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Arabisms. It may be that something of this kind led the translators to use the term *Kúpios*. At any rate the phenomena indicate that they must come from the same school of Jewish thought or translators. This source may be Palestinian, so far as this usage is concerned: in the case of the Greek Job the translator was probably a Hellenizer. This is shewn by his usage of Homeric and classical Greek words. The translator of Ecclesiasticus it should be remembered represents himself as the grandson of Jesus the son of Sirach, and as only a temporary sojourner in Egypt (see Prologue).

In conclusion, I would say that, though I have done my best to make my statistics accurate, and I have no doubt that they are so in the main, my figures may require some slight modifications. So far as I am aware, no such an exhaustive analysis of the use of these Divine Names has ever before been attempted.

H. A. REDPATH.

THE CATACOMB OF COMMODILLA.

Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Serie V: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1905.

To the student of Christian archaeology by far the most interesting of the discoveries recorded in this volume are those made in the excavations which in the course of the past two years have brought to light the central crypt or basilica of the *Coemeterium Commodillae*. The only text in which this catacomb is named is the following passage of the *Index Coemeteriorum*:—‘Coemeterium Commodillae ad S. Felicem et Adauctum via Ostiensi.’ The indications furnished by these words and the mention of St Felix and St Adauctus immediately before St Paul in the Itineraries enabled Boldetti, in 1720, to locate the cemetery in the Via delle Sette Chiese, not far from S. Paolo fuori le Mura. Boldetti actually penetrated into the central crypt, and there saw a fresco in which St Felix and St Adauctus were represented, thus placing the identification of the catacomb beyond doubt. Unfortunately, the roof of the crypt collapsed eight days after Boldetti’s discovery, and the excavations were then dropped. Prof. Orazio Marucchi, the indefatigable secretary of the *Commissione di Archeologia Sacra*, succeeded in procuring the resumption of the enterprise in 1904, and the result has been to bring to light the whole of the crypt entered by Boldetti and a portion of the catacomb of which it was the centre.

The interest of the discovery rests in the light which it throws upon the latest phase in the history of the catacombs, and in the difficulties

which attend the interpretation of its sepulchral monuments. In the first place, the form of the catacomb, with its relatively broad, high galleries, differs somewhat from the usual type, a fact which has suggested to Baron Kanzler the idea that here (and probably here alone) a sand-pit (*arenarium*) may have been converted to the uses of Christian burial. Moreover, the decoration of the crypt dates from the earlier part of the sixth century, and thus illustrates a phase in the development of painting at Rome during the predominance of Byzantine influences which has left few monumental remains. In order to explain the nature of the finds it will be convenient to recapitulate briefly what is known of the two principal saints venerated in the *Coemeterium Commodillae* and of the history of their crypt. St Felix and St Adauctus belong to the number of the martyrs of Diocletian's persecution. When the first-named, who was a priest, was being led to execution, he was met by an official of the *Fiscus*, who was converted to Christianity and shared in the martyrdom of St Felix. As his name was unknown he was called Adauctus, 'eo quod sancti Felicis auctus sit ad coronam'. It would seem that the first works of importance by which the tomb of the martyrs was embellished were due to St Damasus (366-384). His inscription in their honour is preserved in the MS Collections, and runs as follows (according to Ihm's text):—

O semel atque iterum vero de nomine Felix,
 Qui intemerata fide contempto principe mundi
 Confessus Christum caelestia regna petisti.
 O vere pretiosa fides, cognoscite, fratris
 Qua ad caelum victor pariter properavit Adauctus.
 Presbyter his Verus Damaso rectore iubente
 Composuit tumulum sanctorum limina adornans.

It is certain that this inscription found a place in the crypt, since in the *Liber de locis S.S. Martyrum* the latter part of line five is quoted; a few fragments of the original (twenty-three letters in all) are preserved in the Vatican. Their significance was discerned by De Rossi, who inferred that they must have been discovered by Boldetti in 1720. We may then assume that the crypt in its present shape, and the broad stairway which gives access thereto, are the work of St Damasus.

It appears, however, that under his immediate successor, St Siricius (385-398), important works of restoration were carried out by a certain Felix. We give the recently-discovered inscription, from which this inference is drawn, according to Marucchi's restoration; but it will be seen that this is far from certain in its details, and leaves room for doubt on a point of primary importance:—

Hic famulos domini nov[er]unt nunc bene templa reserant,
 Qui dulces animas solve[r]unt corpore iunctim,

Ut pariter possent viv[orum scandere sedes.
 Felicem tegit hic tum[ulus, qui maior in aula
 Occurrit gradib[us] sanc[tum]que recondit Adauctum.
 Salvo Siricio papa r[en]ovata dicavit
 Martyrib[us] Felix p[ro] munere vota repondens.

The decoration of the crypt, as we have it, is not however in the main the handiwork of Felix. We are informed in the *Liber Pontificalis* that John I (523-526) restored the cemetery of St Felix and St Adauctus, and the style of the paintings discovered leaves no doubt that they belong to this period. Before considering the nature and interpretation of the remains, however, it is necessary to observe that, beside St Felix and St Adauctus, two other martyrs were venerated in the *Coemeterium Commodillae*. One of these was St Nemesius, to be distinguished from the martyr of the same name whose tomb was on the Via Latina. Marucchi has conjectured with much probability that his epitaph is contained in an elegiac inscription preserved in the *Codex Palatinus* (De Rossi *Inscr. Christ.* II 102 29):—

Martyris haec Nemesi sedes per saecula floret,
 Senior ornatu, nobilior merito.
 Incultam pridem dubitatio longa reliquit,
 Sed tenuit virtus adseruitque fidem.

The language of this inscription is certainly inapplicable to the more famous Nemesius of the Via Latina. The saint with whom we are here concerned is coupled with St Felix and St Adauctus in the *Liber de locis SS. Martyrum* and the *Itinerarium Malmesburiense*, but in the Itinerary of Einsiedeln we read: *Inde ad S. Felicem et Adauctum et Emeritam*. Now the last-named saint appears in the *Martyrologium Romanum* under the date of Sept. 22, together with 'S. Digna', and both are said to have met with their martyrdom 'sub Valeriano et Gallieno'. The juxtaposition of these names was naturally thought to be suspicious, as it seemed probable that one or both of them might have arisen from an adjective. The discovery of the *Coemeterium Commodillae* has confirmed the justice of these suspicions as far as regards St Digna, but there can be no question that St Emerita was an object of veneration in the crypt of St Felix and St Adauctus.

On descending the stairway and turning sharp to the left the first monument of importance which meets us in the crypt (which is narrow and somewhat irregular in shape) is a tomb whose principal ornament is a painting of the sixth century, representing our Lord in the act of handing the keys to St Peter—the earliest example in painting of this rare subject. The figure of St Peter is balanced by that of St Paul, holding the volumes of his epistles. The symmetry of the composition

is maintained by the addition of two further figures on either side: St Felix corresponds presumably with St Adauctus (the inscription is lost); while St Emerita is balanced, *not* by St Digna, but by St Stephen. On a strip of plaster of earlier date, below the fresco just described, we read the words SANCTO MARTYRI BENERABILI. We have then here the tomb of a martyr; and it is most natural to conclude (with Marucchi) that St Nemesius was buried here. But this, as we shall see, is not the only possibility.

On the same wall is to be seen an interesting fresco, in very good preservation, which decorated the tomb of a lady named Turtura. The subject is the Blessed Virgin, richly attired with Byzantine jewellery, seated on a throne with the Divine Child on her knee, between St Felix and St Adauctus. The widow Turtura is likewise represented, and below is her epitaph, which is worth giving in full:—

Suscipe nunc lacrimas, mater, natiq̄ue superstis
 Quas fundet gemitus laudibus ecce tuis.
 Post mortem patris servasti casta mariti
 Sex triginta annis sic viduata fidem.
 Officium nato patris matrisque gerebas;
 In subolis faciem vir tibi vixit Obas.
 Turtura nomen abis, set turtur vera fuisti,
 Cui coniux moriens, non fuit alter amor.
 Unica materia est quo sumit femina laudem
 Quod te coniugio exhibuisse doces.
 Hic requiexcit in pace Turtura
 Que bisit pl̄ m̄ annus lx.

The fresco has already been published by Mgr Wilpert and is of considerable importance as compared with the earlier series of paintings in St Maria Antiqua.

The principal object of veneration in the crypt (as is shewn, *inter alia*, by the *graffiti* which surround it) was the tomb placed at the extremity furthest from the entrance. Now it seems probable that this monument contained three bodies; for while two persons were buried, one above the other, in a *forma* excavated in the floor, there is also a *loculus* in the back wall. Above this are the remains of a painting, which may be of the fourth century, representing St Felix and St Adauctus in adoration of the Monogram of Christ, and at the side was the fresco seen by Boldetti, who, it will be observed, read the inscription SCA MERITA. On a pilaster beside the monument is a fresco representing St Luke, which is dated by its inscription (*sub tempora Constantini Augusto n. factum est*) to the seventh century (668–685). Marucchi, therefore, proposes to recognize in this floor-tomb the resting-place of St Felix and St Adauctus, and in the *loculus* that of St Emerita. Against

this it has been urged that the phrase *occurrit gradibus* in the metrical inscription quoted above is more appropriate to the tomb at the bottom of the stairs near the doorway of the crypt; and it is easy to restore the missing words so as to give a suitable sense, e. g. :—

Felicem tegit hic tum[ulus, tegit alter Adauctum,
 Occurrit gradib(us) sanc[to qui in limine primus.

But it is to be observed that the fragments of this inscription were discovered in a narrow gallery immediately to the left of the tomb, which is approached by a flight of steps: and the phrase used of St Felix and St Adauctus in the *Liber de locis SS. Martyrum*—‘Ambo requiescunt in uno loco. Ibi quoque et Nomeseus (sic) Martyr cum plurimis iacet’—accords better with the hypothesis of a common tomb.

With regard to the tomb of St Emerita doubt is also possible. In a gallery which prolongs the crypt at the end opposite to the tomb just described is a large *sepolcro a forno*, i. e. a *loculus* whose direction is perpendicular to that of the gallery. This must have been a tomb of some importance, since no less than four *loculi* have been sacrificed in its construction and decoration. It is surmounted by a pediment painted in fresco representing St Emerita between St Felix and St Adauctus¹. The painting is of the sixth century, but it is of course possible that it forms part of the restored decoration of a more ancient tomb, and Baron Kanzler, who discovered the fragment bearing the name of the saint, is of opinion that we have here the tomb of St Emerita herself. He sees a confirmation of this hypothesis in the fact that an inscription of the year A. D. 426 is known which mentions the purchase of a site for a tomb *ante domna(m) Emerita(m)* by two persons, Januarius and Britia, and there is in fact a *loculus bisomus* facing the tomb now in question. But this is of course no more than a coincidence; and since it is difficult, if not impossible, to suppose that any of the four *loculi* sacrificed to the *sepolcro a forno* can be the original tomb of the saint, we should be forced to have recourse to the hypothesis of a translation of her body in the sixth century, for which it would be difficult to find a satisfactory parallel. It is, however, worthy of note that a certain Leo, whose *graffiti* are found beside the other historical tombs, has scratched his name on the fresco. It should also be said that Marucchi identifies the tomb of Januarius and Britia with a *bisomus* found in the floor immediately in front of the principal monument of the crypt and therefore of the *loculus* in which he supposes St Emerita to have been buried.

It will be seen from this brief account that the discovery of the *Coemeterium Commodillae* has raised problems of considerable importance in relation to the later history of the catacombs. Nor is it the

¹ Beneath the figure of the latter is painted the phrase *CVIVS NOMEN DEVS SCIT*, in allusion to the legend of St Adauctus.

only case in which recent excavations in early Christian cemeteries have yielded important results. Not only in Rome, but in Sicily (at Syracuse) and in Africa (at Hadrumetum) this branch of investigation has been pursued with success. An account of these discoveries must, however, be deferred to a future occasion.

H. STUART JONES.

THE ORIGIN OF THE AARONITE PRIESTHOOD: A REPLY.

MR McNEILE'S temperate and courteous criticism of my article on the 'Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood', which appeared in the JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES for October 1905, deserved an earlier reply. Since my theory, however, presupposes the view that Deuteronomy is an exilic work, it seemed better that a reply to criticism upon the theory should appear simultaneously with an article upon the date of Deuteronomy.

Certainly if any 'bones' can be found 'which will not fit into the conjectural skeleton', it must be frankly admitted that a new skeleton must be reconstructed; but before attempting to do this it will be well to subject the alleged bones to a careful scrutiny.

In the first place I would point out that Mr McNeile has inadvertently misrepresented a sentence of mine, the last half of which he quotes *verbatim* on p. 1. I did not place the original story of Aaron's calf at Horeb at all. Following Wellhausen, I regard the whole Horeb section as belonging to a later *stratum*. Hence the tradition that Aaron made a golden calf, even if (as I admit to be probable) he is identical with the Aaron who is mentioned as the associate of Hur, does not locate the calf worship at Horeb. Indeed on p. 166 I distinctly stated that the obvious place in which to look for the origin of the legend of Aaron's calf is one of the sanctuaries which possessed golden calves. And since, in my opinion, the beginning of the iconoclastic movement (which is clearly implied in Exodus xxxii *in its present form*) cannot be dated earlier than the end of the eighth century B. C., when Hezekiah broke up the brazen serpent, it is obvious that Exodus xxxii must have taken shape since that date. The essential elements in that chapter are that a calf was made, and that Aaron made it. Details were probably still in a state of flux¹.

¹ The earliest tradition was probably altogether silent on the subject of Aaron's death, and moreover did not represent Caleb and Joshua as the only persons of the host that came out of Egypt who entered Canaan. Only fragments of the earliest tradition have come down to us. Hur evidently occupied a position of some importance in the oldest story, but for some reason unknown to us the compiler of JE has excluded from his book the later history of him.