Themes From St. John's Gospel in Early Roman Catacomb Painting

BY

CLARK D. LAMBERTON

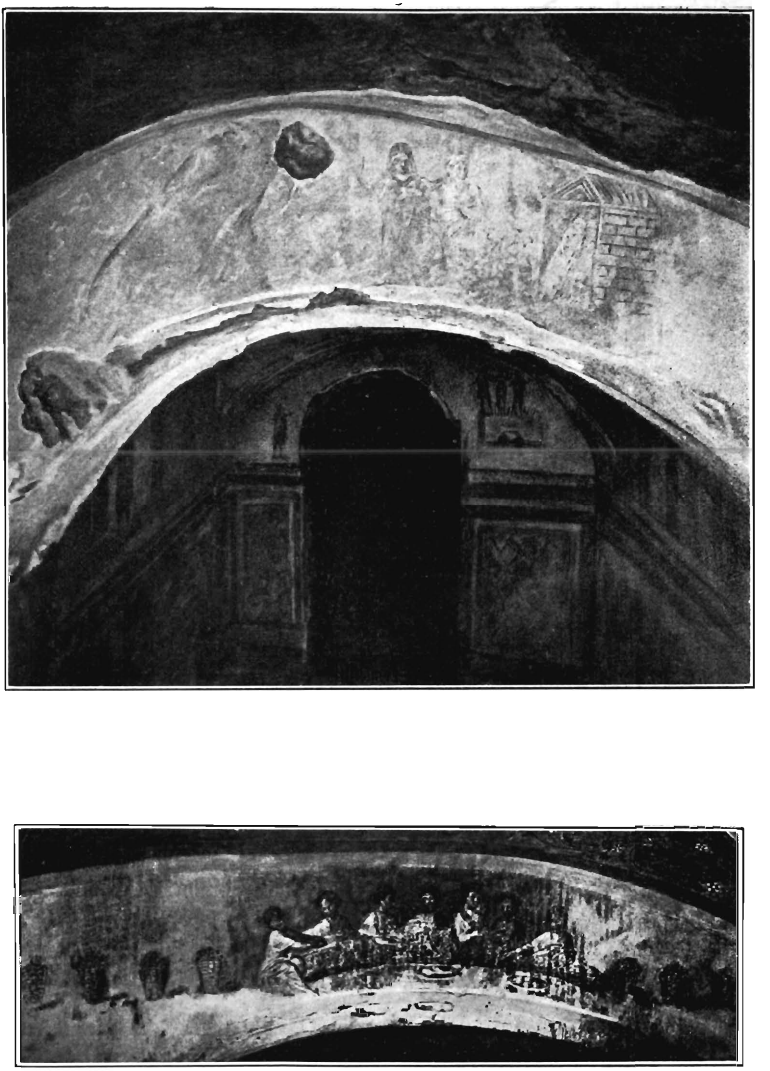

PLATE I. FROM WILPERT'S FRACTIO PANIS.

Themes From St. John's Gospel in Early Roman Catacomb Painting

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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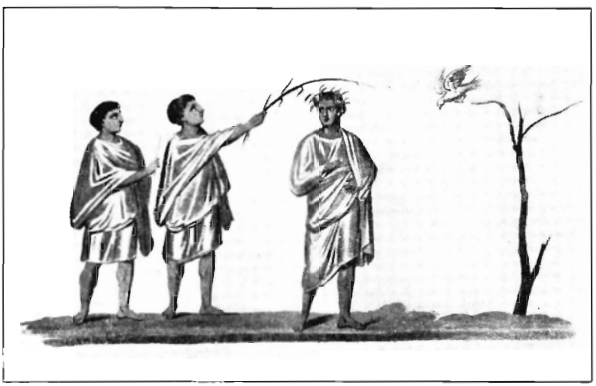

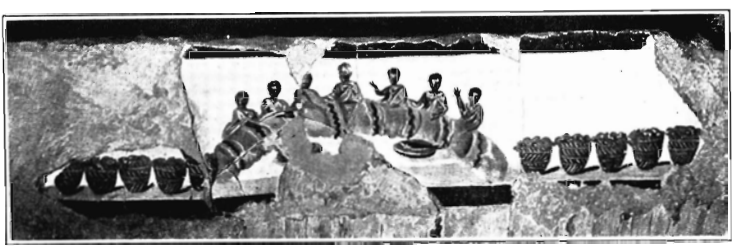

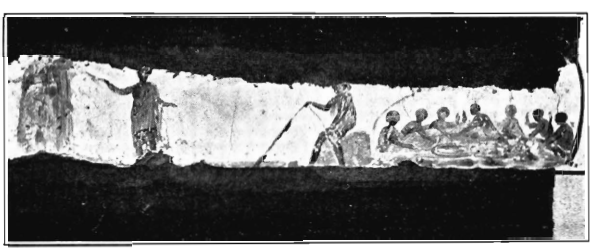

PLATE II. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

PREFACE

One of the results of the discovery during the past fifty years of such an immense quantity of archaeological material from the earliest Christian centuries has been the presentation of a number of monographs on particular subjects. Among the more recent of these may be mentioned Dr. Erich Becker's *Mosesdarstellungen* and Professor Morey's *Origin of the Fish Symbol,* to say nothing of the series by Wilpert on the Consecrated Virgins, styles of clothing, etc. It has seemed to the present writer that it might be useful to investigate in some such specific way the place and influence of St. John's Gospel in the Early Roman Church as illustrated only in the field of Painting. For one thing, it has been tempting to apply the finds of Archaeoloy to a subject treated heretofore only by the methods of Literary Criticism, with what results the reader alone must judge.

The author has pleasure in acknowledging the kind permission granted him by Herr B. Herder, the German publisher of Wilpert's writings, to reproduce the illustrations found on Plates I to IX from the works of that author as specified in the List of Illustrations and elsewhere. Most of these are from the *Malereien der Katakomben Roms,* which is certainly the most valuable publication in the subject of Christian Archaeology since De Rossi's day. The reproductions given in this book are greatly reduced in size. Furthermore, they are not in color. All that is attempted is to give an accurate idea of the form and composition of the several paintings. For detailed study the reader is referred to the volume of plates in Wilpert's *Malereien,* or better yet, to the originals themselves. It will be noticed that paintings will be referred to constantly in the *Malereien,* (Mal.), and at the same time quotations will be made from the Italian text, *Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane.* The reason for this is that permission for reproduction was accorded by the German publisher, whereas the author had only the Italian text at hand while verifying references. The apparent incongruity will be overcome when one remembers that the numbers

of the plates are the same in the *Pitture* and *Malereien,* though obviously this is not the case in the texts.

The author is under many obligations in the presentation of this book, particularly to Professors Allan Marquand and C. R. Morey of Princeton University for reading and criticising the text, and especially to the latter for his many valuable suggestions and kind advice. Acknowledgment is made here also of the courtesy of the authorities in control of the Roman Catacombs in granting permission to enter and study under advantageous circumstances. Especially is it a pleasure to recall the cordial hospitality of Professor O. Marucchi. It is indeed a privilege to be permitted to share his generous enthusiasm in visiting the celebrated localities of the primitive Christian Rome.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

1/2 indicates first half of century referred to, I, II, III, IV, etc.
2/2 indicates second half of century referred to, I, II, III, IV, etc.
α indicates beginning of century referred to, I, II, III, IV, etc.
ψ indicates middle of century referred to, I, II, III, IV, etc.
ω indicates end of century referred to, I, II, III, IV, etc.
cu indicates cubiculum; cry, crypt; cap, chapel; bas, basilica; arco, arcosolium; loc, loculus; Mal., Wilpert's *Malereien.*

D.....Domitilla.
N.....Nunziatella.
Praet.....Preatextatus.
C.....Callixtus.
Cyr.....Cyriaca.
T.....Thraso.
P.....Priscilla.
V.....Valentine.
G.....Generosa.
Sotere.....Sotere.
M&M...Marcus and Marcelianus.
S..... Sebastian.
L.....Lucina (in Callixtus).
P&M.....Peter and Marcellinus.
F..... Felicitas.
vM..... Vigna Massimo.
H ..... Hermes.
Pont..... Pontian.
Thec..... Thecla.
Maius..... Maius.

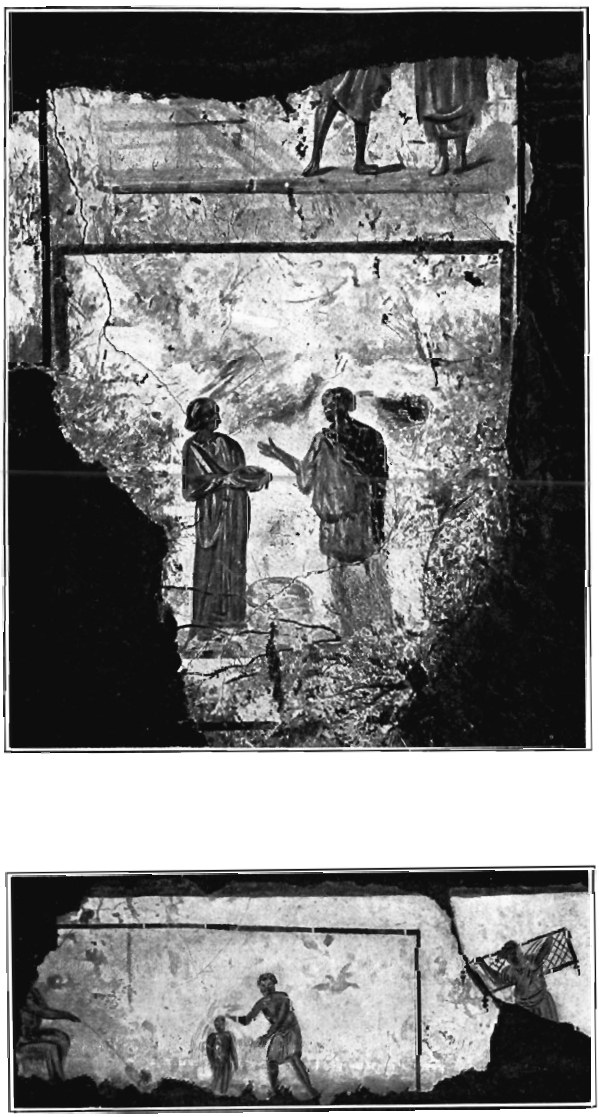

PLATE III. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

PART I.

Saint John's Gospel, owing to its marked difference from the Synoptics, offers an especially attractive theme for investigation regarding its influence in the early Church as revealed by Archaeology. It contains incidents and discourses of Jesus not mentioned in the Synoptics. On the other hand, it omits many events and sayings which are reported by one or more of the other three. But, while St. John does not report so many incidents in the life of Christ as do the other Evangelists, he makes each one prominent, and gives the impression that it is selected from a great number because of the particular truth which it is designed to emphasize. To appreciate this, one has only to recall the incidents of the visit of Nicodemus, the conversation with the woman of Samaria, the discourse on the Bread of Life following the feeding of the five thousand, the healing of the man born blind, the discourse on the Good Shepherd, the resurrection of Lazarus, the long discourses before the passion, etc.

Such themes, distinguishing the Johannine Gospel, afford marks for identification of its influence wherever they are found in the catacombs. By considering them together it is possible to estimate the influence of the Gospel in the early centuries. It is easier to do this for St. John's Gospel than for any one of the Synoptics from the very fact that in the parts selected by the early Christians for symbolic or realistic treatment the Synoptics present but slight variations one from another,[1] and so are much better studied together, whereas the Johannine Gospel stands alone, and permits of separate study with great profit. That the Gospel had an important part in the thought of the Church will be evident when the cycle of themes owning it as a source is discussed.

[1] One of the most prominent of these is in the cycle of the Christ Child. St. Matthew alone tells of the visit of the Wise Men, hence his Gospel is naturally to be regarded as the exclusive source for the initial treatment of this theme in early Christian Art. The influence of the Apocryphal Gospels becomes apparent in the fourth century.

It is true that this great influence was due to the marked characteristic of the Gospel, and its peculiar adaptability to symbolism. The second and third century Church seemed to think largely in symbols, judging from the literature which has come down to us. Allegory was carried to the extreme of absurdity in the fantastic interpretations of Scripture as found in the pages of many of the most eminent, and withal pious and sensible, of the ante-Nicene Fathers. For this they were not entirely responsible. They followed the custom of their age, and certainly their practices are conservative when compared with the lengths pursued by their Gnostic opponents.

Legitimate symbolism, however, of deep truths of the Christian religion is all that is found in the Art of the early Church. For this purpose St. John's Gospel was especially qualified. Hence its prominence in the very beginning of this Art. It seems to be a useful thing, then, to study the Gospel in this connection, remarking its characteristic and noting how this characteristic was observed in the treatment of its cycle of themes.

It is also tempting to investigate the early history of St. John's Gospel from the archaeological standpoint because of the practical bearing of the results obtained on problems of criticism. While just at present criticism is inclined to be relatively conservative on the question of the date of the Gospel, not many years ago eminent writers asserted with all confidence that its composition must be placed towards the end of the second century. Archaeology helps this much, at least, that it forbids serious return to such a theory. On the other hand, it lends valuable assistance to those who claim for the Gospel a date not later than the early years of the second century, or the decline of the first, even the days of the Apostle himself.

When Early Roman Catacomb Painting is examined with a view to isolating those themes which are derived from St. John's Gospel, and these in turn are investigated with reference to their

symbolic content, certain important results are obtained. It appears:

(1) That the Gospel was in use in Rome at a very early date. By this is meant the declining years of the first century, or the first decade in the second.

(2) That it exerted very great influence on the popular mind of the Roman Church, and at a very early date. By this is meant during the first half of the second century.

(3) That in it is to be found the key to the understanding of various themes in early Catacomb Art, which up to this time have received but a hazy interpretation. Prominent among these are the Fish, and scenes of eating in which bread and fish are served. Their symbolism is seen to be eucharistic when studied by St. John's Gospel. Accordingly, it was probably the source for eucharistic thought and expression, certainly for eucharistic symbolism.

(4) Further than this, it may be regarded as the leading factor in molding the entire cycle of Catacomb symbolism.

The paintings in the Roman catacombs executed in the second century reveal to us a state of affairs in thought and practice which no one ever suspected from the literature of the period. The reason for this, of course, is that the second century literature is so scanty, particularly of the Roman circle, that it would be very unreasonable to expect to find in it a complete portrayal of the state of the Church. Further, the literature, as one would anticipate, is devoted largely to the conflict of Christianity with paganism, or with heresy, or to exposition of the Scriptures, or to discussion of Church policy and government, or to exhortations to faith and good works. In such a specific kind of writing as we have from the pen of Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, as well as in various fragments, we would hardly expect many hints as to the things that interest us particularly; viz., the ordinary practices of daily life, what the people thought, and how they acted.[2]

[2] The celebrated letter of Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan is one of the most valuable. Also certain statements in Justin M. Cf. *Apol.* 65, 66, 67.

Accordingly it was with a mild degree of surprise that investigators during the second half of the last century, excavating in the catacombs of Rome, discovered that Daniel with his lions, Noah in his ark, and Jonah with the sea-monster enjoyed a prominence in popular thought entirely denied them by contemporary literature. Not to be wondered at, however, was the discovery that the Good Shepherd was the most popular of all the themes selected for catacomb decoration. But the finding in various catacombs of pictures representing a group of persons reclining at table and partaking of a meal, the viands of which consisted of bread and fish and wine, and *nothing more,* aroused to a high pitch the interest of all who learned of them. When, in addition to the food, it was observed that certain features of these paintings were invariable, such as the number of those feasting which was seven, and the fact that baskets of loaves were painted beside the table, it was impossible to escape the inference that they formed a cycle of distinct significance. The early date of a complete series of these paintings accentuated their importance. They are rightly set down as being of eucharistic import, but thus far no person has explained satisfactorily just why such and such features in the pictures appear to the exclusion of an imaginary list of others which might have been just as much to the point.[3]

When, however, bearing in mind these distinctive features of

[3] Thus, Mgr. Dr. Wilpert, the eminent discoverer of the leading one in the series, the *Fractio Panis* in the Greek Chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla, finds in it the first representation of the sacrament of the Communion, a realistic representation of the liturgical eucharistic feast, a faithful portrayal, doubtless, of what was enacted in the very chapel, whose apsidal arch the painting adorned. "Es war mir nunmehr klar, dass hier die BRODBRECHUNG (fractio panis, *ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου*), *also die der Communion vorausgehende Handlung des eucharistischen Opfers* dargestellt ist. Wir haben demnach ein *liturgisches* Gemälde vor uns, das in der gesamten altchristlichen Kunst einzig in seiner Art dasteht." Wilpert: *Fractio Panis,* p. 5. On the other hand, Matthaei, writing upon the Death Meal, or the feast held in commemoration of the deceased, and observing the opportunities afforded thereby of deriving Christian customs from pagan practices, includes in his list of such representations the *Fractio Panis. Die Totenmahldarstellungen i. d. altchr. Kunst.* pp. 9, 44, etc. And so others, more or less according to their various interpretations of Catacomb Art.

the paintings, we compare them with certain passages from St. John's Gospel, a reasonable interpretation suggests itself. They are seen to possess a deep meaning, which can be appreciated only by him who is familiar with the eucharistic passages in the Gospel. The problem of the Fish thus comes a little nearer to solution. One can understand better how it came to symbolize the Eucharist, and to be a sign for Christ Himself.

I. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ON THE DATE OF THE GOSPEL.

As an illustration of the practical assistance furnished by Christian Archaeology to the historical science, it is now proposed to discuss the bearing of the results attained by subterranean excavation upon the question of the date of the composition of St. John's Gospel. As suggested above, this can be done with greatest satisfaction in the case of the Gospel of the divine Evangelist because of its unique isolation from the other three which are more or less similar in method and composition. The Synoptics do not posses so many individual points selected for treatment in Catacomb Painting and on which an argument may be hung.

Besides, there is hardly the same reason for archaeological investigation of other parts of the canon. Naturally, there is none whatever in the case of writings from the Old Testament from which themes are selected. Few there are who have the temerity to date even the book of Daniel after the first century A. D. So perhaps the chief value that pictorial themes from the Old Testament possess in the field of historical criticism is the testimony that they bear as to the canonical acceptance in the Church of the books from which they were selected. With this must be coupled the evidence of the acceptance of certain writings classed by the English Bible in the Old Testament Apocrypha, notably the last chapters of Daniel containing the story of Susannah and the Elders, and the Book of Tobit.

In the case of the other Gospels there is not the same reason to use the archaeological evidence for their date that there is for that of St. John, because few are disposed to deny that they were composed before the dates at which archaeological evidence can be brought to bear upon them specifically. Even St. Matthew's Gospel, alone containing the story of the adoration of the Wise Men, is certainly to be dated before the painting of the scene in the Greek Chapel in the early second century.

But St. John's Gospel was written among the last of the books of the New Testament canon, and so approaches very closely in date of composition to the days when Catacomb Painting began, whatever the dates may be that we give to either. Indeed, the catacomb of Domitilla may have been presented to the Church by the niece of the Emperor Domitian before the words of the Gospel were written. We are thus conducted by Archaeology to a time when the dividing line from apostolic days is decidedly indefinite. We are taken back to the beginnings of things, to the days when the Church, being left without apostolic control, had to do creative work. So in the times of uncertainty, the period of which we know least, it is a matter of great satisfaction that we are able to bring the Catacomb Art into connection with a period in which the Gospel must have been written if composed by the Apostle himself.

It is not to the purpose to discuss the numerous theories of literary critics on the question of the date of the Gospel. That is an entire treatise in itself, and many works have been published which outline the theories at length. The Fourth Gospel is still an absorbing field for study and investigation, to judge from the constant stream of books devoted to the various questions involved. Chief of these is the question of date. But it is to be noticed that the great reason for investigating the date is that by so doing we may approach nearer to a settlement of the question of authorship. The present trend of criticism is expressed happily in this statement of Professor Bacon (*The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate,* p. 21), "The Modern Form of the Johannine Question scarcely concerns itself with the question of date. It is a question not of date, but of authority and historicity. Therefore, the kind of external evidence once relied upon to prove the *existence* of the Gospel in the times of Polycarp, Ignatius, Justin, and Tatian, is almost totally irrelevant. To-day nobody denies the kind of existence this evidence is alone competent to prove; while on the other hand, evidence competent to prove acceptance of the Gospel as authoritative and apostolic, or even as sharing in the respect accorded to the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and (somewhat later) Luke, is

wanting until the period of Tatian and Theophilus of Antioch (170-180 A. D.)." The writer believes that he meets exactly this demand for competent evidence in the presentation of the archaeological argument for date in the following pages. It will be observed that themes from St. John's Gospel appear in the same series with themes from the Synoptics, as well as from the Old Testament. It will therefore appear that they share in the respect accorded to the Synoptic Gospels and to the Old Testament canon. From this it will follow that the Johannine Gospel was accepted as authoritative and apostolic in exactly the same way as were the Synoptics with which it is intimately associated. And all this is true for a date earlier than that mentioned by Professor Bacon, that is for the first half of the second century, indeed for the early part thereof.

Archaeology is indeed unable to present evidence that affirms in so many words that St. John was the author of the Gospel that bears his name. All that is done is to strengthen the existing supposition. Wherefore it will be seen that the following discussion of the archaeological evidence on the date of the Gospel includes the inference concerning authorship, and it is in this expansive sense that the word "date" is used. By it is meant not only first appearance, but all of the things that depend on first appearance, including authorship, apostolicity, and acceptance as authoritative and canonical.

The present tendency in literary criticism is conservative. The existence of the Gospel in the first half of the second century, even in the first quarter of the century, is commonly admitted. So the situation is not so interesting as it was when the Tübingen School of critics attempted to find the date of composition at about 170 A. D. The archaeologist can only insist that such a date be never mentioned again. With this demand all seem willing to join at present, and indeed, as far as to the year 150. Back of that, now, what can archaeology do in assisting to solve the problem? What evidence can be produced by archaeology bearing on the question of the date of St. John's Gospel that goes back of the middle of the second century?

Before entering upon this discussion, however, the position of

the archaeologist should be made clear. He is not to be regarded as desiring to force his way into the field of criticism by conducting a search for evidence that may possibly bear on some important question involved. His contribution is rather one of inference. His science has to do with the material remains of antiquity. But if, in the work of investigating such material remains, in classifying and interpreting the same, and in assigning a date to each particle, he makes the observation that if such and such material objects bear the dates he has given them, and that if this is so they bear testimony to the existence and influence of this and that portion of Scripture at those dates, then he is indeed justified in drawing the inference that his archaeological material constitutes evidence of value that demands consideration in pronouncing judgment on the parts of the canon in question. That is to say, if he determines dates of the early second century for objects owning St. John's Gospel for a source, he may legitimately be allowed to draw the inference that the Gospel was in existence before that time, and also to point out the bearing of his inference upon the question of the date of the Gospel.

The Evidence.

Coming then to the evidence:

There are certain themes treated in the Art of the Roman catacombs that find their source in St. John's Gospel, and nowhere else. These themes may be termed *absolutely* Johannine. There are other themes the subject matter of which may be found in other parts of Scripture as well as in the Fourth Gospel, or which cannot be connected specifically with any portion of the sacred canon. Yet by reason of sundry evidence, purely archaeological, they are to be regarded as Johannine in source. Such may be termed *archaeologically* Johannine. There are also certain themes illustrating other portions of Scripture as well as St. John's Gospel, or which cannot be located in the Scriptures at all, which yet seem to express chief of all the characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. These may be termed *characteristically* Johannine themes. The themes then, that own St. John's Gospel as a source are to be

divided into these three classes; Johannine *absolutely, archaeologically,* and *characteristically.*

In discussing the question of the date of the Gospel, only those *absolutely* Johannine will be considered. These are catacomb themes, the Johannine source of which no one can successfully dispute. They are found only in St. John's Gospel, and in no other parts of Scripture. The absolutely Johannine themes, about which there can be no question, are:

(1) The miracle of converting water into wine at the wedding feast at Cana of Galilee (Jn. 2 : 1-11).
(2) The incident of the conversation of Jesus with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well (Jn. 4: 1-42).
(3) The Raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11: 1-46).

The catacomb paintings in which these themes are treated constitute the *materia* for study in investigating the date of the Gospel. The whole matter, of course, hinges on what dates may be assigned to these paintings. It is therefore necessary now to investigate their several dates. It will suffice for our purpose to treat only of those admittedly early. There would be but small point in including in our investigations those that everybody regards as works of the third century and later. For this reason, the entire theme of the miracle of the Wine at Cana of Galilee is excluded. There are only two paintings of this theme that have come down to us (with a probable third), and the earliest dates in the first half of the third century. Only two paintings of the incident at the well of Samaria come under discussion, and the great majority of those of the Raising of Lazarus are excepted because of their admittedly late date. The investigation is thus narrowed to a very few paintings. But the force of their testimony is ample for the purpose.

The first of these absolutely Johannie themes is that of the Raising of Lazarus. The earliest painting in the series is in the so-called Greek Chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla on the *Via Salaria Nuova,* about a mile and a half from the city wall. A treatment of the Lazarus theme is found on the inner wall of the

arch separating the "presbytery" from the "nave".[4] It is undoubtedly the first in the series of the absolutely Johannine themes. It will be to the point, therefore, to consider the matter of the date of this Greek Chapel, in which the painting is found.

The Date of the Greek Chapel.

In 1895 Mgr. Dr. Joseph Wilpert, who has taken for his special province the entire field of Roman Catacomb Painting, published a book called "Fractio Panis", which is a complete description of this chapel, fully illustrated with plates and drawings, as well as a discussion of the themes therein portrayed, and the questions pertaining thereto. This book was the result of his archaeological exploration of the chapel and parts contiguous, which he had commenced in 1893, and which resulted in the discovery of several exceedingly valuable paintings. The most celebrated of these is a scene representing seven persons at table, the end one of which is engaged in breaking a loaf of bread, hence the title given the scene by Wilpert, "Fractio Panis".[5]

[4] The Greek Chapel is cross shaped in ground plan, roughly speaking. It consists of a long room with barrel vault ceiling, divided into two parts by an arch. From the three sides of the farther of these three recesses project. The end one and the one to the right are apsidal, and the one to the left has a barrel vault ceiling. The chapel thus has the ground plan of a one aisled basilica with transept and apse, and seats in the nave and presbytery were furnished by artificial loculi, or shelf-like, side-opening graves, the tops of which consisted of flat arches of brick. Paintings adorn the face of the arches of these apses and vault, as well as both sides of the triumphal arch which separates the nave from the presbytery, and the face of the arch over the entrance wall. The vaults of the nave and presbytery were also decorated with paintings, as well as the walls of the nave. The under sides of the arches were decorated with a stucco design of acanthus leaves and rosettes in relief, and the edge in places with an egg moulding. The lower wall of the nave consisted of an imitation marble stucco decoration, after the first two Pompeian styles. Because of the size of the chapel and its arrangements for seating (as well as its architectural peculiarities), it is believed generally that Eucharistic feasts were often held within its walls.

[5] *Fractio Panis* : Die Älteste Darstellung des Eucharistischen Opfers in der "Cappella Greca". Freiburg im B. 1895. Herder'sche Verlagshandlung.

Naturally Dr. Wilpert gives his opinion on the date of the chapel, and the paintings contained therein, and devotes a chapter to argument on the same.[6] He concludes his reasoning with the declaration, "Since, therefore, all indications speak for the time of Trajan, or Hadrian at the latest, our paintings are to be located, with certainty, in the first decades of the second century."[7]

Mgr. Wilpert's opinion deserves respect. He has spent years in studying the paintings of the catacombs, and has done the exceeding great service of publishing a complete *corpus* of the paintings of the catacombs of Rome, the best preserved and most important of which are reproduced in color, and with a faithfulness that no one who has studied the originals can question.[8] In addition to this *corpus,* Wilpert has issued numerous monographs upon separate cycles of paintings and studies upon matters pertaining to Catacomb Art. He is the man best qualified to express an opinion upon all questions that belong to the paintings of the Roman catacombs. Accordingly, his book on the Greek Chapel may be regarded as fundamental and authoritative.[9]

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[6] "Chronologische Bestimmung der Malereien", p. 29ff.

[7] P. 32.

[8] *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms,* one vol. of plates and one of text. 1903. Freiburg im B., Herder'sche Verlagshandlung. An edition of the same in Italian was issued at the same time : *Le Pitture delle Catacombe Romane;* Rome, Desclée, Lefebvre &C. It is not to be understood that *all* the paintings are reproduced in this great work. Some, usually in a very fragmentary state or in utterly inaccessible positions, are omitted, but descriptions and full notices are given of all, not only of those now existing, but also of those now lost but once observed and described or copied by earlier excavators. The errors of the *corpus* in this respect are remarkably few. Those who at the present day examine the original paintings sometimes criticise the color plates of this *corpus.* They say that the colors do not correspond with the frescoes themselves, that they are too bright. Sometimes they say that the plates are "treated," "re-touched," etc. Such critics forget that several years have elapsed since these copies were made, also the fact that they were made under the best possible conditions of light and when the paintings were carefully cleansed for the purpose.

[9] Mgr. Wilpert is regarded as the leading authority on Catacomb Painting. This does not imply that he holds a similar position in all

In the following pages an effort will be made to put in order the chief points that Wilpert makes in support of the date he assigns, as well as all others that may be advanced. The argument can be best appreciated by those who have examined the chapel itself, or at least have seen the plates in Wilpert's *Fractio Panis* and *Malereien* (*Pitture*).

First of all, he affirms that all of the paintings in the chapel are of the same date. The complete list of these paintings includes the Raising of Lazarus, the Breaking of Bread, Abraham sacrificing Isaac, Daniel and two Lions before the palace of the Babylonian King, decorative figures, one in the attitude of prayer, called an "Orant", the Adoration of the Wise Men, scenes from the story of Susannah, Moses striking the Rock, a man pointing to the Three Hebrew Children in the Furnace at Babylon, an ideal head, one of the personifications of the four seasons, and the Restored Paralytic carrying his bed. There are also vases, vine designs and flowers. In the destroyed ceiling of the vault of the nave Wilpert says was probably painted a scene of the Baptism.

Because the paintings on the arches of the presbytery are in darker, heavier colors, Noah, for example, being on a background of the richest Roman red (*Malereien,* Pl. 16) and the Fractio Panis being treated in dark red (Mal., Pl. 15, 1), some critics declared that they are of a different date from those of the nave which are on lightly tinted backgrounds. They were unfortunate in making the date later, for the bold red of the Noah picture recalls the best period of Pompeii. This marked difference in color scheme Wilpert explains in a very rational way. He says that in the presbytery the pictures were viewed by the

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branches of Christian Archaeology; though from the wealth of his knowledge and experience his statements are given due consideration. It is not to be inferred, either, that all of his pronouncements in the field of Painting are correct, and are to be received without question. His interpretation of various pictures is rejected by many persons who do not consider his arguments conclusive. But in the scientific study of technique his position is first. His book on the styles of clothing of figures in catacomb frescoes is an illustration. In it he shows how styles of clothing form an exact test for date of paintings, and scientifically outlines the criteria.

direct light of the *luminarium,* or opening from the surface admitting the light of day. Wherefore, stronger, darker colors could be used to advantage, while in the darker nave, illuminated only with artificial light, the ground colors would have to be as light as possible. Moreover, several of the figures treated upon this light ground, notably two of the Hebrew children in the Babylonian furnace, are in a tint of red found in the presbytery part. In this appreciation of the problem of light consists an unique characteristic of the chapel. It contributes largely to its artistic merit, and thus constitutes a strong argument for its early date.

All that Wilpert is disposed to allow is the hypothesis of two artists working side by side. The one dealt in light, delicate strokes, and preferred light colors. He was more lyric in treatment. The other used heavy strokes and strong tones. The work of both is found in both parts of the chapel, showing that they worked at the same time. The lyric artist executed the lightly tinted Susannah scenes of the nave, and the entire vault of the presbytery with its graceful vine designs and corner figures of an orant and ideal figure, and the scene of Daniel with his lions. The attitude and drapery of the orant correspond exactly with that of Daniel as orant in the third of the Susannah pictures. Likewise, the ideal figure in the presbytery vault agrees exactly in dress, and in the circumstance that he supports his garment with his left hand, with the man who points to the three Hebrew children in the furnace, which scene is on the entrance wall of the nave. The inference is plain that they are the work of the same hand.[10] The same inference is to be drawn from the scenes of the Epiphany, on the nave side of the triumphal arch, and the Raising of Lazarus, on the presbytery side. They are the work of the artist who used stronger treatment. Judging from his heavier style one might also venture the observation that the barrel vault of the nave, containing the Restored Paralytic and the personification of Summer, was done by the man who executed Noah, the Sacrifice of Abraham, and the Breaking of Bread. These specific instances should be sufficient to demonstrate the

[10] *Fractio Panis,* pp. 24, 30, etc.

truth of the declaration that the paintings of the chapel are of equal value in seeking for evidence as to the date of one of them. Arguments derived from any one of them apply with exact force upon the question of the date of the painting under consideration, the Raising of Lazarus.

An outline of the arguments in favor of the date of the early second century for this chapel, and accordingly for the painting of the Raising of Lazarus, may now be given, as follows:

1. *Technique of the Paintings.*

(a) The stucco on which these frescoes are executed is of the finest quality. This is a sure sign of early date in catacomb paintings, for very rapidly great carelessness was shown in the preparation of the materials used. Coarse grained sand, marble dust and brick dust took the place of the fine powders of the better and earlier period.

(b) The stucco is in two strata. Vitruvius[11] recommended six strata to Roman architects, but at Pompeii one stratum only is frequently found. We do not have enough material left from Rome to form accurate conclusions as to the different periods of Roman mural painting, but in the catacombs it is an invariable rule that frescoes on two layers of stucco are earlier. To observe that a fresco is on one layer is sufficient to mark it as third century, while the fourth century ones frequently confirm the rule by exhibiting an immature crudity. (However, the fact that a painting is on one layer of stucco does not necessarily imply that it is a poor painting. Many excellent paintings are on one layer, but even so are of a later period.)

(c) The colors employed are of the best. The pigments are of the best to be found in all Catacomb Art. The colors are absolute in each case. Whatever the tint used it is always consist-

[11] Cf. Vitruvius: *De Architectura,* VII, 3.

ent. It is not offensive by falling short of what we would wish or expect. In later frescoes there is often a manifest failure in the mixing or in the application of the colors (their selection will be discussed presently). They are not what they ought to be. In later paintings they were often improperly or carelessly applied. Many of the later paintings have a faded appearance, caused by the neglect of the workman, who did not apply the colors at the proper time. He painted his picture when the stucco was too far dried, so the colors did not endure.

None of these things happened to the paintings of the Greek Chapel. The colors are full and rich, or light and delicate, but in the complete tone that was intended. Several of these paintings have indeed suffered severely, and are by no means in appearance as originally painted. But this is due to the effects of time and ruin. A stalactite formation, the result of the constant dripping of water, as originally let in through the *luminarium,* destroyed the effect of several. Yet we have to thank this same stalactite formation for preserving them to us. When once covered they were protected as under glass, and no one could remove them, and no one knew of their existence. Careful treatment with chemicals in our own day has at last revealed them, though in a ruined condition.

The colors employed in these pictures are the same as those we see so constantly repeated in Pompeian frescoes. Particularly do the ground tones strike us as being similar, the red in the Noah scene, for instance. These paintings, therefore, belong to the very earliest period of Catacomb Art, the period in direct chronological relation to the Pompeian.

(d) The chapel contains decorations in stucco relief. Acanthus leaves ending in rosettes are worked on the under surface of several arches. Such work in the catacombs is exceedingly rare, and marks an early period. In the Flavian section of the catacomb of Domitilla a tomb is faced with stucco decoration in relief in order to give to it the appearance of a carved sarcophagus. The Flavian section of the Domitilla catacomb is at the very entrance, and in its primitive part. It is dated generally in the latter part of the first century, that is, in the reign of Domi-

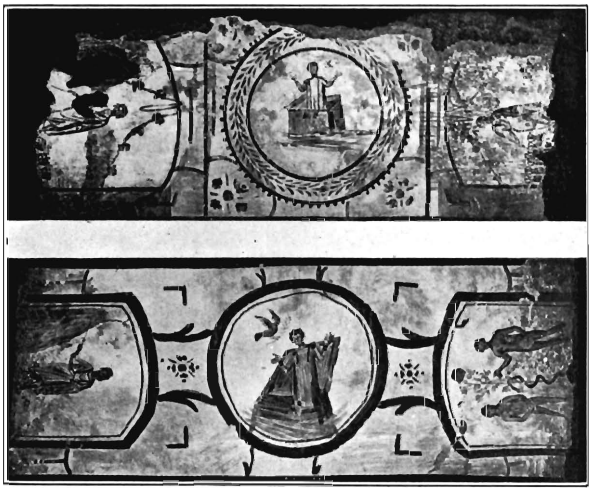

PLATE IV. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

tian (81-98). Work in stucco is usually a sign of early date. The stucco work in the Greek Chapel is of a remarkably fine order. It is somewhat heavy, but is regular and in graceful lines. It forms a valid argument for early date.

2. *Artistic Merit of the Paintings.*

(a) They recall the Pompeian cycle. Pompeian paintings possess this advantage in the matter of dating, that they are furnished with a *terminus ad quem.* Professor Mau investigated them scientifically, and from his observations classified them into four "styles", which correspond with four several periods, though the styles overlap and undergo revivals. In this work he demonstrated what may be accomplished in the scientific dating of ancient paintings by deducing criteria and applying the various pictures to them for judgment. It is customary when one thinks of the history of painting, to place a gap from the days of Pompeii to sometime along in the middle ages, for, as is well known, the remains of Roman painting are exceedingly rare. But it must be understood that this gap is exactly filled by the period of Catacomb Painting. This period begins when Pompeian Painting ceases, and preserves the connection, so that now one may study the history of painting in unbroken succession from the period of the Greek masters on down to our own day. It is not out of place, therefore, to point out the important position of Catacomb Art in the history of painting, a position somewhat too lightly regarded by those who write upon the history of Art. While the frescoes of the catacombs are by no means as numerous as those at Pompeii, they are in sufficient quantity to allow accurate study, and are as important in illustrating the subterranean city as those at Pompeii are for the city above ground. It is true that they mark a decline in Art, and in this respect are not so interesting as those at Pompeii. Their interest lies rather in their content. But they supply a defect in the Pompeian cycle, for at Pompeii no ceilings are preserved, while in the catacombs they are very numerous, so that the catacombs allow us to judge how the Pompeian ceilings were decorated. It is easy to restore ceilings to

Pompeian houses from the Crypt of Lucina, the Sacrament Chapels, the Johannine Crypt, the Greek Chapel, and numerous other catacomb chambers. In return for this service, Pompeian Art displays the sources of the later Art and in the Pompeian cycle we find the beginnings of Catacomb Painting.

The paintings in the Greek Chapel very nearly approach this cycle. This argument appeals best to those who have examined both. But to those who have seen Pompeian pictures, or reproductions of them, it will be sufficient to remark that in the Greek Chapel we have the same Roman firmness and fulness in reasonable limits, not in the crude strength into which Catacomb Painting degenerated when plenty of ground color took the place of gradation of tone. A distinct reminiscence of Pompeii is found in the group of buildings in the scene of Daniel between the Lions. The small size of this painting, as well as the capricious way in which it is introduced into the scheme of decoration of the vault of the presbytery, argue for similarity with late Pompeian styles. Further, the dado of imitation marble which runs around the nave points to the same conclusion.[12] The decorations of this

[12] *Fractio Panis,* p. 28. "Zuletzt wollen wir uns der Ausschmückung der untern Wandtheile zuwenden, welche die Archäologen bisher entweder ganz unbeachtet liessen oder mit ein paar abfälligen Worten in eine viel spätere Zeit als die bildlishen Darstellungen herabsetzen. Es liegt indes auch hier ein Irrthum vor: da sie sich noch ganz an die *antike Decorationsweise* anlehnt, so legt sie ein nicht unterschätzendes Zeugniss für das hohe Alter der Kapelle und ihrer Fresken ab.

"Professor Mau, einer der grössten Kenner der antiken Malerei, hat auf Grund seiner fleissigen und scharfsinnigen Untersuchungen die einzelnen Phasen in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji festgestellt und vier verschiedene Stilarten unterschieden: den *Incrustations-,* den *Architecturstil* und *zwei ornamentale.* Die zwei ersten—nur diese kommen hier in Betracht—stimmen darin überein, dass der untere Theil der Wand des auszumalenden Raumes, abgesondert und mit einer der Quaderimitation mehr oder weniger nahestehenden Marmorincrustation decorirt' wird; bei beiden folgen über dem Sockel stehende Rechtecke zur Andeutung der Marmorplatten; bei beiden werden die einzelnen Decorationstheile getrennt: der Sockel durch einen Gurt oder Leiste und die Rechtecke durch ein Gesims, welches den Abschluss nach oben bildet. Der Hauptunterscheid zwischen diesen zwei Stilen besteht darin, dass im ersten die Bekleidung mit Marmorplatten wie auch die Trennungsglieder in *plastischer Stuckarbeit*

chapel are in undoubted and immediate succession to the Pompeian paintings. They are among the finest in all Catacomb Art, and approach very nearly in excellence to many of those at Pompeii.[13]

(b) Attention has been called already to the admirable appreciation and handling of the light problem. The presbytery, lighted by the *luminarium,* is treated in darker colors than the more obscure nave in which the colors are light and delicate. This indicated the use of judgment rarely found in later paintings when such niceties in Art were forgotten.

(c) Individuality on the part of the artist or artists is shown,

a In the delicacy of touch employed. It is necessary to mention only the vine design in the vault of the presbytery,[14] and the sketching in the Susannah scenes,[15] as well as the man who points to the three Hebrew children in the furnace,[16] and the ideal

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nachgeahmt sind, während im zweiten alles dieses in *Malerei auf flacher Wand* ausgeführt ist.

"Ein Blick auf die Ausmalung der untern Wandtheile in der 'Cappella greca' zeigt, dass sie ein Gemisch der Decorationselemente der zwei ersten Stilarten aufweist. Nehmen wir zunächst die rechte Wand des Schiffes. Der Sockel enthält eine Imitation von geld—und rothgeadertem Marmor und ist durch eine vorspringende Leiste von weissem Stuck begrenzt; oberhalb des Sockels sind grosse Rechtecke, die den gleichen Marmor nachahmen und von einem doppelten Rahmen eingefasst sind: einem weissem, welcher zurücktritt, und einem rothem, welcher vorspringt; ein Consolenfries mit stark profilirtem Gesimse bildet den Abschluss und trennt die Incrustationsfläche von derjenigen, in der die Bilder gemalt sind. Bei der linken Wand ist der Sockel durch die gemauerte Bank eingenommen, und die Rechtecke sind in ähnlicher Weise wie gegenüber behandelt; der Consolenfries mit dem Gesims fehlt und ist durch ein äusserst primitives Ornament, das vielleicht dem Eierstabe nachgebildet ist, ersetzt. In dem Raume mit den Nischen wurde infolge der gegebenen Verhältnisse die Marmorbekleidung nur in Malerei auf glatter Fläche nachgeahmt."

[13] When it is considered that they were executed by lamp light, in difficult postures, in underground crypts illuminated by artificial means, and not by the skilled workmen that wealthy pagan Romans could afford, it is a wonder that they are as good as they are.

[14] *Fractio Panis,* Pl. XII and fig. 2.

[15] Mal., Pl. 14; *Fractio,* Pl. IV and V.

[16] Mal., Pl. 13.

head on the entrance wall.[17] A man of taste evidently executed these.

β There is an attempt made at perspective. In the first of the Susannah scenes the two elders approaching Susannah are depicted one behind the other. The result is not a success. But it is unique, for in Catacomb Painting the action is regularly all on the same plane. So an argument may reasonably be drawn that in this instance of attempt at perspective a reminiscence is maintained of days when perspective was employed more successfully.

γ Landscape is attempted. A tree is included in the scene of Moses striking the rock, also a mountain in the scene of Abraham sacrificing Isaac. Trees frequently enclose the representations of the Good Shepherd in catacomb paintings, but in other scenes of the open air such natural features of the landscape are omitted in later pictures, unless absolutely necessary for the symbolism. By the fourth century a tree became a sign that the scene of the painting was laid out of doors, and a solitary tree was supposed to suggest to the beholder a verdant landscape with mountains in the background. But in earlier paintings, the fact that some attempt is made at landscape indicates the first catacomb period.

δ The figures are well handled. In a large measure they really portray the action or the emotion they are supposed to represent. The picture of the Breaking of Bread is the best. The persons at table are in the natural and graceful gestures of conversation or of picking up morsels of food.[18] Abraham looks as if he really intends to slay his son Isaac.[19] Susannah when accused does not raise her arms in the mechanical attitude of the

[17] Mal., Pl. 13.

[18] *Fractio,* Pl. XIII-XIV; Mal., Pl. 15, 1. Marucchi, in his book *Le Catacombe Romane,* p. 429, says, "Io farò notare che mentre nelle altre pitture del *Banchetto eucaristico* le figure hanno tipi ideali ed appena accennati, qui l'artista ha voluto rappresentare dei veri ritratti. E così, per es., può osservarsi che il ministro nella pittura del III secolo, *la Consecrazione eucaristica,* al cimitero di Callisto, ha un tipo ideale, mentre qui è un vecchio barbarto che presenta qualche somiglianza con quello di san Pietro; il che è importante per l'accennata memoria dell'Apostolo."

[19] *Fractio,* Pl. X.

customary orant, but holds them at different levels and angles. She seems to be really in trouble, and her prayer for deliverance is most earnest.[20] Also the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace by their gestures and attitudes express their distress, and the man who points to them is realistic in his gesture.[21] Attention is also to be called to the excellent portrait head on the entrance wall, above the door.

Each separate picture represents action. In several cases the scenes are particularly well handled. They are among the best in all Catacomb Art in this respect, and are, therefore, to be classed among the very first in point of time.

Realism does not entirely give place to symbolism. The chief excuse for the entire cycle of catacomb paintings, aside from those which are frankly decorative, is that they are symbolic. That is, by a simple portrayal of a few essential details such as Jonah, a ship, and a sea-monster, deep spiritual truths were suggested to the beholder, at least to one who had the requisite knowledge. In the case of Jonah, for example, it made no difference for the symbolism that Jonah was often painted larger than the ship, and in no instances could the ship carry a crew of more than three or four men—not to mention a ship's company, or that, physically speaking, it would be difficult for Jonah to thrust even his arm into the throat of the sea-dragon. Such details made no difference. The symbolic purpose was served by a ship of any size, and a monster of any description. Likewise, an ark shaped like a box, large enough to contain Noah alone, was sufficient to symbolize the truth in the history of the patriarch. It made no difference that Noah's family and all the animals were excluded. They were not necessary for the symbolism, and no notice was taken of them. In a sense, the symbolism of Catacomb Art is hieroglyphic.

[20] *Fractio*, Pl. V; Mal., Pl. 14, 1.

[21] Mal., Pl. 13. This man is probably Daniel who records the incident in the book of his prophecy. A similar instance of a sacred writer pointing to the picture which illustrates his words is in this same catacomb, and scarcely any later in date. It is a picture of Isaiah pointing to the Madonna and Child, evidently illustrating his prophecy, "Behold a virgin shall concieve, etc." Is. 7 : 14.

But in the Greek Chapel this symbolic brevity is not yet fully organized. We see it in its beginnings. Daniel is pictured between two lions, as in all later instances, but he is clothed, and the *lions' den is represented,* as well as Nebuchadnezzar's palace in the background. This effort to indicate the location of the scene is never repeated. Such things were not necessary for the symbolism, and so were omitted. But in this early painting (there is one earlier, but very greatly damaged, in the Flavian gallery in the catacomb of Domitilla), we observe that the symbolic treatment was not yet stereotyped, and that the artist thought that there should be some attempt made at realism.

Another illustration is the painting of the Fractio Panis itself. Here also the two ideas merge. The action is natural and realistic, yet symbolism is manifestly intended by the number of those feasting, by the viands served, and by the twelve baskets of bread standing at either side.

In this conflict between realism and symbolism there lies a sure indication of early date. It will be shown directly that not one of the themes treated in the chapel corresponds even in degree with the later representations of the same.

3. *Unnaturally long and slender figures a mark of early date.*

If one observes the figures of Susannah on the side walls of the nave he will notice that she is abnormally long and slender. Her figure is out of proportion, and her arms are not long enough to correspond with her body. The same criticism applies to the figures at the corners of the vault of the presbytery.[22] A similar failing appears in much of the Pompeian and Roman Art. It occurs especially in frieze decoration. One of the best known illustrations is to be found in the celebrated Pompeian painting representing a sacrificial ceremony before the temple of Isis. With these elongated priests Susannah may be compared, and, inasmuch as the fault does not continue in Catacomb Art, the inference as to connection in date is unmistakable.

4. *The fact that Daniel is clothed is a certain indication of early date.*

In only three known paintings is Daniel clothed when repre-

[22] *Fractio,* Pls. IV, V, XII ; Mal., Pl. 14.

sented between his lions. They are all in the earliest sections of three of the earliest catacombs; in the Flavian hypogeum in the catacomb of Domitilla, a painting dated in the first century, in the picture under consideration in the Greek Chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla, and in the Crypt of Lucina on the Via Appia, of the early second century. In all other cases he is depicted naked.[23] This mode continues on down through the period of the sarcophagi as well, on which there are many illustrations.

The change was probably made in the interests of symbolism. The fact of his being in a condition of punishment could be indicated in no better way. Criminals suffered nude, and so Daniel, being punished by royal decree, would represent that fact better to the Roman mind if depicted as a condemned criminal. Jonah also, undergoing punishment, is naked. So are Adam and Eve (Pl. XII), but for a different reason in symbolism. It is to be noted, then, that in the Greek Chapel Daniel is in the style used before the stereotyped form of treatment was devised. It therefore adds to the evidence for early date.

5. *Unique treatment of Daniel among the lions.*

Such treatment of this theme in Catacomb Art is absolutely unique. In no other painting is the enclosure of the lions shown, nor is there an attempt to give a realistic presentation of the scene by adding Nebuchadnezzar's palace and neighboring buildings. In only two other paintings, as just remarked, is Daniel depicted clothed. The only feature continued in later paintings is that of the prophet standing between two lions. Two lions were enough for symbolism, and symmetry of design, so carefully and noticeably maintained in catacomb paintings,[24] was attained by the

[23] *Fractio*, Pl. IX; Mal., Pl. 5-1, 25. Cf. *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1865, p. 42, 2. Also Mal., Pl. 89-1 2/2IIIC, 103 1/2IVD, ωIII or αIVPraet, ω&2/2IIIP&M, 104 2/2IIIP&M, 106-1 2/2IIIPraet, 169 1/2IVMaius, 200-2 ψIVD, 212 ψIVvM, etc. In several instances the prophet is provided with the *perizoma*.

[24] When the Madonna and Child are placed between the Wise Men, the Magi number two or four, one or two on either side; but when She is at one side and the Wise Men approach they number the traditional three. *Fractio*, Pl. VII; Mal., Pl. 60, 116-1, 144-1, 166-2, 231-2, 239, etc. Cf. also Pl. VIIIb.

pyramid effect of Daniel between the two crouching beasts. In the Greek Chapel, then, we have a free effort of the artist's imagination. It was executed before the canons of symbolism were introduced, and enforced as invariable. There can be no doubt that it is the earliest painting of the theme save the one in the Flavian hypogeum (in the Domitilla catacomb), for which the evidence points to the first century without question.

6. *Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and all the buildings painted are classic in design.*

In the series of buildings in this chapel numerous structures are depicted. Nebuchadnezzar's palace has been referred to. It is a long structure of which we see a colonnaded façade with architrave, above which are two rows of windows. It bears strong resemblance to restorations that are proposed for the side façades of the Basilica Julia or the Basilica Aemelia in the Roman Forum. Beside it are gable roofed structures, and circular, domed buildings of which there are numerous examples in classic remains of the period, not only at Pompeii, but also at Rome. Such structures, whether temples, or buildings of public or private use, are very common in the friezes or in small panel landscape pictures at Pompeii.[25] The round building to the right of the palace confirms its classic appearance by having a statuary group on top.

Other buildings in the Greek Chapel series are a structure with gable roof in one of the Susannah paintings, identified as the bath house, and the tomb in the scene of the Raising of Lazarus. One may be permitted to remark, also, concerning the tomb of Lazarus that the building is Greek. Its architecture is Greek, and it would seem that even the style of masonry is Greek.[26]

[25] Examples at Rome may be noted in *Wand-und Deckenschmuck Eines Romischen Hauses aus der Zeit des Augustus,* Lessing and Mau, Pl. IX. *Monumenti Inediti.* Vol. VI, Pl. LIII, contains examples from a tomb on the *Via Latina.*

[26] Cf. Vitruvius: *De Architectura,* ii.8.7. "Graeci vero non ita; sed plana (coria) collocantes, et longitudines chororum alternis coagmentis incrassitudinem instruentes, non media farciunt sed e suis frontatis perpetuum et in unam crassitudinem parietem consolidant. Praeterea interpo-

This fact that the buildings are depicted in classic style may at least be regarded as adjunctive evidence for early date for the paintings of the chapel.

7. *The treatment of the Epiphany is unique and indicates a period when the mode was not determined.*

A similar grouping does not appear until the late third or early fourth century. The Madonna seated, and holding the Child, is on the right, while the three Wise Men approach bearing their gifts before them.[27] In succeeding pictures of the Madonna cycle of the third century the Virgin sits in the midst of two or four Magi; or else she is depicted without them entirely, as in similar themes such as the painting of the "Madonna of the Prophet", in this same catacomb, in which Isaiah points to the Virgin and Child and to a star over their heads. The Magi lack some of the articles of attire that characterize them as orientals in later pictures. So far as can be seen they are dressed only in tunics and shoes, and lack the mantles that mark them as travellers, and the Phrygian caps that indicate their oriental origin in succeeding representations. Besides, the Virgin seems to be unveiled, which is not regular in the theme of the Epiphany. In the presence of the Wise Men, and bearing the Sacred Child it seemed more proper in the mind of the artist that she be veiled. The picture has been so injured by the stalactite formation that covered it that further details are exceedingly difficult to make out, but Wilpert asserts that the Child is wrapped in swaddling clothes. If this is so it is an exception in pre-Constantinian Art. In the Madonna of the Prophet, of a contemporary period, the Infant is entirely naked, and so in others in which we can be certain of the details, down to the fourth century.[28]

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nunt singulos perpetua crassitudine utraque parte frontatos, quos διατόνους appellant, qui maxime religando confirmant parietem solitudinem."

[27] *Fractio,* Pl. VII. Cf. Mal., Pl. 22 1/2IIP, 60 1/2IIIP&M, 81 2/2IIIP, 83-1 2/2IIID, 101 2/2IIIP&M, 116-1, 141 1/2IVD, 143-1 1/2IVC, 144-1 1/2 IVC., etc.

[28] To show the pressing need of an accurate publication of the paintings of the catacombs we may cite the statement, correct as far as the author knew or could determine from existing publications, made by Mr.

The painting in the Greek Chapel, from the features just mentioned, and because of a decided difference in the handling of the figures, is unique in its series, and also shows that it was executed before the ideas on how the theme should be treated became stereotyped and invariable. Hence it is at the head of the list as regards date.

8. *The Sacrifice of Abraham and the Story of Susannah are uniquely treated.*

Susannah[29] is rare in the catacombs, and her story is variously treated, but here we have more of her unpleasant predicament illustrated than in any other place. The theme of Abraham[30] sacrificing his son is fairly common, but the present example is the earliest in the series. The painting is very greatly damaged. A good part of Abraham, and all of Isaac but his head, are destroyed, but enough remains to enable us to note that the arrangement of the scene is independent of all later representations. Isaac is probably kneeling. An attempt at realism and agreement with the Biblical account is observed in the introduction of a mountain. Here also the artist was not fettered in his imagination. The same point as to an unformed canon applies here as to the instances stated above.

9. *The theme of the Raising of Lazarus is absolutely unique in treatment, and must have been executed before its type was fixed.*

There is no painting like it in early Christian Art (Pl. Ia).[31] To the right in the picture is the tomb. It is a small, rectangular structure, with gable roof, and it is impossible to say from its present condition whether it was approached by steps or not, though it is probable that two or three are to be understood.

Hulme, (*Symbolism in Christian Art,* London, 1891, p. 44), in which he says, "Christ as the infant was always, until the fourteenth century, depicted clothed, and it was only at the decadence of Christian Art that He was represented as nearly or quite naked."

[29] *Fractio,* Pl. IV, V; Mal., Pl. 14.

[30] *Fractio,* Pl. X.

[31] *Ibid.,* Pl. XI.

It was built of rectangular blocks of travertine or marble, apparently of the customary dimensions. The artist made a mistake in sketching the roof, for in his effort to show the entire front of the tomb he misjudged the perspective and arranged the ridge in such a manner that it does not appear to be in the middle, but to one side, so that the right slope of the roof (as one looks at it) seems to be less broad than the other. In the doorway, leaning diagonally across it is a mummy, wrapped quite differently, as far as one may judge, from those of later pictures. At a little distance from the tomb stand two figures, of which one may say that one is undoubtedly a woman. She is veiled, and has long, smooth hair parted apparently in front. The other figure is, to all appearances, a man, in *pallium* which is white. He is looking at the tomb. The woman has placed her left hand on the man, and her right arm is raised. Wilpert says that in this first painting of the Raising of Lazarus Christ is not pictured at all, but that Lazarus is seen twice. He is painted first as the mummy, and then as the resurrected Lazarus.[32] In the second case he is represented resurrected and looking at his own mummy in the act of resurrection. Wilpert refuses to identify Christ in this picture (although his second Lazarus holds an attitude ordinarily taken by Christ in later paintings), doubtless because of the familiar attitude of the woman, *wahrscheinlich Maria,* as well as from the fact that he is clad in white and has his arms crossed over his breast, and looks back at the *aedicula* with "great eyes". The fact that we have in this picture the tomb and the mummy, the prototype of all later forms, as well as the group nearby, makes it reasonably certain that it is the Resurrection of Lazarus that is portrayed. These elements are invariable in the later representations, so it is undoubtedly correct to see in this fresco the first existing form of the theme, and the origin of the type of the later paintings.

This painting is extraordinary, then, in the following respects:

(a) Christ is omitted.

[32] *Fractio,* p. 4. For this "continuous" method of representation, which arose in Roman Art toward the end of the first century, cf. Wickhoff: *Roman Art* (trans. by Mrs. Strong), *passim.*

(b) Lazarus is painted twice.

(c) Mary is prominent.[33]

In this picture, above all others of the series, the fact is evident that no one had attempted to restrain the artist in his imagination. No canon for the theme had been suggested and accepted. No sketches had been given to the artist for him to copy with what care he could. If the clergy did have the chief voice in deciding these canons, as Wilpert thinks, they had made no ruling when this picture was painted. If later paintings were more or less faithful reproductions from an official sketch-book, the book had not been composed at the time of the Greek Chapel frescoes. This one picture allows the affirmation that it, and the series to which it belongs, must be regarded as being among the very first in all the long list of catacomb paintings. Wherefore we are allowed to strengthen our position on the early date of the Greek Chapel by applying to it all the force of the subsidiary and plentiful evidence as to the early origin of the Christian catacombs of Rome.[34] The catacombs originated in the first century, and this painting is one of the first that covered their walls.[35]

10. *Christ is not painted in this chapel. This is an undoubted sign of early date.*

Christ is always painted in the subsequent pictures of the Raising of Lazarus and of the Healing of the Paralytic. Sometimes He appears with the Three Hebrew Children in the furnace at Babylon. This fact is exceedingly significant in the matter of date. The early Christians were extremely reluctant to por-

[33] Mary, or one of the sisters is indeed painted in the second picture of the series (Pl. IIIa), Mal., Pl. 19-1 1/2IIPraet., in the Johannine crypt. One of the sisters was also probably painted in the third of the series, in the Sacr. Cap. A2 in the catacomb of Callixtus 2/2II (Pl. VIIIc), Mal., Pl. 39-1.

[34] The detail of this evidence forms a work in itself which, naturally, does not concern the present investigation.

[35] A confirmatory bit of evidence on the unique treatment of this picture is the fact that Lazarus is painted in white. I. e., he, being resurrected from the dead, possesses some of the nature of a heavenly being, and so is appropriately robed in white.

tray the form and features of their divine Lord. But it is possible to trace the development of the Christ-type from the decline of this hesitation, and to indicate how this hesitation wore away as time went on.

In the paintings dating before the Greek Chapel, that is in the pictures in the Flavian section of the catacomb of Domitilla, there is no material left for consideration, since the only Biblical themes are Noah and Daniel among the Lions, and the Good Shepherd. There was no difficulty about the Good Shepherd, for He was idealized from the very beginning into the comely shepherd boy, quite similar in type to the pagan Hermes Criophoros.

But in the very next series of pictures Christ is portrayed, though ideally. In the Johannine crypt in the catacomb of Praetextatus on the Via Appia, across the road from the catacomb of Callixtus, the Raising of Lazarus is again treated, but there Christ appears, also in a painting of His conversation with the woman of Samaria, and in all succeeding paintings of these themes, or in any others in which He would naturally appear. But these representations are all ideal. There is positively no attempt at portraiture that may be regarded seriously as such for several centuries. In the fourth century in catacomb frescoes all feeling of hesitation at painting the glorified Christ disappears. There are numerous paintings of Christ in the midst of apostles or saints or in scenes of judgment, but all in His state of glorious exaltation. These paintings were influenced largely by the Apocalypse. But never, in the catacomb period proper, did the Christian artist get over his repugnance to depicting the crucifixion or passion of Christ. There is only one painting of the crucifixion in all the catacombs, and it is a fragment. It is a seventh century fresco in the catacomb of St. Valentine.[36]

From the above sketch the position of the Greek Chapel series

[36] Marucchi: *La cripta sepolcrale di S. Valentino sulla Via Flaminia.* The nearest approach to any representation of a scene of the passion is in the fourth century theme of Peter's Denial. Mal., Pl. 242-1 2/2IVCyr. Here also are to be remembered several sarcophagi of the fourth century and later, in which the passion is treated in part. Cf. Garrucci: *Storia.* Pl. 350, 351.

is evident. Christ was not even represented ideally (unless we accept Wilpert's conjecture that the Baptism, presumably the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, was depicted in the destroyed ceiling of the nave). It is true that the Infant Jesus is represented on the lap of His mother, but the picture can hardly be said to bear upon the question. In this chapel we have to do with a period before the artists could bring themselves to paint Christ in any form, either ideally or realistically (utterly excluding the idea of portraiture), even in scenes where He naturally belongs. They wanted to avoid all necessity of painting a form that would supposedly bear the sacred features. Later artists compromised in the theme of Lazarus, and all others in which Christ belongs, by painting the form, but with capriciously changed features, so that their ideal character was manifest. Only when the Apocalyptic cycle arose was realistic portraiture attempted, and then it was too late for it to claim authenticity.

A strong inference for the early date of the Greek Chapel is accordingly to be drawn from these facts, which emphasize its priority in Catacomb Art.

11. *The garments depicted in this chapel indicate an early date.*

It is possible to trace changes in styles in costume of the Roman citizen, and in the pictures under consideration we find styles that belong to the latter half of the first century and to the first half of the second. Thus, the tunics of the men are sleeveless or with short sleeves. The toga by that time was not worn except by official personages or on official occasions, so it does not appear at all in the chapel. But the *pallium,* or outer garment worn by all classes, is in correct style both for men and women. With the latter it falls exactly to their feet, and in the proper folds, not in the careless usage of a later day. The prophet who points to the Hebrew children in the furnace, as well as the man on the console in the vault of the presbytery, are in especially graceful and attractive mode. The end of their garment is gathered and folded gracefully over their left arms. Susannah might have appeared in the very best society of the late first century, or even at Trajan's court, as far as her dress is concerned. Indeed, a specific instance of good classic usage appears

in the costume of Susannah. As a Roman matron appearing in public, she has her *palla* arranged so that it covers her head, acting as a hood. The face is not concealed, but the *palla* falls over the sides and back of her head. Instances in first century statues are very numerous. They are rare in the catacombs, and do not extend beyond the second century, though two instances are found in the third. One, on a female orant, is found in the same catacomb, beside the painting of the Madonna of the Prophet.[37]

Not only is the above true, but in addition to this we observe a noticeable absence of the barbarous styles of the succeeding age, when the dalmatic was introduced into Rome, with its long wide sleeves, rather like a kimona, as well as extensive capes and mantles. It seemed as if such things marked a demand for greater comfort, and a corresponding decline in civilization. It is to be noted, finally, that the only decorations on the garments painted in this chapel are the *clavi,* or purple stripes that fall in straight lines from the shoulder. None of the peculiar markings on the corners of garments of a later age appear, such as crosses, letters and signs.

The styles of clothing in this chapel are what we should expect to see at the period suggested, and are so consistently so that they constitute strong evidence therefor.

12. *The style of hair-dressing offers a specific date.*

Up to the time of Hadrian beards were not fashionable in Rome.[38] They had been considered a distinctive mark of the philosopher, or of a man in mourning. Hadrian (117-138) introduced into Rome the style of wearing beards, and his successors followed him as a rule. His subjects quickly took up the style, though it never became absolute. Many doubtless clung to the manners of their fathers, and both styles existed side by side, just as at present. Beards were recommended to Christians generally by Clement of Alexandria[39] on the ground that they added dignity and sobriety to a man's appearance. It would seem, then,

[37] Mal., Pl. 21 1/2IIP. Cf. also Mal., Pl. 25 1/2IIL, 96 2/2IIIP&M.

[38] Cf. Marquardt: *Privatleben der Römer,* II p. 582 ff.

[39] *Paedag.,* 3: 11.

as if in the late second century the custom of beards was general. Even in the first century many men of the lower orders of society did not shave the beard. Especially in the Christian community of Rome might we expect to find bearded men in numbers, for most of them were foreigners, men of Hellenistic birth and civilization, with whom beards were always popular. The Jewish members of the Christian community would also prefer their ancestral beards.

The frescoes in the Greek Chapel are indeed badly damaged, but in the paintings not decidedly symbolic the faces are bare. This is the case in the group at the table of the Breaking of Bread. Only the venerable man at the end has a beard.[40] It is particularly noticeable in the portrait head above the door on the entrance wall.[41] Abraham and Moses have beards, and they, as well as Old Testament patriarchs and prophets, are given beards generally in later pictures, because they were regarded by the Church as true philosophers, inasmuch as the philosophy which they had presented was by far better than the wisest reasonings of Socrates, Plato, and all the Greek Schools. Justin Martyr insisted that the best thoughts in Greek philosophy were culled directly from the Old Testament.[42] Exceptions in the list of patriarchs and prophets were Noah, Job, Daniel between the lions, Jonah, the three Hebrew children, etc., all of whom symbolized in more or less degree the deceased, now in a state of release from troubles and every cause for mourning.[43]

It is indeed true that unbearded faces greet us in catacomb paintings thoughout the first three centuries. But aside from those who are ideally youthful such as the Good Shepherd, they are usually orants or the characters above-mentioned who symbolize the happy deceased. The orant is a theme in Art not well understood, but there are undoubted instances of bearded orants.[44]

[40] Pl. Ib. Cf. *Fractio,* Pl. XIII-XIV; Mal., Pl. 15-1.

[41] Mal., Pl. 13.

[42] Cf. numerous declarations in his *Apology* (59), *Address to the Greeks,* 9, 10, 20, 26, 28-33, etc.

[43] In this chapel cf. Mal., Pl. 13&16.

[44] One of the first orants in the series is bearded. It is in connection with the Madonna of the Prophet, Mal., Pl. 21 1/2IIP.

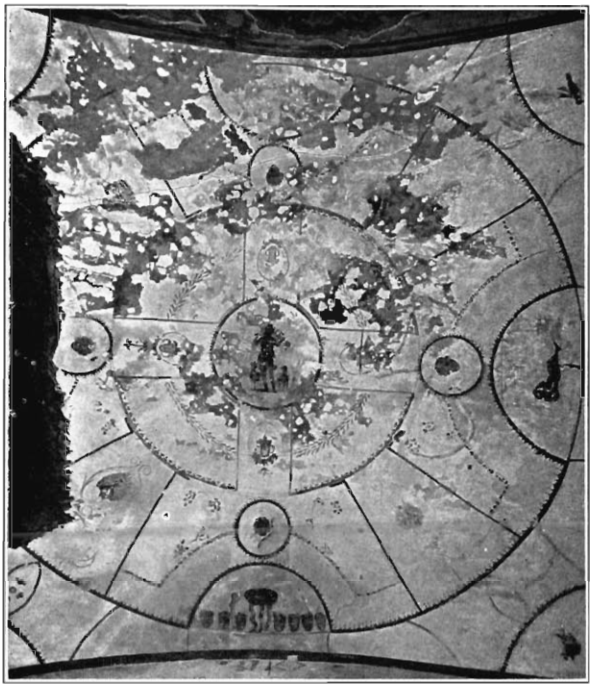

PLATE V. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

The other cases where unbearded faces occur are in pictures symbolical of the Eucharist, as in the Breaking of Bread. It may be that they have carried down this feature also from the first one in the series. The significance of the fact that non-symbolic men are without beards in this series of pictures cannot be denied. In addition to offering a strong comment on the *Roman* quality of the early church of the city, it indicates that these paintings are early, and while, in itself, it is not enough to prove that they were painted before the days of Hadrian, it permits a strong inference that they were.

When we consider the feminine styles of hair dressing, Wilpert claims exact dates. He studied the paintings under the best possible conditions, and in the instances of the Madonna and the woman in the scene of the Breaking of Bread he says that their hair was combed up smooth behind from the neck and gathered into an artistic knot on the top of the head,[45] after the style affected by Marciana, the sister of Trajan, who died in 115 probably, and her daughter, Matidia, who was the mother of Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, and married him possibly about 100 A. D., that is, during the life time of Trajan (98-117). From coins of these ladies it appears that their hair was put up in this way, though more elaborately than seems to be the case in the frescoes of the Greek Chapel. Here, therefore, is a date with which the paintings of the chapel may actually be connected. They may be dated specifically in the reigns of Trajan or Hadrian at the latest.[46]

[45] *Fractio,* Pl. XIII-XIV & VII; Mal., Pl. 15-1.

[46] In the case of Susannah and Martha, the other woman in the chapel, it is impossible to determine about their hair. They are so badly damaged, and besides, they are veiled, their hair being thus concealed. Wilpert's argument is as follows : (*Fractio,* p. 27) "Sie (Mary) ist *en face* gemalt, ihr Haupt unverschleiert, und die Haartracht gleicht derjenigen einiger Kaiserinnen aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts, was für die Datirung der Gemälde der Krypta kein unwesentlicher Factor ist." (p.31) "Wir bemerkten zunächst, dass die Haartracht der beiden Frauengestalten in manchem an diejenige der Kaiserinnen aus der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jahrhunderts, namentlich an Sabina, die Gemahlin Hadrians, und an die Schwester Trajans, Marciana, mit deren Tochter Matidia erinnert. Die Aehnlichkeit ist keine vollständige; das Gemeinsame beider Haartrach-

13. *The painting of the Breaking of Bread illustrates a technical phrase that goes back to apostolic days.*

In all of the accounts of the institution of the Eucharist it is said that Jesus broke bread and gave it to the disciples. "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body."[47] In all the instances of the miraculous feeding of the multitudes it is stated that Jesus blessed and brake the loaves, or gave thanks and distributed the loaves.[48] When Jesus appeared to the disciples on the sea of Tiberias after His resurrection, and the seven disciples drew the ship to land, "Jesus then cometh," we are told, "and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise."[49] At the village of Emmaus two disciples saw their risen Christ when He "took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them," and reported to the others at Jerusalem "how he was known of them in breaking of bread."[50] Of the early converts in Jerusalem we are told that they "continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers".[51] Before setting out on his final journey to Jerusalem, the apostle Paul tarried seven days in Troas : "And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow, and continued his speech until midnight."[52]

There can be no doubt that the fresco of the Fractio Panis figures a miracle of the multiplication of loaves (seven baskets of loaves are disposed in the scene), and that it is an eucharistic symbol. The argument for this will be presented in more de-

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ten besteht darin, dass die Haare hinten glatt heraufgekämmt und auf dem Scheitel zu einem zierlich geformten Wulst zusammengelegt sind. Hierdurch unterscheidet sie sich wesentlich von jener der spätern Kaiserinnen, bei denen die Haare in der Mitte gescheitelt und über die Schläfen zum Hinterkopf geführt werden, wo sie einen Wulst bilden. So zuerst bei der jüngern Faustina, der Gemahlin Marc Aurels." Cf. also in *Pitture*, p. 98f. and p. 122.

[47] Mt. 26:26. Cf. Mk. 14:22, Lk. 22:19, I Cor. 11:23, 24.

[48] Mt. 14:19; 15:36, Mk. 6:41; 8:6, Lk. 9:16, Jn. 6:11.

[49] Jn. 21:13.

[50] Lk. 24:30, 31, 35.

[51] Acts 2:42.

[52] Acts 20:7.

tail later. It is enough for the present purpose to state that from a complete series of early paintings in the catacombs, headed by the Fractio Panis, it is evident that the mutliplication of loaves and fishes symbolized the Eucharist. This is exactly what we see in the picture of our chapel. In the first century we know that the Eucharist and the Agape, or love feast, were scarcely distinguished, so it is possible that the realism in the painting is derived from the Agape feast.[53] A part of this symbolism consisted in the fact that in the multiplication of loaves Jesus took the loaves and gave thanks, blessed them, and *brake* them, and gave them to the disciples, just as at the occasion of the institution of the Eucharist. The action of breaking the loaves was significant. So when we see the Breaking of Bread manifestly treated in this painting, and not in later paintings (at least not in the same way), we are justified in concluding that we have to do with a time when the phrase was technical, and in common use as referring to the Agape-Eucharist feast. We are therefore taken directly to apostolic days in seeking a date for the picture.

14. *The location of the chapel in the catacomb is* ipso facto *evidence for its early date.*

An exceedingly weighty argument for the early date of the Greek Chapel is to be found in its location in the catacomb, and in the evidence to be had from the nearby galleries.

(a) The chapel is located in the primitive section of the cata-

[53] Cf. Leclercq in Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie,* art. "Agape," tom. I, p. 801. "De la fresque que nous étudions (*i. e.,* the Fractio Panis) nous devons conclure 1° qu'à Rome, au II^e^ siècle, l'idée d'un repas était etroitement associée à l'idée de la célébration de l'eucharistie; 2° que les personnages couchés sur notre fresque, ne pouvant faire la communion en cette posture, representent les convives célébrant le repas de l'agape présidé, ainsi que l'exige saint Ignace d'Antioche, par l'evêque à qui il appartient de faire aussi l'eucharistie; 3° que, vers le temps où la fresque fut faite, la célébration de l'eucharistie était jointe à l'agape et l'une et l'autre étaient figurées par le miracle de la multiplication des pains dont le symbolisme nous permet seul de reconnaitre ici une agape suivie de l'eucharistie au lien d'un simple banquet funebre." Cabrol gives a reproduction of the fresco rather clearer than in Wilpert's publications (p. 799, 800).

comb, which is one of the very oldest in Rome.[54] It is at the very beginning of the catacomb, of its complex arrangement of galleries. Its doorway opens into an "atrium", into which the original stairway from the surface level descends.[55]

The entrance to a catacomb was sometimes a formal architectural doorway upon the public road, which opened into a vestibule from which a leading gallery ran back into the hill side,[56] or from which stairs descended to the level of the galleries of the first *piano*. Sometimes a tomb or a building on the area above ground constituted the entrance, from which stairs descended to the first level.[57] So it is in the catacomb

[54] It is antedated possibly by the catacomb of Domitilla on the *Via Ardeatina,* and by the cemetery of St. Paul (or Lucina) on the *Via Ostiensis,* and by that of the Vatican, supposing that SS. Paul and Peter were interred in them respectively. More probably they are of identical period in origin, being the result of the first impulse towards catacomb construction in the Roman church.

[55] This atrium was known to early mediaeval pilgrims as the *spelunca,* or grotto, because of its size. Whatever saints and martyrs had been interred in it during the period under consideration, such as Prisca, Aquila, Pudens, Praxedis, Pudentiana, etc., were eclipsed at this time by the glories of the martyrs of the Diocletian persecution, and by the series of powerful bishops who started the Church on her career of earthly empire and influence, several of whom were buried in this catacomb. The route of these pilgrims in visiting the sacred shrines in the catacomb seems to be reverse of that of the early Christians in constructing it. The stairs leading into the atrium, and to the surrounding primitive section, were the stairs by which pilgrims sought the open air. According to their guide-books and itineraries they first visited the church of St. Sylvester, above ground, situated some little distance away. Here, and in its neighborhood they venerated the remains of the bishops Marcellinus (though see later on Marcellinus), Marcellus, Celestinus, Siricius, Liberius, etc. They descended to the catacomb by a stairway in the church itself, and after wanderings came to the *spelunca,* and visited last of all a room at the end whence they turned to go out. It was accordingly described as the *cubiculum "quando exeas."*

[56] As in the case of the catacomb of Domitilla.

[57] It cannot be too much emphasized, in view of popular misconceptions (Cf. Myers, *A History of Rome,* p. 152), that the catacombs were not constructed for purposes of concealment in times of persecution. From the above it is clear that there was no attempt made to disguise or obscure the entrances. Any person who passed along the road might know of them.

of Priscilla. As one stepped forth from the last stair he found himself in a long narrow room (3.72m x 13.74m), generally designated the "atrium". Directly opposite four rooms open out, of which the last one to the left is the Greek Chapel. From the end to the right one room, with three *arcosolium* tombs, extends, which is usually admitted to be of later construction. To the right of the stairs two rooms open out, and at the left is an arched niche and the entrance to a small chamber. In the left end wall, beside the Greek Chapel, a doorway opens into a *piscina,* the fountain of which was enclosed by a cement basin, which may have been covered by a wooden lid.

Of the four rooms opposite the stairs the end one to the right was extended into a wide gallery (into which the modern entrance gallery opens), from which a series of rooms and galleries branches out. Many of these are in a state of ruin, but a gallery that runs back of the apse of the Greek Chapel is important. It is older than the chapel itself, as is shown from the fact that the apse of the chapel broke into its wall and destroyed stucco on the same. It was lighted with a *luminarium,* and advantage was taken of this in the chapel by constructing a small window in the apse wall.[58]

This gallery is important. It is a connecting artery with a section that is probably of equal age with the Greek Chapel section. It leads to the section of the Acilian family, not far away. Indeed, directly back from the apse of the Greek Chapel is a chamber which Marucchi declares is a nymphaeum belonging to the villa of the Acilian family above ground. It is a room, the roof of which was supported by a column in the center. The base of the column is still in position. At four corners are niches, as in an ordinary nymphaeum. Among the tiles discovered in the walls of this room was one bearing the brick stamp,

L · CORNELI · PVPVL
EPICRATE

[58] It is to be noted that the stucco in this gallery is of two strata, and in part it consists of imitation *opus alexandrinum,* as is to be found in the Flavian house on the Palatine, *Fractio,* p. 40. In this gallery also are to be found the two oldest instances of the *crux gammata.*

This stamp is very rare. Marucchi asserts that only one other exists, having been discovered near the catacomb of Thraso. De Rossi regarded it as anterior to Augustus.[59]

The room was lighted by an extensive *luminarium,* which is of such an extraordinary character and of such illuminating effect upon the white walls that Marucchi identifies it as the *cubiculum clarum,* the "well-lighted chamber", in which the *Liber Pontificalis* informs us the bishop Marcellinus (d. 304) was interred by the deacon Marcellus after his martyrdom.[60] This *cubiculum clarum,* Marucchi says, was a nymphaeum of the villa, which the Acilian family, after conversion to Christianity, connected with the catacomb, or rather it may be said perhaps that they were originators of the catacomb. It may be that they even started the catacomb, supposing that there was some relationship between them and the family of Pudens, for whose mother Priscilla the catacomb is said to be named.

It had long been suspected from the language in which Suetonius mentions the charge laid against M. Acilius Glabrio, who was consul with Trajan in the year 91, and on which he was executed, that he suffered because he was a Christian. He was an instigator of new things,[61] *molitor rerum novarum.* At any rate there was strong reason to suspect that his family during the second and third centuries was Christian, because it is on the ground that it had a long Christian tradition that historians can best explain the rather solitary position it occupied in the fourth century among the ancient and aristocratic families of Rome as prominently Christian. It was not with much surprise, therefore, but with very great satisfaction that the burial chamber of this exceedingly wealthy and influential family was discovered not far from the Greek Chapel and the *cubiculum clarum.*[62]

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[59] *Bull. di Arch. Crist.,* 1873, pp. 50, 51; 1901, pp. 295, 296; 1902, p. 115; De Rossi: *Piante di Roma,* p. 20, n. 3; *C. I. L.,* XV, 953. Another stamp of the end of the second century was also found there.

[60] *Lib. Pont.,* in loc. De Rossi had located this chamber in the Sylvester section of the catacomb.

[61] Suetonius: *Domitian,* 10, 12, 15. Dion. Cass.: *Hist.,* LXVII, 13 & LXII, 13.

[62] De Rossi: *Bull. di Arch. Crist.,* 1888-9, pp. 7-66, 103-133.

That the cubiculum was the burial chamber of a family of wealth and distinction was evident at once from the fact that it was adorned with marble and with marble columns. It contained sumptuous sarcophagi, and the slight remains of fresco in the locality are of the very earliest period. They consist only of decorative elements, such as dolphins, stars, geometric designs, and peacocks turned towards a vase. The inscriptions, however, prove the ownership. They are of the family of the Acilii Glabriones, and of collateral lines, as the Acilii Veri, Acilii Valerii, and Acilii Rufini. The inscription of the consul of 91 A.D. has not been found, but the one of his son may exist in,

ACILIO GLABRIONI
FILIO

The Christian faith of the family is shown by an early Greek (i. e., early Christian Greek) inscription,

ΚΙΛΙΟC ΡΟΥΦΙΝΟC
ζΗCΗC ΕΝ ΘΕΩ

The formula ζήσῃς ἐν θεῷ (*vivas in Deo*) is very early. A third century inscription is of some importance,

M ACILIVS · V
C · V ·
PRISCILLA · C · *F*

This inscription, taken in connection with a graffito (of fourth century probably), not far away in the "confession" of the basilica of St. Sylvester at a place which another graffito names the *limina sanctorum,* and which speaks of a blessed lady Priscilla, *"domnae Priscille beate",* led to the conjecture that the Prisca or Priscilla of the New Testament narrative might have been a freedwoman of Priscilla the mother of Pudens, for whom the catacomb is named, it being included in the conjecture that Pudens belonged to the Acilian family. With this is coupled the conjecture that Aquila, her tent-maker husband, was a freedman of Acilius Glabrio, his name being derived, Aquila, Aquilius, Acilius.[63]

[63] Acts 18: 1-3, 18, 19, 26. Rom. 16: 3-5. I Cor. 16: 19. II Tim. 4: 19. Priscilla (or Prisca) and Aquila, who was born in Pontus, being Jews,

The value of the evidence afforded by the Acilian section of the catacomb, and by the "cubiculum clarum", is simply collateral. It tends to confirm the early date of the catacomb, and with this agree the early traditions that in the catacomb of Priscilla were buried not only Priscilla, the mother of Pudens, as well as Pudens himself (II Tim. 4 : 21), but also his daughters Praxedis and Pudentiana, in memory of whom churches were erected at an early date.[64]

were deported from Rome under Claudius. They came to Corinth, and the Apostle Paul lived with them and worked with them there, "for by their occupation they were tentmakers". When Paul then went to Ephesus he took them along. Here they resided, and acted as teachers to Apollos. Here they may have conducted a "house-church". Paul wrote to the Corinthian church, "The churches of Asia salute you. Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, *with the church that is in their house*", I Cor. 16:19. It is certain that they had a house church in Rome, but they must have been in Ephesus when Paul suffered martyrdom in Rome, judging from II Tim. 4: 19. In order to make connection with Roman tradition, which affirms that they were both interred in the catacomb of Priscilla, though no archaeological evidences of their tombs remain, it is necessary to suppose that they returned to Rome some time after the death of Paul, or after his last epistles, and reestablished the "church that was in their house". And this is not improbable in view of their extensive record as travellers, and because old home ties would draw them back to Rome. As for later traces of them it is to be noted that Leo IV says (*Lib. Pont.*, XLI) that he discovered the graves of Aquilinus, Aquila and Prisca in the catacomb of Priscilla, recognizing them by inscriptions. The relics were sent to Germany in 837 with the express statement that they were persons mentioned in Scripture (*Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1867, p. 405). If the above be true, they must have been overlooked in the general translation of bones of eminent martyrs and persons, undertaken by various Roman bishops because of the insecurity of their catacomb resting places during barbarian invasions.

[64] As is well known, the tradition that finds credence in Rome to-day, with sundry variations in detail, is to the effect that Pudens was host in Rome not only to Paul, but also to the Apostle Peter, that he consequently founded in his house on the Esquiline a community of Christians, a house-church, just as Aquila and Priscilla (or Prisca) had done (Rom. 16: 5) on the Aventine. His house-church was named both for himself, "titulus Pudentis", or "ecclesia Pudentiana", surviving in S. Pudenziana on the slopes of the Viminal. Also the one not far away on the Esquiline was named for his daughter Praxedis. (Cf. the mosaic in the apse of

Returning then to the "atrium" and the chambers that surround it, there are found to be several indications of early date that are noteworthy.

And first of all, considering again the Greek Chapel itself, its peculiar form and disposition mark it as early. It is cross-shaped in plan, and has every indication of having been used for religious purposes. It contains no original loculi in its walls,

Sta. Pudentiana.) Marucchi says, regarding the documentary evidence, "Les documents qui nous fournissent des indications sur l'origine de l'église de Ste Pudentienne sont, les récits dits de Pasteur et de Timothée, les lettres de Pie I^er^ à Juste de Vienne et le *Liber pontificalis*. Les deux premières classes sont apocryphes; mais nous avons plusieurs motifs de penser qu'elles continnent un fond de vérité." (*Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne,* III p. 365.) Both these churches are mentioned in inscriptions of the fourth century :

MIRAE · INNOCENTIAE · ADQ · EXIMIAE
BONITATIS · HIC · REQVIESCIT · LEOPARDVS
LECTOR · DE · PVDENTIANA · QVI · VIXIT
ANN · XXIIII · DEF · VIII · KAL · DEC ·
RICOMEDE · ET · CLEARCO · CON · (year 384)

In the catacomb of Hippolytus is an inscription mentioning the church of S. Prassede, dated an. 395 :

HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE ARGVRIVS QVI VIXit
DEPS SVB D III NON MAIS CONS PROVINIV quem locum
compaRAVIT FILIA EIVS FAVSTA A PRB TIT PRAXedis

In the fourth century and later the catacomb of Hippolytus must have been a favorite one for persons connected with these two churches. In it were found these inscriptions :

LOCVS
ROMVLI
PRESBYTERI
TITVLI PVD
enTIANAE

+ HIC REQVIESCIT IN PACE HILARVS
LICTOR TT PVDENTIS
QVI VIXIT ANN PLM XXX
DEP VII IDVS IVL PC MAVORTI V C (year 528)

Since 1901 Marucchi has prominently defended the connection of the Apostle Peter with the Roman catacombs, which was recognized in antiquity. Cf. the incident of Liberius (352-366), as narrated in his Acts : "Constantius iussit eum (i. e., Liberius) extra civitatem habitare; habitabit autem ab urbe Roma milliario tertio quasi exul in cymiterio

by which fact its unique and primitive character is emphasized. In the apse are to be found traces of a grave which was of size sufficient to contain a child of under a year old, but which may have held the ashes of a martyr who had suffered by fire, and which would account for the evident importance of the crypt.

Novellae via Salaria. Veniens autem dies Paschae, vocavit universos presbyteros cives romanos et diaconos et sedit in cymiterio." There he baptized catechumens and called to mind the example of Peter who had baptized in the neighboring Ostrian catacomb, "Erat enim ibi non longe a cymiterio Novellae cymiterium Ostrianus, ubi Petrus apostolus baptizavit". In the catacomb of Priscilla in the Sylvester section, a baptistry has been discovered, partly of ancient construction. This is across the road from the catacomb of Novella, and Marucchi argues that it is the one to which the tradition of Peter clings. His argument is voluminous. It is important as showing that there was an early tradition that may connect Peter with the catacomb of Priscilla. All of which tends to confirm the extreme antiquity of the catacomb of which the Greek Chapel is in the earliest part.

Cf. also the martyrologies, itineraries, etc., of the early middle ages, as follows, remembering that the catacomb of Priscilla was known also to pilgrims under the name of Sylvester : *Index coemeteriorum & Notitia regionum,* "Coemeterium Priscillae ad S. Silvestrum via Salaria." *Salzburg Itinerary,* "Postea ascendens eadem via ad S. Silvestri ecclesiam ibi multitudo sanctorum pausat: primum Silvester sanctus papa et confessor et ad pedes eius S. Syricius papa et in dextera perte Celestinus papa et Marcellus episcopus; Philippus et Felix martyres et multitudo sanctorum sub altare maiore et in spelunca Crescentius martyr et Fimitis pausat in cubiculo quando exeas et in altera S. Potenciana et Praxedis." *De locis Ss. martyrum,* "Iuxta eandem viam Salariam S. Silvester requiescit, et alii quamplurimi, id est S. Caelestinus, S. Potentiana, S. Praxedis, S. Marcellus, S. Crescentianus, S. Maurus, S. Marcellinus, S. Prisca, S. Paulus, S. Felicis unus de septem (i. e., one of the seven sons of Felicitas, the most celebrated martyr under Marcus Aurelius), S. Philippus unus de septem, S. Semetrius, et in una sepultura.CCCLXIII." *Itinerary of William of Malmesbury,* "Deinde basilica S. Silvestri ubi iacet marmoreo tumulo coopertus et martyres Caelestinus, Philippus et Felix et ibidem martyres CCCLXV in uno sepulcro requiescunt, et prope Paulus et Crescentianus, Prisca et Semetrius, Praxedis, Potentiana (Pudentiana) pausant." *Index coemeteriorum* and *Mirabilia,* "Coemeterium fontis S. Petri (?). Coemeterium Priscillae ad pontem Salarium." The tombs of some of these persons have been determined archaeologically. *Bull. di Arch. Crist.,* 1901, ff. De Rossi : *Roma Sotterrannea,* pp. 176, 177.

The grave occupied the prominent place in the chapel, and was of such construction that it would readily serve as a table from which to distribute the eucharistic feast. It is well known that in the earliest times the eucharistic tables were called altars, and from the catacombs came the idea that it was proper that under the altar should be placed if possible the remains of one of the martyrs of Christ. This idea was doubtless fortified by Scripture, "And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held, etc." Rev. 6 : 9ff. In the Greek Chapel it may be that we find one of the earliest of these grave-table-altars. Along one side of the chapel extends a bank, under which are loculi graves, which served also as a seat. The peculiar form and arrangement of the chapel was never repeated in later times. It is unique in the catacombs of Rome.

In the "right transept" were discovered the two inscriptions in Greek, because of which the workmen, or "fossors" so-called gave to it the name "Greek Chapel". They are as follows :

ΟΒΡΙΜΟϹ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΩ
ΓΑΥΚΥΤΑΤΩ ΑΝϹΨΙΩ
ΥΝϹΧΟΛΑϹΤΗ ΜΝΗΜΗϹ
Ϲ Ϲ Ϲ
ΧΑΡΙΝ

ΟΒΡΙΜΟϹ · ΝϹϹΤΟΡΙΑΝΗ
ΜΑΚΑΡΙΑ ΓΑΥΚΥΤΑΤΗ
ϹΥΝΒΙΩ ΜΝΗΜΗϹ ΧΑ*ριν*

These inscriptions, from their simple formulas and from their palaeography are dated in the second half of the second century. This date is confirmed by the fact that they are written in red paint. They were applied on the white stucco of the niche, and therefore point to and urge a date by some years earlier for the finishing of the chapel in the original stucco. The suggestiveness of this fact will be apparent when we consider the group of red-painted inscriptions in the catacomb of Priscilla. Suffice it to say that they are some of the earliest in date yet discovered in the Roman catacombs.

Concerning the atrium and the adjacent chambers it may be remarked that what little painting remains is of the same period as the Greek Chapel. The same rich colors and delicate shades are used, and the style is the same in details. In a niche opposite the chapel the Good Shepherd and vine decorations have been identified, recalling the primitive paintings in the catacomb of Domitilla.

The room at the end of the atrium was added in the third century, and the one to its right was subjected to extensive restorations, in which marble replaced stucco. The fact that a stand for oil lamps is found there marks it as a place of importance, probably containing the graves of martyrs. Second century inscriptions, however, were discovered in the room. They are in Greek, and are of classic brevity, and contain names common to the apostolic church, such as Lucius and Phoebe.[65] A sarcophagus of the style recognized as earliest in Christian Art was also found. It is of ordinary classic form, both sides have strigil decoration, and on one side is the bust of a woman with tablet for inscription, and on the other the bust of a man with crossed horns of plenty, and Genii at the corners. It was placed under the floor and so had no inscriptions. It is pagan in form, but that made no difference for Christian use. It rather confirms the early date at which it was used for Christian burial, as it was doubtless bought in a pagan shop at a day when Christian styles in sarcophagi had not as yet been devised.

One of the most satisfactory of the indications for date that we have in the atrium consists of the stamped tiles used for covering graves in the floor. Tiles have been found there with stamps of the reigns of M. Aurelius and Commodus, specifically of the years 159 and 164. The point lies in the fact that they were used for graves dug *in the floor of the atrium.* Graves excavated in the floor are the last resort. They come after the wall spaces assigned for the loculi, or shelf graves, were used up. So if graves of the second and third quarters of the second century mark the *last* period before new *cubicula* were excavated,

[65] Rom. 16:21, Acts 13:1, Rom. 16:1,2. The praenomen Aurelia may mark one inscription as of the period of M. Aurelius.

the original period of excavation must have been by so much earlier, even the first century. (The objection usually urged against the argument for determining dates from stamped bricks has little force here. It is true that tiles were used over again in later years, as in the Aurelian wall so-called, in which bricks of all dates are found side by side. But this was more characteristic of later periods, when buildings of earlier construction were razed and the materials thus obtained made use of a second time. It is not valid here, because tiles of later dates do not appear. Further, the economic tendency would always be to not manufacture new bricks until old stores were exhausted, just as at the present day. So, granting that a few years might have elapsed after manufacture before the tiles were used, they could not have been very many.)[66]

(b) The early date of the Greek Chapel and atrium is confirmed by the evidence afforded by galleries in adjacent sections. This evidence is largely epigraphic.

The intimate connection of the Acilian hypogeum with the Greek Chapel section has already been discussed. An extensive amount of confirmatory evidence is also afforded by the arenarium section,[67] which lies back of the *piscina* beside the Greek Chapel. Investigation is confined to the first *piano,* the second being, from that very fact, later.

Only one painting of importance is found in this section. It is the one of the Madonna of the Prophet, already noted.[68] In style and technique it compares very favorably with those of the Greek Chapel, and is regarded by some as fully as early. The painting is found in the primitive gallery of the arenarium section, the gallery in which niches were made for sarcophagi, and that led from the stairs of entrance. In addition to this, inscriptions

[66] *Fractio,* p. 41.

[67] The arenarium or sand pit section of the catacomb is worked in *pozollana,* instead of in the granular tufa. By reason of this fact the ordinary characteristics of an arenarium are evident. The galleries are broad and arched, and rounded. They describe arcs, and appear concentric in plan. The rounded surface marks an arenarium, as do the square corners and clean cut angles the ordinary granular tufa catacomb.

[68] Mal., Pl. 22.

containing the name Ulpia, belonging to the Flavian period, were found below this painting. They were cut in marble and the letters painted in red, and the loculi were excavated at a level *lower than the original floor,* hence are of a period *later than the painting,* the inference being obvious. The painting betrays a boldness of touch and graceful originality altogether lacking in later work. It exhibits entire freedom from restraint of tradition in handling. The painter worked out his own idea, or that of the men by whom he was employed. The composition is altogether charming, and might well be classed with Renaissance masterpieces if it were not for certain technical defects which attach it to the classic age, such as, for example, the disproportioned figure of the prophet. Isaiah's head is much too small for his elongated body.[69]

The chief evidence afforded by the galleries of the arenarium is epigraphic, as remarked above. So remarkable are the inscriptions pertaining to the catacomb of Priscilla that they are recognized as being in a class by themselves. This entire class is known as the "Priscilla type". They are admittedly among the earliest in all the thousands of Christian inscriptions. They are of two general classes, (1) red-painted tiles, and (2) incised in marble.

(1) The terra cotta tiles were used to close the loculi graves. Three of them were generally sufficient. They were fastened against the shelf-like opening with cement, and this mode of closing, along with the precaution of interring the body of the deceased in lime, made the galleries reasonably free from noxious gases. Upon the exterior surface of these large Roman bricks, as upon marble slabs used for similar purpose, the name of the deceased or some designating mark, or appropriate sentiment was inscribed. Upon the bricks they were painted in heavy strokes with a generous brush in paint of full Roman redness. Such inscriptions are almost unique in the Roman catacombs. De Rossi said that he found some in the galleries of the Flavian

[69] The Madonna and Child in this painting have frequently been compared with Raphael's *Madonna della Seggiola* in Florence. The arrangement is similar.

hypogeum, the primitive section of the catacomb of Domitilla.[70] Some of them have been removed from the catacomb of Priscilla and may be inspected in the Epigraphic section of the Christian Museum at the Lateran, (Sec. XVIII).[71]

In style of calligraphy they are very similar to the election notices so numerous in the streets of Pompeii.[72] In content they are extremely brief. They consist usually of the bare name of the deceased, often of the single name by which he was known in the Christian community, which in some cases was a baptismal name. Most of them are in Greek, as is the case with those incised in marble. Primitive symbols only appear, the anchor and the palm branch. Some graves were marked in no other way, only with the painted anchor as the seal of their faith. The primitive Christian regarded his name by which he was known in the world as of no importance. In most of the inscriptions, however, the name appears as a matter of information for surviving relatives. In several tiles of the early third century the fish appears as an isolated symbol.[73]

These painted tiles of the earliest period of Christian inscriptions were used undoubtedly by those who were too poor to afford marble slabs. They exist in the same galleries and side by side with marble inscriptions of the finest cutting, and of similar age. All this illustrates the composite character of the Christian community. The rich and the poor were together in death as in life. But the poor man was doubtless consoled for his mean bricks by the thought that the need of them would be but brief. The Christians of the apostolic age and later confidently expected the end of all things and the resurrection of their bodies at any day in the immediate future, so much so that their leaders had

[70] *Bull. di Arch. Crist.,* 1865, p. 39. They are very few in number and were painted in black. One brick bore the stamp of the year 142.

[71] Reproductions appear in plates of the *Bull. di Arch. Crist.,* 1880, 1881, 1886, 1892, also in Marucchi : *Le Catacombe Romane,* p. 442 ff. The Coemeterium Maius also contains some.

[72] De Rossi notes especially Nos. 156 and 159 in his list in *Bull. di Arch. Crist.,* 1886.

[73] On the fish as a Christian symbol cf. Prof. C. R. Morey, of Princeton University, in the *Princeton Theological Review,* 1910, also *A. J. A.,* XIII, pp., 57, 58.

to warn them against the effects of idly waiting for it to come upon them.[74] Since his tomb was but a temporary resting place, why should a man adorn it elaborately ? It certainly was not worthy of much care or expense. We may be sure that those who painted the red inscriptions never expected them to do service unto our day, and would probably be as much surprised as we at their brightness. This feeling throughout the Church well accounts for the simplicity of the earliest inscriptions. (There are other ways of determining the early date of these inscriptions in the catacomb of Priscilla, to be discussed directly. It is observed that they are brief and simple. Hence simplicity in an inscription is rightly regarded as a test for early date.)

The distinct advantage of these painted inscriptions is that they can be dated with a reasonable degree of precision. Many of the tiles are marked with brick stamps. Almost all are of the second century, and among them we find the exact dates, 110, 123, 147, 159, 164, and probably of the first century also. It is true that several have been found of the third century, but they are accounted for when we consider that the catacomb was used freely during the first four centuries, and by deepening a gallery it was possible to place a late grave in the immediate neighborhood of earlier ones. These third century tiles in general come from the boundaries of recognized later sections, and were influenced by their earlier neighbors. It is not necessary to repeat what has been said above as to the value of brick stamps as evidence for date. They are persuasive evidence of contemporary date when found in the galleries of the catacomb of Priscilla. Especially is this true when they are found intact in their original positions. If stamps of all periods were found in common profusion the evidence of the earliest would not be so valuable, but when they are found to be of the second century predominantly, the situation is different, and argues strongly for the dates they specify. Here as elsewhere the ravages of the barbarian invasions are to be greatly deplored.[75] They left only a part of all the things that fell into their hands, and wrought

[74] I Thes. 4:15-5:11, II Thes. 2:1-17, II Peter 3:1-13.

[75] De Rossi : *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1880, p. 37ff.

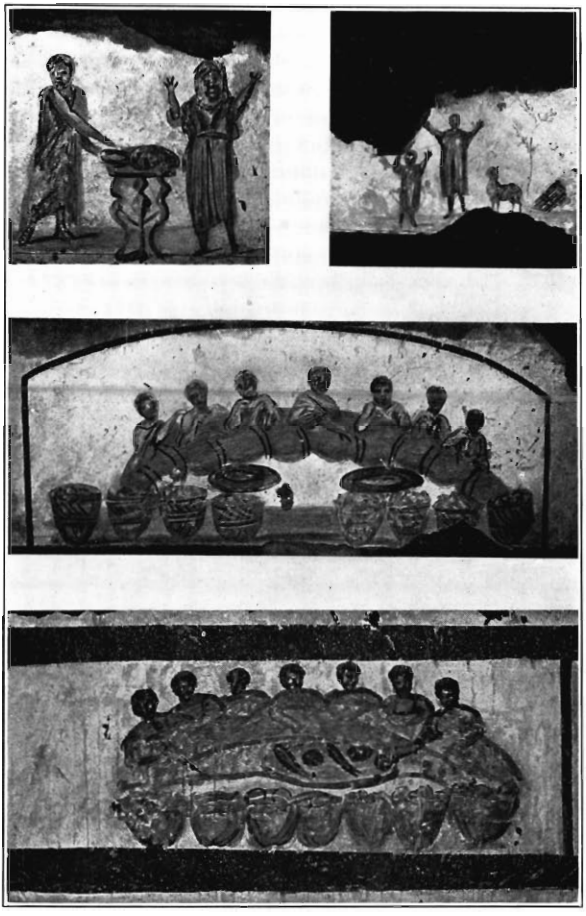

PLATE VI. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

special execution in the catacomb of Priscilla, notably in the Acilian and the Greek Chapel sections. But enough stamped tiles have come down to us to permit the conclusion that if all were preserved they would be found to be in general of the same dates and kind.[76]

(2) These painted-tile inscriptions are enough to confirm the date of the first quarter of the second century for the primitive section of the catacomb; and to allow the very reasonable deduction that the galleries were constructed even in the first century. But in addition to these inscriptions we find along with them a series of epitaphs incised in marble slabs with cuttings of such fine quality that they are recognized as being in a class by themselves. Many of them had the incisions colored with red paint, which adds to their unique value. They are in Greek and Latin indiscriminately. In either case the style of calligraphy marks them as second century, the same date as the painted tiles.[77] DeRossi published the series of all the inscriptions of the primitive sections of the catacomb. These, discovered up to 1892, numbered 370.[78]

This style of calligraphy is so distinctive in its deep, full cutting, regularity, well-rounded curves and clear-cut angles, that when one is familiar with it he speedily is able to discern later imitations, as well as epitaphs that are frankly different.

The inscriptions that are composed in this Priscilla style of writing are almost as distinctive as are those in the famous

[76] The list of stamped tiles of the primitive sections of the catacomb is given in De Rossi's publication of the inscriptions found there. They are noted in *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1886, pp. 40, 58, 63, 68, 72, 74, 75, 79, 80, 81, 83, 115, 120, 121, 142, 144, 159; 1887, pp. 22, 113; 1892, pp. 73, 74; Marini: *Iscr. Doliari* nn. 15, 74, 84, 109, 121, 122a, 172, 174, 177, 185, 188, 190, 207, 214, 215, 218, 223, 245, 297, 323 or 337, 505, 522, 524, 828 (?), 837, 880, 923, 948, 1190ff., 1214, 1389. Cf. also in part *C.I.L.*, XV, I, 155, 163, 164, 237, 371a,b, 399, 408d, 762a, 764, 1622; *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome*, I, Art. "Stamps on Bricks and Tiles from the Aurelian Wall at Rome", nn. 16, 19, 20, 30, 52, 53, 58, 61, 135, 137, 212.

[77] Not all are of this period. Some are fourth century, but they are accounted for in the same manner as the third century tiles.

[78] *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1886, pp. 34-171; 1887, 109-117; 1892, 57-96, and corresponding plates.

metrical epitaphs of Damasus, known as the Damascene or Philocalan script. Their second century date is attested by the following characteristics :

(α) Simplicity. They are scarcely any longer than are those on the painted tiles.

(β) The use of the three names, *praenomen, nomen,* and *cognomen.*

(γ) The presence of good Roman family or gentile names commonly found in the first and second centuries. The chronological order ran as follows : Julius, Antonius, Claudius, Flavius, Ulpius, Aelius, Aurelius.

(δ) The presence of names found in the Roman church in apostolic days and mentioned in New Testament references to Roman Christians, such as in Rom. 16, Julia, Asyncritus, Lucius, Phoebe, Claudia. Here also may be noted the significant use of the names Peter and Paul, especially ΠΕΤΡΟC. The fact that Christians named themselves for the chief apostles is not to be wondered at. This is, of course, more significant in the case of Peter. When a series of seven inscriptions bearing that name is found in one section of a catacomb of Rome, and they are of early date, this seems to indicate that the apostle had exerted considerable influence in the Roman church, an influence that can hardly be proved from literary sources. The use of Paul is to be expected. Besides, it is common enough in pagan inscriptions.[79]

(ϵ) The use of symbols and formulas of the very earliest period, which are seldom if ever used later, such as the

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[79] The earliest example in the catacomb of Priscilla is the following, (Marucchi : *Le Catacombe Romane,* p. 439),

LVCRETIO PAVLO INFANTI DULCIS
SIMO QVI BIXIT ANNO VNO MENS
HIDIES XVI LVCRETIVS EVTYCHES
ET LVCRETIA MAXIMILLA PARENTES

anchor, palm, VALE,[80] ЄN ЄIPHNH, *pax tecum,*[81] *pax, pax tibi.*[82]

The noteworthy thing about this entire series of inscriptions in the first floor of the catacomb of Priscilla is that they are extremely brief and simple. They form a class by themselves in the entire field of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, whether pagan or Christian. They come before epigraphic Christian symbols and formulas had been invented. While they contain elements usual in pagan inscriptions, such as the full name of the deceased and his length of life, and the names of those who set up the inscription, they yet show a decided breaking away from pagan forms. There is nothing of pagan cult about them, nothing that could give offence to Christian belief. In many one name only is given, and this not because of servile rank, but because of the practice of humility, and belief in the simplicity of Christian brotherhood. Pagan forms to which they had been accustomed were used because they did not know what else to do. It is in the decline of the second century that distinctive Christian inscriptions have their origin, and the development can be traced step by step down to the fulsome epithaphs of the fourth century and later.

De Rossi, after noting these characteristics in publishing 252 of the inscriptions, concludes as follows, "Putting all things together it seems to me that the period dominating or prevailing in the sepulchres of the primitive nucleus of sand pit grottoes, especially in those farthest distant from the points where the excavation of the Christian cemetery proper began (i. e., in the granular tufa), is anterior to that period, and may climb in the scale of years from about the middle of the second century through the long reigns of Aelius Antoninus and Hadrian (117-161), and perhaps also farther, even to the Flavii and Claudii.

[80] De Rossi in *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1864, pp. 12, 13.

[81] De Rossi, *op. cit.*, 1873, p. 54, "Sull'antico saluto sepolcrale *pax tecum* ..... conchiudo, che l'uso alquante frequente della formola predetta in Roma fu proprio degli antichissimi epitaffi del cimitero di Priscilla, la cui apostolica origine dalle archeologiche e critiche osservazioni e scoperte ogni di piu e confermata."

[82] De Rossi, *ibid.* 1892, p. 119ff.

With which chronological deduction correspond the gentile names *Julius, Antonius, Claudius, Ulpius, Aelius, Aurelius,* and their groups; the general system of nomenclature which is extremely diverse from that employed in the greatest number of Christian epitaphs of the other cemeteries, and similar to that of the special epigraphic family of the neighboring Ostrian (Maius) cemetery; the archaism of the epigraphic style and of the Christian symbol writing, the origins of which we here discover; the isolated anchor, frequently repeated, and always without the symbolic fish, the use of which was introduced in the beginning of the third century; finally the comparison of this series with the catacomb epitaphs of the known period of the third century, or about the end of the second."[88]

[88] *Bull. di Arch Crist.*, 1886, pp. 160, 161. A few of these inscriptions may be selected for purposes of illustration: (The numbers are those in De Rossi's list in his publication in the *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1886, 1887 and 1892.)

EIPHNH, 94, 273, 349. ASCLEPIODOTus, 363. ΠΕΤΡΟC, 1. IVL· CALPVRNIA | AGRIPPINO AIVMNO | POS., 3. ACPIC, 13. CELSUS, 16. CLAVdius, 29. FELICITAS (anchor), 40. CALPVRNIA PRIMITIV//, 47. EVTHYCES, 48. KACTWP (anchor), 100. DOMITIAE MARCIAE, 109. SABINAE BEATAE, 114. M· ZOYCTINOC, 117. (The M in front is of a smaller size, and if it may be understood as an abbreviation for MARTYR instead of MARCVS, as there seems to be some ground for supposing in inscriptions of the series, the guess has been hazarded that this inscription may mark the tomb of Justin Martyr, the celebrated philosopher and apologist.)

FLAVIA EVFROSyne, 123. SVSANNA, 156. ARSINOE, 158. FLAVIA DONATA, 194. ЄΥЄΛΠΙCTOC | EVELPISTVS (anchor), 88.

P · IVLIVS MARON · QVI · VIXIT
ANN · II · M · II · D · XXVII · N · V ID NOV
· D · VIII · ID · MART (28)

ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟC
ЄN ЄIPHNH (55)
CAELESTINA
PAX (68)

..CLAVDIO · EPICTECTO Qui
viXIT · ANNIS · IIII MESiBVs V....
DIEBVS · III CANNIIA · SATVRNINA
ALVMNO CArISSIMO
.....CI · VII.....O (133)

ΠЄΤΡΟC EZH
CЄNЄTH ЄIH
MЄPAC· NA– (149)

.....AVG · LIB · PRAEPOSITVS · TABERNACVLOrum
Fecit sibi et chrysIDI SORORI BENEMERENTI QVAE·VIXIT·ANnis..
et..SORORI · QVAE · VIXIT · ANNIS · XVII · SERAPIoni av(?)O

In addition to the above epigraphic evidence it remains to point out yet two facts concerning these primitive centers which are extremely significant for early second century date, (1) the presence of mosaic decoration in the Acilian hypogeum, and (2) the stucco imitation sarcophagi in the main gallery of the arenarium. Remains of sarcophagi in marble (probably the oldest method of burial employed in the Christian catacombs) have been found in the debris of the galleries as well as in the niches constructed to

qui vixit annis..XXXV · CHRYSOMALLO · PATRI QVI VIXIT · ANnis .....I FRATRI · QVI VIXIT · ANNIS · XXII · NICENI filiaE quae vixit....eX VOLVNTATE · EIVSDEM · CHRYSIDIS (213) *Bull.*, 1880, Pl. II, 1. *C. I. L.*, VI, 9054. Cf. on the title *praepositus tabernaculorum* Orelli-Henzen, 6101, 6361, 6362, *C. I. L.*, 5339, 9053a.

TITVS FLA
VIVS FE
LICISSIMVS
POSITVS EST (214)

ONHCIMOC
TITW ΦΛABIW
ONHCIΦOPW· TЄKNW
ΓΛYKYTATW ZH
ЄTH· C (282)

De Rossi discusses these two inscriptions, and connects them both with the Flavian family. He says that Felicissimus was certainly a freedman of Titus, or a foreigner given Roman citizenship by him. He also points out the coincidence of the two *cognomina* ONHCIMOC ONHCIΦOPOC, both of which are mentioned in the epistles of St. Paul, Phil. 5:10; Col. 4:9; II Tim. 1:16, 4:19. Cf. *Immagini scelte della b. Vergine,* Rome, 1863, p. 18; *Roma Sotterranea,* I, p. 188ff; *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1880, p. 19, 1886, p. 131, 1892, pp. 59, 60. On the palaeographical value of the H cf. De Rossi: *Bull.*, 1865, p. 38; *Inscr. Christ.*, II, p. XVII.

KHIA ΦOIBH
THΦIΛANΔPW· KA
ΠITWN· OCYNBIOC
KAI· ЄAYTW· (247)

This inscription was found in a room opening onto the atrium in the Greek Chapel section.

CORVINIO · SECVNDIONI
VOLGIT MARITO
MERENTI (283)

The gentile name Corvinius is rare in epitaphs, pagan or Christian. It was used by the Valerii Mesalla in the first century of the empire.

ATINIAE PAVLINAE Q · V · A · XXVII
COC · VICTOR PET AT COC LVIDVS
FR · ET FLOR · CANDIDA · ET VARIVS
ROMANVS · FILI HEREDES POSV
erVNT EROGANTe VLP · INGENVO
curam cORPORI EIVS (285)

The gentile names, Cocceius and Ulpius came into use under Nerva and Trajan. On the formula *erogante curam corpori* cf. *C. I. L.*, VI, 2613, 2648; VIII, 205; *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1892, p. 62.

contain them. Because of these niches the arrangement of the early Acilian section of this catacomb is similar in many respects to the Flavian hypogeum in the catacomb of Domitilla. And in the main artery in the arenarium section, leading from the entrance stairs, remains of loculi have been discovered with stucco covering designed to imitate the decorations on sarcophagi. (What fragments of marble sarcophagi have been found are of classic pagan type, free from things offensive to the Christian. They date from the period when wealthy Christians purchased their sarcophagi from pagan marble shops, before the time when Christian artisans designed distinctly Christian sarcophagi.) De Rossi saw in this stucco imitation of sarcophagi the origin of the loculus, or shelf-like tomb. The desire to have sarcophagi sepulchres on the part of those who could not afford marble ones, combined with the knowledge of the properties of granular tufa, was responsible for the idea of excavating a grave into the wall of the gallery, then covering its side opening with brick or marble and applying the stucco marble-imitation surface.[84] The only other place in the Roman catacombs where this is found is in the Flavian section of the catacomb of Domitilla, recognized as one of the earliest localities in Christian Rome.

From the evidence presented above derived from the sections immediately adjoining the Greek Chapel the argument is obvious. They show clear indications of having been used for burial purposes by Christians in the early second century, in the first even. They are in immediate proximity and relationship to the Greek Chapel, and tend strongly to confirm the conclusion already attained as to its date.

By careful consideration of the points as enumerated above it

[84] This gallery is marked "K" in De Rossi's plan in the *Bull.* for 1884-5. Cf. on the stucco-covered loculi De Rossi in *Bull.*, 1865, pp. 36-38; 1886, p. 136.

will be observed (1) that they are consistent one with another, and (2) that the cumulative force of their evidence is perfectly adequate to establish a date for the Greek Chapel of a time in a period extending from the late first century to the early decades of the second. While some of the points taken separately may not warrant such a conclusion, the cumulative effect of all of them, fitting together in perfect consistency, is irresistible. The reign of Hadrian (117-138) may at least be regarded as the *terminus ad quem.*

The reason for discussing the date of the Greek Chapel at such length is the fact that in it is found the painting of the Raising of Lazarus, an absolutely Johannine theme. As said above, the only themes selected for consideration in discussing the date of the Gospel are those absolutely Johannine, those concerning which there can be no question as to source. Wherefore, no attempt is made to strengthen the argument by drawing conclusions from the fact that the theme of the Restored Paralytic, an archaeologically Johannine theme, is also found in the chapel, and that there is excellent reason for regarding the theme of the Breaking of Bread as Johannine in source. The date of these paintings is the same, but as they cannot be proven to be absolutely Johannine in origin, no use need be made of them in considering the question.

It now remains to discuss briefly one or two other crypts which, because of their date in the first half or middle of the second century and because they contain themes absolutely Johannine, bear somewhat upon the question of the date of St. John's Gospel. The first is the chamber in the catacomb of Praetextatus on the Via Appia, across the road from that of Callixtus, named by modern workmen the "Passion Crypt", and so designated in Wilpert's *Corpus,* though the title "Johannine Crypt" has been suggested as more appropriate. The second and third are in the catacomb of Callixtus, and are known as the Sacrament Chapels A2 and A3.

The "Passion-crypt" contains the Johannine themes of the Raising of Lazarus and the Conversation at the well in Samaria, and possibly a third (Pl. IIIa).[85] The Sacrament Chapel A2

[85] Mal., Pl. 18, 19 1/2IIPraet.

contains the Raising of Lazarus (Pl. VIIIc),[86] and the Chapel A3 the Conversation at the well in Samaria and probably contained also the Raising of Lazarus (Pl. IVa).[87] The dates ordinarily assigned to these are, first half of the second century to the "Passion" or "Johannine Crypt", and second half of the second century to the Sacrament Chapels, that is, sometime before the year 180. In the case of the Greek Chapel the evidence was presented in detail. This was necessary because of the great importance of the chapel if found to be of early second century date. The paintings of the chambers in the catacombs of Praetextatus and Callixtus are admittedly of later date, hence do not possess the same acute value in the discussion of the question of the date and influence of the Fourth Gospel. Their value is corroborative, and tends to confirm conclusions already attained. Hence there is not the same reason for analyzing the evidence in support of the dates generally accepted. It is hoped that it has been shown in the instance of the Greek Chapel that the method is scientific. In the investigation of the date of any catacomb painting certain well-established tests are successively applied, just as the reagents in a chemical analysis, and the date is obtained through their means with a very reasonable degree of certainty. These tests of evidence may be outlined about as follows:

I. Archaeological (purely).

(1) Technique of execution—having to do with the composition of the stucco, the pigments, mode of application, color, perspective, laws of symmetry, arrangement and grouping, etc.

(2) Detail of figures and objects painted.

a. Detail of figures—clothes, shoes, hair-dressing,[88] expression, movement and action, etc.

b. Objects painted.

c. Architectural, classic and non-symbolic details.

[86] Id., Pl. 39-1 2/2IIC.

[87] Id., Pl. 29-2 2/2IIC.

[88] An example of use of styles of hair-dressing to date a picture may be seen in a painting in the catacomb of Callixtus, in which a deceased lady, Dionysas, has her hair waved, or "undulated" as we would call it to-day.

(3) Known date of the locality of the section of the catacomb under consideration. (Upper stories are earlier, and sections nearer the entrances, with certain restrictions, such as the well-known fact of the destruction of early tombs by fourth and fifth century Christians who wished to be buried as near as possible to the grave of a martyr or saint.) In such a case the *locality,* however, is *ipso facto* testified to as being early, and by application of the laws of evidence its elements may, in many cases, be classified and dated.

(4) Archaeology of the architecture. Here are considered the form of the galleries, loculi, *cubicula* and crypts, dimensions, details, such as columns, bases and capitals (whether of marble or cut out of the tufa), vaulting, arches, slabs and tiles to close loculi, etc.

(5) Objects found in the tombs decorated by the paintings under consideration: lamps, glass, jewelry, toilet articles, ivories, small objects.

(6) Sarcophagi.

II. Epigraphical.

(1) Inscriptions dated absolutely in their own content (chiefly by means of consuls) belonging directly to the spot.

(2) Inscriptions dated absolutely or approximately by means of Epigraphy (such as by examination of their palaeography, the formulas used, etc.) which belong to the spot.

(3) Inscriptions dated in either of the above ways, belonging indirectly to the spot.

III. Inductive grouping and arrangement of subjects and detail of same, resulting in classification of development in the several periods.

In the Greek Chapel it was shown how these tests are applied. The reader is asked to believe that the same method has been

It is known that Empress Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus, introduced the style into Rome. The picture then may be dated at the end of the third century from this circumstance alone. Wilpert: *Pitture,* p. 99, Pl. III. Cf. also on this subject Mrs. Strong, *Roman Sculpture,* chapter on Portraiture.

made use of in determining the second century dates of the paintings in the Johannine crypt and in the Sacrament Chapels.[89] It may be observed in passing that in the dating of the Johannine crypt a satisfactory bit of evidence is the presence, not far away, of a piece of architectural decoration of very great merit, and of the indicated period, bearing strong resemblance to "that which we admire in the mausoleum erected by Herodes Atticus in honor of his first wife, Annia Regilla". The estate of Herodes Atticus has been recognized from numerous monuments above ground in the neighborhood of the catacomb. The tomb of his wife is commonly known as the temple of the *Deus Rediculus*. The resemblance in architectural style between the façade in the catacomb of Pfaetextatus and the tomb of Annia Regilla is striking and significant.[90] In the case of the Sacrament Chapels, the criteria established from numerous other paintings, of stucco of two layers and of good quality, excellent colors and a degree of ability in execution, tunics of short sleeves, absence of ornamentation in dress, etc., were adequate to determine the date. The same result was attained by independent geological and topographical study.

It appears, then, that in the second half of the second century, before the year 180, the themes of the Raising of Lazarus and of the Conversation of Christ with the Woman of Samaria at Jacob's Well are found one time each, that in the first half of the second century the same themes are found one time each, and that in the early years of the second or late years of the first is found the theme of the Raising of Lazarus. It is recalled that both these themes are absolutely Johannine, the incidents being narrated in St. John's Gospel, and nowhere else. The statement may also be made that the theme of the

[89] Wilpert: *Pitture*, p. 122.

[90] De Rossi: *Bull. di Arch Crist.*, 1863, pp. 20, 21. Lanciani: *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 291.

Raising of Lazarus is one of the most popular in all the Roman catacombs. Two more, possibly three paintings of the theme date from the second century, seven were executed in the third, and forty-one in the fourth, confining our enumeration to painting alone, making fifty-four in all.

It is now permissable from the above to make some deductions:

(1) Inasmuch as paintings of themes from St. John's Gospel are found in the second century, several of which date from the middle of the century, the document from which they derived their source must have been written before that date.

(2) One of these paintings belongs in the early years of the second century, whence we conclude that its written source must have been composed before that date.

(3) Wherefore, even if the painting was executed as late as the year 130, it presupposes the circulation of the Johannine Gospel in the community for a certain period of time before; and if the painting is dated twenty or thirty years earlier, as there is plenty of reason for doing, it is necessary to suppose that the Gospel was circulated in Rome a certain number of years before that. (It is not to be denied that the prominent incident of the Raising of Lazarus could have been transmitted through the Church by word of mouth, or by document other than St. John's Gospel, and that by such means the Roman Church, from the days of its earliest converts, might have been familiar with the story. All that need be said is that there is no evidence whatever for such a supposition. From the immense number of wonderful works that Christ performed, and saving words that He uttered, the Evangelists selected what they regarded as essential for their purpose. It was through their writings that the widely scattered Church was permanently informed. The three synoptic Evangelists are silent as to the Raising of Lazarus, but John evidently thought that the incident should be imparted to the Church universal.[91] There is no evidence that the Church

[91] The modern theory that the incident is an allegory, commendably introduced in the Gospel to teach moral truth, does not deserve consideration. It is entirely subjective, its advocates present no evidence whatever on which to base the assertion, it follows no argument, and while set forth as if it were a plain statement of fact, it is merely a conjecture.

outside of Jerusalem and the Jewish branch was familiar with the miracle until the Apostle John included it in his Gospel in the final years of the first century. Then, after a short interval, we see it recognized in the Art of the Church of Rome. What oral transmission may have done we do not know. There is absolutely no evidence. In the absence of evidence it is entirely proper to regard St. John's Gospel as the exclusive source for the theme in Art, as well as of all others found only in the Johannine Gospel. And further, the point is here to be emphasized as much as possible that the catacomb paintings *regularly follow the Gospels, even to the exclusion of the Apocryphal Gospels.* It is not likely that artists who scouted the Apocryphal stories would have accepted any other story which had not the authority of accepted canonical literature.)

(4) Such is the case in Rome, yet the Gospel is credited as coming from Ephesus. It is reasonable to suppose that it took some years for the Gospel to become generally received in Rome after the date of its publication in Ephesus. Rome was indeed a cosmopolitan city, but from what we know of methods of publishing in that day such an inference is certainly permissable, and even obvious. The Roman Church of the second century, instead of being a miserable society of slaves, was composed, as we have seen, of men of three names, connected with good Roman families, as well as of the more humble orders of society. Such men would at once appreciate the Gospel when it was brought to them, and they naturally received it first; but it would take time to so introduce it to the general community from the limited manuscript copies that the people would become familiar with its several parts, so familiar that they would select themes from it to express their Christian beliefs and ideas about death and the future life.

(5) It is necessary, then, to presuppose a period of years from the date of the execution of the earliest fresco containing a Johannine theme to the date when the source for this fresco was composed. This period is more or less elastic of course. The painting and the theme may be contemporaneous; or the theme may antedate the painting by as much as thirty years. But

if the fresco dates from the early second century, as we have endeavored to show, the conclusion follows that the Gospel must have been composed during or before the latter years of the first century. (This is a date that permits the supposition that it was written by the Apostle himself.)

It remains only to forestall the possible objection that the frescoes are responsible for the inclusion of the themes in the Gosepl, that they are the product of an imagination that appealed to the popular mind, and that as a result the incidents were committed to narrative form and inserted in the Gospel by some genius who took advantage of the opportunity; in other words, that the Gospel was not the source for the frescoes, but that the frescoes represent the movement that was the source for the Gospel narratives. It is, in addition to what was said above, sufficient to remark that there is absolutely no evidence on which to base such a supposition. It makes too many demands upon our credulity. It is gratuitously mechanical, and may be urged with equal plausibility in the case of any picture that illustrates the printed page when the facts concerning the origin of both are unknown. The natural order is reversed upon no grounds of any kind. It is admitted that the earliest painting and its written source appeared at about the same time, but there is no reason to deny a period of some years between in natural sequence. The only reasonable way to account for the Lazarus picture in the Greek Chapel is to say that it was caused to be painted by some one who was having a series of paintings executed from various parts of the sacred conon. This means that it was recognized at the time it was painted as being selected from the Scriptures, from writings already existing; and further, the theme of the Raising of Lazarus was selected from the writings of a canonical writer, of a man who was *at that time recognized as having the right to write Scripture.* The theme is found in the Gospel of St. John. It follows, then, that at the time when the painting was executed, the early second century, the Gospel was accepted in Rome as having been written by one who had the authority to write it, even the Apostle himself.

Such is an illustration of the practical value of archaeological investigation in the field of historical criticism. It is next in order to discuss the influence that the Gospel exerted in the thought of the second century Church as revealed by Archaeology.

II. THE EARLY INFLUENCE OF THE GOSPEL.

From what has been said on the question of the date of St. John's Gospel it follows that it exerted considerable influence on the thought of the Church in Rome at a very early period. This is evident simply from an enumeration of the themes painted during the second century that are absolutely Johannine. The same is confirmed in the third century in which two additional paintings of the scene at the Well in Samaria are noted, and seven of the Raising of Lazarus, with two more in the second century, and also two paintings of the miracle of Converting Water into Wine at the Marriage Feast in Cana of Galilee.

To these are to be added also the series of paintings of themes regarded as Johannine in source for (1) archaeological, and (2) characteristic reasons. Among the former are to be enumerated the Healing of the Paralytic, of which there are two paintings in the second century and six in the third, the theme "Behold the Lamb of God" painted once in the second century, the theme of the Multiplication of Loaves, and kindred themes, painted at least once in the second century and nine times in the third. Among the latter are the Good Shepherd, painted at least three times in the first century, eleven times in the second, and thirty times in the third (with corresponding ratio in the fourth); the theme of the Incarnation, presented under various forms but chiefly through the Madonna cycle of which there are two paintings of the second century and four of the third; Orpheus, who is treated once in the second century and twice in the third; the fourth century theme of the Rain of Manna; and the Vine design, found in the first century as well as later.

The archaeological reasons for regarding the former themes Johannine will be given in the discussion of the separate themes. The reasons for the "characteristic" themes will be evident directly, when the peculiar characteristic of St. John's Gospel and its value for symbolic purposes is discussed. It will, of course, be evident that the absolutely and the archaeologically

Johannine themes are at the same time characteristic. That is, they illustrate the peculiar adaptability of the Gospel to symbolism, and symbolism is the distinctive feature of all catacomb paintings of the first three centuries, and of the great mass of those of the fourth.[92] It will be seen from the discussion of this characteristic of the Gospel that St. John's Gospel best met the symbolic desire of the Church, and that the first and second classes of themes were obviously selected from this Gospel for portrayal in catacomb frescoes because they exactly met this symbolic desire. It will be apparent at the same time why themes, the written sources of which may be found in various documents, are regarded as Johannine, and included in a third class, the "characteristically" Johannine themes. They may indeed be found in various parts of Scripture, but the reason for their being painted in the catacombs is because they fulfilled the *characteristic* of the Fourth Gospel. The details of paintings of the Madonna cycle are found in the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke, but the reason for the cycle's being portrayed in the catacombs is found best in that of the Apostle John. He it was who treated of the meaning and significance of the Incarnation.

To understand all this, and to appreciate the remarkable influence the Gospel exerted in the second century Church, it is necessary to have a clear knowledge of the purpose and conception in Catacomb Painting, and to possess a correct estimate of the essential characteristic of the Johannine Gospel, and its symbolic nature:

[92] In the discussion of the Greek Chapel attention was drawn to the manifest conflict between realism and symbolism. That conflict was in regard to *form* only; it had nothing to do with idea. The question was simply whether such and such a theme should be painted realistically or symbolically. It was always conceded that the *theme itself was symbolic.* The theme portrayed was intended to symbolize some spiritual truth. Symbolism of the idea prevailed also over form of expression, which also became symbolic as we saw in the Greek Chapel.

PLATE VII. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

The Purpose and Nature of Catacomb Painting.

The catacombs of Rome were excavated solely for the purpose of sepulchre.[93] They were tombs and nothing else for fully three hundred years. Towards the close of the constructive period they were used also for purposes of cult. Damasus (366-384) was one of the foremost in illustrating their value for cult, as the remains of his adornments of the tombs of the Roman bishops and numerous fragments of his laudatory inscriptions extensively show. Yet the cult of the spot arose because in the decades previous the sacred treasures necessary for the cult, i. e., the remains of the martyrs and saints, had been deposited in the catacombs, thus furnishing the *materia* beside which it was efficacious for a sinful man to be buried, and from which spiritual and physical benefits might be received by the living.[94] Indeed, after the year 410 the catacombs were entered for no other purpose,[95] and in the mediaeval period and since their discovery in 1578 have witnessed strange scenes in the practice of the cult.

[93] It is not intended to deny that they were used on occasion as temporary places of refuge in times of persecution. There is good reason to believe that they were so use. Cf. De Rossi: *Roma Sotterranea,* II, p. 258ff, where it is shown that stairways were destroyed by the Christians during the later persecutions evidently to cut off access to the Cecelia section of the catacomb of Callixtus, and that in the arenarium of the same difficult and obscure passages of ingress were provided. At the most, the catacombs could not be employed in this way for more than a few days at a time, in case of dire need. (Wilpert: *Pitture,* p. 128. "Il luogo stesso con la sua atmosfera insalubre e metifica, la vicinanza e le esalazioni dei cadaveri che non potevano evitarsi neppure con tutte le precauzioni, dovevano spingere alla freta.") When the *Liber Pontificalis* narrates the flight of Bishop Liberius, fleeing from the persecution of the Arian Emperor Constantius, and says that he took refuge in the catacombs of St. Agnes, it undoubtedly refers to one of the buildings above ground, such as a custodian's dwelling which, being in a sacred or consecrated area, would be a sanctuary and a sufficient place of refuge. *Lib. Pont.,* Vit. Liberius, ad loc.

[94] The first stage in the development of the cult of the martyrs was the strong impression made upon survivors by their heroic deaths. I. e., certainly those who suffered such things for Christ must probably be very highly regarded by God. Hence the advisability of soliciting their good word in favors asked in prayer.

[95] De Rossi: *Inscr. Christ.,* p. 250ff.

The purpose of their excavation, however, was entirely sepulchral, and that they might be places of burial was the only reason for their existence. Wherefore all things connected with and belonging to them are sepulchral in nature, and this is the prevailing characteristic of Catacomb Art.[96]

This fact is nowadays generally recognized, and is emphatically worked out by Wilpert. Indeed, it is the prominent thread running through all of his extensive writings on the catacomb paintings and their symbolism. He has treated them in this way to such an extent that it may be seriously questioned whether he has not carried the matter to an extreme. It is to be feared that he is guilty of a few anachronisms in reading into paintings of the first two centuries interpretations that may correspond with the fourth.[97] It is also difficult to understand why he insists upon rejecting the possibility of a plurality of interpretations of the same theme. That is to say, a theme may have had only one significance in the mind of him who caused it to be painted, and no more, and this meaning was the same for all periods of Catacomb Painting. Further, this meaning must be the one that he interprets, so that instead of being allowed to think that the early Christians were possessed of a wealth of thought and reflection when they gazed upon the frescoed walls and ceilings, we are compelled to limit our conception to the point of supposing that they read only one meaning from each picture. Without countenancing the extravagant fancies of the numerous interpreters of the catacomb themes, one may yet regret the narrowness of the view that sees only that the story of Jonah symbolized the deliverance of the soul of the deceased from the pains of purgatory, and does not allow even as included in the symbolism the divine aid extended to the Christian in peril of sin or death, or even physical danger, not to mention the connection between the story of Jonah and the doctrine of the resurrection,[98]

[96] The word "Art" is used here in a very broad sense. Cf. Wilpert: *Pitture*, p. 127.

[97] For instance, one obtains the impression by reading *Le Pitture* that the custom of entreating the prayers of the deceased, as well as of praying for the deceased, was as common in the days of Justin Martyr as in those of Damasus.

[98] Mt. 12:38-41. Lk. 11:29-30.

which last at least may be regarded as eschatalogical, and therefore fitting for places of sepulchre.

This feature of Wilpert's system of interpretation is best seen in the mechanical effect produced by his treatment of the Eucharistic cycle. Having observed that an orant is frequently painted in relation with an eucharistic scene, he concludes that the orant symbolizes the effect produced by participating in the sacrament, i. e., the soul of the deceased attains heavenly felicity. "L'orante nel centro della volta allude all'effeto della communione."[99] Notwithtstanding scattered references through the Fathers it is very doubtful if the Church of the third century held such a magical idea of the Eucharist, as that it as a cause must produce a consequent effect, just as any drug or material substance. In the instance referred to, the lunette of an arcosolium contains a painting of the miracle of changing the water into wine at Cana of Galilee, and in the vault are painted, on one side a scene of baptism, and opposite the incident of Moses striking water from the rock, which from its very position Wilpert regards as a symbol of baptism, and in the center of the vault, between these two scenes is the orant. Here then we see the happy result of duly observing the sacraments.

Although the example cited is only one of a relatively large number in whose collective presentation there is considerable force, yet there are several considerations which forbid such a mechanical, mathematical system of interpretation. And one of these is the physical law of symmetry which was so rarely violated in Catacomb Painting, and which was so admirably maintained in this painting. Moses striking the rock is in exact balance with the scene of the baptism, in which the person on whom the sacrament is performed is relatively so small that he attracts no attention, and is able to counterbalance nicely Moses' rock. (Incidentally it may be questioned why it should have been considered necessary to picture the same subject twice in the same tomb, holding as Wilpert does that the theme of Moses and the Rock in the third century always symbolizes baptism. It is not a sufficient reason to say that the one scene literally pictures what the other symbolizes.) The orant above

[99] Pl. VIIb. Wilpert: *Pitture,* p. 278. ½IIIP&M.

exactly divides the vault. In this case the figure accomodatingly completes a sacramental cycle, but when it is considered that the orant is the most frequent subject in all catacomb frescoes, the scope of which is not very large, and that this position in the middle of the arch is very appropriate for it and that it is commonly found there, one may not be certain but that its use here was determined not so much for the symbolic reason as stated by Wilpert, as by consideration for its popularity. In other words, the owner wanted an orant painted in his arcosolium just as so many of his neighbors had them in theirs. The orant undoubtedly did mean to him the expression of his or a soul in prayer, but here it may be remarked that the evidence in first, second or third century paintings to prove absolutely that this act of prayer took place after the departure of the soul from its physical environment is very meagre.

Wilpert, following Le Blant,[100] is very strongly held by the fascination of cutting out his interpretation of much of the early symbolism according to the measure furnished by the liturgies of the pseudocyprianic prayers.[101] This is a restrictive method which we feel is a little too narrow to correspond with the general state of the Church in the period which we are considering. Just as to-day the same text of Scripture, or passage of profane writing, permits a great many true things to be remarked about it, non-contradictory but rather inter-confirmatory, so to the ancient Christian pursuing his way through the galleries or straying into the *cubicula,* these paintings would be significant according to the wealth of his knowledge of the Sacred Writings.

And we may insist upon this more liberal attitude in interpretation without in the least conflicting with the principle of simplicity in execution, so admirably emphasized by Wilpert in his section on the origins of representations specifically Christian.[102] He declares most clearly, "l'azione, o meglio, il momento più essenziale dell'azione, fu tolto dal racconto biblico, e le figure principali che in essa compariscono furono collocate in attegg-

[100] Le Blant: *Sarcophages d'Arles,* Intro. sec. 5, p. XXIff., XXXIII.
[101] Wilpert: *Pitture,* p. 136ff.
[102] *Pitture,* Chap. II, sec. III, p. 36ff.

iamenti corrispondenti a quell'istante"[103] He is most correct in saying that the idea of the artist was not to make a pictorial commentary on Scripture. Thus, in the case of representation of the miracle of Moses striking the rock in the wilderness and water flowing forth to quench the thirst of the murmuring Children of Israel, all that is attempted is the plain figure of Moses (in *pallium,* the philosopher's garb) with arm outstretched and rod in hand, and the rock in most sketchy outline, with a few dabs of color to indicate water. No realism of nature is attempted. No landscape carries the eye back into the picture. There is absolutely no hint of atmosphere or of cloud until the paintings of the fourth century, and then only in rare instances.[104] Moses and the rock alone indicate the theme of the painting, and they indicate it sufficiently well. It is perfectly apparent that symbolism alone is intended. It would, indeed, have been rather useless to attempt artistic expression in underground crypts, which would be visited but rarely and then only with the delicate light of terra cotta lamps. The pictures by their simplicity make it clear that symbolism alone was intended, but simplicity or rather unanimity in interpretation of the symbolism does not necessarily follow. A painting may have been significant in one way to the man who caused it to be executed, and in other ways to those who came after him. Thus the scene of Moses striking the rock may have symbolized baptism

[103] *Ibid.,* p. 37.

[104] This fact must bear strongly against the brilliant attempt of Messrs. Richter and Taylor (*The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art,* London, 1905.) to remove the mosaics of the nave and triumphal arch of *S. Maria Maggiore* in Rome from the fourth century to the second. In their beautiful reproductions of the best preserved mosaics, such as scenes from the life of Abraham in which he greets and entertains the three heavenly visitors and in which he receives Melchezidek, the richness of the cloud effect is a prominent feature. In the latter, Christ Himself is seen in the clouds with hand outstretched towards the basket of loaves which Abraham presents to his royal and priestly visitor. This goes much farther than even the fourth century paintings in the catacombs, where the hand of God is seen on high in one fresco of the Three Hebrew Children in the fiery furnace at Babylon, Mal., Pl. 172 2/2IVMaius; and in four of the Sacrifice of Abraham, Pl. 139 1/2IVD; Pl. 96 VD; Pl. 201 VD; Pl. 222 2/2IVMaius. Cf. *Pitture,* text p. 32.

to the early Church in general,[105] as Wilpert believes, but that did not prevent Justin Martyr from seeing it, in connection of the furnishing of the quails and the cloud, a symbol of heaven.[106] We must ask for a little more flexibility in interpretation than Wilpert seems to be disposed to allow. And we must ask for this without in the least discounting the eminently valuable remarks made in his chapter on the "principles for the interpretation of the sacred paintings in the catacombs."[107] Particularly do we agree in the principle he lays down of interrogating first of all the pictures themselves and in connection with the font from which they derive their content, i. e., the Scriptures.[108]

It is in the application of this principle that we observe the prominent influence of St. John's Gospel in the very origin of the entire cycle of catacomb paintings, and extended throughout its development.

The Characteristic of St. John's Gospel, and its Value for Symbolism.

It is an easy matter now to point out the peculiar fitness of the Johannine Gospel as a source for themes appropriate for the decoration of tombs. As has been so frequently noted, the discovery that the Fourth Gospel differs greatly from the Synoptics is by no means modern. Clement of Alexandria (150-220?) in his *Hypotyposes,* speaking of the order of the Gospels, imparting information which he says he obtained from the "early presbyters", declares, "Last of all John, perceiving that the bodily facts had been set forth in the Gospel (i. e., the Synoptics), at the instance of his disciples and with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit composed a spiritual Gospel."[109] Eusebius, probably influenced by

[105] Tertullian: *De Baptismo* (c. 9).
[106] Justin Martyr: *Trypho,* CXXXI.
[107] *Pitture,* Chap. IX, p. 130ff.
[108] *Ibid.,* p. 133.
[109] In Eusebius. *H. E.,* VI, 14, 7.

Clement, says that John had no reason to begin with an account of the genealogy of Our Lord's human descent, since this had already been written by Matthew and Luke, but began with His divinity, as though this had been reserved for him by the Holy Spirit as one greater than they.[110] We thus have the characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. It was a *spiritual* Gospel, and set forth the divinity and mission of Christ with all that this implies. The Evangelist plainly declares his purpose in writing the Gospel when he says, "But these things are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name."[111] The purpose is then seen to be a double one, to show (1) that Jesus is the Son of God, and (2) to afford to his readers eternal life through their belief in this divine Christ. He presents the grandeur of the person of Christ, and "suggests inward experiences".

In composition the Gospel is exceedingly artistic. It has the dignity of a Greek tragedy, and also its movement. Vivid and concrete touches mark its artistic characteristic. All of the incidents narrated, selected from an innumerable list for the purposes as above set forth, are real with the most vivid action. They serve as texts or even as symbols for the discourses that accompany them, and herein is seen the unique value of the Gospel for symbolic purposes. It furnished not only the thought or rather the spiritual truth that was the theme to be symbolized, but it also provided in direct connection with it a concrete picture in which it plainly said that the truth was symbolized. It provided both the thought and the concrete expression of the thought.[112]

[110] *Ibid.*, III, 24.

[111] Jn. 20:31.

[112] It is worthy of note that the parables of Christ in which the Synoptic Gospels abound are decidedly neglected in Catacomb Art. Aside from those of the Vine and the Good Shepherd, which are of a separate class and probably have their source in the Fourth Gospel, the only parable treated is that of the Wise and Foolish Virgins which is depicted only in the fourth century twice, or probably three times. The reason for this is evident. Although rich in thought they do not lend themselves readily to symbolic, pictorial treatment as do the spectacular miracles and the concrete actions and discourses of the Fourth

This symbolic characteristic of the Gospel—the employment of concrete expressions to convey spiritual truth—may be seen most clearly when we enumerate a few of the more striking instances: Christ is declared to be the Word. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." "I am the light of the world." "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." Christ provides a well of living water, springing up into everlasting life. John the Baptist was a lamp. "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst." "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is true meat, and my blood is true drink." "The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are life." "Ye must be born again." "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." "If a man keep my word he shall never see death." "I am the good shepherd." "I am the door of the sheep." "I and the Father are one." "I am the resurrection and the life." "I am the true vine." "Thou sayest that I am a king." "Everyone that is of the truth heareth my voice." "Feed my sheep."

The miracles recorded are used as texts. They were performed

Gospel. Their action is spread over several scenes, and cannot be encompassed within a single, suggestive picture. In the case of the story of the Prodigal Son the artist would naturally deliberate between the scene of the disgust of the awakened young man, meditating on his spendthrift life with his resolve to return and seek forgiveness, and the scene of his reception to his father's house. The parable of the Sowing of the Seed would be obviously difficult of execution. In the case of the story of the Wedding Feast the artist might hesitate between depicting one of the scenes of urgent invitation and the incident of the casting forth of the guest unprovided with the wedding garment, etc. Further, the parables were not appropriate in the cycle of Catacomb Art. They did not illustrate the life of a man *after he had become a Christian.* The parables were addressed to men who were not Christians, and warned them of the peril of neglecting salvation, but were not full of the comfort that consoled the Christian as he meditated on the Johannine and kindred themes in Catacomb Art that spoke of release from pain and labor and sin, of communion with Christ, of the resurrection, and of eternal life.

for a purpose, and set forth spiritual truth, which is directly expounded. Hence their value for symbolism is apparent, and this in itself furnishes a strong *a priori* argument for regarding the Gospel as the source for miracle scenes portrayed in the frescoes that John narrates in common with the other Evangelists, but which on strictly archaeological grounds cannot be assigned to the Fourth Gospel.

Historical fact was very important to St. John. He declared that what he narrated was true, but in these facts he saw a hidden meaning. To him they were rich in symbolic concept and here we may again see the reason why the second century Church delighted to select striking, vivid themes from this "spiritual Gospel", as forms in which were symbolized the beliefs which gave comfort in this life and hope for the life which is to come.

The other Gospels were biographies of a kind. In contracted form they set forth the chief events of the life of Christ, and because of their abbreviated and similar form they have been known as "synopses". John accepted them, bore witness to their truth, as Eusebius declares, and added to their narrative, "what was done by Christ at first and at the beginning of his preaching."[113] This much he added to their narrative, to their biography, but he made his Gospel different from theirs. He made it spiritual, not in the sense that the first three Gospels are not spiritual, but that John gave to his writing a quality that is lacking in the others, that is entirely distinctive. It is partly a matter of degree, and degree to such an extent that the last Gospel is by preëminence known as the *spiritual* Gospel.

This fact would, in itself, particularly commend it for all things that have to do with the future life, which is entirely spiritual and nothing else. This fact also makes it most emphatically Christian, and early Christian, since there is no feature of early Christianity more marked than life in immediate relation to the Spirit. In the apostolic age men were baptized, not only with water, but also with Holy Spirit, which was a real experience resulting in a state of life.[114] The consistent teaching of

[113] Eusebius: *H. E.*, III, 24.

[114] The reminiscence of this is seen in the later ideas that arose as to the medicinal value of baptism—a remedy for the sins of one's soul

the New Testament is to the effect that the Christian life is a unity. From the time of baptism, from then extending throughout all eternity, the Christian by reason of God's grace and his acceptance of Christ's mercy by the Holy Spirit, continues in an existence, divided indeed by death in a real way, but yet as far as its spiritual reality is concerned, the same. As then this spiritual life is continuous, in which death is apparently an episode serving to release the soul from imperfections and the environment of sin and to introduce it into the perfect Kingdom of God, there can be no reason *a priori* for giving too much emphasis to the idea of physical death in the origin period of the catacomb paintings, although to be sure death was as prominent a fact then as it is now. But it might be better to think of them rather as having to do with Christian life, meaning by this the whole continuity of the Christian life. As has been emphasized, the catacombs were places of burial. They were sepulchres, and therefore in examining the paintings that adorn them we must recognize this feature. But in their early period at least it will be well to modify this element to the place that it really held in the mind of the Church in its concept of the whole of life. The paintings then were sepulchral, but sepulchral in the sense that they had to do with life. This life was spiritual in the uniquely Christian sense. It is easy to see, then, from what has been said of the characteristic of St. John's Gospel, how it would lend itself to the mind of him who wished to express in the decoration of his dear one's tomb the fact that the Saviour of mankind gives to those who believe on Him everlasting life.

Accordingly we see the Gospel used as a source for themes in the Roman catacombs soon after it was circulated in the West, and directly after it was written, as one would naturally expect. We find it in Rome early in the second century, if not in the end of the first, and in such wide distribution, as outlined above, that we are impelled to the conclusion that it was enthusiastically received and at once exerted wide influence.

Our knowledge of the symbolic nature of Early Christian Art furnishes the presupposition that a Gospel whose leading

that might be taken only once, hence advisedly delayed in application until *in extremis,* when there could be no further chance for sin.

characteristic is the presentation of spiritual truth in concrete form would be eagerly acclaimed and extensively utilized as a source for pictorial themes. This presupposition is confirmed by the fact, as previously presented in archaeological detail. Themes were selected preferably from St. John's Gospel for portrayal in the catacomb frescoes. They were themes that presented the Christian life as spiritual and as eternal. Death, the obvious, pathetic fact of the catacombs, might indeed strike down a man, but that did not mean that all was ended. The man who had been baptized with water and with the Spirit, within whom was a fountain of living water, who had partaken of the true Bread which had come down from Heaven and of the true drink, even the blood of the Son of God and Man, who had partaken of the eucharistic fish, who belonged to the flock of the Good Shepherd, and was united to Christ as a branch to the vine, who had been healed from his sins and delivered from his affiictions as were the paralytic, the blind man, the lepers and the woman with an issue of blood from their infirmities,—such a man was assured that though he might die, he also would one day rise again as did Lazarus. Such considerations explain and confirm the wide influence of the Gospel in the thought of the Roman Church at such an early date.

III. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL THE KEY TO EUCHARISTIC SYMBOLISM.

Our knowledge of the early history of the Eucharist is by no means satisfactory.[115] Notwithstanding the earnest investigations of numerous scholars the definite results attained are painfully meagre. So it has come to be regarded as a barren field for inquiry. Skillful deductions may be and have been drawn regarding the development of the service from the informal meal by which it was instituted, into the splendid liturgical feast made necessary by the demand of the growing church for an orderly and dignified mode of worship. Its relations with the Agape, or Love Feast, have been studied, as well as the abuses in the latter which led to its final suppression. The literary evidence has been thoroughly exhausted in these investigations, and scarcely anybody has had his curiosity satisfied, and probably never will.

The apostle Paul, in his first letter to the Corinthian church, called the feast the "Lord's Supper", and implies the practice of each person's partaking *ad libitum,* as at an ordinary meal. Yet he regards it as a real religious service, to be conducted as such, and draws a distinction between the private houses of the Christians, and the "church", or corporate "congregation".[116] Ignatius of Antioch was very anxious for order in the Church, so he wrote, "Let that be deemed a proper Eucharist, which is (administered) either by a bishop, or by one to whom he has entrusted it."[117] Justin Martyr tells us most about the service in the second century. His passage on the subject is worth quotation. After having discussed the deep import of Christian baptism and its imitation by devils, he proceeds: "But we, after we have thus washed him who has been convinced, and has assented to our

[115] From εὐχαριστεῖν, to give thanks. It early took its name from the expression of thanksgiving that was one of its marked features. Cf. Lk. 22:19, I Cor. 11:24.

[116] I Cor. 11:17-34. In v. 22, μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ εσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; ἢ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονεῖτε;

[117] *Ad. Smyr.,* 8. Cf. also chap. 7.

teaching, bring him to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled, in order that we may offer hearty prayers in common for ourselves and for the illuminated person (i. e., the baptized) and for all others in every place, that we may be counted worthy, now that we have learned the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the commandments, so that we may be saved with an everlasting salvation. Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. Then is brought to that one of the brethren who is presiding bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at His hands. And when he has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all the people present express their assent by saying Amen. This word Amen answers in the Hebrew language to γένοιτο. And when the president has given thanks, and all the people have expressed their assent, those who are called by us deacons give to each of those present to partake of the bread and wine mixed with water over which the thanksgiving was pronounced, and to those who were absent they carry away a portion.

"And this food is called among us Εὐχαριστία (Eucharist), of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ Our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the apostles, in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said, "This do ye in remembrance of Me,

this is My body;" and that, after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said, "This is My blood:" and gave it to them alone. Which the wicked devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras, commanding the same thing to be done. For, that bread and and a cup of water are placed with certain incantations in the mystic rites of one who is being initiated, you know or can learn."[118]

From this narrative in Justin we observe that the Eucharist is regarded as a distinct religious service, modeled on the account in the Gospels, that it is divorced from the Agape, at least in some sections of the Church, and that the elements used are bread and "wine mixed with water". Such are the things that the literature of the period tells us of the essential features of the sacrament. Students of liturgy have continued from this point to trace the scanty evidences of a developing canon of the mass. It is easier to find this in a fully developed state than to mark the stages in its development. But such study does not concern us here. It is sufficient to note what information a representative post-apostolic Father gives us concerning current belief and practice.

It is now to be observed that the correct and formal expression regarding the sacrament as given in literature does not correspond with that revealed by Archaeology. New information from a different source is introduced regarding the theme. While by no means conflicting with the literary sources Archaeology presents the matter to us in an entirely different and additional way. It treats the Eucharist symbolically instead of in the philosophical or doctrinal or historical manner of the Fathers. It gives us the popular thought on the subject, expressed objectively in symbols. As is the case with symbols, any man may derive thought from them according to the wealth of his knowledge and the fertility of his suggestive processses. But a careful consideration of the symbolical representations of this theme in Early Roman Catacomb Art will show that the

[118] *Apol.*, 65, 66ff. Tr. Dods and Reith. Other references in the Fathers are, Justin M.: *Trypho*, 41, 117; Irenaeus: *Adv. Haeres.*, 4:18, 4, 5; Clem. Alex.: *Strom.*, 1:5, 4:132; Origen: *C. Celsum*, 8:57.

key to their understanding, as well as to their origin,lies in St. John's Gospel.

A presentation of the evidence for this assertion is now in order. Briefly, it consists in the fact that a series of paintings of the second century gives to us a scene of the following characteristics: Seven persons reclining at a table of the sigma shape are depicted partaking of a meal at which are served loaves of bread and fish, and a flask of wine is included in several instances. In the foreground, or on either side are grouped seven baskets heaped with loaves of bread.[119] (These loaves were of the ordinary variety. They resemble the modern breakfast roll. The four corners were turned over, so that when baked the depressions on the top presented the lines of a cross. More has been made of this than is warranted, though the Christian surely recognized with joy the sign of his salvation imprinted on his daily bread.)

Such are the pronounced features of this cycle of paintings which, upon discovery, drew to it universal attention. To be sure, the pictures vary in detail. Thus, while bread and fish are visible in each scene, the wine flask is not. Indeed it occurs only in the first one of the series, the Fractio Panis in the Greek Chapel of the catacomb of Priscilla (Pl. Ib, Mal., Pl. 15-1, *Fractio Panis,* Pl. XIII-XIV), and in two allied paintings in the Crypt of Lucina (Pl. VIIa, VIIIa, Mal., Pl. 27-1, 28). Loaves of bread served with the fish (aside from the baskets) are absent in several cases, as in the Sacrament Chapels A2 and A3 in the catacomb of Callixtus (Pl. IIc, VIc, Mal., Pl. 27-2; 41-3). The number feasting is always seven,though in the Fractio Panis one is a woman. The number of baskets of loaves is seven in all cases except two, in one of which the artist increased the number to eight because

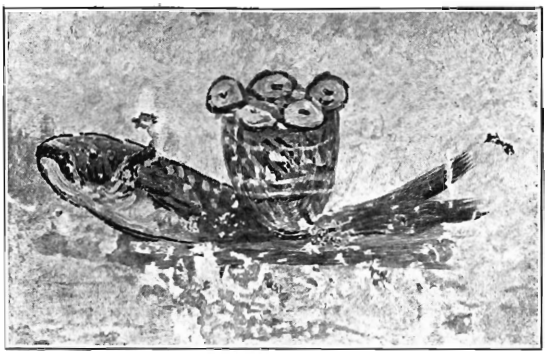
[119] The list is as follows: Greek Chapel, Pl. Ib; *Fractio Panis,* Pl. XIII-XIV; Mal., Pl. 15-1 αIIP, Pl. VIIa, VIIIa; Mal., Pl. 27-1, 28 1/2IIL, Pl. VIa, c; Mal., Pl. 41-1, 3 2/2IIC Sacr. Cap. A3, Pl. IIc, Va; Mal., 27-2, 38 2/2IIC Sacr. Cap. A2, Pl. IIb; Mal. 15-2 ωIIC Sacr. Cap. A6, Pl. VId; Mal., 41-4 ωIIC Sacr. Cap. A5, *Alte Copien,* Pl. XV, 1 (?)vM, ?2/2IIC Sacr. Cap. A3 Cf. Sacr. Cap. A2, Pl. Va., Mal., 265, 267-1 ψIV Via Latina. Also Pl. VIIb; Mal., 57 1/2IIIP&M Double cu., Mal., 105-2 ωIIIP&M Cu. 33 (?), Pl. IVb; Mal., 186-1 ψIVP&M Cry. of Wine Miracle.

seven violated the law of symmetry in his painting, and in the other instance twelve were painted, doubtless to fill a larger space. (The Gospel narratives of the two miracles of multiplication of loaves and fishes unite in saying that on the one occasion seven, and on the other, twelve baskets of fragments were collected.)

Besides this series of banqueting scenes there are several pictures which contain the more suggestive of these features in emphatic portrayal. In the Crypt of Lucina in the catacomb of Callixtus are two celebrated similar paintings. They are on the same stucco, the middle section of which has been destroyed, possibly by such a collector of antiquities as d'Agincourt. Each picture consists of a single basket filled with loaves, and in front of it is a large fish, and within the basket is a flask of wine (Pl. VIIa, VIIIa, Mal., Pl. 27-1, 28 1/2IIL). In the Sacrament Chapel A3 of the catacomb of Callixtus (Pl. VIa, Mal., Pl. 41-1 2/2IIC) a man stands beside a tripod on which is a fish and possibly loaves, and extends his arms to touch it, while on the other side stands a veiled orant, or figure with arms upraised in prayer. In the Sacrament Chapels A2 and A3[120] are also painted tripods with fish laid upon them, and seven baskets of loaves grouped about them (Pl. Va, Mal., Pl. 38 2/2IIC). This series of paintings belongs entirely to the second century, with the exception of one painting in the catacomb under the *Vigna Massimo,* now destroyed and which therefore cannot be dated accurately, and one in the anonymous hypogeum on the *Via Latina* which belongs to the middle of the fourth century. (The reason this painting, though late, is included in the series is because it is evidently a representation of the feeding of the multitude.).

It is very true that in the catacombs there are painted scenes of eating other than those mentioned above. There are several portrayals of the marriage feast at Cana of Galilee, which will be seen to be deeply allied to the Eucharistic series, or rather being an essential component part of it, a third century development. There are also various scenes of feasting at which bread

[120] A series of five chapels of the second century, all in the same gallery of the catacomb of Callixtus are known as the "Sacrament Chapels", because they contain paintings in which the two sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist are either depicted or symbolized.



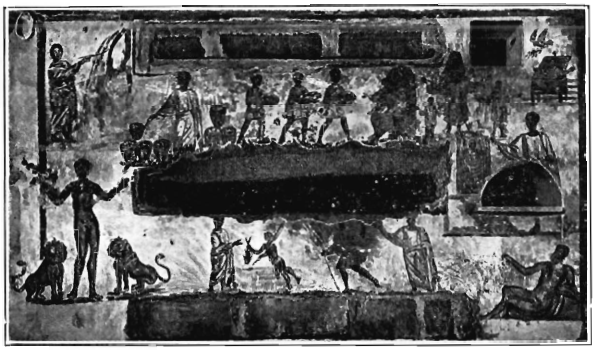


PLATE VIII. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

and fish and wine are served, and in some cases the number of those feasting is seven. But the baskets of loaves are lacking, and the presence of servants, as well as accompanying inscriptions, rightly caused Wilpert to regard these as in a class by themselves which he labels "funeral banquets", or feasts kept in memory of and on the anniversary of the death or deposition of the deceased. This was a universal pagan custom. In some cases the feasts were endowed, provision having been made for them in the wills of the defunct. Likewise the dues that members of burial societies paid assured them not only of decent burial, i. e., in *columbaria,* but also that the anniversaries of their deaths would be observed with funeral feasts. The custom was followed by the Christians. It accounts for the fact that epitaphs almost invariably give the day of the deposition, such as DEPOSITVS EST IIII KAL SEPT, whereas we could much prefer that they give the names of the consuls of the year in which the person died. The first one of these funeral banquet pictures dates, indeed, from the first century (Mal., Pl. 7-1 2/2 ID). Its date is earlier than the origin of eucharistic symbolism, earlier possibly than St. John's Gospel. But it is rightly identified as a funeral feast. Perhaps it would be better to term all these Christian funeral feasts Agapes, or Love Feasts. As painted in the catacombs they were intended to be more or less realistic. Yet they were in a sense symbolic, for they symbolized the bliss of the deceased in heaven.

Further, it must not be forgotten that loaves and baskets of bread and fish and wine flasks and jars occur in Catacomb Art in many instances not enumerated above. The baskets of bread, seven in number, form the characteristic element of the cycle of the miracle of the multiplication of loaves. Christ stands in the midst of the baskets, or to one side, and touches them with His wand, the rod of power. There are twenty-eight instances in the frescoes dating form the first half of the third century, though most of them are of the fourth, and the theme is very common in the reliefs on the sarcophagi. Wine amphoras are common, though it is not clear that in all instances they have a symbolic meaning.[121] They are

[121] *Pitture,* p. 280.

evidently merely decorative details in several instances, though symbolic in others. (Any man who wished might see in them symbolism of the Eucharistic wine if he so desired, just as the theme of doves drinking from a vase may have had a meaning to him and a purpose, different from its common pagan usage in wall decoration.) There can be no doubt that the cross-marked loaves, and the fish possessd a well-defined symbolic meaning in their representations on sarcophagi and inscriptions of an early date. It will be evident directly that this symbolism was in great degree Eucharistic, and that the representations are in intimate connection with the series enumerated above.

Concerning this series, then, when we consider the details of these paintings we are assured that they are symbolic in intent. Baskets of bread and loaves and fish, and in two instances wine, seven persons seated at the feast, these are features that demand investigation from the point of view of symbolism. If other viands aside from bread and fish and wine were served, if the baskets of bread were absent, we might readily persuade ourselves that in these paintings we have simply realistic scenes of feasting. Even the absence of the wine in all but the earliest of the series is significant.[122] Knowing what we do of the reign of symbolism in the entire field of Catacomb Painting, and, indeed, of Early Christian Art, it is not difficult to decide that here we have a cycle of symbolic representations, the origin and meaning of which must be accounted for.

Seven persons recline at these feasts. This is significant, though whether it symbolizes anything in particular may be questioned. The couch was of the *sigma* shape, and not the

[122] Wilpert, indeed, assures us that in the Fractio Panis we have symbolism combined with realism, and to a certain extent he is correct. The figures are lifelike, and their actions are natural in artistic portrayal. But to say that in the bearded man at the end who seems to be in the act of breaking a loaf of bread, we have the liturgical act of consecration of the Eucharistic elements is carrying the realism a little too far. Certainly the informal and indifferent attitudes of the other persons would hardly warrant the supposition that they are aware of the seriousness of an actual service. In some respects the painting is realistic. But symbolism is more evident. The presence of the seven baskets makes this certain. So it is from this point of view that it must be studied.

triclinium, which ordinarily accomodated nine persons. The shape of the couch may account for the smaller number, for in each instance its accomodation seems to be completely taken. The number seven then probably means simply that a company of people of indefinite number was feasting.

Yet the fact that seven are represented naturally recalls the scene by the Lake of Galilee, in which Jesus after His passion and resurrection appeared to seven of the disciples and served a breakfast to them on the sea shore, consisting of fish and bread. This incident is narrated only by St. John (chap. 21). But it is impossible to regard this as the source for the paintings, with one exception. Baskets of loaves as a rule are grouped before or beside the table. But there is no mention of baskets of loaves in the scene by Galilee. One hundred and fifty-three fishes were heaped on the shore, but no baskets of bread were there.[123] Yet in one painting Wilpert and others identify the meal by the Sea of Tiberias (Pl. IIc, Mal., Pl. 27-2 2/2IIC Sacr. Cap. A2). The reasons are, (1) that the baskets of loaves are lacking, (2) that the seven men are naked (according to custom, having been engaged in fishing), and (3) that the scene is directly beside a picture of a fisherman seated on the bank in the act of drawing his line from the water, that is to say, in accordance with the well known rule the artist caused the beholder to understand the eating scene as being on the sea shore by the simple artifice of placing it immediately beside a picture in which water is evidently represented. This device is frequent in Catacomb Art.[124]

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[123] The presence of the baskets of loaves is sufficient reason. Another is that in the first painting of the series, the Fractio Panis, one of the number is a woman, whereas the company by the sea shore were all men. This is obvious from the text, Jn. 21:2, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο. It is useless for anyone to advance the theory that one of these two may have been one of the celebrated women of Jesus' company, and that in the Fractio Panis we have the fact revealed. These two were both apostles. Besides the improbability of a woman's being on the fishing boat, if one had been a woman, the Evangelist would undoubtedly have said so.

[124] This identification of the painting is denied by Prof. L. von Sybel of Marburg. He thinks Wilpert et al. have made a mistake in observation: "Die Figuren sind nur im Gesamtschema angegeben, ohne Differenzierung

The fact that baskets of loaves are depicted in these scenes permits only one interpretation. Connection with the miracles of the multiplication of loaves and fishes was intended. The extreme importance of the accident that fishes were multiplied as well as loaves will be evident shortly. Suffice it to say that it is fundamental for the understanding of the fish symbol. Any person looking upon one of these pictures was supposed to regard as an essential detail the miracles which the pictures suggested, and which the bread and fish upon the platters further represented. Indeed, aside from the pictures in which wine flasks are included, these paintings may well be regarded as intending to suggest these miracles, not by realistic portrayal, but by symbolic treatment of the details (the seven persons representing the multitude, for instance).[125]

Regarding the bread and fish served at these feasts, it must be observed emphatically that they are symbolic. The question may well be raised, why are no other viands permitted? Why no other kinds of meat, why no vegetables? It is not sufficient to answer that bread and fish were the common diet of the lower orders throughout the Roman Empire. The populace was also fond of vegetables, of mutton and other meat, of olives and fruits, even in Galilee where the miracles of multiplication were performed (if realism were intended in the paintings).[126] It will be pertinent directly to inquire why liquid refreshment is lacking (save in the instances noted). It is sufficient to say here that by

von Körper und Bekleidung; daher das Missverständnis, die Gäste seien nackte Fischer, und es sei das Mahl der sieben Jünger am See Tiberias dargestellt (nach Joh. 21). Die Siebenzahl der Gäste ist doch nur die typische. Auch has Fehlen der Brotkörbe hat nichts zu bedeuten; könnte es in irgend einer Richtung beweisen, so spräche es für das simple Seligenmahl."—*Christliche Antike,* p. 204.

[125] Von Sybel points out further that the scene is not realistically treated, because if such were the case the seven persons representing the multitude should not be depicted as seated properly at a sigma table, but should be lolling upon the green grass, and the baskets should be filled with fragments and not with whole loaves.—*Ibid.*, p. 202.

[126] The fact that symbolism was intended is confirmed by the assertion that fish was sometimes synonymous with food (more particularly cooked food). Cf. Plutarch, *Symp.*, 4, 4, 2. *πολλῶν ὄντων ὄψων ἐκνενίκησεν ὁ ἰχθὺς μόνος ἢ μάλιστά γε ὄψον καλεῖσθαι.*

the fact that bread and fish alone are used, the symbolic nature of the paintings is confirmed.

Since, then, it appears that the bread and fish are symbolic, and that the baskets of bread localize the symbolism with the multiplication miracles, we are in a position to explain the significance of the symbolism.[127] It consists in this fact, that the account of the miracle of the multiplication of loaves and fishes in St. John's Gospel is followed immediately by the so-called Eucharistic discourse of Jesus (Jn. 6:1-71). The incidents are in direct and intimate connection. The discourse is presented as a result of the miracle, and, in a sense, an explanation of it. The miracle served as an occasion and a text for the discourse.

The multitude was so enthusiastic over the miracle, of which they had been beneficiaries, that they had decided that it would be the part of wisdom to make Jesus king. An individual of such power as He evidently possessed could not only head a successful sedition against the Roman rule, but would have no difficulty in provisioning his army and providing comforts for his subjects. To avoid their importunities Jesus escaped from the multitude by crossing the lake, and came to Capernaum. Here he was discovered by the people on the following day, and here He pronounced the extraordinary discourse on the Bread of Life. He began with the criticism, "Ye seek me, not because ye saw signs, but because ye ate of the loaves and were filled. Work not for

[127] Two distinct miracles are recorded in the Gospels. All four evangelists tell of the one in which 5000 or more men were fed on five loaves and two fishes and twelve baskets of fragments were taken up. Mt. 14: 15-21, Mk. 6: 41-45, Lk. 9: 10-17, Jn. 6: 1-14. Matthew and Mark alone give the account of 4000 persons being fed on seven loaves and a few little fishes, upon which occasion seven baskets of fragments were taken up. Mt. 15: 29-39, Mk. 8: 1-9. (Wilpert, strange to say, seems ignorant of the narrative in Mk. "Questa è narrato dal solo Matteo." *Pitture*, p. 262.) It is obvious, if the minute details of these paintings are to be examined, that the four evangelists must be regarded indiscriminately as the source for the *portrayal* of the theme. Thus, in the Fractio Panis where five loaves and two fishes are served seven baskets are painted, whereas there should be twelve if the two details are taken from the same story. But the number of baskets is usually seven (in the third and fourth century representations of the miracle invariably so), though in one instance they number eight, and in another twelve.

the food which perisheth, but for the food which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you." Soon after He drew a distinction between the mortal bread that Moses had given their fathers in the wilderness, and the true bread out of heaven, "for the bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven, and giveth life unto the world." He then plainly announced, "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst . . . For this is the will of my Father, that every one that beholdeth the Son, and believeth on him, should have eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.

His hearers were unable to comprehend these statements, so He repeated, "I am the living bread which came down out of heaven; if any man eat of this bread, he shall live forever; yea and the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world." The multitude was then genuinely confounded, and questioned, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" Then Jesus responded with what his hearers called a "hard saying", "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have not life in yourselves. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is true meat, and my blood is true drink. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood abideth in me, and I in him. As the living Father sent me, and I live because of the Father, so he that eateth me, he also shall live because of me. This is the bread which came down out of heaven: not as the fathers ate and died; he that eateth this bread shall live forever." This "hard saying" was more than the multitude could endure. They no longer desired to make him king.

Now, whatever the real exegesis of this passage may be, that does not deeply concern us. It is sufficient to point out that as an arrangement of words it expresses rather clearly the significance of the Eucharist to the average Christian. By partaking of the bread and wine of the sacrament, according to the words of institution the believer partakes of the body and blood of Christ. By doing so he obtains communion with Christ,

recalls the deep import of His passion, and at the same time is assured of eternal life, even a part in the resurrection, ". . . hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day." It is well known that the passion of Christ is not depicted realistically in the art of the first four centuries. Yet it is not surprising that the Christian should desire to include it in some form on the decoration of his tomb, to signify the basis of his hope of salvation. In the Eucharist all this was symbolized, and more, for it was also a symbol of the resurrection, of eternnal life and of the communion with Christ had not only in this life, but continued throughout eternity. The Eucharist therefore was an appropriate theme for catacomb decoration. Yet it is not treated realistically, but is symbolized. It is symbolized under the theme of the feeding of the multitude with bread and fishes, and in St. John's Gospel we see just why that was. The bread and fish of the miracle (the fish included rather by accident) symbolized the bread of life which Jesus gave, as in the action of the miracle,—His flesh, for the life of the world. It is in St. John's Gospel that the symbolism of the Eucharist is explained, and the continuity of this explanation with the miracle is apparent. Here alone we see how the partaking of the flesh and blood of Christ not only made clear to the Christian the sacrifice of Christ as the source of his salvation, but it also confirmed to him the promise of the resurrection. It was a theme particularly suitable for treatment in the catacomb cycle of Christian Art. We are accordingly justified in finding in the Johannine Gospel the source of eucharistic symbolism, particularly as it is expressed in Christian Art.

The theme of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes has been regarded as a symbol of the Eucharist ever since this series of paintings was discovered, but on such grounds as Wilpert states in *Pitture,* p. 262, or in *Fractio Panis,* p. 83, n. 1, where the *similarity* in wording between the accounts of the blessing of the bread and fish in the miracle and the blessing of the bread in the Last Supper is regarded as the bond uniting the two events and giving to the former a basis for making it a symbol of the latter. This is ingenious, but is too artificial. This might

account for the *form* of the sacrament, if there were any reason to suppose that the liturgical form was symbolized. A symbol itself is but an outward form, by the understanding of which one appreciates a hidden significance. Hence it would be useless to give a form of a form, to symbolize a symbol. It was not the form, but the deep significance that found expression in symbolism. This the miracle afforded by reason of the explanation accompanying it in the eucharistic discourses in St. John's Gospel.[128]

To all of the above may now be urged the following considerations: (1) Included in the series is the one painting of the scene of breaking of fast by the sea of Tiberias, already referred to, which is narrated solely in St. John's Gospel. Bread and fish are the viands. With the exception of the absence of the baskets it looks just like any other one of the series (Pl. IIc, Mal., Pl. 27-2). It must be remembered that it is in one of the Sacrament Chapels, in which many of these paintings are found. Its source is admittedly the Johannine Gospel. It is like the others. We do not know just how much it may have symbolized to the primitive Christian of Rome, but it certainly was a part of the eucharistic cycle. We may be sure that it symbolized communion at least, and if this much, then probably all of the sacrament. When once the bread and fish together were regarded as symbols of the sacrament, the fish and bread of the scene by Galilee would give to the entire incident an eucharistic cast. As it is Johannine in source, its collateral bearing on the subject is evident.

(2) In the crypt of Lucina we have twin paintings, separated by a defaced space, each consisting of a fish before a basket filled with loaves, just as are found in the regular paintings of the series, and in the basket a flask of wine (Pl. VIIa, VIIIa, Mal., Pl. 27-1, 28). Here we have the fish and the loaves, also the baskets to show unmistakable connection with the series of the feeding of the multitude which, as we have shown, is an essential detail of the eucharistic cycle. And, as if to confirm this connection, we

[128] This Wilpert allows, *Pitture*, p. 262, "Poi non può considerarsi puro caso che al miracolo della refezione delle turbe faccia seguire il 'durus sermo'."

have also the flask of wine, as in the Fractio Panis, the first one of the series. It seemed as if in the beginning of the series the tradition of realism was responsible for the retention of the wine, but it was directly apparent that the bread and fish of the multiplication miracle were sufficient for the symbolism. Thus, the cycle continued without the wine for a long time, until the introduction of the theme of the miracle of the Wine at Cana of Galilee, in the third century. This theme was then combined with the miracle of the Multiplication of Loaves treated absolutely as such (i. e, the meal of the seven symbolizing the refreshment of the multitude in the miracle was dropped, and the theme consisted solely of the figure of Christ, who is absent in the feasting scenes, standing beside seven baskets in the act of multiplication), at which time the fish gave place to the wine, the real, legitimate eucharistic element. Professor C. R. Morey writes on this subject, "All these representations (i. e., of the Wine Miracle at Cana of Galilee) are late. They prove however nothing against the predominance of the Fourth Gospel as the source for early Catacomb painting, because John's Gospel furnished another scene—the Multiplication—which contained the same eucharistic symbolism. The breaking up of the eucharist symbolism through the isolation of the fish as a Christ-symbol is, it seems to me, the reason for the introduction of the Cana Wedding as a new and distinctive type of the Eucharist."

Wilpert conjectures that in the defaced wall space between the twin paintings in Lucina there originally existed a treatment of the eucharistic feast with the baskets of loaves, just as in the ordinary ones of the series. It is impossible to say, but it makes little difference as far as the twin pictures are concerned. The significant thing about them is that they portray the bread and fish and wine, all symbols of the Eucharist, and bound to the series by the basket.

(3) Very similar to these twin paintings is one in the Sacrament Chapel A3 in the catacomb of Callixtus (Pl. VIa, Mal., Pl. 41-1 2/2II). It is unique in Catacomb Art and has been the subject of much controversy in its interpretation. There can be no doubt that it is a symbolic painting. In the center stands a tripod

containing a fish and a loaf of bread. On one side is a man clad in the mantle of a philosopher with hands outstretched over the tripod. On the other side is a veiled orant, a woman with arms upraised in the attitude of prayer. (The presence of the orant in the painting makes it symbolical, if nothing else.). Wilpert identifies the man with arm outstretched as Christ, and says that, "in order to make it evident that he did not intend to represent the miracle treated historically as such, but portrayed symbolically the *consecration*, the most important act of the eucharistic sacrifice, the artist introduced a detail in the nature of antitype, depicting the fish and bread upon a *mensa,* an altar." (*Pitture,* p. 266.). In other words, Christ by His gesture, seems to be appropriating the eucharistic symbols, to be identifying them with Himself, the living Bread which came down from heaven. And the veiled orant, symbolizing the Church or the soul of the deceased,[129] standing at one side represents the receptive attitude of those to whom the sacrament is administered.

Here we have the bread and fish of the miracle, and their connection with the miracle is confirmed by the scene of feasting immediately joining it in which the baskets of loaves are present and fish are served on two plates (Pl. VIc, Mal., Pl. 41-3 2/2IIC). Adjoining this scene is the theme of the Sacrifice of Isaac. Both Abraham and Isaac are in the orant attitude, and the theme is identified by the presence of the ram and the bundle of sticks. The same theme is found in the Greek Chapel not far from the Fractio Panis, which proximity leads Wilpert to see in it a symbol of the passion of Christ. Wherefore, in this Sacrament Chapel we have symbolized the three themes of the Consecration of the Eucharist in the tripod scene, the Eucharistic Communion in the scene of feasting, and in the sacrifice of Isaac the Offering of the real Bread of Life,—"and the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world." However much of this may be correct, one thing is surely emphasized, the prominence of the bread and fish in symbolism. The picture thus evidently belongs to the cycle of eucharistic themes, and confirms its significance, as do the twin paintings in the

[129] It is by no means clear just what the orant type did symbolize.

crypt of Lucina. We have seen the reason why the bread and fish came to symbolize the Eucharist. In these two paintings, as in the theme of the breakfast by the sea of Tiberias, the symbolism was well understood. It had been originated in the typical eating scene from the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, and since people thus understood it, independence in design was responsible for the separate treatment of the essential details of the cycle. One further illustration confirms this. In the vault of the Sacrament Chapel A2, and probably also in A3, was depicted a tripod containing fish, and grouped beside it the seven baskets of loaves,[130]—the prepared fish and the eucharistic bread.

(4) It is to be noticed that the fish is always in company of the loaves, either upon the plates or in the baskets. Its eucharistic symbolism *in connection with other symbols of the sacrament* is thus to be noticed. The fish isolated from these symbols does not occur in Catacomb Painting, and does not come up for discussion as such. But as Professor Morey has pointed out (*A. J. A.*, 1909, pp. 57, 58), this eucharistic treatment of the fish precedes the acrostic, the **IXΘYC**,[131] though it throws an interesting light on the origin and development of the **IXΘYC**, at least in one of its meanings.[132]

This earlier use of fish as a symbol of the Eucharist in connection with bread, or bread and wine, is to be carefully distinguished from the later use of the isolated fish, the acrostic **IXΘYC**. They are altogether different, chronologically, as well as in meaning, though the significance of the former endured to a certain extent. Thus, St. Augustine and the author of the *De Promissionibus et Praedictionibus Dei* give the older interpretation of Johannine symbolism of the Eucharist, the Bread which came down from heaven, the food which would nourish eternal life. The epigram of Augustine, *piscis assus, Christus est passus,* presents the **IXΘYC** idea, but in the following pas-

[130] Pl. Va, Mal., Pl. 38 2/2IIC.

[131] **Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Cωτήρ.—IXΘYC.** Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.

[132] Another is indicated in the words of Tertullian (*De Baptismo,* c.1.), "Sed nos pisciculi secundum **IXΘYN** nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur, nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus."

sage he gives the complete interpretation, *In Joh. Tract.*, 123, (i. e., on Jn. 21), Migne, 35, 1966, "The roasted fish signifies the crucified Christ. And He Himself is the Bread which came down from heaven (Jn. 6:41). Of this the Church partakes in order to share in everlasting happiness. It was said besides, *Bring of the fish which ye have now taken,* so that all of us who enjoy this hope through that seven-fold number of disciples, by which in this passage our universality may be intelligibly figured, by such a Sacrament may have been understood the communion, and have had fellowship in the same happiness."

This eucharistic cycle is of the second century in origin, and the themes we have discussed belong to that century. They are not continued in the same form later. The cycle changes essentially. In the third century we have simply the regular theme of the multiplication of loaves, in which Christ stands in the midst of seven baskets of loaves touching them with a wand (the loaves only are represented). This theme is common in the fourth century, particularly on sarcophagi reliefs. In one picture of the fourth century the eucharistic symbolism is extended by the added feature of including two apostles to distribute the bread and fish to the multitude (which is absent).[133] In the third century we have also, as remarked above, the theme of the miracle of the Wine at Cana of Galilee. In the first painting of this very limited series we notice a marked resemblance to the second century eating scenes. Seven persons recline on the sigma couch. A tripod serves as a table. But instead of the baskets of loaves we have six jars of wine which Christ touches with a wand. Another feature is the presence of a servant.[134] The inherent relationship in eucharistic symbolism of these two themes of the Multiplication of Loaves and the Increase of Wine is seen in a fresco of the fourth century in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus, in which the two scenes occupy opposite end spaces in the vault of an arcosolium.[135] In the lunette of the same arcosolium Wilpert restores a scene of feasting in which seven persons at a sigma table are

[133] Mal., Pl. 237-1 2/2IVC.

[134] Pl. VIIb, Mal., Pl. 57 1/2IIIP&M.

[135] Mal., Pl. 186-1 1/2IVP&M. (The two themes are depicted also in a fourth century painting in a catacomb at Alexandria.)

about to partake of a fish on the tripod before them, and a servant presents to one a cup of wine. In this century also there are isolated instances of the baskets of bread and the vessels of wine. In one instance Christ stands between the baskets and the amphoras with hands outstretched, affording evident eucharistic signification.[136]

(It must not be forgotten that there are other scenes of eating treated in Catacomb Painting in addition to those already discussed. These are ordinarily divided into two classes, portraying the theme of the funeral banquet, and that of the so-called funeral feast, the Agape, or feast held in commemoration of the deceased. This distinction is doubtless correct, being based on the fact that the pictures of the former class seem to portray the delights of paradise, while the latter are confined to this world. The technical distinction rests on the presence in the former class of paintings of personifications of Agape and Irene, Love and Peace, which give an atmosphere of heaven. These celestial servitors are requested by those feasting to bring hot water and wine mixed with water, IRENE DA CALDA and AGAPE MISCEMI. These paintings are all in one catacomb, that of Peter and Marcellinus, and in the same section of the catacomb, and date from the fourth century. There are four, or possibly six of these paintings,[137] with also a few isolated representations of figures bearing wine vessels. They are in the neighborhood of paintings that probably represent the judgment pronounced on the deceased, and indicate the result thereof, admission to paradise. The number of those feasting varies, and it is noticeable that the fish is served but the loaves of bread are missing. The remaining four paintings, not possessing the attributes of paradise or the typical eucharistic symbols, are regarded as being

[136] Mal., Pl. 166-1 1/2IVP&M.

[137] Mal., Pl. 133-2; 157-1, 2; 184 IVP&M. Also in *Pitture*, p. 279.

simply representations of funeral banquets. Aside from the fact that the persons painted are represented as drinking, it is difficult to identify the dishes served. Servants wait upon those dining in all these pictures. Three of these four paintings, i. e., of the latter class, are in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus, two of which date from the first half of the third century and one from the fourth. The fourth painting dates from the latter part of the first century and is in the Flavian gallery in the catacomb of Domitilla.[188] In this painting a fish and three loaves are served. It would be natural to regard this as belonging to the eucharistic cycle, the first of the series being of the same period, if it were not for the fact that the baskets of loaves are wanting, and more particularly because it is in a series that is strictly decorative in design, with the exceptions of Daniel, Noah and the Good Shepherd.

The presence of the fish in the series of the heavenly banquet doubtless has a symbolic meaning, which may, in a sense, be eucharistic. By the fourth century, the date of the series, the isolated fish was a sign for Christ, and the fish in any painting or piece of sculpture was significant.)

In conclusion, a summary of the reasons for asserting that St. John's Gospel was the source for eucharistic symbolism may be appended:

The sixth chapter of the Gospel contains an account of the multiplication of loaves and fishes to feed the weary multitude, and immediately thereafter gives the so-called eucharistic discourse of Jesus. In a day when realism gave place in Art, that is in Christian Art, to the desire for symbolical representation, the incident which preceded and caused the discourse was seized upon as a proper and exact symbol for the Eucharist. It repre-

[188] Mal., Pl. 7-4 2/2ID, Pl. 62-2 1/2IIIP&M, Pl. 65-3 1/2IIIP&M, Pl. 167 1/2IVP&M.

sented perfectly the prominent thought of the eucharistic discourse, the necessity of partaking of the Bread of Life which Jesus said was His own flesh—to have a part in the death of Christ, and also in His Resurrection ("and I will raise him up at the last day", said Jesus). These two ideas furnish the real reason for making use of the eucharistic theme in art of the sepulchre. By the bread of the miracle which Christ *offered* to men the eucharistic bread was indicated. The fish accompanied the bread according to the miracle, and probably, better than the bread could do, symbolized flesh, the offered body of Christ. But after all, the introduction of the fish into the eucharistic cycle was purely accidental. It was simply because of the accident that fish were multiplied as well as loaves in the miracle of the feeding of the multitude in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel that they were united with the loaves in the pictorial and symbolical treatment of the theme. Because the fish was accidental in its introduction into early Christian Art is the reason why it has been so very difficult to understand and interpret it. In addition to the fish the baskets of bread made the identification of the miracle with the symbolism certain. Wine was included at first as a real eucharistic element according to the words of institution of the sacrament, but not finding a place in the realism of the multiplication miracle was dropped as not being essential to the symbolism, though it was always understood.[139] (A man not only had to eat of the flesh of Christ in order to partake of the Eucharist, he also had to drink His blood.) Bread and fish and baskets were the essential features of the symbolism, and their use in the paintings of the second century demonstrates the truth of the assertion that the source of the eucharistic cycle is to be found in St. John's Gospel.

As has been said, the symbolism of the multiplication miracle, isolated from scenes of feasting, continued throughout the fourth century. At that time it may have indicated only the Bread of Life, the eucharistic bread, for in the third century we observe the return of the recognition of the essential import-

[139] In the celebrated inscription of Abercius, bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia (second century), the bishop says that when in Rome he was offered bread and fish and wine.

ance of wine as a fundamental eucharistic element, demanding representation in the symbolism. As just remarked, wine was always included in the interpretation of the symbolism of the multiplication miracle, according to Christ's discourse on the miracle, though it found no place in the event itself. In response to the demand for representation the miracle at Cana of Galilee was introduced, evidently symbolizing the eucharistic wine. In one instance the two themes of the multiplication and the wine miracles are treated in obvious connection. As a result of this the fish, having obtained an eucharistic significance through its presence in the original cycle, came to symbolize the Eucharist independently, or more specifically the sacrificed body of Christ, even Christ Himself. The fish, assisted by the acrostic, then came to be a sign for Christ.[140]

[140] Professor Ludwig von Sybel of Marburg in his book *Christliche Antike*, 1906, seems to have missed the point in his discussion of this entire cycle of paintings. In his chapter entitled *Das Mahl der Seligen* (pp. 181-209) he advances the theory that all pictures of feasting in Catacomb Art are intended to portray the banquets of the blessed in paradise. He is not very happy in his attempt to connect the catacomb frescoes with scenes of eating and feasts of heroes in the art of ancient Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria, as well as of classic Greece and Rome. His chapter would be more satisfactory if he should discuss the only question of interest in this connection, the influence and extent of the funeral feast, a universal pagan custom in Christian practice, concerning which there has never been any serious doubt. The feast of remembrance for the deceased was observed by Christian families, just as by their pagan neighbors, and it had been so abused by excesses in the days of Augustine that he expressed his strong disapproval of the practice. These funeral love feasts, Agapes, are suggested by several paintings in the catacombs, and it may be that the celestial banquet is intended by a fourth century series. There may be a sense in which the eucharistic feast suggests the communion of saints in paradise with their Lord, but von Sybel does not mean that. He insinuates, without chronological discrimination, a strongly materialistic element in the early Christian conception of the future life. Heaven is a place for indulgent enjoyment of the physical pleasures which appeal to us in this life, and which, if Jupiter or Heracles or Mithras be substituted for Christ, one might expect. But he fails to see that this does not correspond with the fact, when Christianity is considered historically. In his strong attack on Wilpert, charging him with reading an ecclesiastical interpretation into paintings that express merely ideas of the people, conceptions of the mul-

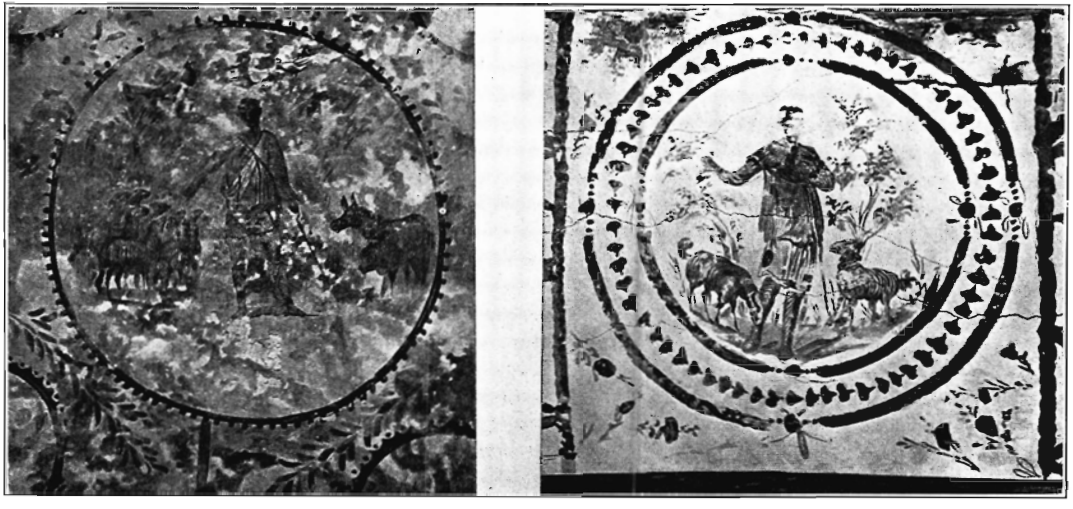


PLATE IX. FROM WILPERT'S MALEREIEN.

titude, he forgets the intensely unified nature of the Christian community in the period before the peace, and that while many members of the Church were ignorant and unlearned, perhaps unable to read and to write, the symbolism of a painting would be perfectly clear to them if once instructed by their leaders. A writer who at this day remains under the influence of the mythical theory of Strauss in considering the history of early Christianity, has very little reason to charge Wilpert with being unscientific on the ground that he follows clerical predispositions. Von Sybel fails, moreover, to see the great *popular* use of symbolism, as attested by early Christian Art, carried to an extent undreamed of before the excavations of the catacombs. He seems to ignore the symbolism to a large extent, or else to misunderstand it, and above all fails to credit the early Christian artists with having originated the forms for their symbols, whether under popular or clerical control. In this particular cycle he neglects the tripod pictures as well as the twin paintings in the Crypt of Lucina which confirm the eucharistic symbolism. (Their symbolic character remains, even if Wilpert should be mistaken, as he asserts, in seeing a flask of wine in each of the baskets.) Aside from saying that the fish was a common article of food (p. 199), and that it represented the individual Christian (p. 138), he leaves the symbol alone. Von Sybel's discussion of this series of second century paintings is very disappointing. He does not see the true significance of the loaves and fishes and baskets, and apparently misapprehends the entire spirit of Early Christian Art.

IV. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL THE LEADING FACTOR IN CATACOMB SYMBOLISM.

It seems reasonably certain that the end of the first century saw constructed the beginnings of the catacombs of Mons Vaticanus, Lucina at St. Paul's, Domitilla, Priscilla, and possibly others. Wilpert gives good reasons for assigning dates to paintings from these as follows: second half of the first century (reign of Domitian) to the hypogeum of the Flavii in Domitilla, end of first century to the hypogeum of the Acilii in Priscilla (after 91, when Acilius Glabrio was consul with Trajan), and end of the first century to the "oldest room" in Domitilla.

In these paintings the subjects may be briefly enumerated: grape vine designs, cupids, birds including peacocks, dolphins, radiating designs, a fisherman, flowers including asters, ornamental forms, i. e., ideal heads, genre pictures, jars and vases, ideal human forms, a sea-monster, a scene of eating called by Wilpert a funeral banquet, the Good Shepherd (carrying sheep), Cupid as the Good Shepherd, sheep, a vessel for milk, Daniel between two Lions, and Noah in the Ark. Of these, manifestly the ones that are biblical are the Good Shepherd, Daniel and Noah. The others are plainly and only classical motifs for decoration, and one might as well expect to find them in pagan paintings as indeed we do very commonly.

Concerning the themes introduced in the sceond century the statement may be made that, observing the laws and traditions of Pagan Art, in which they had been trained, as to symmetry and composition, and falling heir to its technique as well as to its defects, the Christian artists created their own forms, their own composition of a picture, and something more than this—*they created an art that was entirely symbolic.* To them must be given the credit for originating the idea of a form of art whose distinctive feature is symbolism, and that alone. In its beginning there are a few slight traces of the influence of realism, but even here pagan form exerted an unconscious influence through its

peculiar custom of setting each picture in its own frame or wall space or section of vault. In this century the great number of Scriptural themes arose, augmented somewhat in the third century, but forming the nucleus for the catacomb period in Christian Art.

We have, then, besides the first century themes, Moses striking the Rock, the three Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace in Babylon, scenes of Baptism, and various scenes of eating with separate representations of food, vessels and tables, baskets of bread, fish, vases, tripods, etc., as well as the miracle of the Multiplication of Loaves, all of which have been discussed as eucharistic symbols, representations of the seasons of the year, the story of Susannah and the Elders, Abraham offering up his son Isaac, the Resurrection of Lazarus, Orants, the Coronation of Thorns (?) or the *Agnus Dei,* the meeting of Jesus and the Woman of Samaria at Jacob's Well, the miracle of the Woman with an Issue of Blood, the Madonna, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Annunciation (?), Christ as Judge, the deceased, genii, Jonah, Orpheus, the miracle of the Healing of the Paralytic, various additional decorative elements, such as shells, wreaths, roses, doves, architectural designs, scenes of prayer, and realistic scenes of the activities of the fossores.

In the third century a few more themes are found, such as Christ enthroned and surrounded by the apostles, David and his sling, Tobias and his fish, the miracle of the Healing of a Blind Man, Leper, etc., and the Converting of the Water into Wine at Cana of Galilee, Adam and Eve at the fatal tree, and many more elements for decorative detail and symbolism, including further bird, animal and flower forms and species, Amor and Psyche, discs, a shepherd milking sheep, also apostles and saints, virgins and orants, masks, etc.

The fourth century introduces a new element, showing more of a crude attempt at realism, and differing considerably in spirit from the previous centuries, a process due to the gradual development of the cult of the saints and martyrs. Hence we see the origins of the Apocalpytic cycle, having to do with paradise and what goes on therein, and preparing for the themes of the great church mosaics. A few scenes from real life are treated,

and the only new Scriptural themes are the Raising of the Daughter of Jairus, the three Hebrew Children in their refusal to worship the image of the Babylonian king, the Prophesy of Balaam, Moses removing his sandals before the burning bush, Moses and Aaron persecuted by the Jews, the Ascension of Elijah, the Rain of Manna, the miracle of the Healing of the Demoniac, all of which proclaim strongly the arrival of the period of the sarcophagi. Oceanus is the most prominent pagan form introduced in this century.

In the chapter on the early influence of St. John's Gospel it was shown how the themes appropriate for the decoration of a Christian's tomb were selected because they really had to do with life, the continuous Christian life. The death which was the occasion for these themes was regarded as only an incident in this eternal flow of life, which, for the Christian, began at his baptism and continued throughout the ages. It may be questioned, even, whether this physical death was intended specifically under any of the symbols in Catacomb Painting. It is well known, for instance, that search has been made in vain for a representation of martyrdom in the frescoes.[141] The only one found is within the city walls in the house of the martyrs John and Paul. It is probable, however, that the cause of martyrdom is symbolized in the theme of the three Hebrews of Babylon refusing to worship the image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up. In a fresco in the catacomb of Priscilla the image is portrayed as the herm of a Roman emperor, the refusal to honor which, on the part of the Christian, was regarded as an imperative reason for his punishment. Ordinary physical death may indeed have been symbolized under such themes as Jonah, Job, Adam and Eve, Daniel, Noah, the Hebrew Children in the Furnace, the healing miracles of Jesus, particularly on the leper, etc. But each of these themes symbolized other things equally well, particularly the death of the soul through sin and the Christian hope of deliverance therefrom. In fact, the statement may here be repeated that the entire cycle of catacomb themes exhibited in symbolic form the

[141] A marble relief in the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achiles in Domitilla doubtless represents the martyrdom of one of these saints.

prominent truths of the Christian life regarded in its fullest extent. Such is the essential nature of catacomb frescoes.

In the same chapter it was shown, by a discussion of the marked characteristic of the Johannine Gospel and its value for symbolism, that it, better than the Synoptic Gospels, corresponded with this real purpose in catacomb paintings. It afforded in concrete pictures the most precious thoughts concerning a man's salvation and the result of the same, his deliverance from sin and the effects thereof, the beatitude of his soul through all eternity, as well as the resurrection of his body. Better than the Synoptics it furnished the symbols of the Christian's hope, his bright future as well as his contented state of present happiness. On page 75 was given an arrangement of many of the Johannine symbolic expressions on which catacomb pictures were based. Thus, beginning with the true explanation of baptism as being an inward cleansing by the Holy Spirit, of which washing with water is a symbol, the Johannine Gospel presents the deepest truths of the Christian life in markedly concise form. It discusses the sources of this life, the nutriment that preserves it, the protection afforded it, and the assurance of its immortal nature.

It has already been shown that the influence of St. John's Gospel in Catacomb Art was very early. It is found at the very beginning, even in the first years of the second century. From the above considerations then, from what we know of the nature of catacomb symbolism, and of how the Johannine Gospel at an early date afforded important themes for treatment according to symbolism of this nature, it is easy to deduce the proposition that St. John's Gospel was the leading factor in the entire field of catacomb symbolism. That is to say, we find, when we search for its sources, that it forms the nucleus for this symbolism. Besides this, it affords the best explanation for early Christian symbolism of a popular nature; it accounts for its origins, and for its very existence.

As previously remarked, the symbolism of the catacomb paintings was something new in Art. One would not expect it, judging from the Pagan Art of the day. The catacomb frescoes form a species of hieroglyphic writing, of the same nature as that

of the Egyptians and worthy to be compared with it in ingenuity, though extremely limited in scope. The key to its interpretation is found, of course, in the Scriptures; and of the Sacred Writings St. John's Gospel provides the explanation most satisfactory for the great portion of these themes, the explanation most in accord with symbolism. This is true for themes selected manifestly from other portions of Scripture, such, for example, as the Incaranation. The account of this is given in the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke, but the explanation through which the original Madonna cycle had meaning is in the Johannine Gospel, "Behold the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us". It is St. John's Gospel that explains things, that explains them clearly, in a word or in a phrase which is in itself a symbol of profound significance. It is this symbolic characteristic that caused it to take the lead in the development of catacomb symbolism. It is pretty much an untouched problem as yet, the investigation of why the early Church thought so largely in symbols. (We had known from extant literature that the leaders of the Church indulged in extravagant symbols, but Catacomb Art reveals the fact that the people as well had a symbolic mode of thought of their own.) The prominence of the Johannine Gospel in this symbolism leads to the conclusion that it formed the standard, and it is not too much to say that themes from all parts of Scripture were selected as suitable for symbolic treatment according as their explanation conformed to this prevailing Johannine standard. Our knowledge of the nature of the Gospel itself leads to this conclusion, likewise our knowledge of the origin and nature of catacomb symbolism, and our knowledge of the themes selected in the order of their chronological development. A brief consideration of the entire Johannine cycle will be found to point to the same conclusion.

PART II.

THE JOHANNINE CYCLE.

When we consider, then, the Johannine cycle as a whole, we find it necessary to outline the evidence on which it is constructed. We observe that the cycle is composed of themes which, for good reasons, compel the assertion that their source or the reason for their use in early Christian Art is to be found in St. John's Gospel. Thus, recalling the classification proposed on page 9 the cycle consists of themes Johannine absolutely, archaeologically or characteristically. Those absolutely Johannine have their source only in the Fourth Gospel, and are mentioned in no other part of Scripture. The latter two classes, as far as literary source goes, may be regarded as having their written sources in other portions of Scripture, or are of doubtful interpretation. Yet they are Johannine because they present details which, investigated archaeologically, demand that they be so considered, or because they emphasize so prominently the specific characteristic of the Gospel. The latter possess strong claim for interpretation in the light of that characteristic, and hence owe allegiance to the Johannine cycle. As remarked before, the themes of the former two classes belong naturally to the last. In fact they determine it, because after being assured of the existence of this characteristic of the Gospel in early symbolism from the themes absolutely and archaeologically Johannine, the nucleus is formed to which purely characteristic themes have a right to be attached, thus completing the cycle. It must not be imagined, however, that in noticing the increase and development of the cycle, and comparing it with what was said in the chapter on the fundamental place of the Gospel in the formation of catacomb symbolism, we have an argument in a circle. Such is not the case. In that chapter the characteristic of the Gospel was urged as being a natural reason for its being regarded as a mine for symbolic themes appropriate for catacomb decoration. In this chapter the development of the process is observed as a fact of history. It is not employed to

prove the existence of the characteristic. That was shown from the Gospel itself. The progress of this chapter illustrates the characteristic, and establishes the prominence of the Gospel in popular thought. But this great influence is not used as an argument for including themes in the cycle characteristically. Such an argument is not needed. It is simply a question of fact whether a theme exhibits in its treatment so much of the characteristic of the Gospel that it must be regarded as belonging to the Johannine cycle characteristically. It now remains to enumerate and discuss briefly the themes that find a place in the classification of the Johannine cycle.

I. THEMES ABSOLUTELY JOHANNINE.

There are at least three themes treated in Roman catacomb paintings whose source is found only in St. John's Gospel, and are therefore named *absolutely* Johannine themes. These are, the Raising of Lazarus, the Conversation of Christ with the Woman of Samaria at Jacob's Well and the Miracle of the Wine at the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee.

1. The Raising of Lazarus.[142]

The theme of the Raising of Lazarus is found first in the series. The narrative requires the entire eleventh chapter of the Gospel. It presents a scene unequalled for dramatic interest, and capable of simple treatment in a single picture. But three elements are needed in the composition, Christ, the tomb, and the risen Lazarus. The earliest artists included one of the sisters, but this feature was speedily given up as being unnecessary, and really a hindrance to the symbolism. For the symbolism, or rather the great truth

[142] αIIP Pl. Ia, *Fractio,* Pl. XI; 1/2IIPraet. Pl. IIIa, Mal., Pl. 19; 2/2IIC Pl. VIIIc, Mal., Pl. 39-1; 2/2IIC Sacr. Cap A3 (?); ωIIP Mal., Pl. 45-2; ωIIC Pl. 46-2; 1/2IIID Pl. 55; 1/2IIIP&M Pl. 65-2; 1/2IIIP &M Pl. 45-1; ψIIIP&M Pl. 71-1; 2/2IIIP&M Pl. 93; 2/2IIIP&M Pl. 108-2; ω IIIvM *Bull.,* 1873Pl.I-II; αIVP Pl.123; αIVD cry op cry of 6SS.; αIVC Pl. 128; 1/2IVC Pl. 137-2; 1/2IVPraet Pl. 87-2; 1/2IVC Pl. 143-1;1/2IVP&M Pl. 147; 1/2IVP&M Pl. 71-2; 1/2IVP&M (obstructed cu); 1/2IVP&M Pl. 159-1; 1/2IVT Pl. 164-2; 1/2IVP&M Pl. 166-1; 1/2IVMaius Pl. 168; 1/2IVD Pl. 181-2; ψIVMaius Garrucci, *Storia,* 11.65; ψIVD Pl. 190; ψIVD Pl. 192; ψIVD Pl. 198; ψIVvM Pl. 62-1; ψIVvM Pl. VIIIb, Mal., Pl. 212; ψIVSotere, cu of medallion of Christ in nimbus; ψIVC Pl. 143-2; 2/2IVC Pl. 234-1; 2/2IVD Pl. 219-2; 2/2IVMaius, cry of the Ducks; 2/2IVMaius, cry of Susannah; 2/2IVMaius, Pl. 222-3; 2/2IVD Pl. 227; 2/2IVD Pl. 228-4; 2/2IVD Pl. 230-2; 2/2IVD Pl. 231-1; 2/2IVP&M Pl. 232-2; 2/2IVH Pl. 246; 2/2IVH Pl. 240-2; 2/2IVD Pl. 239; 2/2IVC Pl. 222-2; 2/2IVD Pl. 248; 2/2IVP Pl. 250-1; IVHypogeum near tomb of Scipios, cf. *Bull.,* 1886, II, 7; IVDestroyed Hypogeum on *Via Latina,* Garrucci, *Storia,* II, 40-1; IVCatacomb destroyed by Giordani, cf. Wilpert, *Alte Kopien,* I. 1.

which the event illustrated, was the thing that interested the early Christian. The resurrection of Lazarus was a sign unto him. By that token he knew that as his mortal, material body would one day through weakness be laid away in the galleries of the catacomb, as Lazarus was imprisoned in his tomb, so the same power that had called Lazarus from his sepulchre would likewise call him forth from his subterranean dwelling in an incorruptible, spiritual body that could never more taste of death. It is no wonder that the theme was popular in Catacomb Art. It was a symbol of hope—hope of the resurrection of the body, hope of immortality.

One question does arise, however, and that is, why the resurrection of Lazarus was treated in preference to that of Christ Himself. The answer probably is not difficult. The scene of Christ's resurrection does not lend itself so well to symbolic treatment, that is, as a picture. It demands realistic portrayal. That, however, was what the catacomb artists distinctly avoided. They both realized their artistic limitations, and they seem to have decided early that their work should be entirely symbolical. Furthermore, in the latter theme they would have to paint the glorified Christ realistically, and we know that in the pre-Constantinian period, with a few doubtful exceptions, Christ was never painted realistically or with any idealistic attempt at portraiture. Aside from the Christ-Child, which does not count, He was always treated symbolically, though in ways easy of identification. But an answer better than the above is simply this, that the theme of Lazarus appealed strongly to the average Christian. Lazarus was a mortal, simply a man, possessing nothing of the nature of deity. So in the theme of Lazarus the Christian could see the divine Christ standing by the tomb and calling to the dead *man* to come forth. Such a scene readily admitted of pictorial representation. It was difficult to find any element of Christ's resurrection, capable of pictorial presentation according to the mode, that would *symbolize* this mighty power. It was a pleasant hope in which to die, this hope that Christ Himself would call His servants from the catacombs, as He had called Lazarus from his tomb.

The first surviving painting is from the early part of the second century, in the fresco described above (pp. 26ff. in the Greek Chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla (Pl. Ia, Wilpert: *Fractio,* Pl. XI). There are five pictures of the theme that belong to the second century, seven to the third, and forty-one to the fourth, three of which are absolutely lost now, and others are in a very precarious state, being quite fragmentary or greatly faded. In the second century the details vary, and it seemed to require about a hundred years to establish the type that should be invariable for the following centuries. It was worked out, however, and in the third and fourth centuries it varies only in a few details. The formal type as given from the second century consisted in the following elements: the tomb, Lazarus in the wrappings of a mummy standing in the doorway, and Christ in pallium standing before the tomb and touching Lazarus with a wand or rod. The five paintings of the second century are alike in this respect, that in all of them the tomb is seen, and this is the only element of the composition in which they agree. Indeed, it is this feature alone that compels us to accept Wilpert's identification of the first one of the series, the one in the Greek Chapel. As well as the scene of the Raising of Lazarus it might perhaps be interpreted equally well as portraying the Resurrection of Christ. The painting is now so faded and so greatly damaged as a result of the stalactite formation that covered it (and yet which preserved it through the centuries), that it is difficult to be certain of the details. At present it must be studied by Wilpert's plate, and we shall soon have to depend entirely upon his photograph.

There are at least four other frescoes of this theme that belong to the second century, and some, following De Rossi, think that we must count another, now destroyed, in the Sacrament Chapel A3 in Callixtus (2/2II). These paintings differ more or less in detail. Thus, in the Johannine or "Passion" Crypt in Praetextatus (Pl. IIIa, Mal., Pl. 19-1 1/2II) all that is left of the painting is the lower part in which we see the steps and the foundation of the tomb, and the figures of Christ in short pallium and one of the sisters of Lazarus. In the Sacrament Chapel A2 in

Callixtus we see a great variation in composition (Pl. VIIIc, Mal., Pl. 39-1 2/2II). The façade of the tomb is adorned with columns. Lazarus, in greatly damaged condition, stands in front of it, and Christ, of whom only a fragment remains, is nearby. It is probable that one of the sisters was also represented. De Rossi, as was remarked above, argued that in the neighboring Sacrament Chapel A3 there was also a fresco of the scene, since the two chapels are so similar in themes presented and even in the detail of their arrangement. In the Sacrament Chapel A6 (Mal., Pl. 46-½ ω II) we find another variation, and the introduction of an element that becomes stereotyped, the rod which Christ holds in His left hand. The tomb has a narrow doorway, and the tympanum is decorated with various ornaments. Lazarus is partially wrapped, though his hands and legs are free, and stands in front of the tomb. Christ extends His right arm but does not touch Lazarus. His rod is in the other hand, and no use is made of it whatever. The sister is missing.

In the cubiculum IV in Priscilla (Mal., Pl. 45-2 ω II) we see the type as ordinarily found in the third and fourth centuries. Lazarus as a mummy stands in the door of his tomb, which is of the regular form. Christ in the philosopher's pallium stands a little distance away and touches him with a wand. No other persons are seen. A complete catalog of all the remaining frescoes of the theme, with accurate and technical descriptions, may be found in Wilpert's *Pitture* (pp. 285ff, and corresponding pages in *Malereien*). They conform in more or less detail to this last type, and are so monotonous and uninteresting arististically that specific comment is omitted.

2. The Woman of Samaria.[148]

Next of the themes belonging to the Johannine cycle absolutely is the incident of the conversation between Christ and the Samaritan Woman at Jacob's Well. Four pictures only of this scene have come down to us.

The fact that four pictures only have been discovered, of

[148] 1/2IIPraet Pl. IIIa, Mal., Pl. 19; 2/2IIC Pl. IVa, Mal., Pl. 29-2; 1/2IIID Pl. Vb, Mal., Pl. 54-2; ψIIIP&M Wilpert, *Cyclus*, Pl. I-IV.

which but three survive, might be significant of a decline in popularity of the theme, or of recognized difficulty in properly handling it, if it were not for the fact that they are all early. Two date from the second century, and the remaining two, one being preserved in copy only, are located before the middle of the third century. It must be remembered that the great mass of all paintings, of whatever theme, date from the middle of the third century on to the end of the fourth, so these four paintings make a valuable ratio in connection with those of other themes before the middle of the third century.

Yet the terminal date of the theme is indeed significant. It marks the passing of the Johannine cycle, or at least of its original stage. Men did not think quite so much of the spirituality of the Christian life and its continuity. They now began to dwell more on the magical effects of the sacraments, in connection with the development of ecclesiastical hierarchy and polity. In the fourth century we find the divine Apostle still highly honored, but more through his Apocalypse, the mysterious beauty of which seemed to furnish suitable settings for portrayal of themes suggested by the cult of the Martyrs. The essence of this cult dealt with the vital question of how to obtain entrance to the heavenly Jerusalem, it being a matter of secondary consideration whether that was a spiritual kingdom or not, and whether it had relation to the spiritual nature of the Christian life on this earth. Wherefore the ethical persuasive, which was such a strong logical consequent of the early Christian conception of continuous life, gave way more or less before the mechanical and physical concepts that now arose. It is not surprising, then, that the Johannine cycle declined at this time, as evidenced by the last date of the theme of the Woman of Samaria.

The story of the scene at Jacob's Well is told in Jn. 4:1-42. The points emphasized in the conversation are, (1) the fact that Jesus is able to give to whom He will the living water, which "shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life" (v. 14). (2) Spirituality is insisted upon (in distinction to formal modes of worship). "God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" (v.

24). (3) Jesus is declared to be "the Christ, the Saviour of the world" (v. 42). Spiritual existence, then, in this world and the next in the enjoyment of God is dependent on the gift of Christ, the Saviour of the world, and is typified under the figure of living water. Concrete example here illustrates the thought. The living water is regarded as being implanted at the occasion of baptism, the gracious waters of which cleanse the soul and mark the beginning of everlasting life.

(1) The first fresco in the series dates from the first half of the second century, and is in the catacomb of Praetextatus. (Pl. IIIa, Mal., Pl. 19. Cf. also Garrucci: *Storia,* II, 38-3 and Perret: *Catacombes de Rome,* I, 81.) It is in the Johannine or "Passion" Crypt, and is immediately below the fragment of the scene of the Raising of Lazarus already spoken of. The well is indicated by a circular curb construction, *puteal,* which marked the opening of all wells and cisterns. On the one side stands Christ in girded tunic with short sleeves, and with a purple chlamys, having His right hand raised in the gesture of speech. Opposite to him is the woman, holding in her two hands a narrow vase. She is clad in a long ungirded tunic, with sleeves.

The painting is of particular merit, being in admirable classic style. The figures by their attitudes exhibit plenty of life and energy. The details, however, will not bear close inspection. Wilpert remarks on it, (*Pitture,* p. 207), "The fresco, considered from the point of style, is one of the best in early Christian Painting, and perhaps better than all the other compositions shows that the first artists were trained in the classic school; here it is perfectly evident that as yet there was no break from the ancient traditions."

The fresco is interesting and unique in this respect, that Christ is painted with a scarlet chlamys. Wilpert and his followers suggest the peculiar explanation: that in connection with this painting and beside it we have the fresco now celebrated, which has been referred to above, of the "Coronation of Thorns", in which the soldiers wear the chlamys, which was a part of the military costume. These capes, however, are yellow, the same color as their tunics and Christ's *pallium.* St. Matthew says that the soldiers "stripped him, and put on him a

scarlet robe". καὶ ἐκδύσαντες αὐτὸν χλαμύδα κοκκίνην περιέθηκαν αὐτῷ (Mt. 27:28.). St. Mark says, however, καὶ ἐνδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν πορφύραν (Mk. 15:17.). St. Luke says of Pilate's soldiers only that they mocked Christ and beat Him, but adds that Herod and his soldiers arrayed Him in gorgeous apparel, περιβαλὼν ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν (Lk. 22:63, 23:11.). St. John says, καὶ ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν περιέβαλον (Jn. 19:2.). The accounts do not seem to agree as to the nature of the garment furnished by the soldiers, but they unite in saying that it was purple, and St. Matthew pronounces it a purple chlamys, and this is what we have represented in the scene of Christ with the Samaritan woman. While such a garment is perfectly legitimate in this painting, since Christ was understood to be on a journey and exposed to the weather, yet it is urgently demanded in the scene of the crowning with thorns, in which it is conspicuous by its absence. Wherefore we are now to suppose an error on the part of the artist, a *lapsus penicilli.* He put the purple mantle on Christ in the wrong painting! It will be necessary to refer to this matter again, when discussing the picture of the "Mockery of Christ."

(2) The second painting in the series is to be found in the catacomb of Callixtus, in the Sacrament Chapel A3 (Pl. IVa, Mal., Pl. 29-2. Cf. De Rossi: *R. S.,* II, tav. XVII, Garrucci: *Storia,* II, 7-5.). It dates from about the end of the second century. The peculiarity of this painting is its arrangement. The space allowed for the fresco was too narrow for the action to be all represented on a single plane, so it is divided into two parts. Below is the *puteal,* into which the woman in high-girded tunic inserts her vessel, a rounded pail with a handle, and the water splashes forth in every direction.[144] Above is Christ seated upon a rock, clothed in the philosopher's pallium with right shoulder bare. He holds in both hands an outstretched roll from which He is represented as reading—evidently the words of His conversation as recorded in the Gospel. The woman is reaching down, at His invitation, for the spiritual water, typified by the splashing water of Jacob's well.

[144] Wilpert says that the woman is drawing the vessel from the well, instead of inserting into it. From the painting it is difficult to account for the huge splash if this be the case. *Pitture,* p. 392.

(3) The third painting was in the catacomb of Domitilla (Pl. Vb, Mal., Pl. 54-2. Cf. Bosio: *R. S.*, p. 245, Garrucci: *Storia,* II, 26-2.). It dated from the first half of the third century. At present it is entirely destroyed, having been ruined in an attempt to remove it from its wall space. Copies had been made of it, however, and Wilpert has supplied the outlines in his photograph of the wall. The scene is on the front wall of an arcosolium, and is divided into two parts by a painting of the multiplication of loaves. On the left is the woman holding her vessel above the well opening by a cord. Her vessel has the appearance of a large amphora. On the right stands Christ with right hand raised in the act of speaking. With His left He supports a fold in His garment in which are five loaves. The artist is guilty of an error in his sketch, for instead of making the figures turn towards each other, they both look in the same direction, to the right.

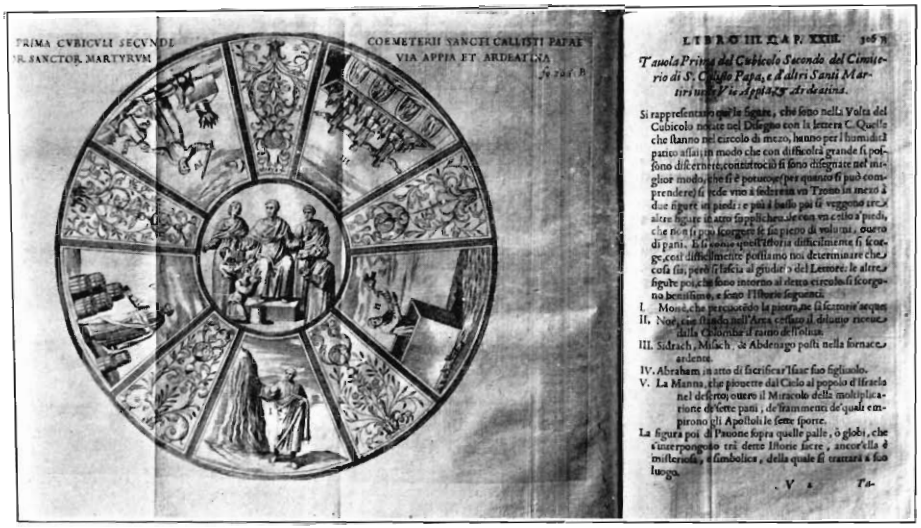
(4) The concluding picture of the series belongs on the entrance wall of a cubiculum in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus. It was executed about the middle of the third century (Wilpert: *Cyclus,* Pl. I-IV.). It is now in a much damaged condition, but originally was a very satisfactory painting of the scene. The well separates the two figures, which are represented in active attitudes. Christ has His arm raised in the gesture of speech, and the woman holds her vessel, to which a cord is attached, in both hands.

It is to be noted that the essential elements of each of the four representations of the scene are, Christ, the Samaritan woman with her vessel, and the well. In each case the woman has her head uncovered.

Wilpert makes an arbitrary division of these four pictures into two groups of which Nos. 1 and 4 symbolize "faith in Christ the promised Messiah",[145] and Nos. 2 and 3 are included in his list of "representations expressing prayer for the admission of the deceased into felicity (*beatitudine*), and symbolize the *refrigerium.*[146] The basis of this classification is difficult to see, unless perhaps it consists in this, that in these two paintings the symbolic

[145] *Pitture,* p. 206ff.

[146] *Ibid.,* p. 390ff.



LIBRO III. CAP. XXIII. 305

Tauola Prima del Cubicolo Secondo del Cimiterio di S. Callisto Papa, e d'altri Santi Martiri nella Via Appia, & Ardeatina.

Si rappresentano in que le figure, che sono nella Volta del Cubicolo notate nel Disegno con la lettera C. Quelle che stanno nel circolo di mezo, hanno per l'humidità patito assai in modo che con difficoltà grande si possono discernere, contuttociò si sono disegnate nel miglior modo, che si è potuto, (per quanto si può comprendere) si vede vno à sedere in vn Troino in mezo à due figure in piedi: e più à basso pur si veggono tre altre figure in atto supplichevole con vn velo a piedi, che non si può scorgere se sia pieno di volumi, ouero di panni. Essendo quest'historia difficilmente si scorge, così difficilmente possiamo noi determinare che cosa sia, però lasciamo al giudicio del Lettore le altre figure poi, che sono intorno al detto circolo si scorgono benissimo, e sono l'Historie seguenti.

I. Moisè, che percotendo la pietra, ne fa scaturire acque.
II. Noè, che stando nell'Arca riceue il dilutio ricevuto dalla Colombina il ramo d'oliua.
III. Sidrach, Misach, & Abdenago posti nella fornace ardente.
IV. Abraham in atto di sacrificar Isaac suo figliuolo.
V. La Manna, che piouette dal Cielo al popolo d'Israel nel deserto, ouero il Miracolo della moltiplicatione de' sette pani, de' frammenti de' quali empirono gli Apostoli le sette sporte.

La figura poi di Phaone sopra quelle palle, ò globi, che s'interpongono trà dette Historie sacre, ancor'ella è misteriosa, e simbolica, della quale si trattarà à suo luogo.

PLATE X. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

character of the water is more evident. In No. 2 the water splashes forth from the well mouth, and in No. 3 the woman holds her vessel above the well as if about to put it down and draw. But this spark of individuality exhibited by the artist is not a sufficient reason for forcibly dividing the symbolism of the theme. The well appears in all four paintings, and in itself is sufficient to suggest the "well of water springing up into eternal life".[147] In all four pictures Christ is depicted talking to the woman, the climax of His teaching consisting in the words, "I that speak unto thee am he".[148] In Nos. 1, 3 and 4 this fact is illustrated by the gesture of Christ in raising His right hand towards the woman, and in No. 2 the same is made clear by the unrolled scroll from which the Saviour reads the gracious words.

But perhaps the basis of the classification is to be found not in the paintings themselves, but rather in their location with respect to contiguous paintings. Thus, No. 2 is on the doorway to the entrance of the so-called Sacrament Chapel A3 in the catacomb of Callixtus. In a gallery of the second half of the second century there is a series of five of these "Sacrament Chapels", in which one or both of the sacraments of the Church are represented or symbolized. In the Chapel A3 are the following subjects: the Good Shepherd, genii, vases, birds, Moses Striking the Rock, the Woman of Samaria, a fisherman, Baptism, the Paralytic healed, Jonah cast from the ship, saved from the sea-monster and reclining under the gourd, Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes, Veiled Orant, Scene of Feasting, the Sacrifice of Abraham. The Resurrection of Lazarus was also probably painted here.[149] In this series Baptism is plainly represented, and may be symbolized under the themes of Moses at the Rock, the fisherman and the history of Jonah, and possibly the Paralytic; and the Eucharist may be depicted under the scene of feasting, and symbolized under the Multiplication theme or the blessing of the fish and loaves on the tripod.

Inasmuch as the scene at Jacob's Well is included in this series,

[147] Jn. 4:14.

[148] Jn. 4:26, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ λαλῶν σοι.

[149] *Pitture,* Pl. 26-2, 3; 27-3; 29-2; 41-1, 2, 3. Cf. Wilpert: *Die Sakraments Kappellen.*

and since it is held that here we have a distinct sacramental cycle, it might seem as reasonable to include this painting under the list of symbols of baptism as, for example, the incident of Moses striking the rock in the wilderness and causing the life-giving water to rush forth. The saving water is one of the features of either scene, and if one symbolizes baptism the other may also with equally good ground.[150] But as has been said above, this author prefers to regard the painting of the Samaritan Woman in the Sacrament Chapel as a symbol of the *refrigerium,* the heavenly delight of the soul which has attained the enjoyment of celestial felicity.

This Wilpert thinks is further illustrated by painting No. 3 in the catacomb of Domitilla, in which the figure of the woman is separated from that of Christ by a painting of the Multiplication of Loaves, ordinarily regarded as a symbol of the Eucharist; and besides, Christ holds five loaves in a fold of His garment. This is indeed the *refrigerium,* says Wilpert, and holds a relation to the eucharistic painting of effect to cause, that is, having duly observed the eucharistic sacrament the Christian at death obtains the *refrigerium.* Entrance into heaven then would seem to be conditioned upon a due observance of the sacrament.

As previously remarked, there is fair reason for regarding the scene of the conversation at Jacob's well depicted in the Sacrament Chapel as a symbol of Baptism, and the same is true for the painting in Domitilla. In such case we would have both sacraments symbolized side by side, with the added feature that the artist of his individual caprice saw fit to place some loaves in the fold of Christ's garment, perhaps from very continuity with the scene of the Multiplication miracle in which they are concealed in the baskets, or perhaps rather for the further enrichment of the eucharistic symbolism, by which Christ who provides the living water also furnishes the bread of life out of heaven. Indeed, this third painting in the series of the Samaritan Woman illustrates exactly the words of Christ to the multitude by the sea of Tiberias, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς· ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ἐμὲ

[150] Wilpert's list of symbols of Baptism consists of the Evangelical Fisher, the Healing of the Paralytic at the Pool, and Miracle of Moses Striking the Rock, *Pitture,* p. 241ff.

οὐ μὴ πεινάσῃ, καὶ ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μή διψήσει πώποτε (Jn. 6:35.).

Certainly if one wishes to regard the incident at Jacob's Well as a symbol of *refrigerium* there can be no great objection, only in that case all four paintings must be taken equally for such symbolism, and not two selected from them. But if this is done the following fact must be allowed, that the living water which refreshes the thirsty soul must not be confined to the realm of paradise, but is rather the very source of the soul's salvation, a spring of joy and comfort in this life as well as furnishing entrance to and happiness in that which is to come. If we apply Wilpert's dictum of examining first of all the pictures themselves and in connection with the font from which they derive their content, i. e., the Sacred Scriptures, and accordingly investigate the account of the scene as recorded in St. John's Gospel, we find that as far as the water is concerned its significance is expressed in the words, ὃς δ' ἂν πίῃ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος οὗ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ διψήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ ἐγὼ δώσω αὐτῷ γενήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον (Jn. 4:14.). In other words, this water is the source of the Christian's life, and is his continuous refreshment. It nourishes him through all the days of his earthly journey to such an extent that he no longer suffers from thirst of spirit, and it cheers him eternally, "springing up unto eternal life". This divine water gladdened the Christian by assuring him of his salvation through the Provider of the same, and also had the force of an ethical persuasive, instructing him in the Christian graces. It may properly be said to symbolize the entire continuous Christian life, having its fundamental source in Christ's salvation, and its effervescent flow throughout eternity. To the intelligent Christian of the second century, familiar with St. John's Gospel, this is what the theme must have signified, together with the rich symbolism of Christ the promised Messiah, the Saviour of the World.[151]

[151] The above is pointedly confirmed by an address of Jesus at Jerusalem, to which St. John added an explanation of what Christ meant by "living water" ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος, τοῦτο δὲ εἶπεν περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος οὗ ἤμελλον λαμβάνειν οἱ πιστεύοντες εἰς αὐτόν. By "living water," then, Christ symbolized the Spirit which was to be the true source of life and refreshment to all who should believe on Him.

True enough, these paintings decorate the walls of the chamber of death, and may, with propriety, be investigated for eschatalogical significance. One would scarcely deny that heavenly bliss of the deceased (*refrigerium*[152]) may be and is symbolized. But by the Christian who had a gleaning of the import of St. John's Gospel, *refrigerium* of the blessed

[152] Naturally enough in the times of peril during the second and third centuries, and under the apparently well-authenticated opinion that here they had no continuing city, the Christian earnestly desired the heavenly *refrigerium,* and largely confined the use of the term to the defunct state. There are many inscriptions, even as early as the third century, that express the following sentiments:

BOLOSA DEVSTI
BI REFRIGERET QVAE VI
XIT ANNOS XXXI RECESSIT
DIE XIII KAL OCTB
(*Mus. Lat. Christ.*, XI, 12.)

PRIVATA DVLCIS
IN REFRIGERIO
ET IN PACE
(De Rossi: *Bull. Crist.*, 1886, p. 129.)

VICTORIA REFRIGER*et*
ISSPIRITVS TVS IN BON*o*
(Catacomb of Domitilla.)

IANVARIA BENE REFRIGERA ET ROGA P
RO NOS (Catacomb of Callixtus.)

The late inscriptions also contain the proper names REFRIGERIVS and REFRIGERIA. Cf. De Rossi: *Inscript. Christ.*, I, pp. 88, 158. Cf. also on the *refrigerium,* Tertullian: *De Monog.*, 10, *Passio S. Perpetuae,* 2:3, 4, and various liturgies, such as the *Sacram. Gregor.* in Muratori: *Liturg. Rom. Vet.*, II, p. 4, "Ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas, deprecamur, etc." Wilpert's list of themes "representing prayer for the admission of the deceased into eternal happiness", consists of the following: Elia rapito in cielo, Il defunto accolto nella beatitudine dalla navicella della Chiesa sbattuta dalla tempesta, Mosè che si scioglie i sandali, La parabola delle vergini prudenti e delle stolte, and La Samaritana al pozzo di Giacobbe, il Refrigerium (*Pitture,* p. 384ff.). It is difficult to see how these themes symbolize the *prayer* of the defunct, however much they, along with numerous other themes, may represent the perilous passage by which the Christian enters Heaven, even when carried thither by the storm-tossed ship of the Church, and however much they may represent also the refreshment granted to the one thus happily arrived.

defunct might properly be regarded as the consummation of the refreshment furnished to those same weary souls in their journey on this earth.

3. The Miracle of the Wine at Cana of Galilee.[153]

A third theme treated in the catacomb frescoes, narrated by St. John only, is the miracle performed by our Lord at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee. The supply of wine failed the guests and Jesus ordered six waterpots to be filled with water and then to be drawn for the ruler of the feast, when it was found that the water was converted into wine (Jn. 2:1-11). Two pictures, with a possible third, depicting this scene, have come down to us.

The first of these paintings dates from the middle of the third century. All three are found in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus on the Via Labicana. The theme is common on sarcophagi, however rare it be in painting, and is recognized immediately by the ordinary elements; the figure of Christ standing and touching with a rod a row of six water jars (as distinguished from the baskets containing loaves in the multiplication miracles, which in other respects are often similar). Points of interest then about these paintings are, (1) that they are confined to one catacomb which is especially rich in themes portraying the miracles of Christ, and (2) that they are of the later period of Catacomb Painting.

When we investigate the source of this painting, in endeavoring to interpret its significance, we obtain but little satisfaction. We are struck with the fact that Mary had faith in the divine nature of her Son before He had performed a supernatural act.[154] The event had significance at the time thus, *ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων ὁ Ιησοῦς ἐν Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἐφανέρωσεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* (Jn. 2:11.). As far as the Scriptures are concerned we have to do with a miracle in which, as in the other miracles which Christ performed, the object was to induce in the minds of those present faith in His divinity and

[153] 1/2IIIP&M Pl. VIIb, Mal., Pl. 57; ψIVP&M Pl. IVb, Mal., Pl. 186-1; ωIIIP&M Mal., Pl. 105-2 (?).

[154] Jn. 2:3-5.

Messiahship.[155] Few would be inclined to deny this didatic purpose to the paintings themselves, as to the written source of the same, but the evidence of certain facts that impress themselves upon us concerning the Church of the late third and the fourth centuries requires that we consider this theme in the light of its historical and archaeological setting. Considering, then, the paintings themselves:

(1) The first painting, dating from the first half of the third century, fills the lunette of an arcosolium in a double cubiculum (Pl. VIIb, Mal., Pl. 57). The painting is greatly faded, due to imperfect finishing, but is preserved satisfactorily. It portrays the marriage feast, which is treated as any other scene of eating, and differs in no respect from the many frescoes in the catacombs representing a scene at a table. Seven persons are reclining at the *sigma* table. In front is a tripod, as found in similar scenes. To the right appears a servant bearing a large platter which he holds in a napkin or towel and presents to the man *in cornu dextro*. A curious feature about this servant is the fact that he wears long hair which falls down over his shoulders in ringlets. Counterbalancing the servant stands the figure of Christ in *pallium* touching with a rod the six water jars, which are in the lower foreground. The scene is thus identified. As was remarked previously (p. 67), this picture is accompanied by a series in the vault of the arcosolium: below, on either side, a scene of baptism, and Moses striking the rock which is frequently regarded as a symbol of baptism, and above these two, in the center, a veiled orant.

(2) Wilpert gives good reason for believing that on the entrance wall of cubiculum 33, dating from the end of the third century, the fragments that remain are a part of a picture of the miracle in which Christ touches the amphoras with His rod (Mal., Pl. 105-2, cf. *Pitture,* p. 279.). All that remains is the head and side of Christ, but inasmuch as on the wall opposite is to be seen a basket, evidently belonging to the multiplication miracle, and the scenes of healing ordinarily painted in this catacomb are on wall spaces adjoining, or else could not on account of their customary

[155] Cf. Jn. 2:23; 10:25, 37, 38; 11:27, 42; 14:11; Mt. 11:2-6; Mk. 2:10; Lk. 7:19-23.

arrangement[156] find space or trace, it is a probable guess at least that here the wine miracle was portrayed. The guess is strengthened by the considerations that the scene containing the water jars alone can find exact room here, supposing that it be treated as in paintings Nos. 1 and 3, and that it occupies a space in exact relation to the scene of the Multiplication of Loaves, as is the case also in No. 3.

(3) The third painting dates from about the middle of the fourth century (Pl. IVb, Mal., Pl. 186-1). It is in the vault of an arcosolium in the"Crypt of the Wine Miracle". It is in fragmentary condition, but Christ may be seen touching with a rod one of the six double-handled amphoras with narrow necks. The painter mistook the number of vessels in the Johannine account and started to sketch a seventh when he discovered his error, and so left it unfinished. The painting is symmetrically balanced with the miracle of the Multiplication of Loaves, which it so closely resembles (the difference consisting in amphoras instead of baskets). The center of the vault is occupied by a picture of Noah in his ark. In the lunette are fragments of a scene of feasting, in which seven persons are grouped around a *sigma* table, and the hand, presumably of a servant, extends a cup before the *sigma*. A tripod was probably depicted in front of the *sigma*.[157]

Of these three paintings it will be noted that the parts necessary for identification are Christ and the water jars. This is in accord with the law of simplicity in catacomb symbolism. Only the things necessary for the idea of the painting are introduced, and no serious attempt at realism is made. In this way the symbolic effect is emphatically heightened. Thus, in this series only the first depicts the marriage feast, and even it is symbolic. There is nothing about it to indicate a wedding, save perhaps the green leaves scattered before the *sigma*. The power of Christ is symbolized by the rod with which He touches the vessels, of which rod there is no mention whatever in Scripture.

What then is the symbolism of the theme, as understood in

[156] This law of arrangement is one that is seldom violated, and permits a weighty argument.

[157] Cf. the restoration of this painting in *Pitture*, p. 279, fig. 25.

the third and fourth centuries? There can be no doubt, as previously pointed out, that an eucharistic significance was intended. In the first picture it probably symbolized the entire sacrament of the Eucharist, inasmuch as Baptism is treated on the wall contiguous; while in No. 3, and possibly in No. 2, it symbolizes the wine only, because the bread is symbolized by the Multiplication miracle.

Only a few of the Ante-Nicene Fathers touch on the symbolism of the Wine miracle. Cyprian (200-258) writes as follows, "But how perverse and how contrary it is, that although the Lord at the marriage made wine of water, we should make water of wine, when even the sacrament of that thing ought to admonish and instruct us rather to offer wine in the sacrifices of the Lord."[158] With this eucharistic symbolism Irenaeus (120-202) seems to agree when he says, "When Mary was urging Him to perform the wonderful miracle of the wine, and was desirous before the time to take of the cup of emblematic significance, the Lord, checking her untimely haste, said, 'Woman, what have I to do with thee? Mine hour is not yet come'."[159] But Irenaeus also gave a different interpretation to this miracle, as well as to that of the Multiplication of Loaves in this passage, "But that wine was better which the Word made from water, on the moment, and simply for the use of those who had been called to the marriage. For although the Lord had power to supply wine to those fasting, independently of any created substance, and to fill with food those who were hungry, He did not adopt this course; but, taking the loaves which the earth had produced, and giving thanks, and on the other occasion making water wine, He satisfied those who were reclining, and gave drink to those who had been invited to the marriage; showing that the God who made the earth, and commanded it to bring forth fruit, who established the waters, and brought forth the fountains, was He who in these last times bestowed upon mankind, by His Son, the blessing of food and the favor of drink: the Incomprehensible, and the Invisible by the visible; since there is none be-

[158] Cyprian: *Ep.* 63: 12 in Migne, 4, 383 (394).
[159] Irenaeus: *Adv. Haers.*, III, 16, 7.

yond Him, but he exists in the bosom of the Father."[160] This meaning naturally belongs to the miracle, but in the third and fourth centuries the eucharistic significance prevailed, as is confirmed by both the literary and archaeological evidence.

Here appears the significance of the fact, as noted by Wilpert, that as the third century drew on, the representation of the miracle of the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes confined itself to the loaves alone.[161] The fishes were excluded.[162] At the same time as the fish lost its second century popularity as an eucharistic symbol we observe the introduction of the theme of the miracle of the Wine at Cana. Loaves and Wine were left—bread and wine, the legitimate eucharistic elements.

Here we may repeat what was affirmed in the chapter on the origin of eucharistic symbolism, that the complete significance is to be seen in an attempt at portrayal of the spiritual meaning of

[160] Irenaeus: *Adv. Haer.*, III, 11, 5. Further references in the Fathers are Hippolytus (170-236), *Philosopheumena*, V, 3, where he explains the gnostic heresy of the Naasseni, and gives their wrested interpretation of the miracle, "And this is the water in those fair nuptials which Jesus changing made into wine. This, he says, is the mighty and true beginning of miracles which Jesus performed in Cana of Galilee, and thus manifested the kingdom of heaven." Tertullian, *De Testimonio Animae*, 17, in vindicating the fidelity of the senses against Plato remarks, "true and real was the draught of that wine at the marriage of (Cana in) Galilee"; and in eulogizing water for purposes of baptism says, (*De Bapt.*, 9), Christ "inaugurates in water the first rudimentary displays of His power, when invited to the nuptials". In his characteristic style Tertullian gives his opinion of marriage in the tract *De Monog.*, 8; Christ "sups once for all at a single marriage, though, of course, many were marrying (whose marriage feasts he may have attended if He wished); for He willed to attend (marriages) only so often as (He willed) them to be." In the Apostolic Constitutions, V, 7, we read, "He that . . . out of water made wine . . . will raise the dead." From this varied testimony of the Fathers one learns not to be too dogmatic in interpretation, but to allow to the same theme a variety of significant meanings. Thus, one can hardly deny to the miracle at Cana the symbolism of the power of the divine Christ to supply food and drink to the weary Christian, as Irenaeus affirms, and also to raise the dead, as the liturgy in the Apostolic Constitutions declares.

[161] *Pitture*, p. 277.

[162] See above, pp. 89, 91f.

Jesus' discourse at Capernaum, as narrated by St. John, concerning the Bread of Life which came down from heaven, and the necessity of feeding on that Bread. The climax was reached in the declaration, *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον, κἀγὼ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. ἡ γὰρ σάρξ μου ἀληθής ἐστιν βρῶσις,καὶ τὸ αἷμά μου ἀληθής ἐστιν πόσις* (Jn. 6:53-55.). Whoever partakes of the eucharistic elements, bread and wine, has the promise of eternal life, as well as the resurrection. It would seem, at least, that the words of Christ were so understood by a fourth century artist who expressed the words symbolically in the vault of an arcosolium near cubiculum XIII in the catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.[163] The painting dates from the first part of the fourth century. It is a medallion painting in the center of the vault. Christ is seated, and with the right hand makes a gesture of speech, and with the left holds a roll somewhat opened. Below to His right is a large box filled with loaves of bread, while to His left are several long-necked, double-handled amphoras. The large box is a variant from the baskets that ordinarily hold the loaves of the Multiplication miracle, but it is not an essential difference. The symbolism of the loaves is the same.[164] The amphoras are a certain reference to the miracle at Cana. Christ is visibly portrayed explaining the significance of the bread and wine, even as in the words quoted from St. John's Gospel, the words which His hearers pronounced a "hard saying".[165] The above interpretation is assisted by the fact that the front of the arcosolium pre-

[163] Mal., Pl. 166-1 1/2IVP&M.

[164] Wilpert (*Pitture,* p. 282) says that this box or chest was the *arca* in which the consecrated bread was preserved, quoting Cyprian, *De Lapsis,* 26, "Et cum quaedam arcam suam in qua Domini sanctum fuit manibus indignis (immundis) tentasset (temptasset) aperire, etc."

[165] Jn. 6:60. The painting was discovered by Bosio, and was reproduced by his copyist, Avanzini. Cf. Bosio: *R. S.,* p. 395. Cf. also Garrucci: *Storia,* II, 57-2. Bosio and his artist entirely mistook the identification, for they described and copied it as the scene of the sacrifice of Abraham (*Pitture,* p. 282). Cf. with this painting the silver box of Milan on which the theme is very similiarly treated, Gräven: *"Ein altchr. Silberkasten" in Zeitschr. für christliche Kunst,* 1889, taf. I, p. 1ff.

sents a scene of feasting, although such proximity is by no means confirmatory proof.[166]

One significant fact confirms the eucharistic interpretation of the Cana theme, and that is, the lateness of its introduction. This was discussed above, in the chapter on eucharistic symbolism, but requires further notice in this place. The Wine miracle takes the place of the fish as an eucharistic element in symbolism. The fish had become a Christ symbol, according to the acrostic, and an additional eucharistic symbol was needed. This was provided by the Wine miracle, which was both similar in pictorial form to the miracle of the Loaves, and was a natural companion to it. It was the real eucharistic wine furnished by Christ, as were the eucharistic loaves in the Multiplication theme. Accordingly we have the true bread and the true drink, Christ's body and blood, the real eucharistic elements, provided for us in the companion themes, and the whole symbolized in the Fish, no longer a semi-eucharistic figure. The late introduction of the Cana theme is thus seen to confirm its eucharistic interpretation, and to be a significant fact in investigation.

From all of the above we may deduce the rule that when baskets of bread and amphoras or other vessels for containing liquids are found together, the eucharistic elements of bread and wine are symbolized. The instances are few: *Pitture,* fig. 26, p. 281 1/2IV Maius (two hydrie and six baskets). Also perhaps Mal., Pl. 92-1 ωIII or 1/2IVD, in which six baskets are on one side of an orant, and the other side is so destroyed that nothing remains, but it is a fair guess that here the wine amphoras were placed. It is to be noted, further, that vases of various kinds had been common enough in the earlier period, whether in isolated instances, or with doves drinking from them. Naturally, the eucharistic significance is not so certain in such cases, for originally they served a purely decorative purpose, as in Pagan Art, and when symbolism was intended it may have had reference only to the living water that refreshes the thirsty soul, as mentioned in

[166] Mal., Pl. 167, where it is labeled "funeral banquet". The peculiarity of the picture consists in the fact that a new style of table is introduced, a quadrangular board on X legs, as many tables are made to-day, around which the persons are seated.

the conversation at the Well in Samaria, or perhaps to the words of Christ pronounced on another occasion, ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω καὶ πινέτω (Jn. 7:37.). According to these last words such a vessel would symbolize Christ Himself as the very source and fountain of the water of life.[167]

[167] Cf. Ap. 21:6, καὶ εἶπέν μοι· γέγοναν. ἐγὼ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ω, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. ἔγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν.

II. THEMES ARCHAEOLOGICALLY JOHANNINE.

There are some themes of uncertain interpretation, or having source in other parts of Scripture besides St. John's Gospel, which are to be regarded as Johannine because of reasons purely archaeological. A brief outline of this evidence for the several themes, with an estimate of the symbolism, is all that may be attempted. Some of this has been touched upon before.

1. The Healing of the Paralytic.[168]

There are twenty paintings in the catacombs which have the theme of the Healing of the Paralytic for a subject. The Gospels narrate two distinct incidents in which a paralytic was restored to health. In the one case, described by the Synoptics,[169] the miracle took place at Capernaum, and so great was the crowd about Jesus (as SS. Mark and Luke inform us), and so great the difficulty of approach, that the four men bearing the sufferer carried him to the roof of the house, removed the tiles, and lowered the man on his "bed" into the presence of Christ who directly healed him in the midst of an audience of prominent individuals. In the other case, which is recorded by St. John only, the scene was quite different. It took place at Jerusalem, and on the Sabbath day. Christ saw at the pool of Bethesda a paralytic who had been afflicted for thirty-eight years. On account of his infirmity he was unable to step down into the pool when the waters were troubled and be healed. "Jesus saith unto

[168] αIIP Fractio Pl. VI; 2/2IIC Pl. IIIb, Mal., Pl. 27-3; ψIIIP&M Wilpert, *Cyclus*, Pl. I-IV; ψIIIP&M Mal., Pl. 69; ψIIIP&M Pl. 68-2; 2/2IIIN Pl. 74-1; 2/2IIIP&M Pl. 98; ωIIIP&M Pl. 105-2; αIVP&M Pl. 129; 1/2IVP&M Pl. 71-2; 1/2IVMaius Pl. 168; ψIVD Pl. XII, Mal., Pl. 197-2; ψIVvM Pl. VIIIb, Mal., Pl. 212; 2/2IVMaius Pl. 220; 2/2IVMaius Pl. 166-2; 2/2IVMaius, 2nd arco of Magi with Star; 2/2IVMaius Pl. 245-2; 2/2IVH Pl. 246; 2/2IVD Pl. 239; Hypogeum near tomb of Scipios, Sketch in *Bull.*, 1886, Pl. II, 2.

[169] Mt. 9:1-8; Mk. 2:1-12; Lk. 5:17-26.

him, Arise, take up thy bed and walk", and thus he was made whole.[170]

The theme is invariably recognized in the painting of a man carrying a bed on his shoulders. This "bed" is a low frame with short legs, large enough to accommodate one person.[171] Usually the restored paralytic is represented bending forward with the cot on his back, the legs of which are sometimes in the air. It is obvious that this treatment applies equally well to either scene, for in either case the restored man walked away, carrying his bed. The question therefore arises whether there is anything about any or all of these pictures that enables us to identify the theme with either of the above incidents. Wilpert affirms that there is. Fifteen that contain nothing save the man and his bed (except in two instances in which the figure of Christ is added) picture, he thinks, the event narrated in the Synoptics.[172] The earliest of this series dates from the middle of the third century, and most of them are in the fourth, the time when the theme was popular on the sarcophagi. These fifteen paintings depicting the miracle in the Synoptics typify faith in the divinity of Christ. The remaining five paintings Wilpert identifies with the scene in St. John's Gospel on evidence purely archaeological. This archaeological evidence rests on the relation of the several paintings to others contiguous, manifestly symbolizing baptism. The theme is thus to be regarded as a symbol of baptism. The earliest literary support for this is Tertullian, a hundred years or more after the date Wilpert assigns to the first of the series, and perhaps half a century after the second.

Wilpert thus holds that the Johannine miracle is a symbol of baptism, along with the themes of the Evangelical Fisher and Moses Striking the Rock,[173] apparently denying such symbolism

[170] Jn. 5: 1-18.

[171] Such was the form of bed common in Rome, as further illustrated by actual remains. In the Orient, however, the bed more probably consisted of simply a thin mattress, such as a soldier's blanket, which could be rolled up readily, and deposited at a different place on the following night.

[172] *Pitture,* p. 201ff. (and list).

[173] *Pitture,* p. 241ff.

to other themes such as Noah and Jonah (although they are so held by various Fathers[174]) on the ground that they symbolize other things. We have previously remarked this author's tendency to deny more than one symbolic idea to the same theme, and have offered criticism on the ground that it is contrary to the very nature of symbolic thought. In respect to the paralytic of St. John's Gospel, Tertullian plainly asserts that the incident is a symbol of baptism, because an angel "troubled" the water of the pool of Bethesda, and this angel was a forerunner of the Holy Spirit who is present at baptism and enters into the cleansed neophyte. "Not that in the waters", he says, "we obtain the Holy Spirit; but in the water, under the witness of the angel, we are cleansed, and prepared for the Holy Spirit."[175] And this angel was previously typified by the primeval brooding of the Spirit of God over the waters before creation.[176] "Are there not other cases too," he asks, "in which without any sacrament, unclean spirits brood on waters, in spurious imitation of that brooding of the Divine Spirit in the very beginning? Witness all shady founts, and all unfrequented brooks, and the ponds in the baths, and the conduits in private houses, or the cisterns and wells which are said to have the property of 'spiriting away', through the power, that is, of a hurtful spirit. Men whom waters have drowned or affected with madness or with fear, they call nymph-caught (*νομφολύπτους*), or 'lymphatic' or 'hydrophobic'. Why have we adduced these instances? Lest any think it too hard for belief that a holy angel of God should grant his presence to waters, to temper them to man's salvation; while the evil angel holds frequent profane commerce with the selfsame element to man's ruin. If it seems a novelty for an angel to be present in waters, an example of what was to come to pass has forerun. An angel, by his intervention, was wont to stir the pool at Bethsaida. They who were complaining of ill health used to watch him; for whoever had been the first to descend into them, after his washing, ceased to complain. This figure of corporeal healing sang of a

[174] Cf., e. g., Cyprian: *Ep.*, 62, 8, "Quotiescumque autem aqua sola in scripturis sanctis nominatur, baptisma praedicatur."

[175] *De Baptismo*, 6.

[176] Gen. 1 : 2.

spiritual healing, according to the rule by which things carnal are always antecedent as figurative of things spiritual. And thus, when the grace of God advanced to higher degrees among men, an accession of efficacy was granted to the waters and to the angel. They who were wont to remedy bodily defects now heal the spirit; they who used to work temporal salvation, now renew eternal; they who did set free but once in the year, now save peoples in a body daily, death being done away through ablution of sins."[177]

The archaeological identification of the scene with Baptism rests upon the fact that in the first two paintings the theme is treated in connection with other symbols of Baptism, and on walls where the eucharistic sacrament is also portrayed; and in the other three cases it is contiguous to themes that probably symbolize Baptism.

The first of the five, consisting only of the man and his bed without the figure of Christ, is in the Greek Chapel in the catacomb of Priscilla (αIIP Fractio, Pl. VI). It is in the vault of the nave, to the left as one enters, and is in a very fragmentary condition, almost all of the ceiling in the nave being destroyed. It is in the other end of the chapel from the painting of the Fractio Panis, in a compartment separated by the "triumphal arch". However, it is at right angles to a painting of Moses at the Rock, and being in the same room in which the other sacrament is treated, Wilpert thinks it is intended to symbolize baptism, on the grounds stated by Tertullian, and therefore represents the incident narrated in St. John's Gospel. He is so certain of this that he declares that the large picture in the center of the vault of the nave, now destroyed, about which are the themes of the Paralytic, and Moses at the Rock, as well as the Adoration of the Magi and an ideal head, must have been a more or less realistic painting of the Baptism. "In dem Raume mit den Nischen figurirt als Hauptbild die *fractio panis,* und ihr zur Seite stehen alttestamentliche Vorbilder sowie die Auferweckung des Lazarus als Hinweis auf die Wirkung des Genusses der Eucharistie. Das Schiff muss

[177] *De Baptismo,* 5. It is interesting to note the testimony of Tertullian to the activity of the angel, as narrated in vs. 3 and 4, though the same is omitted by ℵ BC*D33, 157, 134, etc., but found with AC³EFGH etc.

PLATE XI. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

demnach Bilder enthalten, die sich auf die Taufe beziehen. In der That sehen wir über dem Eingange das *Quellwunder* und nicht weit davon auf der Decke den geheilten *Gichtbrüchigen,* welcher in der eben erwähnten "Sacramentskapelle" unter den *Taufsymbolen* sich befindet. Wo Vorbilder sind, da war auch die *Taufe selbst* gemalt, und dafür eignet sich in hohem Grade der Raum in der *Mitte* der Decke. Diese Beweisführung erhält eine grosse Stütze durch die Thatsache, dass in dem winzigen Fragment, welches von dem Stuck des Rundbildes an der Decke haftet, Wasser gemalt ist. Es dürfte also wohl ziemlich sicher sein, dass das grosse Rundbild in der Mitte der Decke des Schiffes eine *Darstellung der Taufe,* und zwar eine *realistische* enthalten hat. Ich sage realistische, weil auch die Eucharistie in ähnlicher Weise gemalt ist."[178]

The second painting is in the Sacrament Chapel A3 in the catacomb of Callixtus, and dates from the second half of the second century (Pl. IIIb, Mal., Pl. 27-3, cf. De Rossi: *R. S.,* II, Pl. 16, Garrucci: *Storia,* II, Pl. 7-2). The healed paralytic with his bed is directly alongside an actual painting of the baptism, beyond which is depicted a fisherman drawing a fish from the very waters of baptism. In the same chapel the eucharistic sacrament is also treated.

The third painting is in the catacomb of Nunziatella on the *Via Ardeatina,* and dates from the second half of the third century (Mal., Pl. 74-1). The paralytic, with his bed, is painted in an attitude of haste. "It is practically certain that also this representation must be regarded as a baptismal symbol, because it is found directly beside the miracle of Moses at the Rock, and then in the first space, now destroyed, there was painted, to judge from the disposition of other pictures, either the bpatism, or, what is by no means unlikely, Christ who performs the miracle (i. e., on the paralytic), so that the scene includes the symbol of baptism."[179] The eucharistic Multiplication symbol is also painted in this crypt.

The fourth painting is in the Coemeterium Maius on the *Via Nomentana,* and dates from the first half of the fourth century

[178] *Fractio,* pp. 25, 26.

[179] *Pitture,* p. 244.

(Mal., Pl. 168, cf. Bosio: *R. S.,* p. 445, Perrett: *Catacombes,* II, Pl. 30, Garrucci: *Storia,* II, Pl. 61). The paralytic is nude, as if he had come from a scene of baptism (or perhaps to symbolize his restored condition). The painting follows on the vault the theme of Moses striking the Rock.

The fifth painting is in the catacomb under the *Vigna Massimo,* on the *Via Salaria Nova,* and dates from the second half of the fourth century (Pl. VIIIb, Mal., Pl. 212, Garrucci: *Storia,* II, Pl. 73-2). The identification of this picture with the Johannine miracle is illuminative. It may appear far-fetched to persons not acquainted with the peculiar characteristics of Christian Art of the fourth century—the logical development of several centuries of symbolic expression. It is one of a series of paintings (on different scale of sizes) decorating a loculus in a gallery. The series, arranged in two rows as on contemporary sarcophagi, consists of the themes of Moses at the Rock, the Multiplication of Loaves, the Adoration of the Wise Men, Orants, Noah, the Raising of Lazarus, Daniel between the Lions, Tobias with his Fish in the presence of Raphael, the Restored Paralytic, and a personification of the river Tigris. In the lower row, in the right hand corner, is a reclining personification, according to classic types, of a river divinity. Beside the river god is Christ, extending His hand towards the paralytic, who walks away bearing his bed and leaning on his rod. The river god is identified as the Tigris because of the group next to the paralytic, which consists of Tobias presenting his fish to the angel Raphael. Tobias caught the fish in the Tigris river. The Babylonian localization of the river divinity is further indicated by the theme next beyond Tobias, a colossal figure of Daniel between his lions. It is to be observed that the paralytic is placed between the river god and Tobias coming with his fish from the bank of the stream. The presence of water as a certain feature of the paralytic miracle is thus doubly attested. It is remembered that in the account in St. John's Gospel the paralytic was healed beside a fountain of water, the pool of Bethesda. The painting is therefore to be regarded as a symbolic treatment of the Johannine miracle, rather than of the one narrated in the Synoptics. (The fact that this water is the river

Tigris does not interfere in the least with the symbolism of the paralytic. The Tigris serves admirably to symbolize the cleansing, baptismal *water* of the pool of Bethesda in the Johannine miracle.)

These five paintings, then, according to Wilpert, symbolize baptism and depict the scene in St. John's Gocpel. The other fifteen, in his opinion, are confined to the incident narrated in the Synoptics. This seems to be indeed an arbitrary division, as several considerations will show. As has been noted, the identification of the five paintings with the Johannine miracle depends ultimately upon its recognition by the second century Church as a symbol of baptism, or at least upon the localization of the scene by the presence of water. The archaeological argument has consisted in pointing out the significant relationship by proximity of the painting to other themes admittedly symbolizing baptism. On the whole, the evidence may be regarded as sufficient. That is to say, these five paintings may be regarded as having their source in St. John's Gospel, and primarily symbolized baptism, the sacrament illustrating the cleansing of the soul from sin, and admission into the Kingdom of God. (But while this was the original idea, there is no reason whatever to deny to them symbolism of other evident points of Christian belief, such as the divine power of Christ to work miracles and to save.)

Now of these five paintings it must be remembered that the first two belong in the second century, the first being in the Greek Chapel in Priscilla. They are, at the same time, the first in the entire series of twenty paintings of the Paralytic, and introduce the cycle. The remaining three are scattered through the third and fourth centuries, intermingled with fifteen of the Synoptic miracle, by Wilpert's identification. But the very fact of this intermingling argues for the unity of the theme. If, as we have shown, the origin of the theme is Johannine, it is only reasonable to suppose that the entire theme is Johannine. Besides, the division of the theme is based solely upon the argument from silence. In the absence of anything to identify the fifteen positively with the Johannine miracle, Wilpert says that they are Synoptic. To this it may well be replied that there is no element in the fifteen

that identifies them positively with the Synoptic miracle, and also nothing that forbids identification with the Johannine, so they may equally well be Johannine as Synoptic. Indeed, in some cases there is special reason for Johannine identification, for several are in more or less close relation to themes of baptism, such as Moses striking the Rock and Noah.[180]

Perhaps the best reason for regarding the theme as a unity is to be found in the reaffirmation of the statement that it, best of all, symbolized baptism to the early Christian, in the fact that cleansing from sin, the significance of baptism, seems to be included in the physical restoration of the paralytic. This is evident from the Johannine account, "Afterward Jesus findeth him (the restored paralytic) in the temple, and saith unto him: sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee."[181] The same idea, in so far as it relates to Christ's power to forgive sins, is brought out in the Synoptic miracle, in which Christ, before performing the miracle announced to the paralytic that by reason of his faith his sins were forgiven, and straightway declared His power to forgive sins. The same may be said, of course, for any miracle that Christ performed. As He made the bodies of men whole, so He has the power to restore their souls, relieving from the ravages of sin. All of this is included in the Johannine miracle, with the addition of the function of baptism in a man's regeneration.[182] It seems plausible then to say that St. John's Gospel, which includes this element, is the source for the theme, which

[180] Noah is listed by Wilpert as one of the themes "expressing the invocation of divine aid for the soul of the deceased." *Pitture,* chap. 18, sec. 98. There are better reasons for regarding him, among other things, as a symbol of baptism.

[181] Jn. 5: 14.

[182] Cf. on this subject Wilpert: *Fractio,* p. 66. "Der Bericht des Evangelisten, dass 'ein Engel des Herrn zur bestimmten Zeit in den Teich hinabstieg', um dem Wasser die Heilkraft mitzutheilen, sowie die Worte, welche Jesus an den geheilten Gichtbrüchigen im Tempel richtete: 'Siehe, du bist gesund geworden; sündige nun nicht mehr', legten es nahe, diese wunderbare Heilung als *Sinnbild der Taufe,* in welcher etwas Analoges, nur ungleich Höheres vor sich geht, zu wählen: bei der Anrufung der Trinität, unter welcher das Sacrament gespendet wird, durchdringt der Heilige Geist mit seiner Gnade das Taufwasser und verleiht ihm die Kraft, den Täufling von seiner geistigen Krankheit, der Sünde, zu heilen.

naturally was unified by its most significant symbolic concept, there being nothing in the paintings themselves to deny this unity. (If a man were acquainted only with the Synoptics, he would derive from the theme merely symbolism of Christ's divine power, without the method of baptism. Wherefore it would be absurd to deny other symbolism to the theme. Johannine source and predominant influence are what is emphasized.)

2. The Lamb of God.[183]

There is a painting, dating from the first half of the second century, that has become the subject of a fierce dispute in recent years. It is in the catacomb of Praetextatus, in the celebrated "Passion" or Johannine Crypt, and was discovered in 1850. It is in a badly damaged condition, and portions of the stucco on which it was executed have since fallen down. Wilpert, before making his photograph, skillfully restored to their proper places on the wall fragments of the painting which he found in the ruins of the crypt, and his plate in color (Mal. No. 18) is a faithful reproduction of what remains of the fresco. The illustration here given (Pl. IIa) is a photograph from a copy made shortly after its discovery, existing now in the Christian Museum of the Lateran, and is therefore important because made when the painting was in better condition. However, a comparison with Wilpert's plate will reveal inaccuracies on the part of the copyist. Furthermore, it is not in color, and the reader is advised to examine Wilpert's publication for purposes of exact study, as is desirable for all paintings discussed in this book.

The discoverer, P. Marchi, interpreted the fresco as a treatment of the "Coronation of Thorns", a theme selected from Christ's passion. Garrucci denied this identification, and said that he believed it represented the baptism of Christ. De Rossi, never having studied the original, accepted the opinion of Marchi, and Wilpert in his *Pitture* accepts and defends this identification, and named the crypt in which the painting is found the "Passion-Crypt".[184] The weight of his authority caused general acceptance of the coronation theory until recently, when Marucchi an-

[183] 1/2IIPraet. Pl. IIa, Mal., Pl. 18.

[184] *Pitture,* p. 208ff.

nounced that the painting does not depict the mockery of the Saviour by the crowning with thorns by the Roman soldiers, nor does it represent the baptism of Christ by John in the river Jordan, but that the best explanation is that it represents the scene narrated exclusively in St. John's Gospel in which John the Baptist pointed out Jesus to those who were with him with the exclamation, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world!"

The identification as the "Coronation of Thorns" has rested on certain elements in the picture. The figure in the center is evidently Christ. He wears a long *pallium*. To His right stand two men affirmed to be soldiers because each wears a high-girded tunic and chlamys. Each holds a rod or branch, of which the one retains some of its leaves. On the head of Christ are leaves or foliage of some kind, and Wilpert asserts that it is the crown of thorns and that the former soldier is striking Christ on the head with his rod, according to the Gospel narrative.[185] On the other side in the picture is a tree with a dove perched on a branch extended towards Christ. The Gospels unite in saying that a further feature of the mockery consisted in adorning Christ with a purple robe, a purple chlamys as St. Matthew calls it. No such garment is found in the painting, but strange to say a scarlet chlamys of brilliance is found on the figure of Christ in the picture immediately contiguous, that of Christ and the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well. This has been discussed above (pp. 110f.), where it was explained that Wilpert thinks that the artist painted the coronation picture first, forgetting the scarlet robe, then he discovered the omission, and decided to rectify his mistake by supplying it to the form of Christ in the picture on which he was then engaged, that of the Samaritan Woman.

It is not necessary to enumerate all of the arguments that Marucchi advances against Wilpert's interpretation and in favor of his own, or to follow the controversy. It is sufficient to mention some of the leading ones.[186] He denies the identification of the soldiers, and says that the interpretation of their garments is uncertain, that they do not wear the chlamys, their chief reason

[185] Mt. 27:30, Mk. 15:19, cf. also Jn. 19:3.

[186] As summarized, for example, in *Nuovo. Bull.*, 1908, pp. 131-142.

for being regarded as soldiers. He points out that their dress is not very different from that of Christ Himself. Further, the "thorns" on Christ's head are very similar to the leaves remaining on the branch in the hand of the man nearer Christ whom he identifies as John the Baptist, the other man being one of his disciples, or an individual intended to symbolize the multitude. The leaves on Christ's head, then, may have fallen from the branch with which John acclaims Christ, or may be put there at the caprice of the artist, perchance a mark of distinction. But Marucchi's chief objection, and one that bears great weight, is the fact that during the period before the peace of the Church there is no painting that in any way depicts the humiliation and passion of Christ. (The same is true of scenes of martyrdom.) Christ's sacrifice for sin is treated symbolically, but never with the least attempt at realism. This picture would be the only exception, and for this reason alone such an identification must be regarded with suspicion.

On the other hand, the painting agrees fairly well with the scene by Jordan (though not necessarily on the river bank), when John "seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world! . . . And John bare witness saying, I have beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven; and it abode upon him, and I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize in water, he saith unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the spirit descending, and abiding upon him, the same is he that baptizeth in the Holy Spirit. And I have seen, and have borne witness that this is the Son of God."[187] John, with one of his followers, symbolical of the multitude standing near, walks in the open country as symbolized by the tree, and acclaims Christ with his stem of marsh reed, and his acclamation is certified to by the dove out of heaven, indicating the presence of the Holy Spirit. Wilpert, in his identification, was troubled by the tree and the dove, and explained them as a touch of the artist, or as indicating that the praetorium was an open air court.

Marucchi gives stronger reasons for his identification than Wilpert, and this may be strengthened by remarking that St. John's

[187] Jn. 1 : 29-34, also 35ff.

Gospel, from which the scene is taken, does not describe the baptism of Christ (though the fact may be inferred), and that the artist in desiring to treat of the testimony of John followed the Johannine source literally when he depicted the dove, represented John with girded tunic, and, omitting representation of water of which there is no mention in the narrative, yet indicated a scene of the countryside. While omitting the account of the baptism of Jesus, the Apostle John records the approbation of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, the striking feature of the baptismal scene in the Synoptics. Wherefore it is reasonable to suppose that the artist followed the Johannine Gospel exclusively. Perhaps he did not possess the others. To the above it need only be remarked that the dove in early Christian Art is always significant, except in paintings manifestly decorative, as in a floral theme.

However this picture may be regarded, it certainly is unique in the entire field of Christian Art.[188] Its location is also a matter of importance. It is one of four paintings arranged in cross formation on a side wall of the crypt. Two of these have been discussed above, the Raising of Lazarus, of which only the lower part remains affording barely enough for identification, and the Woman of Samaria at Jacob's Well.[189] The fourth is completely destroyed. Directly opposite, on the other side wall, there was a similar group of paintings, of which only one exists, the miracle of the healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood.

Wilpert, on the supposition that his identification of the Coronation of Thorns is correct, gives a clever guess at the restoration of the destroyed frescoes:[190] Inasmuch as he finds a scene from Christ's passion, he believes that he is justified in supposing that the fourth picture of the first wall was another scene from the same. Excluding the crucifixion as contrary to the spirit of the art of the catacombs, he selects the theme of Christ before

[188] It might be conjectured that the picture represents the Transfiguration, in which Moses and Elias converse with Christ. Aside from the fact that three persons are depicted, of whom two acclaim Christ, and that the divine sanction is represented by the dove, there is nothing to support this guess.

[189] Pp. 107, 110f., Pl. IIIa, Mal., Pl. 19.

[190] *Pitture,* p. 211 (with plot).

Pilate. Aside from his conjecture he finds support for this restoration in sarcophagi, the earliest of which dates from the fourth century. His restoration of the three missing pictures of the opposite wall is exceedingly clever. Believing that scenes of glorification should oppose those of the passion, he suggests two pictures of the Incarnation cycle, such as the Prophecy of Isaiah (cf. the contemporary painting in the catacomb of Priscilla) or the Magi following the Star, and the Adoration of the Wise Men. Directly above the existing picture of the Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood he believes another miracle painting should be placed, preferably the Healing of the Blind Man, since this theme would afford symmetry with the one below in that both the woman and the blind man are always depicted kneeling.[191]

Whatever we may think of this proposed restoration, it seems evident from the four existing pictures that the artist here depicted a christological cycle. It is a plausible guess, therefore, that there was at least one from the Incarnation cycle, such as Isaiah's Prophecy or the Adoration of the Wise Men. The restoration of Christ before Pilate depends, of course, on the supposition that the title "Passion-Crypt" is justified. Since the *Agnus Dei* is to be preferred to the Coronation of Thorns, this restoration fails, and the fourth space on that wall remains open to suggestion. (Wilpert's use of fourth century sarcophagi in arguing concerning second century frescoes justly renders him liable to criticism. This Von Sybel proceeds to point out, *Op. cit.*, p. 293.)

It remains to call attention to one important fact regarding this crypt: It will be recognized that the two absolutely identified paintings on the wall of the crypt, and the third one, if its identification of the "Lamb of God" be correct, are themes the sources of which are found exclusively in St. John's Gospel. This allows the supposition that the artist was using themes from the Johannine Gospel for the one wall of the crypt at least, and that the fourth picture on the wall was from the same source. From the one remaining picture on the other wall not much may be deduced.

[191] Mal., Pl. 20.

Its written source is not Johannine, but the paintings around it may have been (such as the blind man if he were placed above it).[192] At any rate the crypt is unique in the catacombs in possessing two or three paintings from the Johannine Gospel absolutely, and since the evidence for calling it the Passion Crypt is not sufficient, it may rather be named the Johannine-Crypt.

3. The "Breakfast" by the Sea of Galilee.[193]

This peculiar fresco has already been described and discussed (pp. 83, 88). The identification of the scene of feasting at which seven men at a *sigma* table are partaking of fish served on two platters, as the incident described in the last chapter of St. John's Gospel, depends on the facts, (1) that the men are depicted naked as fishermen, and (2) that the baskets of loaves common in the multiplication miracles are lacking. Proximity to the sea is apparently indicated by the adjoining section of the fresco which represents a fisherman in the act of drawing in his line. The third section, beyond the fisherman, portrays the well known Moses-miracle, in which Moses strikes the rock in the wilderness, causing water to pour forth. This is the water from which the fisherman draws his fish, and which serves also to *indicate* the water of the Galilean lake. In this series it is observed how baptism and the Eucharist are treated side by side.

The fact that the seven men at the table are naked is denied by some, as previously remarked. This is a matter depending solely upon accurate observation, and, other things being equal, the statement of Wilpert is to be preferred to the denial of Von Sybel. That is to say, Wilpert has had every opportunity to study the fresco, to cleanse the stucco and to examine the colors in their revived freshness. He is responsible for photographing and reproducing the painting, and naturally would observe it carefully. On the other hand, it must be said that Von Sybel, coming after and searching for mistakes by Wilpert, may happen to have found one. It is important in this instance, for the fact that seven men are nude, being fishermen, is the archaeological link that connects the painting with the Johannine cycle.

[192] Mt. 9:20-22, Mk. 5:25-34, Lk. 8:43-48, Jn. 9: 1-41.

[193] 2/2IIC Pl. IIc, Mal., Pl. 27-2.

III. THEMES CHARACTERISTICALLY JOHANNINE.

The characteristic of St. John's Gospel has been discussed, also its strong influence in molding not only eucharistic symbolism, but even the entire field of Early Christian Art. It was observed that it is probable that many themes whose literary source is to be found in other parts of Scripture, as well as in St. John's Gospel, are to be regarded as Johannine in origin and spirit. That is to say, the significance of their symbolic presentation is best conveyed by the description of an event as given by the Fourth Evangelist, or by the few epigrammatic and sometimes mystic words with which it is characterized in his Gospel.

The list of such themes is naturally flexible. A considerable degree of latitude must be allowed in a scale which extends from the eucharistic cycle, which presents good reasons for belonging in the class of archaeologically or even absolutely Johannine themes, to the Incarnation cycle, the details of which are found only in the Synoptics, but whose reason or explanation is best exhibited in St. John's Gospel, for the age in which the themes were originated.

1. The Eucharist.

This theme was analyzed at length above, and its Johannine origin established. It will be remembered that the intimate connection of the eucharistic discourse of Jesus, the "hard saying", with the multiplication miracle which preceded it, is the foundation for this belief in the Johannine source for the theme as treated in Catacomb Painting. This is a good illustration of the characteristic of the Gospel. The concrete event, the subject of the painting, is accompanied in the Gospel by the few significant, concrete words that both express a deep truth of Christian belief, and at the same time *characterize* the incident. They form what in the art of the fourth century and later was called a *titulus*.[194] The *titulus* was a brief summary of the essential point

[194] Cf. Lowrie: *Monuments of the Early Church (Christian Art and Archaeology)*, p. 15, for the clear distinction of the *titulus* from the epigram.

of the theme it accompanied in the decoration of mosaics or frescoes on the apse and nave walls of basilicas, and the painting, being symbolical in nature, could not be comprehended without it.[195] In like manner, the brief, pointed sentences whether of Jesus or of St. John in the Fourth Gospel are the *tituli* that characterize the incident with which they are connected. It is because we find the most significant *tituli* in the Johannine Gospel that we regard it as the source, or the inspiration for so many catacomb themes. Witness the eucharistic *titulus,* "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves."

As previously pointed out, the Wine miracle, of eucharistic import, is an absolutely Johannine theme.[196]

2. Baptism.

The frequent and noteworthy portrayal of eucharistic and baptismal themes on the same wall, or in striking relationship in the same chapel, speaks for a unity of source *as regards symbolism.* It is easy to find a thoroughly significant *titulus* of baptism in St. John's Gospel. Jesus said to Nicodemus, "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except one be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." (Jn. 3:5.) It is, of course, impossible to claim the baptism cycle as Johannine in respect to form, and it must be remembered that the investigation of the method of baptism is altogether foreign to the matter in hand. But it is not too far-fetched to regard the cycle as Johannine in respect to characteristic.

3. The Vine.

It is generally believed that the few grape vine motifs in catacomb frescoes are purely and solely decorative in nature and de-

[195] We may well wish that the *tituli* of the nave mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore were still in existence. At intervals they form a fruitful source for controversy.

[196] In this connection is to be noted a single picture of the Rain of Manna, 2/2IVCyr, cry of Consecrated Virgin, Mal., Pl. 242-2. This may be regarded as Johannine from Jn. 6:31ff., but the connection is doubtful.

sign. Their use is held to be the same as in contemporary pagan mural decoration. This is very true, yet there can be no reason why the Christian, familiar with St. John's Gospel, may not have recalled, when looking at the frescoes, the words of Jesus, "I am the vine, ye are the branches, etc." (Jn. 15:5ff.). It is not to be supposed that the vine motif was selected because it was suggested by this Johannine *titulus*. This would be impossible in the Flavian hypogeum in the catacomb of Domitilla, which may have been decorated before the Gospel was written, or circulated in Rome, at least. Certainly in that primitive hypogeum the vine was merely one of several decorative themes, selected from the very best styles in the Pagan Art of the day. But it is insisted that if a man of the second century or later regarded this theme as a symbolical representation of the thought conveyed in the Johannine *titulus,* the vine design has a right to be numbered in the Johannine cycle.

4. The Good Shepherd.[197]

Wilpert has divided the general representation of the Good Shepherd into two distinct themes, (1) the *Good Shepherd* from Matthew-Luke,[198] and (2) the *Pasturing Shepherd* from Jn. 10:1-18, Psalm 23, etc.[199] Certainly there are two distinct types of pictures in the catacombs, the earlier or "Good Shepherd" type expressing the point of St. Luke's narrative, i. e., the shepherd carries a sheep on his shoulders, the latter, or "Pasturing Shepherd" type being much more general, and capable of including the other. In the former type two sheep, sometimes four, are grouped symmetrically on either side of the shepherd. This adjunctive feature of the flock is not mentioned by SS. Luke or Matthew, unless we infer it by the return of the lost sheep to the fold of the ninety and nine that went not astray. Instead of telling this part of the story, they both emphasize the rejoicing of the shepherd, and St. Luke adds that the shepherd's neighbors are also called upon to rejoice.

[197] E. g., 2/2IIC Pl. Va. Mal., Pl. 38; αIIIPraet. Pl. IXa, Mal., Pl. 51-1; 2/2IIIC Pl. IXb, Mal., Pl. 51-2.

[198] Mt. 18:10-14, Lk. 15:1-7. Cf. I Peter 2:25.

[199] Jn. 10:1-18, Ps. 23:1-4. Cf. also Ps. 79:13, 74:1, 80:1, 95:7, 100:3, 77:20, 78:52, Is. 40:11, 63:11, Ezekiel 34:1-31, Jer. 23:1-4, etc.

The latter or Pasturing Shepherd type represents the shepherd with his flock out in the field (in this respect being similar to the other type), and varies in detail.

The very first one in the latter series, in the vault of a cubiculum in the catacomb of Praetextatus, represents the shepherd in the customary garb (a youth in *exomis,* leggings, and with his bag and staff), in the midst of a landscape with trees in the background, in whose branches birds are seen (α III Pl. IXa, Mal., Pl. 51-1). To his right are seven sheep, all grouped together, and looking up at him attentively, while he stretches out his arm over them as if in a gesture of protection. To his left, completing the symmetry of the group, are two animals, much larger in size, which Wilpert identifies as an ass and a pig. The shepherd's staff, which he holds in his left hand, is extended in their direction. This picture clearly represents the office of the shepherd in protecting his flock against their enemies. The other paintings are entirely peaceful in nature. The shepherd is seen with varying numbers of sheep, simply pasturing them, attending to all their wants, and generally caring for them. He is the real Good Shepherd, and is so called by St. John (10:11, 14). This type of the Pasturing Shepherd is found first in the beginning of the third century, and is quite popular in the fourth. But it is not nearly so common as the other type which is found in three paintings of the first century, as well as one other in which a cupid acts as shepherd, thirteen times in the second century, twenty-four times in the third, and eighty-eight times in all.

The division proposed by Wilpert is very clever, but is too mechanical. The form of the shepherd with the sheep on his shoulders, holding strictly to literary source, may indeed be derived only from St. Luke, but if one considers also the spirit of the composition it belongs as well to the twenty-third Psalm, and also to the words of the Saviour in St. John's Gospel. It was not necessary to seek for a literary source in order to obtain detail to supply such a theme. A journey through the *campagna* or into the mountains beyond would furnish the artist the most realistic type he could desire, and especially if he were a Greek it would be very easy for him to sketch the beautiful realism of the

Psalms of David in terms of pastoral scenes from his own native mountains. Most assuredly it is not necessary to search for the origin of the type in the Hermes Criophoros, as several have attempted to do.[200]

Instead of the formal division of Wilpert is seems more reasonable to take the whole of the representations of both types together as the single theme of the Good Shepherd, not denying its origin in the various Old Testament imageries, as well as in the Matthew and Luke parables, but affirming that its true expression is in the Johannine *titulus,* "I am the good shepherd". This *titulus* best expresses the christological significance of the theme, and as that was the essence of its symbolism for the early Christian, the point must be admitted as bearing particular weight. The symbolism is essentially this: The Good Shepherd pastures and protects his flock, brings back the wandering one, and finally conducts it and the entire flock into the everlasting fold, where the pastures are ever green and where the pleasant waters flow. Christ is the Shepherd that does this, and rightly calls Himself the door, as in St. John's account.[201] Hence we may well object to Wilpert's division of the theme into the "Pasturing Shepherd" as a christological symbol, and the "Good Shepherd" as a symbol of the "deceased in eternal felicity". It is indeed all christological, for Christ is the Shepherd who pastures, defends, instructs, searches for the lost and bears the weak, and brings into the eternal fold by laying down his life in their behalf.

Perhaps the symbolism of the Good Shepherd found its chief significance for the early Church in the peculiar beauty of the Johannine report of Our Lord's words, "I am the good shepherd; and I know my own, and mine own know me, even as the Father knoweth me, and I know the Father; *and I lay down my*

[200] Cf. Frazer: Pausanias, V, p. 90. Regarding the alleged similarity between the Good Shepherd and the Hermes Criophoros it is sufficient to point out that similarity does not constitute identity. A great deal of superfluous criticism has resulted from a disregard of this fact. The pastoral theme of the shepherd with his sheep would appeal to artists of a certain kind, i. e., those who wished to treat of nature and idyllic beauty—none too many in Greek and Roman times. Its appeal to the Christian artist is evident.

[201] Jn. 10:7, 9.

life for the sheep." Then if we may not claim for the Fourth Gospel the origin of the type, we may at least say that when the Gospel was read in Rome it was enthusiastically applied to the enrichment of the symbolic significance of the theme.

5. The Living Water.

"If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink", said Jesus (Jn. 7:37). The same christological truth is fully set forth also in the discourse with the Woman of Samaria, "But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall become in him a well of water springing up into eternal life" (Jn. 4:14). The same symbolic conception attached itself to the water converted into wine at Cana in Galilee, which as an eucharistic element gave to the believer participation in the sacrifice of Christ, confirming his salvation. This is true also of the vases from which doves, emblematic of the human soul, drank. In addition to these we have the entire cycle of Moses striking the Rock, from which the life-giving water gushed forth. In the later pictures of this theme, as well as on the sarcophagi, one or more Jews in distinctive garb satisfy their thirst under the splashing stream in attitudes of extreme eagerness.[202]

There can be but little doubt that the origin of the fourth century painting of the deer at the spring is to be found in the forty-second Psalm, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, etc."[203] However we have a right to number it as a Johannine theme because of its obvious christological import. Christ is the fountain to which the panting Christian comes, and the invitation *titulus* is in St. John's Gospel. To all of this is to be added the entire cycle of the Good Shepherd. The Good Shepherd led His flock by the still waters, as well as in the green pastures. This connection is illustrated by a peculiar treatment of the theme in the crypt *delle pecorelle* in the catacomb of Callixtus, which is sadly defaced, to be sure, by a loculus cut directly across it.[204] It

[202] E. g., 2/2IVC Mal., Pl. 237-2.
[203] 1/2IVM&M Mal., Pl. 150-3.
[204] 2/2IVC Mal., Pl. 236.

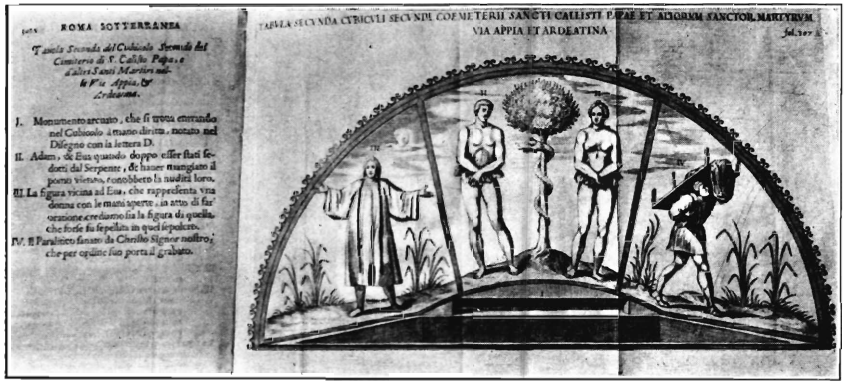


PLATE XII. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

is in the lunette of an arcosolium, and represents the Good Shepherd, with a sheep on His shoulders, in the midst of His flock. The flock roam in a pasture enclosed with trees in the background. On either side cascades of water fall down, and at either stream a man bends forward drinking from it as it falls. It seems as if the artist feared that the symbolism of the water would not be sufficiently emphatic if he represented sheep only as drinking, so two of the flock are removed from the sheep symbolism and are depicted realistically as thirsty men. Their attitude is exactly that of the Jews in the scene of Moses Striking Water from the Rock.

6. Orpheus.[205]

There is fairly good reason for claiming this pagan theme, treated five times in the catacomb paintings as Johannine. It clearly symbolizes the wonderful influence of the Logos, the Word of God, upon the hearts of the most brutish of men. This is indicated in a statement of Eusebius of Caesarea.[206] "Never man so spake", declared the officers sent to arrest Jesus (Jn. 7:46). The multitude hung on His words. Orpheus was a pagan theme, but it expressed very well indeed the compelling power of Christ's Gospel. The wild beasts gathered around the sweet-singing bard and became tame. So men gathered about Christ and listened with eagerness to His gracious words.

The connection of this theme with that of the Good Shepherd is marked. Orpheus is usually placed in the center of a ceiling, the position regularly accorded to the Good Shepherd. Both are pastoral themes, and are treated in much the same way. Christ, the Good Shepherd or Orpheus, is in the midst of the flock or of the beasts of the forest. By this the christological nature of the Orpheus theme is confirmed.

7. The Incarnation.

SS. Matthew and Luke give the incidents of the Nativity and

[205] 2/2IIC Mal., Pl. 37; 1/2IIID(2) Garrucci: *Storia*, II, 25; 2/2IIIP&M Mal., Pl. 98; 2/2IVD Pl. XI, Mal., Pl. 229, Bosio: *R. S.*, p. 255 (A comparison with Wilpert's plate will reveal the quaint ideas of Bosio's copyist, Avanzini.); ψIVP *Bull.*, 1887, Pl. VI.

[206] *De Laud. Const.*, 14.

Epiphany, according as the themes are treated in catacomb paintings. The Priscilla painting of the Madonna of the Prophet also finds its source in Isaiah and the Book of Numbers. However, the entire theme of the Incarnation of the Son of God may well lay claim to the *titulus* in the Johannine Gospel, "And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father) full of grace and truth" (Jn. 1:14). This *titulus* gives the simple, concise explanation of the entire cycle of the Incarnation, the beginning of the wonderful series of the Madonna paintings.

Naturally this identification is not to be pressed too far. Its worth is only for the interpretation of symbolism. It is hoped that the same statement is understood concerning the other characteristic themes discussed. Many other themes, particularly the Orant, might be included here, but at too much risk. Their identification requires a series of separate monographs. But considering these themes together, the themes of all three classes, we observe that they all, in a very prominent way, declare that Christ is the divine Son of God, and that He has power to grant to those who believe on Him life that shall be everlasting. He heals their sins as He healed the paralytic and the blind man, and that their sins are washed away is symbolized through baptism. He feeds them on the Bread of Life, and gives them to drink of the Living Water, acting as the true Good Shepherd, and brings them into the eternal fold, the eternity of which is confirmed by the resurrection.

Such things did the Johannine cycle signify to the Christian of the first three centuries, and it is no wonder that we find the Johannine Gospel holding the preëminent place in the symbolic thought of the people, as made evident to us by examination of the expression of this thought in the pictorial decoration of their catacomb sepulchres. However imperfect the above investigation is, it is hoped that it has been shown that the Gospel of St. John was in popular use in the Church at Rome at a date earlier than ordinarily credited, and that its influence was extensive from the date of its introduction.