

Jessica Dello Russo

Raffaele Garrucci and the Jewish Catacombs of Rome

The Jesuit archaeologist Raffaele Garrucci (1812-1885) was one of the first on the site of every new archaeological discovery in Rome.¹ An enthusiastic and erudite visitor, he could easily obtain the privilege of recording important details from an excavation. In this manner, he was fortunate to publish the Jewish catacombs discovered beneath the vineyards of one Giuseppe Randanini on the Appian Way in 1859.

This discovery had special value for Garrucci. His colleague and mentor, Father Giuseppe Marchi, S.J., had long sought the Jewish catacomb seen by Antonio Bosio at the start of the sixteenth century on the hill slopes above the via Portuense southwest of Rome.² Garrucci had recently published Marchi's discovery of inscriptions and paintings from another catacomb on the via Appia dedicated to followers of Mithras and Jupiter Sabatius.³ Now, at the same time that Garrucci was preparing an ambitious volume on Christian catacomb art, the opportunity presented itself to illustrate a large amount of material from a catacomb not yet recorded by any published source. It was a unique opportunity to apply the results of new research being carried out at the time to the very old question of the origin of the catacombs in Rome.

As the Randanini excavation's star witness, Garrucci vividly illustrated the funerary inscriptions, the small number of decorated sarcophagi, the painted chambers, and many other catacomb features that he believed would reflect "the customs, language and artistic concepts" of the Jews. In effect, he created, as one reviewer has put it, "a Jewish commentary on the Christian (catacombs)."⁴ Yet Garrucci's site description is limited by his literary approach, especially with regards to topography. A number of structural elements in the catacomb, as well as details about its excavation and relationship to other ancient hypogaea and buildings in close proximity, are never adequately discussed in his work.⁵ Ultimately, it would be the novelty of the discovery, and Garrucci's energetic presentation of it, that earned both a unique, if isolated, position in the history of Christian archaeology in Rome.

Garrucci's lasting contribution to this field between 1862 and 1865 was to record and publish, with only minor exceptions, every inscription then found in the site, approximately one hundred and thirty-seven Jewish epitaphs.⁶ His edition was supplanted only by the first volume of the *Corpus*

1 F. Tongiorgi, S.J., "Cenno necrologo del P. Raffaele Garrucci, D.C.D.G.," *Civiltà Cattolica* 12.10 (1885), p. 607.

2 G. Marchi, S.J., *Monumenti delle arti primitive nella metropoli del cristianesimo: Architettura*, Rome, 1844-1847, pp. 19-22.

3 R. Garrucci, *Tre Sepolcri con pitture ed iscrizioni appartenenti alle superstizioni pagane del Bacco Sabazio e del Persidico Mitra scoperte in un braccio del cimitero di Pretestato in Roma*, Naples, 1852.

4 Anonymous, "The newly discovered Jewish catacomb at Rome," *Dublin Review*, n.s. 1 (1863), p. 418.

5 C. Ferone & I. Iasiello, *Garrucci a Benevento: temi e modi di uno scontro intellettuale alle origini della riscoperta archeologica di Benevento*, Rome, 2008, p. 36.

6 R. Garrucci, S.J., *Cimitero degli antichi ebrei scoperto recentemente in Vigna Randanini*, Rome, 1862; "Scoperte

3 R. Garrucci, *Tre Sepolcri con pitture ed iscrizioni appartenenti alle superstizioni pagane del Bacco Sabazio e del Persidico Mitra scoperte in un braccio del cimitero di Pretestato in Roma*, Naples, 1852.

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6 R. Garrucci, S.J., *Cimitero degli antichi ebrei scoperto recentemente in Vigna Randanini*, Rome, 1862; "Scoperte Epigrafiche," *Bullettino Archeologico Italiano* 2 (1862), pp. 1-3; 24; "Descrizione del Cimitero Ebraico di Vigna Randanini," *Civiltà Cattolica* 5.3 (1862), pp. 87-97, reprinted in *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 15 (1864), pp. 121-136; "Nuove epigrafi giudaiche di Vigna Randanini," *Civiltà Cattolica* 5.6 (1863),

Inscriptionum Judaicarum compiled by Father Jean-Baptiste Frey in the 1920's and 1930's that includes photographs of many surviving inscriptions to accompany the text, French translation, and bibliography of sources. Frey, nevertheless, rarely corrects Garrucci's readings.⁷ In a review of Frey's work, the late Father Antonio Ferrua, S.J. singles out Garrucci, instead, as the 'Father of Jewish epigraphy' for his publication of inscriptions from the first excavation of a Jewish catacomb in modern times.⁸ Prior to the early 1860's, around fifty Jewish epitaphs were attributed to cemeteries in Rome, but many of these have since disappeared, and, in nearly every case, the exact provenance is debatable. Garrucci not only published and commented upon a large number of Jewish inscriptions from a single site, but also attempted on his own to track down and verify Jewish inscriptions and artifacts from other collections and sources.⁹

After publishing several of the articles on the Vigna Randanini catacomb in a volume of *Dissertazioni* in 1865 (including a list of clarifications to earlier articles), Garrucci turned his attention to other projects, and referred only briefly in later publications to his research on the Jewish catacombs and their finds. In his lifetime, he would hear of the discovery of three more Jewish catacombs in Rome as well as those of Jewish tombs in other areas of Italy.¹⁰ No other discovery, however, equaled that of the catacomb in the Vigna Randanini in terms of size and sheer number of artifacts, and, for many years, Garrucci's work remained a leading authority on Jewish funerary sites. Its influence has lasted well into the present. Beyond the scope of the inscriptions alone, Garrucci provides many details about the catacomb that are no longer visible as a result of backfill and restoration. Second, Garrucci acknowledges a local Roman influence on the excavation and use of the catacomb, extending to the production of Jewish epitaphs and other funerary goods. He even goes as far to interpret controversial evidence from the site as

pp. 102-117; and "Data consolare di un epitaffio giudaico di Vigna Randanini," *Dissertazioni Archeologiche di Vario Argomento* 1, Rome, 1864, p. 151-152. "Nuove epigrafe" and "Descrizione" are reprinted in the second volume of *Dissertazioni Archeologiche di Vario Argomento* 2, Rome, 1865, pp. 153-167 and 168-178 along with "Osservazioni intorno al 'Cimitero degli antichi ebrei,'" pp. 150-152; "Epigrafe inedite del cimitero di Vigna Randanini," pp. 178-185; "Alcune iscrizioni di cimiteri giudaici diversi," pp. 186-192; and "Osservazioni intorno al primo volume," p. 197.

7 J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* 1 (CIJ 1), Vatican City, ed. B. Lifshitz, New York, 1975, p. 54 and nn.147, 150, 177, 200, 215, 220, 260. D. Noy's new collection of Jewish inscriptions from Rome, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe 2: the City of Rome*, Cambridge, 1995 (JIWE 2), contains few photographs of the actual pieces.

8 A. Ferrua, "Epigrafia Ebraica," in *Civiltà Cattolica* 87.3 (1936), p. 463. Ferrua later assigns this title to the eighteenth century antiquarian Gaetano Migliore in his entry on "Archeologia Cristiana" for the *Dizionario Ecclesiastico* 2, ed. A. Mercati, A. Pelzer, Torino, 1953-1958, p. 206.

9 C. Ferone & I. Iasiello, 2008, p. 27, n. 76, quote this statement made by Garrucci in a work on Pompeian graffiti to illustrate Garrucci's conviction of "melius vident oculi, quam oculus," the importance of verifying a text.

10 G. Spano wrote to Garrucci in 1861 of his discovery of a necropolis at Sulcis in Sardinia containing Christian and Jewish tombs (Garrucci: Correspondence, August 5th, 1861, in the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facoltà Teologia "San Luigi" in Posillipo). A Jewish catacomb was discovered on the property of Count Giambattista Cimarra near the via Appia in 1866, but only a small area was excavated; see G. B. de Rossi, "Scoperta d'un cimitero giudaico presso l' Appia," *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 5 (1867), pp. 3, 16, and A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom* 1, Freiburg, 1893, pp. 90-92 (Cimarra inscriptions). O. Marucchi explored a Jewish catacomb on the via Labicana (Vigna Apolloni) between 1882-1884; Marucchi, "Di un nuovo cimitero giudaico scoperto sulla via Labicana," *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 2.2 (1884), pp. 499-532. It is not possible to identify as Jewish a hypogaeum, now inaccessible, discovered in 1885 by N. Muller on the via Appia Pignatelli directly opposite one of the entrances into the Vigna Randanini catacomb site. Garrucci makes no comment on these later discoveries in Rome, although he was clearly aware of their existence. He had intended to publish the inscriptions from the Jewish catacombs at Venosa (from copies made in 1853 by Fr. R. Smith and P. D'Angelis) in the second volume of his *Dissertazioni* in 1865 (p.176), but only does so much later in the *Civiltà Cattolica* 12.1 (1882), pp. 707-720. For the series of visits to the Venosa catacombs in the mid-19th century, from which Garrucci derives the information for his text, see G. Lacerenza, "Le antichità giudaiche di Venosa: storia e documenti," in *Archivio della Società Storica per le Province Napolitane* 116 (1998), pp. 293-418.

a sign that some of the Jews in ancient Rome had freely commissioned works of art with animal and even human figures in an allegorical and not literal sense. Previously, nearly all the Jewish artifacts from Rome had been distinguished from those considered pagan or Christian by the presence of specific Jewish objects or the fairly explicit mention of one or more Jewish elements in a text. The Vigna Randanini catacomb, on the other hand, contained a number of artifacts (for the most part inscriptions, sarcophagi and paintings) that were “neutral” in content and appearance, with no clear allusion to religion, or, more specifically, to the Jews. In the end, Garrucci may have overstated his case for an exclusively “Jewish” interpretation of what was common enough subject matter in Roman funerary art, but he was nevertheless correct to demonstrate that some Jews did not shun allegedly profane themes from decorating their tombs.¹¹

As a “private investigator” on the site in contrast to those representing the interests of the Papal State, Garrucci focused almost exclusively on Jewish epigraphic material from the Vigna Randanini and did not publish all the results of the excavations.¹² This approach is illustrated by the notes he kept on the Vigna Randanini now preserved in the Library of the Pontificia Facolta’ di Teologia in Posillipo.¹³ A review of these notes from Garrucci’s many visits to the site between 1861 and 1863 has been useful to evaluate the focus and thoroughness of his publications, for virtually everything noted down during his visits found a place somewhere in his works. To this end, Garrucci’s notes are also compared to those on the same subject matter by the Roman archaeologists Carlo Ludovico Visconti and Giovanni Battista de Rossi, both of whom, like Garrucci, were most intrigued by the catacomb’s inscriptions and other “Jewish” finds.¹⁴ The three eyewitness accounts, in fact, concur on a remarkable number of points, but there are instances when a sketch or note clarifies one of Garrucci’s published comments on a structural

11 This was not Garrucci’s initial view at the time of the catacomb’s discovery to explain certain artifacts found *in situ* in the Vigna Randanini site. At a conference of December 30th, 1859 (*Bollettino dell’ Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1860, p. 5), Garrucci commented that “gli stessi ebrei che aborriscono le scene figurate, nelle loro catacombe romane si erano serviti di un sarcofago di recente in una vigna dirimpetto a San Sebastiano, in modo pero’ che le figure erano state coperte di calce.” For Garrucci’s “integration” of the painted chamber Ba-b into the Jewish cemetery: *Dissertazioni*, 1865, p. 155.

12 Describing the Jewish catacomb to Pope Pius IX, the Antiquities Commission’s Secretary Luigi Grifi dismissed the Randanini site as containing nothing of real value except for Jewish funerary inscriptions (Archivio dello Stato di Roma, Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, dell’Industria, del Commercio e le Belle Arti, sezione 5, titolo I, articolo 5c., “estrazione di oggetti d’arte,” busta 420/29: “Roma. Randanini, Ignazio. Sulla vendita di sei iscrizioni appartenenti all’ ipogeo giudaico,” December 21st, 1860 - September 12th, 1870, fascicolo 298 of January 14th, 1863). These inscriptions identified Jewish individuals and their families with occasional mention of a community or synagogue office held by the deceased or close relative. They are dated on very tentative grounds to the third and fourth centuries CE. One Latin inscription, CIJ 1.*81/JIWE 2.401, dated to 502 CE, has recently been seen by Noy as evidence of a “reuse of the site” for burial by Jews at a much later date. Others (de Rossi, Frey) have considered the piece Christian, as it was found in 1859 close to or inside an area filled with miscellaneous artifacts, many of which did not appear to belong to the “Jewish” site.

13 Garrucci’s letters, manuscripts, and other personal papers were sent from Rome to the Jesuit College in Naples after his death in 1885. The late C. Ferone prepared a catalogue of these works (C. Ferone, I. Iasiello, 2008, p. 23, n. 44).

14 C. L. Visconti’s notes on the Vigna Randanini catacombs from 1862 and 1863 are found among the notes of G. B. de Rossi for the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (ICUR) ms. 41, ff. 16270-16273 (Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology, Rome), and in the Archivio dello Stato di Roma, Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, dell’Industria, del Commercio e le Belle Arti, sezione 5, titolo I, articolo 5c., “estrazione di oggetti d’arte,” busta 420/29: “Roma. Randanini, Ignazio. Sulla vendita di sei iscrizioni appartenenti all’ ipogeo giudaico” (December 21st, 1860 - September 12th, 1870). De Rossi had intended to publish the Jewish inscriptions from Rome in an appendix to his *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* (ICUR): see A. Ferrua, “Documenti per l’edizione delle Inscriptiones e della Roma Sotterranea del de Rossi,” in *Archivio della Societa’ Romana di Storia Patria* 102 (1979), p. 45. In his review of CIJ 1 (A. Ferrua, “Epigrafia Ebraica,” *Civiltà Cattolica* 87.3 (1936), p. 461, n. 1), Ferrua judges de Rossi’s work nowhere near ready for publication, especially with regards to the Jewish pieces identified prior to 1859.

feature or inscription. Most importantly, a small number of inscriptions can now be added to the body of inscriptions from the Vigna Randanini site, as well as examples of pagan epitaphs possibly reused for Jewish burials or later brought into the catacomb with other debris.

A CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGIST IN ROME

Today, we can reasonably conclude that the *damnatio memoriae* of Garrucci by older generations has been finally laid to rest.¹⁵ His scholarly contributions, particularly to the fields of numismatics, paleography, epigraphy, and art history, are now seen in a far more positive light.¹⁶ Yet evaluating his role in Christian Archaeology is still complicated by the fact that Garrucci took a great deal of his ideas and material from other scholars and aggressively pursued his interests with the Jesuit order's resources

15 In addition to the works on the Vigna Randanini catacomb listed in n. 6 and those on Christian art discussed below, Garrucci published the following articles on the catacombs of Naples and Venosa: "Il cimitero cristiano di Napoli detto le catacombe di San Gennaro," *Civiltà Cattolica* 8.5 (1872), pp. 541-559, and "Cimitero ebraico di Venosa in Puglia," *Civiltà Cattolica* 12.1 (1883), pp. 707-720. He also reviewed works on the Roman catacombs by de Rossi's disciples: "Il cimitero di Zotico al decimo miglio della via Labicana," (review of E. Stevenson), *Civiltà Cattolica* 9.11 (1876), pp. 443-445; "Scoperta della cripta di S. Emerenziana e di una memoria relativa alla cattedra di S. Pietro nel cimitero cristiano," (review of M. Armellini), *Civiltà Cattolica* 10.3 (1877), pp. 440-452, and "Ancora della cattedra di S. Pietro nel cimitero Ostriano," in *Civiltà Cattolica* 10.6, (1877), pp. 203-206. Garrucci had a long but controversial career in archaeology in Naples and Rome, managing to alienate with his outspoken comments many of the most influential archaeologists of his day, particularly T. Mommsen, W. Henzen, and G. B. de Rossi (Mommsen's vicious dislike of Garrucci is documented at length by C. Ferone in "Raffaele Garrucci e la scienza epigrafica nell'ottocento," Ferone & Iaisello, 2008, pp. 16-20, although in another of C. Ferone's articles, "Raffaele Garrucci nella corrispondenza di Th. Mommsen, F. Ritschl, E. Gerhard," in *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Archeologica Napolitana* 62 (1989-1990), pp. 33-57, Mommsen is seen to acknowledge, albeit grudgingly, Garrucci's contributions to the study of epigraphy). Some eulogize Garrucci after his death in 1885 as a pious defender of Christian doctrine and practice (see, for example, F. Tongiorgi's commemoration, *op. cit.* n. 1, pp. 607-610), but Garrucci's work and personality continued to be savagely criticized, most notably by H. Leclercq in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 6.1, 1924, pp. 651-664 (Ferone, in C. Ferone & L. Garcia Garcia, *Questioni pompeiane ed altri scritti di Raffaele Garrucci*, Collezione Archeologica 7, Rome, 2008, p. 20, n. 28, points out that Leclercq refused even to consider a number of Garrucci's contributions to the study of Christian Archaeology). Other articles critical of Garrucci are cited by C. Ferone in "Per lo studio della figura di Raffaele Garrucci," *Miscellanea Greca e Romana* 13 (1988), p. 21, n. 15, to which should be added E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* 2, Bollingen Series 37, New York, 1953, pp. 27-28 (where Goodenough is in disagreement with Garrucci over the 'Jewish' content in artifacts from the Vigna Randanini catacomb with polytheistic decorative motifs), and L. V. Rutgers, *The Jews of Late Ancient Rome*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 35-37. For reviews of Garrucci's *Storia dell'Arte Cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa* (6 vols. Prato, 1872 – 1881) see "Garrucci on Christian Art," in *The Month and Catholic Review* 9 (1876), pp. 47-60; T. Roller, *Les Catacombes de Rome. Histoire de l'art et des croyances religieuses pendant les premiers siècles du Christianisme*, Paris, 1881, pp. XI-XII (in which Roller criticizes Garrucci's work as a confusion of all monuments and ages, making monuments so uniform that it is difficult to see the distinctions in chronology); V. Saxer, "Cent ans d'archéologie chrétienne: la contribution des archéologues romains à l'élaboration d'une science autonome" in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* 1, Vatican City-Split, 1998, p. 191; and F. Bisconti, "Nota introduttiva" in *Le pitture delle catacombe romane. Restauri e interpretazioni*, Todi, 2011, pp. 9-10, in which Bisconti evaluates Garrucci's work as the first to provide "un'idea attendibile dei programmi decorative e della disposizione degli elementi figurati nell'ambiente dell'intero monumento," anticipating, by nearly a century, the photographic reproductions of modern times.

16 Garrucci's private papers and manuscripts at Posillipo were catalogued by the late Professor Claudio Ferone with the assistance of Carla Meyrhofer of the Library of the Pontificia Facoltà Teologica "San Luigi" of Posillipo. Ferone published several biographical and critical studies of Garrucci before his untimely death in 2008: a nearly complete bibliography of Garrucci's publications is found in the appendix to his 1988 article, pp. 17-50 (additional biographical information in Ferone's entry for "Garrucci, Raffaele" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 52, 1996, pp. 388-390.

and influence in Papal Rome. In his defense, it should be said that Garrucci only embraced the study of Christian Archaeology as his true vocation after amassing a vast knowledge of Roman antiquities and the languages and history of many other ancient cultures.¹⁷ His writings on the catacombs of Rome, Naples and Venosa are deeply influenced by intense preparation in these fields. Above all, Garrucci approached the study of the catacombs with enormous ambition. In the words of one reviewer: “nul autre n’eut ose’ s’asseoir dans un palais ou M. de Rossi porte’ la couronne et la pourpre.”¹⁸

Garrucci called himself in one publication a “stranger to Rome” but his membership in the Jesuit order and connections in Rome and abroad opened many doors to the study of antiquities. A Neapolitan by birth, he had started his scholarly career teaching Hebrew, Biblical Greek, Rhetoric, and Archaeology in the Jesuit schools in Naples, Salerno, and Benevento. His early publications, for the most, part are concerned with archaeological issues from these regions.¹⁹ In Rome, first as a student in the 1830’s and 1840’s, and later, from 1853 onward, as a writer for the Jesuit periodical, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Garrucci dedicated himself to archaeology and, increasingly, to the study of Christian art. His residence at the Jesuit’s Roman College (which housed the Kircherian Museum) brought him to the very epicenter of mid-19th century study of Christian archaeology in Rome, at that time undergoing a great scholarly as well as spiritual awakening.²⁰ Garrucci wrote much later of his own search for Christian antiquities “in the catacombs, in gardens and villas, in the squares and streets, inside and outside of the city, on the walls of public and private buildings, in the churches, in the museums, in private collections and those of antique dealers, in prints and in manuscripts.”²¹ He became known for being the first on the site of every new discovery to examine all its features and artifacts.²² Despite all this, and still considering himself a relative newcomer to the local archaeological scene, Garrucci combed the State archives for records of more remote discoveries and museum acquisitions.²³

Garrucci’s political exile from the Kingdom of Naples and permanent settlement in Rome in 1853 coincided with an intense campaign for Christian Archaeology in the latter.²⁴ In 1851, “the new Damasus,” Pope Pius IX, had inaugurated a museum of Christian (and Jewish) Antiquities in the Lateran palace. The following year, on January 6th, 1852, Pius established the Commission for Sacred Archaeology that counted Father Giuseppe Marchi, S.J. and Giovanni Battista de Rossi among its founding members. Marchi and de Rossi also successfully petitioned the papal government at this time for an exclusive five-year contract (1852-1857) for a new *Roma Sotteranea* series on the Christian catacombs, a project de Rossi would carry on alone after Marchi fell seriously ill in 1855.²⁵ Despite many political and financial setbacks in publishing a collection of Christian inscriptions from Rome and the

17 C. Ferone, in Ferone & García y García, 2008, p. 14, points out Garrucci’s mastery of many Classical languages and Italian dialects, as well as his knowledge of ancient Italian history that had been acquired not only from literary sources but also from epigraphic materials and coins.

18 W. Froehner, “Le P. Garrucci: Necrologie,” *Annuaire de la societe’ de numismatique et d’archeologie* 9 (1885), pp. 309-311.

19 Bibliography in Ferone, 1988, pp. 33-50.

20 R. Fausti, S.J., “G. Marchi, S.J. e il rinnovamento dell’ Archeologia Cristiana auspici Gregorio XVI e Pio IX,” in *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 7 (1943), p. 464.

21 Garrucci, *Storia dell’ Arte Cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* 5, Prato, 1879, p. 14.

22 Tongiorgi, 1885, p. 608.

23 Garrucci, *Monumenti del Museo Lateranense*, Rome, 1861, preface.

24 C. Ferone, L. Garcia Garcia, 2008, p. 17, and Ferone & Iasiello, 2008, p. 25, n. 65: Garrucci, accused of spying and propagating “liberal” ideas, was banished from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1853. He first sought refuge in Benevento (under Papal rule), and later in Rome.

25 From Ferrua, 1979, pp. 42-52, and idem “Del P. Giuseppe Marchi, S.I.,” in *Civiltà Cattolica* 96.3 (1945), pp. 242-249, we learn that Pope Pius IX confirmed this privilege on de Rossi alone. The contract drawn up between the Papal Finance Ministry and the authors Marchi and de Rossi states that the work will study the Christian catacombs on each consular road, addressing not only their artistic features, but also news of their topography, history, and chronology; see Ferrua, 1979, p. 56, and A. Nestori, “G. B. de Rossi e la Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra,” in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* 1, Vatican City-Split, 1998, pp. 185-187.

results of his research on the "Appia Christiana," de Rossi won great public acclaim for revealing the historic tomb of Pope Cornelius (1852); the crypt of the Popes (1854); the crypt of St. Caecilia (1854); the tombs of Popes Gaius and Eusebius (1856); and the crypt of St. Januarius (1857), all in the Appian region close to where the Jewish catacombs were found shortly thereafter in 1859.

Meanwhile, back at the Kircherian Museum, Garrucci had been working closely with museum director Giuseppe Marchi, considered the "Bosio" of his time following the publication of *Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive: Architettura* (to which de Rossi was preparing a supplemental volume on Christian inscriptions). Marchi encouraged Garrucci's studies in Christian iconography, and conceded to the younger Jesuit the right to publish controversial paintings from the tombs of followers of Jupiter Sabatius and Mithras that Marchi had discovered in 1847 in a catacomb then believed to be that of Praetextatus (but now seen as a completely separate site).²⁶ Garrucci also negotiated with Marchi and de Rossi on the launching of a new journal for Christian Archaeology. But the Roman archaeologists resisted the idea of moving the project to Naples, where Garrucci could secure funding, and Garrucci instead co-edited with Giulio Minervini the new series of the *Bollettino Archeologico Napolitano* for about a year before the final sentence of exile from his native land.²⁷ After suffering a debilitating stroke in 1855, Marchi handed over to Garrucci additional material on paintings and sculpture in the catacombs that the elder Jesuit had hoped to publish in a continuation of his *Monumenti*.²⁸ Garrucci then published abroad the early sixteenth century manuscript of Jean L'Hereux's *Hagioglypta* of paintings and sarcophagi from the churches and catacombs of Rome (1856) as well as a revised edition of his 1852 study on pagan paintings in the catacomb of "Vibia."²⁹ Reviews of another Garrucci study on Christian gold glass in 1858 anticipated not one but now two great works in preparation on the material remains of early Christianity in Rome: de Rossi's *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* and Garrucci's *Storia dell'arte cristiana*.³⁰

Following extended study tours in France, Spain, Belgium, and England between 1854 and 1858, frequently in the company of the Jesuit art historians Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, Garrucci again returned to Rome and was actively pursuing his research in the Christian catacombs at the time of the Jewish catacomb's discovery. He had more than one work in preparation, delivered numerous lectures at the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, of which he was an "ordinario," and contributed regularly to the *Civiltà Cattolica* as well as to archaeological journals circulated both in Rome and abroad.³¹ This period also saw him collaborating with Lorenzo Fortunati on the excavation of an ancient necropolis and basilica to S. Stefano on the via Latina as well as in the final stages of completing a catalogue of works of art in the Lateran Museum that his Kircherian colleagues, Marchi and Secchi, had begun many years

26 R. Garrucci, *Tre Sepolcri con pitture ed iscrizioni appartenenti alle superstizioni pagane del Baccho Sabazio e del Persidico Mitra scoperte in un braccio del cimitero di Pretestato in Roma*, Naples, 1852. De Rossi presented his own discussion of the pictures at the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in 1853, as noted in the "Adiunanza de' 4 marzo 1853," in *Bollettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1853, pp. 89-92. A. Ferrua recounts the history of this publication in "La scoperta e la pubblicazione della catacomba di Vibia," *Archivio della Societa' Romana di Storia Patria* 15 (1971), pp. 235-265.

27 Ferone & Iasiello, 2008, p. 35, n. 96.

28 Ferrua, 1945, p. 254-261. Part of Marchi's preface to the volume of *Pitture* is excerpted in R. Fausti, S. J., "Documenti inediti sull'azione innovatrice del P. Giuseppe Marchi, S.I., negli studi di archeologia," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 19 (1942-1943), pp. 134-140. See also A. Recio Veganzones, "G. B. de Rossi: Iconografo ed Iconologo," *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* 1, Vatican City-Split, 1998, p. 283, n. 25.

29 J. L'Heureux, *Hagioglypta, sive Picturae et sculpturae antiquiores praesertim quae Romae reperiuntur explicatae a Joanne L'Heureux* (Macarius), ed. R. Garrucci, Paris, 1856.

30 Anonymous review of Garrucci's *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei Cristiani primitivi di Roma raccolti e spiegati da P. Raffaele Garrucci*, in *Civiltà Cattolica* 3.12 (1858), pp. 717-730. For the Marchi-Garrucci collaboration on Marchi's *Monumenti* series, see Ferone & Iasiello, 2008, p. 28, n. 80.

31 Ferone & Garcia Garcia, 2008, p. 19, n. 26, and Ferone & Iasiello, 2008, pp. 24-25, n. 57.

before.³² Foremost on his mind, however, must have been the great work on Christian art announced in the preface to his *Vetri ornati di figure in oro* (1st ed. 1858).³³ The next volume of this *Corpus pictuarum et sculptuarum veterum Ecclesiae Universae* was to illustrate paintings in the Christian catacombs, and Garrucci was already seeking high-quality reproductions of catacomb art like those produced by the “Chromolitografia Pontificia” for de Rossi at this time.³⁴

In the months leading up to the discovery of the Jewish catacomb in 1859, Garrucci visited many of the Christian catacombs in Rome, notably those of Calixtus (including the Soter, Lucina, and Eusebius regions); Praetextatus; Domitilla (or Nereus and Achilleus); Agnes; Peter and Marcellinus; Saturninus (or Trasone); Hermes; Pontian; and Priscilla.³⁵ He sketched the arrangements of paintings, epitaphs, and graffiti that these sites still contained. A separate notebook (13.8) includes drawings of sarcophagi in the catacombs and in Roman churches and museums.³⁶ The notes show a flurry of activity, but may be among the last Garrucci was able to take in a Christian catacomb site. Even as Garrucci was publishing the Jewish catacombs to great international acclaim, he was being swiftly and effectively shut out from the study *in situ* of the Christian catacombs of Rome.³⁷

MAY 1st, 1859: A JEWISH CATACOMB DISCOVERED

In the spring of 1859, Giuseppe Randanini and the Roman architect Ignazio del Frate began excavations opposite the church of St. Sebastian after planting in Randanini’s *vigna* or vineyard had exposed ancient walls. Almost immediately, these led to a vast cemetery underground. Laws prohibiting the private exploitation of Christian antiquities would ordinarily have shut down the dig, but the catacomb showed no signs of Christianity, and appeared, instead, to hold a large number of Jewish tombs. Given the absence of Christianity, the Commission for Sacred Archaeology did not assume responsibility for the site, and Randanini continued, with notable zeal, to uncover large portions of the cemetery between 1859 and 1864.³⁸

32 L. Fortunati, *Relazione generale degli scavi e scoperte fatte lungo la via Latina ... cui fa seguito l’atalante composto di 30 e piu’ tavole grandi incise in rame ... con la spiegazione illustrata delle tavole suddette del ch.mo e rev. mo P. Raffaele Garrucci*, Rome, 1859. Ferrua writes in the appendix “Sulle difficoltà sorte fra il Garrucci e il de Rossi per gli scavi di Fortunati,” to his article, “Indicazione topografica della via Latina,” *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 40 (1964), pp. 107-111, that these illustrations were later transferred to the Prussian Archaeological Institute (Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica). In an earlier article, “Questioni di Epigrafia Eretica Romana,” *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 21-22 (1945), pp. 170-183, Ferrua also cites an unpublished manuscript of Garrucci on the Fortunati excavations.

33 Anonymous review of Garrucci’s *Vetri* in *Civiltà Cattolica* 3.12 (1858), pp. 716-730.

34 Garrucci, 1858, p. 3 (introduction). He had acquired the notes and drawings of A. Martin, S.J. after the latter’s death at Ravenna in 1856, as well as Marchi’s preparatory work for subsequent volumes on “Painting and Sculpture” for the series *Monumenti delle Arti Cristiane primitive*: see Recio Vaganzones, 1998, p. 233.

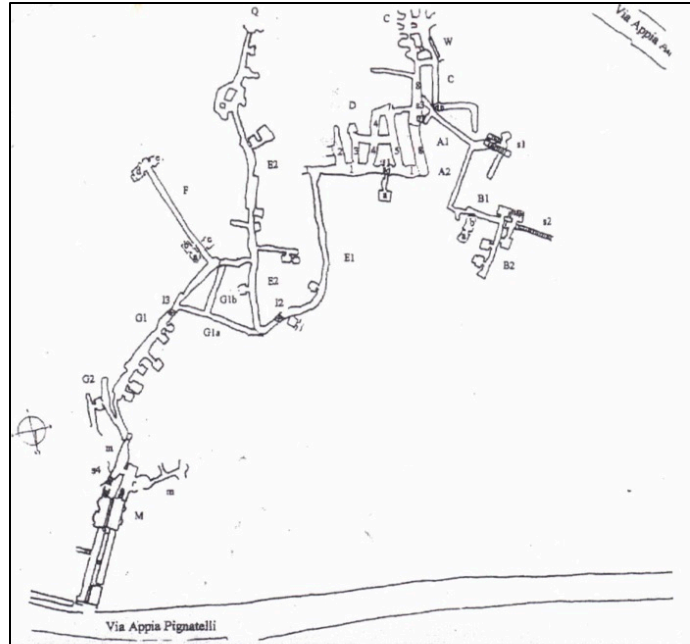
35 See also Garrucci, *Storia dell’Arte Cristiana* 2, Prato, 1873, p. 60.

36 Garrucci, 1858, p. 5 (introduction).

37 Despite Garrucci’s swift rise to authority on the subject of Christian Art by the early 1860’s with the announcement of his great work in progress on Christian painting, sculpture and mosaic, he was eclipsed almost immediately by Giovanni Battista de Rossi’s *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* series, launched in 1863, and the first volume of de Rossi’s *Roma Sotteranea Cristiana* in 1864. Like de Rossi, Garrucci had intended to cover ancient Christian monuments from many areas of the Roman world to reveal the “sublime mysteries of the faith” illustrated in Christian Art. But Rome herself could not contain both men’s vast ambitions. De Rossi’s letters of protest to Pope Pius IX against Garrucci’s attempted “usurpation” of catacomb finds are quoted at length in Nestori, 1998, pp. 188-190. On de Rossi’s scholarship and legacy to the study of Christian Archaeology see F. W. Deichmann, *Archeologia Cristiana*, trans. A. de Lachenal & R. Taliani, Rome, 1993, pp. 33-34, V. Saxer, 1998, pp. 116-121 and V. Fiochi Nicolai, “Giovanni Battista de Rossi e le catacombe romane,” in *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* 1, Vatican City-Split, 1998, pp. 205-222.

38 Nestori, 1998, p. 192, notes 17-18.

Figure 1. Plan of the Vigna Randanini catacombs, indicating regions and key topographical features. Adaptation of the 1984 PCAS plan (F. Balzani, Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra Ufficio Tecnico).



Word of the Jewish burial site spread quickly, and Randanini opened his vineyard gates to many visitors (but few Jews). Garrucci writes, in fact, that he heard of its discovery in 1859 not from official government sources or close colleagues but from the Anglo-Irish civil servant and geologist, Joseph Barclay Pentland (1797-1873).³⁹ Garrucci even calls Pentland at one point the “patron” of his studies, although it is unclear to what capacity Pentland was actually involved.⁴⁰ Possibly the Irishman had financed the engravings that accompanied Garrucci’s 1862 study for the *Civiltà Cattolica*, for Garrucci had few qualms about accepting foreign financial assistance to defray steep printing costs for his works.

Already a scholar of international repute, Garrucci had no trouble accessing the site for his scholarly pursuits. But he was neither the first nor the only one to do so. Carlo Ludovico Visconti, nephew of the Antiquities Commissioner, Pietro Ercole Visconti, delivered a brief report to the German Archaeological Institute (Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica) in December of 1860 on a number of pagan inscriptions that had already been found in the vineyard.⁴¹ A few months later, to Garrucci’s apparent displeasure, the German scholar Ernst Herzog, another institute member, gave the first public lecture on the Jewish catacomb site. Although limited to a small number of galleries and exterior chambers, Herzog’s report is careful to mention examples of mosaic, marble, and sarcophagi.⁴² From this material evidence, as well as that from structural details still preserved, Herzog concluded that the Jewish catacomb must have developed in a manner similar to those used by the Christians, although key topographical features in the Randanini site suggested a later date than the one de Rossi was now assigning to the earliest nuclei of Christian catacombs in Rome.⁴³ Garrucci, on his part, would remain

39 Acting on behalf of the English archaeologist Austen Henry Layard, Pentland contacted both Garrucci and de Rossi for information about the dating of Jewish catacombs in Rome. A letter of J. B. Pentland to Garrucci, in French, dated August 4th (1859?) is conserved in the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facoltà di Teologia di Posillipo. Pentland, an expert in the geology of the Roman Campagna (including Monteverde), wrote a description of the Vigna Randanini catacomb for the popular Murray’s *Handbook to Rome and Southern Italy*. Layard, the author of successful books about the discovery of Nineveh and Nimrod, was also in Rome at the time studying catacomb paintings. Garrucci, in *Storia* 2, 1873, p. 108, acknowledges Layard’s assistance with Christian sites in Asia Minor.

40 Garrucci, 1862, p. 16.

41 C. L. Visconti, “Scavi di Vigna Rondanini”(sic), in *Bollettino dell’ Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Rome, 1861, p. 20, notes that P. E. Visconti had discussed inscriptions from the Vigna Randanini excavations during Herzog’s address to the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia on March 22d, 1861. C. L. Visconti also published an article “Nuove scoperte in un ipogeo israelitico,” in the supplement to the *Giornale di Roma* of May 1st, 1862, p. 396.

42 E. Herzog, “La catacomba degli ebrei in Vigna Rondanini” (sic), in *Bollettino dell’ Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1861, pp. 91-104.

43 Herzog, 1861, p. 97.

deeply critical of Herzog's description, motivated, no doubt, by personal resentment towards leading members of the German Archaeological Institute who were supporting Herzog's work and not his own.⁴⁴

Like Herzog's study, Garrucci's articles on the Vigna Randanini catacomb came at a pivotal time for Christian Archaeology in Rome, in the wake of Marchi's *Monumenti* and right before the release of de Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana* in 1864. As a result, serious consideration now had to be given to evidence that Christians had occasionally reused pagan epitaphs for their tombs;⁴⁵ that the origin of hypogaeal burial had deep roots in many areas of Italy and could not be tied exclusively to Biblical and "Oriental" traditions;⁴⁶ that Christians and non-Christians alike had used hypogaea for burial;⁴⁷ and that the cemeteries organized by members of different associations in Rome closely resembled each other and may well have developed at around the same period.⁴⁸ Ideas like these were liberating Christian Archaeology from long-rooted beliefs about a clandestine, "Subterranean Church" concealed in the catacombs below Rome. The Jewish catacomb emerged at a crucial moment to lend support to many of these views.

Garrucci's publication of the largest amount of material to date on Jews in the Roman Diaspora nevertheless takes on an apologetic tone to preserve some of the more "traditional Christian views of Jews and Judaism."⁴⁹ He writes in "the origin of the Jewish cemeteries of Rome" that the excavation of catacombs was an early Christian practice later adopted for use by the Jews as well as by Gnostic and other "heretical" sects possibly as a means to "fool" the faithful.⁵⁰ The Jews in the Vigna Randanini catacomb are pictured as having utilized many of the elements common to Christian burial in Rome, such as epitaphs, gold-leaf glasses, and decorated sarcophagi, in order to legitimize their own faith in the presence of Christianity, the "only savior of a corrupt humanity."⁵¹ Garrucci argues, furthermore, that since the Jews and other Oriental groups had used "burial caves" in their native lands, they would naturally have been drawn to modes of hypogaeal burial abroad.⁵² Their adoption of a "Roman" solution for collective burial would therefore account for the differences between the Jewish tombs in the Vigna Randanini and those in Palestine (known to Garrucci primarily through literary sources), as well as for the absence of Hebrew in nearly all the ancient Jewish epitaphs from Rome. In this openly polemical manner, Garrucci attempted a "synthesis" of the new material evidence from the Vigna Randanini catacomb and other research in course on the development of "communal catacombs" in Rome.

While Garrucci finds a communal cemetery in the "Christian" manner a deviation from Jewish custom, he is nonetheless anxious to identify certain features of the Vigna Randanini catacomb as illustrative of Jewish practices, primarily to establish the catacomb's exclusivity as a Jewish site. He initially proposes a "Jewish" function for a series of interconnected rooms on the via Appia Pignatelli - as a "synagogue" no less - claiming that these chambers in their original state (decorated with paintings, marble paneling, and mosaic) must have been built for a non-funerary "Jewish" use before the creation of

44 Garrucci, 1862, pp. 9, 20, 30-32 and Goodenough, 1953, p. 27, note 163. C. Ferone has extensively documented the polemic between Garrucci and members of this institute, see especially Ferone, 1989-1990, pp. 33-57, Ferone, 1994, p. 388-390, with bibliography, and Ferone and Iasiello, 2008, pp. 16-20.

45 G. Settele, "Osservazioni sopra le lapidi pagane che si trovano nelle catacombe," *Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 5 (1835), pp. 181-200.

46 Garrucci, 1862a, pp. 88-89.

47 In their separate works Marchi, de Rossi, and Garrucci all reveal that the profane paintings had been found in non-Christian catacombs, and Marchi cites additional examples of non-Christian hypogaea to suggest that followers of the so-called "Oriental" cults had practiced an Eastern custom of burial common as well to Jews. Garrucci, 1852, pp. 67-68.

48 Marchi, *Civiltà Cattolica* 2.1 (1852), pp. 462-464.

49 Rutgers, 1995, p. 36.

50 Garrucci, 1862, pp. 18-19. Rutgers, 1995, pp. 35-37, points out that, "in his vocabulary... Garrucci upholds the traditional Christian view of Jews and Judaism," (the Jews as "heretics, for example).

51 Rutgers, 1995, p. 35.

52 Garrucci, 1862, p. 25

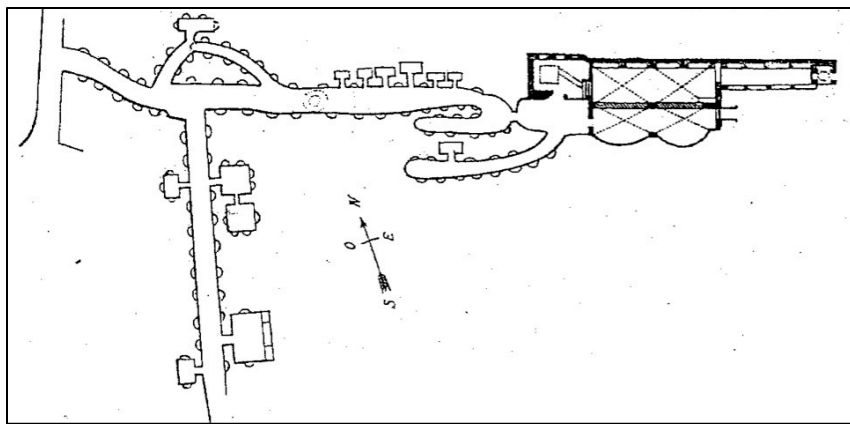
the underground cemetery subsequently developed from that site.⁵³ He also identifies several tomb forms as “unique” to the Jewish catacomb, especially the “oven tomb” used in certain areas of the Vigna Randanini but rarely in other catacombs around Rome.⁵⁴ From this evidence, Garrucci emphatically denies a non-Jewish origin for the catacomb in its earliest phases of use, and does not comment on other catacombs in the vineyard. Instead of being seen as the inspiration for the Christian catacombs, as Marchi had long hoped, the Jewish catacomb, in Garrucci’s work, is more like an appendix to the study of Christianity in Rome.⁵⁵

13.2: THE EXCAVATIONS 1859-1862

Garrucci jotted down his notes on the Vigna Randanini catacomb into small bound notebooks, first in pencil, and then in blank ink. At a later point, he numbered each inscription, and added the page number of the article in which the inscription could be found. Occasionally, he drew a site plan or artifact, but did not always label or publish more finished versions of these finds. The notebooks are also filled with information from the other sites and projects that Garrucci was working on at the time.

The first notebook covers the excavations in the atrium/mausoleum on the via Appia Pignatelli and galleries described by Herzog in 1861.

Figure 2. Plan of the catacomb excavations to March of 1862 published in Garrucci, 1862, p. 5.



Garrucci writes with some annoyance in his first article on the Jewish catacomb in 1862 that he had searched in vain for the many traces of graffiti cited by Herzog. He found only two examples (CIJ 1/JIWE 2 nn. 134/228 & 104/393).⁵⁶ In addition, his notes from this stage include copies of a number of brick stamps; Jewish inscriptions on

marble (CIJ 1/JIWE 2: 264/207; 301/204; 224/379, *81/401; 268/349; 154/227 & 571; 233/361); inscriptions from the site not considered Jewish (CIL 6.2 nn.7771, 7644, 7772); and two sarcophagi discovered at the start of the excavations in May of 1859 (both anepigraphic).⁵⁷ He makes various

53 Garrucci, 1862, pp. 4-8.

54 Garrucci, 1862, p. 13; Garrucci, 1862b, pp. 89-90. Garrucci cites as his source Johann Nicolai’s *De Sepulchris Hebraeorum*, Leiden, 1706, but had also consulted R. Venuti’s 1748 article on two Jewish inscriptions from Monteverde (“Dissertazione sopra due antiche greche iscrizioni,” *Giornale de’ letterati di Roma*, 1748, pp. 145-158), and, according to Ferrua, the copy of G. Migliore’s manuscript in the Vatican library (*Ad inscriptionem Flaviae Antoninae commentarius, sive de antiquis Judaeis italicis exercitatio epigraphica*, Cod. Vat. Lat. 9143, ff. 113-163). Regarding the scarcity of “kokhim” in Rome, and the manner in which they are seen in the Vigna Randanini (in multiple, rather than sporadic examples), there is the intriguing mention of another catacomb below a “vigna Cianciarelli” at the third mile on the via Ardeatina from Rome, a site that G. Bonavenia, S. J., strongly believed to be “Jewish” based on the presence of “cocim”: see “Conferenze di Archeologia Cristiana: 4 aprile 1897,” in *Nuovo Bollettino di Archeologia Cristiana* 3.3-4 (1897), p. 183.

55 Rutgers, 1995, pp. 31-32, comments at length on Marchi’s approach to the study of Jewish and Christian catacombs, finding that Marchi had viewed the Jewish site as a sort of “midwife” to the Christian cemeteries.

56 Herzog, 1861, p. 100; Garrucci, 1862, pp. 30-31.

57 To the collection of inscriptions found in the site and not published in the CIJ/JIWE should be added the Latin *titulus* copied by H. J. Leon, in *De Iudaeorum antiquorum sepulcretis Romae repertis quaestiones selectas*, Harvard

attempts to reconstruct the sarcophagus front panel decorated with Jewish objects in relief that had been discovered in many pieces in the atrium (area M), and studies and measures another sarcophagus found nearly complete with traces of color and gilding on its surface.⁵⁸ He identifies the unfinished reliefs on the latter as those of a deceased couple accompanied by two allegorical figures: a philosopher and the muse Urania.⁵⁹

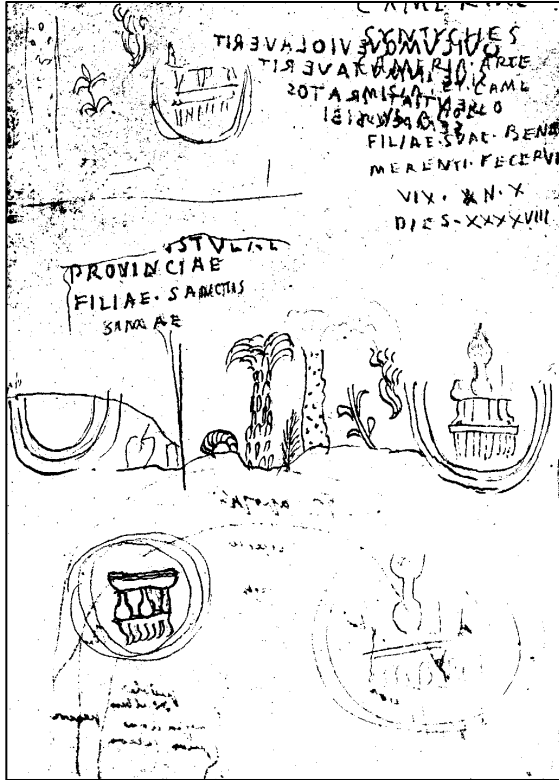


Figure 3. Garrucci's notes in ms. 13.2 on the sarcophagus found in the atrium of the Vigna Randanini catacomb (1859-1862). Courtesy of the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facolta' Teologia "San Luigi" in Posillipo.

Figure 4. Fragment of the side of this sarcophagus with a griffin in R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte Cristiana* 6, 1880, pl. 491, n. 20.



Ph.D., 1927, n. 501/134, "nunc in vestibolo coemeteri Appii": VS CO|RON L. L. EUT (yche)|S. RO * IO| PATRONO.

⁵⁸ An additional fragment of this badly shattered marble sarcophagus was recovered by the author during restoration of the catacomb in 2001. It is from the upper part of the front panel at center, showing in relief the top of a menorah with its lamps lit. Its dimensions are: height: 7 cm, length: 20.2 cm, width: 5.7 cm. Discussion of the nearly-complete panel (now in Berlin) in: G. Koch, "Judische Sarkophage der Kaiserzeit und der Spatantike, in *What Athens has to do with Jerusalem*, ed. L. V. Rutgers, Leuven, 2002, pp. 190-200. Numerous small pieces of the strigillated front panel of the second sarcophagus "of the Muses" were also discovered in 2001 outside of cubiculum Gb, along with part of its slanted cover, already noted by Herzog in 1859 as "broken, with its pieces found in the gallery outside of the cubiculum" (Herzog, 1861, p. 94).

⁵⁹ Herzog, 1861, pp. 98-100; Garrucci, 1860, p. 5, n. 2 and *idem*, 1862, pp. 19-22: the sarcophagus was found nearly intact in 1859 in a trench below an arcosolium on the back wall of cubiculum Gb. It, too, was later smashed to pieces.

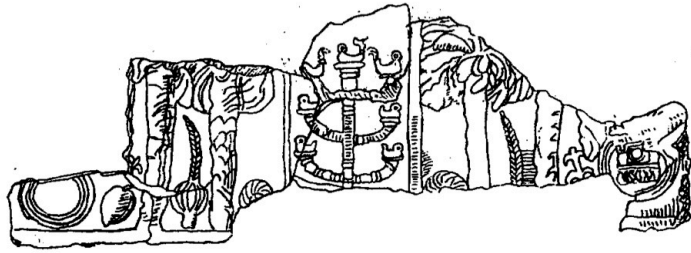


Figure 5. The sarcophagus's front panel, with fragment discovered in 2001. Elaboration on R. Garrucci, *Cimitero degli antichi ebrei scoperto recentemente in Vigna Randanini, Rome, 1862*, pp. 15-16 (author).

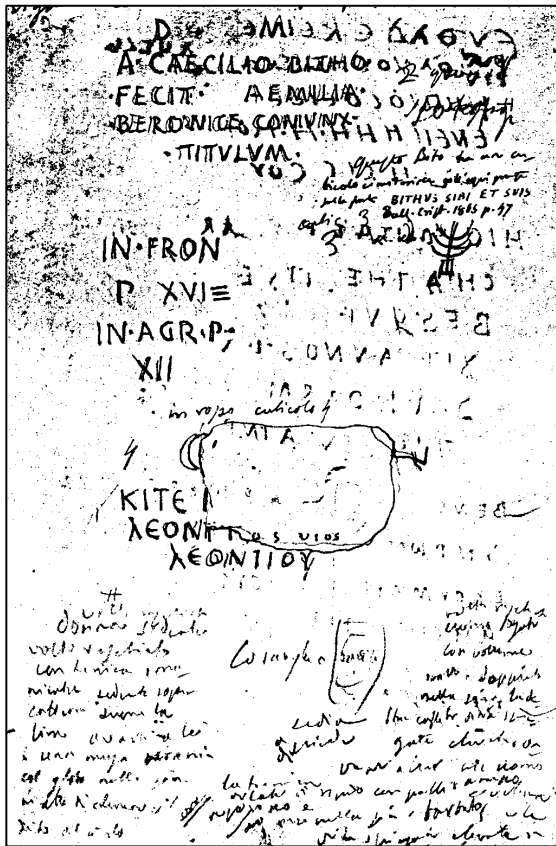


Figure 6. Artifacts found in the mausolea (M) and entrance into the catacomb in 1859, with notes on the “Muse’s sarcophagus” in Garrucci ms. 13.2 (1859-1862). Courtesy of the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facolta’ Teologica “San Luigi” a Posillipo.

The notebook also contains the inscriptions Garrucci would publish in his 1862 article on the columbarium for freedmen of the *gens Junii*. It therefore must not date earlier than the end of 1861 – beginning of 1862.⁶⁰

60 Garrucci, “Scoperte epigrafiche,” in *Bullettino Archeologico Italiano* 2 (1862), pp. 1-8; the columbarium of the Junii Silani was discovered in late 1861 or early 1862.

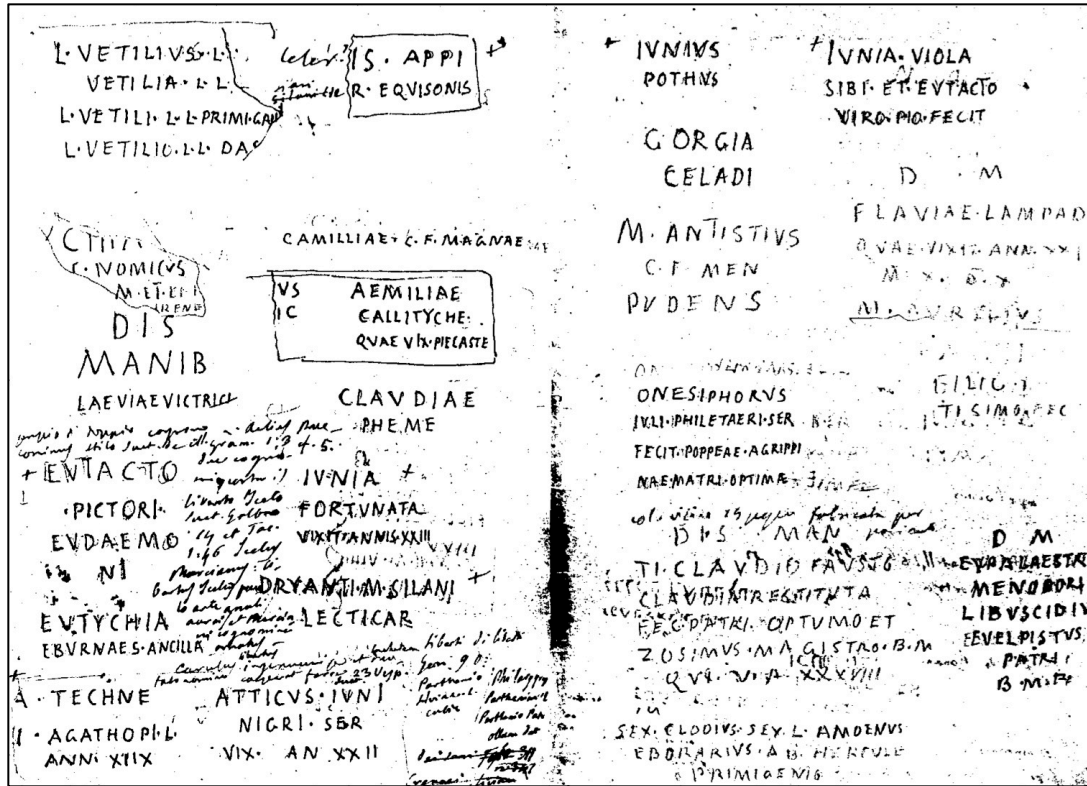


Figure 7. Inscriptions from the columbarium of the freedmen of the gens Junii, from Garrucci ms. 13.2 (1859-1862). Courtesy of the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facolta' Teologia "San Luigi" in Posillipo.

The excavations in the Randanini catacomb between March and mid-May of 1862 revealed over thirty new inscriptions.⁶¹ Garrucci's notes for this period contain many Hebrew phrases as well as a calculation of the Jewish dating system in order to assign Medieval Hebrew inscriptions to a later period, even in the case of the recently discovered trilingual inscription (Latin/Greek/Hebrew) at Tortosa in Spain (CIJ 1.661/JIWE 1.183).⁶²

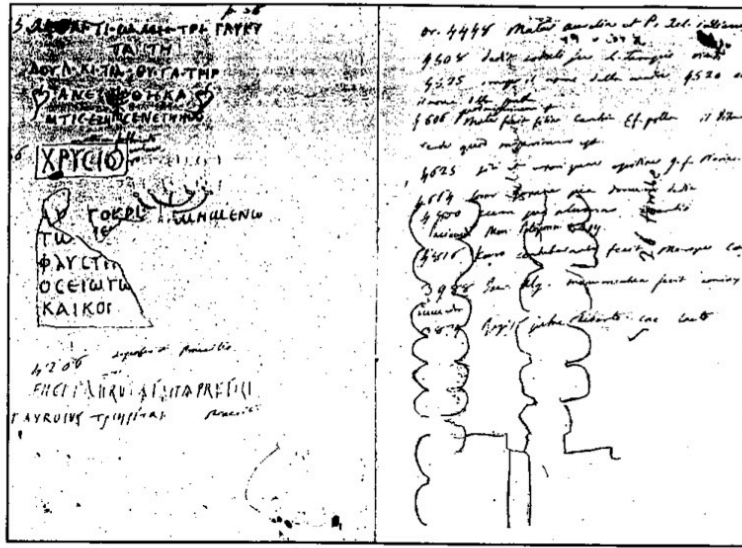
The inscriptions discussed in Garrucci's 1862 study for the *Civiltà Cattolica* are first numbered in pencil, indicating, perhaps, the order in which they had been copied; the second number appears to refer, instead, to a page in one of Garrucci's articles (though possibly this was done by an archivist, rather than by Garrucci himself). Several inscriptions in the notebooks are marked as "unpublished," generally because they were in a very fragmentary condition when found and kept aside in hopes that additional pieces would someday come to light.⁶³ Exceptions are made for those that contain important expressions or words (CIJ 1/JIWE 2: 113/374; 190/390; 201/307). In a few cases, inscriptions are copied but not numbered, suggesting that there may have been issues with non-Jewish content. This may explain why the sarcophagus to a chief doctor (CIJ 1/JIWE 2 *5/341), was not published by Garrucci with the Jewish inscriptions (though included by some later scholars), as well as that to the Genius of Jove by a freedman of Eastern origin (CIL 6.2413). An inscription to the Manes of an Aelia Felicitas, employing a sepulchral formula seen as unsuited to catacomb burial, was also excluded (CIL 6.2.6674).

61 Earlier works on Jews in Ancient Rome had considered Hebrew inscriptions, including those from Tivoli, as those of the "wealthier Jews": see P. Luzzatto, "Notice sur quelques inscriptions hébraïques du XIIIe siècle, découvertes dans les ruines d'un ancien cimetière Israélite de Paris," in *Memoires de la Societe' des Antiquaires de France* 22 (1855), pp. 60-86.

62 Garrucci, 1862, p. 27, and 1862a, p. 95.

63 Garrucci, 1862, p. 63.

It is clear that Garrucci passed over his notes several times, covering earlier topographical indications made in pencil with inscriptions copied in ink, including a drawing, unfortunately ambiguous,



of what could be the initial gallery tracts from the atrium on the via Appia Pignatelli (M), containing niches in the walls for graves (an element difficult to verify as much of this section is now completely covered with brick).⁶⁴

Figure 8. Plan of the mausolea on the via Appia Pignatelli? Garrucci notes from 1862.

Courtesy of the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facolta' Teologia "San Luigi" in Posillipo.

Little note is taken of funerary artifacts other than the inscriptions, although Garrucci copies and

publishes a small number of brick stamps from the exterior atrium M as well as the two found with CIJ 1.148/JIWE 2.53.⁶⁵ Although many clay lamps were discovered and initially conserved in the site, the only one that Garrucci illustrates at length was seen as a lamp handle or base decorated with the image of the menorah: this piece had been found in the same chamber as the gilded sarcophagus described above.⁶⁶ Garrucci's description corresponds to a drawing of the object found among de Rossi's notes:⁶⁷

64 Garrucci, 1862, pp. 5-7. The notes, nearly illegible, may read: "la fabbricazione della arcata e' opera della vigna? Prima, dunque, non e' in quel prolungamento... l' ingresso d corridoio ove si e' passaggio gia' al corridoio sotto... le lastre sono poste nel ... quando ... mura ... si puo' posizione dell atrio ove e' la porta ... fino all'ingresso."

65 CIJ 1, p. 55.

66 Garrucci, 1862, pp. 8-9. R. Venuti, 1748, pp. 148-149, had thought that the Hebrew inscriptions from Tivoli indicated burials of "ricchi ebrei" while the inscriptions of poorer quality belonged in the "comune catacombe."

67 This clay object is also described by Herzog, 1861, pp. 97-98 and Garrucci, 1862, pp. 8-9; 1862a, p. 90; 1864-65, p.151. The illustration is from De Rossi ms. ICUR (Cod. Vat. 41 n. 16293) at the Pontifical Institute for Christian Archaeology in Rome. From Garrucci's report, we know the object was found inside the painted cubiculum in area G, close to where a large painted and gilded sarcophagus had been inserted inside a ditch below an arcosolium in the chamber's back wall. Herzog describes it as of clay in the form of a square vase decorated on all four sides with faint incisions. Apparently the same design was used for each side: a menorah with seven branches on an upper register, and triangles and rectangles containing dotted lines on the register below, arranged in a way Herzog found symbolic and similar to motifs in Jewish gold-glass from Rome (Herzog, 1861, p. 98). Garrucci accepts Herzog's description in his own article of May of 1862, adding only that Herzog seems confused about the function of the piece that Garrucci, noting the rounded recess inside, believes to be that of a stand for an oil lamp. In a later collection of articles, however, Garrucci chooses to define the piece as an "incensiere," similar to others he had seen in excavations at the ancient port of Ostia Antica (Garrucci, 1862a, p. 9, also gives the object's essential statistics: "alto un palmo, largo tre once"). He does not publish an illustration of the piece in 1862, and in his *Storia dell'Arte Cristiana* (1873-1880), the "arnese" is not included among the Jewish grave-goods (Garrucci, *Storia* 6, t. 491, pp. 164-165; artifacts from the Vigna Randanini are n. 4 & n. 18). Like the other small finds extracted from the Jewish cemetery, its whereabouts today are unknown and probably to be found in a private collection. A third party provides additional information that should help us clarify the object's appearance and use. We know from government reports that Giovanni Battista de Rossi visited the Randanini catacomb on many occasions with members of the Papal Antiquities Commission. Among de Rossi's notes for a supplementary index of Jewish inscriptions to his *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae* is a tiny drawing of a square-shaped object, decorated and

Figure 9. De Rossi ms. ICUR 41 n. 16293
at the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology, Rome.



Other fragments of clay and glass were found affixed to the mortar around loculi.⁶⁸ None of these conserved traces of explicitly Jewish decoration, unlike the magnificent examples of gold glasses then on display in the Vatican and Borgia museums.⁶⁹ Garrucci notes, instead, a number of “invasive” objects, such as a plaque with the symbol of an axe, one of two found in this catacomb, and a gorgon medallion discovered inside one of the tombs.⁷⁰

Figure 10. Drawing of an axe, Garrucci ms. 13 (1859).
Courtesy of the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facolta' Teologia “San Luigi” in Posillipo.

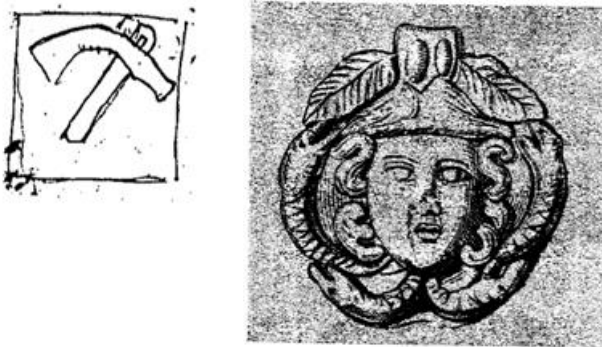


Figure 11. Medusa medallion, found in a grave in the Vigna Randanini catacomb.
R. Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana nei primi otto secoli della Chiesa*, 6, Prato, 1880, p. 491, n. 4.

13.3: NEW DISCOVERIES ON MAY 18th, 1862.

Mid-nineteenth century explorers were struck by the thoroughly vandalized condition of the catacomb.⁷¹ Virtually every tomb had been opened and seached.⁷² Even so, it could be concluded that

labeled “arnese in terra-cotta.” This is the piece under discussion. The bibliographical citations match Garrucci’s description (the year, but not page number, is correct for Herzog’s article) and de Rossi inclines towards Garrucci’s original idea that the piece forms is a lamp stand or “foot.” The drawing shows that the object was not perfectly square-shaped, with at least two sides slightly concave. The face de Rossi drew is divided into two registers: the upper part holds a wide, nine-branched candelabrum (Herzog had noted seven branches) on a base or tripod of dots. Three dots above the central branches could indicate that the candelabrum was lit. Below the dividing line is a rectangle above a square, both containing different series of dots. Those within the rectangle form two squares, almost like an extension or tripod for the candelabrum above; the square at bottom, on the other hand, is divided diagonally into two right triangles, each one pierced at center by a dot. De Rossi also draws a thicker line for the bottom, perhaps to indicate a break. Herzog found the piece artistic – but just barely (Herzog, 1861, p. 98); Garrucci, on the other hand, believed it was not an object for common use but rather for sacred rites (Garrucci, 1865, p. 151).

68 Garrucci, 1862, p. 9, describes traces of glass vessels in the mortar around some loculi. A number of clay lamps were found in the excavations in the Vigna Randanini at this time, possibly those later noted by O. Marucchi on a table inside the vestibule of the catacomb, O. Marrucchi, *Breve guida al cimitero giudaico di Vigna Randanini*, Rome, 1884, p. 13.

69 Garrucci 1865, p. 155.

70 Garrucci, 1862, p. 9.

71 Herzog, 1861, p. 93, 97. Garrucci, 1862, p. 13, notes that robbers had already opened many of the pavement tombs, but a few remained concealed beneath debris.

72 Garrucci, 1862, pp. 11-12.

the majority of the graves had been sealed with rubble, brick, and mortar.⁷³ Fragments also remained of marble plaques used to close a select number of tombs. In some instances, these are reported as having been placed in between the tombs or even inside a tomb at the head of the corpse (possibly as an example of reuse); or set into the pavement to cover tombs “a fossa”; and even propped up against the lower part of the wall in the “semi-cappuccina” style.⁷⁴

In rare instances, marble sarcophagi had been used. Garrucci saw at least three in cubicula and the atria of the catacomb, along with fragments of others that, given their apparent pagan appearance, he simply ignored.⁷⁵ In the galleries discovered in May of 1862, two marble sarcophagi lids were found inscribed with Jewish epitaphs (109/277 & 120/337). Terra-cotta sarcophagi were also found below the pavement in the excavations by the via Appia Pignatelli between 1859 and 1862.⁷⁶

On May 18th, 1862, workmen broke through a wall of debris that had accumulated in Gallery E1 from lucernarium L2. Three days later, Garrucci arrived on the scene, and rapidly collected an additional “thirty or so inscriptions” for publication in the articles that followed his public lecture in Rome in June of 1862.⁷⁷ The notebook recording these discoveries also shows his progress in reconstructing and commenting on epitaphs from the site. In addition to a list of names in alphabetical order, an entire page is dedicated to smaller fragments, and several inscriptions previously copied are now complete or nearly complete.

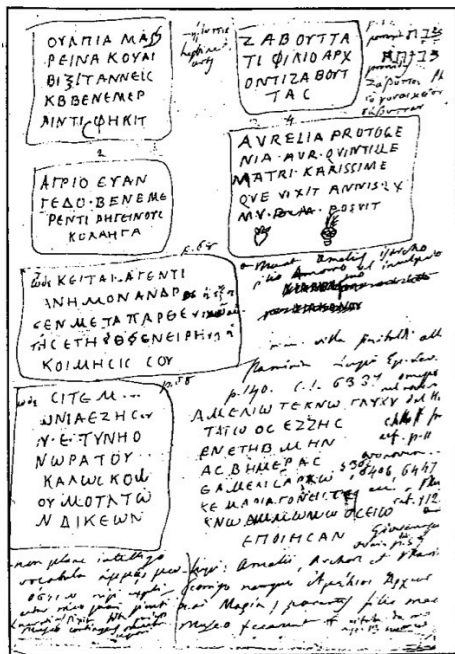


Figure 12. Inscriptions from the catacomb, Garrucci ms, 13.3 (1862-1863).
 Courtesy of the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facolta’ Teologia “San Luigi” in Posillipo.

Garrucci also studied the location of several underground chambers for the evidence of Jewish burial within them. Two of the chambers, painted in the “red-green” fashion with figurative scenes, appeared to contain both Jewish and pagan tombs.⁷⁸ Hoping to show that they had formed an integral part

73 Garrucci, 1862, p. 8.
 74 Garrucci, 1862, p. 12.
 75 Garrucci, 1862, p. 16.
 76 Garrucci, 1862, p. 13.
 77 Garrucci, 1862a, p. 97.
 78 Garrucci, 1865, p. 158.

of the Jewish cemetery, Garrucci sketched a plan of these “lower regions” discovered in 1862 (13.3 f. 17). Since the stairway to the *kokhim* in area A is clearly shown, the plan must date to no earlier than the end of 1862.

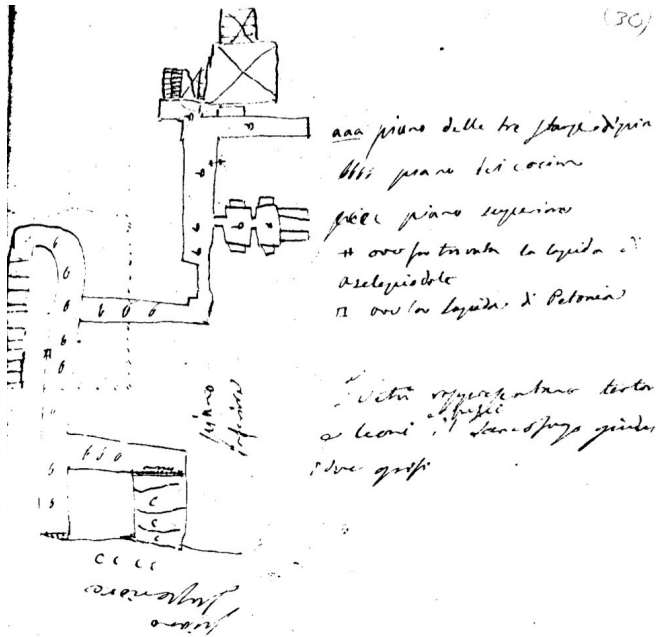


Figure 13. Lower regions of the Vigna Randanini catacomb discovered between 1862-1863 (ms. Garrucci 13.3). Courtesy of the Garrucci Archives at the Pontificia Facolta’ Teologia “San Luigi” in Posillipo.

Figure 14. The same areas in the 1933 Frey plan.

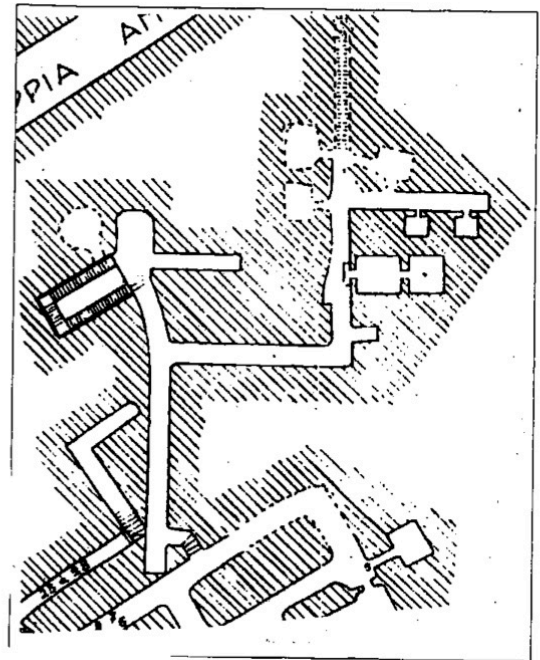


Figure 15. The same areas in the 1984 PCAS plan.

Garrucci's plan accentuates the two "oven tombs" excavated into the back wall of the second painted chamber (Bb), and the find spots of two Jewish inscriptions in the "catacomba inferiore."⁷⁹ There was little in the subject matter of the wall paintings in these rooms that could be interpreted as distinctly Jewish, but Garrucci nonetheless insists that they bore some relation to the examples of animal and mythological figures found on other Jewish artifacts from Rome.⁸⁰ This point was emphasized with Garrucci's revelation at this time of the existence of a Jewish sarcophagus fragment in the Kircherian museum decorated with "symbolic human figures" like those seen in the painted rooms.⁸¹ If such figures did not have some relevance to Jewish belief, asked Garrucci, then why would a "Jewish sculptor" have added the sacred symbol of the "God of Israel," the menorah, to the clypeus of a typically Roman sarcophagus relief?



Figure 16. The "Sarcophagus of the Seasons" in the Kircherian Museum. R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte Cristiana*, 6, Prato, 1880, pl. 491, n. 19.

No matter its nature, this argument is weakened by Garrucci's omission of important details from the Randanini paintings, especially that on the back wall of the second chamber above the two "oven" tombs. Garrucci vaguely describes this as a scene, unfortunately now very damaged, involving two or perhaps three horses.⁸² Artist

William (or Guglielmo) Ewing's watercolor painting of the late 1860's, however, shows two or three animals turned toward the figure of a man standing or sitting amidst a grove of trees.

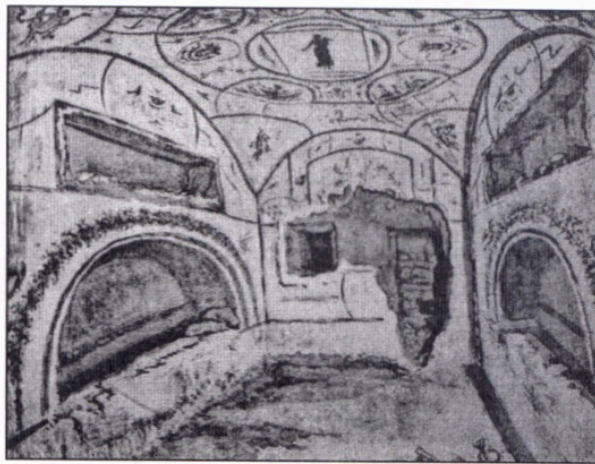
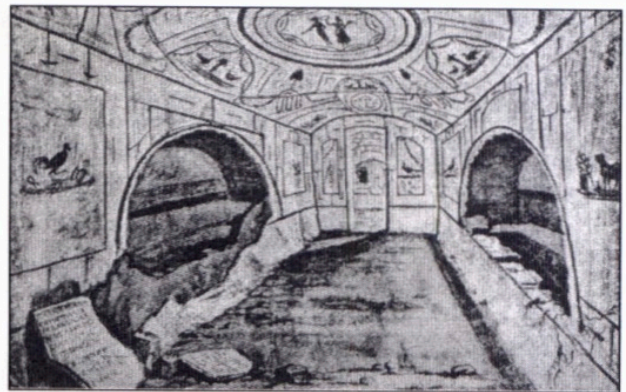


Figure 18. Painted chamber Ba in watercolor of W. Ewing. J. H. Parker, *Historical Photographs Illustrative of the Archaeology of Rome & Italy*, London, 1873, p. 15, n. 1161.

Figure 17. Painted Chamber Ba in watercolor of W. Ewing. J. H. Parker, *Historical Photographs Illustrative of the Archaeology of Rome & Italy*, London, 1873, p. 15, n. 1160.



79 Garrucci, 1865, pp. 157-158. The two inscriptions found in this area (Garrucci by testimony of Ignazio Randanini) are: CIJ 1/JIWE 2 nn. 150/329 and 92/336. The findspot for 149/223 is not known, but presumably it was dedicated to the son of the deceased named in n. 150/329.

80 Garrucci, 1862, p. 19; and 1865, p. 155.

81 Garrucci, 1865, p. 155: illustration in *Storia* 6, pl. 491 n. 19. This fragment of a sarcophagus front panel, of unknown provenance, had been reused for the tomb of a Florentine banker. It is inventoried at n. 67611 at the Museo Nazionale Romano. M. Sapelli dates the piece to the end of the 3d-beginning of the 4th century CE in *Pietro e Paolo a Roma: la storia, il culto, la memoria nei primi secoli*, ed. A. Donati, Rome, 2000, p. 191.

82 Garrucci, 1885, p. 157.

The composition has been compared by others to scenes of the mythic bard Orpheus that appear in both profane and early Christian funerary art.⁸³ During the 1860's, this alone would have stirred up little controversy. Marchi (and later Garrucci) had already confronted the issue of mythological figures in Christian art in their study of the paintings in the Vibia catacomb in order to discredit the growing belief that such scenes represented idolatrous "superstitions" of the Christians, or evidence of pagan burials in Christian sites. Garrucci was well familiar with the appearance of Orpheus in the catacombs, and viewed such subject matter in a wholly Christian context as an allegory of Christ "il nuovo Orfeo che conquiste i vizj."⁸⁴ But having a mythological figure prominently displayed in the chamber's original decorative scheme strengthened the argument against Garrucci's interpretation of the hypogaeum as Jewish in origin, given the prevailing belief among Christian archaeologists of the time that that "there was a total absence from (the Jewish catacombs) of all representations of the human form."⁸⁵ That the scene possibly represented a pastoral motif common in Christian art could also have made its presence in a Jewish site even more complicated to understand. Garrucci was one of the very few to see the wall's condition before other fragments fell away from the scene. For one so keenly interested in Roman iconography, his silence on this painting is inexplicable. It is now impossible to reconstruct exactly what he saw in 1862.

Although presenting all the lower levels as integral to the Jewish catacomb, Garrucci divides the galleries into three separate zones (a-c), two of which (a & b) having direct access to the surface (the rectangular chamber – a columbarium? - above area b is lightly traced in dots). Area a on Garrucci's plan, with the painted rooms, has two galleries meeting at a 90° angle. The area's present condition makes it difficult to understand the other details, however, that were drawn while the stairway to this hypogaeum was still visible. There are points that do not correspond exactly to what is shown in later plans (and details, like two additional chambers with *arcosolia* that are missing from Garrucci's plan but visible today).⁸⁶ The outstanding feature in the drawing is a chamber, much larger than the two painted rooms, connecting to the gallery by means of a vestibule that is now blocked. Directly behind this chamber is a wide stairway. This stairway is marked on plans of the twentieth century, but the rest of the area is now presented very differently. Instead of a large single chamber, modern plans show three chambers at the foot of the staircase. They also omit two additional flights of stairs shown in Garrucci's plan (their location is instead identified as a cubiculum). As Garrucci's plan, though loosely drawn, is, on the whole, quite accurate about key structural features, these could be the flights of stairs to a "lower floor" that were alluded to in the conclusion to his lecture to the Accademia Romana di Archeologia on June 11th, 1862.⁸⁷

13.10. LATER EXCAVATIONS 1862-1863

The last notebook on the site (13.10) contains copies of the Jewish inscriptions not discovered until May 18th, 1862.⁸⁸ In addition, there are the drawings of five Jewish inscriptions from the monastery of Saint Paul's Outside the Walls discussed in Garrucci's 1865 article, *Alcune iscrizioni di cimiteri giudaici diversi*.⁸⁹ Finally, a number of pagan sepulchral inscriptions from the Vigna Randanini are also

83 F. Bisconti (citing examples in the Christian catacombs) believes this painting in the Vigna Randanini to represent the figure of Orpheus; see Bisconti, "Orfeo," *Temi di iconografia paleocristiana*, Sussidi allo studio delle Antichità Cristiane, 13, Vatican City, 2000, pp. 236-237.

84 Garrucci comments on the figure of Orpheus in a meeting of February 3d, 1860, in the *Bollettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1860, pp. 57-58.

85 *The Dublin Review*, n. s., 1863, p. 405. Garrucci, *Storia* 6, p. 4.

86 Garrucci, 1862, p. 64. Marchi himself, in the preface to *Pitture*, refers to the myth of Orpheus's travels to Egypt, where he came in contact with Hebrew scripture: excerpted in Fausti, 1942-1943, p. 136.

87 Garrucci, 1862a, p. 97.

88 CIJ 1/JIWE 2: 121/231; 130/355; 132/231 (right side); 149/223; 264/332; 248/335.

89 CIJ 1/JIWE 2: 319/560; 349/186; 367/567; 397/193; 401/187.

noted.⁹⁰ Yet Garrucci's notes on the Vigna Randanini excavations at this stage are heavily intermingled with data from other sites published in the *Dissertazioni*.⁹¹

THE JEWISH INSCRIPTIONS

In 1845, fifteen years before studying the Vigna Randanini catacomb, Garrucci had sent drawings of several Jewish funerary inscriptions from the Naples Museum to the young Giovanni Battista de Rossi in Rome.⁹² They were among the few scholars familiar with the fifty or so ancient Jewish artifacts in Italy at that time. Most of the pieces had been found in Rome, and contained recognized signs of Judaism: in seven examples alone, a Hebrew word or phrase had been used. The fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, published in 1859, contains many of these pieces. Only one item, a marble sarcophagus lid (CIJ 1.283/JIWE 2.535), is attributed to same area as the Jewish catacomb of the Vigna Randanini.

In his second volume of *Dissertazioni*, Garrucci publishes seventeen Jewish inscriptions from other sites, proposing a number of additions to the Jewish corpus (epitaphs previously classified as Christian or pagan) as well as closer readings, whenever possible, of the original texts.

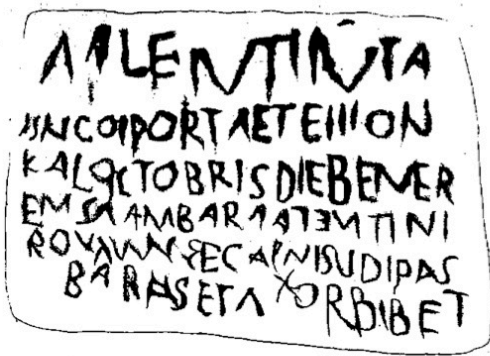


Figure 19. CIJ 1.528/JIWE 2.617 in R. Garrucci, *Dissertazioni Archeologiche di Vario Argomento* 2, Rome, 1865, p. 186, n.2, fig. 5.

90 CIL 6.2. 7646; 7658; 7659; 7662; 7671; 7673; 7676; 7716; 7720; 7731; 7736; 7767; 7769; 7782; CIJ *6.

91 Garrucci was studying other sites in Palestrina, Tivoli, Alatri, Margana, Mentana, Ravenna, Terracina, Firenze, Aquileia, Navona, Volterra, and Carthage, and may have had in mind a project on Christian graffiti.

92 A. Ferrua, "Addenda et corrigenda al Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum," *Epitaphia* 3 (1941), p. 31, quotes letter from Garrucci to de Rossi in Cod. Vat. Lat. 14238 f. 17 (July 2d, 1845). The inscriptions are: CIJ 1/JIWE 2: 327/185; 479/565; 480/198 (all formerly in the Borgia Collection in Velletri, at that time, in the Royal Bourbon Museum (National Museum of Naples)).

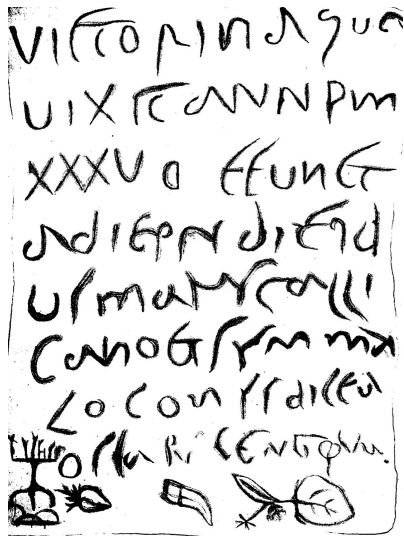


Figure 20. CIJ 1.482/JIWE 2.56 in R. Garrucci, *Dissertazioni Archeologiche di Vario Argomento* 2, Rome, 1865, p. 186, n.2, fig. 3.

The number of Jewish inscriptions collected by Garrucci falls short of that in de Rossi's notes for a planned appendix of Jewish inscriptions in the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, for Garrucci ultimately did not possess the same archival and investigative resources as had de Rossi to create a true history of the excavation and study of the Jewish sites. Yet a more thorough research on Garrucci's part could have better anticipated de Rossi's own work, as well as that carried out in the last century by A. Ferrua to determine the authentic texts of many Jewish epitaphs known prior to 1859.

In the case of the Vigna Randanini catacomb, Garrucci now had a very large and diverse selection of Jewish inscriptions that did not always contain the defining "signs" of Judaism that had characterized the examples previously known from Rome. Thus, Garrucci begins his chapter on Jewish epitaphs by declaring that the custom of composing epitaphs was not, in fact, Jewish in origin, and had instead been adopted by the Jews from Roman practice, above all because the epitaphs themselves were in Latin or Greek instead of Hebrew.⁹³ He dates a small number of inscriptions from the Vigna Randanini catacomb to the second century, but assigns many more to a later date.⁹⁴ None had been written in Hebrew, whose use in Rome Garrucci limited to Medieval times.⁹⁵

Jewish inscriptions in Rome prior to 1859 had identified at least eight synagogues, as well as many of the titles held by Jews. In those from the Vigna Randanini catacomb, only three synagogues are named (the first two previously known): that of the Καμπησίων, "Campesians" (88/288); the Σιβουρησίων, "Siburensians" (140/338); and what has been read by some as of "Ἡροδίων"? (173/292), although most experts now consider it a personal name rather than one referring to an entire community. Offices or titles held by the Jews are greater in number. For the first time in Rome, we read of the positions of μελλογραμματεὺς, "mellogrammateus" (121/231); μελλάρχον, "mellarcon" (85/259); ἄρχων πάσης τιμῆς, "archon pases teimes" (185/259, 219/265, 265/322); διὰ βίου "dia biou" (266/287); ὑπηρέτης, "hyperetes" (172/290); προστάτης, "prostates" (100/373; and *proselyte* (222/224). The following attributes were seen to have a Jewish significance (although the last-mentioned is also

93 Garrucci, "degli epitaffi giudaici," 1862, pp. 23-24. Garrucci believes, in fact, that the "most ancient" is CIJ 1.556/JIWE 1.26, a Latin epitaph to a "Claudia Aster".

94 Garrucci, 1862a, p. 96.

95 Garrucci, 1862, pp. 27-28, dates 661/183 to 10th c. contra Th. Renan, *Revue Archeologique* 2 (1860) p. 349 and Luzzatto, 1855, p. 60. Garrucci, 1862, pp. 28-29, also publishes a Medieval Hebrew inscription found at Benevento dating to 1154. Garrucci would later modify his opinion on the use of Hebrew in antiquity with new information about the Jewish catacombs at Venosa and contemporary excavations in Palestine.

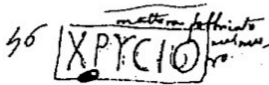
employed in a number of Christian or neutral inscriptions from Rome⁹⁶): νομομαθής, “nomomathes,” or “student of the Law,” (190/390, 193/270); φιλόνομος, “philonomos,” or “lover of the Law,” (111/212); φιλοπένης, “philopenes,” or “lover of the poor,” (196 & 203/240); ἀμίαντος, “amiantos,” or “unblemished” (193/270); and μόνανδρος, “monandros,” more or less to a woman “having one husband alone” (81/324).⁹⁷

The inscriptions are, for the most part, carved or painted on marble, or painted or traced directly on the surface of the mortar, brick, or tiles closing the tomb (they are identified below by their listing in the CIJ and JIWE, respectively).

Two are scratched on a brick (text follows JIWE):

- a. 170/394

Χρυσίο



- b. Unpublished inscription “graffito in piccola mattone,” found at a short distance from the painted rooms (area Ba-b).⁹⁸

Τεσος



A number of fragments and inscriptions not considered Jewish by Garrucci were left out of his articles from 1862 to 1865.⁹⁹ One is *8/400 (CIL 6.2.7649), written on part of an architrave; the second is CIL 6.32491; a third, using the D.M. invocation, is CIL 6. 2.7763. Garrucci also publishes separately CIL 6.2.7682.

Other very partial inscriptions were not published (and explicitly marked as “unpublished” in Garrucci’s notes) in hopes that additional work in the catacomb would recover more fragments of these texts.¹⁰⁰ Most of the Jewish epitaphs not published by Garrucci were nevertheless later included in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* in 1935 because they were still in the catacomb or found in copy among the notes of G. B. de Rossi and C. L. Visconti for the first series of the *Inscriptiones Christianae*

⁹⁶ For comparison with Christian/neutral inscriptions, see Rutgers, 1995, esp. 192-195, and A. E. Felle, *Inscriptiones Christiane Urbis Romae, n.s. Concordantiae verborum, nominum et imaginum. Tituli graeci*, Bari, 1997. According to Rutgers’ chart, ἀμίαντος, φιλοπένης, and φιλόνομος, each occurring only once in a Jewish inscription, are uniquely used in Rome by the Jews. However, several examples of the attribute μόνανδρος (in Vigna Randanini, 81/324) are found in the ICUR (nn. 10683, 16811, 26224).

⁹⁸ J-B. Frey later publishes in the *CIJ* 1 additional examples of letters or phrases scratched into the mortar around the tombs.

⁹⁹ CIJ 1.233/JIWE 2.361 may not be Jewish: Garrucci 1862, p. 31 says it comes from Vigna Randanini, and it is now in the National Roman Museum. Garrucci also publishes separately CIL 6.2.7682 in “Scoperte Epigrafiche,” *Bullettino Archeologico Italiano* 1 (1862) p. 5.

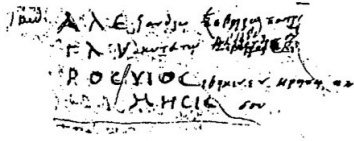
¹⁰⁰ Garrucci, 1862, p. 63.

Urbis Romae.¹⁰¹ Much later, L. Moretti discovered additional fragments that had been taken to the Museo Nazionale Romano some time after the vineyard itself had been sold.¹⁰² The inscriptions not noted in any of these sources will be illustrated below.¹⁰³

De Rossi and Garrucci both note 84/340, discovered in excavations from March-May, 1862 (Garrucci copies; text follows JIWE):

Αλε[- -]
 γλυ[κυτάτ- -]
 ρος υιός [- - ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοί]
 μησις [- -]

ΑΛΕ
 ΓΛΥ
 ΡΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ
 ΜΗΣΙΣ



Frey photographed the left side of 101/306, also noted by Garrucci (with the image of a bird in profile on the lower left). Garrucci adds ὄσιος in l. 2; and reads Γαῖς τ [----] (π in JIWE 2) in l. 3; in l. 5, Garrucci also supplies σου (Garrucci copy; text follows JIWE):

ἐνθάδε [κεῖται - -]
 νήπιος [- -]
 Γαῖς π[ατήρ - - -]
 ἐν εἰρ[ήνῃ ἢ κοίμη -]
 (bird facing right) -σι[ς- -]

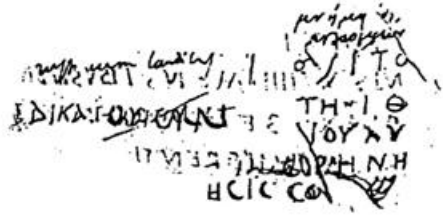
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ
 ΝΗΠΙΟΣ
 ΓΑΙΣ Π
 ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝῃ ἢ ΚΟΙΜῃ
 -ΣΙΣ

Garrucci worked at length to interpret the text of 105/205a, previously known only from the notes of de Rossi published by Frey in 1931. Both men had great difficulty with the text, possibly an early version of n. 136/205 (Garrucci copy; text adapted from JIWE 2, p. 184):

101 Cod. Vat. Lat. 41 ff. 16089-16360; 42 ff. 16361-16686. (CIJ 1/JIWE 2: *5/341; *8/400; 84/259; 245/260; 196/203 & 240; 185/387; 174/397; 168/357; 101/306; 140/338 (fragment); 105/205; 105/205a) 245/260 known only from de Rossi's copy.

¹⁰² L. Moretti, "Iscrizioni greco-giudaiche di Roma," *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 43 (1973), p. 215, n. 3, publishes a number of fragments that were inventoried around 1917 as nn. 72917-72938 in the Museo Nazionale Romano (most from the Vigna Randanini). D. Noy includes several of these in JIWE 2: nn. 363-365. 103 JIWE 2.363-365.

[ἐνθάδε κείται Δομ]τ(ί)α
 [ἦτις ἔζησ εν ἔ]τη ιθ',
 [μετὰ τῶν] δικέ<α>ων [---] ἰου αὐ
 [ἐν εἰρ]ήνη
 [ἦ κοιμ]ησίς σου (menorah)



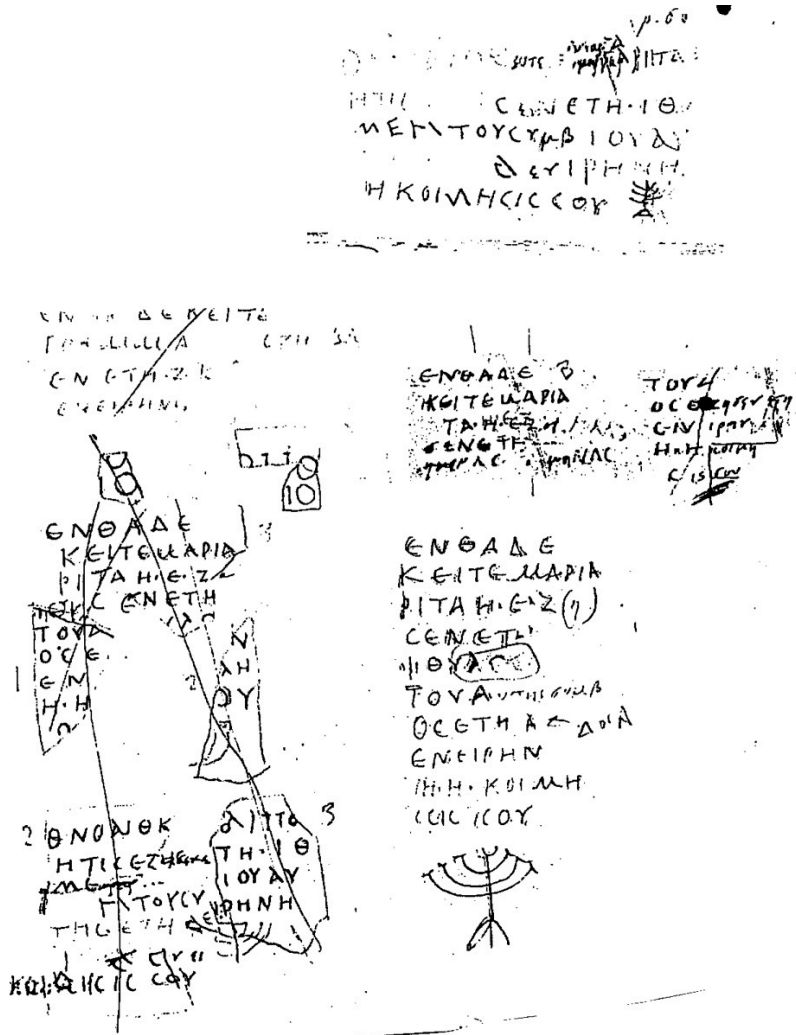
The opisthographic 136/205 is, by definition, a doubly complicated affair. It was found in many fragments inside one of the arcosolia on the pavement level of area M (all copies by Garrucci; text follows JIWE):

136a/205:

ἐνθάδε
 κείτε Μαρ(γ)α
 ρῖτα ἢ ἔζ[η]
 σεν ἔτη
 ιθ' μ[ετὰ]
 τοῦ ἀ[νδρ]
 ος ἔτη [δ']
 ἐν εἰρήν
 η ἢ κοιμη
 σίς σου. (menorah)

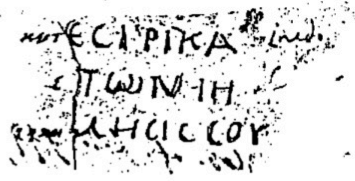
136/205b.:

ΘΝΟΑΙΘ ἀρῖτα
 ἦτις ἔζη[σεν ἔ]τη ιθ'
 μετὰ τοῦ συ[μβί]ου αὐ
 τῆς ἔτη δ' ἐ[ν ε]ιρήνη
 ἦ κοιμησίς σου (menorah)

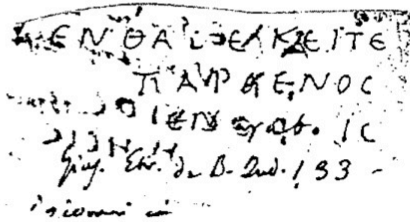
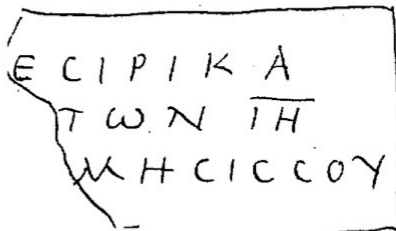


Garrucci considers separately the two pieces of 168a-b/357, found in different parts of the catacomb, according to Garrucci’s notes, in excavations from March-May of 1862 (Garrucci (3) and Visconti copies; text follows JIWE):

ἐνθά[δ]ε κείτε Σιρικὰ
παρθ[έ]νος ἐτῶν η´
ἐν ε[ί]ρήνῃ ἢ κοί[μ]ησίς σου.



ΕΝΘΑ ΕΝΕΣΤΗ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ
 ΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ
 ΕΝ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΩΝ



174/397, on a “lastra sottile cimiteriale,” is noted by both de Rossi and Garrucci in the Vigna Randanini, but is not published until 1931. In Garrucci’s version, l.2 contains a τ (Garrucci copy; text follows JIWE):

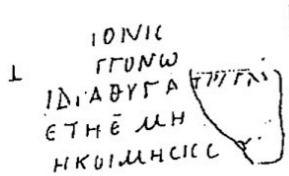
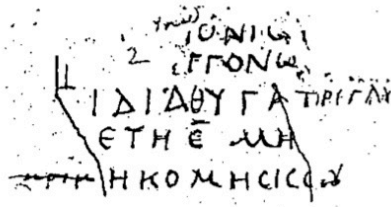
ΔΕ[- -]
 Η[- -]
 C[- -]

Δ Ε
 Η Τ
 C

Likewise, both de Rossi and Garrucci copy 185/387. Although found in the March-May excavations of 1862, it was not published until 1928 from de Rossi’s notes. Garrucci makes a number of attempts to read the piece, and is the only one to attach the two fragments: 1. [--] ιονις[--][--] γγονω [--], and 2. τριγλυ[-]γ (Garrucci copies; text adapted from JIWE):

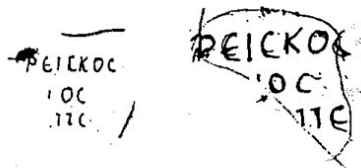
(menorah)
 [- -]I(?)ONIC [- - -]
 [- -]ITONW[- -]

[- - τῆ] ἰδίᾳ θυγα[τρι γλυ- -]
 [- - ἔζησεν?] ἔτη ε' μῆ[νας - -.]
 [- - ἐν εἰρήνῃ] ἢ κοίμησῖς σ[ο]υ.



De Rossi and Garrucci both copy part A. of 196/240, found during excavations in the catacomb in 1859 (Garrucci copies; text follows JIWE):

[---] Πρέϊσκος
 [---]OC
 [---]NIC
 (φιλόλαος φιλ[έντολ-]
 ος φιλοπένης [ἐν εἰρήνῃ]
 ἢ κοίμησις τοῦ ἄ[ρχον-])
 τος.



In a number of cases, Garrucci copies an inscription more than once over the course of the excavation, working to piece together multiple fragments to restore the original meaning of a text, like that of the problematic 113/374, painted with red minium on a marble plaque of cipollino (Garrucci copies; text follows JIWE):¹⁰⁴

Εὐσέβιος νε[- -]ομο
 μαθῆς ΑCΑΛ[- -]ΙΟ

104 81/324; 201/307; 193; 270; 189/389; 185/387; 155/244; 130/355; 145/257; 136/205; 191/221; 113/374; 150/329; 237/258; (95/351(262/352), 22 pieces, 118/342; 132/281 found on two different days; 150/329 (pieces in two different areas of catacomb); 210/343 (from a sarcophagus).

ἕζη(σεν) (hedera) ἔτη [- -]

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΝΕΥΝΟΥ Ο
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ
 Ε ΕΖΗΣΕΤΗ

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΝΕΥΝΟΥ
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ
 Ε ΕΖΗΣΕΤΗ

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΝΕΥΝΟΥ
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ
 Ε ΕΖΗΣΕΤΗ

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΝΕΥΝΟΥ Ο
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΟΥ ΟΥ
 Ε ΖΗΣΕΤΗ

ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΝΕΥΝΟΥ
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ
 ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΝΕΥΝΟΥ ΟΜΟ
 ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ ΑΓΑΠΗΤΟΥ
 Ε ΖΗΣΕΤΗ

In rare instances, like that of CIJ 1.136a/JIWE 2.205, Garrucci provides the find spot for an inscription (often on the excavator's word) generally to manifest a Jewish occupation of the cemetery area in which the inscription or inscriptions had been found.¹⁰⁵ But nearly all the marble epitaphs had been broken into pieces. Even tombs with painted inscriptions did not remain intact. The following are among the very few examples of mortar marked by paintings or incisions found among Garrucci and de Rossi's notes:

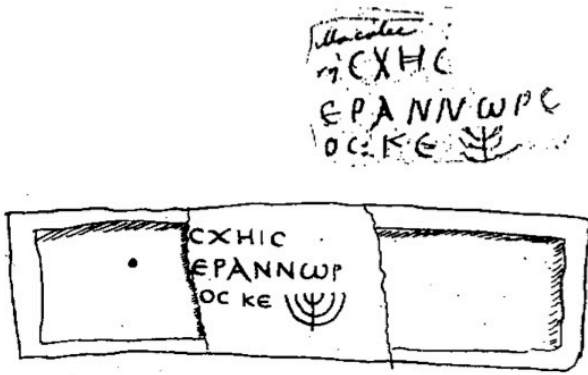
1. 199/395: Loculus closure illustrated by de Rossi ms. ICUR 41 f. 16291 and Garrucci. In de Rossi, l. 1 reads CXHIC. Line 2, no longer extant, was copied by Garrucci to read ERANNWPC? (from copies by Garrucci and de Rossi):

[- -]CXHIC[- -]

[- -]EPANNWP[- -]

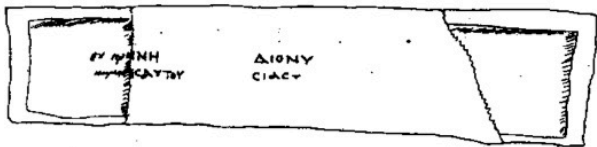
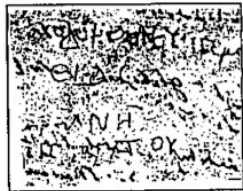
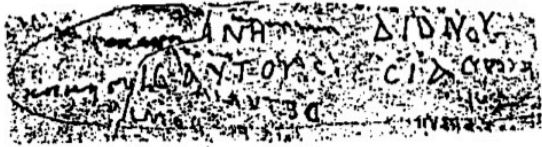
[- -]OC KE[. .] (menorah)

105 229/204; 228/207; 83/206; 103/236; 145/257; 147/238, 148/253; 129, 148/253. Garrucci, 1862a, p. 88, lower area.



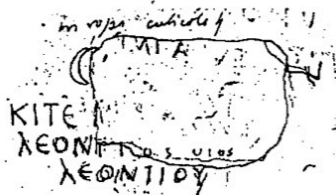
2. 104/393. Garrucci/de Rossi ms ICUR 41 f. 16290 (from copies by Garrucci (2) and de Rossi; text follows JIWE):

[ἐν εἰρ]ήνῃ	Διονυ
[κοίμη]σις αὐτοῦ	σίας

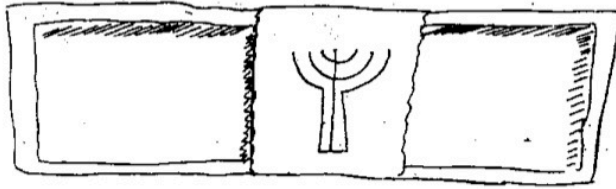


3. 134/228. Garrucci adds ος γιος to l. 3. This inscription survives (Garrucci copy; text integrates JIWE):

[- -]Ο[- -]
 [- -]κίτε Υ[- -]
 [- -]Λεόντι[ος-]
 [- -]Λεοντίου[- -]



4. Anepigraphic, mentioned by Garrucci, 1862, p. 22. De Rossi copy ms. ICUR 41 n. 16295:



Garrucci provides a number of statistics about the Jewish epitaphs at the end of his address to the Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia on June 11th, 1862. In the atrium and galleries excavated before May 18th, 1862, 43 inscriptions had been found: 12 Latin and 31 in Greek. In the galleries excavated after that time, 21 inscriptions were found, 10 in Latin (including 5 in Latin but written with the Greek alphabet).¹⁰⁶ He also specifies that only three had come from the catacomb's lower levels (areas A and B).¹⁰⁷

The inscriptions pulled out of the rubble after 1864 were published by Garrucci's successors.¹⁰⁸ Nearly every marble epitaph seen today is in a modern arrangement.¹⁰⁹ Even the inscriptions now "attached" to loculi show clear signs of having been inserted in modern times. The statistics are not pleasing: of the roughly two hundred Jewish inscriptions originally found in the catacomb, fewer than one hundred remain, a significant number of these in galleries not easily accessible.¹¹⁰

Garrucci's publications provide close readings of the inscriptions but rarely information about a stone's appearance or the size and shape of its letters.¹¹¹ His copies in manuscript form, however, when compared to the original stone (if it survives), or to copies made by de Rossi and C. L. Visconti, can bring up some interesting data. Reviewing this material, it is clear that many variations among the copies are found. Letters, words, and even lines of text can be omitted; images are not necessarily drawn or recorded with attention to detail, and the form, size and execution of the letters are not always considered in the haste to copy the entire text.¹¹² The inscription CIJ 1.156/JIWE 2.356 copied directly by Garrucci (1), de Rossi (2) and Visconti (3) shortly after its discovery in March-May of 1862, illustrates each man's approach toward copying an inscription. The left side of the plaque, long missing, was re-discovered by the author in 2001 (from copies by Garrucci, de Rossi, and Visconti; text follows JIWE):¹¹³

106 Garrucci, 1865, p. 93.

107 A-B; 139/208; 150/329.

108 Marucchi, Muller, Frey

109 Noy, 1995, p. 173.

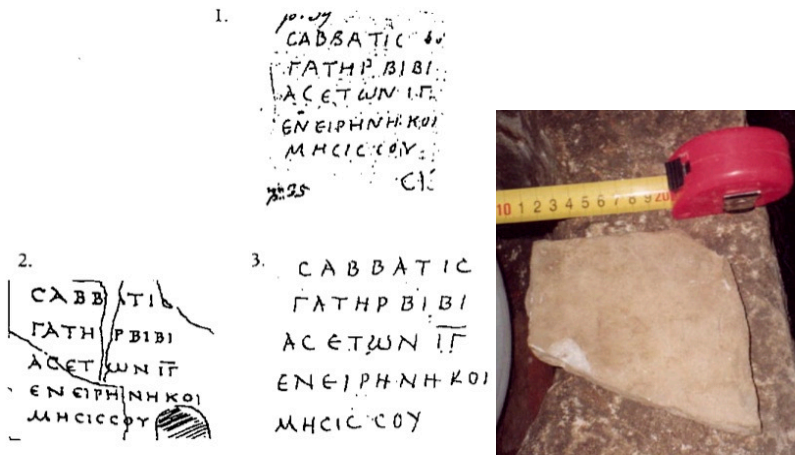
110 Noy, 1995, p. 173.

111 166/251; with images in 250/233; 254/248; 225/249.

112 The exception is made for Garrucci 130/355; 86/276: "α" indicated in the Visconti copy, but not by Garrucci; neither author notes that the last line is squeezed onto the irregularly shaped plaque.

¹¹³ CIJ 1.156/JIWE 2.356, rediscovered in 2001, is the upper left-hand corner of a white marble slab, probably part of a loculus closure. It contains five partial lines of a funerary inscription in Greek. It measures 14 cm in height; 13.1 cm in length; and 1.5 cm in width; the letters range from 1.4-1.7 cm and 1.6-1.4 cm. On the opposite side of the slab are traces of a border and incisions resembling a thin cornice that suggest this marble had had a prior use. On its surface is incised the beginning of a funerary inscription in Greek, the complete text of which is first published by R. Garrucci, 1862, p. 34. Its exact find spot is unknown, but it was discovered before the excavations on May 18th, 1862. The drawing for G. B. de Rossi (f. 16270) shows the inscription reconstructed from three pieces, still missing slivers of marble down the center and in the upper right hand corner. The photograph of the inscription in the CIJ 1 (1936) does not include the fragment found in 2001 and that of lower left hand corner (not found). According to Orazio Marucchi (1884), the inscription had been attached to the wall of a gallery. Photographs in Frey (CIJ 1, p. 112) and H. J. Leon (1960, pl. XVI, n. 26) show the surviving fragment affixed to the wall with iron clamps. A modern, gouged-out hole in the back of the fragment also indicates that this piece was for a time on display; a new chip on the surface of the stone before line 2, was perhaps caused when the piece was removed. D. Noy was unable to find and measure the larger fragment in 1993 & 1995.

Σαββάτις [θς]
 γάτηρ Βιβί
 ας ἐτών ἱγ'
 ἐν εἰρήνῃ κοί
 μησίς σου.



In another noted example, Herzog, Visconti, Garrucci, and Ferrua all struggle with an inscription that is published in the second volume of *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* as two completely different epitaphs (154/227 & 571, the latter of “unknown provenance”). Interestingly, Garrucci, 1862, p. 33, writes that a Rabbi had thought the inscription had been written in Chaldaean, a rare reference to early Jewish “involvement” with the Randanini site (from copies by Herzog, Garrucci, Visconti (2), and Ferrua (1975, p. 362); text follows JIWE):¹¹⁴

ἐνθάδε κεῖτε
 Ῥ(ομ)ανός (?) ἄμ(ε)μ(πτος?)
 νήπιος ὄσιος
 ἐν εἰρή(ν)ῃ ἢ κοί
 μησίς σου.

114 The inscription CIJ 1.154/JIWE 2.227 & 571 (twice repeated in JIWE 2, the second time as of “unknown provenance”), was discovered in 1859 (de Rossi) in the exterior mausolea or initial galleries of area G before the first lucernarium (L1). The Greek text is arranged on irregular lines (especially lines 2-3), and its letters are very shakily carved into the face of the rectangular marble plaque. There are two interpoints on line 4 between the η in the phrase “ἐν εἰρή(ν)ῃ ἢ κοίμησίς σου”. The text, in Frey’s words, “presente beaucoup de difficultes.” Garrucci relates, in fact, that shortly after its discovery a rabbi identified the writing as “Chaldaean”, a notion Garrucci rejects in favor of a reading very similar to that of Noy. Father Antonio Ferrua could not even recognize the text amidst the notes of C. L. Visconti in the Lanciani manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte at Palazzo Venezia in Rome, and publishes it in his 1975 review of the new edition of CIJ 1 as a previously unknown piece. Noy in 1995 followed Ferrua’s lead and published the same inscription twice, first as n. 227 in the section on the Vigna Randanini, and again a second time as n. 571 in those of “unknown provenance.” The confusion stems from the inexact transcription made by Ferrua of Visconti’s second sketch. Visconti provided copies of the inscriptions from the Vigna Randanini catacomb to both de Rossi and the Papal Ministry of Public Works (Ministero del Commercio e dei Lavori Pubblici), the entity responsible for overseeing the exploration of the catacomb by Giuseppe Randanini and Ignazio del Frate between 1859 and 1865.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
ΡΩΘΑΝΑΓ·ΤΜ
ΚΗΠΙΟΣ ΟΣΙΟΣ
ΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ·Η·ΚΟΙ
ΜΗCΙC CΟΥ

ΕΥΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
ΡΩΘΑΝΑΓ·ΤΜ
ΚΗΠΙΟΣ ΟΣΙΟΣ
ΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ·Η·ΚΟΙ
ΜΗCΙC CΟΥ

ΕΥΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
ΡΩΘΑΝΑΓ·ΤΜ
ΚΗΠΙΟΣ ΟΣΙΟΣ
ΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ·Η·ΚΟΙ
ΜΗCΙC CΟΥ

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
ΡΩΘΑΝΑΓ·ΤΜ
ΚΗΠΙΟΣ ΟΣΙΟΣ
ΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ·Η·ΚΟΙ
ΜΗCΙC CΟΥ

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
ΡΩΘΑΝΑΓ·ΤΜ
ΚΗΠΙΟΣ ΟΣΙΟΣ
ΕΝΕΙΡΗΝΗ·Η·ΚΟΙ
ΜΗCΙC CΟΥ

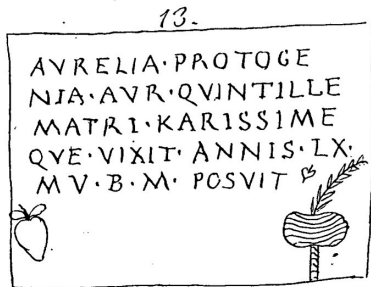
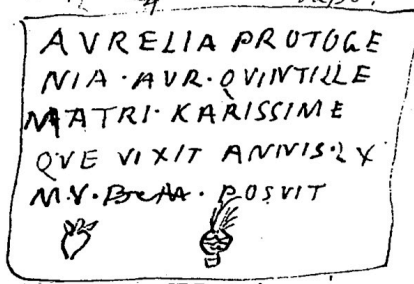
Although Garrucci and Visconti stick close to the original texts, their copies must be checked carefully for any errors that do occur.

A number of Visconti's copies of inscriptions for the Papal Ministry of Public Works contain mistakes, including 273/214 and 241/370; also l. 1 is omitted in 209/325, and the η is missing from line 3 of 124/267.

Garrucci, on his part, errs in 222/224 (substituting, in line 4, an ι for an ε); the notes for 138/232 have the correct reading of κυμσις in line 4 (the 1862 published version is κοίμσις); and in line 4 of n. 96/353, the ι is omitted from the name Μαρία.

Garrucci's rough copies can also omit punctuation. An example of this is seen in 217/284 (from copies by Garrucci and Visconti; text follows JIWE):

Aurelia Protoge
nia Aur(eliae) Quintille
matri karissime
que vixit annis LX
m(ensibus) V, b(ene)m(erenti) posuit.
(ethrog) (lulab with root)

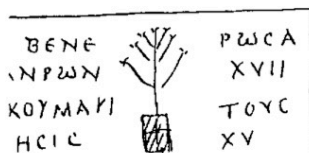
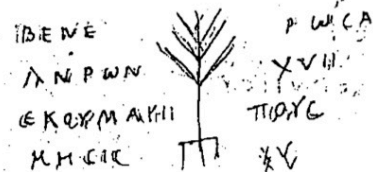


In his notes, Garrucci often supplies a rather free reconstruction of the parts missing from an epitaph. In 158/376, he includes the term φίλανδρος, a suggestion later accepted by the editor of the *JJWE* 2. Garrucci also believes that the missing part of 103/236 (lines 2-3) might contain the title *πατήρ συναγωγῆς*.

Images frequently accompany the texts (with the menorah that most commonly used). Yet Visconti and Garrucci can differ in their reproductions of these images. A good example of this is how each one illustrates the menorah in 268/349 (from copies by Herzog, Garrucci, and Visconti; text integrates *JJWE*):

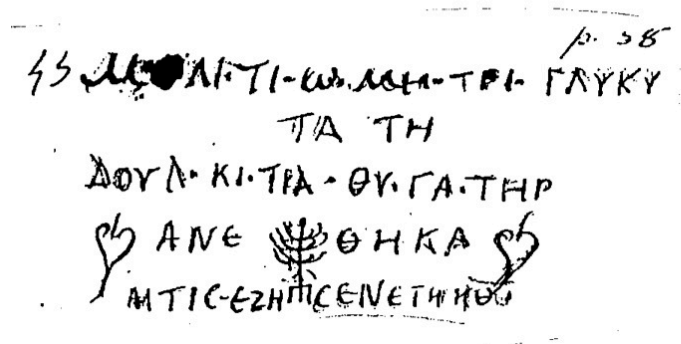
Bene (men- ρωσα
 ἀνρων -orah) XVII
 ἐ<τ>κου<μ>μαριτους
 μησις XV.

BENE	17	POCA
ANPON	17	XVII
EKYMAKI	17	TOYC
MHCIC	17	XV



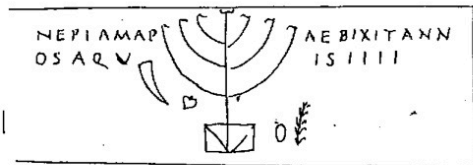
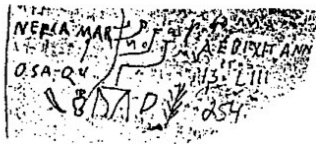
Garrucci elaborates on the curving stems of the ivy leaves in 152/245:

Μελιτίω μητρὶ γλυκυ
τά τη
Δουλιτία θυγάτηρ
(hedera) ἀνέ (menorah) θηκα, (hedera)
ἦτις ἔζησεν ἔτη κθ'.



In place of Visconti's ivy leaf in n. 254/248, however, Garrucci correctly inserts an amphora (from copies by Garrucci and Visconti; text follows JIWE):

Nepia Mar (menorah) ae bixit ann
osa qu is IIII.



In 220/378, Garrucci includes two ivy leaves omitted by Visconti (Garrucci copy; text follows JIWE). Likewise, Garrucci inserts what appears to be an ethrog at right at the end of 96/353, rather than the ivy leaf seen by Visconti (from copies by Garrucci & Visconti; text integrates JIWE):

Πολύκαρπο(ς)
πατήρ καὶ Κρησ
κεντεῖνα μή
τηρ Αὐρ(ελία) (hedera)
Μαρία
ἀξίω τέκνω γλυκ(υ)
τάτ(ω). (hedera)

† ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟ
 ΠΑΤΗΡΚΑΙΚΡΗ
 ΚΕΝΤΕΙΝΑΜΗ
 ΤΗΡΑΥΡΩΜΑΡΙΑ
 ΑΞΙΩΤΕΚΝΩΤΛΥΚ
 ΤΑΤΒ


17.

ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟ
 ΠΑΤΡΗΚΑΙΚΡΗ
 ΚΕΝΤΕΙΝΑΜΗ
 ΤΗΡΑΥΡΩΜΑΡΙΑ
 ΑΞΙΩΤΕΚΝΩΤΛΥΚ
 ΤΑΤΒ

An unusual object appears at left below the last line of text in 208/285: shown as an “amphora” or possibly phial in Garrucci’s design, it more closely resembles a lamp in the copy made by Visconti (from copies by Garrucci and Visconti; text follows JIWE):

Ael(ia) Alexandria
 Ael(iae) Septimae
 Matri karis
 simae bene
 mer(en)t(i) fecit.

ΑΕΙ· ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ·
 ΑΕΙ· ΣΕΠΤΙΜΑΕ·
 ΜΑΤΡΙ· ΚΑΡΙΣ·
 ΣΙΜΑΕ· ΒΕΝΕ·
 ΜΕΡΤΕ· ΦΕΙΟΥ·
 ΛΥΚΑ

ΑΕΙ· ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑ·
 ΑΕΙ· ΣΕΠΤΙΜΑΕ·
 ΜΑΤΡΙ· ΚΑΡΙΣ·
 ΣΙΜΑΕ· ΒΕΝΕ·
 ΜΕΡΕΝΤ· ΦΕΙΟΥ·


In 151/347, a large, fragmentary epitaph, Visconti adds a large menorah. Garrucci copies this as well, but adds a lulab at left and ethrog at right. Yet there are instances when Garrucci omits a design or image that accompanies a text: he does not illustrate the menorah at left in 248/335, and a menorah is missing at right in both 122/262 and 153/339.

Garrucci’s interest in the symbolic value of images that accompany the texts of the Jewish inscriptions occasionally leads to exaggerations in their interpretation (both in how they are drawn and described). In 141/345, he is willing to see two *ethrogim* in the place of what Noy calls “elaborate hederai” because of

their arrangement at the sides of a centrally placed menorah (also, in 135/327, Garrucci substitutes a ethrog for an ivy leaf).

The inscription 171/272 is shown already mutilated in Frey’s photograph. Missing are the lower three lines of text and the two images at the base of the inscription: a menorah at left and an animal described as a “bue” or ox by Garrucci at right. Visconti leaves the animal out of his sketch. Another fragment of a marble slab decorated with an ox “bollato sulla coscia” in the epigraphic collection of the catacombs of S. Sebastiano is published by A. Ferrua in *Epigraphia* 8, 1944, p. 24, n. 118, fig. 22. In the *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 51 (1975), p. 361, Ferrua reiterates that this fragment is from the Vigna Randanini (although not making an exact “match” with the missing parts of 171/272; possibly, he drew his conclusion instead from another inscription with the image of an ox found in the Monteverde site, not considered Jewish by Frey, p. 546 (CIJ 1.24*); (from copies by Garrucci and Visconti; text follows JIWE):

Φαυστῖνος
νήπιος ἐν
θάδε κείτε,
Ἀλέξεος υἱός
ἐν ἱρήνῃ ἢ κοί
μησίς σου. (menorah) (calf/bull)



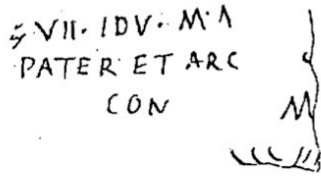
The second volume of the series *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* (JIWE 2) incorporates many corrections to the versions of the inscriptions published in the CIJ 1.¹¹⁵ Additional details taken from Garrucci’s manuscripts are illustrated below.

Garrucci’s drawing of inscription 271/210 lends support to Ferrua’s reconstruction of the left side of a letter (Greek ω?) above an μ (1865, p. 164 n. 18).

VII Idu(s) Ma[- - -]
pater et arc
con Ω (?)
M

115 159/348: two menorot; 158/376, menorah at left; indication of letters in first line of 134/228; 166/251 has menorah in an *ansa*.

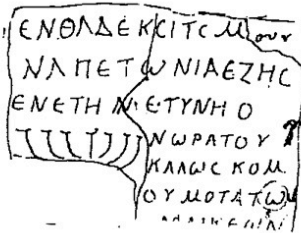
(menorah?)



It is no longer possible to see the reverse of 150/329 that Garrucci copied and published (246/330).

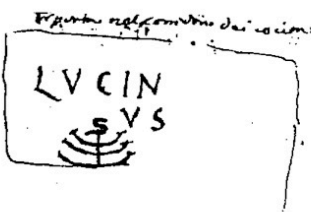
a. 150/329 (Garrucci copy; text follows JIWE):

ἐνθάδε κ<ε>ῖτε Μ[- -]
 να Πετ<ρ>ωνία ἔζησ
 εν ἔτη νε΄ (γ)υνη Ὁ
 νωρατοῦ
 καλῶς κομ
 οὔ μ<ε>τὰ τῶ
 ν δικέων.



b. 246/330:

(menorah) Lucin
 us



Garrucci and Visconti give different readings of the last line of the Latin inscription 212/377: where Garrucci sees AELEA DORMITIO TUA IN B(ono), Visconti reads ALTA DORMITIO TUA IN K--. JIWE 2.377 reads: ae Lea dormitio tua in b[onis?]. (from copies by Garrucci and Visconti):

L(ucius) Domitius Abbas
 (hedera) Appidiae Leae (hedera)
 coniux fec(it),
 et Domitia Feli
 citas filia fec(it).

ae, Lea, dormitio tua in b[onis?].

L DOMITIVS·ABBAS
 ♡ APPIDIAE·LEAE ♡
 CONIVX·FEC
 ET DOMITIA FEL
 CITAS·FILIA·FEC
 AE LEA DORMITIO·TVA·IN·B

L·DOMITIVS·ABBAS
 ♡ APPIDIAE·LEAE ♡
 CONIVX·FEC
 ET·DOMITIA·FELL
 CITAS·FILIA·FEC
 ALTA·DORMITIO·TVA·IN·K

Garrucci places 93/209 within a *tabula ansata* (Garrucci copy; text integrated with JIWE):

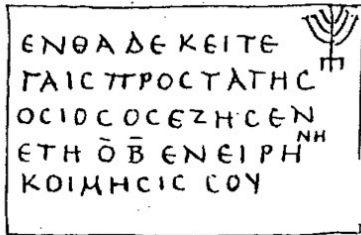
[έν]θάδε κίτε Άσστερία
 [ς] πατήρ συναγωγῆς ὄσι
 [ος] ἄμε(μ)πτος ἦς αἰν ἰρήνη
 κοιμησίς σου.

ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ ΑΣΣΤΕΡΙΑ
 ΠΑΤΗΡ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΟΣΙ
 ΑΜΕΠΤΟΣ ΗΣ ΑΙΝ ΙΡΗΝΗ
 ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΣΟΥ

Garrucci and Visconti read 100/373, line 3 as ὄσιος ος ἔζησεν. Visconti adds in smaller letters νη above the end of l. 4 (from copies by Garrucci and Visconti; text integrated with JIWE):

ένθάδε κείτε
 Γαῖς προστάτης
 ὄσιος ος ἔζησεν
 ἔτη οβ´. έν εἰρή<νη>
 κοιμησίς σου.

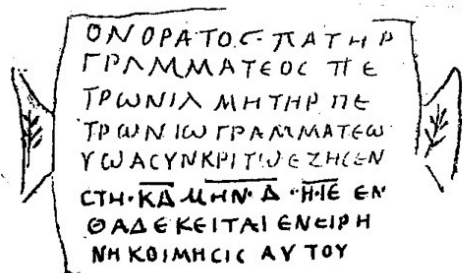
ΕΝΘΑ ΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
 ΓΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ
 ΟΣΙΟΣ ΟΣΕΖΗΣΕΝ
 ΕΤΗ ΟΒ ΕΝΕΙΡΗ
 ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΟΥ



ΕΝΘΑ ΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΕ
 ΓΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ
 ΟΣΙΟΣ ΟΣΕΖΗΣΕΝ
 ΕΤΗ ΟΒ ΕΝΕΙΡΗ
 ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΟΥ

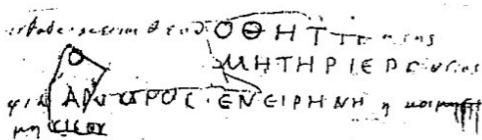
149/223: Garrucci adds *menorot* or palms inside the *tabula ansata* around this inscription. Nothing in Garrucci's notes suggest that the inscription was found in the double cubiculum, where it partially covers the mouth of one of the two "oven-tombs" today (Garrucci copy; text follows JIWE):

Όνορατός πατήρ
 γραμματεός Πε
 τρωνί<α> μήτηρ Πε
 τρωνίω γραμματέω
 ύω άσυνκρίτω έζησεν
 <ε>τη κδ' μήν(ας) δ'ή(μέρας) ιε' έν
 θάδε κείται έν ειρή
 νη κοίμησις αύτου.



ΟΝΟΡΑΤΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ
 ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΟΣ ΠΕ
 ΤΡΩΝΙΑ ΜΗΤΗΡ ΠΕ
 ΤΡΩΝΙΩ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩ
 ΥΩ ΑΣΥΝΚΡΙΤΩ ΕΖΗΣΕΝ
 ΣΤΗ ΚΑΜΗΝ Δ' ΗΉ ΕΝ
 ΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΤΑΙ ΕΝΕΙΡΗ
 ΝΗ ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ

195/362: the version published in Garrucci, 1865, p. 185 n. 40 does not include l. 2: ο, l. 4 σις. (from Garrucci's notes; text integrates JIWE):



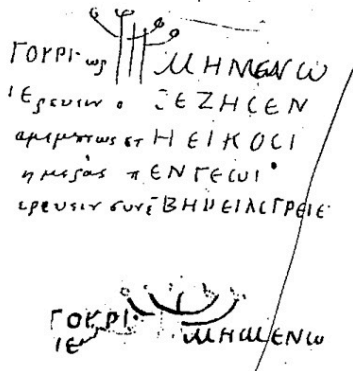
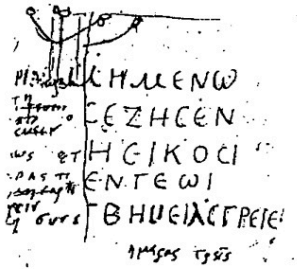
Ο Θ Η Τ Τ Ε
 ΜΗΤΗΡ ΙΕΡΟ
 ΑΝΤΩΡΟΙ ΕΝΕΙΡΗ ΝΗ
 ΚΟΙΜΗΣΙΣ

[---]
 [---]ΟΘΗΘ [---]
 [---] μήτηρ ιερο [---]

[- -φί]λανδρος ἐν εἰρήνῃ [- -]
 [- - -]σις σου

191/221: Garrucci tries to attach a fragment onto the right side of the inscription, but does not include this attempt with the published version of the text (1865, p. 185 n. 38). It is a fragment of a menorah with several letters: Γ, Ω, Υ, Ρ, Ι. Garrucci copies ωι in l. 5: JIWE 2 has μῆνας in l. 6 (all copies from Garrucci; text integrates JIWE):

(menorah)
 Γογρι[-]μημένω
 ιε[- - ὀ]ς ἔζησεν
 [- - ἔτ]η εἴκοσι
 [π]έντε ωι
 [να]ς β' ἡμέρας τρεῖς

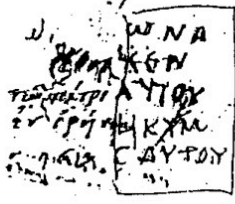


The following fragmentary inscriptions in Garrucci's notes do not appear in the CIJ/JIWE:¹¹⁶

a. March-May, 1862.

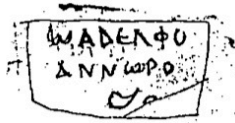
[- - -]WNA
 [- - -]ἐν
 [- - -] αὐτοῦ
 [- -]ῆ κυμ
 [- -]ς αὐτοῦ

116 L. Moretti, 1973, p. 215, n. 8, notes other unpublished fragments in Greek from the Vigna Randanini catacomb in the Museo Nazionale Romano (inventory nn. 72917-72938).



b. March-May, 1862 (unidentified symbols, perhaps an ivy leaf or shofar?).

ο ἀδελφό
αννωρο



c. 1862-1863.

ΑΥ [---]
ΤΩ [---]
Φαυστιν [- -]
ὄσιο γο [---]
και κοί [---]

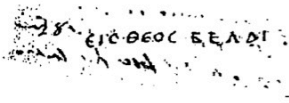


d. 1862-1863.

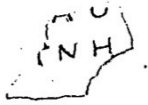
ΠΙΑΙ
CEINHI
YKYTIT




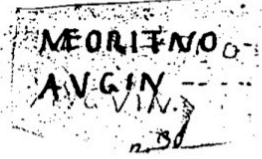
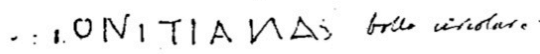

e. Smaller fragments found among Garrucci's notes of 1862-1863:



MCI



Brickstamps (4) recorded by Garrucci from the site: the first and possibly second are recorded in CIJ 1, p. 55, nn. 1 (CIL 15.1 n. 1228?) & 6; both b & c. could be fragments of CIL 15.1 n. 157 (“in coemeterio judaico in vinea Randanini”); d. is CIL 15.1 n. 1600 (E. Bormann):

- a. 
- b. 
- c. 
- d. 

CONTROVERSY AND CRITICISM

The notes Garrucci makes in the margins of his own writings (“opere sue da lui annotate”) demonstrate how quickly his ideas were changing about the Randanini site. Following his 1862 lecture and discussions with other scholars, Garrucci carefully reviewed Jewish epitaphs from the Palestine region and considered further how a Jewish influence on Christian burial may have led to the development of the catacombs in Rome.¹¹⁷

Emboldened by the success of the Vigna Randanini excavations, Garrucci now went directly head to head with de Rossi over the publication of recently discovered works of art in the Christian catacombs of Rome. Relations between the two had already been strained to the limit by Garrucci’s interest in excavations that de Rossi had led. De Rossi, in turn, had always kept a watchful eye on what was going

¹¹⁷ E. Le Blant wrote to de Rossi that Garrucci had sent him copies of inscriptions from the Jewish catacomb for Count Melchior de Vogue. Garrucci mentions a conversation with de Vogue in *Dissertazioni* 2, 1865, p. 157.

on in the Randanini vineyards, and, as a member of the Antiquities Commission, had been present at many official inspections of the site. His manuscripts contain much of the same information copied by Garrucci, as well as other artifacts Garrucci might not have seen.¹¹⁸ At this stage, however, De Rossi feared that Garrucci's project on Christian art would advance the new evidence and ideas he was putting forth in his own work, the *Roma Sotterana Christiana*.¹¹⁹ A decade earlier, the Papal government had granted de Rossi exclusive rights to publish the sculpture, paintings and architecture of the Christian catacombs of Rome. Now, from Pope Pius IX himself, de Rossi heard of Garrucci's direct appeal to the Pontiff in 1862 for permission to publish the paintings recently discovered in these sites.

Garrucci, during his encounters with de Rossi, had said nothing of this petition, and claimed that he was not preparing any new drawings of these finds. But it was clear that Garrucci had no intention of modifying his plans to publish a complete collection of Christian catacomb art. The Commission of Sacred Archaeology thereby denied Garrucci permission to make new copies of paintings and sculpture from the catacombs. Garrucci saw this as an act of censorship to prevent his open criticism of de Rossi's work.¹²⁰ Apart from the material he had inherited from Marchi, however, Garrucci would be forced to rely in the future on the catacomb images already published by de Rossi.¹²¹ In 1865, the hostility between Garrucci and de Rossi grew even more public with a polemical exchange on the identification of the images of St. Joseph and Mary in ancient art.¹²² Garrucci was thereafter convinced that de Rossi was doing everything possible to stop the publication of the *Storia*, and patiently awaited "tempi migliori" to put forth his work.¹²³

Garrucci labored for nearly thirty years on his great collection of Christian Art. Curiously, the first volume of "Teoria" was printed last, in 1881, after *Pitture Cimiteriali* (1873), *Pitture non Cimiteriali* (1876), *Mosaici Cimiteriali e non Cimiteriali* (1877), *I sarcofagi ossia scultura cimiteriali* (1879) and *Le sculture non cimiteriali* (1880). The artifacts identified as Jewish are included in an index to the final volume of 1881. At this time, many years after the explorations in the Vigna Randanini, Garrucci writes that he had published the Jewish catacomb to resolve certain issues, including whether or not Jews outside of the Middle East had allowed figurative art forbidden by Jewish Law.¹²⁴ He also addresses criticism of his articles on the Vigna Randanini catacomb twenty years earlier, continuing to defend his interpretation of subject matter found in the painted chambers of the Vigna Randanini catacomb as the testament to their exclusively Jewish use. He had already taken a strong position against de Rossi, who saw a pagan influence on Jewish and Christian art in the catacombs of Rome.¹²⁵ Garrucci now responded to those who cited Talmudic and rabbinical teaching to challenge the Jewish content of the Vigna Randanini frescoes,

118 De Rossi, 1857-1861, p. 48, planned an appendix of inscriptions related to the "antica sinagoga giudaica." His notes include Jewish artifacts never published by Garrucci, including the sarcophagus with Jewish objects seen by de Rossi in the Palazzo Giraud near the Vatican and later at Palazzo Torlonia, an artifact whose whereabouts are today unknown (photograph in Konikoff, 1990, pp. 36-38).

119 Ferrua, 1979, pp. 72-75 (republished by Nestori, 1998, pp. 188-189). In 1862, de Rossi sought to renew his exclusive right to publish the discoveries in the Christian catacombs (Ferrua, 1979, p. 72). De Rossi insisted that he had spent already 20 years of his life on the project, covering on his own the expenses of travel and study, without any financial compensation from the Papal State. De Rossi believed Garrucci was attempting to be the first to publish some of the "most beautiful and costly" monuments (Ferrua, 1979, p. 73 and n. 54), and sought to suspend the drawing and publication of any paintings from the Roman catacombs until the publication of the *Roma Sotteranea Cristiana* in 1864.

120 Ferone & Garcia Garcia, 2008, p. 21.

121 Ferrua, 1979, p. 75, note 59. Garrucci, *Storia* 2, 1873, preface, and Bisconti, 2011, p. 10.

122 Recio Veganzones, 1998, pp. 250-252.

123 Ferone & Garcia Garcia, 2001, p. 21.

124 Garrucci, *Storia*, 5, p. 12.

125 Garrucci, *Storia*, 2, 1873, p. 73 table 69. Garrucci stated that painters in the Roman catacombs must have been instructed in Christian doctrine.

proposing, instead, that they had served a pagan clientele.¹²⁶ To counter such claims, Garrucci published illustrations of individual motifs from these paintings as well as one of the now-iconic sarcophagus front panel depicting the Four Seasons and figures of Victory supporting a menorah in a *chlypeus* (fig. 16).¹²⁷ In Garrucci's view, the painted chambers must also have been an integral part of the Jewish cemetery because of the high concentration of inscriptions with animals in the same area (although not *in situ*) and presence of two "kokhim" (or "forno" tombs) inserted into the back wall of the inner room. In the end, he suggests that the symbolic use of human figures and animals by the Jews would actually have encouraged the Christians to decorate their own sacred spaces with similar scenes and motifs.

Raffaele Garrucci died in Rome in 1885, shortly after completing a work on ancient Italian coinage.¹²⁸ It was a quiet end to a life that had sought out universal attention and praise. He had prepared the *Storia dell'arte cristiana* over the course of thirty years in de Rossi's shadow, as a survivor of an earlier age when the Jesuits had commanded research on Christian Archaeology at Rome. Following two revolutions – the first in his homeland of Naples, and the second at his place of refuge in Papal Rome – he lived in virtual exile in the Latin American College on the Quirinal and in Castel Gandolfo in the Alban Hills, continuing to write down what he could of the work he had planned so long ago. Yet it is evident from articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica* during this period that he continued to follow the excavations in the catacombs carried out by de Rossi and his disciples: Mariano Armellini, Enrico Stevenson and Orazio Marucchi.¹²⁹ These were among the many who would follow in de Rossi's footsteps to ensure that his methods would dominate Christian archaeology at Rome for many generations to come.

Garrucci's own theories on the Jewish catacomb in the Vigna Randanini adhered to the "fidelity with which Rome has understood and preserved the traditions of the primitive Church," ultimately treating the Jewish catacombs of Rome as further proof of the "resilience of Christian tradition to Roman society."¹³⁰ Catholic scholarship had long been apologetic on the subject of the Roman catacombs, and a Roman scholar's deep learning and study of other cultures was still expected to provide a "scientific illustration of the history of Christian doctrine."¹³¹ Yet Garrucci was well familiar with the new ideas and trends within scholarship on Roman antiquities put forth by men like Mommsen, Borghesi, and de Rossi. He actively sought to participate in their inner circle. The Vigna Randanini studies show that Garrucci did not always, in the words of Deichmann, "work in the museum, in the library, or at his desk."¹³² Whenever possible, he studied an artifact directly, believing "melius vident oculi quam oculus."¹³³ There were few precedents in Garrucci's time for publishing a study on a catacomb just in the process of being excavated and explored, and virtually none in the case of a non-Christian catacomb in Rome. Garrucci combated with success both the German Archaeological Institute and de Rossi to publish the Randanini excavation results, and produced competent work on the site, especially in regards to its inscriptions. But the words he wrote in merit of his study of the catacomb of Vibia in 1852 seem more apt to describe his own lasting legacy to the catacombs of Rome: "Tutti gli altri monumenti che furono trovati vengono

126 Garrucci, *Storia* 6, p. 13: no critic named, but according to *The Builder*, 21 (1863), p. 563, the opinion that cubiculum Ba-b was "accidentally brought into communication" with the Vigna Randanini catacomb is said to be that of de Rossi.

127 Garrucci, *Storia*, 6, p. 156, plate 489 a-b. Photographs and watercolor paintings of these rooms had been published by J. H. Parker in *The Archaeology of Rome: The Catacombs*, vol.11, London, 1877, nn. 564, 1073, 1873, and by T. Roller, 1881, p. 204, n. 1 plate IV b.

128 R. Garrucci, *Le Monete d' Italia antica*, Rome, 1885.

129 Several later scholars consulted with Garrucci on the Jewish catacombs of Rome, especially A. Berliner, author of the *Geschichte der Juden in Rom, von der Aeltesten Zeit bis zur Gegenwart (2050 Jahre)*, 3 vols., 1893 (translated by A. Audasio as *Storia degli Ebrei di Roma*, Milan, 1992, p. 46).

130 *The Dublin Review*, 1863, p. 418.

131 *The Dublin Review*, 1863, p. 398.

132 Deichmann, 1994, p. 34.

133 Ferone & Iasiello, 2008, p. 27, from R. Garrucci, *Le antiche iscrizioni di Benevento*, Rome, 1875.

descritti dal mio dotto amico Cav. De Rossi ed io ne lascio a lui la illustrazione, contento di poterli qui aggiungere a vantaggio degli studiosi.”¹³⁴

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¹³⁴ Garrucci, 1852, p. 69.

¹³⁵ I am most grateful to Professor Danilo Mazzoleni of the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology in Rome for his assistance with the Garrucci and de Rossi archives in Rome and Naples and criticism of an early draft of this paper in 2003. I am indebted as well to the late Father Luigi Oitana, S. J., Librarian of the Istituto San Luigi at Posillipo, and his assistant, Dr. Carla Meyrhofer, for providing me with copies of Garrucci’s notes on the Randanini excavations. Sincere thanks are also due to Amy K. Hirschfeld of the International Catacomb Society for supporting the publication of this work on the bicentennial of Garrucci’s birth and sesquicentennial of the publication of his first articles on the Jewish catacombs in 1862.

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C. Vitringa

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P. Wesseling

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