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name of the goddess NIN . KI . GAL was pronounced also as Ereshkigal. It seems even possible, in view of the fact that we have numerous instances of the Semiticizing of Sumerian words (e.g. KI . GAL, *kigallu*; E . GAL, *ekallu*) that *anshu*, *anshi* may have been taken over into Semitic. A parallel may be found in the fact that the Sumerian ideogram for 'lion', UR . MAG ('great dog'), is read in Babylonian *nêshu*, but there also exists a Semiticized Sumerian name *urmahhu*, so that *nêshu* and *urmahhu* stand side by side, just as, upon this theory, *anshi* and *hâmôr* would do.

It would be interesting to hear what professed Assyriologists have to say as to this suggestion.

C. F. BURNEY.

## ST JOHN AND ST JAMES IN WESTERN 'NON- ROMAN' CALENDARS

THE Dean of St Patrick's (in the *Irish Ch. Quarterly* Jan. 1908) and the Dean of Westminster (in a note appended to his *Advent Lectures*, published during the course of 1908) have recently discussed the supposed corroboration of St John the Evangelist's alleged martyrdom from ecclesiastical Calendars. They quote the Syriac martyrology (of the early fifth century) and the Carthaginian martyrology (of the early sixth) to shew that St John the Evangelist was at one time associated with his brother St James the Great for commemoration on December 27 as 'martyrs'. A certain amount of homiletic evidence is also adduced by them, with which I am not now concerned. Their conclusion is that the Evangelist was only called 'martyr' in the broader and earlier sense, which included those who were afterwards distinguished as 'confessors' from those who actually were slain for the Faith: and that thus 'the general tradition of the second century which assigns to St John the Apostle a peaceful end cannot be set aside by' the 'slender evidence' (attributed to Papias) 'for a martyr's death': and few will be found to reject such a conclusion.

It is rather interesting to carry the investigation into the connexion of the two sons of Zebedee with the Christmas festival a little further. The closing days of December appear from an early date to have been associated with a group of commemorations containing (1) St Stephen, the first martyr, (2) St Peter and St Paul, (3) St James and St John, the sons of Zebedee: to these were rather later added (4) the Holy Innocents. Pairs (2) and (3) in this group were not always in this order, and in the West the winter commemoration of St Peter and St Paul soon gave way, if it ever was observed, before the more favoured

midsummer commemoration on June 29. It is to be noted that this group of leading apostles and martyrs was commemorated on Dec. 26 and following days not only before the Nativity of Christ came to be observed on Dec. 25, but even where it never has been so observed.

Another consideration is this that two other saints prominent in connexion with our Lord bore the names of John and James, and were in some churches commemorated about this season of the year, viz. John the Baptist and James the Lord's brother (who for liturgical purposes may be reckoned as identical with James, the son of Alphaeus). The Baptist is, according to Duchesne, commemorated on the first Friday after the Epiphany by the Nestorians, and the Kalendar of Perpetuus of Tours (fifth century) places his Nativity between the Epiphany and the Chair of St Peter (Feb. 22): possibly this may partly account for the scribe's mistake in writing 'Baptistae' for 'Evangelistae' in the Carthaginian Martyrology on Dec. 27. The Lord's Brother is commemorated with David, His Royal Ancestor, on Dec. 25 by the Armenians who do not keep the Nativity of Christ; and by the Nestorians on the Friday after Christmas. Duchesne adduces evidence to shew that this is a festival of Palestinian origin: and certainly one might expect that the first Bishop of Jerusalem would be primarily honoured by a place in the Kalendar amongst his own countrymen.

When we turn to 'non-Roman' Service-books in the West, this latter point helps to explain the confusion and other phenomena that we meet with: for evidences are abundant that such Service-books derive much of their observances from Eastern sources.

(1) The *Missale Gothicum* recognizes Dec. 27 as the *Natalis Apostolorum Iohannis et Iacobi*. The formulae given speak freely of their 'martyrdom' in the sense claimed by the Deans of St Patrick's and Westminster, but do not specify in what it consisted.<sup>1</sup> The *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* gives an abbreviated form of the same Missa but inserts it *after* that for the Holy Innocents: possibly this dislocation is accounted for by what will be said further on.

(2) The Mozarabic Books (both Breviary and Missal) as reprinted by Migne provide services for St John the Evangelist alone on Dec. 27 and refer copiously to the usual traditions about his trials and death, but make no allusion to him as a martyr. Incidentally here I may draw attention to one of the prayers in the Breviary for this day (col. 130 Migne) because it contains two interesting clauses: (1) it begins thus 'memores praeceptorum tuorum Dñe Iesu X̄re quibus nos

<sup>1</sup> We find a slight trace perhaps of the double commemoration in *Leon. Sacr.* (p. 166 Feltoe) the postcommunion in the second Missa for St John Evang. ('nos continuis caelestium martyrum non deseris sacramentis'). The compiler, who is hardly 'non-Roman', nevertheless drew from all kinds of sources.

memoriis sc̄orum communicare praecepisti': this is of course a quotation of Rom. xii 13 with the Western reading *μνείαις* for *χρείαις*, which is understood to have given rise to the clause 'Communicantes et memoriam venerantes' of the Roman Canon: (2) soon after we have 'coronam, quam nominis sui interpretatione (? *add.* non) promeruit, privilegio sanctitatis obtinuit': this reminds us of Greg. Nyss. *τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐδοξίας στέφανοι* quoted by Dr Bernard, just as the concluding clause in the *Inlatio* for the day in the Missal (col. 203 Migne) 'splendifico apostolorum in choro refulgens' suggests his *λαμπρὸν ἀπαστράπτοντες τὸ κάλλος τῆς εὐσεβείας . . . τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἁρμονίας ἔξαρχοι*. To return, however, the Kalendar prefixed to the Mozarabic Missal (col. 104 Migne) gives 'Translatio sc̄i Iacobi apostoli' for Dec. 30: the Missal itself contains only a Missa for St James the Lord's Brother, and therefore, of course, has no reference to the Compostella legend, which the word *translatio* seems to suggest,<sup>1</sup> while it specially describes the Saint in the *ad pacem oratio* (col. 214) as 'a Pharisaeis ex alto praecipitatum' (cp. Syncellus p. 634 *ἰ ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸν καταβλήθρα*), and thus *translatio* can hardly mean *transitus* (*μετάστασις*, Men. Bas.) or *assumptio* (see below). I take it therefore that the word 'Translatio' is another instance of a scribe's confusion, and that the entry in the Kalendar printed in Appendix II (Migne col. 1056) for Dec. 30 'Iacobi fratris Domini' is the more correct one.

On the other hand the *Breviarium Gothicum* both in the Kalendar, and in the Breviary itself seeks to distinguish the two Saints accurately. The Kalendar gives Dec. 29 *Iacobi fratris Dni*, Dec. 30 *Iacobi fratris Iohannis ap. et evang.*, while offices are fully provided for both these days, one in the *Temporale* (col. 156 ff), and one in the *Sanctorale* (col. 1506 ff). In Spain, therefore, there is all the same a certain amount of evidence that both James the Great and James the Less were separately commemorated within the Octave of Christmas.

(3) It is interesting to draw attention next to the evidence of two Kalendars quoted in full by Delisle in his *Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires*: (1) on p. 310 from the eighth-century Sacramentary (Reich. MS 30) now at Zurich 'vi Kal. Ian. Iohannis Apostoli et Iacobi Alfei fratris Domini', and (2) from the ninth-century Sacramentary of Senlis (Lat. BB 20), where the Kalendar itself (p. 323) gives 'vi Kl. (Jan.) in basilica montis Oliveti, natale sancti Iohannis, apostoli et evangelistae', but 'special annotation on the feasts of all the apostles' gives this (p. 324) 'v Kl. Jan. ordinatio episcopatus sancti Iacobi apostoli fratris Domini . . . cuius passio ipso die Hierosolima magna colitur veneratione. et in basilica montis Oliveti, sancti Iohannis evangelistae.'

<sup>1</sup> Alphonsus II ordered the Saint's body to be removed upon its discovery in 800 A. D. to Compostella.

(4) In the 'Ambrosian' Rite according to Beroldus (p. 14 Magistretti) St John the Evangelist was commemorated on 'vi Kal. Ian. ad concam' (i.e. in St John the Baptist's church, Milan) and *Ordinatio S. Iacobi apost.* on 'iiiij Kal. Ian. ad S. Sebastianum'.<sup>1</sup> Magistretti tells us (p. 171) that St John the Baptist's church (which was the male baptistery, St Stephen's being the female) was destroyed in 1410, and (p. 193) that the Ordination of St James was removed from the 'Ambrosian' Breviary by Cardinal Friderico Borromeo in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

(5) All the Keltic Martyrologies are derived from the so-called Hieronymian Martyrology, which is a strange mixture of Eastern and Western elements. That collection assigns to Dec. 27 the Assumption of St John the Evangelist and the Ordination to the Episcopate of St John the Lord's Brother, the original Eastern association of the two sons of Zebedee being thus wrecked through the confusion of the two Jameses. And this confusion reappears in the Martyrologies of Oengus, Tamlaght, Gorman, and the Drummond Missal: that of Tamlaght even enters it thus 'Assumptio, et Ordinatio Iacobi Apostoli fratris Iohannis,' as if James the Less was not only confused with James the Great, but was also reckoned to have 'passed away' (i. e. without ordinary death) like John the Evangelist: but surely this can only be once more a scribe's mistake in omitting 'Iohannis' after 'Assumptio'.

This investigation does not, I admit, carry us very much further, but, so far as it goes, it serves to throw a little light on the Deans' arguments by means of Western service-books, and at any rate suggests a partial explanation of the dire confusion that reigns between the two Saints who were called James.

C. L. FELTOE.

## LITURGICAL COMMENTS AND MEMORANDA.

### II

THE canon of the Roman Mass has long been an object of curiosity in some circles; indeed of puzzled curiosity. At present it seems to form the centre of interest in what may be called the Neo-German Liturgical School. The seed sown by the solitary Probst in 1870 took a long time—the space of a generation—to germinate; but the progress made since 1900 is quite astonishingly rapid. The stages are marked by Professor Drews 1902 (*Entstehungsgesch. d. Kanons in der röm.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ebner *Quellen und Forschungen Iter Italicum* p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently this was in the revision published in 1588: cf. *Bäumer Geschichte des Breviers* p. 464. Friderico was cousin of the more famous Carlo Borromeo.