Peter in Early Christianity

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Edited by

Helen K. Bond and Larry W. Hurtado

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CHAPTER 18

Traces of Peter Veneration in Roman Archaeology

Peter Lampe

> "I can point to the *tropaia* [the victory monuments] of the apostles. You may go to the Vatican or to the road to Ostia."

This famous quote by the Roman anti-Montanist Gaius (in Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.25.7) from about 200 CE is often used to approach the question of whether the historical Peter was ever in Rome and suffered his martyrdom (John 21:18-19; 2 Pet. 1:14) there under Nero, as *1 Clement* 5.4; 6.1-2[1] already at the end of the first century CE appears to hold.[2] This study will ignore this lively debate and exclusively focus on another topic: What was the Roman Christians' Peter story as reflected in archaeological and iconographic documents? Which aspects were important for them, especially in funerary contexts, where the existential question of death and life was posed and most archaeological and iconographic vestiges of this kind are preserved?

1. *Poly plēthos* in *1 Clem.* 6.1 parallels *multitudo ingens* in Tacitus, *Ann.* 15.44.
2. See further Ignatius, *Rom.* 4.3.

The Vatican Excavation Site[3]

Starting backward with the latest Peter references before the construction of St. Peter's Basilica, Constantine's (or Constantius II's)[4] architects, together with the advising local Christians, were convinced that a small and modest edicula, leaning against a Red Wall and standing above a grave-covering slab, was the apostle Peter's burial site, because they planned to integrate it into the very apse of their basilica of St. Peter. They prepared to make the effort of building extensive earthworks and erecting large substructures because, given the location of the edicula, the basilica had to be built on an unfavorable incline. In order to obtain a level building plot, they had to remove one portion of the slope and fill in the other. In addition, they had to close down a neighboring necropolis with mausoleums. Their cost-benefit calculation presupposes a significant veneration for the apostle Peter at that time. For *them,* there was no doubt where Peter was buried.

When they started working, they created a loculus in Wall g beside the edicula and inserted the bones of a male individual into it.[5] Before doing this, they had taken these skeletal relics from (presumably) the grave underneath the edicula and had wrapped them in a red cloth with gold threads. The earth remaining on the bones matches the soil from underneath the edicula and Red Wall area.[6]

3. For the following, see, e.g., P. Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus: Christians at Rome in the First Two Centuries,* 6th ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2010), pp. 104-16; P. Testini, *Archeologia Cristiana: Nozioni Generali dalle Origini alla Fine del Secolo VI, Propedeutica, Topografia Cimiteriale, Epigrafia, Edifici di Culto,* 2nd ed. (Bari: Edipuglia, 1980), pp. 163-86.

4. 337-361 CE. At least the apse mosaic at St. Peter's was ordered by Constantius: e.g., R. Krautheimer, "A Note on the Inscription in the Apse of Old St. Peter's," *DOP* 41 (1987): 317-20; N. Henck, "Constantius ho Philoktistes?" *DOP* 55 (2001): 279-304, here pp. 283-84.

5. The bone fragments are from almost all body areas, including the head, which excludes an often-suspected transfer of the head to the Lateran. The bones that the twentieth-century excavators found underneath the edicula were not from one individual, which is not surprising, given that they most likely were not in situ but stray finds.

6. The few animal bones found together with the human skeletal remains in the Wall g loculus most probably were also taken from the grave underneath the edicula. The Vatican slopes had been used as animal pastures before graves were built; fragments of animal bones were part of the soil, as also the soil of the funerary precinct P shows, in which the edicula grave was located. After having taken the relics from the grave, the architects covered it with a heavy slab. A legitimate reason for violating a tomb by removing bones was risk of water damage, which Damasus attests for Vatican graves. For all relevant details, see E. Dassmann, reviewing M. Guarducci's and Kirschbaum's work in this respect (in E. Kirschbaum, *Die Gräber der Apostelfürsten: St. Peter und St. Paul in Rom,* 3rd ed. [Frankfurt: Sozietäts-Verlag, 1974], pp. 223-48). Guarducci pieced

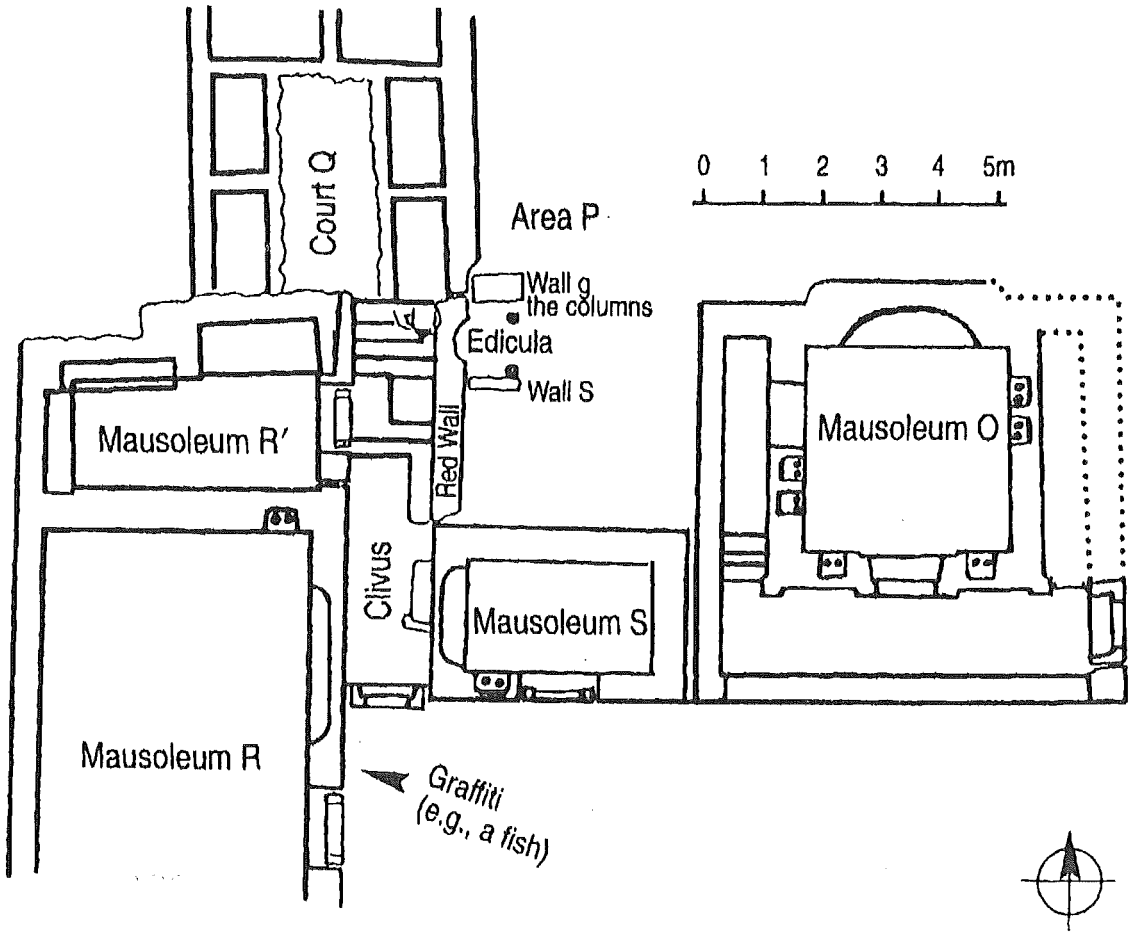

Fig. 1: Burial area P and its immediate surroundings on the Vatican hill

Subsequently, the architects drew a 2.6 meter (north-south) by about 1.5 meter (east-west) rectangle around the edicula, Wall g, and part of the Red Wall in order to encapsulate this complex into a marble-lined "box" of at least 2.6 meters in height. A larger almost 7-by-7-meter square was marked by magnificent ancient white marble columns and barriers between them, decorating and protecting the marble shrine. A baldachin resting on the columns spans above it.[7] Considering these activities, there is no doubt that the fourth-century architects were of the opinion that the skeletal remains in the Wall g loculus were St. Peter's.

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the here-reported archaeological, geological, and paleoanthropological details into a theory, according to which these bones of a single man were indeed the authentic Peter relics — which, however, remains nothing but a possibility. Even if the bones of the loculus were taken from the grave underneath the edicula, which is most likely but not certain, nothing can "prove" that the edicula grave indeed was Peter's grave from Neronian times.

7. For a detailed description of the Constantine shrine, see Kirschbaum, *Gräber,* pp. 50-59, with figs. 6-7, 9, and table 10.

In the preceding *third* century, the edicula was partially clad in marble, and the flooring around it (i.e., the floor of the little open-air graveyard "P") was leveled and decorated with mosaics. In the same century, a few Christians also began to bury their beloved ones in the magnificent mausoleums of the necropolis immediately to the east of the venerated apostle grave. Exclusively pagan well-to-do families had built and used these mausoleums in the second century. This changed in the course of the third century. The small mausoleum M of the *Iulii,* for instance, depicts both pagan and Christian motifs. The latter include Jonah being thrown overboard and Christ posing as Sol Invictus in a carriage drawn by horses. Whether the scene of a man fishing alludes to Peter and a Good Shepherd, originally a pagan motif, hints at Christ (John 10:11) or even Peter (John 21) remains elusive. Christians were still shy about displaying their faith openly. Another Christian trace in these mausoleums, this time directly referring to Peter, is preserved in the magnificent once-pagan mausoleum H of the Valerii, just 20 meters from the venerated Petrine tomb. It is an epigraph[8] from around 300 CE, in any case from the time before the Constantine basilica was built:

PETRVS ROGA (Tau-Rho ligature or *ankh* symbol) X (ih)S
PRO SANC(tis)
HOM(ini)B(vs)
CHRE[sic]STIAN(is ad)
CO(r)PVS (t)VVM SEP(vltis)

Peter, pray to Christ Jesus
for the holy Christian people
who are buried at your body.

Although the details of the reading are much debated, because the letters drawn in red lead color and done over with black carbon paint have almost faded away, the basic theological idea is apparent: Peter praying to Christ is conceived as intercessor for the Christians resting close to his remains. The same concept also inspires the numerous contemporaneous graffiti under S. Sebastiano (below).

In the middle or first half of the third century, the edicula area needed to be stabilized by a wall. On this so-called Wall g, visitors scribbled a plethora

8. See the edition by M. Guarducci, *Cristo e San Pietro in un documento precostantiniano della Necropoli Vaticana* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1953). Despite all disputes about the graffito, "Petrus roga" is clearly readable, showing the concept of Peter as intercessor.

of graffiti from (at the latest) the end of the third century onward. Visits here ceased when the graffiti wall was encapsulated by Constantine's basilica. The graffiti are so numerous that a web of lines confuses the observer, showing how frequently the place was visited. Usually the visitors wrote their own names or a name of a deceased beloved one, adding a wish for salvation. Many used a common cryptographic system,[9] also known from other pagan and Christian places in and outside of Rome, showing a taste for the mysterious and for the craftily concealed, which also permeated the rhetoric of imperial times,[10] and, of course, the mystery religions. Thus secrecy during the Diocletian persecution was not the only motivation — if it was a reason at all — for the Christian cryptography.

Differently from the more or less contemporaneous graffiti under S. Sebastiano, where the invoking PETRE is often used, Peter's name here is usually abbreviated as PE or PET, with PE frequently being merged into one ligature resembling a key.[11] The difference between the frequent PETRE invocations

9. For this, see M. Guarducci, *La Tomba di Pietro: Notizie antiche e nuove scoperte* (Rome: Editrice Studium, 1959), pp. 87-139. Often her interpretations, however, are difficult to prove — which is the methodological dilemma with cryptograms.

10. See P. Lampe, "Theological Wisdom and the 'Word About the Cross': The Rhetorical Scheme in I Corinthians 1–4," *Interpretation* 44 (1990): 117-31.

11. For the name of Peter abbreviated as P, PE (often as ligature), or PET' on Wall g, see Guarducci, *I Graffiti sotto la Confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1958), 1:411-78. If Guarducci is right in interpreting the single letters PE as Peter's name, then Peter is mentioned on numerous objects from the fourth and fifth centuries in the city of Rome, showing his popularity: not only funerary epigraphs (usually beside a Christ symbol), but also rings, public inscriptions (e.g., commemorating some construction work at the Coliseum), mosaics, game boards, domestic objects and Roman medals. PE, merged into one letter and then being a representation of a key, often thus becomes a symbol for good luck, like a charm. There does not seem to be a viable alternative to the Peter reading. If on epitaphs (such as in the Cyriaca Catacomb, figs. 32-33 in Guarducci, *Tomba,* pp. 102-3) this key symbol beside a Christ symbol meant PETE instead of Peter, in the sense of "pray, Christ (for the deceased buried here, as their heavenly intercessor)," then fig. 32 (Guarducci, *Tomba,* pp. 102-3) in which both the key symbol and the Christogram are decorated underneath by their own palm twig, the symbol of martyrdom, would be inexplicable. The Peter interpretation, therefore, seems more viable even on epitaphs, not just on rings and game boards. G. F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine,* 2nd ed. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2003), pp. 259-63, categorically denies that a Peter veneration or a "cult" was expressed on Wall g. He does not even try to explain (1) the P, PE, and PET letters or (2) the fact that Christians commemorated their beloved ones on Wall g (see the examples below) exactly at the site of a tomb that at that time people identified as Peter's; such commemorations were only done at places of cultic reverence (see below, n. 23). (3) Furthermore, the very existence of the graffiti witnesses a frequent pilgrimage to the tomb, which implies

under S. Sebastiano and the Peter abbreviations on Wall g could suggest different groups venerating at both places, both of whom developed their own styles.[12] On Wall g (and elsewhere in the catacombs, see note 11), PE is often closely connected with the Christ symbol, which underlines a close bond between the two, the one being the representative of the other after having received the keys (Matt. 16:18-20; for this, see further below).

In one of these graffiti, introduced by *a(d) Pet(rum),* "near Peter," that is, at the site of his tomb, a writer commemorates a *Leonia,* for whom he or she wishes life "among the living," *i(n) vi(vis) v(i)v(as) tu,* with a Chi-Rho Christogram showing the basis of such hope.[13] Other letters were inserted into this composition, among them the four letters NICA, expressing hope that Leonia will have eternal victory. Furthermore, the L of Leonia is a ligature of an L and the PE key symbol.

Margherita Guarducci invested a great deal of work into deciphering the graffiti, sometimes stretching the imagination too far. The graffito commemorating Verus, Bonifatia, Venerosa, and Vea[14] shows a Christogram flanked by the letters A and P, which she interprets as "ad Petrum." But this could just mean "life" and "peace" *(pax).* She herself at other places interprets a singular letter A as "life." In Revelation 22:13, the returning Christ is styled Alpha and Omega, as the all-encompassing *arche* and *telos.* As "beginning," Guarducci argues, he represents a new beginning and life. Alternatively, however, it would be easier to interpret the A as *anastasis,* with Greek — besides Latin — still being well known in Roman Christianity at that time.[15]

More convincing is Guarducci's suggestion that the second Christogram above the name of Venerosa in the same graffito includes an allusion to the close union of Christ and Peter, with the Rho of the Christogram also func-

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veneration. (4) Snyder is also unimpressed by the "Petrus roga" in the Valerii mausoleum, which implies a heavenly intercessor role. Snyder's Protestantism seems to have caused a bias, and his general denigration of Guarducci's work — as a search for "Catholic piety" on Wall g and as a "labor of love" of "little scientific" value (p. 263) — is undeserved. Although many of her readings need to be seen critically, this does not denigrate all of them.

12. In addition, the S. Sebastiano graffiti do not display any Christogram, contrary to the Vatican graffiti. This latter difference, however, could be due to the fact that the S. Sebastiano site was shut down at a time when the Vatican Wall g was still being scribbled on.

13. See Guarducci, *Tomba,* p. 109, with plates iv and ix.

14. In Guarducci, *Tomba,* pp. 113-15, with plates vi-vii, xi.

15. Although in the middle of the third century Latin became predominant in Roman Christianity, Greek was still known, with the inscriptions on the tombs of the Roman bishops still being in Greek in the third century. Not until the fourth century was Greek compulsorily abolished as the worship language (Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus,* pp. 143-44).

tioning as P, augmented by an E.[16] The also-extant A in this conglomerate means "life/resurrection." To make things even more complicated, the name MARIA is etched across all of this by a second hand (see the different R letters), illustrating how crowded the graffiti are.

Another graffito reads VV I A (*vivas* or *vivatis in the alpha,* that is, in Christ, or alternatively "in the resurrection"). A later hand combined this and another graffito by adding: I VIA SPECI (*in via speci,* with *speci* being a nonclassical genitive of *specus*). The new text then conveys: "Victor (and) Gaudentia, may you, (being) on the way to the crypt (of Peter), live in the alpha." Apparently in the early fourth century this couple was buried somewhere in the Vatican necropolis, which one passed when visiting the Petrine tomb. The proximity of their tombs to Peter's grave seemed important enough to be mentioned — as an assurance that salvation and life in Christ will indeed materialize. Peter again seems to have been perceived as an effective heavenly intercessor here.

A Greek graffito on the famous Red Wall behind the edicula reads,

ΠΕΤΡ...
EN I

Peter is in here (ENICTI=ENECTI) or, e.g.,
Peter in peace (EN IPHNH=EIPHNH),[17]

suggesting that Peter's remains were buried at the edicula site. The graffito predates Wall g as it was positioned where Wall g met the Red Wall.[18] It dates from between the construction of the Red Wall (around 160-180 CE)[19] and the

16. In Guarducci, *Tomba,* p. 115, with plates vi-vii, xi. Similarly, in a Christian seal of the S. Agnese Catacomb, for example, the Rho of the Christogram at the same time serves as P in the word SPES (fig. 202 in Guarducci, *I graffiti,* 1:396).

17. Guarducci's argument that nothing is missing after ENI, because ΠΕΤΡ[ΟC] in the line above, with its second part curving down, does not leave any room for other letters following ENI, does not hold. The "curving down" does not exist (see Dassmann, in Kirschbaum, *Gräber,* pp. 243-44, with fig. 56).

18. Guarducci dates the graffito to Constantinian times (contemporaneous to the above-mentioned loculus in Wall g). But this does not hold, as a second graffito from this location of the Red Wall also shows: it predates the loculus, because it was damaged by its construction (see Dassmann, in Kirschbaum, *Gräber,* pp. 243-44). Also, the Greek writing of both graffiti does not really fit the fourth century (see n. 15 above), especially in the context of all the Latin graffiti on Wall g, which Guarducci considers *older* than the *Petros eni* graffito. The opposite is the case. G. F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem,* p. 259, erroneously locates the graffito on Wall g.

19. Five tiles, covering the drainage of the Clivus, which was constructed together with

erection of Wall g (first half or middle of the third century). This means that Gaius of Rome, around 200 CE, wrote his testimony exactly within the time span in which this graffito was scratched into the red plaster. Thus there can hardly be any doubt which *tropaion* Gaius had in mind on the Vatican Hill, which means that the Constantinian architects based their construction plans on an old tradition that goes back to at least 200 CE. Alternatively, if the Gaius *tropaion* and the edicula grave had *not* been identical, two different monuments on the Vatican would have been venerated as Petrine tombs during the third century. We hear nothing of such a competition.

Even more can be said: If the excavated edicula site is identical with the *tropaion* Gaius had in mind, then *Christians* must have built the small edicula monument around 160-180 CE[20] to decorate the grave underneath. Otherwise pagans would have built it and Christians in the short time span before around 200 CE would have picked a recent pagan monument on the Vatican and arbitrarily converted it into a memorial to Peter — which seems more than unlikely.

The *Petros eni* inscription is located to the right of the edicula niche. In the published transcriptions of the epigraph a little detail was omitted: an oval above the first leg of the *Nyn* does not appear to be simply an irregularity of the plaster. The oval makes the first two legs of the *Nyn* look like the Egyptian *ankh,* the key of life (see fig. 2). If this meaning was intended, then this symbol might allude to Peter's key, thus inspiring the numerous later fusions of the Latin letters P and E into the key-shaped ligatures on Wall g in the immediate proximity of the *Petros eni* graffito.

Does the possible key-of-life symbolism have anything to do with another contemporaneous development? Around 200 CE (P66) as well as later in the third century (P75 and P45), copyists of New Testament papyri manuscripts (P66, 75, and 45) often wrote the word CTAYPOC and its derivates in an abbreviated form by omitting the diphthong AY and merging the Tau and Rho into one symbol. The result almost looks like an *ankh,* although the "eye" of the Rho is not centered above the Tau as in the *ankh* or in the Vatican graffito.

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the Red Wall, date from 147-161 CE. Even if they were reused from somewhere else, the Red Wall would hardly date from later than 160-180 CE.

20. The edicula with its two niches in the Red Wall, which clearly were *not* later alterations to this wall, was built simultaneously with the Red Wall. For this dating and the inconveniences that the pagan builders of the Red Wall created for the people who claimed the simple Petrine grave for themselves, see Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus,* pp. 105-8, incl. n. 7.

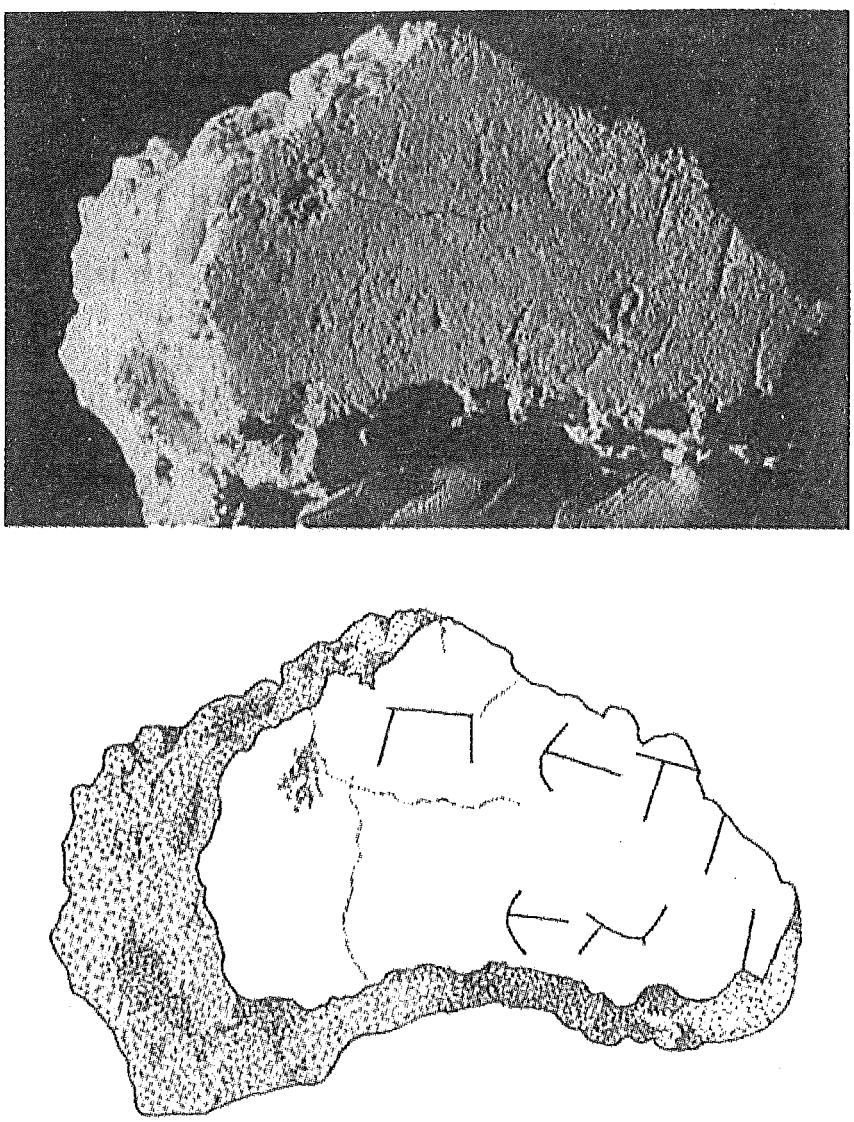

Fig. 2: *Petros eni* graffito

Nevertheless, the resemblance to the *ankh* hardly would have escaped the attention of the papyrus readers, who then would have concluded: in Christ's cross, the key to life can be found.[21] As the papyri copyists used the abbre-

21. For a photograph taken from P75, see L. W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), p. 237. For the *ankh* not only in the Armant inscription (fourth century or later) but also in other early Christian manuscripts since the fourth century, especially several Nag Hammadi texts, see Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts,* pp. 139-46. Hurtado rightly points out that the three papyri predate these Christian *ankh* usages. But, as we see now, they do not necessarily predate the Vatican graffito. This invites us to ask why copyists decided to abbreviate the word CTAYPOC in exactly the way they did — and not, e.g., as CTPC. Their abbreviation not only looked like a stick figure

viation independently from one another, one can reasonably assume that its invention dates back to the second century.[22]

While the Tau-Rho ligature's meaning is attached to the concept of the cross and its theological implications, the *ankh* in the Vatican Peter graffito seems to be unrelated. It rather appears to allude to the Petrine key, which opens access to heaven and life (Matt. 16:19). At the same archaeological site, the later Latin equivalent on Wall g, that is, the key symbol created by the ligature of P and E, also conveys this idea.

Moving to the *second* century, behind the Red Wall on the eastern external wall of the mausoleum R, just a few steps away from the Petrine tomb, someone scribbled in Greek: "L. Paccius Eutychos remembered Glykon." Usually such commemorating graffiti *(tituli memoriales)* were placed at important locations of cultic reverence or places of natural beauty.[23] Apparently, Eutychos — most probably a freedman of the gens Paccia — considered the Petrine tomb important enough to remember Glykon here, one of his friends or family. He must have been Christian because, for a pagan, this place would not have been of special cultic reverence or natural beauty. It is easy to imagine that Eutychos remembered Glykon by praying for him. Nearby, on the same wall, someone also drew an image of a fish. Guarducci[24] reasonably argues that these graffiti were scribbled *before* the Red Wall (built around 160 CE–180 CE) blocked access to the Petrine tomb from the south and from the alley of the necropolis. If Eutychos had wanted to visit the Petrine tomb *after* the construction of the Red Wall, he would not have passed by the mausoleum R. The latter was built between about 130 and 150 CE. Thus, already around the middle of the second century, people like Eutychos seemed to have visited and venerated the Petrine tomb. Since the edicula was built simultaneously with the Red Wall, Eutychos only saw a simple grave in the ground that Roman Christians believed to be Peter's.

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hanging on a Tau cross but also like the *ankh,* which might have made this abbreviation even more attractive than other options.

22. Parallel to the papyrological Tau-Rho ligature, the plain letter Tau (T) was used as a symbol of the cross. Its first Roman archaeological evidence dates from around 200 CE; it was combined with a fish *acrostichon* (dating from about 200 CE if not earlier) under S. Sebastiano; see Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus,* drawing and explanation, pp. v, 29. For the Tau cross in literary sources, see Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 3.22 from 207 CE. In addition, *Barnabas* 9.7-9; Justin, *1 Apol.* 55; Minucius Felix, *Oct.* 29.

23. *CIG* 2872, for instance, or at the Didyma Apollo sanctuary, e.g., no. 539 in Th. Wiegand and A. Rehm, *Didyma, II: Die Inschriften* (Berlin: Mann, 1958).

24. M. Guarducci, *Tomba,* pp. 129-43.

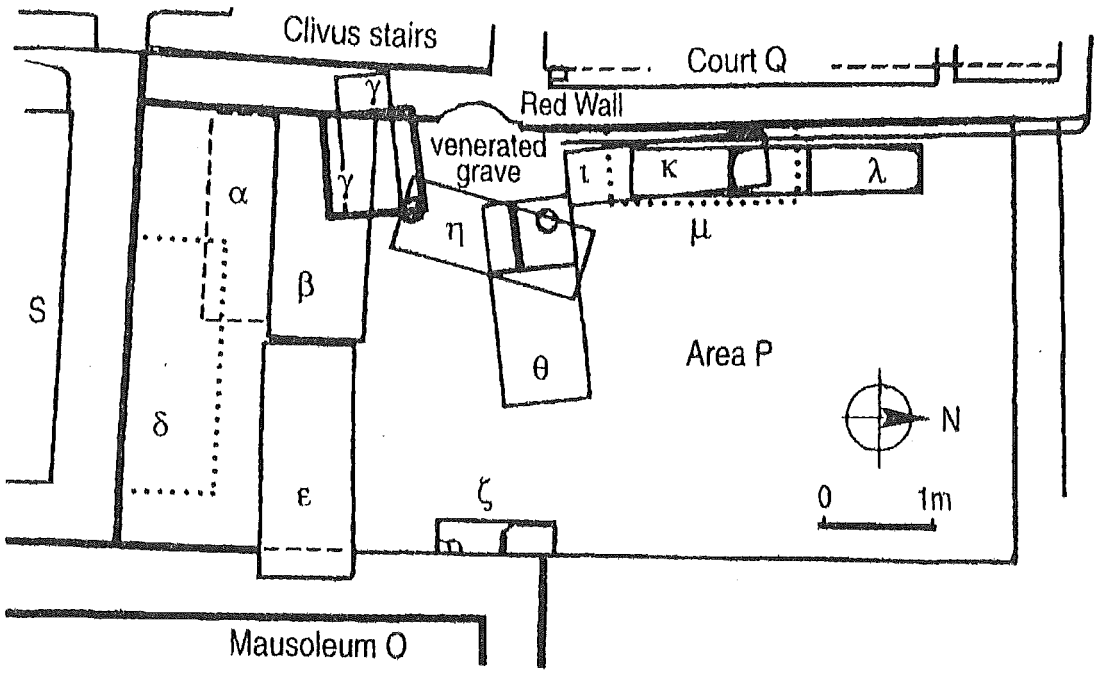

Fig. 3: Graves of burial area P

Veneration of this grave around the middle of the second century is also confirmed by another observation. Some people of the second and third centuries placed their graves close to the alleged Petrine one, but carefully avoided putting them on top of it or creating an overlap with it, while at the same time they did not care if their graves partly superimposed themselves on others. Apparently, these people, the owners of graves η, β, κ, and λ, treated the Petrine tomb differently from the other graves.

The second-century tombs that are immediately adjacent to the Petrine one and predate the Red Wall and edicula are graves γ, ι, θ, and η, with η being placed close to the Petrine grave without overlapping it but partly superimposing itself on γ and θ, so that a crowded cluster was created. It is thus plausible that η is Christian (whereas no viable clue is given for γ, ι, or θ).[25] So, already around the middle of the second century the family of η seemed convinced that

25. The axes of γ and θ are parallel to the axis of the Petrine grave, and ι lies almost at a right angle to that. Also pagan neighbors could have planned it this way. That γ had an altar-like brick top with a libation pipe running through, however, does not exclude Christianity. Still in the time of Augustine, Christians at gravesites held meals to the memory of the deceased, meals that looked "exactly like pagan superstition." The Christians brought wine with them. If several memorials were honored, each with a drink, the whole affair could end up a tipsy procession (*Conf.* 6.2). For further evidence for Christian libations in the third and fourth centuries, see Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus*, pp. 112-13.

the Petrine tomb was a special tomb, with burial close to it desirable.[26] Graves β, κ, and λ, postdating the Red Wall, crowded the cluster even more[27] either during the third century, when we also find Christian burials in the necropolis mausoleums (see above), or at the earliest at the end of the second century.[28]

With grave η, the fish graffito, and the Eutychos epigraph, we have the first archaeological clues that some people around the middle of the second century were convinced that the simple earth tomb, above which later the edicula and the Constantine basilica would be erected, was a special grave to be venerated. Before that time, there is no chance to trace the history of this grave. A DNA analysis and radiometric dating of the skeletal remains from the loculus in Wall g might reveal further clues.

The Peter and Paul Memoria under S. Sebastiano at the Via Appia

Under the basilica of S. Sebastiano, a small paved courtyard was excavated — with three adjacent loggias, that is, roofed open rooms at the west, north, and east sides. Frescoes of flowers, birds, and animals decorate the site, and a stone bench runs along the walls — an ideal, albeit modest, place for funerary banquets. However, no gravesites could be found — only a niche to the northwest, which might have contained at least some relics of one or more deceased to justify such *refrigeria.* Funerary banquets were indeed held here, as graffiti reveal. A close-by natural spring in a rock-cut chamber, reached by steps, provided water for such rituals.

The three hundred or so graffiti covering the walls show that the complex was built for a cult of the two apostle martyrs Peter and Paul. Their memory was cultivated here from the late 250s CE onward. The facility was built after an abandoned pit of tuff had been filled in around the middle of the third century. Earlier, *in* this pit — today *under* the site of the apostle cult — a graveyard with loculi and three pagan mausoleums had existed from the middle of the *second* century to the 240s CE.[29] This cemetery had been abandoned and the pit filled in so that the new complex could be built on top of it. The new cultic

26. Grave η was simple, but covered with a marble lid visible on the surface. Underneath this slab, a stone-mortar mixture was laid out. Simple brick tiles protected the corpse on the sides and above.

27. β was partly put on top of γ, κ partly on top of ι, and λ partly on top of κ and ι.

28. For the chronology of these seven graves, see Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus,* pp. 109-14.

29. See, e.g., Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus,* pp. 28-31 (with further literature).

structure was used for approximately sixty to seventy years until about 325 CE, when the basilica of S. Sebastiano, called the *Basilica Apostolorum,* was built above. The *memoria* site then was given up.[30]

The graffiti of this complex are pre-Constantinian, not displaying a single Christogram. One graffito writer reports that a funerary banquet in honor of the two apostles was held here probably in the year 260 CE.[31] In the graffiti, Christians invoke the two apostles for salvation. For example: *Paule ed Petre petite pro Victore:* "Paul and Peter, pray for Victor" or "pray for Rufus." "Peter and Paul, remember Antonius Bassus." In order to boost the effect of their invocations, the Christians accompanied them with banquets: "Near Paul and Peter I made a *refrigerium,*" "To Peter and Paul I, Tomius Celius, made a *refrigerium,*" and so on.[32]

The path to the concept of the martyrs Peter and Paul being heavenly intercessors between the believers and God — just like Christ, who because of his sacrifice officiates as intercessor in Hebrews (7:25: "He always lives to intercede for them") — had already been paved by *1 Clement,* claiming that after their martyrdom they already "went" to a "place of glory," to a "holy place" (*1 Clem.* 5.4, 7; cf. John 14:2; also Tertullian believed that martyrs such as Perpetua and her companions were immediately removed to paradise at their death: *Anima* 55; *De resurrectione* 43). The Greco-Roman idea behind this is that deceased Christians, respectively their souls, immediately after death are taken up to God, as not only Luke 23:43 but also the early Christian sarcophagus of Prosenes from 217 proclaims ("receptus ad Deum": *ICUR* 6.17246), followed by numerous other inscriptions dating from the late third to the fifth centuries.[33] Correspondingly, the depictions of *orantes* at gravesites imply that the deceased believers are immediately with God after death.[34] This also holds

30. See Kirschbaum, *Gräber,* p. 159. Most researchers argue for a Constantinian date of the basilica; see, e.g., U. Leipziger, *Die römischen Basiliken mit Umgang* (Ph.D. Diss., University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2006), p. 46.

31. Thus the dating of R. Marichal on the basis of consular dates, "La date des Graffiti de la Basilique de Saint Sébastien à Rome," *La Nouvelle Clio* 5 (1953): 119-20, here p. 119, which, however, was contested by M. Guarducci, "Due presunte date consolari a S. Sebastiano," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 28 (1955/1956): 190-95.

32. For the graffiti supplications, see A. Binsfeld, *Vivas in Deo: Die Graffiti der Frühchristlichen Kirchenanlage in Trier.* Kataloge und Schriften des Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseums Trier VII: Die Trierer Domgrabung, vol. 5 (Trier: Dommuseum, 2006).

33. A list can be found in J. Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab und Wort: Untersuchungen zu Jenseitsvorstellungen von Christen des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2010), p. 64 n. 133.

34. See Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* pp. 63-68. The *orans* usually represents the soul. Differ-

for the two apostles. But there is more to them, as *they* are now conceived as being able to intercede before God as heavenly mediators because of their martyrdom just like Christ.[35] Below we will see a similar juxtaposition of Christ's and Peter's and Paul's passions in the reliefs of the Iunius Bassius sarcophagus from the year 359. Here, at S. Sebastiano, some two to three generations earlier, in the aftermath of the Decian and Valerian persecutions, we witness the unfolding of a cult for interceding apostle saints distinguished by their blood offering — a cult that paved the way for the cults of other martyr saints.

How could the Via Appia cult for both apostles originate, given that by the middle of the third century, when the S. Sebastiano apostle *memoria* was established, each of the two apostles already had his own locus of veneration at the Vatican and at the Via Ostiensis, respectively, and that these other two cults continued[36] despite the new one at the Via Appia?

The Via Appia cult began in the year 258 CE, in the middle of the Valerian persecution, when the administration had closed the Christian cemeteries, preventing Christians from visiting their graves. Even after the persecution, the Via Appia cult existed continuously — even after the *memoria* site had been given up and the Basilica of S. Sebastiano built on top of it around 325 CE. Among the literary and epigraphic evidence, three documents are the most important. First, the *Chronograph of the Year 354* mentions an annual celebration on June 29 ("III. Kal. Jul.") for the apostle Peter — not for Paul — at the Via Appia in connection with the year 258, marking the beginning of such a cult: *Petri in Catacumbas et Pauli Ostense, Tusco et Basso cons.*, which is the year 258.[37]

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ently from Tertullian (*Anima* 55; *De resurrectione* 43), who limited an immediate heavenly existence to the martyrs, the *orantes* depictions show that also regular Christians were considered to be with God immediately after death.

35. For Peter's intercessor role at the Vatican site, especially in the Valerii mausoleum, see above.

36. See the archaeological evidence at the Via Ostiensis and at the Vatican. For early literary evidence of the Via Ostiensis Paul veneration, see again Gaius's testimony (above). For the Vatican, see also Eusebius, *De Theophania* 4.7: "even to this time," Peter's memory is "celebrated among the Romans . . . , worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city"; "great multitudes of the Roman Empire" make pilgrimages to it "like to a great asylum and temple of God," which in view of the archaeological evidence can only refer to the Vatican cult.

37. That the chronograph of 354 only mentions a celebration for Peter and not for Paul at the Via Appia contradicts the graffiti evidence from the second half of the third and early fourth centuries, but also the Damasus inscription and other sources to be mentioned below. The chronograph of 354 seems to have made a mistake with regard to Paul. Or did its author have a tradition that at first only Peter was venerated here for a very short time, before Pauline

Second, an only slightly later inscription of Pope Damasus (366-384 CE) in the basilica of S. Sebastiano reminds the visitor that once Peter *and* Paul had "stayed here" *(Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes/Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris . . .).*[38] The epigraph thus implies that, at the time of Damasus, no remains of the two apostles were present at the S. Sebastiano cemetery and its basilica.

Third, the so-called *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* documents that an annual June 29th celebration still existed in the fifth century in the *Basilica Apostolorum* at the Via Appia for both Peter *and* Paul, while it also states that each apostle was venerated at his own location as well, that is, at the Vatican and the Via Ostiensis, respectively.

It is highly unlikely that the *memoria* site ever hosted any bones of the martyr apostles. During the Valerian persecution the Christians were forbidden to enter their cemeteries, and those who did were killed, like the Roman bishop Sixtus II in 258 (see below). Thus, that Christians illegally intruded into the Vatican necropolis, violated the peace of a grave, took some or all of its bones, transported them across town at night, and started illegal activities in a new cemetery site at the Via Appia seems highly unlikely — especially in light of the negative finding that no archaeological evidence for a resting place of bones could be discovered at the site of the *memoria* or in its vicinity. The very fact that the *memoria* site was *not* a Christian cemetery made it possible for Christians to start a cult here during the Valerian persecution. Thus the old hypothesis of a *translatio ad catacumbas* — either of the entire skeletons or

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veneration — maybe still during the Valerian persecution — was added on? However, such a tradition would have not been echoed anywhere else in the extant sources. Ed. of the chronograph of 354: T. Mommsen, ed., *Auctores antiquissimi 9: Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII. (I),* Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin: Weidmann, 1892), p. 71; cf. more recently M. R. Salzman, "Kalender II (Chronograph von 354)," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 19 (2001): 1177-91.

38. The complete text of the Damasus epigraph was copied by a seventh-century pilgrim and was preserved in an Einsiedeln manuscript of the eighth century. Critical edition by A. Ferrua, *Epigrammata Damasiana: Recensuit et Adnotauit,* SSAC 2 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1942), no. 20. For its discussion see, e.g., H. Chadwick, "Pope Damasus and the Peculiar Claim of Rome to St. Peter and St. Paul," in *Neotestamentica et Patristica,* FS O. Cullmann (Leiden: Brill, 1962), pp. 313-18; M. Lafferty, "Translating Faith from Greek to Latin: Romanitas and Christianitas in Late Fourth-Century Rome and Milan," *JECS* 11 (2003): 21-62, especially pp. 41-43; J. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century,* Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), pp. 152-53; M. B. Rasmussen, "Traditio Legis — Bedeutung und Kontext," in *Late Antiquity — Art in Context,* ed. J. Fleischer et al., Acta Hyperborea 8 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2001), pp. 21-52, here pp. 33-34.

of single bones such as the skulls — is an unnecessary attempt to harmonize seemingly conflicting literary evidence.[39]

Nonetheless, the banquets at the *memoria* site clearly had a *funerary* character. One graffito, for example, reads, "Near Paul and Peter I made a *refrigerium.*" But what, according to ancient standards, justified the "near" and funerary banquets? The most plausible explanation of the "near" and of the "habitasse" in the Damasus inscription is that the Christians in the Valerian persecution had kept some contact relics from the tombs at the Vatican and the Via Ostiensis. The recent excavations at Paul's alleged tomb at the Via Ostiensis show slits in the Constantinian lid of this tomb into which pieces of cloth or other objects could be inserted to touch the venerated bodily remains. Furthermore, the niche at the *memoria* site (above) is a perfect location to keep such contact relics, to which one could be "close" when celebrating the banquets and invoking the apostles. In a parallel epigraph from 406 CE in the North African province Mauretania Caesariensis, Christian parents talk about their child being buried "near [*apud*] the saint apostles Peter and Paul."[40] Thus, even in North Africa you could be "near" these martyrs because of such relics.

All of this means that already in the middle of the third century some Christians believed not only that the apostle martyrs are with God, where they can intercede in favor of the believers — just as Christ does because of *his* death — but that they also can be spiritually present with humans at the same time, with this spiritual presence being objectified, or condensed, in objects of matter. The *hic habitasse* of the Damasus epigraph thus gains concrete meaning. This theological concept, which paved the way for the cult of martyrs and saints after the extensive persecutions of the third and early fourth centuries, however, had its theological price. The uniqueness of Christ's martyrdom, of

39. In addition to the literary sources mentioned above, see, e.g., the following two that seemed to have been influenced by the "habitasse" of the Damasus inscription in the basilica. A pilgrim guide of 638-642 CE suggests that the apostolic bones were present at the *memoria* site for forty years but brought back to the Vatican — thus, at the end of the third century, a few years before the Diocletian persecution began in 303 CE (*Epitome de locis sanctorum* [638-642 CE]: "there are the graves of the Apostles Peter and Paul where they lay for forty years"). Furthermore, according to the *Liber Pontificalis* 22, Cornelius took the bodies from the Via Appia back to the Vatican and the Via Ostiensis ("de Catacumbas levavit noctu"). For a critical discussion of still other, even less likely, hypotheses, see Kirschbaum, *Gräber,* pp. 208-10.

40. *CIL* 8.9715; *CIL* 8, p. 2034; *ILCV* 2186; cf. Y. Duval, *Loca sanctorum Africae: Le culte des martyrs en Afrique du IVe au VIIe siècle,* Collection de l'École Française de Rome 58 (Paris and Rome: École Française, 1982), 1:392-94, no. 185, with photo fig. 254; W. H. Frend, "The 'Memoria Apostolorum' in Roman North Africa," *JRS* 30 (1940): 32-49.

its salvific power and of Christ's resulting role as heavenly intercessor, was jeopardized.

Why did a Christian group[41] choose this particular location at the Via Appia? (1) Until the middle of the third century, the location had been a burial place, which had been given up and more or less "buried" (see above). This mainly pagan cemetery, however, had already seen an occasional Christian presence. One Christian vestige, a graffito from about 200 CE, drawn into the fresh plaster, showed a Tau cross inserted into a fish *acrostichon.*[42] It is possible — nothing more — that descendents of the graffito author had something to do with those Christians who in 258 CE owned the place and had the modest *memoria* structure built. (2) More importantly, the Via Appia location was three miles away from the city in the countryside, where activities might have been less controllable. The Valerian administration had prohibited Christians from visiting their graves, for example, the Vatican necropolis and the burial place at the Via Ostiensis. Therefore, some kind of cultic alternative had to be found. A site in the countryside not used as a Christian cemetery seemed a reasonable choice. Once installed, this cult continued even after the Valerian persecution, as the plethora of graffiti shows. As contact relics warranted a materially condensed spiritual presence of the saints, there was no reason to give up the funerary banquets there. (3) On the contrary, as a pragmatic reason, for pilgrims the S. Sebastiano *memoria* was a very short walking distance to the Callisto Catacomb, in which — since the early third century — not only Christians of lower means had been interred with the support of the Roman bishops, but also the Roman bishops themselves had been laid to rest since 236, when bishop Anteros was buried there and a special crypt for the Roman bishops was established. (4) Access to this episcopal crypt was forbidden during the Valerian persecution, and those who violated this interdiction were killed, such as bishop Sixtus II,[43] who tried to visit the crypt and pay tribute to

41. Because pre-Constantinian Roman Christianity was fractionated, consisting of numerous different groups, one cannot automatically surmise that the *same* groups had their Peter cults at the Vatican *and* at the Via Appia, or that *all* Roman Christian groups endorsed the cult at the Via Appia. The different styles of the S. Sebastiano and Vatican graffiti, the latter not spelling out, e.g., the entire name of Peter (see above), seem to suggest different groups. See further Lampe, *From Paul to Valentinus,* pp. 357-408.

42. See n. 22 above.

43. Migne, *PL* 13.383-84 (Carmen X), falsely attributed to Bishop Stephen. As vivid homage to Sixtus II, the martyr bishop of the Valerian persecution, Bishop Damasus in the fourth century illustrated Sixtus's martyrdom in a poetic inscription at his tomb in the Callisto Catacomb.

his predecessors. He therefore was executed in the same year that the apostle *memoria* was established (258 CE) and laid to rest in this crypt. Thus, if Christians still wanted to venerate Peter cultically in the year 258, they had to avoid cemeteries, go to the less supervised countryside, take some contact relics with them, and, in addition, be in the neighborhood of Peter's successors as well. Guarducci, who also suggested that the proximity of the Callisto Catacomb played a role in choosing the S. Sebastiano location, overlooked an important detail concerning the perception of what a Roman bishop was for the Roman Christians at that time. Bishop Stephen, who had died only one year before in 257 CE, had related Matthew 16:18 to himself and openly propagated that he held "the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid" (Cyprian, *Ep.* 74.17), implying that the church foundations were now resting on the Roman bishop. Thus, being in the vicinity of the Roman bishops' tombs already at that time meant to be close to representatives of Peter and his authority. Guarducci also overlooked an interesting coincidence: in the last third of the fourth century, sometime after the death of Roman bishop Liberius in 366 CE, a fresco in the Pretestato Catacomb was painted in which Peter and Paul are depicted together with Sixtus II. This is the *only* catacomb painting that shows Peter together with a Roman bishop.[44] This might be pure chance. But it parallels the coincidence of events in the year 258: those Christians who wanted to continue their veneration and invocation of Peter and Paul at the Via Appia also experienced the martyrdom of the current representative of Peter, Sixtus II, which made for a special association between the two martyr apostles and this Roman bishop.

Catacomb Fresco Iconography

An overview and a quantitative summary of images of Peter in the catacomb frescoes are displayed in the appendix to this essay, tables 1 and 2. Several results are striking when looking at these tables.

1. While Peter can be depicted without Paul, the apostle from Tarsus almost exclusively appears together with Peter, which shows a preference for Peter. A total of ten (or maybe eleven) frescoes depicting Paul are countered by a total of eighteen Peter frescoes.

44. See table 1 below, pp. 309-13. Peter and Sixtus II are shown on the same *sottarco* of an *arcosolium* — together with Paul. A separate fresco of the same *arcosolium* portrays Bishop Liberius (352-366 CE).

Not counted in these figures are seven fresco depictions of Peter as a martyr sheep or — one time — as a dove.[45] In these incidents Peter and Paul appear as an animal couple, usually (six times) flanking Christ, who is represented by either a sacrificial lamb (three times; one time with a nimbus), a Christogram, a cross, or a tree of life. The Roman *martyr pair* Peter and Paul has been a standard motif since *1 Clement* (5.4; 6.1-2) and Gaius (in Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.25.7). Apart from the catacomb frescoes, it reoccurs on glass objects[46] or on a medallion.[47]

2. The fresco showing Peter, Paul, and Sixtus II together (table 1) needs further interpretation: for mourning families, it apparently was consoling to know that the three prominent martyr saints, Peter, Paul, and Sixtus, who had conquered fear of death, surrounded their beloved deceased. Correspondingly, on other frescoes, Peter — either alone (two times) or together with Paul (two times) — is depicted together with an image of a buried person. Of the thirty-five[48] images of deceased persons in the Roman catacombs, 11.5 percent were accompanied by Peter, while only 5.7 percent[49] by Paul. We also saw the attempt to be close to Peter in death on the Vatican Hill, where several families tried to bury their beloved close to the apostle's grave.

3. Twice Peter's denial is shown at a tomb in different catacombs. What moved families to choose this motif? Had the deceased at one time in life, possibly during the Diocletian persecution,[50] denied Christ and hoped to be mercifully accepted by Christ as Peter had been, despite his failures? The Peter figure in catacomb frescoes was a subject of identification not only as someone who had to face the cruelty of death but also as someone who after repeated failures had received undeserved grace and forgiveness. One of the denial illustrations, a fourth-century, maybe even early-fourth-

45. This interpretation is supported by a parallel fresco in Commodilla (5), where Christ and the twelve apostles are represented as twelve doves flanking a dove with a nimbus.

46. E.g., on a glass fragment with Peter and Paul flanking a Constantinian Christogram with wreath (fourth century; photo: Guarducci, *Tomba,* p. 157, fig. 47) or on a glass plate with a martyr crown (Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library; photo: F. Mancinelli, *Katakomben und Basiliken: Die ersten Christen in Rom* [Florence: Scala, 1981], p. 5).

47. Third century, Domitilla Catacomb (Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library; photo: Guarducci, *Tomba,* p. 156, fig. 46).

48. See list in A. Nestori, *Repertorio Topografico delle Pitture delle Catacombe Romane,* 2nd ed. (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1993), p. 193.

49. Only the aforementioned two times, together with Peter.

50. Cf. similarly F. Bisconti, "Pietro e Paolo: L'invenzione delle Imagini, la Rievocazione delle Storie, la Genesi delle Teofanie," in *Pietro e Paolo: La Storia, il Culto, la Memoria nei Primi Secoli,* ed. A. Donati (Milan: Electa, 2000), p. 48.

century,[51] fresco above a woman's tomb in the Cyriaca Catacomb (see table 1), was accompanied by an image of the manna miracle — as an illustration of God's grace. The other Petrine denial scene with a crowing cock on a column can be found in the Commodilla Catacomb cubiculum of an *officialis annonae* named Leo, dating from the second half of the fourth century, with its frescoes having been painted in the 370s/380s CE.[52] Both deceased could have experienced a "denial" on his or her own sometime in life; for the deceased woman in the Cyriaca Catacomb this may even have taken place in her youth during the Diocletian persecution, which did not end until the year 311 CE. Likewise, the reliefs of three early sarcophagi, one dating from the first quarter of the fourth century and two from the second, show the cock of denial between Peter and Christ, who, holding a scroll, commissions Peter.[53] At least for Epiphanius (*Pan.* 4.7.7-9), Peter was a symbol of Christ's forgiveness particularly for the repenting *lapsi* of the persecution in the early fourth century.

That only two roosters associated with Peter's denial occur in the frescoes, while more than fifty appear on the sarcophagi (tables 1 and 3 below), will be explained in connection with the sarcophagi reliefs. However, one reason can already be given now: Leo, the Roman official, acts like upper-class sarcophagi owners, using the rooster and the rock-miracle motifs just like them. Although his means were limited — in his *cubiculum* there was no room for an expensive sarcophagus — this did not prevent him from copying the upper-class iconographic preferences.

4. In 50 percent of the Peter frescoes, that is, nine times, Peter is shown together with Christ (and in 39 percent — seven times — with both Christ and Paul), while Paul, in the Roman catacombs, only appears together with Christ if Peter is present too (thus, seven times). In one fresco, Jesus' apparition before Peter (1 Cor. 15:5a) illustrates Peter's special role.

5. Peter's distinctive role is further expressed by the illustration of Matthew

51. A more precise date than the fourth century cannot be given. See Dresken-Wieland, *Bild,* p. 160. She even suspects the first half of the fourth century.

52. Dresken-Wieland, *Bild,* p. 158. H. Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst,* 6th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2004), pp. 104, 107: last quarter of the fourth century.

53. See G. Bovini and H. Brandenburg, *Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage: Rom und Ostia,* ed. F. W. Deichmann, vol. 1.1-2 (Wiesbaden: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1967), nos. 674 and 43-44. In addition, these sarcophagi depict Peter's arrest and Peter, instead of Moses, performing the miracle of the rock. In no. 44, Peter — like Christ in the commissioning scene — holds a scroll when performing the rock miracle, giving life (water) with his teachings (scroll). For the sarcophagi scenes, see further below.

16:19 on a fresco in the Commodilla Catacomb. It displays a *traditio clavium* scene from the sixth century.[54] Christ Pantocrator, seated on the globe, hands the keys to Peter at his right side; Paul is only positioned at Christ's left.[55]

In Matthew 16:19 (and 23:13; 7:13-14), the keys — together with the image of "binding and loosing" on earth and in heaven — signify the authority to interpret the law in accordance with God's will:[56] whoever walks on the "path of righteousness" (Matt. 21:32) shown by Jesus and then Peter will enter the kingdom. Accordingly, two corresponding originally fourth-century (second half) mosaics in S. Constanza[57] not only present a *traditio clavis* but also a *traditio legis*. A bearded Pantocrator hands his keys to a young and shaved Peter, without Paul being present this time. The corresponding mosaic at the other side of the entrance depicts Christ handing over a scroll commissioning Peter to teach. The apostle tends the Lord's sheep with a shepherd's staff in his hand (John 21:15-19), portrayed as an old man (as in John 21:18). This time, Christ is not bearded and stands on a hill above the sheep, not as Pantocrator but as risen Christ (dressed in golden robes), in accordance with the scenario in John 21. Thus Peter and the Pantocrator are pictured in a chiastic way: while, in the *traditio clavis* scene, Peter is young and the Pantocrator a mature man, the *tradito legis* scene reverses the appearances — a young Christ commissions an old apostle. The scroll, after a poor restoration of the mosaics, now is inscribed

54. Testini, *Archeologia Cristiana*, p. 198. However, J. G. Deckers, G. Mietke, and A. Weiland, *Die Katakombe "Commodilla": Repertorium der Malereien* (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Münster: Aschendorff, 1994), p. 57, suggest the second half of the seventh century.

55. The flanking saints, Merita and Stephanus, are local martyrs of the third century, Felix and Adauctus Diocletian martyrs. Thus all six depicted persons were martyrs, hence, the palm trees at the left and right bottom.

56. In addition, the aspects of forgiveness and church discipline, respectively, are also implied: see 18:18 and its context (furthermore John 20:23). For the interpretation of Matthew, see, e.g., U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus: Mt 8–17*, EKK (Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1990), vol. I/2, pp. 465-66.

57. *Traditio clavis* in the northern niche mosaic to the right of the entrance, *traditio legis* in the southern niche mosaic to the left of the entrance. The mosaics were poorly restored. Henck ("Constantius," pp. 283-84) ponders a fourth-century date under Constantius because of the similarity with the *traditio legis* apse mosaic of old St. Peter's. Similarly Noga-Banai ("Prototype," p. 177; see n. 72 below) suggests the third quarter of the fourth century. J. Rasch and A. Arbeiter posit the second half of the fourth century (*Das Mausoleum der Constantina in Rom* [Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2007]). With regard to the Constanza mausoleum itself, W. E. Kleinbauer argues for a Constantius date: "The Anastasis Rotunda and Christian Architectural Invention," *Journal of the Centre for Jewish Art* 23/24 (1988): 140-46; Rasch-Arbeiter, *Mausoleum*, p. 89, suggest the years 340-345 CE.

DOMINVS PACEM DAT because of the bucolic scenario, but originally probably read *DOMINVS LEGEM DAT.*[58]

In Matthew's Gospel,[59] Peter, as *typos,* represents all disciples, that is, the congregation (18:18), which Origen still clearly understood: "*We* become a Peter, and to *us* there might be said by the Word, *'You are Peter,'* etc. For a rock is *every* disciple of Christ."[60] The Roman artists of late antiquity, however, were interested in the individual person of Peter: he ruled the church in the name of Christ, and his regimen had been handed down to individual successors in Rome, who, since the third century, had underpinned their claims to primacy by means of Matthew 16:18-20. Bishop Stephen of Rome in the middle of the third century applied Matthew 16:17-19 to himself, but was nonetheless opposed by his African colleague Cyprian, who protested: Stephen "contends that he holds the succession from Peter, on whom the foundations of the Church were laid," which is an "open and manifest folly" (Cyprian, *Ep.* 74.17). Earlier third-century claims of a similar nature, possibly by some of Stephen's predecessors (although this is not specifically stated), were contested by Tertullian and Origen.[61] Not until the end of the fourth century did the entire West accept decrees of the Roman bishop, at that time Siricius's decrees (384-399 CE).[62] In the fifth century, finally Leo the Great suggested that St. Peter as primate of all bishops is to be honored in his successors.[63]

Sarcophagi Iconography

On the sarcophagi, Peter's commission to teach the church is far more prominent than in the frescoes.

58. Paul, for a change, is positioned at the right hand of Christ in this scene. The correct *Dominus legem dat* can be read in a catacomb in Naples from the early sixth century (Rasmussen, "Traditio Legis", p. 27; see also p. 25).

59. And still in Tertullian, *Pud.* 21.

60. The text continues: "and upon *every* such rock is built every word of the church, and the polity in accordance with it; for in *each* of the perfect, who have the combination of words and deeds and thoughts . . . , is the church built by God" (Origen, *Comm. Matt.* 12.10).

61. "If you suppose that upon that one Peter *only* the whole church is built by God, what would you say about . . . each one of the Apostles? Shall we otherwise dare to say, that against Peter in particular the gates of Hades shall not prevail, but that they shall prevail against the other Apostles and the perfect?" (*Comm. Matt.* 12.11, in the context of 12.10, see previous note). Tertullian, *Pud.* 21.

62. E.g., Rasmussen, "Traditio Legis," p. 34.

63. Leo the Great, *Sermones ad Romanam Plebem* 3-4.

1. An early depiction of Peter receiving the commission to teach the church as a new Moses is illustrated on a sarcophagus from the Vatican necropolis under St. Peter's from the first quarter of the fourth century.[64] It is one of the oldest extant sarcophagi depicting biblical scenes. It displays both Moses receiving the Torah tablets and, immediately beside this scene, Peter being commissioned by Christ, who holds an unrolled book scroll with a Christ monogram in his left hand and teaches Peter. In an interesting combination of motifs, in the same scene the rooster of denial stands between Christ and Peter, and Peter, albeit looking at Christ, performs the miracle of the rock, taking over this life-giving function of Moses as well. In another relief on the sarcophagus, in which Peter is arrested by soldiers and teaches them, the unrolled scroll (with Christ monogram) that Christ held in the commissioning scene is now in the hand of the teaching Peter himself.[65]

2. A beautiful teaching scene is also depicted in a mid-fourth-century relief of the sarcophagus of the senator Iunius Bassus, commissioned in 359 and found in St. Peter's in the sixteenth century.[66] In the centerpiece, that is, in the middle relief between four others, Christ, triumphantly seated between Peter and Paul, holds an unrolled scroll in his right hand, teaching them — and thereby through them. His left foot triumphantly rests on the head of a personified Caelus, showing Christ as Pantocrator (see, e.g., 1 Cor. 15:23-28). In later iconography, this detail develops into a globe as Christ's seat.[67] In a second row of reliefs underneath, Christ rides into Jerusalem with an imperial eagle flying above the scene. His entry echoes that of the *adventus* (parousia)

64. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* p. 674.

65. See also the commissioning scene on the early sarcophagus no. 40 in Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* from the first third of the fourth century (S. Sebastiano): Christ with a book scroll in his left hand and with his right hand lifted up teaches Peter while looking at him. Peter holds his right hand to his chin, remorseful and pensive. The cock stands between them. On the same sarcophagus, Peter is arrested and, right beside this scene, performs the rock miracle for a drinking soldier. Furthermore, Moses is given the law on the same sarcophagus. For similar arrest, rock-miracle, and commissioning scenes (with book scroll in Jesus' hand and a cock), see Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* no. 43 (second quarter fourth century); no 44 (second quarter fourth century): Christ here does not have a book, but Peter holds a book while performing the rock miracle; no. 45 (second third of the fourth century, from area at Paul's tomb): Christ is without a scroll, but Peter holds a scroll in the commissioning scene, his right hand again touches his chin, and a cock stands between them. During the rock miracle for a soldier, Peter again holds a scroll. Furthermore, Moses is given the law on this same sarcophagus.

66. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* no. 680.

67. Underneath, Peter as a lamb performs the rock miracle, and Moses (or Peter?) as a lamb receives the tablets of the law.

of an emperor. However, the other eight reliefs flanking these triumphal scenes create a contrast by showing the hardships and trials of life, three of them being arrests on the way to trial and martyrdom: Christ (upper row, second from right), Peter (upper row, second from left), and Paul (lower row, first from right). The same persons who compose the triumphant centerpiece are being arrested to face trial and martyrdom.[68] Christ's trial is further illustrated in a relief of a seated Pilate in the *praetorium.* The water has already been prepared for washing his hands; by sentencing Jesus, Pilate will fail his *own* trial of life (upper row, first from right). All three martyrdoms are thus only alluded to without displaying the executions of Peter, Paul, and Christ. The four New Testament scenes are typologically counterbalanced by four Old Testament scenes, showing again the hardships and tests of life: Daniel prevails in the lions' den (lower row, second from right); Job sits in his misery (lower row, first from left); immediately above, Abraham is asked to sacrifice Isaac;[69] and Adam and Eve are shown after the fall, being ashamed and turning away from each other. Thus, in both the New Testament and Old Testament cycles, the protagonists failed one out of four trials (Pilate as well as Adam and Eve), while the other protagonists stood their tests successfully. The picture program testifies that in all hardship and suffering there is hope, because Christ not only suffered for humanity but also is triumphantly enthroned in the center and teaches through Peter and Paul how his followers are to lead their lives (see the scroll of Christ's law, explaining God's will). The dialectic between despair and hope that characterizes the program is again reflected in the two Peter and the two Paul scenes, which move from capture and martyrdom to inauguration as teachers of the church. In a way, the reliefs of the newly baptized Iunius Bassus illustrate the pagan *per aspera ad astra* by means of biblical scenes. On the sarcophagus, they illustrate the deceased senator's move from the darkness of early death — the *prefectus urbi* Bassus was only forty-two when he died — to

68. It is unclear who is which apostle in the central *traditio legis* scene. If Peter, in the central relief, stands behind the unrolled scroll to Christ's left and Paul to Christ's right (as in the *traditio legis* mosaic above), then an interlocked setup is created: *Peter* (arrested) — *Christ* (triumphant) — *Peter* (receiving scroll) — *Christ* (arrested). There is a chance, however, that the order of Peter and Paul in the *traditio legis* scene was the reverse, creating a symmetric setup: *Peter* (arrested) — *Peter* (with scroll) — *Christ* (triumphant) — *Christ* (arrested).

69. The motif was already used in the years 300-325 CE, when a sarcophagus fragment under S. Sebastiano was carved, showing a bearded man who holds a knife in his raised right hand (a motif unknown to pagan sarcophagi); in the background a fluttering shoulder cloak and the foliage of a tree are visible. See Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* no. 248; see also no. 674, prior to the Bassus sarcophagus.

the light of life eternal in Christ. The fascinating interplay of light and shadow in the deep three-dimensional reliefs illustrates this aspect in its own way.

As for the relation between Peter and Paul, Peter is only slightly more prominent: Not only was the sarcophagus originally placed close to Peter's grave in the basilica of St. Peter, but the relief of Peter's arrest is also positioned right beside the centerpiece scene, while Paul's capture is in the lower row at the right end.[70] However, both apostles are involved in the centerpiece: one of them — it is unclear who[71] — stands behind the unrolled scroll that the triumphant Christ holds, presumably being prepared to receive it from Christ. The other already holds a folded-up scroll in his left hand. Thus both are perceived as teachers of the church.[72]

3. Bovini and Brandenburg in their *Repertorium* do not count these two sarcophagi among the *traditio legis* illustrations, of which they enumerate 11(-13).[73] The eleven coffins, all from the fourth century, are younger than the two

70. That this is *Paul's* arrest is indicated by tall reeds in the background, congruent with the tradition that Paul was killed next to the Tiber. This tradition was also displayed on late-fourth-century coffins in the vicinity of Paul's tomb at the Via Ostiensis and in the poetry of Prudentius, *Peristephanon* 12. For the relief of Paul's arrest, see D. L. Eastman, *Paul the Martyr: The Cult of the Apostle in the Latin West* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011). For a more detailed, and partly different, interpretation of the widely discussed picture program of the sarcophagus, see, e.g., E. S. Malbon, *The Iconography of the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus: Neofitus lit Ad Deum* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990). She also deals with the fascinating blending of pagan and Christian motifs. Already F. Gerke published a comprehensive interpretation and pictorial documentation, including early drawings by Bosio (*Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus: Ein Meisterwerk der frühchristlichen Plastik,* Bilderhefte antiker Kunst 4 [Berlin: Mann, 1936]); more recent photos in D. Rezza, *Un Neofita Va in Paradiso: Il Sarcofago di Giunio Basso,* Archivum Sancti Petri: Bollettino d'Archivio 13 (Vatican City: Capitolo Vaticano, 2010).

71. See n. 68 above.

72. For the history of the *traditio legis* motif and its history of research, see esp. Rasmussen, "Traditio legis," pp. 21-52. Rasmussen also discusses the remote possibility that the Iunius Bassus artists copied the motif from Constantius's apse mosaic of old St. Peter's (pp. 38-45). Surprisingly, Rasmussen ignores Matt. 16:18-19 as another likely inspiration of the motif. Not only the juxtaposition of *traditio clavium* and *traditio legis* in S. Constanza calls for connecting these dots but also the Matthean text itself, where 16:19a is juxtaposed with, and thus specified by, 16:19b (see above). After Rasmussen, G. Noga-Banai argues for the apse mosaic of Old St. Peter's being the prototype of the set *traditio legis* scene, not necessarily of the Iunius Bassus scene ("Visual Prototype versus Biblical Text: Moses Receiving the Law in Rome," in *Sarcofagi Tardoantichi, Paleocristiani e Altomedievali,* ed. F. Bisconti and H. Brandenburg, Monumenti di Antichità Cristiana 2/18 [Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 2004], pp. 173-83, here p. 178).

73. In chronological order *second third of the fourth century:* no. 26 (the oldest, but

discussed above; only one (no. 677; third quarter of the fourth century) might be still contemporaneous to the Bassus sarcophagus. Indeed, in a technical sense, the two older ones do not yet represent a *traditio legis* scene that actually shows Peter *receiving* a scroll from Christ, unlike Moses, who has been accepting tablets from God's hand in sarcophagi reliefs from the third century onward.[74] Nonetheless, the reliefs of the two older sarcophagi are evolutionary steps toward the more set *traditio legis* scene of the later sarcophagi and of the S. Costanza mosaics of the second half of the fourth century.[75]

4. The Petrine *traditio legis* motif is not only rooted in Matthew 16 and Moses iconography but also in standard imperial iconography.[76] In the latter,

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doubted as *traditio legis* by the editors). *Third quarter of the fourth century:* no. 528 (from Domitilla Catacomb; doubted as *traditio legis* by the editors); 677 (from St. Peter's). *Last third of the fourth century:* no. 28 (from St. Peter's); no. 200 (from S. Sebastiano); no. 676 (from St. Peter's); no. 679 (from St. Peter's); no. 1008. *Last quarter of the fourth century:* nos. 116; 288 (from S. Sebastiano); 724 (from area close to Paul's tomb at Via Ostiensis; the scene is even depicted twice, one time with Peter carrying his own cross). *End of the fourth century:* no. 675 (from St. Peter's; the scene is depicted twice, one time with Peter carrying his own cross); no. 58. Five of these coffins are from St. Peter's, two from S. Sebastiano, and only one from the area of Paul's tomb at the Via Ostiensis. See further a gold glass (Vatican, Museo Sacro della Bibliotheca Apostolica, inv. no. 60771) and later the apse mosaics of SS. Cosmas and Damian (526-530 CE) and S. Prassede (early ninth century).

74. A century later, from about 350 to 450 CE, Moses can also receive a scroll like Peter — instead of tablets. It is likely that the handing over of a scroll to Moses was meant to symbolize God's mandate to go to Pharaoh, whereas the tablets were the Sinai commandments. In the fifth-century (first half) wooden door reliefs of S. Sabina in Rome, after Moses saw God's angel in flames from the burning bush and took off his shoes (Exod. 3:2-5; middle relief; the lower one shows Moses tending Jethro's flock: Exod. 3:1), God's hand reaches out of heaven handing him a scroll, i.e., the mandate to go to Pharaoh (Exod. 3:10; upper relief). Thus Exodus 3 is in the background, not Exod. 31:18. Furthermore, the Gorgonius sarcophagus of Ancona (first half of the fifth century) displays not only Christ giving a scroll to Peter, and Moses reaching for a scroll given by God's hand, but also a second Moses scene with him climbing a mountain and reaching for the wing of an Eros. This doubling of Moses scenes speaks in favor of two different interpretations: Sinai commandments *and* Pharaoh mandate. Like many authors in the past, Noga-Banai ("Prototype", pp. 173-83) does not make the distinction between the mandate to go to Pharaoh and the Sinai tablets, erroneously interpreting all these scenes as the Sinai law. For the Ancona sarcophagus, see J. Dresken-Weiland, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage, II: Italien mit einem Nachtrag Rom und Ostia, Dalmatien, Museen der Welt* (Mainz: Zabern, 1998), no. 149.

75. E. Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik,* Theophania 10 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1954), pp. 102-9, similarly argues for no. 674 (n. 64 above) being an early version of the *traditio legis.*

76. For analogies to imperial ritual and iconography, see, e.g., Rasmussen, "Traditio Legis," p. 36.

an enthroned emperor hands a scroll to one of his officials, thus mandating a task to him. In adaption of such imperial imagery, Peter is commissioned with a scroll to tend the Lord's sheep (John 21:15-19) and to teach them God's will (Matthew 16) — in the same way, God gave Moses a scroll, thereby commissioning him to go to Pharaoh (Exod. 3:10, see n. 74), and he gave him tablets to enable him to reveal God's will to the people at Sinai.

Two conclusions need to be drawn. First, the correspondence between the Peter and Moses motifs shows that Peter is the new Moses, bringing God's will to God's people. Whereas the pre-Matthean childhood stories had applied a Moses typology to Christ, the apostle now *shares* christological attributes: not only his martyrdom is set side by side with Christ's death, but also his interpreting God's will is juxtaposed with Christ's teaching, or better: the latter is *present* in the former. A similar Moses typology is seen when Moses' miracle of the rock appears as a Peter miracle (see below): Peter makes sure that the waters of life[77] and salvation can flow from the rock — which is Christ, according to 1 Corinthians 10.

Varying Moses-Christ/Peter typologies can be found in the literature from the early fourth century on, both in the West and the East, aiming in the same direction: as Moses brought water from the rock, Christ sent Peter, the rock, to spread Christ's teachings to the world.[78] Or, Peter producing water from the rock signifies Peter's bringing the life-giving gospel to the world from his mouth; Peter thus is the rock on which the church rests.[79] Or, Peter, replacing Moses (and Aaron), took over the true priesthood.[80] Or, as Moses doubted, so did Peter when denying his master.[81] Except for the last two examples, these typologies from the literary sources focus again on the teaching of Peter, as did the *traditio legis.*

A last aspect of the Moses-Christ/Peter typology on the sarcophagi is just a detail, but a significant one: the staff *(virga)* that Peter holds as a symbol of divine power in the rock miracle[82] and in several arrest[83] and denial[84] scenes.

77. Including eternal life, as often neighboring scenes such as the resurrection of Lazarus show (see Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* e.g., nos. 6, 11, 15, 39, 42-44, 67, 85, 86, 24).

78. Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 21.10 (early fourth century).

79. Maximus II Turinus, *Homily* 68 (*PL* 57.394); *Sermo* 66 (*PL* 57.666a) (late fourth century).

80. Macarius the Egyptian, *Homily* 26.23 (*PG* 34.689) (fourth century).

81. Augustine, *Sermo* 352.1.4 (*PL* 39.1554) (404 CE). For the literary tradition, see further, e.g., Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* pp. 134-35, with older literature.

82. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* e.g., nos. 6, 11, 14, 17, 22, 42-43, 241, 369, 770, 772.

83. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* nos. 6-7, 11, 17, 22, 42-43, 220, 241, 369, 770, 772. In these arrest scenes, Peter teaches the soldiers in order to convert them (see below). He is given divine power for this task, symbolized by the staff.

84. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* nos. 43, 621, 770, 772.

As Moses used the staff to produce water from a rock, so Christ used it when performing miracles,[85] and now Peter holds it: after his denial, he is not only forgiven but also commissioned and given divine life-giving power.

Second, the adaption of imperial imagery shows that Peter's authority, and thus indirectly the authority of the Roman bishop, is seen in a triumphant light. For the Christians, Peter's — and thus the Roman bishop's — word weighs as heavily as the authoritative word of Roman magistrates or even the emperor. Together with the Peter-Moses typology, which started in the first half of the fourth century in Rome,[86] the imperial allusion helped to bolster the Roman bishops' supremacy claims (see below).

Significantly, in the catacomb frescoes it is predominantly Moses who performs the rock-water miracle, while on the sarcophagi reliefs this function shifts to a large extent to Peter.[87] There is a sociohistoric reason for this shift on the sculptured sarcophagi — which were far more costly and lavish than catacomb frescoes and only commissioned by upper-class people. Differently from the catacomb frescoes, the sarcophagi artists developed a Petrine picture program of their own that depicted Peter more than eight times more frequently than in the frescoes (see tables 2-3 below): (1) On the coffins, Peter performs the rock miracle more than fifty-five times for thirsty soldiers;[88] all of the rock miracles on the sarcophagi that can be

85. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* nos. 6-7, 11, 17, 42-43; cf. 369, 770, 772.

86. See especially *Repertorium* no. 674 (n. 64 above) and nos. 40 and 45 (n. 65 above). The silver casket from Nea Herakleia/Macedonia, fabricated in Rome, is later, dating from about 380 CE (Noga-Banai, "Prototype," pp. 174, 177), but it emphasizes the Moses-Peter typology neatly by giving both men similar appearances.

87. Cf. table 1, below (right column) with table 3, below. In the present study, the rock miracle is only categorized as Petrine iconography if soldiers drink from the water. Whether any images of the rock miracle depict Peter in the catacomb frescoes is debatable. In the following fresco examples, no sufficient clues are given to decide whether Moses or Peter is represented: frescoes in A. Nestori, *Repertorio,* pp. 55, 57, 61, 109, 116, 124, 128, as well as in A. Ferrua, *Catacombe Sconosciute: Una Pinacoteca del IV Secolo sotto la Via Latina* (Florence: Nardini, 1990), p. 65, fig. 63. In older literature, the beard was used as a distinctive trait of Peter, but Moses also sometimes wears a beard; an example in B. Christern-Briesenick, *Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage III* (Mainz: Zabern, 2003), p. 591.

88. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* nos. 4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 33, 39-44, 52, 67, 73, 85, 86, 97, 100, 135, 153, 221, 241, 253, 255, 368, 369, 372, 421, 422, 425, 526, 541, 542, 621, 625, 636, 638, 651, 665, 673, 674, 770-72, 807, 934, 946, 990, 991; cf. also 624, 660; furthermore 45, 367, 838, 919, where the rock miracle is merged with the arrest by soldiers (see below). The above examples outnumber the reliefs in which it is doubtful whether Moses or Peter performs the miracle; in none of these do the soldiers drink: nos. 35, 95, 145, 332, 359, 417, 431, 442, 533, 543,

clearly attributed to Peter and not to Moses show soldiers drinking the water of life. (2) Furthermore, Peter's arrest by soldiers is absent in the catacomb frescoes, but is seen more than sixty-four times on the sarcophagi (table 3), for example, on Iunius Bassus's marble casket. In most of these reliefs Peter is seen teaching the arresting soldiers, often having a scroll in his hand.[89] Even more, in four cases,[90] the arrest by soldiers is directly merged with the motif of Peter performing his rock miracle for soldiers, illustrating the conversion of his two guards. (3) In addition, a rare scene portrays Peter as a learned man, reading aloud from a book scroll while his military guards listen.[91] The scene echoes the pagan motif of the reading philosopher, which was particularly popular in the third century.[92] The two last scenes are not only absent in catacomb frescoes (see table 1) but are also rarely seen outside of Rome.

The background of this set of three unbiblical scenes is a local hagiographic tradition that narrates Peter converting and then baptizing his two guards in his prison at the Capitol Hill by bringing water out of the rock. This is the common theme of the three sarcophagi scenes. The tradition seems not to have been

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552, 677, 680, 689, 695, 748, 768, 783, 867, 932, 935, 951, 975, 987, 1007; doubtful rock miracles: 105, 371, 432, 692, 706, 726, 1018. Cf. table 3 below.

89. See already the old sarcophagus Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* no. 674, discussed above. Peter is also clearly teaching them in, e.g., nos. 7, 11, 14, 17, 22, 39-40, 42, 44, 94, 220-21, 241, 369, 398, 434, 507, 621, 625, 636, 694, 771-72, 910, 915, 1007. Only when a scene of arrest or martyrdom of Paul and/or Christ corresponds to the Peter arrest in the picture program of a sarcophagus, Peter's arrest illustrates his martyrdom and he is not teaching (see the sarcophagi Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* nos. 61, [frag. 201], 215, and the Iunius Bassus sarcophagus 680, all dating from the second third of the fourth century onward).

90. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* nos. 45, 367, 838, 919. Cf. Lange, *Ikonographisches Register für das Repertorium der Christlich-Antiken Sarkophage,* vol. 1, *Rome and Ostia,* Christliche Archäologie 2 (Dettelbach: Röll, 1996), p. 85, with n. 144.

91. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* no. 45 (second third of the fourth century, from area at Paul's tomb): Peter sits on a rock reading a book; he is approached by a soldier who touches the book scroll. Another soldier sits in a tree behind Peter listening and watching, one hand is holding on a branch, the other is stretched out toward Peter. In view of the second soldier, an interpretation as merely an arrest scene is unlikely, also because the moment of arrest is depicted somewhere else on the same sarcophagus. A similar scene is no. 262 (first third of the fourth century, from S. Sebastiano). Further reading scenes with Peter and soldiers nos. 42, 943, possibly 47, 576, 709, 981.

92. Cf., e.g., Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* p. 143; F. Bisconti, "La Catechesi di Pietro: Una Scena Controversa," in *Esegesi e Catechesi nei Padri (Sec. II-IV),* ed. S. Felici (Rome: LAS, 1993), pp. 171-79, here p. 178.

written down before the fifth century,[93] but the sarcophagi show that it is a century older. In view of this tradition, it is plausible that the water produced by Peter from the rock for soldiers not only symbolized the eternal life in Christ, but more specifically also the life-giving water of the baptism of his guards.[94]

One can plausibly conclude from these findings that the conversion and baptism of soldiers as representatives of Roman authority allude to the conversion of the upper-class Christians who commissioned these sarcophagi.[95] Ever since the "barracks emperors" of the third century in particular, who had heavily relied on the military, soldiers had also been given administrative functions. They were a perfect symbol of Roman authority, to which the sarcophagi-commissioning upper classes could easily relate.

Furthermore, Peter's denial, represented by a rooster, is shown about twenty-five times more frequently on sarcophagi than in catacomb frescoes (tables 1 and 3), often in the center of the front side.[96] Differently from the frescoes, Peter and the rooster are shown together with Christ either foretelling the denial (Luke 22:34) or commissioning Peter after forgiveness (Luke 22:32; John 21:15-19). That the denial itself is shown is less likely, because then Jesus would not stand beside Peter talking to him and using the gestures of a philosopher.[97]

93. Pseudo-Linus's *Passio Petri* 5 (fifth century) and the sixth-century *Passio of the Saints Processus and Martinianus* (*Acta Sanctorum, Iul. I,* ed. C. Ianninco et al. [1867], 28:270), which narrates that in prison Peter, by making a cross sign, let water spring from a rock in order to baptize his guards: "beatus Petrus in monte Tarpeio [i.e., the southern tip of the Capitol Hill] signum Crucis expressit in eadem custodia, atque eadem hora emanarunt aquae e monte: baptizatique beati Processus et Martinianus a beato Petro Apostolo."

94. Similarly Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* pp. 135-36. She points out that, at least on a few late-fourth-century sarcophagi in France, the rock miracle corresponds to scenes of Jesus' baptism.

95. Thus also Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* pp. 136, 162. However, that the rock-miracle/soldier scene also represented the fact that Christianity had overcome the pagan governmental authority in the fourth century, as Dresken-Weiland (*Bild,* p. 146) suggests, seems a little far-fetched. The interest of the deceased persons' families was less abstract and more personal: as the soldiers received water of life from Peter, they hoped for help from this apostle after death.

96. In, e.g., Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* nos. 23, 52, 53 (here even as the only scene on the sarcophagus), 77, 177, 621, 665, 807, 989. In nos. 43, 621, 770 (cf. also 241, 772) the denial scene is directly juxtaposed to the arrest and rock-miracle scenes, showing equally strong interest in these subjects. In the last third of the fourth century, the rooster scene also occurs beside the *traditio legis* (nos. 676, 1008) and *clavium* (nos. 676, 755).

97. For a discussion of all details of the scene, see Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* pp. 146-61. However, that the rooster in these reliefs also stands for Christ himself (pp. 151-53, 162, with third- and fourth-century sources) does not have to be assumed, especially since a human Christ figure is part of the scene. The scene rather conveys that Christ's forgiveness after denial and failure warrants eschatological life.

The image expresses hope that forgiveness, grace, and thus eternal life will be given to the deceased persons, despite all their failures.

Finally, Peter's gestures in many arrest and reading scenes echo similar gestures in images of philosophical discussion: Peter the philosopher talks with soldiers. In the same way, his own teacher, Christ, conversed with him like a philosopher when he commissioned him after his denial, both men acting as if they were involved in a philosophical discussion.[98]

Thus the upper-class Roman owners of the sarcophagi liked to associate themselves with Peter. Peter was learned like a philosopher and endowed with power and authority. Senatorial officials such as the *praefectus urbi* Iunius Bassus, who were interested in authority and power matters, showed an affinity for Peter. After all, the apostle was not only the *primus* among the disciples and the alleged first bishop of Roman Christianity (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.3.3) but also Christ's representative — and, in turn, Peter with his authority was represented by the local Roman bishop. Vicarious representation of superior power, indeed, was one of the aspects of being a *praefectus* or a *legatus.* This ideological setup interested the sarcophagi owners and invited them to particularly venerate Peter,[99] to preferably bury their deceased close to Peter's tomb,[100] and hope for patronal support from him after death — just as Peter's military guards received the water of life brought by him from the rock. Finally, in view of the concept of vicarious representation, the numerous Peter scenes on the sarcophagi showed these Christian upper classes' affinity to the leadership of the Christian Roman church, which was endowed with Peter's authority. All of these aspects explain why Peter occurs *at least* eight times more often (see table 3) on upper-class sarcophagi than in catacomb frescoes (twenty-five times).[101]

98. The pagan image material of the third/early fourth century in Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* pp. 150-51, with n. 292 and figs. 65-66.

99. And not Paul, the theologian of the cross, who had held that worldly power, wisdom, and crafty rhetoric are not compatible with the gospel (1 Cor. 1:18–2:5). Paul is seldom featured on the sarcophagi. The predominance of Petrine images in catacomb frescoes is repeated on the sarcophagi. Pauline images (his martyrdom; fourth century) can be found on only eight sarcophagi reliefs (incl. Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* no. 724: Peter and Paul as martyr lambs flank Christ). In addition, there might be three possible occurrences, making for a total of eleven, as opposed to more than two hundred Peter reliefs. Not included are scenes in which Paul seems present among several other apostles, e.g., Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium,* no. 26. There the individual Paul is not of interest but the apostolic group.

100. Old St. Peter's was a distinguished place for upper-class burials, not only for Iunius Bassus. It was naturally here that Peter's image occurred particularly often on the sarcophagi (for this, see Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* p. 145).

101. For a similar interpretation, see Dresken-Weiland, *Bild,* p. 162.

Two Damasus Inscriptions and Their Background

1. The association of the Peter tradition with political power dynamics can also be observed in the S. Sebastiano inscription (n. 38 above) by Damasus (366-384 CE). It is only slightly later than the Iunius Bassus sarcophagus (359 CE). Two observations are important in this respect.

First, the epigraph clothes the old idea of Peter and Paul being accepted into heaven immediately after their martyrdom in political images, picturing the two apostle martyrs as ascending to heaven by alluding to the emperor's apotheosis as a star or stellar constellation *(per astra secuti).*[102] Damasus's push for the cult of local martyrs, above all Peter's and Paul's, whom he glorified like emperors, was part of the attempt to underpin a superiority of the Roman bishop. It was during his episcopacy that the set *traditio legis* motif was established (see above, especially n. 73), placing Peter and Paul at the sides of the ruling Christ.

Second, Damasus's epigraph shows how much the Roman Christians by now had naturalized both apostles as genuine "citizens" of the city of Rome *(cives)* because of their martyrdom there. Although they were immigrants from the East *(discipulos Oriens misit),* their blood offering in Rome had made them true Romans, Damasus claims. Another Damasus epigraph, the *Elogium Saturnini* (46),[103] espouses the same concept: Although Saturninus was of Carthage, "he changed his citizenship with his blood, as well as his name and family. His birth among the saints [i.e., his death as martyr] made him a [genuine] Roman citizen" with all implied political rights.

2. Damasus's Romanization and thus usurpation of Peter's and Paul's authority, moving it from the East to Rome, needs to be seen in a larger church political context.[104] It fits with the contemporaneous attempts of the West to influence Eastern affairs, for example, in Antioch, where the church also claimed Peter as their first leader. In Antioch, Rome backed Paulinus against Meletius in their power struggle. However, the opposition to Meletius was not very successful; in 381, Meletius even presided over the Council of Constantinople. Nonetheless, when Meletius died, Damasus again backed Paulinus and now opposed Flavian. The West also opposed the appointment of Nectarius in Constantinople in 381. Moreover, the West convened a general

102. See also Lafferty, "Translating," p. 42. Dan. 12:3 was not the only inspiration for this motif.

103. Text in U. Reutter, *Damasus, Bischof von Rom (366-384): Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009), pp. 91-92.

104. See also, e.g., Chadwick, "Pope Damasus," p. 314.

council in Rome in 382 presided over by Damasus, but the Eastern bishops were not interested in Western meddling; they only sent three emissaries. In these contexts, the Damasus usurpation of Petrine and Pauline authority speaks volumes. Jerome bravely supported his friend Damasus in his claims and, in a letter, called him "successor of the fisherman [*successor piscatoris*] to the disciple of the cross. Following no leader but Christ, I unite myself in fellowship with none but your Beatitude, that is, with Peter's chair. On this rock, I know, the church is built. Whoever eats the paschal lamb outside this house is profane. Who is not found in Noah's ark shall perish when the flood prevails."[105] The only rock within the floods of water: this is what has become of a little Galilean fisherman.

Conclusion

1. Since the end of the first century, the memories of Peter and Paul as local martyrs were closely associated with one another (see already *1 Clement,* Ignatius, and Gaius above). The association continued to be expressed throughout the centuries of late antiquity in various media, with the martyr pair even occurring on medals and glass objects. From the middle of the third century onward, their martyr deaths were liturgically celebrated on the same day (June 29). Nonetheless, despite this close association, Peter is significantly more prominent in the catacomb paintings and sarcophagi reliefs.

2. Peter played several roles in the documents of early Christian archaeology and art. First, as Roman martyr, he overcame death and was accepted into heavenly glory, where he could be invoked as intercessor before God — just as Christ after his own sacrifice. To a certain extent, this concept jeopardized the uniqueness of Christ's salvific death — although this may be an all too Protestant perception. In the ancient perspective, the purpose of the juxtaposition of Christ's, Peter's, and Paul's martyrdoms was to break down the universal importance of Christ's death to the local level, to make it tangible there. Since Peter and Paul died as martyrs in Rome, it was here — and nowhere else, as Damasus pointed out in his S. Sebastiano inscription — that the martyrdom of Christ was locally made accessible by its representation in the martyrdoms of the two apostle martyrs, who frequently were depicted as sacrificial lambs right beside the Christ lamb (see tables 1 and 3). Also the Wall g graffito *Ad*

105. Jerome, *Letter* 15.2, to Damasus (376/377 CE).

Petrum Christos[106] says it all, as well as the PE key beside the Christogram. Peter in his local martyr tomb is the key to the universal. He in his martyrdom, materially tangible in a tomb, is the mediator between Christ and believers such as Leonia, whose L was merged with a PE and immediately preceded by a Christogram. Without a doubt, popular pagan religiosity exerted its influence here. The divine is only perceivable on the local level, in hero cults and local deities.[107]

Another reason for the concept of representation of Christ's death in Peter's and Paul's martyrdoms might have been New Testament tradition. If Mark wrote in Rome — there are excellent reasons for this[108] — a Roman first-century document at least prepared the later close association of the apostle Peter's martyrdom with that of Christ: in Mark 8:34, after his confession, Peter, together with the "people," is encouraged to carry his own cross in the footsteps of Christ. Moreover, in Romans 6, the Romans had read that Christians *die with Christ* in the sacramental ritual of baptism, in which the Jerusalem cross and the individual baptism became simultaneous.[109] Paul's participatory Christology, in which he as apostle identified with the crucified Christ, perceiving himself as crucified with Christ[110] and thus ultimately also "mirroring" Christ's *doxa* (2 Cor. 3:18), certainly helped to pave the way for the later representation concept that guided the Peter-Paul ideology in Rome.

The special veneration of the martyr apostle Peter, documented in archaeological evidence since the second century and jointly with Paul since the middle of the third century, paved the way for a similar cultic veneration of other martyrs in Rome after the severe persecutions of the third and early fourth centuries.

106. If the A P letters are to be read like this (see above). *Christos* is represented in a Christogram.

107. For the latter, cf., e.g., W. Wischmeyer, "Märtyrer II: Alte Kirche," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* 4th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2002), 5:862-65.

108. See, e.g., M. Hengel, "Entstehungszeit und Situation des Markusevangeliums," in *Markus-Philologie: Historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium,* ed. H. Cancik, WUNT 33 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), pp. 1-45.

109. The same idea also guided the later liturgical readings of the martyr narratives: in the liturgical context, the listener was drawn into the story so that it became present and the time difference disappeared.

110. For the application of this concept to various aspects of Paul's apostolic existence, see P. Lampe, *New Testament Theology in a Secular World: A Constructivist Work in Philosophical Epistemology and Christian Apologetics* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), pp. 117-20, and see, e.g., Rom. 8:17b; 6:5, 8; Gal. 2:19b; 6:17; Phil. 3:10; 2:5-8; furthermore 2 Cor. 4:7-12, 16-17; 11:23b-33; 1 Cor. 4:9-13.

Second, the story of Peter's denial, ending in John 21, served as an illustration of God's grace and forgiveness even after death, making Peter an identification object for many.

Third, in reference to Matthew 16:18-20 and John 21:15-17, Peter was considered to be the teacher of the church, as the representative of Christ authoritatively explaining what God wants Christians to do, thereby also having the power to forgive or to discipline. Already in the third century, at the latest in the middle of it, Roman bishops claimed the same authority for themselves, in their own way using Peter as identification object. Thus, in Rome from now on, depicting Peter in art could also mean indirectly hinting at the authority of the Roman bishop.

3. The latter was one of the reasons why in the art commissioned by upper-class Christians, that is, in sarcophagi reliefs, Peter occurs significantly more often than in catacomb frescoes (ratio 1:8), documenting a special Peter veneration in the Christian upper classes of Rome. It pleased the Christians of worldly status and power to associate themselves with the authority of Peter and the Roman bishop, while less aristocratic Christians, commissioning less expensive catacomb paintings, shied away from this kind of association or were not interested in it (see also p. 290 above).

4. All of those, however, who depicted Peter at their tombs, aristocrats or commoners, were united in the hope of having Peter as an intercessor at their side when facing God after their death — a mediator who, as a pardoned sinner himself, could put in a good word for them and bring them the water of eternal life, as he had done for the soldiers who had arrested him.

5. In his S. Sebastiano inscription of the fourth century, Damasus claims that Peter's and Paul's martyrdoms in town made these two Eastern immigrants true Romans *(cives)*. By naturalizing them, he usurps them, attempting to monopolize all of their authority in the West in order to boost his attempts to uphold influence in the political power struggles of the East.

6. The importance of Peter does not lie in the historical Peter's individual theology, about which we know nothing for sure.[111] Nevertheless, Peter was given the role of teacher of the church. What then was the content of his teachings for the church? In the eyes of many Roman Christians, at the latest from the third century onward, the content was defined by the local Roman bishop's teaching. Peter as recipient of Christ's *traditio legis et clavium* guar-

111. In view of Gal. 2:12-13, he might have propagated a reconciliatory, integrative theology, in Antioch anticipating Paul's own later advice to the "strong" in 1 Corinthians 8–10; Romans 14–15.

anteed that the bishop of Rome, as his representative, was given the mandate to lead the church and teach the truth, especially in ethical matters. The fact that the apostle, contrary to Paul, had not left a written legacy must have been convenient for his "successors" on the Roman episcopal cathedra.

7. Peter's and Paul's local martyr tombs as local representations of Christ's universally salvific passion, as well as Peter's representation of Christ, the authoritative teacher, giving direction to the church (*traditio legis,* Moses-Peter typology), show how much the ancient category of representation influenced these Christian concepts. One might call it a vulgar Platonism, according to which the higher being reflects itself on material lower levels of the being and becomes tangible there. But one can also look at the concepts of Roman administration and society, where the vertical system of representation is ubiquitous, with prefects, legates, and procurators. Iunius Bassus, as *praefectus urbi,* was the vicar of the emperor, for example. Even on lower levels, entrepreneurs were represented by freedmen as procurators of their affairs in other cities. Paul calls himself an ambassador of Christ. Thus the martyrdom of Peter did not have a salvific power in its own right; it rather reflected the salvific power of Christ's death in a locally tangible way. Similarly, the Roman bishop did not possess an authority of his own but an authority reflected through Peter from Christ (as Christ himself reflects God's *doxa,* 2 Corinthians 3). In these two ways, Peter became a key to Christ and to Christ's work of salvation — which is quite a reinterpretation of Matthew 16:19–18:18, where Peter was portrayed as representative of the congregation.

Table 1: Images of the Apostle Peter in Catacomb Iconography (third to seventh centuries)

The table begins on p. 310.

Abbreviations used in the final column of table 1

B	F. Bisconti, *Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane: Restauri e Interpretazioni* (Todi: Tau Editrice, 2011)
D	J. G. Deckers, *Commodilla*
DS	J. G. Deckers, H. R. Seeliger, and G. Mietke, eds., *Die Katakombe "Santi Marcellino e Pietro": Repertorium der Malereien* (Vatican City: Pontifio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana; Münster: Aschendorff, 1987)
EW	C. Edwards and G. Woolf, eds., *Rome as Cosmopolis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
RP	A. Nestori, *Repertorio*
WMM	J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert,* vol. 4 (Freiburg: Herder, 1916).
WP	J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms,* Tafelband (Freiburg: Herder, 1903)

Catacomb	***Location***	***With deceased***	***With Paul***
Anonymous Via Ardeatina (Balbina?)	1 (*arcosolium:* lunette)	x (veiled woman, *orante*)	x
Commodilla	3 (small basilica: decorated loculus in left wall)		x (and other martyr saints: Merita, Adauctus, Felix, Stephanus)
	5 (*cubiculum: arcosolium* in right wall: lunette)		
	5 (*cubiculum: arcosolium* in back wall: *sottarco* right side)		
Domitilla	18 (*cubiculum: arcosolium* in right wall: lunette)	x (woman, *orante*)	x
	19 (*cubiculum:* niche in back wall: *sottarco* center)		x
	38 (*arcosolium:* lunette)	x (veiled *orante*)	
	41 (loculus)	x (person, probably the deceased)	
	[46] (*arcosolium:* lunette)		
	50 (*arcosolium:* lunette)		
Giordano ed Epimaco	1 (*cubiculum:* vault)		x
Pietro e Marcellino	3 (*cubiculum:* vault; late 4th to early 6th cent.)		x
Pretestato	5 *(arcosolium: sottarco)*		x
	[5] (*arcosolium:* front)		
	6 (*arcosolium:* lunette)		x
	19 (*arcosolium:* lunette)		x
Via Latina (Via D. Compagni)	9 (*sala:* left wall: 3rd section: lunette)		x
Ciriaca	4 *(arcosolium: sottarco)*		

With Christ	***With martyr bishop Sixtus II***	***Peter's denial***	***Peter as sheep (= martyr)***	***Description or photo***
				RP 118; WP 249,1
x seated on globe, handing over keys				RP 140-42; WM 148f
		x		RP 143; EW 95; D 104 (ca. 380 CE or later)
x (Jesus' apparition before a man, probably Peter)				RP 142
				RP 123; WP 179,1; 154,1
x				RP 123 (*sottarco* right side: miracle of the rock)
				RP 126; WP 154,2
				RP 126; WP 153,2
				RP 127; WP 127,1 (bearded man: Peter?)
x				RP 128; WP 182,1; 248 (same *arcosolium,* front: miracle of the rock. With Moses?)
x				RP 71 (on the same vault *a traditio legis.* With Moses?)
x x (the 2nd time as lamb with 4 paradisiacal rivers and 4 other saints)				RP 50; EW 97; WP 252-254; DS 201
x	x			RP 91; WP 181.1
				RP 91 (bearded man: Peter?)
x				RP 92 (*sottarco:* maybe the miracle of the rock)
				RP 95
x				RP 80
		x		RP 45; WP 242.1; B 247: end 4th cent.

Theriomorphic			
Catacomb	***Location***	***With deceased***	***With Paul***
Pretestato	5 (*arcosolium:* lunette)		x as sheep
	5 (*arcosolium:* lunette)		[x] as dove
Callisto	18 (crypt of S. Caecilia: *lucernario*)		x as sheep
	[31] (cubiculum: front) identification as Peter and Paul very uncertain		x as sheep
Panfilo	1 (*arcosolium:* lunette)		x as sheep
Commodilla	5 (*cubiculum: arcosolium* in back wall: *sottarco* left side)		x as sheep
Priscilla	40 (loculus)		x as sheep

Theriomorphic				
With Christ	***With martyr bishop Sixtus II***	***Peter's denial***	***Peter as sheep (= martyr)***	***Description or photo***
x as sheep			x	RP 91
x represented by a Christogram			[x] not as sheep, but as dove	RP 91 (end 4th cent.)
x represented by a cross			x	RP 105
			x	RP 107
x as sheep with nimbus			x	RP 6
x as sheep			x	RP 142
[x] represented by a tree of life			x	RP 28

Table 2: Summary of Table 1[a]

Total of Paul images in catacombs	Total of Peter images in catacombs	Peter and the deceased		Peter and Paul
10 (or 11[b])	18	4 (22%)		10 (56%)
			Peter, Paul and the deceased	
			2 (11%)	
Theriomorphic				
7 as martyr sheep (or dove)	7 as martyr sheep (or dove)			7
Totals				
17 (or 18)	25	4	2	17

a. Frescoes in which Peter occurs as only one among the twelve apostles flanking Christ are discounted (e.g., Commodilla 5, where the Twelve are represented by doves and Christ by a dove with a nimbus). In these cases, "the Twelve" is a motif on its own without particular interest in Peter. Percentage numbers relate to 18 as a total number of Peter images.

b. See Nestori, *Repertorio,* p. 208. Ten of them together with Peter (see table 1). The identification of a man with a pointed beard with Paul on the eleventh image in Domitilla 12 (*arcosolium: lunette;* Nestori, *Repertorio,* p. 119) is as uncertain as the identity of a second (today headless) person in the same fresco — who could have been Peter again.

		Peter and Christ			Peter's denial
		9 (50%)			2 (11%)
Peter, Paul, and Christ			Peter and risen Christ	*Traditio clavium*	
7 (39%)			1 (6%)	1 (6%)	
	Peter, Paul, Christ and Sixtus II				
	1 (6%)				
Theriomorphic					
6		6			
Totals					
13	1	15	1	1	2

Table 3: More than Two Hundred Petrine Scenes on Roman Sarcophagi (Rome and Ostia)[a]

R = Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium*
Numbers without R = frequency. If two numbers are given the first one reflects definite occurrences, the second one the total of definite and possible occurrences.

Traditio legis	***Traditio clavium***	**Christ saves Peter from the waters**	**Miraculous(?) fish catch**	**Healing of a blind person**
13 / 15 (1st quarter to end of 4th cent.); *included in these figures are R 674 and 680 (as precursors of the motif; see above), and*	**6** (last third of 4th cent.)	**2** (1st quarter to 2nd third of 4th cent.)	**1** (3rd quarter of 4th cent.)	**0 / 1** (R 12; 1st third of 4th cent.)
8 with Peter carrying a cross (last third to end of 4th cent.)				

a. See the lists in U. Lange, *Register*, pp. 9-12, 40, 65, 82-88, 90-93, 102-106, 124 (some of the totals on p. 124 are corrected here). In addition to the figures here, Peter is globally included in numerous scenes in which, by way of example, *several* apostles acclaim Christ or carry wreaths to Christ *(aurium coronarium)*.

Peter reading, with soldiers	**Denial motif: rooster (Matt. 26:34)**	**Miracle of the rock, with soldiers drinking**	**Arrest**	**Martyrdom (cross)**	**Lamb symbolism: several apostles as lambs, parallel to depictions of Christ with apostle figures**
4 / 8 (from the 320s to 2nd half of 4th cent.); in addition cf. R 26: standing among other apostles, Peter is not reading but points to an open scroll in left hand while teaching	**47 /63** (1st quarter of 4th cent. [or 3rd quarter of 3rd cent.] to end of 4th cent.); including	**55 / 57**[b] (beginning of 4th cent. to last 3rd of 4th cent.); **plus** see R 680 (Peter as lamb; 359 CE) and the combinations of rock miracle and arrest on R 45, 367, 838, 919	**64 / 75** (1st quarter to end of 4th cent.), including	**3 / 4** (2nd third to end of 4th cent.) **plus** see *traditio legis* (left) with Peter carrying cross, and lamb symbolism (right)	**6** (last third to end of 4th cent.); also included is R 724: *only* Peter and Paul as martyr lambs flank Christ (4th quarter of 4th cent.)[c]
	Combination of both scenes		**Combination of rock miracle and arrest,** illustrating the conversion of soldiers		
	1 (R 674; 1st third of 4th cent.)		**4** (1st quarter to 2nd third of 4th cent.)		

b. Thus, not included are reliefs in which it is unclear whether Moses or Peter is depicted, because no drinking soldiers are visible. There are 25/32 such undeterminable reliefs.

c. Not included is Bovini-Brandenburg, *Repertorium*, p. 777 (cf. above).