182) proposes that the vessels held by the "guests", into which the servants pour the wine, appear similar to what an intact gold-glass vessel would have looked like. Dunbabin (2003, p. 152) rightly points out that these so-called 'guests' are actually table-servants.



the inscriptions that accompany gold-glass portraits. This Image Category (IC.1) has been chosen for several reasons:

- 1) On the basis of composition, portraiture is more easily identified and distinguishable than other types of gold-glass imagery, making it a contained sample group;
- 2) Portraiture comprises the largest group of imagery in the extant corpus and therefore provides a substantial sample that is sufficient and practical to work with;
- 3) Inscriptions that accompany portraits commonly incorporate names (*tituli* and personal names), a feature which provides insight relating to the personalization and patronage of the respective glasses;
- 4) Portraiture was commonly used in the wider sphere of Roman art to commemorate particular events and occasions in public and private, and it is worthwhile to examine if and how gold-glass portraits and the inscriptions which accompany them may have fulfilled commemorative functions.

This chapter will first examine the correspondence of the images and inscriptions on the group of gold-glasses that portray persons in contemporary dress. These portraits depict married couples, family groups, and also single individuals, and the analysis of the inscriptions that accompany these portraits

will proceed in this order. After discussing these portraits, a similar analysis will consider the inscriptions on glasses with non-contemporary portraits, the majority of which feature Christian figures.<sup>198</sup> The analysis for the two classes of portraits will commence with a discussion of what type of inscription is typical for each portrait group, what formulae are more common, and which are infrequent or absent altogether. The analysis will also consider the names that appear with the portraits and will note when formulae and names or *tituli* are used in combination. As the analysis unfolds, it should become apparent that, in the case of gold-glasses bearing portraits, particular types of inscriptions correspond to certain kinds of portraiture. Examples with portraits of contemporary figures, for example, all feature some form of generic formula, and, as will be examined, these formulae in combination with the portraits illuminate to some degree the events and personal relationships that the vessels commemorated. In the case of contemporary portraits and their accompanying inscriptions, there is more concrete evidence that these glasses functioned as dedicatory gifts presented at special occasions. On the other hand, glasses with portraits of non-contemporary figures primarily feature *tituli* to label the figures in the portraits, and only in specific cases are formulae present.

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<sup>198</sup> The distinction between contemporary and non-contemporary portraits is discussed in greater

## [4.2] Inscriptions on glasses with contemporary portraits

### Inscriptions accompanying portraits of married couples

Of the extant corpus of fourth century gold-glass bases that contain inscriptions, twenty-two examples portray married couples.<sup>199</sup> Nineteen of these glasses have readable inscriptions that incorporate generic formulae classified in Inscription Group 1, which includes wishes for a good life, convivial phrases, acclamations, and ablative formulae.<sup>200</sup> The most popular formula featured on glasses with married couples is the popular toast *pie zeses*. Of the nineteen examples considered here, ten are inscribed with *pie zeses*. While it is not uncommon for this phrase to be inscribed alongside other formulae and names, in the case of glasses portraying married couples, *pie zeses* typically stands alone as the only inscription on the glass. Nine of the ten examples with *pie zeses* contain only this phrase, and the absence of names or other formulae alongside *pie zeses* is notable.<sup>201</sup> On the basis that these examples portray married couples in similar poses and dress in addition to having only the generic

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detail in chapter two of this study.

<sup>199</sup> C.13X163 (figure 29) portrays a married couple with biblical imagery that has been classified in Image Category 2. C.9X96 (figure 28 a-b) also deserves note here as it portrays a contemporary married couple with several portraits of Christian saints (who are classified as non-contemporary figures). It should also be noted that there are several examples of glasses with portraits of married couples, and other contemporary figures that do not have inscriptions.

<sup>200</sup> Of the twenty-two examples that depict married couples, four contain fragmentary inscriptions that cannot be fully restored due to the condition of the glass and are not considered in this section.

<sup>201</sup> The one remaining example, which combines *pie zeses* with vocative neutral names reads "VIVAS PALINE GAZOSA PIE ZESES" (C.3).

phrase *pie zeses* without an accompanying name, it is plausible to suggest these examples are not specific commissions, but ready-made pieces.

After the phrase *pie zeses*, the most prominent formula featured with married portraits is *vivas*, or a related form of this verb (such as *vivatis*), which are classified in this study as general wishes for a good life (IG.1, subgroup A).<sup>202</sup> *Vivas* appears in five examples and the formulae *zeses*, the Latinized Greek counterpart to *vivas*, appears in one example.<sup>203</sup> Unlike *pie zeses*, which tends to stand as the sole inscription with married portraits, *vivas* and *zeses* appear with other generic formulae more regularly. For example, two glasses featuring married couples, which also do not contain inscribed names, have the identical formula “DVLCIS ANIMA VIVAS”, which combines *vivas* with a generic gold-glass acclamation.<sup>204</sup> Related to *vivas*, other formulae classified as general wishes for a good life are inscribed alongside portraits of married couples. One glass, for example, includes a unique verb form, “FLORENTIS”, which may be translated as a participle, “those who flourish”; another reads, “SEMPER GAVDEATIS IN NOMINE DEI”, “always rejoice in the name of God”.<sup>205</sup>

*Pie zeses* and wishes for a good life have a notable presence on glasses with married portraits, but convivial phrases also appear in these inscriptions,

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<sup>202</sup> The plural form *vivatis* is used more aptly in these cases than the singular form *vivas* as the inscriptions can contain more than one name and the portraits depict two people.

<sup>203</sup> C.14.

<sup>204</sup> C.7 and C.11. These two examples have identical formulae, but the paleography and the image of the married couple are not identical. Because these two examples do not include inscribed names alongside the formulae, these two examples could also be ready-made pieces like the preceding examples containing only *pie zeses*.

<sup>205</sup> Migotti 2002, figs. 3 and 5.

and consist mainly of some form of *bibere* (usually *bibas* or *bibatis*).<sup>206</sup>

Acclamations and ablative formulae are not inscribed with married couples nearly as frequently as *pie zeses*, or other good life or convivial exhortations. The gold-glass acclamation *dignitas amicorum* is absent altogether, which is likely due to its connection to camaraderie, something which clearly was not suitable for dedications to married couples.

Names, which have been classified in Inscription Group 2, are also commonly featured with contemporary portraits of married couples. Typically the names inscribed with this type of portrait are neutral names in the vocative case and are either qualified by and/or situated alongside the generic formulae just discussed. Of the nineteen glasses with married portraits and legible inscriptions, five contain personal names in combination with the formulae. Each of these examples includes two names, one belonging to a female and the other to a male, and these are inscribed in the same space as the formulae.<sup>207</sup> In most of the examples, these names are inscribed in the vocative, as in “PALINE GAZOSA PIE ZESES”, but on one glass a name appears in the ablative case: “MAXIMA VIVAS CVM DEXTRO” (Figure 21).<sup>208</sup> The remaining examples with inscribed personal names and portraits of married couples are the Orfitus glass and the glass of Festa and Fidelis. The Orfitus glass, which has already been discussed at some length, is relevant here because it shows a married couple

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<sup>206</sup> Convivial references in complete inscriptions with married portraits include: C.12. Although they are both incomplete, C.21 and C.22 both contain complete convivial formulae.

<sup>207</sup> One of these glasses, C.9X96 (figure 28 a-b), does not contain a formula, but is an exceptional glass and will be discussed in due course.

and has an inscription with names in the nominative case, as opposed to the vocative.<sup>209</sup> In the case of the Orfitus glass, the nominative names do not appear to label the portraits like nominative *tituli*, because they are contained with the formula in a double-band border, and are not placed in respective proximity to the portraits: Constantia is portrayed in the center of the image towards the left, while her inscribed name is situated below the portrait of Orfitus on the bottom right portion of the glass (Figure 26). That these two names are inscribed in the nominative is indeed notable, but should not be considered to contain any largely significant meaning; it is likely that whoever commissioned the glass simply chose not to use the vocative form of address. Another glass depicts a contemporary married couple with various portraits of saints, who are rendered as non-contemporary figures (Figure 28 a-b).<sup>210</sup> Around the couple, who are featured in the central medallion being crowned by Christ, is the inscription “FESTA/FIDELIS”, which appear to be names in the nominative case that function as *tituli* to label the contemporary portrait figures.<sup>211</sup> The accompanying saints are depicted as full length and surround the central medallion in a radial arrangement. Like Festa and Fidelis in the centre, each saint is labeled with a nominative *titulus* featured in *tabulae ansatae*: “EPOLITVS / PETRVS / PAVLVS / LAVRENTIVS / SVSTVS / CIPRIANVS”. While this glass is exceptional in its

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<sup>208</sup> Palinus glass: C.3; Maxima glass: C.5.

<sup>209</sup> C.12; see pp. 37, 67-8, 70, and 72 for earlier discussion of this glass.

<sup>210</sup> C.9X96.

<sup>211</sup> The two names, Festa and Fidelis, could both be vocative, but given the other nominative *tituli* on the glass, the lack of accompanying formulae, and the positioning of these two names beside each respective portrait, the case is much stronger that these two names are nominative.

nominative *tituli* and its combination of contemporary and non-contemporary portraits, the central focus is the union of the couple, which is presided over by Christ. Although no literal message contained in a formula is present in this example (making it an anomalous example in this group of portraits), the blessing is perhaps manifest by means of the image of the saints surrounding the couple, who, like Christ, act as overseers, and perhaps even provident protectors of the marriage.

### Inscriptions accompanying family groups

Thirteen gold-glass vessel bases portray family groups, and eleven of these have fully legible inscriptions. Every example featuring a family portrait includes some form of generic formula classified in Group 1 of the inscriptions, and, as with inscriptions associated with married portraits, this commonly includes the phrase *pie zeses*, or a general wish for a good life.<sup>212</sup> The formula *pie zeses* appears in two family portrait examples with other formulae or names, and stands as the only inscription on the other two glasses. Wishes for a good life appear on seven glasses with family groups, and most often take the form of the simple exhortation such as *vivas* or *zeses*. One gold-glass in Pesaro (Figure 32), for example, has the inscription “COCA VIVAS PARENTIBVS TVIS”, which is arranged in an arch above the portrait of a seated woman with a young

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<sup>212</sup> Only two of these contain miscellaneous formula (C.17: “...IN DEO”; C.18: “...IN NOMINE DEI”), which are similar generic messages, but do not occur with enough frequency on gold-glasses to require a separate subgroup in Group 1 of the inscriptions.

child.<sup>213</sup> Convivial formulae, like *bibas* or *propina*, are not as popular with family portraits; no extant glass with a family portrait has an explicit convivial reference other than the imperative contained in *pie zeses*. The one partial exception is the glass depicting Pompeianus, his wife Theodora, and two children, which includes two vocative names and the formula “VIBATIS”.<sup>214</sup> This glass, which was discussed in chapter three, is exceptional in its formula *vibatis*, which implies both *vivatis* and *bibatis*, given the use of both V and B in the spelling.<sup>215</sup>

Much like convivial references, generic acclamations including *dulcis anima* or *dignitas amicorum*, are not inscribed on any of the vessels with family portraits. Ablative formulae, however, appear with a greater frequency with family portraits (4 examples) than on glasses with married couples (no examples). Ablative formulae, which include prepositional phrases like *cum tuis* or *cum parentibus tuis* (“with your relations”), are indeed appropriate for glasses representing such family relations in portraits. The inclusion of such ablative formulae may refer to the relations depicted in the portrait, or could be more general statements that refer to all of the relations in the respective family; either way, ablative formulae create allusions to *concordia* among family members, and distinguish whatever occasion is being commemorated by the glass and portrait as one that includes and celebrates family members.

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<sup>213</sup> C.27.

<sup>214</sup> C.28; Cameron 1996, p. 300. Cameron here refers to two children in this family portrait, although it is not possible to establish this from the photograph provided by Morey (1959, no. 308-309).

<sup>215</sup> See pp. 59-60 and 66.



Of the ten glasses that depict family groups and have fully restored inscriptions, six include personal names in the formulae. In the case of family portraits, all accompanying names are inscribed in the vocative case, and therefore do not operate as *tituli* to label the figures in the images. Three of the inscriptions that incorporate names have only one name included and in all of these examples an ablative formula is also contained in the inscription. For example, a glass in the Vatican portraying a married couple and a female child (Figure 22) has the inscription “PELETE VIVAS PARENTIBVS TVIS” (“Peletus, may you live with your relations”).<sup>216</sup> In this case, the vocative name “PELETE” may address the man depicted in the portrait, and the glass could have been commissioned either by his wife (and child), or another relative who is not pictured. It is also possible, though not as likely, that the family depicted in the image commissioned the glass and dedicated it to a male relative who does not appear in the image. Given that names in the vocative case are a direct address for someone who is present, it is more probable that Peletus himself is portrayed in the image. Whatever the case, it is evident not only that this glass was specifically dedicated to one person, but also that the event which necessitated this specific commission was one that involved family. The relevance of ablative formulae, therefore, can be better assessed if the personal names inscribed with them are considered more closely.

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<sup>216</sup> C.24.

In the three other examples that include names, two or three personal names in the vocative case accompany the generic formulae. One example includes two vocative names, and two glasses incorporate three vocative names alongside the formulae.<sup>217</sup> When two or more names are included, ablative formulae are not present, which could indicate that formulae like *cum parentibus tuis* are superfluous and unnecessary when the names of the relations themselves are inscribed on the glass. A well-preserved gold-glass in the British Museum (Figure 30) portrays a family portrait with a Christogram all rendered with inversed gold-leaf decoration, and has the inscription “SEBERE COSMAS LEA ZESES” (“Seberus, Cosma, Lea, may you live!”).<sup>218</sup> This example includes two names in the vocative case (“COSMAS” is a Greek nominative), and three corresponding portrait subjects, a married couple and a small girl. In this case it is clear that the vocative names and the formulae *zeses* address the whole family.

### **Inscriptions and portraits of contemporary individuals**

A portion of gold-glass portraits feature single portraits of contemporary men or women, and those that have inscriptions incorporate generic formulae. Six of eleven glasses featuring single male portraits have legible inscriptions, and four of eight glasses that portray single women have legible text, making a group

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<sup>217</sup> One glass (C.28) features a family portrait and two names. Two glasses (C.29 and C.30) have family portraits and three inscribed names.

<sup>218</sup> C.29.

of ten glasses with single portraits and inscriptions that will be collectively considered here. Altogether there are no apparent thematic differences between the inscriptions featured with men's portraits and those with women's portraits. The more prevalent formulae accompanying single portraits include *pie zeses* and wishes for a good life. Six of these ten glasses feature the formula *pie zeses*, and typically this is combined with other formulae, although in one case *pie zeses* stands as the only inscription on the glass.<sup>219</sup> Wishes for a good life generally take the form of *vivas* or *zeses*, but one of these wishes takes the form of *dulcis vita* ("sweet life"), while another inscription includes the message *hilaes omnes*, which can be understood either as "all are cheerful", or as "may all be cheerful", with the latter expressing the exhortative meaning employed in many gold-glass inscriptions.<sup>220</sup> Apart from the convivial reference in the phrase *pie zeses*, only one glass features the inscription *bibas*, and therefore convivial inscriptions do not have a remarkable presence with this portrait type. Acclamations are also infrequent, with only one gold glass with a single portrait containing the acclamation "ANIMA BONA", which is a unique acclamation not found on any other gold-glasses.<sup>221</sup>

Five of the ten glasses with single portraits and inscriptions include names with their formulae, and in most cases the name is inscribed in the vocative case

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<sup>219</sup> C.43.

<sup>220</sup> *Dulcis vita*: C.40; *hilaes omnes*: C.36. Both of these formulae are also accompanied by personal names in the vocative case.

<sup>221</sup> C.45. One gold-glass, Morey 1959, no. 378, which is not considered here due to its fragmentary state, has a portion of a female bust and the inscription "DIGNITAS AMICORVM". It is likely that this glass contains other portraits, but they are not possible to see.

in order to address the recipient of the glass. In all but one example, the gender of the vocative name (or the name that is solely featured on the glass) corresponds to and likely identifies the person depicted in the portrait. Two examples, which are theorized to have been produced at the same workshop, depict men whose names are incorporated with the formulae.<sup>222</sup> One of these has the inscription, “SEVS VIVAS IN DEO” (“Seus, may you live in God!”), which is inscribed in a semicircular arch over the portrait of a man who wears a tunic and chlamys fastened with a fibula.<sup>223</sup> The name ‘Seus’ is notable in its nominative designation, which in this case could act as a *titulus* that labels the portrait figure. However, this is very likely not the case as the name Seus is not inscribed in the same space where the portrait is rendered, a positioning which, as will be discussed shortly, is typical for nominative *tituli*.<sup>224</sup> Another example with a single portrait includes two names in the inscription, one of which is vocative, and therefore denotes the recipient of the message, while the other name is in the ablative. This inscription is from a glass in the Vatican and states “[SALVTI PIE ZE]SES CVM DONATA”, which translates as “Salutius, drink, may

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<sup>222</sup> C.36 and C.37. Faedo 1978, p. 1044. With the aid of Morey’s preliminary classifications, Faedo attributes the production of both glasses to ‘Bottega 2’, which is a designation she has based on the affinities in the portraits and inscriptions. Although I am not concerned with gold-glass *officinae* in this thesis, I would like to add here, that on the basis of Faedo’s criteria for the portraits and inscriptions belonging to Workshop 2, another gold-glass base (Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, no. 840) now in the Corning Museum of glass (and apparently unknown to Faedo), fits this workshop’s criteria perfectly, and I would note then that this glass was likely manufactured in the same workshop as C.36 (figure 20) and C.37 (Morey 1959, no. 42).

<sup>223</sup> C.37.

<sup>224</sup> Given the mechanics of this particular name, however, it is very probable that “Seus” can be both a nominative and vocative designation.

you live with Donata”.<sup>225</sup> This inscription is notable because the recipient of the message, Salutius, is not depicted in the portrait, but instead a woman’s portrait is featured, presumably of Donata herself, who wears a tunic and the contemporary embroidered *palla* (Figure 23). In this case it is not complicated to determine the identity of the patron who commissioned the glass; it is likely that Donata, presenting herself in both the image and the inscription, commissioned the glass for Salutius, who is presumably a relation, or perhaps even her betrothed.

### **The function of gold-glass bases featuring contemporary portraits**

With only a few exceptions, glasses that depict contemporary figures typically incorporate generic formulae.<sup>226</sup> The most popular formulae featured with contemporary portraits are wishes for a good life (such as *vivas*) and *pie zesēs*. Acclamations like *dulcis anima* appear with some frequency, but the acclamation *dignitas amicorum* does not have a notable presence in the inscriptions accompanying this class of portraits. Personal names inscribed in the vocative case are another prominent feature of the inscriptions, and, when they are included, such names provide concrete evidence that a glass has been specifically commissioned. Glasses featuring contemporary portraits that do not incorporate personal names generally include only succinct generic phrases such

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<sup>225</sup> C.42. The name Salutius is restored and is included in Morey’s catalogue (Morey 1959, no. 2). Presumably this reading is based on an earlier reading, probably made by Garrucci (1864).

<sup>226</sup> One notable exception, of course, is the Festa glass (C.9X96; see figure 28 a-b).

as *pie zesēs*, and it has been suggested that these glasses are ready-made objects.

How do gold-glasses with contemporary portraits and inscriptions clarify the matter of primary function? One of the proposals concerning the function of gold-glass, is that they served as wedding gifts.<sup>227</sup> Most often, however, this argument is offered only in a tentative fashion, and for support cites the images of married couples on gold-glass as primary evidence. Gold-glass images of married couples indeed employ iconography that is consistent with other late antique marriage artifacts, such as bezelled rings and stamped pendants.<sup>228</sup> The standard iconographic scheme on such artifacts generally features the busts of the couple or shows them performing the *dextrarum iunctio*, and the Roman marriage crown, which was made of various flowers and plants, may also be represented.<sup>229</sup> A large number of such marriage artifacts also include inscriptions. Roman marriage rings, for example, which are conclusively identified on the basis of their inscriptions, typically incorporate two names and phrases that exhort matrimonial prosperity and longevity.<sup>230</sup> The exhortation *vivas* (or some related form) is in fact one of the most prominently featured exhortations on marriage artifacts; for example, the Proiecta casket (Figure 46), which is generally perceived as a wedding gift, includes the inscription

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<sup>227</sup> Cameron 1996, p. 298; Grig 2004, p. 205.

<sup>228</sup> Vikan 1990, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>229</sup> Vikan 1990, pp. 149-150; Huskinson 1982, pp. 54-55. According to both of these sources, the early church fathers shunned the Roman marriage crown for its superstitious elements. Nonetheless, the Roman marriage crown is resilient in the sphere of later Roman art and this tradition continues into the Byzantine period.

"SECVNDE ET PROIECTA VIVATIS IN CHRISTO".<sup>231</sup> The inscription on the Proiecta casket also incorporates two vocative names to address the couple, who are featured as contemporary portrait busts on top of the casket's lid. Moreover, in addition to the images of married couples on gold-glasses (one of which features the *dextrarum iunctio* – Figure 24)<sup>232</sup> that incorporate the iconography of marriage scenes, the inscriptions that accompany them provide additional evidence that these particular glasses functioned to commemorate marriage. This is primarily evident in the repeated use of formulae such as *vivas*, and also the use of two vocative names that identify the couple portrayed.

Scholarship on gold-glass does not include any specific propositions for the function of the glasses depicting contemporary family groups or single portraits. Some scholars have proposed that gold-glasses in general could commemorate occasions such as anniversaries, birthdays, and the New Year, but no references to particular glasses have been made.<sup>233</sup> The inscriptions featured on these glasses with contemporary family groups and single individuals do not include any explicit references to how they were used; instead all of them employ the generic phrases that are in many ways similar to those featured with gold-glass marriage portraits. Inscriptions accompanying family portraits, however, feature ablative formulae more consistently than other contemporary portrait groups. Ablative formulae, such as *cum tuis omnibus*, literally refer to

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<sup>230</sup> Vikan 1990, p.147.

<sup>231</sup> Shelton 1981, p. 31.

<sup>232</sup> C.17.

<sup>233</sup> Cameron 1996, p. 298; Grig 2004, p. 205.

family or other close relationships, and that these formulae accompany family portraits is appropriate considering the visual reference to family in the very portraits themselves. I suggest that the inclusion of ablative formulae with family portraits indicates that these glasses commemorated special occasions that involved family, and that these glasses specifically celebrated occasions such as anniversaries, and perhaps even the New Year. The function of glasses containing single portraits is more difficult to assess; given the similarities of the formulae which accompany such portraits and those that are featured with other contemporary portraits, in all likelihood single-portrait glasses also commemorate special occasions. Such occasions could include those when an individual's personal and/or professional successes are celebrated in private, like birthdays, a betrothal, or, in the case of male portraits, an employment promotion, or a coming-of-age occasion.

#### **[4.3] Inscriptions on glasses with non-contemporary portraits**

The focus now turns from the inscriptions featured with contemporary portraits, to those that accompany figures wearing non-contemporary costume. The following section will look first at inscriptions accompanying portraits of the Apostles Peter and Paul, then will move to a similar analysis of glasses portraying Peter, Paul and Christ. After this I will examine the inscriptions on glasses with non-contemporary group portraits, and, likewise, those with non-contemporary single portraits.



### Inscriptions accompanying Peter and Paul

Peter and Paul are undoubtedly the most popular subjects portrayed in the extant gold-glass corpus, and this ubiquity, at the very least, underlines their status and significance at Rome in late antiquity.<sup>234</sup> Altogether, there are twenty-six glasses that depict Peter and Paul as sole portrait companions (i.e. not in the company of Christ and/or other saints), and twenty-two of these examples include complete inscriptions.<sup>235</sup> On all of the twenty-two complete examples, the inscriptions consist exclusively of *tituli* that identify each of the Apostles respectively. The *tituli* most often consist of “PETRVS / PAVLVS”, with only these two names and Peter’s name featured first, although one glass has the inscription “PETRVS ET PAVLVS”, which includes a conjunction, while one other glass features Paul’s name before the name of Peter.<sup>236</sup> Of the twenty-two legible glasses featuring only Peter and Paul, none incorporate generic formulae from Inscription Group 1.

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<sup>234</sup> See pp. 40 ff. and 64.

<sup>235</sup> One example (Morey 1959, no. 459) does not include an inscription (and therefore no *tituli* to identify the figures), but, based on the attributes and pose, the two male figures depicted are very likely Peter and Paul. Because there is no inscription, this example is not included in the twenty-six examples quoted, and is not included in the catalogue.

<sup>236</sup> “PETRVS ET PAVLVS”: C.61; “PAVLVS/PETRVS”: C.62. C.62 portrays Peter and Paul seated on benches and has the inscription “PAVLVS /PETRVS”, which is inscribed between them in the centre, and is arranged on two horizontal lines, with Paul’s name on the top, and Peter’s name beneath. This order of the names is unique, but this order and the horizontal arrangement does not necessarily mean that Paul appears on the left side (as opposed to his typical right side

The inscribed *tituli* on glasses with Peter and Paul are arranged on the glass according to the pose of the two figures. Figure 37 illustrates the most common pose for these two Apostles, which presents them in a large circular frame, with Peter on the left and Paul to the right, both of whom are rendered from the shoulders up and turn to face one another in profile, with a scroll and/or wreath with *lemnisci* between them.<sup>237</sup> In respect to this pose, the *tituli* are placed beside each apostle respectively within and near to the inside of the circular border in the triangular space over each figure's outward facing shoulder. In this space the *tituli* are typically inscribed in one fluid arc aligned within the circular border, but each name may also be broken into two lines so that it can fit neatly into the small space. A notable number of glasses feature Peter and Paul not as portrait busts, but seated on low benches, and instead of scrolls or wreaths between them, the *tituli* are inscribed in the central space between their seated figures.

### **Inscriptions accompanying portraits of Peter, Paul, and Christ**

Peter and Paul are most often depicted as exclusive colleagues, but an additional thirteen glasses depict Peter and Paul in the company of Christ.<sup>238</sup> These three figures are generally posed in one circular frame with Peter and Paul flanking Christ, who outstretches both of his hands to place a crown on the head

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position), and Peter to the right. Unfortunately, the image on this glass is marred making it difficult to assess if the typical left/right positions are maintained or if they are reversed.

<sup>237</sup> C.56.

of each Apostle.<sup>239</sup> In all of the examples with complete inscriptions, nominative *tituli* are present that label Peter and Paul respectively, but Christ, on the other hand, is only labeled with a *titulus* (“CRISTVS”) in two examples.<sup>240</sup> The repetitive arrangement, pose, and gestures that are represented on the glasses with these three figures permit the figure of Christ to be identified on the basis of the iconography, and could explain why *tituli* that identify Christ are seldom employed. As was indicated in the previous section, glasses bearing portraits of Peter and Paul as sole companions include a particular epigraphic pattern that is characterized by the absence of formulae and the preponderance of *tituli* that label the two figures in proximity to their corresponding portraits. This epigraphic pattern, however, is not consistently employed when the figure of Christ is introduced into the image. Glasses with these three figures may include *tituli* for Peter and Paul, but a remarkable eight (of the thirteen) examples integrate generic formulae classified in Inscription Group 1.

The *tituli* featured with this non-contemporary triad are characteristically inscribed in close proximity to the corresponding portrait, and the formulae, much

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<sup>238</sup> All thirteen examples include inscriptions, and only one of these (Morey 1959, no. 272) will not be considered here due to its fragmentary state.

<sup>239</sup> It is worth note here that C.111X164 includes several images organized into separate registers; one depicts Peter and Paul, one portrays Christ, and the other registers contain Old and New Testament narratives. This glass does not, therefore, depict the three figures examined here in the same space. There are also notable exceptions regarding the gesture of coronation; C.74 (Morey 1959, no. 49) features Christ in the gesture of crowning, but no crowns are present, and C.78 (Morey 1959, no. 70) shows a nimbed Christ pointing two fingers to his chest in a gesture of speaking. Also worth note is C.158 (Morey1959, no. 78), which has an inscription, and portrays Peter, Paul and Christ in the same register, but here these three figures carry out the *traditio legis*, which cannot be classified in the portraiture category because the scene includes particular iconographic attributes that distinguish it more accurately as a narrative, and therefore it belongs to Image Category 2.

like those featured with contemporary portraits, are typically situated around the image in a circular or semi-circular arrangement.<sup>241</sup> Formulae from every subgroup of Inscription Group 1 are inscribed on glasses portraying Peter, Paul and Christ, with the most popular formula featured being the acclamation *dignitas amicorum* ("honour of friends"), which is featured on seven of the eight glasses that incorporate complete formulae. The inclusion of this acclamation appears on glasses with these three figures more than any other group of portraits (contemporary or non-contemporary), which suggests that portraits of Peter, Paul, and Christ as companions could have represented a certain ideal, likely related to *amicitia* and *concordia*, that was duly matched and literally expressed through the phrase *dignitas amicorum*. It is also plausible that these particular glasses are the work of a particular *officina* at Rome. In the text of his gold-glass catalogue, Morey makes several references to what he calls the "*Dignitas Amicorum* Workshop", a glass-house that Morey claims produced gold-glass with the trademark inscription *dignitas amicorum*. Morey's theory about this workshop was later supported in a study composed by L. Faedo, who claims that the glasses from this workshop also bear notable similarities in their standard inclusion of double band borders and that nearly identical facial characteristics are present in the portraits.<sup>242</sup> If this is the case, then it could also be argued here that, given the remarkable number of glasses depicting Peter, Paul, and

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<sup>240</sup> C.75 and C.76.

<sup>241</sup> C.73, C74, C.75, C.79, C.81, C.82, C.83.

<sup>242</sup> Faedo 1978, p. 1031.

Christ together that incorporate the phrase *dignitas amicorum*, this so-called “*Dignitas Amicorum* Workshop” specialized in glasses portraying these three portrait companions.<sup>243</sup> Figures 48 and 49 illustrate this quite well, as both glasses incorporate the formula *dignitas amicorum* and present the figures with remarkably similar facial characteristics.<sup>244</sup>

Other notable formulae inscribed on glasses depicting Peter, Paul, and Christ, include wishes for a good life, which are present on six examples. As in many other cases, these wishes generally take the form of either *vivas* or *zeses*; a glass in the Vatican (Figure 44), which portrays this portrait triad has the inscription “DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS ZESES / PETRVS / PAVLVS” (“Honour of friends, may you live with your relations, may you live!”).<sup>245</sup> This inscription includes both *vivas* and *zeses*, and thus has a repetitive meaning, which is a peculiar, but regular epigraphic feature employed in the gold-glass corpus.<sup>246</sup> Another interesting aspect of this gold-glass is its inclusion of *cum tuis*, an ablative formula that is also present in several other inscriptions that accompany portraits of Peter, Paul, and Christ.<sup>247</sup> Ablative formulae, all of which explicitly refer to family and/or other close relations, are a typical epigraphic component on glasses portraying contemporary family groups; that

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<sup>243</sup> See Huskinson 1982, p. 55. Huskinson here makes a similar point more succinctly.

<sup>244</sup> C.79 (Morey 1959, no. 241) and C.81 (Morey 1959, no. 314).

<sup>245</sup> C.73.

<sup>246</sup> I have stated previously that messages appearing twice in the same inscription could be indicators of mass produced examples.

<sup>247</sup> C.73, C.74, C.75, and C.79, all feature ablative formulae with portraits of Peter, Paul, and Christ. The formulae *cum tuis* is more common but one (C.74) features “...CUM TVIS OMNIBVS”.

they are also featured on glasses with non-contemporary figures is a significant parallel, which could indicate that glasses with these two different classes of portraits were commissioned to commemorate and celebrate a similar concept, such as *concordia*.

As far as non-contemporary portraits are concerned, the group of glasses portraying Peter, Paul, and Christ are exceptional in their characteristic inclusion of generic formulae. While these three are the visual subjects, it seems most likely that the messages contained in the formulae are not intended for them (as with some contemporary portraits), but instead for the generally anonymous individuals who owned these gold-glasses. The formulae featured with this type of portraits are typically situated within separate bands that surround the image and stand apart from the *tituli* that label Peter and Paul, and this consistent spatial segregation disassociates Peter and Paul (and even Christ) from the formula's message. A gold-glass in the British Museum (Figure 49) might help to clarify this matter: this glass depicts Christ crowning Peter and Paul and includes a formula and three nominative names; two of these are *tituli* identifying Peter and Paul, and the third name inscribed is Biculius, which evidently belongs to an individual not portrayed in the image.<sup>248</sup> Unlike the nominative *tituli* of Peter and Paul, which are inscribed in close proximity to their respective portraits, the nominative name Biculius is placed alongside the formula, which reads "BICVLIVS DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS" and is situated in the circular band

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<sup>248</sup> C.81.

that frames the image. Despite the fact that Biculius' name is inscribed in the nominative case (as opposed to the vocative), his name's association with the formula identifies Biculius himself as the subject of the formula. Furthermore, the Biculius glass provides solid evidence in its inclusion of a personal name that glasses depicting the non-contemporary figures Peter, Paul, and Christ, could be specifically commissioned, and that regardless of its overtly Christian subject matter, this glass could have served a similar dedicatory function to glasses portraying contemporary subjects.

### **Inscriptions featured with portraits of non-contemporary individuals and groups**

A large number of gold-glasses feature non-contemporary portraits that depict the saints and even Christ himself, either in single portraits or in group portraits that consist of anywhere from two to seven persons. The most popular non-contemporary person represented in single portraits is Saint Agnes, who was martyred and given a status of patron in the city of Rome. Single portraits of Peter, and also of Paul are also common in the extant corpus, and other single portrait subjects include Christ, Mary, Laurence, Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage), and Callixtus and Marcellinus (both of whom were early popes).

Like the inscriptions on glasses depicting Peter and Paul as sole portrait companions, the majority of glasses that feature single individuals include only nominative *tituli* that identify the portrait figures. There are only two extant

examples where formulae accompany single portraits, and in both cases the formulae are exceptional, marking them out as specific commissions.<sup>249</sup> One of these glasses (Figure 50) depicts a standing beardless figure dressed in typical non-contemporary garb consisting of a tunic and *pallium*, and contains the inscription “[VI] CTO[R VIV]AS IN NOMINE LAVRE(N)TI”, (“Victor, may you live in the name of Laurence”).<sup>250</sup> This glass contains a wish for a good life (*vivas*), and also a miscellaneous formula (*in nomine*), but is notable in its inclusion of two names. The name of Laurence, although it is in the genitive case, clearly serves in this example as a *titulus* that identifies the male figure; that this figure is Laurence is also confirmed by the archaic style of clothing the portrait figure wears.<sup>251</sup> The first part of the inscription arcs in a semi-circle over the image, and the name of Laurence is placed vertically directly beside his standing image. In this case, then, the nominative name Victor belongs to the glass’s owner, who, like Biculius on the glass discussed previously, is only named and addressed by the inscription, but does not appear in the image.

Much like the inscriptions featured with non-contemporary single figures and portraits of Peter and Paul as sole portrait companions, the inscriptions featured with group portraits of non-contemporary figures primarily incorporate

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<sup>249</sup> C.140 and C.144. Unfortunately, both of these glasses are quite damaged and the inscriptions cannot be fully restored with certainty. However, both inscriptions have been restored and recorded in Morey (1959, nos. 40 and 298), and one (C.140; Morey 1959, no. 40) will be considered here.

<sup>250</sup> C.140.

<sup>251</sup> While Victor is in fact the name of an early Pope at Rome, Laurence, who was a popular cult figure at Rome in the early fifth century, is more commonly represented throughout the gold-glass corpus. The name Victor, then, more than likely belongs to a contemporary individual.



*tituli*. There are thirty-nine extant gold-glasses that feature non-contemporary group portraits and inscriptions, and only a small portion (5 glasses) include generic formulae.<sup>252</sup> The formulae that are featured with this type of portrait are altogether quite generic and include wishes for a good life (*vivas*), the acclamation *dignitas amicorum*, ablative formulae, and the phrase *pie zeset*.<sup>253</sup>

#### **[4.4] Observations relating to the function of gold-glasses that include portraits and inscriptions**

Gold-glass portraits have been classified in this study as depicting contemporary or non-contemporary figures: the distinction is based on the dress these figures wear. The distinction between these two classes of portraiture is also expressed through the epigraphy; there is a fundamental difference between inscriptions on glasses with contemporary portraits and those that are featured with non-contemporary portraits. This difference is marked by the relative prominence of formulae and *tituli* featured on the glasses. Glasses with non-contemporary portraits, which almost invariably portray Christian saints, rarely incorporate formulae and almost exclusively include only nominative *tituli* to label

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<sup>252</sup> C.87, C.94, C.95, C.120, C.125 all feature non-contemporary portrait groups and generic formulae.

<sup>253</sup> The acclamation *dignitas amicorum* is the most popular formula featured with portraits of Peter, Paul, and Christ, and there are two examples (C.94 and C.125) of non-contemporary group portraits that incorporate this phrase, and both include the figure of Christ among the group. These similarities could indicate a correspondence between the phrase *dignitas amicorum* and the portrait of Christ.

the portrait figures.<sup>254</sup> This pattern deviates from the contemporary portraits examined in the initial part of this chapter, all of which incorporate formulae and generally include vocative names that function to indicate the person receiving the formulae's message and may identify the person(s) portrayed in the portrait(s). The generic formulae employed in tandem with contemporary gold-glass portraits suggest that these vessels were used to commemorate special occasions, be it a marriage, a birthday, an anniversary, or even the New Year. In cases where this combination of image and formula is featured, therefore, it appears that these gold-glasses were commissioned to fulfill commemorative functions.

Where formulae are absent and the epigraphy includes only titular names, which is the case for the majority of glasses depicting non-contemporary figures, it is prudent to suggest that these particular glasses fulfilled a different sort of commemoration. There are three main propositions that have been put forward regarding the function of glasses portraying non-contemporary figures (the majority of which, according to the *tituli*, include Christian figures); these include a sacramental function (including either the Eucharist or the ritual funerary meal performed at the tomb, the so-called *refrigerium*), souvenirs for Christians making a pilgrimage to Rome, or vessels to commemorate the feast days of the saints.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> Damasus was not a saint, but is portrayed in the tunic and *pallium*. Likewise the enigmatic figure Florus, who also appears in this dress, was likely a contemporary to Damasus (see fn. 183).

<sup>255</sup> The sacramental function was proposed by Boldetti, and has been continually rejected; the use of the vessels in the *refrigerium* was first proposed by Thümmel (noted by Smith 2000, p. 13), although other scholars, including Painter 1987, p. 266, also consider this function. The

The first proposition which relates the glasses to the liturgical and funerary functions is not plausible for several reasons. Glasses with non-contemporary portraits that contain only titular names, because they contain no formulae, include no explicit references to either the Eucharist or the *refrigerium* (or *agape* for that matter). For those glasses with contemporary portraits that contain the occasional formulae, it is possible that phrases like *bibas* or even *pie zeses*, when applied in the funerary context, were multivalent and took on a secondary meaning for ceremonial purposes conducted for the deceased that implored and transferred the pleasures of mortal life to the afterlife. However, if such phrases on gold-glasses were initially intended for funerary ceremonies, we might expect these phrases to have a more noticeable appearance in funerary epigraphy.<sup>256</sup>

Overall, the most plausible proposed function for glasses with contemporary portraits is that they functioned to commemorate the feast days of the saints. The majority of these glasses contain portraits with standardized modes of representation, and, in addition to this, the epigraphy comprises a repetitive scheme, consisting for the most part of titular names with the occasional appearance of a generic formula. The fairly standard scheme suggests, furthermore, that such glasses were mass produced, and this, in turn, also indicates their widespread popularity among clients. According to the *Depositiones* of the Bishops and Martyrs, which comprised two appendages

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proposition that glasses functioned as souvenirs is offered by Huskinson (1982), while the most recent source for glasses commemorating saints feast days is provided by Grig (2004).

<sup>256</sup> See Ferrua 1975, pp. 1116 ff. Phrases like *pie zeses* and *vivas* appear in some funerary graffiti in the catacombs, but Ferrua attributes the phrases to the vernacular of the living.

(parts XI and XII respectively) of the Codex Calendar of AD 354, by the later fourth century the festivals of the saints were celebrated more widely at Rome on an annual basis, and involved feasting and other forms of general merriment.<sup>257</sup> Such celebrations, at some point, must have provided the impetus for the production of particular items to commemorate them; other small portable objects, like contorniates, for example, may have been produced and distributed for wide scale public events like spectacles and the celebration of the New Year.<sup>258</sup> The mass-produced character of non-contemporary portrait glasses and inscriptions suggests that they functioned to commemorate that which they explicitly depict and name, the saints themselves. Particular figures, like Peter, Paul, Agnes, and Laurence each had burgeoning cults in the mid-fourth and early fifth centuries AD, and that these figures frequently appear in the portraits establishes that these particular gold-glasses commemorated the feast days of the saints.

It is possible that these objects were produced as souvenirs for these feast days and/or for Christians making a pilgrimage to Rome, a nascent practice that was developing between AD 350-410.<sup>259</sup> However, if Christians from areas other than Rome were purchasing them as souvenirs to take home, we might expect to find more glasses outside of Italy. Perhaps it is possible that the very

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<sup>257</sup> Salzman 1990, pp. 34, 43 ff.; Bowersock 1999, p. 450.

<sup>258</sup> For contorniate medallions, see A. & E. Alföldi 1976-1990. See also Noll 1972, p. 34. The function of contorniates is a contentious issue, and Alföldi's theory that they commemorated the New Year (proposed in the first edition of 1943) has been largely discredited.

<sup>259</sup> Huskinson 1982, p. 51.

small number of glasses found in the provinces functioned as souvenirs, but this is a matter that requires further investigation in a separate study.

The absence of formulae and prominence of *tituli* featured with non-contemporary portraits creates a schema that is passive in its lack of personal address, and only significant for the sake of the images depicted. However, there are a handful of examples where formulae are featured with non-contemporary portraits, and these require special note. The group of glasses that depict Peter, Paul, and Christ as portrait companions, for the most part feature generic formulae, and these are similar to those featured with contemporary portraits. Throughout the extant corpus, there are also a small number of other examples where formulae are combined with non-contemporary portraits. In all of these cases, and the Biculius example should be recalled here, the formulae stand apart from the image, and such spatial organization suggests that the messages contained in the formulae are intended for the owner (and not the figures in the image). Thus these glasses indicate an alternate (and perhaps novel) form of commemoration, wherein Christian figures are depicted, but contemporary persons are addressed. This combination of generic epigraphy and non-contemporary portraits overall provides some interesting insight regarding the Christianization of small-scale commemoration, which is primarily manifested on some examples of gold-glass through the imagery.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis and in the catalogue that follows, the images and inscriptions on late-antique gold-glass vessel bases have been surveyed and classified. This study first examined each of these two elements of gold-glass decoration as separate features. The ultimate objective, however, has been that the visual and epigraphic content be analyzed simultaneously. Such an analysis has been executed in order to document the correspondence of image and text and to evaluate its contribution to understanding further the circumstances of gold-glass patronage and production. It has also been my intention in carrying out such a case study to clarify how intact gold-glasses functioned prior to being recycled in the funerary context.

As was related in the introduction of this thesis, gold-glasses have been the subject of numerous catalogues, and the imagery has received the majority of scholarly attention in articles and manuscripts, wherein the methodologies employed have been primarily art historical. The images are fundamental for contextualizing gold-glass within the scheme of late antique artistic development and should not be undervalued. The analysis of gold-glass images, in fact, has proven to be instrumental for several scholars in formulating a chronology for the glasses.<sup>260</sup> Additionally, through the careful analysis of the styles and techniques

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<sup>260</sup> Vopel 1899, Bovini 1950, Zanchi Roppo 1969.

manifested in the imagery, several scholars have attempted to designate the *officinae* that produced the vessels.<sup>261</sup> Gold-glass images were the focus of the second chapter, wherein the discussion was not a response to, or a critique of previous studies focusing on the images. On the contrary, the aim of the second chapter was to offer a summary review of these images in order not only to inform the reader of the diverse range of subjects depicted, but also to define further and classify those images with which inscriptions are featured.

The classification scheme of the images formulated for this study is based on four categories, and has provided the means for organizing the catalogue of the inscriptions. Image Category 1, which includes all examples that feature portraits, received the most attention in the image survey, so that a more lucid analysis of the correspondence between certain kinds of portraits and their accompanying inscriptions could take place. A new designation was assigned to the portraits, all of which contain figures who wear either contemporary or non-contemporary clothing. All glasses with so-called contemporary portraits feature three kinds of subjects, namely married couples, family groups, and single individuals, and the majority of these figures appear to have been private persons of Roman society. Non-contemporary portraits, likewise, feature couples, groups, and individuals, but all the figures featured in this style of dress are identified as well-known Christian figures, including, apostles, saints, martyrs,

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<sup>261</sup> Morey 1959, Faedo 1978.

and Christ. These two types of portraits were thoroughly defined, and the portrait subjects were described in respect to their more typical attributes and poses.

Chapter three focused exclusively on gold-glass inscriptions. Gold-glass inscriptions are present on more than half of the examples in the extant corpus, but as a distinct body of epigraphic evidence these inscriptions have not been thoroughly exploited. A small number of inscriptions on gold-glasses have been considered in modern scholarship, but only in isolation, and not in relation to the entire corpus of inscriptions. Consequently the generic character, inscribed names, and exceptional components of the inscriptions have not been systematically assessed.<sup>262</sup> Three Inscriptional Groups have been distinguished according to their content and a fourth group contains those too fragmentary to be accurately classified. The majority of inscriptions are classified into Inscription Groups 1 and 2 (IG.1 and 1G.2), which include generic formulae and inscribed personal and titular names respectively. A detailed discussion of gold-glass formulae (IG1) yielded some interesting observations: the majority of the formulae contain messages that invoke prosperity and convivial celebration for the possessor of the glass, who may also be greeted with a pleasant acclamation. The convivial character of many gold-glass formulae is best summed up by the ubiquitous drinking toast *pie zeses*, which is commonly featured on other kinds of glassware and other minor arts, many of which have

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<sup>262</sup> Cameron (1996) and Noll (1973) each consider the inscriptions on a small number of glasses.



clear associations with the Roman banquet.<sup>263</sup> The connections between drink and the good life are also manifested in formulae featuring either *vivas* or *bibas* (or related forms of these verbs), which, by late antiquity could be understood by their viewer to have interchangeable meanings. Several aspects of gold-glass formulae may also reveal trends in patronage and production; the popularity of certain phrases indicates consumer interest and demand, to which glass-shops responded by producing ready-made vessels. That several extant examples of gold-glass are ready-made pieces is suggested by the repetition of certain phrases with identical meaning on the same glass, and also the more standard employment of singular verb forms despite the fact that multiple people may be addressed. Given the formulaic and generic character of most gold-glass epigraphy, glasses that contain elements in their formulae that are unique, or do not occur with frequency in the extant inscriptions, in contrast, may indicate specific commissions, thus informing us to some extent of the role of the patron; he/she apparently had the desire and/or impetus to commission a gold-glass with particular provisions, and could communicate this in some way or another to the craftsman.

Inscribed names are another prominent feature of gold-glass inscriptions and are mostly inscribed either as nominative *tituli* or vocative names. The significance of *tituli* can only be fully understood when they are considered with the images they accompany; such observation has revealed that titular names

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<sup>263</sup> See section 3.5 of this study, which examines epigraphic comparanda.

label individuals in the images, who in almost all cases are Christian figures. Vocative names, which are primarily neutral, non-identifiable names, generally belong to private individuals, who may or may not be featured in the image; these vocative names are similar to the exceptional gold-glass formulae, in that the inclusion of specific names explicitly signals that a glass is custom made. What is just as significant, furthermore, is that the vocative form of these personal names infers that an individual is being addressed in person, which could further substantiate the speculation that some gold-glasses were presented as gifts. The majority of nominative *tituli*, on the other hand, generally do not exhibit the same personal and active involvement, but function passively as labels that do not specifically acknowledge or evoke the recipient and/or owner of the glass

The examination of the images and inscriptions as separate aspects of gold-glass decoration has produced some noteworthy observations that aid in identifying trends in production and patronage. But as isolated components of gold-glass decoration, either one of these aspects provides only limited evidence for understanding how intact gold-glass vessels originally functioned before their deposition in the funerary realm. In view of the fact that both the images and inscriptions are integral elements of gold-glass decoration, both of which were selected and/or formed according to the patron's specifications in order to fulfill a certain function, these two elements have the capacity to clarify the intended function of the vessels when they are considered together.

A case study of the correspondence between images and inscriptions was carried out in the fourth chapter of this thesis. Glasses containing portraiture were selected as the sample group for analyzing the correspondence of visual and epigraphic content. The majority of the inscriptions featured with contemporary portraits of couples, family groups, and single individuals incorporate some form of generic phrase, which typically consists either of wishes for a good life, or of phrases like *pie zeszes*. Personal names, which generally correspond to the figures in the images, are also included with many examples and appear primarily in the vocative case. This not only indicates the glasses that were custom made, but also underlines the fact that the formulae and vocative names accompanying these portraits were intended for and presented to the person(s) named. In the case of both married portraits and contemporary family groups, the frequency of particular formulae and the use of vocative names indicate that the glasses played a role in the celebrations that commemorated special occasions. Portraits of married couples commonly feature the formula *vivas* and two vocative names, which are two aspects that are prominently figured on artifacts relating to marriage; thus, the correspondence of image and text presented with portraits of married couples provides more concrete evidence that these glasses served to commemorate marriage. Family portraits, likewise, are commonly featured with formulae including phrases such as *cum tuis* (here called ablative formulae) suggesting that the events for which these glasses were commissioned were ones where

family played an important role, likely birthdays, weddings, anniversaries, and the New Year, all of which were occasions for presenting gifts.<sup>264</sup> Single portraits of men and women feature formulae that are similar to the other groups of contemporary portraits, and this correspondence suggests at the very least that these particular portrait glasses functioned as dedicatory objects; the specific events that single portrait glasses commemorated are not as evident, but I have proposed that, in accordance with the portrait of the isolated person, these glasses could have acknowledged the singular success of the individual, be it a birthday, or an important moment in personal or professional life. It should be noted too that some glasses with contemporary portraits do not include personal names with their formulae, and for this reason could have been ready-made objects, thus indicating that there was both a market and demand for readily available small scale gifts to commemorate special occasions.

Gift exchange in late antiquity is something about which we know very little. The best body of evidence available for gift exchange are those pieces of silverware that functioned as largesse, distributed either by imperial officials or other politicians on the occasion of new appointments or as rewards for certain services. Similarly, many ivory diptychs functioned as gifts to commemorate major events, that were either public (consulships), or private (weddings). Given the relative expense of the materials, the exchange of gifts made of silver and ivory clearly involved affluent persons in the upper echelons of society. Gold-

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<sup>264</sup> Engemann 1968, p. 16; Faedo 1978, p. 1025-26; Noll 1973; Painter 1987, pp. 267-68.

glasses, on the other hand, which are modest in comparison to silver and ivory crafts, provide compelling evidence for gift-exchange on a smaller scale and among more individuals of more modest standing.<sup>265</sup>

The other group of portraits with which the inscriptions were examined, was the group of glasses depicting figures wearing non-contemporary dress, all of which have been identified as Christian figures. Glasses depicting Peter and Paul as sole portrait companions, as well as glasses with non-contemporary group and single figure portraits, in the majority of cases only include *tituli*. The repetitive character of these inscriptions signals that the function of these glasses differs from those featuring contemporary persons. Some of the functions that have been proposed previously for these particular glasses include a sacramental function (including either the Eucharist or the ritual funerary meal performed at the tomb, the so-called *refrigerium*), souvenirs for Christians making a pilgrimage to Rome, or vessels to commemorate the feast days of the saints.<sup>266</sup> Upon examining the correspondence of inscriptions with non-contemporary portraits, it becomes more apparent that the latter of the proposed functions for these types of glasses, namely saint's days commemoration, is more plausible for several reasons. Firstly, the epigraphic scheme for these glasses is highly

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<sup>265</sup> For speculation about the status of those who commissioned and owned gold-glasses, see Cameron 1996, p. 299, who believes that "it must be doubted that gold-glass was made for court and aristocracy", and also that "they (gold-glasses) could be afforded by people of modest status." But see also Painter 1987, pp. 267-68, who makes the proposition that the glasses were mere tokens exchanged between more affluent persons. In my view, Harden's supposition is not plausible; as Cameron (1996, p. 300) has noted, many of the inscribed (non-titular) names indicate non-elite patrons.

<sup>266</sup> See pages 102 ff.

standardized, and generally no elements are included in these inscriptions to indicate that they were specifically commissioned. It would appear, therefore, that many of the glasses featuring Christian portrait figures were mass produced, and that events like feast days, which were carried out on a grander scale, necessitated a higher demand for glasses to commemorate them. That many of these glasses feature Christian saints, like Peter, Paul, Agnes, and Laurence, whose cults were in vogue in the later fourth and early fifth centuries AD, further confirms this proposition.

A persistent issue presented by the gold-glass corpus is that the images and inscriptions cannot be exclusively defined or classified, and while many glasses contain typical and generic components, there are always exceptions to this rule. Those glasses that portray Peter, Paul, and Christ as portrait companions, as has been established, may include formulae and in some cases personal, neutral names. These glasses, and the small handful of other glasses depicting saints and church figures that have accompanying formulae, are the exceptions in this group of gold-glass portraits, and for this reason could be specific commissions. In the case of those with portraits of Peter, Paul, and Christ together, it is possible that these glasses had a similar commemorative function to those glasses featuring contemporary portraits, and indicate the Christianization of smaller scale gifts.

Since the discovery of gold-glass bases in the seventeenth century many have proposed functions for the vessels and have assessed and assigned their

particular use in either the funerary or domestic context. All of the functions proposed above are plausible; given the widespread use of glass vessels in the ancient world, it is more than likely that intact gold-glass vessels fulfilled all or many of these functions at one time or another. The main issue, however, is determining the specific and initial function that gold-glass vessels fulfilled, which relates, of course, to the function that patrons had in mind when they commissioned or bought the glasses. From analyzing the inscriptions that accompany portraits it is more evident that those who produced and commissioned gold-glass did not originally intend for them to be funerary *spolia* to commemorate death. On the contrary, gold-glass vessels were meant to be accessories that enhanced and gilded the special occasions of earthly existence.

## FOREWARD TO THE CATALOGUE

This catalogue comprises just over 200 gold-glass vessel bases that are currently conserved in forty collections and museums throughout Europe, Israel, and the United States. All of the glasses included in the catalogue have legible inscriptions, which are either still visible in their current state, or are no longer visible, but have been previously recorded and/or restored. The catalogue does not include any of the numerous fragmentary inscriptions that are unable to be fully and accurately read.

A significant number of the examples in the catalogue also contain imagery, which has been classified in this study into four main categories (Image Categories - IC); these are Portraits (IC.1), Narrative scenes (IC.2), Other Figural Representations (IC.3), and Miscellaneous Images (IC.4). A fifth adjunct category includes those glasses that do not have imagery, but contain only inscriptions. Each glass is organized in the catalogue according to its image category, and therefore there are five sections (IC. 1-4, and adjunct category 5, inscriptions only). This organization has permitted an examination of the correspondence between particular types of images (particularly portraits) with certain kinds of inscriptions. Several glasses have images that can be classified in two separate Image Categories (e.g. portraits and narratives), and each of these examples has two entries in the catalogue, one in each of the respective Image Category section. These duplicate entries are indicated by a cross-reference (e.g. C.1XC.100, i.e. Catalogue entry 1 and 100).



Each entry in the catalogue has nine areas of information. Under the heading of “Inscription” (line 1 of each entry), the inscription is recorded as it appears on the glass without restoration. When it is possible, the arrangement of the inscription (i.e. horizontal, vertical, beside portraits, etc.) is also indicated, as are the spaces between the letters and/or words and the dividing motifs, such as hearts and rosettes. The second line in each entry includes a transcription of the inscription, which records the full inscription in Latin and/or Greek with the necessary restorations and epigraphical conventions. The third line of each entry provides a literal translation that follows the order of the original Latin and/or Greek as closely as possible. The next two lines provide information on the provenance of the glass, (when it has been documented), its current location (abbreviations indicate the museum or collection; please refer to the list of abbreviations), and finally the inventory number (if known). The next line provides a brief description of the image that accompanies the inscription. After this, the next line of each entry provides more information about the formulae and/or names in each inscription by referring to the classification scheme of the Inscriptional Groups (Groups 1-3, and the respective subgroups). The last line of each entry of the catalogue includes bibliographical information on each respective glass, which is most often a catalogue (Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, Morey 1959, Vopel 1899, Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2), although many inscriptions are known only from articles (Noll 1973, Fülep 1968, Migotti 2002).

## CATALOGUE OF GOLD-GLASS INSCRIPTIONS

### CLASSIFIED BY IMAGE CATEGORY (IC)

#### IMAGE CATEGORY 1: GOLD-GLASS PORTRAITS

##### INSCRIPTIONS ACCOMPANYING CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS

###### Inscriptions accompanying portraits of Married Couples:

- C.1 Inscription: PIEZ ESVS**  
Transcription: *Pie zesus*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 211  
Image: Portraits busts of a married couple with a small, nimbed Christ in the centre placing a wreath on each head  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 29; Vopel 1899, no. 127.
- C.2 Inscription: PIE ZE SES**  
Transcription: *Pie zeszes*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded.  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 248  
Image: Married couple  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 39; Vopel 1899, no. 130.
- C.3 Inscription: P    AL    I**  
                  N    EG    AZ  
                  OSA   PI   E[.]  
                          SES
- Transcription: *Paline Gazosa pie [ze]ses*  
Translation: Palinus, Gazosa, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 250  
Image: Married couple  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2B/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 91; Vopel 1899, no. 114.
- C.4 Inscription: PIE ZE SES**  
Transcription: *Pie zeszes*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 222  
Image: Married couple  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 92; Vopel 1899, no. 128.

**C.5 Inscription: MAXIMA VIVAS CVMDEX <FIGURE 21>**

T  
R  
O

Transcription: *Maxima vivas cum Dextro*  
 Translation: Maxima, may you live with Dexter!  
 Provenance: Not recorded  
 Location: BAV Inventory #: 220  
 Image: Married couple  
 Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G2B/G2D  
 Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 93; Vopel 1899, no. 112.

**C.6 Inscription: PIE ZE SES**

Transcription: *Pie zeses*  
 Translation: Drink, may you live!  
 Provenance: Not recorded  
 Location: BAV Inventory #: 2111  
 Image: Married couple  
 Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
 Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 99.

**C.7 Inscription: DVLCISANIMAVIVAS**

Transcription: *Dulcis anima vivas*  
 Translation: Dear soul, may you live!  
 Provenance: Not recorded  
 Location: BAV Inventory #: 214  
 Image: Married couple  
 Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1C  
 Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 109; Vopel 1899, no. 136.

**C.8 Inscription: PIEZESES**

Transcription: *Pie zeses*  
 Translation: Drink, may you live!  
 Provenance: Not recorded  
 Location: BAV Inventory #: 448  
 Image: Married couple  
 Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
 Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 113; Vopel 1899, no. 131.

**C.9 Inscription: <FIGURE 28a-b>**

X  
[c.96] {in the central medallion} F EST A FI DELIS  
 {inscribed on ansate capitals} EPOLI PET PAV  
 {in surrounding registers} TUS RVS LVS  
 LAVRE SVS CIPR  
 NTIVS TVS IANV  
 S

Transcription: *Festa / Fidelis ; Epolitus / Petrus / Paulus / Laurentius / Sustus / Ciprianus*  
 Translation: Festa, Fidelis / Hippolitus / Peter / Paul / Laurence / Sixtus / Cyprian  
 Provenance: Not recorded



Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 366; Vopel 1899, no. 126.

- C.14 Inscription: IVCVNDE CV RA CEZES  
ES** <FIGURE 25>  
Transcription: *lucunde Curace zesēs*  
Translation: *lucundus, Curacus, may you live!*  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PBN Inventory #:   
Image: Married couple with small figure of Christ in the centre placing crowns on their heads  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G2B/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 397; Vopel 1899, no. 110.
- C.15 Inscription: PIE ZE SES**  
Transcription: *Pie zesēs*  
Translation: *Drink, may you live!*  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PPP Inventory #:   
Image: Married couple  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 418.
- C.16 Inscription: PIE ZESES**  
Transcription: *Pie zesēs*  
Translation: *Drink, may you live!*  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: VKM Inventory #: XI, A, 35  
Image: Married couple  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 441; Vopel 1899, no. 132.
- C.17 Inscription: VIVATI SIN DEO** <FIGURE 24>  
Transcription: *Vivatis in deo*  
Translation: *May you live in God!*  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MMA Inventory #: 15.168  
Image: A standing married couple, who perform the *dextrarum iunctio*, and flank a large floating marriage crown  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 447; Vopel 1899, no. 138.
- C.18 Inscription: SEMPER GAVDEATIS  
IN NOMINE DEI**  
Transcription: *Semper gaudeatis in nomine dei*  
Translation: *May you always rejoice in the name of God!*  
Provenance: Dunaszekcső, Hungary  
Location: HNM Inventory #: 3.1934  
Image: Married couple  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z  
Bibliography: Fülep 1968, pl. I, fig. 2; Migotti 2002, fig. 5.



- C.24 Inscription: PELET EVI VASPAR** <FIGURE 22>  
EN TI BVS  
TV  
IS  
Transcription: *Pelete vivas parentibus tuis*  
Translation: Peletus, may you live with your relations!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 229  
Image: Family portrait featuring a married couple and a girl  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 94; Vopel 1899, no. 115.
- C.25 Inscription: [.]M[.]**  
BVSVE  
STRIS  
P . Z  
Transcription: *[O]m[ni]bus vestris p(ie) z(eses)*  
Translation: With all your relations, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 344  
Image: Family portrait featuring a married couple, two boys, and two girls  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1D/G1PZ/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 97; Vopel 1899, no. 140.
- C.26 Inscription: PIEZE SES**  
Transcription: *Pie zeses*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: FMN Inventory #:  
Image: Family portrait featuring a married couple and a boy  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 244; Vopel 1899, no. 134.
- C.27 Inscription: COCA VIVAS** <FIGURE 32>  
PARENTIBVS  
TVIS  
Transcription: *Coca vivas parentibus tuis*  
Translation: Coca, may you live with your relations!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PMA Inventory #:  
Image: Family portrait featuring a mother and daughter seated  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7024; Morey 1959, no. 289; Vopel 1899, no. 57.
- C.28 Inscription: POMPEIANETHEODORA**  
VIBATIS  
Transcription: *Pompeiane Theodora vibatis*  
Translation: Pompeianus, Theodora, may you live/drink!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM Inventory #:

Image: Family portrait featuring married couple and two children (genders are unclear) with a Christogram  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1B/G2B/G2D/G2F/G3  
Bibliography: Cameron 1996, p. 300; Morey 1959, nos. 308-309; Vopel 1899, no. 116; Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, pp. 240-241.

**C.29 Inscription: SEBERECOSMASLEAZE** <FIGURE 30>  
**S**  
**ES**

Transcription: *Sebere Cosmas Lea zesēs*  
Translation: Seberus, Cosma, Lea, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM Inventory #: \_\_\_\_\_  
Image: Family portrait featuring a married couple and a girl with a Christogram  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G2B/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 315; Vopel 1899, no. 119.

**C.30 Inscription: BVLCVLVS OMOBONE BENEROSA**  
**PIEZESES**

Transcription: *Bulculus Omobone Benerosa pie zesēs*  
Translation: Bulculus, Omobonus, Benerosa, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MMA Inventory #: 17.190.493  
Image: Family portrait; the members depicted are not clear  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2B/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 451; Vopel 1899, no. 105.

**C.31 Inscription: VIV[.] INNOC CUM**  
**TVIS ENTI IN**  
**DEO**

Transcription: *Viv[as] Innocenti cum tuis in deo*  
Translation: May you live, Innocentius, with your relations in God!  
Provenance: Duaújváros (Intercisa), Hungary  
Location: HNM Inventory #: 63.5.1  
Image: Family portrait featuring married couple and a boy  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G1Z/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Fülep 1968, pl. I, fig. 1; Migotti 2002, fig. 9.

**C.32 Inscription: VIVATIS FELICIS IN** <FIGURE 31>  
**DEO**

Transcription: *Vivatis felicis in deo*  
Translation: May you live happily in God!  
Provenance: Štrbinci, Croatia  
Location: MDR Inventory #: \_\_\_\_\_  
Image: Family portrait featuring a married couple, a boy, and a girl  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z  
Bibliography: Migotti 2002, fig. 7.

**C.33 Inscription: VIVAS IN DEO** <FIGURE 20>

Transcription: *Vivas in deo*  
Translation: May you live in God!  
Provenance: A tomb from Prahovo (Kardjali District), Bulgaria  
Location: BNM Inventory #: 1511/IV.



Image: Family portrait featuring a married couple and a boy  
Inscription group: G1A/G1Z  
Bibliography: Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, no. 109.

**C.34 Inscription: [----]AMADA HABAS MARA  
GERMANVS VIVAS**

Transcription: [----] *Amada Habas Mara Germanus vivas*  
Translation: ...Amanda, Habas, Mara, Germanus, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 223  
Image: Family portrait featuring a married couple with two boys in front of them  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G2B/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 59; Vopel 1899, no. 103.

**C.35 Inscription: [----][...6]IVGETVAETFORTVNIO FILIO  
TVO**

Transcription: [----][*cum con]iuge tua et Fortunio filio tuo*  
Translation: ...may you live with your wife and with Fortunius, your son!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM Inventory #:  
Image: Family portrait; the members depicted are not clear  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G2A/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 296; Vopel 1899, no. 124.

Inscriptions on glasses with single portraits of contemporary individuals:

**C.36 Inscription: [...6]S OMNES {leaf spray} SERBVLE <FIGURE18>  
PI[...6]**

Transcription: [*Hilare]s omnes Serbule pi[e zeses]*  
Translation: May all be cheerful Serbulus, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 224  
Image: Half figure of a man in a toga  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1PZ/G2A/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 41; Vopel 1899, no. 81.

**C.37 Inscription: SEV S [...6]AS INDEV {leaf spray}**

Transcription: *Seus [viv]as in Deo*  
Translation: Seus, may you live in God!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 0012  
Image: Half figure of a man wearing a tunic and chlamys and holding writing implements  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z/G2A/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 42.

**C.38 Inscription: ASAECVLAR EBE NEDI  
CTEPIEZ(eses)**

Transcription: *A saeculare bene dicte pie z(eses)*  
Translation: Blessed for all generations (?), drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 221

Image: Standing male figure wearing a toga and holding an open diptych  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1PZ/G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 193; Vopel 1899, no. 74.

**C.39 Inscription: CVMTVIS PIEZESES**

Transcription: *Cum tuis pie zesēs*  
Translation: With your relations, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MMA Inventory #: 18.145.5  
Image: Male bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1D/G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 446; Vopel 1899, no. 84

**C.40 Inscription: ZES ES**

<FIGURE 7>

X.  
[C.165] Transcription: *Zeses*  
Translation: May you live!  
Provenance: Found in 1715 in the Catacomb of Callixtus  
Location: MMA Inventory #: 16.174.2  
Image: Male bust in central medallion, several narratives surround the medallion, including: the 3 Hebrews in the fiery furnace, Christ and the Paralytic, Tobias, the Miracle at Cana  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 448; Vopel 1899, no. 85

**C.41 Inscription: PELORI PIE ZESES[...]**AS****

Transcription: *Pelori pie zesēs vivas*  
Translation: Pelorius, drink, may you live, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: CMOG Inventory #:  
Image: Male bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1PZ/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Vopel 1899, no. 79; Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, no. 840.

**C.42 Inscription: [...11]SES[...]**MDON**[...]**

<FIGURE 23>

Transcription: *[Saluti pie ze]ses [cu]m Don[ata]*  
Translation: Salutius, drink, may you live with Donata!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 0026  
Image: Female bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2B/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no.2; Vopel 1899, no. 96.

**C.43 Inscription: PIE Z[...]**

Transcription: *Pie z[eses]*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: CT Inventory #:  
Image: Portion of a female bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 205; Vopel 1899, no 147.

- C.44 Inscription: QUARTINA D[...9]**  
Transcription: *Quartina d[ulcis vita]*  
Translation: Quartina sweet life  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BMC                      Inventory #:  
Image: Female bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G2A/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 262; Vopel 1899, no. 97.
- C.45 Inscription: ZHCAIC  
ANIMA  
BONA**  
Transcription: *Zesais anima bona*  
Translation: May you live, good soul!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PPP                      Inventory #:  
Image: Female bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 411; Vopel 1899, no. 99.
- C.46 Inscription: AEIIA NE [.]VIV [..]**  
Transcription: *Aeliane [.] viv[as]*  
Translation: Aeliana?...may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 209  
Image: Female bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1A/G2A/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 30; Vopel 1899, no. 98.
- C.47 Inscription: BI[.]AS PA[.]N[.]IB[.]  
TVIS V[.]O TVO**  
Transcription: *Bi[b]as pa[re]n[t]ib[us] tuis viro tuo*  
Translation: May you drink with your relations and your husband!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM                      Inventory #:  
Image: Female bust  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1B/G1D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 343; Vopel 1899, no. 100.

INSCRIPTIONS ACCOMPANYING NON-CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS:

Inscriptions on glasses depicting Peter and Paul as sole portrait companions:

- C.48 Inscription: PAVL VS PET RVS**  
Transcription: *Paulus / Petrus*  
Translation: Paul / Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 190  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul  
inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 53; Vopel 1899, no. 324.

- C.49 Inscription: PET RVS R AV LVS** <FIGURE 33>  
Transcription: *Petrus / Raulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not Recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 183  
Image: Figures of Peter and Paul, scroll in centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G3B/G3C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 56; Vopel 1899, no. 329.
- C.50 Inscription: PETRVS PAVLVS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 182  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul, scroll and crown in centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 60, Vopel 1899, no. 338.
- C.51 Inscription: PETR PAVL  
VS VS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 181  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul, crown in the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 61; Vopel 1899, no. 342.
- C.52 Inscription: PETR PAVL  
VS VS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 172  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul, open scroll in the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 62; Vopel 1899, no. 341.
- C.53 Inscription: RETR PAVL  
VS VS** <FIGURE 35>  
Transcription: *Retrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 189  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul, open scroll in the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 63; Vopel 1899, no. 337.

- C.54 Inscription: [.]ETR PAVL  
VS VS**  
Transcription: *[P]etrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Catacomb of Saint Callixtus  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 0019, 0391  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 64.
- C.55 Inscription: PETR PAVL  
VS VS** <FIGURE 36>  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 199  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul, crown and scroll in the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 65, Vopel 1899, no. 339.
- C.56 Inscription: PETRVS PAVLVS** <FIGURE 37>  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 475  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul, large crown in the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 67; Vopel 1899, no. 323.
- C.57 Inscription: PETRV PAV[.]  
S VS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Pau[.]us*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 771  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 68.
- C.58 Inscription: PETRVS  
PAVLVS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 477  
Image: Peter and Paul seated, scroll in the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 69.
- C.59 Inscription: PETR  
VSPA  
VLVS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*

Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 174  
Image: Standing Peter and Paul flanking a column  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 88; Vopel 1899, no. 328.

**C.60    Inscription: PETR VS    PAVLVS**

Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 173  
Image: Half-figures of Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 95; Vopel 1899, no. 325.

**C.61    Inscription: PETRVSET  
                          PAVL[.]**

Transcription: *Petrus et Paul[us]*  
Translation: Peter and Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 480  
Image: Peter and Paul, seated facing each other  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 100; Vopel 1899, no. 353.

**C.62    Inscription: PAVLVS  
                          PETRVS**

<FIGURE 34>

Transcription: *Paulus / Petrus*  
Translation: Paul / Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 759  
Image: Seated Peter and Paul flanking a chi-rho  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 112; Vopel 1899, no. 345.

**C.63    Inscription: PETR    PAVL  
                          VS            VS**

Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: FMN                      Inventory #:  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 242; Vopel 1899, no. 340.

**C.64    Inscription: PE TR VS    PAVLVS**

Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: FMN                      Inventory #:  
Image: Peter and Paul seated

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 243; Vopel 1899, no. 352.

- C.65 Inscription: [..]TRV[s] P[.....]**  
Transcription: *[Pe]tru[s] / P[aulus]*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BMC                      Inventory #:  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul; only the bust to the left is visible  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 267; Vopel 1899, no. 362.
- C.66 Inscription: [..]TRVS  
[..]VLVS**  
Transcription: *[Pe]trus / [Pa]ulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BMC                      Inventory #:  
Image: Peter and Paul seated  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 269; Vopel 1899, no. 363.
- C.67 Inscription: PETR    PAVL  
                  VS        VS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: VMC                      Inventory #: 4567  
Image: Busts Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 277; Vopel 1899, no. 346.
- C.68 Inscription: PETRVS    [...]IVS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / [Paul]us*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM                      Inventory #:  
Image: Peter and Paul seated  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 341; Vopel 1899, no. 344.
- C.69 Inscription: PE    TRV    S  
                  PA    VLV    S**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*  
Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MNM                      Inventory #: 2020  
Image: Peter and Paul seated  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 438; Vopel 1899, no.356.
- C.70 Inscription: PETRVS    PAVLVS**  
Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*

Translation: Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MET                      Inventory #: 16.174.3  
Image: Peter and Paul standing to each side of a column surmounted with a large medallion depicting the chi-rho symbol  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 455.

**C.71 Inscription: PAVLVS**

Transcription: *Paulus* /  
Translation: Paul / [Peter?]  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 760  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 176, Vopel 1899, no. 365.

**C.72 Inscription: PETRVS**

Transcription: *Petrus* /  
Translation: Peter / [Paul?]  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MET                      Inventory #: 17.194.357  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 457.

Inscriptions on glasses with portraits of Peter, Paul and Christ:

**C.73 Inscription:**

<FIGURE 44>

{within border} **DIGNITASAMICORVMVIVAS  
CVMTVISZESES**  
{beside the portrait busts}  
{L} **PAVL  
VS**  
{R} **PETR  
VS**

Transcription: *Dignitas amicorum vivas cum tuis zeszes / Paulus / Petrus*  
Translation: (You are) the honour of your friends, may you live with your relations  
may you live! Peter/Paul  
Provenance: Chigi Collection  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 171  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul with small Christ in centre crowning each apostle  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G1D/G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 37; Vopel 1899, no. 334.

**C.74 Inscription: {within the border} [..]GNITASAMICORVMPIEZES [...13]  
BUSBIBAS**

{beside the bust to the left} **PETR VS**

Transcription: *[Di]gnitas amicorum pie zes[es cum tuis omni]bus bibas/ Petrus*  
Translation: (You are) the honour of your friends, drink, may you live with all your  
relations! May you drink! / Peter / [Paul]



Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 742  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul with small Christ in centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G1C/G1D/G1PZ/G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 49; Vopel 1899, no. 361.

- C.75 Inscription:** {within border} [...] **JSCVMTUISFELICITER ZESES** {Leaf spray}  
{beside and above figures} **PETR CRI STV PAVL**  
**VS S VS**

Transcription: *[Viva]s cum tuis feliciter zeszes / Petrus / Cristus / Paulus*  
Translation: May you live happily with your relations! May you live! Peter / Christ / Paul

Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 485  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul with small Christ in centre crowning each apostle  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 50; Vopel 1899, no. 330.

- C.76 Inscription:** [.....]**S CRI** [...] [..]**JVLV S**  
**S**

Transcription: *[Petru]s / Cris[tus] / [Pa]ulus*  
Translation: Peter / Christ / Paul

Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 2112  
Image: Busts of Peter and Paul with small Christ in centre crowning each apostle  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 51.

- C.77 Inscription:** **PETRVS PAVLVS**

Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*

Translation: Peter / Paul

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 478

Image: Busts of Peter and Paul with small Christ in center crowning the two apostles

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 66; Vopel 1899, no. 336.

- C.78 Inscription:** **PETRVS PAVLVS**

Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus*

Translation: Peter / Paul

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 473

Image: Peter and Paul flanking nimbed, standing Christ in centre

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 70; Vopel 1899, no. 303.

- C.79 Inscription:**

{inscription within the double-band border}  
**DIGNITAS AMICORVMVIVASCVMTVIS**  
**FELICITER PIE**

<FIGURE 48>





Translation: Peter, Agnes, Paul, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 738  
Image: Agnes as orant flanked by Peter to left and Paul to the right  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 75; Vopel 1899, no. 372.

**C.88    Inscription:    GENE  
                              SIVS  
                              LVCAS**

Transcription: *Genesisius / Lucas*  
Translation: Genesisius / Lucas  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 735  
Image: 2 standing male figures, foliate capital in centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 79; Vopel 1899, no. 418.

**C.89    Inscription: {circular, over Agnes' head} AC NE                      <FIGURE 41>  
                              {beside and over the busts of PP)**

                              {L} PE                      {R} R A  
                                      T V                              V V  
                                      R S                              L S

Transcription: *Acne/Petrus/Raulus*  
Translation: Agnes / Peter / Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 737  
Image: Agnes as orant flanked by beardless half-length figures of Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 83; Vopel 1899, no. 374.

**C.90    Inscription:    SIM  
                              ONIO  
                              NAN  
                              ES**

Transcription: *Simon Ionanes*  
Translation: Simon / John  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 434  
Image: 2 male figures, seated facing each other  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 86; Vopel 1899, no. 410.

**C.91    Inscription: {beneath Christ} ZISVS  
                              {circular, beside other figures}  
                                      {L} IVLIVS  
                                      {R} SVSSTVS**

Transcription: *Zisus / Iulius / Susstus*  
Translation: Jesus / Julius / Sixtus  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 242  
Image: Christ raising wreaths over the heads of two youths, each holding a scroll  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G2D

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 102; Vopel 1899, no. 307

**C.92 Inscription:** {upper register, semi-circular}

**PASTO DAMA**

**R S**

{lower register, horizontal}

**PETRVS PAVLVS**

Transcription: *Pastor / Damas / Peter / Paul*

Translation: Pastor / Damasus / Peter / Paul

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 484

Image: 2 pairs of male busts, each pair flanks a chi-rho

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 106; Vopel 1899, no. 370.

**C.93 Inscription:** {upper register, semi-circular}

**SIMON DAMAS**

{lower register, horizontal}

**PETRVS FLORVS**

Transcription: *Simon / Damas / Peter / Florus*

Translation: Simon / Damasus / Peter / Florus

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 175

Image: 2 male busts

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 107; Vopel 1899, no. 422.

**C.94 Inscription:** {*tituli* by respective figures} **CRISTVS**  
**ISTEFANVS**

{inscription within double-band border}

**DIGNITAS AMICORVMVIVAS**

**CVMTVISFELICITER**

Transcription: *Cristus / Istephanus / Dignitas amicorum vivas cum tuis feliciter*

Translation: Christ / Istephanus / (you are) the honour of your friends, may you live with your relations happily!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 203

Image: 2 seated male figures, Christ standing on cloud in the centre

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G1D/G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 187; Vopel 1899, no. 301.

**C.95 Inscription:** **PET RVS CVM TVO SO MNE SEL**  
**AR ESP IEZ ES** {leaf spray}

Transcription: *Petrus cum tuos omnes elares pie zeszes*

Translation: Peter with all your relations, may you rejoice, drink, may you live!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: PMDA Inventory #:

Image: Christ in central medallion, from which radiates 12 standing male figures

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1D/G1PZ/G1Z/G2A/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 235; Vopel 1899, no. 313.

**C.96** **Inscription:** <FIGURE 28a-b>  
 X {in the central medallion} **F EST A FI DELIS**  
 [C.9] {inscribed on ansate capitals **EPOLI PET PAV**  
 in surrounding registers} **TUS RVS LVS**

**LAVRE SVS CIPR**  
**NTIVS TVS IANV**  
**S**

Transcription: *Festa / Fidelis ; Epolitus / Petrus / Paulus / Laurentius / Sustus / Ciprianus*

Translation: Festa, Fidelis / Hippolitus / Peter / Paul / Laurence / Sixtus / Cyprian

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: FMN Inventory #:

Image: Married couple together with a small figure of Christ in a central medallion, which is surrounded by six male figures placed between columns radiating from the medallion.

Inscription group/subgroup: G1Z/G2B/G2C/G2D

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 240; Vopel 1899, no. 108.

**C.97** **Inscription:** {beside the busts in the upper 2 registers}  
**PETRV [.]AVLV**  
**S S**  
 {beside the busts in the lower 2 registers}

**SVS DA**  
**TV MA**  
**S S**

Transcription: *Petrvs / [P]aulus / Sustus / Damas*

Translation: Peter / Paul / Sixtus / Damusus

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: FMN Inventory #:

Image: 4 male busts and several scrolls

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 250; Vopel 1899, no 377

**C.98** **Inscription:** **RETRV RAVLVS**  
**S**

Transcription: *Retrus / Raulus*

Translation: Peter / Paul

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: FMN Inventory #:

Image: 2 registers; Busts of Peter and Paul at the top and below them 3 male figures standing between columns

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 254; Vopel 1899, no. 382.

**C.99** **Inscription:** **TIMOTEVS SVSTVS**

Transcription: *Timoteus / Sustus*

Translation: Timothy / Sixtus

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: FMN Inventory #:

Image: 2 male figures, small Christ in the centre

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no.258; Vopel 1899, no. 414.

**C.100 Inscription: AGNES MARIA**

Transcription: *Agnes / Maria*

Translation: Agnes / Mary

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BMC Inventory #:

Image: 2 female busts, chi-rho in centre

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 265; Vopel 1899, no. 400.

**C.101 Inscription: PAVS[.]  
CRITS  
VS**

Transcription: *Paus[us] Critsus*

Translation: Paul/ Christ

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BMC Inventory #:

Image: 2 seated male figures

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 270; Vopel 1899, no. 302.

**C.102 Inscription: {upper register}  
{L} ERMES  
{above Christ} CRISTVS  
{R} FELIX  
{lower register}  
{L} SVS  
TVS  
{R}} I  
POL  
IT  
VS**

Transcription: *Ermes / Cristus / Felix / Sustus / Ipolitus*

Translation: Hermes / Christ / Felix / Sixtus / Hippolitus

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: VMC Inventory #: 4567 (?)

Image: Christ crowning 2 male busts in the upper register, and 2 male busts in the lower register with a chi-rho between them

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 278.

**C.103 Inscription: CRISTVS AGNES LAVRENTIVS**

Transcription: *Cristus / Agnes / Laurentius*

Translation: Christ / Agnes / Laurence

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: PMA Inventory #:

Image: Agnes as orant in the centre flanked by two male figures

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 283; Vopel 1899, no. 304.

**C.104 Inscription: IVSTVS PROTUS**

Transcription: *Iustus / Protus*

Translation: Justus / Protus

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: PMA                      Inventory #:  
Image: 2 male figures  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 288; Vopel 1899, no. 419.

**C.105 Inscription: PETRVS [.]VLIVS IVSTVS IVDAS [----]**

Transcription: *Petrus [.]Iulius Iustus / Iudas [----]*  
Translation: Peter / Julius / Justus / Judas / ...  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PMA                      Inventory #:  
Image: Central medallion with bust of Christ surrounded by several standing male figures  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 291; Vopel 1899, no. 385.

**C.106 Inscription: CRISTVS**

<FIGURE 38>

Transcription: *Cristus*  
Translation: Christ  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM                      Inventory #: 1863.7-27.6  
Image: Bust of Christ in a diamond shaped border, 4 anonymous non-contemporary male busts surround his portrait  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Harden 1987, p. 283, no. 158; Morey 1959, no. 305; Vopel 1899, no. 297.

**C.107 Inscription: SVSTVS TIMOTEVS**

Transcription: *Sustus Timoteus*  
Translation: Sixtus / Timothy  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM                      Inventory #:  
Image: 2 male busts  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 313; Vopel 1899, no. 412.

**C.108 Inscription: {L} VRSV**

**S**  
**{R} DIO**  
**N**

Transcription: *Ursus Dion*  
Translation: Ursus / Dion  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH                      Inventory #:  
Image: 2 male busts  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 358; Vopel 1899, no. 420.

**C.109 Inscription: P ETRVS P**  
**A VLVS I V**  
**L IVS SV**  
**STVS**

Transcription: *Petrus / Paulus / Iulius / Sustus*  
Translation: Peter/ Paul / Julius / Sixtus



Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH Inventory #:  
Image: 2 registers, each with 2 nimbed male busts  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 360; Vopel no. 380.

- C.110 Inscription:** {semi-circular inscription beside the head of Christ}  
**CRIS TVS**  
**PETRVS [... ] V [.]**  
{6 lines of horizontal inscription, between the 2 seated figures at the bottom}  
**TIMO**  
**TEVS**  
**IVST**  
**VSSIM**  
**ONFLO**  
**RVS**  
Transcription: *Cristus / Petrus / [Paul]u[s] / Timoteus / Iustus / Simon / Florus*  
Translation: Christ / Peter / Paul / Timothy / Justus / Simon / Florus  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH Inventory #:  
Image: Christ in centre with several men seated in a semi-circle before him  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G2D?  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 364; Vopel 1899, no. 306.

- C.111 X.**  
**[C.164]** **Inscription:** {circular inscription beside the busts in the central medallion}  
**PAVL PET RVS**  
**VS**  
{inside the circular border, acc. to Garrucci}  
**DIGNITASAMICORVMVIVAT[.....]**  
**CEDEIZE[...]**  
Transcription: *Paulus / Petrus / Dignitas amicorum vivat[is in pa]ce dei ze[ses]*  
Translation: Paul / Peter / (You are) the honour of your friends, may you live in the peace of god! May you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH Inventory #:  
Image: Central medallion with 2 male busts and a chi-rho; radiating from the centre are panels depicting various Old Testament narratives including Susannah (?), male orant figure (martyrdom of Isaiah?), Moses slaying the serpent/or Aaron's rod(?), Moses striking the rock, the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, beardless figure (Christ?).  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G1Z/G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 388; Vopel 1899, no. 293.

- C.112 Inscription: PETRVS**  
Transcription: *Petrus*  
Translation: Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: TAMH Inventory #: 81058  
Image: 2 male figures, chi-rho in the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 396



Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 287; Vopel 1899, no. 381.

**C.118 Inscription: CRISTVS [----] <FIGURE 39>**

Transcription: *Cristus* [----]  
 Translation: Christ...  
 Provenance: Not recorded  
 Location: BM Inventory #:  
 Image: Christ in central medallion, surrounded by several standing figures radiating from the centre; it is not clear whether or not these figures are labeled with *tituli*  
 Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
 Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 307; Vopel 1899, no. 300.

**C.119 Inscription: [.] O DA  
 [.] N AS  
 M M**

Transcription: *[Si]mon / Damas*  
 Translation: Simon / Damasus  
 Provenance: Not recorded  
 Location: BM Inventory #:  
 Image: Central medallion with bust, around which radiates 6 trapezoidal panels with 2 surviving male busts  
 Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
 Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 340; Vopel 1899, no. 426

**C.120 Inscription: <FIGURE 40>**

{in upper register, semi-circular inscription above the figures}  
**PIEZESES**

{in upper register, vertical inscriptions beside the figures}

[----]	PL	ST	LR
	AV	VV	AE
	VS	SS	VN
			T
			I
			V
			S

{in the lower register, horizontal inscriptions beside the figures}

IPPO	CRI	TIM
LIT	STV	OTE
VS	S	VS

Transcription: *Pie zesēs / [----] / Paulus / Sustus / Laurentius / Ippolitus / Cristus / Timoteus*

Translation: Drink, may you live! [----] / Paul / Sixtus / Laurence / Hippolitus / Christ / Timothy

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BM Inventory #: 1863.7-27.9

Image: The upper register contains 4 male figures, each with a scroll and standing between columns; the lower register shows 3 male busts, the central one holds a wreath

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2B/G2C/G4

Bibliography: Harden 1987, p. 284, no. 159; Morey 1959, no. 344; Vopel 1899, no. 305.

- C.121 Inscription: TIMOTE [----]**  
Transcription: *Timote[----]*  
Translation: Timothy....  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: LVAM C. Inventory #: 13-1946  
Image: Portion of a seated male figure  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 352.
- C.122 Inscription: PAV[...]  
FELIX**  
Transcription: *Pau[us] / Felix*  
Translation: Paul / Felix  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: LVAM C. Inventory #: 13 B, C, D, E-1946  
Image: 2 male figures beside 2 columns, which appear to radiate from the centre  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 354.
- C.123 Inscription: [----]AMAS [----]**  
Transcription: *[----]Amas[----]*  
Translation: [D]amasus?....  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: LVAM Inventory #: 433-1917  
Image: Probably 3 figures  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 356.
- C.124 Inscription: {in central medallion} CRIS [...]  
{beside the head of the standing figure} [----]VS SVSTVS**  
Transcription: *Cris [tus] / [----]vs / Sustus*  
Translation: Christ / [----]us / Sixtus  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH Inventory #:  
Image: Christ in the central medallion, standing figures radiating from the central (one survives)  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 361; Vopel 1899, no. 311.
- C.125 Inscription: {within border} [----][..]GNITASAMICORV[.]  
{inscription beside Christ} [..]ISTVS IO AN ES**  
Transcription: *[----][Di]gnitas amicoru[m] / [Cr]istus / Ioanes*  
Translation: ...(You are) the honour of your friends! / Christ / John  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH Inventory #:  
Image: Christ and 2 figures  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C/G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 365; Vopel 1899, no. 411.

Inscriptions on glasses with single portraits of non-contemporary individuals:

- C.126 Inscription: P I T R**  
Transcription: *Pitr*  
Translation: Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 0016  
Image: Bust of Peter  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 127; Vopel 1899, no. 440.
- C.127 Inscription: P E T R V S**  
Transcription: *Petrus*  
Translation: Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 005  
Image: Male bust  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 130; Vopel 1899, no. 315
- C.128 Inscription: [.] E T R V S**  
Transcription: *[P]etrus*  
Translation: Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: FMN                      Inventory #:  
Image: Male bust  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 249; Vopel 1899, no. 395.
- C.129 Inscription: R A V L V S**  
Transcription: *Raulus*  
Translation: Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 740  
Image: Central medallion with male bust and 4 surrounding medallions, all of which originally contained a male bust  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 52; Vopel 1899, no. 322.
- C.130 Inscription: P A V L V S**  
Transcription: *Paulus*  
Translation: Paul  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 736  
Image: Bust of Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 54; Vopel 1899, no. 319.



Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 221.

**C.137 Inscription: AG NE**

Transcription: *Agne*  
Translation: Agnes  
Provenance: CN  
Location: *in situ*                      Inventory #:  
Image: Agnes as orant  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 226.

**C.138 Inscription: AN NES**

Transcription: *Annes*  
Translation: Agnes  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: FMN                      Inventory #:  
Image: Agnes as orant  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 246; Vopel 1899, no. 390.

**C.139 Inscription: MARA**

Transcription: *Mara*  
Translation: Mary  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 451  
Image: Female orant  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 33; Vopel 1899, no. 389.

**C.140 Inscription:**

<FIGURE 50>

{semi-circular, over the figure} [..] CTO[...].JAS INNOMINE  
{vertically, to R of figure}

L  
A  
V  
R  
E  
T  
I

Transcription: *[Vi]cto[r viv]as in nomine Laure(n)ti*  
Translation: Victor, may you live in the name of Laurentius!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 462  
Image: Beardless youth holding a scroll  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z/G2B/G2C/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 40; Vopel 1899, no. 405.

**C.141 Inscription: MARCELLINV[.]**

Transcription: *Marcellinu[s]*  
Translation: Marcellinus  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 458

Image: Male bust  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 87; Vopel 1899, no. 408.

**C.142 Inscription: C P  
Y**

Transcription: *Cyp(rianus)?*  
Translation: Cyp(rian)  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 492  
Image: Male bust  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 135; Smith 200, p. 103; Vopel 1899, no. 88.

**C.143 Inscription: CALLI STVS**

Transcription: *Callistus*  
Translation: Callistus  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PBN Inventory #:  
Image: Male bust  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 401; Vopel 1899, no. 402.

**C.144 Inscription: PE PRO  
TRV TRV  
S E**

Transcription: *Petrus protege*  
Translation: Peter, protect!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM Inventory #:  
Image: Bust of Peter  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1Z/G2A/G2C/G3  
labeled no. 297.  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 298; Vopel 1899, no. 316.

**C.145 Inscription: AN[ne] [----]**

Transcription: *Anne[----]*  
Translation: Agnes...  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: FMN Inventory #:  
Image: Female orant  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 248; Vopel 1899, no. 395.

**C.146 Inscription: AN NE [----]**

Transcription: *Anne [----]*  
Translation: Agnes...  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PPP Inventory #:  
Image: Female orant  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 412; Vopel 1899, no. 396.



- C.147 Inscription: CRIS T[us]**  
Transcription: *Crist[us]*  
Translation: Christ  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: WUM Inventory #: 1473  
Image: Head of Christ  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 435; Vopel 1899, no. 444.

## IMAGE CATEGORY 2: NARRATIVE SCENES

### Inscriptions accompanying narratives from pagan mythology:

- C.148 Inscription: ZHCATO**  
Transcription: *Zēsato*  
Translation: May he/she live(?)  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 198  
Image: Hercules and the Erymanthian boar  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G4  
Bibliography: *CIL* IV, 8474; Morey 1959, no. 12; Vopel 1899, no. 43.
- C.149 Inscription: ANIMADVLCIS FRVAMVRNOSSINEBILEZESES**  
Transcription: *Anima dulcis fruamur nos sine bile zesēs*  
Translation: Dear soul, may we enjoy ourselves without bitterness! May you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 197  
Image: Cupid and Psyche  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1B/G1C/G1Z/G3  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7050; Morey 1959, no. 15; Vopel 1899, no. 33.
- C.150 Inscription: ACILLIS** <FIGURE 3>  
Transcription: *Acillis*  
Translation: Achilles  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PMA Inventory #:  
Image: Achilles on Skyros among the Daughters of Lycomedes  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7016; Morey 1959, no. 284; Vopel 1899, no. 31.

### Inscriptions accompanying narrative scenes from the Old Testament:

- C.151 Inscription: DIG[...]*JAS [.]MICORVM PIE [.....]*** <FIGURE 4>  
Transcription: *Dig[nit]as [a]micorum pie [zesēs]*  
Translation: (You are) the honour of your friends, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 231  
Image: Adam and Eve with tree and serpent

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G1C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 47; Vopel 1899, no. 169.

**C.152 Inscription: HILARIS ZESES CVMTVIS SPES** <FIGURE 5>

Transcription: *Hilaris zeses cum tuis spes*  
Translation: Cheerful may you live with your relations! Hope.  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 232  
Image: The Sacrifice of Isaac  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 71.

**C.153 X Inscription: BIBE** <FIGURE 9>

[C.171] Transcription: *Bibe*  
Translation: Drink!  
Provenance: CP  
Location: *in situ* Inventory #:  
Image: Good Shepherd in the central medallion, surrounding registers contain fragmentary biblical scenes with Adam and Moses  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 224.

**C.154 Inscription: HILARISCVMTV[.]PIEZEZESINDEO**

Transcription: *Hilaris cum tu[is] pie zeses in deo*  
Translation: Be cheerful with your relations, drink, may you live in God!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM Inventory #:  
Image: Moses striking the rock  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G1PZ/G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 312; Vopel 1899, no. 188 (inscription is not included in Vopel's entry).

**C.155 Inscription: ZESIS** <FIGURE 6>

Transcription: *Zesis*  
Translation: May you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PML Inventory #:1732  
Image: Jonah cast overboard to the whale  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 407; Vopel 1899, no. 226.

Inscriptions accompanying narrative scenes from the New Testament:

**C.156 Inscription: ZES VS CRISTVS** <FIGURE 8>

Transcription: *Zesus Cristus*  
Translation: Christ, may you live! (the spelling is likely an allusion to the name Jesus Christ)  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 436  
Image: The Raising of Lazarus  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G2A/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 31; Vopel 1899, no. 259.

**C.157 Inscription: PIE ZESES**

<FIGURE 43>

Transcription: *Pie zesēs*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 439  
Image: The Raising of Lazarus  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 44; Vopel 1899, no. 262.

**C.158 Inscription:** {below the scene}

**IERVSALE  
IORDANES  
BEC LE**

{above the scene, semi-circular}

**PIE ZES[.]**

Transcription: *Ierusalem / Iordanes / Becele / pie zes[es]*  
Translation: Jerusalem / Jordan / Bethlehem / Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 442  
Image: *Traditio legis*; Christ with foot in the River Jordan, Peter and Paul  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2Z/G3  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 78; Vopel 1899, no. 270.

**C.159 Inscription: PETRVS**

Transcription: *Petrus*  
Translation: Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 483  
Image: Peter striking the rock  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 80; Vopel 1899, no. 189.

**C.160 Inscription: PETRVS**

Transcription: *Petrus*  
Translation: Peter  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 483  
Image: Peter striking the rock  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 81; Vopel 1899, no. 190.

**C.161 Inscription: PIEZ EISIS**

Transcription: *Pie zeisis*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: CP  
Location: *in situ* Inventory #:  
Image: The multiplication of the loaves  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 223.

- C.162 Inscription: DIGNITASAMICORVMVIV ASIM PACEDEIZESES [----]**  
Transcription: *Dignitas amicorum vivas im pace dei zeszes [----]*  
Translation: (You are ) the honour of your friends, may you live in the peace of God, may you live!...  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PMA Inventory #:   
Image: Miracle at Cana  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 285; Vopel 1899, no. 247.

Inscriptions on glasses featuring both Old and New Testament narrative scenes:

- C.163 Inscription: PIE ZE SES** <FIGURE 29>  
X. Transcription: *Pie zeszes*  
[C.13] Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH Inventory #:   
Image: A married couple featured in a central medallion, which is surrounded by registers containing scenes from various Old and New Testament narratives  
Inscription group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 366; Vopel 1899, no. 126.
- C.164. Inscription:** {circular inscription beside the busts in the central medallion}  
X. **PAVL PET RVS**  
[C.111] **VS**  
{inside the circular border, acc. to Garrucci}  
**DIGNITASAMICORVMVIVAT[.....]**  
**CEDEIZE[...]**  
Transcription: *Paulus / Petrus / Dignitas amicorum vivat[is in pa]ce dei ze[ses]*  
Translation: Paul / Peter / (You are) the honour of your friends, may you live in the peace of god! May you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OPH Inventory #:   
Image: Central medallion with 2 busts and a chi-rho; radiating from the centre are panels depicting various Old Testament narratives including Susannah (?), male orant (martyrdom of Isaiah?), Moses slaying the serpent/or Aaron's rod(?), Moses striking the rock, the three Hebrews in the fiery furnace, beardless figure (Christ?)  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G1Z/G2B/G2C/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 388; Vopel 1899, no. 293.
- C.165 Inscription: ZES ES** <FIGURE 7>  
X. Transcription: *Zeszes*  
[C.40] Translation: May you live!  
Provenance: Catacomb of S. Callixtus/Kircher Collection  
Location: MET Inventory #: 16.174.2  
Image: M bust in central medallion, several narratives surround the medallion, including: the 3 Hebrews in the fiery furnace, Christ and the Paralytic, Tobias, the Miracle at Cana  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 448; Vopel 1899, no. 85.

### IMAGE CATEGORY 3: OTHER FIGURAL REPRESENTATIONS:

#### Inscriptions accompanying images of bucolic figures:

- C.166 Inscription: BIBEETPROPIN [...7]CIS**  
Transcription: *Bibe et propin[a cum ami]cis*  
Translation: Drink and toast with friends!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 763  
Image: Shepherd, goat, tree  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G4  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV,II,I, 7049; Morey 1959, no. 11; Vopel 1899, no. 59.
- C.167 Inscription: ΡΟΥΦΕΠΙΕΖΗCΑΙCΜΕΤΑΤΩNCΩΠΑ [----]**  
Transcription: *Rufe pie zesais meta tōn cō(n) pa[---]*  
Translation: Rufus, drink, may you live with your relations...  
Provenance: Catacomb of S. Agnes  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 464  
Image: Good Shepherd, flanked by 2 sheep and 2 trees  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G1PZ/G1Z/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: *C/G* 8982; Morey 1959, no. 14; Vopel 1899, no. 234.
- C.168 Inscription: DIGN TIAS AMICORVM  
VIVASCVMTVISFELICITER**  
Transcription: *Digntias amicorum vivas cum tuis feliciter*  
Translation: (You are) the honour of your friends, may you live with your relations happily!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 437  
Image: Good Shepherd  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G1C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 45; Vopel 1899, no. 238
- C.169 Inscription: [...]Z ESES**  
Transcription: *[Pie] zesēs*  
Translation: Drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 467  
Image: Good Shepherd  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 118.
- C.170 Inscription: SABINABIBE INPACECVM  
PARR ENT[T][...]**  
Transcription: *Sabina bibe in pace cum parrentt[ibus]*  
Translation: Sabina, drink in peace with your relations!  
Provenance: CP  
Location: *in situ* Inventory #:  
Image: Good Shepherd  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G1D/G1Z/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 220.



Bibliography: *CIL* XV,II, I, 7038; Morey 1959, no. 10; Vopel 1899, no. 49.

**C.176 Inscription: DVLCIS ANIMA**

Transcription: *Dulcis anima*

Translation: Dear soul

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 191

Image: Nude frontal putto

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7053; Morey 1959, no. 18; Vopel 1899, no. 32;

**C.177 Inscription: PIPE  
RIOV  
IVAS**

Transcription: *Piperio vivas*

Translation: Piperio, may you live!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 0030

Image: 3-4 erotes

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G2A/G2D

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 19.

**C.178 Inscription: [ ... ] GA [ ... ] D ANIMA DVLCIS**

<FIGURE 14>

Transcription: [...]*GA*[...] *D Anima dulcis*

Translation: [...]*Dear soul*

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 200

Image: Eros in a leopard skin, playing *trogus*

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C./G4

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7027; Morey 1959, no. 26; Smith 127; Vopel 1899, no. 38.

**C.179 Inscription: DEDALI ISPESTVA PIE ZESES**

X. Transcription: *Dedalii spes tua pie zeszes*

[C.192] Translation: *Dedalius, your hope, drink, may you live!*

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 345

Image: Frontal male in centre, flanked by 6 figures on each side engaged in shipbuilding and carpentry, Athena to the top right

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1PZ/G1Z/G2A/G2D/G4

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7025; Morey 1959, no. 96.

Inscriptions accompanying images of personifications:

**C.180 Inscription: [.]VGAS VIVAS**

Transcription: [*N*]*ugas vivas*

Translation: *Nugas, may you live?*

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 249

Image: 3 female figures (identified as the three *Monetae*) with scales and cornucopiae

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7059; Morey 1959, no. 17; Smith 200, p. 136; Vopel 1899, no. 47.

**C.181 Inscription:** **ANIMA** <FIGURE 15>  
**DVLCIS**  
**PIEZ[...]**

Transcription: *Anima dulcis pie z[eses]*

Translation: Dear soul, drink, may you live!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 210

Image: 2 seated female figures (one with mural diadem), both have staffs and orbs; another, smaller female kneels below

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C/G1PZ/G4

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 90; *CIL* XV, II, I, 7051.

Inscriptions accompanying images of agonistic figures:

**C.182 Inscription:** {semi-circular inscription over the figure} **INVICT AR OM IL IOR OR**  
{to the right, inscribed above two wreaths on a stele} **ILIA**  
**CAPIT**  
**OLIA**

Transcription: *Invicta Rom(a) Ilior(um) (=Iliorum?)/ Ilia / Capitolia*

Translation: Unconquered Rome of the Ilia / Ilia / Capitolia

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 201

Image: Male frontal figure, palm twig in right hand, two flutes in left hand, pile of crowns to left, mask on stele to right

Inscription Group/subgroup: G3

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7015; Morey 1959, no. 25; Vopel 1899, no. 64.

**C.183 Inscription:** <FIGURE 10>

{central inscription, above the figures} **ZENVARVS C[onstantius]**

{next to the boxer on the left} **AS**

**EL**

**LV**

**S**

Transcription: *Zenuarus / C[onstantius] / Asellus*

Translation: Zenuarus / Constantius / Asellus

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 745

Image: 2 nude boxers, and a *lanista* with branch in hand

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2D/G4

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7018b; Morey 1959, no. 27; Vopel 1899, no. 52.



**C.184 Inscription:** <FIGURE 11>

{central inscription, above the figures} **ZENVARVS**  
{next to the boxer on the left} **AS**  
**EL**  
**LV**  
**S**

{to the right of the R side boxer} **CON(s)**

**TA**  
**NT**  
**IV**  
**S**

Transcription: *Zenuarus / Asellus / Con(s)tantius*

Translation: Zenuarus / Asellus / Constantius

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 202

Image: 2 nude boxers, and a *lanista* with branch in hand

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2B/G2C/G4

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7018a; Morey 1959, no. 28; Vopel 1899, no. 53.

**C.185 Inscription: SEVINO**

Transcription: *Sevino*

Translation: For Sevinus

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 358

Image: Nude male figure (athlete?)

Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2D

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 119.

**C.186 Inscription:** {inscription within the border} **STRA TO NI CAE BEN E VICISTI**  
**VADE IN AVRE LI A**

{inscription outside the border} **PIE ZESE S**

Transcription: *Strato nicae bene vicisti vade in Aurelia /*  
*Pie zesēs*

Translation: Strato, may you conquer! You conquered well, go in Aurelia! / Drink, may you live!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BM Inventory #:

Image: *Retiarius*

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G1C/G1Z/G2A/G2D/G3

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7041; Morey 1959, no. 302; Smith 2000, p. 126; Vopel 1899, no. 56.

**C.187 Inscription: AOY ITE ΠIeZHCEC**

Transcription: *Aouite pie zesēs*

Translation: Avitus, drink, may you live!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: CMOG Inventory #:

Image: A charioteer leading a horse

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2A/G2D

Bibliography: Whitehouse 1997, vol. 2, no. 839

**C.188 Inscription: VINCENTI NIKA  
IMBICTUS**

Transcription: *Vincenti nika / Imbictus*  
Translation: Vincentius, conquer! / Invictus  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: TMA Inventory #: 67.11  
Image: A charioteer leading a horse  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1Z/G2B/G2D  
Bibliography: Noll 1973, fig. 1

**C.189 Inscription: VINCENT[.]NIKA  
FANESTRO**

Transcription: *Vincent[.] [N]ika Fanestro*  
Translation: Vincentius, conquer with Fanestrus!  
Provenance: Not recorded I  
Location: VKM Inventory #:  
Image: A charioteer leading a horse  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1Z/G2B/G2D  
Bibliography: Noll 1973, fig. 2

Inscriptions accompanying miscellaneous figural representations:

**C.190 Inscription: [.]VASMVLTIANNIS  
ZESES**

Transcription: *[V]vas multis annis zeses*  
Translation: May you live for many years!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 196  
Image: Frontal (female?) figure, tripod  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z/G4  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7048; Morey 1959, no. 13; Vopel 1899, no. 86.

**C.191 Inscription: DVLCIS ANIMA PIE ZESSES  
VIVAS {leaf two sprays}**

Transcription: *Dulcis anima pie zeses vivas*  
Translation: Dear soul, drink, and may you live, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 243  
Image: Female orant  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1C/G1PZ  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 48; Vopel 1899, no. 433.

**C.192 Inscription: DEDALI ISPESTVA PIE ZESSES**

- X. Transcription: *Dedalii spes tua pie zeses*  
[C.179] Translation: Dedalius, your hope, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 345  
Image: Frontal male figure in centre, flanked by 6 figures on each side engaged in shipbuilding and carpentry, Athena to the top right  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1PZ/G1Z/G2A/G2D/G4  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7025; Morey 1959, no. 96.

## IMAGE CATEGORY 4: MISCELLANEOUS IMAGES

### INSCRIPTIONS ACCOMPANYING MISCELLANEOUS IMAGES:

- C.193 Inscription: ASINVS**  
Transcription: *Asinvs*  
Translation: Asinus  
Provenance: Cemetery of Ponzianus  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 357  
Image: Ass  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 34; Vopel 1899, no. 148.
- C.194 Inscription: ANAS TAS I P IEZ E SES**  
Transcription: *anastasi pie zesēs*  
Translation: Anastasius, drink, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 223  
Image: 2 semicircular registers lions flanking the Torah-shrine, which contains scrolls, at bottom are 2 Menorahs a vase and palm branch  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 114; Vopel 1899, no. 161.
- C.195 Inscription: [.]NIMADV[...]**  
Transcription: *[A]nima dulcis*  
Translation: *Dear soul*  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 239  
Image: Torah-shrine on pedestal with menorah and scriptures  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 115; Vopel 1899, no. 493.
- C.196 Inscription: {on three sides, within a court} ΟΙΚΟCIPH[--] CΛΑ ΒΕΕVΛΟΓΙΑ  
{circular, to the R of the court} Cω ΠΑΝTΩN [----]**  
Transcription: *Oikos irē[nē]s labe eulogia(n) Sō(n) pantōn[----]*  
Translation: House of peace, take the praise/blessing of all things/or with all who are yours  
Provenance: Cemetery of SS  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 479  
Image: Rectangular court with colonnade; inside this is a temple, a menorah, a vase, and 3 jars  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1AG1Z/G3  
Bibliography: *CIJ*, I, Europe, 515, pg. 377ff.; Morey 1959, no. 116; Smith 2000, pp. 139-140; Vopel 1899, no. 159.
- C.197 Inscription: [----][.]LORUS**  
Transcription: *[----][F]lorus*  
Translation: ...Florus  
Provenance: CE  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 776  
Image: Portion of a scroll  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2C/G3A/G3B

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 122; Vopel 1899, no. 398.

**C.198 Inscription: HODOR SVAVIS** <FIGURE 16>

Transcription: *Hodor Suavis*

Translation: Sweet smell

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: BAV Inventory #: 452

Image: Plant with fruit

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B?/G1Z

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7058; Morey 1959, no. 186; Vopel 1899, no. 460.

**C.199 Inscription:** {different names inscribed on the various coins}

{beside female head R} **VG**

**FAVST[...]**

**AVREL**

{on the centre coin} **PIVS**

**ROMA**

{circular inscription on the perimeter} **[...]IXVIVASCVMTVIS**

**OMN[...]**

Transcription: *[A]ug / Faust[ina] / Aurel / Pius / Roma /*

*[Fel]ix vivas cum tuis omn[ibus]*

Translation: Augusta / Faustina / Aurelius / Pius / Rome / Happy may you live with all of your relations!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: PMA Inventory #:

Image: Heap of coins; coin in the centre has an image of a filleted head while 2 others show F heads

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1D/G2B/G2D/G3

Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7026; Morey 1959, no. 290; Vopel 1899, no. 458.

**C.200 Inscription: KONIAIAKAIΛ ECTIN AΠIEZHCEC**

Transcription: *Konilia Kailestina, pie zeses*

Translation: Cornelia Caelestina, drink, may you live!

Provenance: Not recorded

Location: PPP Inventory #:

Image: Hut with sheep emerging from the top and a flying dove with a branch in its mouth

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2A/G2C

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 410; Vopel 1899, no. 60.

**C.201 Inscription: AVXANONANIMADVLCIS**

**PIEZESES**

Transcription: *Auxanon anima dulcis pie zeses*

Translation: Auxanon, dear soul, drink, may you live!

Provenance:

Location: CRGM Inventory #: 6254

Image: Menorah and lulab

Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G1C/G1Z

Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 426.

**C.202 Inscription: BAEATVS**

Transcription: *Baeatus*

Translation: Baeatus  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: VKM                      Inventory #: 1178  
Image: Horse and a palm branch  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 443; Smith 2000, p. 125.

- C.203**    **Inscription:** [----]IBIBASCVMEVLOGIACOR P[----]                      <FIGURE 17>  
Transcription: [----]i bibas cum eulogia corp[----]  
Translation: ...may you drink with praise...  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MET                      Inventory #: 18.145.1 a, b  
Image: Two registers; one with Torah shrine, circular cake, menorah and scroll;  
the other with drapery and cushions around the table  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G1Z/G4  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 458; Vopel 1899, no. 163.

### GLASSES WITH INSCRIPTIONS ONLY

- C.204**    **Inscription:**        **MELITI**  
                                      **DVLCIS**  
                                      **ANIMA**  
Transcription: *Meliti dulcis anima*  
Translation: Melitius, dear soul  
Provenance: Vineyard of the English College in Rome  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 256  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7034; Morey 1959, no. 20; Vopel 1899, no. 15.

- C.205**    **Inscription:**        **CENAB**  
                                      **ENANTIET**  
                                      **CLAVDIANI**  
                                      **QVISECORO**  
                                      **NABERIN**  
                                      **BIBAN**  
Transcription: *Cena Venanti et Claudiani qui se coronaberin(t) biban(t)*  
Translation: Dinner of Venantius and Claudianus, who have crowned  
themselves, may they drink!  
Provenance: Catacomb of Saint Callixtus  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 192  
Image: Decorative wreath below the inscription  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G1Z/G2B/G2D/G3  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7043; Morey 1959, no. 21; Smith 2000, p.148; Vopel  
1899, no. 5.

- C.206 Inscription: VITA  
TIBI**  
Transcription: *Vita tibi*  
Translation: Life to you!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 362  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7060; Morey 1959, no. 22; Vopel 1899, no. 27.
- C.207 Inscription: LVCPIEZE  
SESCVMTVI[.]**  
Transcription: *Luci pie zeses cum tui[s]*  
Translation: Lucius, drink and may you live with your relations!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 486  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1PZ/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: *CIL* XV, II, I, 7032; Morey 1959, no. 23; Vopel 1899, no. 13.
- C.208 Inscription: VALERI  
BIBE**  
Transcription: *Valeri bibe*  
Translation: Valerius, drink!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 744  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 24; Vopel 1899, no. 7.
- C.209 Inscription: AVS  
ONIO  
RVM**  
Transcription: *Ausoniorum*  
Translation: Of/belonging to the Ausonii  
Provenance: Catacomb of Domitilla  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 0020  
Image: No image / inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 129; *CIL* XV, II, I, 7023; Vopel 1899, no. 4
- C.210 Inscription: [.]ΑΠΙΔΙ**  
Transcription: *(Ē)lpidi*  
Translation: For Elpis  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV Inventory #: 2113  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 170.
- C.211 Inscription: DIGN  
ITAS**  
Transcription: *Dignitas*

Translation: Honour  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 207  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 175; Vopel 1899, no. 30.

**C.212 Inscription:    POTITA  
                              PROPINA**

Transcription: *Potita Propina*  
Translation: Drink up, Toast!  
Provenance: Catacomb of Saint Callixtus  
Location: BAV                      Inventory #: 476  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 184; *CIL* XV, II, I, 7039; Smith 2000, p. 148;  
Vopel 1899, no. 18

**C.213 Inscription:    ΓΛΥΚΙ  
                              ΤΑΥΤΑ  
                              ΤΑΤΕ**

Transcription: *Gluki tauta tate*  
Translation: dearest one, these things (to you)  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: CT                      Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C/G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 202; Smith 2000, p. 150.

**C.214 Inscription:    D V L  
                              C I S**

Transcription: *Dulcis*  
Translation: Dear  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: CT                      Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1C  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 203.

**C.215 Inscription:    VIVAS**

Transcription: *Vivas*  
Translation: May you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: CT                      Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 204.

**C.216 Inscription:    CANTAB  
                              RIVIVAS**

Transcription: *Cantabri vivas*  
Translation: Cantabrian, may you live!  
Provenance: Not recorded

Location: CT                      Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 209.

- C.217 Inscription:     ZHCAIC  
                              AΛΥΠΩC  
                              ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ**  
Transcription: *Zēsais alupōs dia biou*  
Translation: May you live painlessly through life!!  
Provenance: CN  
Location: *in situ*                      Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z/G2A/G2C?/G2Z?  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 227.

- C.218 Inscription:     PROCVLEIAN  
                              E GAUDEAS**  
Transcription: *Proculeiane gaudeas*  
Translation: Proculeianus, may you rejoice!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OAM                      Inventory #: 5602  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 230.

- C.219 Inscription:     IVLIA  
                              FRVCTA  
                              BIBE**  
Transcription: *Iulia Fructa bibe*  
Translation: Julia, Fructa, drink!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: OAM                      Inventory #: 5181  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 233.

<FIGURE 42>

- C.220 Inscription:     VITA TIBI**  
Transcription: *Vita tibi*  
Translation: Life to you!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: VMC                      Inventory #: 4564  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 275.

- C.221 Inscription:     [I]NNI  
                              BONI**  
Transcription: *Anni Boni*  
Translation: (May you have/ these are) Good Years  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM                      Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only



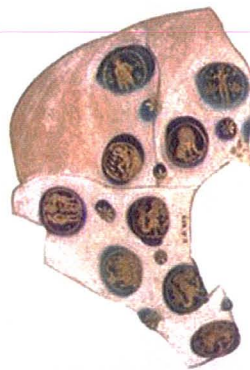
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 304; Vopel 1899, p. 85, fig. 9.

- C.222 Inscription: VIT  
A**  
Transcription: *Vita*  
Translation: Life  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: BM Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 332; Vopel 1899, no. 28.
- C.223 Inscription: ANNI  
BONI**  
Transcription: *Anni boni*  
Translation: (May you have/ these are) good years  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PPP Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1A/G1Z  
Bibliography: *CIL* XL, II, I, 7055; Morey 1959, no. 409.
- C.224 Inscription: A M E  
B I B E**  
Transcription: *Ame bibe*  
Translation: Ame, drink!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: PPP Inventory #:  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G1Z/G3  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 419.
- C.225 Inscription: APBAK  
ΤΙΠΙΕ**  
Transcription: *Arbakti Pie*  
Translation: Arbaktis, drink!  
Provenance: Not recorded  
Location: MET Inventory #: 16.174.I  
Image: No image/ inscription only  
Inscription Group/subgroup: G1B/G2A/G2D  
Bibliography: Morey 1959, no. 445; Smith 144; Vopel 1899, no. 1.

## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Figure 1.** Gold-glass medallion, BMCr, after Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, p. 198, fig.11.



**Figure 2.** Blobbed vessel, CRGM, after Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, no. 189 a-b.



**Figure 3.** [C.150] Gold-glass with Achilles on Skyros, PMA, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 284.



**Figure 4.** [C.151] Gold-glass with Adam and Eve, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VIII, no. 47.



**Figure 5.** [C.152] Gold-glass with the Sacrifice of Isaac, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XII, no. 71.



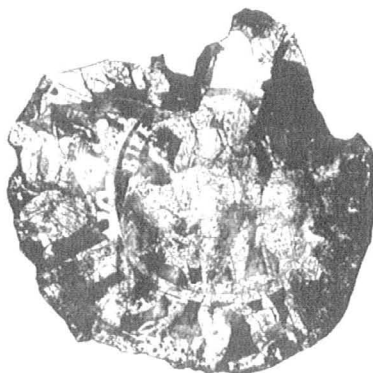
**Figure 6.** [C.155] Gold-glass with Jonah cast overboard to whale, PML, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXIII, no. 407.



**Figure 7.** [C.40X165] Gold-glass with Old and New Testament scenes, MET, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 448.



**Figure 8.** [C.156] Gold-glass with Raising of Lazarus, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. V, no. 31.



**Figure 9.** [C.153X171] Gold-glass with Good Shepherd, CP, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIV, no. 224.



**Figure 10.** [C.183] Gold-glass with boxers, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 27.



**Figure 11.** [C.184] Gold-glass with boxers, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 28.



**Figure 12.** [C.182] Gold-glass with musician and prize crowns, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 25.



**Figure 13.** [C.175] Gold-glass with Venus and erotes, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. I, no. 10.



**Figure 14.** [C.178] Gold-glass with Eros playing *trogus*, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IV, no. 26.



**Figure 15.** [C.181] Gold-glass with Roma and Constantinople, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XV, no. 90.



**Figure 16.** [C.198] Line drawing of gold-glass with fruit and plant, BAV, after Pillinger 1984, pl. 53, fig. 119.



**Figure 17.** [C.203] Gold-glass with Torah shrine, MET, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 458.

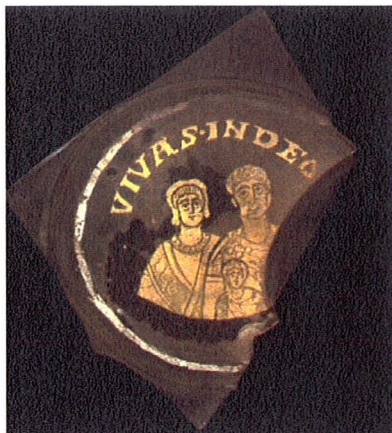




**Figure 18.** [C.36] Gold-glass with contemporary male portrait, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VII, no. 41.



**Figure 19.** *Liberalitas* scene from the Arch of Constantine, after Stone 1994, fig. 1.18.



**Figure 20.** [C.33] Gold-glass with family portrait, BNM, after Donati & Gentili (eds.) 2005, no. 109.



**Figure 21.** [C.5] Gold-glass with married couple, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XV, no. 93.



**Figure 22.** [C.24] Gold-glass with family portrait, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XV, no. 94.



**Figure 23.** [C.42] Gold-glass with female portrait bust, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. I, no. 2.



**Figure 24.** [C.17] Gold-glass with couple performing *dextrarum iunctio*, MET, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXVI, no. 447.



**Figure 25.** [C.14] Gold-glass with married couple and Christ, PBN, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXIII, no. 397.

MA Thesis - Katherine L. Lutraan  
 Department of Classics – McMaster University



**Figure 26.** [C.12] Gold-glass with Orfitus and Constantia, BM, after Harden 1987, pg. 280, no. 155.



**Figure 27.** [C.21] Gold-glass with married couple and eros figure, BM, after Harden 1987, pg. 281, no. 156.



**Figure 28a.** [C.9X96] Gold-glass with Festa, Fidelis, and the saints, FMN, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 240.

**Figure 28b.** [C.9X96] Line drawing (reversed) of gold-glass with Festa, Fidelis, and the saints, FMN, after Pillinger 1984, pl. 92, fig. 210 (after Garrucci 1864, pl. 19, fig. 7).



**Figure 29.** [C.13X163] Gold-glass with married couple surrounded by biblical scenes, OPH, after Morey 1959, pl. XXXI, no. 366.



**Figure 30.** [C.29] Gold-glass with family portrait, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 315.



**Figure 31.** [C.32] Gold-glass with family portrait, MDR, after Migotti 2002, fig. 7.



**Figure 32.** [C.27] Gold-glass with family portrait, PMA, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVIII, no. 289.



**Figure 33.** [C.49] Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. IX, no. 56.



**Figure 34.** [C.62] Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XIX, no. 112.



**Figure 35.** [C.53] Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. X, no. 63.



**Figure 36.** [C.55] Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. X, no. 65.



**Figure 37.** [C.56] Gold-glass with Peter and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XI, no. 67.



**Figure 38.** [C.106] Gold-glass with portrait bust of Christ, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 305.





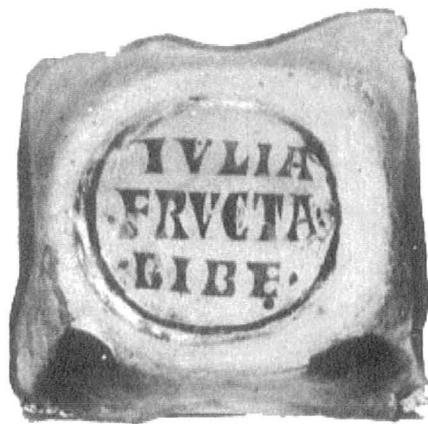
**Figure 39.** [C.118] Gold-glass with portrait bust of Christ, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 307.



**Figure 40.** [C.120] Gold-glass with portraits of Christ and saints, BM, after Harden 1987, pg. 284, no. 159.



**Figure 41.** [C.89] Gold-glass with Agnes, Peter, and Paul, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XIV, no. 83.



**Figure 42.** [C.219] Gold-glass with inscription only, OAM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXV, no. 233.



**Figure 43.** [C.157] Gold-glass with Raising of Lazarus (and diagonal 'S'), BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VII, no. 44.



**Figure 44.** [C.73] Gold-glass with Peter, Paul, and Christ, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 37.



**Figure 45.** [C.115] Gold-glass with portraits of the saints, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. XVIII, no. 105.



**Figure 46.** The Proiecta Casket, BM, after Shelton 1981, pl. 4 b.



**Figure 47.** Mosaic depicting servants pouring wine, Dougga, after Dunbabin 2003, fig. 88.



**Figure 48.** [C.79] Gold-glass with Peter, Paul, and Christ, FMN, after Morey 1959, pl. XXVI, no. 241.



**Figure 49.** [C.81] Biculius glass with portraits of Peter, Paul and Christ, BM, after Morey 1959, pl. XXIX, no. 314.



**Figure 50.** [C.140] Gold-glass with Saint Laurence, BAV, after Morey 1959, pl. VI, no. 40.

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