Title of Thesis:

Some aspects of the Romano-British Church of the fourth and fifth centuries.

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A B S T R A C T

Evidence for the Baptismal and Eucharistic liturgies used by the Romano-British Church of the fourth and fifth centuries is at the moment confined to a few incidental references in the writings of St. Patrick and of 'Fastidius' - in so far as these relate to the practice of Britain - and a small number of archaeological finds. This evidence, however, has to be interpreted in the light of the fuller records available for other Churches of the Late Empire; in particular, the Church of Jerusalem, which became a centre of pilgrimage in the fourth century, thanks largely to the example of the Empress Helena and the munificent building programme carried out by her son Constantine; the Church of Rome, because its foundation could be traced back on the authority of the New Testament to the first century A.D. and to the apostles Peter and Paul, and because Rome from its history had a unique position in the Western Empire; the Church of Milan, which attained a place of eminence in the latter part of the fourth century under its distinguished author-bishop Ambrose during a period when the city was the seat of the Imperial government; the Church of Hippo in N. Africa, which is well-documented in the writings of its early fifth century bishop Augustine; and the Churches of Gaul as Britain's nearest neighbour. The written records relating to these churches, together with the remains of their fourth/ fifth century buildings which have been subjected to archaeo-:logical research, allow us with some degree of probability to fill out the slender evidence provided by the Romano-British Church and to recapture the general character of

its practice. Such findings in their turn have a bearing on the understanding of present archaeological evidence in Britain and indicate the type of Christian structures we might expect to find in the future.

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

Anton Baumstark, in his valuable study of the principles of comparative liturgy, has established that the direction of liturgical evolution in the early centuries of the Christian Church in both East and West was from variety to uniformity: 'The final result ... in the Catholic West is the almost unlimit-:ed predominance of the Roman rite, in the Orthodox East the absolute and despotic reign of that of Constantinople. It is as we go back through the course of time that liturgical variety increases' (Comparative Liturgy, 1939, rev. B.Botte, E.T. by F. L. Cross, London, 1958, pp.16). For proof he instances the wide variety shown by fourth century papyrus fragments of the liturgy found in Egypt, the divergence of practice between Rome and Eugubium in Umbria evidenced in the letter of Innocent I, bishop of Rome 401-417, to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium (P.L.20, col. 551-61), and later still the differences between the Missale Gothicum, which gives the liturgy of Autun, and the Missale Gallicanum Vetus containing the liturgy of Auxerre in Merovingian times. Baumstark's conclusion tallies with the evidence of the earliest Christian writers that the liturgy was to a great extent improvised by the celebrant. Justin Martyr, writing at Rome c.160, declares that the president sends up prayers and thanksgivings, i.e. the great Eucharistic Prayer, to the best of his ability, ὡς δύνατον . In some communities it seems that an outstanding bishop stamped his personality on the liturgy of his own church and that his influence extended to the neighbourhood and sometimes much more widely: such were Cyril of Jerusalem, Sarapion of Thmuis, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ambrose of Milan and Augustine of Hippo. For this and other reasons, such as the honouring of a particular martyr or group of martyrs or some direct link between a Western church and the East, Baum-:stark/

Baumstark can claim that 'the liturgies of even the great ecclesiastical centres long continued to have an exclusively local character' (op.cit., pp.18). Thus the prayers of the 'Leonine Sacramentary' (Verona Codex 85), some of which can be dated to the time of Leo (ob. 461), contain specific local allusions; so, too, does the liturgy of Jerusalem as late as the eighth century.

There were, however, special affinities in some instances between different regions or communities. At the beginning of the third century Tertullian testifies to a close relationship between N.Africa and Rome: 'Si autem Italiae adiaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est. Ista quam felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi Petrus passioni dominicae adaequatur, ubi Paulus Iohannis exitu coronatur ... videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit. Cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contess'ratis, unum Deum Dominum novit, creatorem universitatis, et Christum Iesum ex virgine Maria filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrect-:ionem, legem et prophetas cum evangeliis et apostolicis litt-:eris miscet, inde potat fidem: eam aqua signat, sancto Spiritu vestit, eucharistia pascit ...' (De Praescr. Haer. 36, 2-5). In the late fourth century Ambrose of Milan expresses a desire to follow Rome in the essentials of faith and worship: 'in omn-:ibus cupio sequi ecclesiam Romanam: sed tamen ...' (De Sacr.3. 1.5, P.L.16). The liturgies of the same century form a distinct group and share a number of features which mark them out from those of the West.

Furthermore, in all the Eucharistic liturgies, Eastern and Western alike, whether in the major centres or in the more re-:mote communities, there is a solid core of common ground which goes back to the teaching and practice of the primitive Church, to the New Testament/

to the New Testament records, and in part to the worship of the Jewish synagogue. It is this common foundation which enables Egeria in the late fourth century, on a visit to Jerusalem from her home in the far West, to say of the Eucharistic service in Constantine's basilica on Golgotha: 'aguntur quae dominicis diebus consuetudo est agi' (Peregrinatio Egeriae 25.1, ed. J. Wilkinson, London, 1971), just as in 1982 a Church of Scotland Professor, Principal James Whyte of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, can write of the Mass in which he participated in a Dutch Convent Church: 'The service proved to be almost identical to that of our University Chapel'. The first part of the lit-:urgy, with its Biblical readings, singing of psalms, sermon and prayers, is modelled on the Sabbath service of the synagogue: the second part, the Eucharist itself, is securely rooted in the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper recorded in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, and in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, c.11.

Nonetheless it is important to bear in mind that this common inheritance does not preclude in the fourth and fifth centuries a considerable variety in the content, order of rites and verbal expression of the liturgy both of the Eucharist and of Baptism. At Milan Ambrose, in spite of his general wish to follow the Roman Church, retains the Foot-washing rite as an integral part of Baptism and goes so far as to challenge contrary practice at Rome. At Hippo Augustine makes use of two different creeds in the preparation of candidates for Baptism, one close-:ly akin to that taught by Ambrose at Milan (Sermons 212-4, given at the Traditio symboli, P.L.38, col.1058-72), the other apparently the local creed of Hippo (Sermon 215, given at the Redditio symboli, P.L.38, col.1072-6), as noted by J.N.D. Kelly (Early Christian Creeds, London, 1972, pp.172, 176).

Accordingly/

Accordingly, in seeking clues to the possible form and content of a Romano-British liturgy one cannot expect to find an exact model at Rome, Milan or Jerusalem, in Gaul, N.Africa or elsewhere in the fourth or fifth centuries. The liturgies of such centres do indeed provide a valuable frame of reference since in some cases they are remarkably well-documented. Several would appear to be of special significance for Britain for a variety of reasons: these would include:

(1) the liturgy of Jerusalem as the birthplace of the Christian faith, the home of the primitive apostolic Church, and a centre of pilgrimage in the fourth century;

(2) the liturgy of Rome as the Church firmly established in the capital of the Roman Empire in the first century by the apostles Peter and Paul, and as a focus of interest and of pilgrimage in the West in the fourth century;

(3) the liturgy of Milan, the Western rite most fully known to us from the writings of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, 374-397;

(4) the liturgy of Hippo in N.Africa, known to us from references in the writings of Augustine; and

(5) the liturgies of churches in Gaul, Britain's nearest neighbour, in so far as fourth century practice can be discerned in documents of a later date.

THE BAPTISMAL LITURGY

J E R U S A L E M

The rites of the Baptismal liturgy of Jerusalem are referr-:ed to incidentally by Cyril in the course of the nineteen Cat-:echetical lectures but they are fully described in the first three lectures on the Sacraments which are attributed either to Cyril himself at a later period in his episcopate or to his successor, John. The latter give the following series of rites:

1. in the outer hall of the baptistery the candidate facing West is told to stretch out his hand and to renounce Satan as though face to face in the words: 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works and all thy pomp and all thy service' ἀποτάσσομαί σοι, σατανᾶ... καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου .... καὶ πάσῃ τῇ πομπῇ σου (M.C.1.4);
2. then, on turning to the East, he is told to say: 'I believe in the Father and in the Son and in the Holy Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance' πιστεύω εἰς τὸν πατέρα καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας (M.C.1.9);
3. the candidate now enters the baptistery itself and puts off his garment ἀπεδύεσθε τὸν χιτῶνα (M.C.2.2);
4. the candidate is anointed from head to foot with exorcized oil which has been consecrated to its use by the invocation of God and by prayer ἐλαίῳ ἠλείφεσθε ἐξορκισθῇ (M.C.2.3);
5. at the pool of baptism he is asked whether he believes in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit: he responds by making his 'saving confession' and receives threefold baptism κατεδύετε τρίτον εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀνεδύετε πάλιν (M.C.2.4);
6. the neophyte receives 'the emblem of the Holy Spirit', ἀντίτυπον, by being anointed on forehead, ears, nostrils and breast with ointment or chrism which has been consecrated by invocation: the neophytes are now properly called 'Christs' or 'Christians' χριστοὶ εἰκότως καλεῖσθε.... καλεῖσθε χριστιανοί (M.C.3.1f.)
7. the Baptismal Eucharist follows (M.C.4.1f.).

These three lectures make no clear mention of the consecrat-:ion of the baptismal water but the rite is indicated in the Cat-:echetical/

in the Catechetical lectures: 'Then may you enjoy waters that bear Christ and have his sweet savour; then may you receive his name of Christian' (Procat.15); 'Do not think of the font as filled with ordinary water but think rather of the spiritual grace which is given with the water ... the ordinary water in the font acquires sanctifying power when it receives the invoc-:ation of the Holy Spirit of Christ and the Father ... do not look upon it as mere water but look for its saving power by the operation of the Holy Spirit, for you cannot be initiated but by means of both the Spirit and the water' (Cat.L.3.3).

On the receiving of the Holy Spirit the Catechetical Lect-:ures make one or two comments which seem to be at variance with the account given in M.C.3.1-4, but may in fact be supple-:mentary. In Cat.L.16.4 Cyril speaks of 'that Holy Spirit which we receive in the moment of holy baptism in the threefold Name and by its means'; and in 16.26 he refers to the Spirit being given by the laying-on of hands: 'For it is written,'And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom: for Moses laid his hands upon him' (Dt.34.9). You note how every-:where, in O.T. and N.T. alike, there is one symbolic action. In Moses' time the Spirit was given by the laying-on of hands. Peter likewise gave the Spirit by the laying-on of hands (Acts 8.14f.). Now this grace is shortly to come upon you when you are baptized. I am not telling you just how, for I am not taking anything out of turn'.

Cyril does not mention the giving of a white robe as a rite of baptism but a number of his remarks suggest that it may have been part of the practice at Jerusalem. In Cat.L.3.3 he warns the candidates: 'You must approach it (sc. baptism) with careful attention. Each one of you is to be presented before God in the presence of myriad hosts of angels. The Holy Spirit is going to seal your souls. You are about to be en-:rolled/

enrolled as soldiers of the great King. So then, get ready, be prepared, not in the sense of putting on the whitest of literal robes but the devotion of a soul with conscience unburdened'. At the end of the same lecture he strings together sentences and phrases from Zephaniah, Isaiah and Ezekiel to apply them to the candidates: 'Be of good courage, Jerusalem, the Lord will take away all thine iniquities. The Lord shall wash away the filth of his sons and daughters by the spirit of judgment and by the spirit of burning: he shall sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be cleansed from all your sin' (Zeph.3.14f., Is.4.4, Ez.36.25); and then he quotes from the Song of Solomon 8.5, LXX: 'Angels will circle round you crying: 'Who is this that cometh up in white apparel leaning on her near of kin?'.

Cyril's interpretation of the significance of the various rites is of interest:

1) for the renunciation of the devil an analogy is drawn from the Exodus; the West is the region of darkness; the candidate renounces all sin, including shows, horse-races, and hunting; meat, bread etc.hung up at pagan festivals, the worship of pagan gods, prayer in pagan temples; the lighting of lamps or burning of incense by fountains or rivers; the watching of birds, div-:ination, omens, amulets, charms written on leaves, and sorcer-:ies or other evil arts. (Mc.1.6-8)

2) for the profession of faith the candidate turns to the East because the 'paradise of God' was planted towards the East and it is the place of light. By these two rites the candidate 'puts off the old man' (Col.3.9). (Mc.1.9)

3) the disrobing is an image of this; it is also done in imitat-:ion of Christ who hung naked on the Cross to destroy evil and death. (Mc.2.2)

4) the total anointing is a symbol of being grafted into the good/

good olive-tree, Jesus Christ: the exorcized oil is 'the charm to drive away every trace of evil influence' since, when God is invoked and prayer uttered over it, it receives the power to re-:move all traces of sin and to repel the invisible powers of the evil one (M.C.2.3).

5. For the leading of the candidate to the pool of baptism an analogy is drawn from the carrying of the dead Christ from the Cross to the Sepulchre: the threefold immersion points by a fig-:ure to the three days' burial of Christ: in baptism the candid-:ate 'died and was born': the water of baptism is both 'grave and mother': the candidate imitates in a figure the actual death, burial and resurrection of Christ so that by sharing thus in his sufferings he may gain salvation in reality. Baptism com-:prises remission of sins and adoption, it purges sins and con-:veys the Holy Spirit, and it is also the counterpart of Christ's sufferings (Rom.6.3,5). God presents the neophyte as it were 'alive from the dead' and grants him 'to walk in newness of life'. Baptism is 'divine and life-giving' (M.C.1.1). Baptism involves 'consecrating your soul to the heavenly Bridegroom' (Procat.6): unless first there is real repentance 'though the water will receive you, the Holy Spirit will not' (Procat.4). Baptism is once for all: 'This bath is not to be taken two or three times ... if you do not succeed this once there is no correcting it. For there is 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism' (Eph.4.5)(Procat.7): likewise he speaks of the 'once-for-all salvation of the font' (Cat.4.37). In Cat.3.14 he amplifies the idea of adoption: 'you receive the status of son by adoption ... you receive the grace of sonship progressively ... you are made 'son of God, heir of God, joint-heir with Christ (Rom.8.17)'.

6. Chrism is applied symbolically: 'while thy body is anointed with visible ointment, thy soul is sanctified by the Holy and life-giving Spirit': it makes the neophyte receptive to God's Word/

Word and God's presence arms him against evil. It is symbol-:ized in the ointment with which Moses anointed his brother Aaron as High-priest and with which Solomon was anointed king. But to them it was done 'in a figure': to the neophyte it is done 'in truth', 'because ye were truly anointed by the Holy Spirit'. It is also prophesied by Isaiah: 'In the last days the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established ... the Lord shall make unto all people a feast; they shall drink wine ... they shall be anointed with ointment' (Is. 25.6, LXX).

Cyril does not describe the baptistery at Jerusalem; he simply mentions the outer and inner rooms: καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ ἐξωτέρῳ ἐγίνετο οἴκῳ... τὰ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ ἐσωτέρῳ οἴκῳ γενόμενα (M.C.1.11; 2.1). Egeria, in her account of the Easter baptismal ceremonies at Jer-:usalem on the occasion of her visit there in the late fourth or early fifth century, merely mentions the font in passing ('de fonte', Per.38.1) and the impression is given that it lies out-:side the Martyrium. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux who visited Palest-:ine in 333 describes it thus: 'By order of the Emperor Constant-:ine there has now been built there (sc. on Golgotha) a 'basilica' - I mean a place for the Lord ('dominicum') - which has beside it cisterns of remarkable beauty and beside them a bath where 'children' are baptized (Itin. Burd. 594, Egeria's Travels, tr. J. Wilkinson, pp.158; Professor A.L.F. Rivet more accurately attributes the descriptive phrase to the basilica). It seems clear that he was taken to see the baptistery during his visit. It would be surprising if Egeria likewise was not conducted to view it: if so, one might surmise that the baptist-:ery of the Martyrium was not unlike the one she knew in her home-church, otherwise she would have been prompted to make a comment. In the sixth century church at Madaba, east of the Dead Sea/

Dead Sea, a sixth century mosaic which depicts the buildings on Golgotha shows the rectangular baptistery on the south side. B. Bagatti reports that the form of the Constantinian baptistery can be detected beneath the successive restorations. It con-:sists of a central room flanked on each side by a rectangular room, all three of which were entered from a transverse vesti-:bule extending across the full width of the building. The central room, just under 10m. square, opened out on the east side into a small apse preceded by a rectangular area and it contained a four-lobed font set in a square. Bagatti suggests that the apse held the bishop's seat and that the chrism was administered in the space in front of the apse (Actes Ve). (Fig.ii).

M I L A N

The Baptismal liturgy of Milan, as described by Ambrose, consists of eleven successive rites:

1. The rite of 'opening', the 'apertio', in which the bishop touches the ears and nostrils of the candidate and speaks the word 'Ephpheta' Mk.7.34): 'Ergo quid egimus sabbato? Nempe apertionem: quae mysteria celebrata sunt apertionis quando tibi aures tetigit sacerdos et nares ... Hebraicum verbum est quod Latine dicitur adaperire. Ideo ergo tibi sacerdos aures tetigit ut aperirentur aures tuae ad sermonem et ad alloquium sacer-:dotis' (De Sacr. 1.1.2). 'Aperite igitur aures et bonum odorem vitae aeternae inhalatum vobis munere sacramentorum carpite ... Hoc mysterium celebravit Christus in Evangelio ... Sed ille os tetigit quia et mutum curabat et virum: in altero, ut os eius infusae sono vocis aperiret, in altero, quia tactus iste virum decebat, feminam non decebat' (De Myst. 1.3,4).

2. The candidate disrobes and comes to the font where he is received by a presbyter and a deacon: 'Venimus ad fontem, in-:gressus es: considera quos videris, quid locutus sis considera, repete diligenter. Occurrit tibi levita, occurrit presbyter' (De Sacr. 1.2.4).

3. The candidate receives an anointing over the whole body 'as Christ's athlete': 'unctus es quasi athleta Christi, quasi luctam huius saeculi luctaturus, professus es luctaminis tui certamina. Qui luctatur habet quod speret: ubi certamen, ibi corona. Luctaris in saeculo, sed coronaris a Christo' (De Sacr. 1.2.4). 'Post haec reserata tibi sunt sancta sanctorum, in-:gressus es regenerationis sacrarium' (De Myst. 2.5).

4. The candidate, facing west, renounces the devil: 'Quando te interrogavit: Abrenuntias diabolo et operibus eius, quid re-:spondisti? Abrenuntio. Abrenuntias saeculo et voluptatibus eius, quid respondisti? Abrenuntio. Memor esto sermonis tui et nunquam/

et nunquam tibi excidat tuae series cautionis ... Ubi promiseris considera vel quibus promiseris. Levitam vidisti sed minister est Christi. Vidisti illum ante altaria ministrare ... et tu qui fidem debes Christo, fidem serva ... Fides enim aeternum patrimonium est' (De Sacr. 1.2.5f.). 'Repete quid interrogatus sis, recognosce quid responderis. Renuntiasti diabolo et oper-:ibus eius, mundo et luxuriae eius et voluptatibus. Tenetur vox tua ... in libro viventium. Vidisti illic levitam, vidisti sacerdotem, vidisti summum sacerdotem. Noli considerare corpor-:um figuras sed mysteriorum gratiam. Praesentibus angelis loc-:utus es (he quotes Mal. 2.7) ... angelus est qui regnum Christi et vitam aeternam annuntiat. Non specie tibi aestimandus sit sed munere. Quid tradiderit considera, usum eius expende et statum eius agnosce. Ingressus es igitur ut adversarium tuum cerneres, cui renuntiandum in os putaris' (De Myst. 2.5f.).

5. The candidate faces east and 'turns to Christ': 'ad orient-:em converteris; qui enim renuntiat diabolo, ad Christum con-:vertitur, illum directo cernit obtutu' (De Myst. 2.7).

6. The font is consecrated: 'Vidisti aquam: sed non aqua omnis sanat, sed aqua sanat quae habet gratiam Christi. Aliud est elementum, aliud consecratio: aliud opus, aliud operatio. Aqua opus est, operatio Spiritus sancti est. Non sanat aqua nisi Spiritus descenderit et aquam illam consecraverit'. After re-:ferring to the baptism of Christ he continues: 'Quare prior Christus descendit, postea Spiritus sanctus, cum forma baptism-:atis et usus hoc habeat ut ante fons consecretur et tunc de-:scendat qui baptizandus est? Nam ubi primum ingreditur sacer-:dos, exorcismum facit secundum creaturam aquae, invocationem postea et precem defert, ut sanctificetur fons et adsit prae-:sentia Trinitatis aeternae' (De Sacr. 1.5.15f.). 'Venit sacer-:dos, precem dicit ad fontem, invocat Patris nomen, praesentiam Filii/

Filii et Spiritus sancti: utitur verbis coelestibus. Coelestia verba quae? Christi sunt, quod baptizemus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Si ergo ad hominum sermonem, ad invoc-:ationem sancti aderat praesentia Trinitatis, quanto magis ibi adest ubi sermo operatur aeternus?' He quotes Mt.3.11 and Acts 2.2f. and expounds their relevance to the rite thus: 'Quid hoc significat nisi descensus Spiritus sancti qui se voluit incred-:ulis etiam corporaliter demonstrare, hoc est, corporaliter per signum, spiritaliter per sacramentum? Ergo manifestum testimon-:ium eius adventus, nobis autem fidei iam praerogativa defertur; quia in principio signa incredulis fiebant, nobis iam in pleni-:tudine Ecclesiae non signo sed fide veritas colligenda est' (De Myst. 5.14f.).

7. Baptism is now administered. The candidate goes down into the font: the bishop is present, and a presbyter and deacon are in the font: the three baptismal questions are put to the candid-:ate by the bishop and at each response the candidate is baptiz-:ed: baptism symbolizes burial and resurrection with Christ and brings forgiveness of past sins: 'Nunc disputemus quid sit quod dicitur baptisma. Venisti ad fontem, descendisti in eum, attend-:isti summum sacerdotem, levitas et presbyterum in fonte vidisti. Quid est baptismum?' He proceeds to show man's need to die to sin and sums up: 'ideo fons quasi sepultura est. Interrogatus es: Credis in Deum Patrem Omnipotentem? Dixisti: Credo, et mersisti, hoc est, sepultus es. Iterum interrogatus es: Credis in Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum et in crucem eius? Dixisti: Credo, et mersisti; ideo et Christo es consepultus: qui enim Christo consepelitur cum Christo resurgit. Tertio interrogatus es: Credis et in Spiritum sanctum? Dixisti: Credo; tertio mers-:isti, ut multiplicem lapsum superioris aetatis absolveret trina confessio'; and he quotes Rom. 6.3f. (De Sacr. 2.6.16-20).

'Quid vidisti?/

'Quid vidisti? Aquas utique, sed non solas: levitas illic min-
:istrantes, summum sacerdotem interrogantem et consecrantem ...
Crede ergo divinitatis illic adesse praesentiam ... Quid enim
aliud in hoc quotidie sacramento docemur nisi quia culpa mergit-
:ur et error aboletur: pietas autem et innocentia tuta permanet?
... Aqua enim sine praedicatione Dominicae crucis ad nullos usus
futurae salutis est: cum vero salutaris fuerit crucis mysterio
consecrata, tunc ad usum spiritalis lavacri et salutaris poculi
temperatur. Sicut ergo in illum fontem Moyses misit lignum (Ex.
15.25f.), hoc est propheta; ita et in hunc fontem sacerdos prae-
:dicationem Dominicae crucis mittit, et aqua fit dulcis ad grat-
:iam'. He quotes the case of Naaman the Syrian (4 Kings 5.1f.)
as evidence that 'aqua non mundat sine Spiritu'. 'Credit autem
etiam catechumenus in crucem Domini Iesu qua et ipse signatur:
sed nisi baptizatus fuerit in nomine Patris et Filii et Spirit-
:us sancti, remissionem non potest accipere peccatorum nec
spiritualis gratiae munus haurire ... tu autem baptizatus es in
nomine Trinitatis, confessus es Patrem, recordare quid feceris;
confessus es Filium, confessus es Spiritum sanctum. Tene ordin-
:em rerum in hac fide; mundo mortuus es et Deo resurrexisti.
Et quasi in illo mundi consepultus elemento, peccato mortuus,
ad vitam es resuscitatus aeternam ... Crede ergo adesse Dominum
Iesum invocatum precibus sacerdotum, qui ait: 'Ubi fuerint duo
vel tres, ibi et ego sum' (Mt. 18.20); quanto magis ubi est
Ecclesia, ubi mysteria sua sunt, ibi dignatur suam impertire
praesentiam. Descendisti igitur; recordare quid responderis,
quod credas in Patrem, credas in Filium, credas in Spiritum
sanctum. Non habes illic: Credo in maiorem et minorem et ult-
:imum: sed eadem tuae vocis cautione constringeris ut similiter
credas in Filium sicut in Patrem credis: similiter in Spiritum
sanctum/

credas sicut credis in Filium; hoc solo excepto quod in crucem solius Domini Iesu fateris tibi esse credendum' (De Myst. 3.8,12, 14; 4.20,21; 5.28).

8. The newly-baptized goes up to the bishop and is anointed on the head with ointment: 'Ergo mersisti, venisti ad sacerdotem: quid tibi dixit? Deus, inquit, Pater omnipotens qui te regener-:avit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, concessitque tibi peccata tua, ipse te unguat in vitam aeternam. Hesterno die de fonte disput-:avimus cuius veluti quaedam sepulcri forma est; in quem, cred-:entes in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, recipimur et de-:mergimur et surgimus, hoc est, resuscitamur. Accipis autem μύρον, hoc est, unguentum supra caput. Quare supra caput? Quia sensus sapientis in capite eius, Salomon ait (Eccles. 2.14); friget enim sapientia sine gratia: sed ubi gratiam acceperit sap-:ientia, tunc opus eius incipit esse perfectum. Haec regeneratio dicitur' (De Sacr. 2.7.24; 3.1). 'Post haec utique ascendisti ad sacerdotem: considera quid secutum sit. Nonne illud quod ait David (Ps. 132/133.2) ... de quo et Salomon ait (Cant. 1.2) ... ut fias electum genus, sacerdotale, pretiosum (I Pet. 2.4f.); omnes enim in regnum Dei et in sacerdotium ungimur gratia spirit-:ali' (De Myst. 29f.).

9. Then comes the foot-washing, carried out or at least begun by the bishop: 'Ascendisti de fonte, quid secutum est? audisti lectionem. Succinctus summus sacerdos, licet enim et presbyteri fecerint, tamen exordium ministerii a summo est sacerdote. Succinctus, inquam, summus sacerdos pedes tibi lavit. Quod est istud mysterium? Audisti utique quia Dominus cum lavisset disc-:ipulis aliis pedes, venit ad Petrum ...' and he quotes Jn. 13. 8f. and Mt. 3.14. 'Non ignoramus quod Ecclesia Romana hanc con-:suetudinem non habeat, cuius typum in omnibus sequimur et formam/

formam: hanc tamen consuetudinem non habet ut pedes lavet. Vide ergo, forte propter multitudinem declinavit. Sunt tamen qui dicant et excusare conentur quia hoc non in mysterio fac-:iendum est, non in baptismate, non in regeneratione: sed quasi hospiti pedes lavandi sint. Aliud est humilitatis, aliud sanct-:ificationis. Denique audi quia mysterium est et sanctificatio: 'Nisi lavero tibi pedes non habes mecum partem (Jn. 13.8)'. Hoc ideo dico, non quod alios reprehendam, sed mea officia ipse commendem. In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam: sed tamen et nos homines sensum habemus: ideo quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectius custodimus. Ipsum sequimur apostolum Petrum, ipsius inhaeremus devotioni. Ad hoc Ecclesia Romana quid re-:spondet? Utique ipse auctor est nobis huius assertionis Petrus apostolus, qui sacerdos fuit Ecclesiae Romanae'. He quotes Jn. 13.9,10, and continues: 'Quare hoc? Quia in baptismate omnis culpa diluitur. Recedit ergo culpa: sed quia Adam supplantatus a diabolo est et venenum ei effusum est supra pedes, ideo lavas pedes ut in ea parte in qua insidiatus est serpens maius sub-:sidium sanctificationis accedat, quo postea te supplantare non possit. Lavas ergo pedes ut laves venena serpentis. Ad humili-:tatem quoque proficit ut in mysterio non erubescamus quod de-:dignamur in obsequio (De Sacr. 3.1.4f.). 'Ascendisti de fonte, memento Evangelicae lectionis': he quotes Jn. 13.8f. and then by way of explanation Gen. 3.6, and concludes: 'Ideo planta eius abluitur ut haereditaria peccata tollantur; nostra enim propria per baptismum relaxantur. Simul cognosce mysterium in ipso humilitatis consistere ministerio: he quotes Jn. 13.14: 'Cum enim ipse auctor salutis per obedientiam nos redemerit, quanto magis nos servuli eius humilitatis et obedientiae exhibere deb-:emus obsequium' (De Myst. 6.31f.).

10. A white robe is given to the newly-baptized: 'Accepisti post haec/

post haec vestimenta candida ut esset indicium quod exueris involucrum peccatorum, indueris innocentiae casta velamina, de quibus dixit Propheta: 'Asperges me hyssopo et mundabor; lavabis me et super nivem dealbabor' (Ps. 50/51.9): he quotes Ex. 12.22, Mt. 17.2 and Is. 1.18 to show that 'super nivem ergo dealbatur cui culpa dimittitur'. To the Church of the baptized, 'haec vestimenta habens Ecclesia per lavacrum regenerationis assumpta', he applies the words of Cant. 1.4, 8.5, 4.1f. (De Myst. 34f.).

11. Lastly the 'spiritual seal' is imparted: 'Sequitur spiritale signaculum quod audistis hodie legi; quia post fontem superest ut perfectio fiat; quando ad invocationem sacerdotis Spiritus sanctus infunditur, Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, Spiritus consilii atque virtutis, Spiritus cognitionis atque pietatis, Spiritus sancti timoris, septem quasi virtutes Spiritus (Is. 11.2) ... istae sunt septem virtutes quando consignaris' (De Sacr. 3.1.8f.). 'Unde repete quia accepisti signaculum spiritale, Spiritum sapientiae ... sancti timoris (Is. 11.2) et serva quod accepisti. Signavit te Deus Pater, confirmavit te Christus Dominus, et dedit pignus Spiritus in cordibus tuis, sicut Apostolica lectione didicisti (2 Cor. 5.2)' (De Myst. 7.42).

Thus the newly-baptized proceed to the Baptismal Eucharist: 'Post haec quid sequitur? Venire habes ad altare (Ps. Quoniam venisti, videre habes quae ante non videbas, hoc est, mysterium quod legisti in Evangelio; si tamen non legisti, certe audisti'(De Sacr. 3.2.11). 'His abluta plebs dives insignibus ad Christi contendit altaria dicens: 'Et introibo ad altare Dei, ad Deum qui laetificat iuventutem meam (Ps. 42/43.4); depositis enim inveterati erroris exuviis, renovata in aquilae iuventute, coeleste illud festinat adire convivium. Venit igitur/

igitur, et videns sacrosanctum altare compositum, exclamans ait:' here he quotes Ps. 22/23.1f. (De Myst. 8.43). The newly-baptiz-:ed participate at Communion, but they do not take part in the people's offering of bread and wine until the Sunday after Easter: 'quia ablutionis ipsius sacrificiique rationem baptizat-:us debet cognoscere, non offert sacrificium nisi octavum in-:grediatur diem ... tunc demum suum munus altaribus sacris offerat cum coeperit esse instructior, ne offerentis inscitia contaminet oblationis mysterium' (Expos. Ps. 118/9, Prol.2).

At Milan, then, all six of the Jerusalem baptismal rites were included and the Baptismal Eucharist; the consecration of the font and the giving of a white robe may also have been common to both centres; the Ephpheta, the post-baptismal anoint-:ing (8), and the foot-washing were apparently points of diff-:erence from Jerusalem practice.

Ambrose makes one reference only to the shape of the baptismal font at Milan when he describes it as 'rather like that of a tomb in shape' (forma sepulchri).
His words have been variously understood. One interpretation is that the piscina was rectangular as in the third-century baptistery at Dura-Europos and so resembled a stone sarcophagus in shape. In 1943, however, the fourth-century bishop-church of Milan was uncovered by chance in the Piazza del Duomo and it was more fully explored in 1961. The excavations brought to light the eastern end of a basilica, 55m. wide, with nave flank-:ed by two aisles on either side, a chancel with dwarf transept arms running across the full width of the building, and an east-:ern apse. To the south-east of the apse, 9m. from its wall, and 12m. from the east wall of the basilica, were found the traces of an octagonal baptistery, 20m. in diameter, with altern-:ate/

alternate semi-circular and rectangular niches in its eight interior sides, a central area apparently covered originally with a dome, and in the middle of it an octagonal piscina. R. Krautheimer dates the basilica - which in the Middle Ages was dedicated to S. Tecla - to the period 350-375 and he inclines to the view that the octagonal baptistery belongs to the time of Ambrose 'since the brickwork corresponds exactly to that of other Ambrosian structures' and 'the plan can be linked to Ambrosian number symbolism' (Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture, 1965, pp.58,132). If Krautheimer is correct, then either Ambrose is referring to an earlier rectangular font which he replaced with the octagonal one or else he is comparing his octagonal baptistery and font to a Roman mausol-:eum. Curiously the baptistery is not aligned on the same axis as the basilica. (Fig.iii).

R O M E

For Rome evidence for the Baptismal liturgy comes mainly from the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, dated c.215, the Verona Codex 85 (the 'Leonine Sacramentary'), dated c.600 but containing material from c.400 onwards, and the letter written by John the Deacon to a Roman nobleman, Senarius, c.500.

It is clear from the Apostolic Tradition that the liturgy was already fully developed by the beginning of the third cent-:ury. The rites of Easter Saturday night are described as follows:

1. Before the Vigil the candidates receive a final exorcism from the bishop: 'on the Sabbath the bishop shall assemble those who are to be baptized in one place and shall bid them all to pray and bow the knee. And laying his hands on them he shall exorcize every evil spirit ... And when he has finished exorcizing, let him breathe on their faces and seal their fore-:heads and ears and noses and then let him raise them up' (20. 7f.).
2. The baptismal water is consecrated: 'And at the hour when the cock crows they shall first pray over the water' (21.1).
3. The candidates disrobe: 'And they shall put off their clothes' (21.3).
4. The presbyter bids the candidate renounce the devil: 'And when the presbyter takes hold of each one of those who are to be baptized, let him renounce him, saying: 'I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy service and all thy works' (21.9).
5. The presbyter anoints the candidate with the Oil of Exorcism which the bishop has already exorcized (21.7): 'And when he has said this let him anoint him with the Oil of Exorcism, saying: 'Let all evil spirits depart far from thee' (21.10).
6. The candidate now receives threefold baptism: 'Then ...let him give over to the presbyter who stands at the water ... And let/

let a deacon likewise go down with him into the water ... let him who baptizes lay a hand on him saying thus: 'Do you believe in God the Father Almighty?' And he who is being baptized shall say: 'I believe'. Let him forthwith baptize him once, having his hand laid upon his head. And after let him say: 'Do you be-:lieve in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was born of Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, who was crucified in the days of Pontius Pilate, and died, and rose the third day living from the dead and ascended into the heavens, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead?' And when he says: 'I believe', let him baptize him the second time. And again let him say: 'Do you believe in the Holy Spirit in the Holy Church, and the resurrection of the flesh?' And he who is being baptized shall say: 'I believe'. And so let him baptize him the third time' (21.11-18).

7. On emerging from the font the neophyte is anointed with the Oil of Thanksgiving, over which the bishop has already said a prayer of thanks (21.6): 'And afterwards when he comes up he shall be anointed with the Oil of Thanksgiving saying: 'I anoint you with holy oil in the name of Jesus Christ' (21.19); the neo-:phytes then dry themselves, put on their clothes and join the assembly (21.20).

8. The bishop carries out the final rite of 'sealing': he 'lays his hand upon them, invoking and saying' a prayer to God which contains two petitions: 'Make them worthy to be filled with thy Holy Spirit and send upon them thy grace that they may serve thee according to thy will': then 'pouring the consecrated oil and laying his hand on his head' he says: 'I anoint you with holy oil in God the Father Almighty and Christ Jesus and the Holy Spirit'. 'And sealing him on the forehead he shall give him the kiss of peace and say: 'The Lord be with you'. And he who/

who has been sealed shall say: 'And with your spirit'. And so he shall do to each one severally' (22.1-4).

Hippolytus speaks of baptism as 'the laver of regeneration' and he indicates that it involves forgiveness of sins (22.1).

The Baptismal Eucharist followed. The neophytes joined for the first time with all the people in the 'Common Prayer'; the Kiss of Peace came immediately after this prayer; the neophytes apparently took part in the Offerings: 'those who are to be baptized shall not bring any other vessel save that which each will bring with him for the Eucharist. For it is right for every one to bring his oblation then' (20.10); at Communion they were given first the consecrated bread, then a chalice of water, a mixture of milk and honey, and finally the Eucharistic Cup (23).

John the Deacon, in speaking of the pre-baptismal anointing, mentions that it takes place after 'scrutinies', scrutinia, to test the candidate's sincerity and his grasp of the faith, and that the oil used has been 'blessed in the name of the Saviour' as the 'Oil of Sanctification', sanctificationis oleo ...illud oleum in nomine benedictum est Salvatoris (Ep. ad Senarium 4-5): 'tanguntur sanctificationis oleo aures eorum, tanguntur et nares' (ibid.4) ... 'Dehinc pectus eorum oleo consecrationis perungitur' (ibid.6). The candidates go barefoot at this rite to signify that the new way will be smooth (6).

Baptism itself is threefold in the name of the Trinity and it is once for all: 'unicum lavacrum ... in quo sacramento baptizatus trina demersione perficitur ... in nomine Trinitatis baptizandus' (6). John emphasizes that the chrism must be con-:secrated by the bishop and not by the presbyters as is said to be done in Africa: 'sanctum chrisma soli pontifici licet con-:secrare, quod presbytero non videtur esse concessum ... quod nunc per Africam fieri dicitur' (7,8). In this letter we hear for/

for the first time of two additional rites: the giving of a white robe to mark the second birth of baptism, 'albis vestibus ... habitus secundae generationis' (6), and the wearing of a linen headdress, 'renascentis caput lintei decore componitur' (6). John speaks of neophytes as 'novi homines' (6, 12) and 'regenerati' (6): the former term no doubt reflects its class-:ical usage for 'new entrants to the senate'. He sees the anointing with chrism as symbolic of priesthood: 'caput eius sacri chrismatis unctione perungitur ut intelligat baptizatus regnum in se ac sacerdotale convenisse mysterium. Chrismatis enim oleo sacerdotes et principes ungebantur ut illi offerendo sacrificia, illi populis imperarent. Ad imaginem quippe sacer-:dotii plenius exprimendam renascentis caput lintei decore com-:ponitur. Nam sacerdotes illius temporis quodam mystico vel-:amine caput semper ornabant' (6).

The Baptismal Eucharist follows: 'ut ad mensam sponsi coelestis nuptiali veste circumdatus homo novus occurrat' (6). Milk and honey are still given to the neophytes: 'quod autem quaesistis cur in sacratissimum calicem lac mittatur et mel et Paschae sabbato cum sacrificiis offeratur' (12); they betoken the Promised Land and indicate the status of the neophytes as 'infantes': 'baptizatis ergo hoc sacramenti genus offertur ut intelligant quia non alii, sed ipsi qui participes fiunt cor-:poris et sanguinis Domini terram repromissionis accipient, cuius iter inchoantes tanquam parvuli nutriuntur lacte et melle ut incipiant decantare: 'Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua, Domine, super mel et favum' (Ps.118/9.103; Ps.18/9.10)'(12).

At the beginning of the fifth century Innocent I had al-:ready stressed in his letter to Decentius (3.6) that only the bishop must 'seal' the neophytes: 'Non consignent infantes presbyteri nisi episcopi' (P.L.20.628).

The Verona Codex gives a prayer for the blessing of the font and another for the blessing of water, honey and milk for the Baptismal Eucharist: the water signifies the water of ever-:lasting life, the milk and honey symbolise the Promised Land and the union of Manhood and Godhead in Christ. Baptism gives remission of all past sins and bestows new life: the Eucharist-:ic Prayer includes the petition: 'command their names to be written in the book of the living'; the newly-baptized are 're-:born in Christ Jesus', 'regenerated by water and the Holy Spirit', 'children of adoption', 'new men'.

At Rome the octagonal baptistery at the Lateran may go back to the same date as the basilica, the bishop-church of Rome, built on a site adjoining the Imperial Palace which Con-:stantine gave, possibly as early as 313, as a residence for the bishop. The baptistery was remodelled in the fifth century by Sixtus III (432-440), but, according to Krautheimer, 'already under Constantine it may have been laid out on an octagonal plan: the outer walls of Constantine's structure have possibly survived to this day' (op.cit., pp.132). On the other hand A. Khatchatrian shows the earliest fourth century baptistery as circular in shape (Baptistères paléochrétiens, 1962, fig.292) and André Grabar writes: 'It was in the time of Constantine that a bathing room in the Lateran Palace in Rome was converted into a round baptistery. This was probably the ancestor of all the baptisteries in the form of a rotunda which for centuries to come - until well into the Middle Ages - were to be built in Italy and all over western Europe' (The Beginnings of Christian Art, 1967, pp.169). (Fig.vi).

H I P P O - N. A F R I C A

Augustine does not give a complete account of Baptism as he administered it at Hippo in the early fifth century but he makes a number of references to the constituent rites.

On Holy Thursday it seems that the candidates broke their fast and took a bath (Ep. 54.10) and it is possible that the foot-washing took place that afternoon, although he does not explicitly say so and merely notes the variety of practice in the Church in the matter of this rite (Ep. 55.33), some keeping to this day on the authority of the N.T., others transferring it to the third or eighth day of the Easter Octave.

On Easter Eve, before the vigil, the 'redditio symboli' took place: 'ideo die sabbati, quando vigilaturi sumus in Dei misericordia, reddituri estis ... symbolum. Modo enim nisi teneatis symbolum, in ecclesia, in populo symbolum quotidie non auditis. Cum auten tenueritis, ut non obliviscamini quotidie dicite' (Serm. 58.13).

The rites of baptism began when the vigil ended, probably at cockcrow. First the candidates renounced the devil: 're-:nuntiantes enim diabolo, pompis et angelis eius' Serm. 215.1); 'videtis, contirones mei, ad quam delectationem Domini venietis cum delectationem saeculi abiicitis? Si despicitis mundum, habebitis cor mundum ... Exuite vos veterem hominem ut indu-:amini novo. Pactum vobiscum Dominus inchoat' (Serm. 216.2). Then they turn to God and express their faith in him, or - if they are too young - their parents do it for them: 'quid est illud quod quando ad baptismum offeruntur pro eis parentes tanquam fidedictores respondent ...? Interrogamus enim eos a quibus offeruntur et dicimus: Credit in Deum? De illa aetate quae utrum sit Deus ignorat respondent: Credit; et ad caetera sic respondetur singula quae quaeruntur' (Ep. 98.7). Similar-:ly in Serm. 294/

Similarly in Serm. 294, again speaking of the baptism of small children, he couples the two rites: 'Profers parvulum mihi ... confitere ven enum (sc. serpentis) ut poscas medicamentum: aliter non sanatur. Aut utquid ei dicis ut credat? Hoc enim respond-:etur a portante parvulum. Ad verba aliena sanatur, quia ad factum alienum vulneratur. Credit in Iesum Christum? fit inter-:rogatio: respondetur, Credit' (Serm.294.12).

According to van der Meer (Augustine the Bishop, pp.364), it is at this point that clergy and candidates go in procession from the Church to the baptistery, both within the same complex of buildings, and as they go they sing Ps.41/42: 'As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God' (Augustine, in Ps.41.1).

The baptismal water is consecrated in prayer and with the signing of the cross: quoting Ex. 14, Augustine asks: 'Quid est, usque ad mare Rubrum? Usque ad fontem Christi cruce et sanguine consecratum' is his answer (Serm. 213.8).

The candidates now disrobe and come to the font to be bapt-:ized: 'cur non ... christiana potius indutus fiducia exis et dicis: Ego unum baptismum novi, Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti nomine consecratum et signatum?' Augustine asks the Don-:atist bishop Maximus in Ep. 23.4; in Serm. 213, preached on the occasion of the 'Traditio symboli', he writes: 'Ecce venturi estis ad fontem sanctum, diluemini Baptismo, salutari lavacro regenerationis renovabimini; eritis sine ullo peccato ascend-:entes de illo lavacro. Omnia quae vos praeterita persequebant-:ur, ibi delebuntur'; then, likening their sins to the Egyptians pursuing the Israelites and the font to the Red Sea (Ex. 14), and reminding them that water and blood flowed from the side of Christ when pierced on the Cross by a spear (Jn. 19.34), he con-:tinues:/

continues: 'Ideo signo Christi signatur Baptismus, id est, aqua ubi tingimini et quasi in mari Rubro transitis'; and he proceeds to explain: 'ideo remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione sacri Baptismatis, sed etiam in oratione dominica et quotidiana, quam post octo dies accepturi estis. In illa invenietis quasi quotidianum baptismum vestrum ut agatis Deo gratias ...' (Serm. 213.8). Much the same thought is expressed in Enarratio in Ps. 80.8, where again he elaborates the parallel with the Exodus across the Red Sea and stresses the link between Baptism and the Death of Christ: 'nihil aliud tunc in figura portendebat trans-:itus populi per mare nisi transitum fidelium per Baptismum', and he quotes 1 Cor. 10.1f.; 'nihil ergo aliud significabat transitus per mare nisi sacramentum baptizatorum ... quid ergo times, qui nondum venisti, venire ad baptismum Christi, transire per mare Rubrum? Quid est rubrum? Sanguine Domini consecratum'. Augustine also sees Baptism as a new birth: 'Ecce uterus matris Ecclesiae, ecce ut te pariat atque in lucem fidei producat, laborat in gemitu suo' (Serm. 216.7). As to the mode of baptism, van der Meer suggests three possibilities: 'possibly the person concerned was taken by the shoulders by the deacon and held 'with bowed neck' under the stream of the inflowing water, or again he may have squatted down and then had his head or his shoulders pushed down into the full piscina, or he may have been considered to have been baptized if the inflowing stream had thoroughly poured over his head and breast while he himself stood up to his knees or his hips in the consecrated water' (op. cit., pp.367, viz. 'Augustine the Bishop', 1961).

The neophyte was now sealed by the bishop: his forehead was anointed with chrism, and with the laying-on of hands the sevenfold gifts of the Spirit were bestowed upon him: in Enarr-:atio in Ps. 108.26, writing on v.24 'Genua mea infirmata sunt a ieiunio/

a ieiunio et caro mea immutata est propter oleum', Augustine de-
:clares: 'Unde et Christus appellatur a chrismate: chrisma autem unctio est. Caro autem propter oleum non in deterius sed in melius immutata est, hoc est, a mortis contumelia in immortalit-
:atem exsurgens', applying the words not only to Christ but to his disciples who, overwhelmed by his death, were strengthened by the Resurrection and by the coming of the Holy Spirit: 'ut eos morte mea deficientes mea resurrectione firmarem et misso Spiritu sancto unguerem', and he concludes: 'sive autem per aquam propter ablutionem vel irrigationem sive per oleum propter exsultationem et inflammationem charitatis significetur Spiritus sanctus'. His language throughout suggests that he has Baptism in mind. In Serm. 324, speaking of the baptism of a child, he writes: 'Continuo tulit eum ad presbyteros, baptizatus est, sanctificatus est, unctus est, imposita est ei manus, completis omnibus sacramentis assumptus est'. Of the gift of the Holy Spirit in sealing he writes in Serm. 249, preached in the octave of Easter: 'sicut enim lex Decalogo significatur, ita Spiritus sanctus septiformis ostenditur. Ipse vocatur super baptizatos ut det illis Deus, secundum prophetam, Spritum sapientiae et intellectus ... Spiritum consilii et fortitudinis ... Spiritum scientiae et pietatis ... Spiritum timoris Domini' (Serm. 249.3).

Augustine makes no clear mention of the giving of a white robe to the newly-baptized but he may refer to it in Ep. 55, addressed to Januarius, where with the parable of the Prodigal Son in mind he speaks of the 'prima stola' of man's original innocence being restored to him on Easter Sunday as a foretaste of eternal life.

During the octave of Easter it seems that neophytes at Hippo wore special sandals to avoid touching the bare earth, for Augustine complains: 'tam multis praesumptionibus sic plena sunt omnia/

omnia ut gravius corripiatur qui per octavas suas terram nudo pede tetigerit quam qui mentem vinolentia sepelierit' (Ep. 55.35).

Augustine makes a number of comments on the effect of bapt-:ism. In Ep. 173.3 he writes: 'Et vos oves Christi estis, char-:acterem dominicum portatis in sacramento quod accepistis'; in Serm. 224.1: 'qui baptizati sunt et renati sunt in Christo Iesu ... ecce facti estis membra Christi ... gratia dicitur quia gratis datur. Quam gratiam? Ut sitis membra Christi, filii Dei, ut sitis fratres Unici ... ille Unicus natura, vos gratia fratres facti ... vos me audite, O baptizati; audite me, vos per sanguinem Christi renati, obsecro vos per nomen quod super vos invocatum est, per illud altare ad quod accessistis, per sacramenta quae accepistis ... (Serm. 224.1,4). Likewise in Serm. 228, preached on Easter Day, he explains why the neophytes are called 'infantes': 'Qui paulo ante vocabantur competentes, modo vocantur infantes ... infantes dicuntur quia modo nati sunt Christo qui prius nati fuerant saeculo' (Serm. 228.1). In Serm. 229 (fragment), preached during the Octave, he elaborates the idea that the baptized have become in some sense identified with Christ: 'Quia passus est pro nobis, commendavit nobis in isto sacramento corpus et sanguinem suum; quod etiam fecit et nos ipsos. Nam et nos corpus ipsius facti sumus, et per miseri-:cordiam ipsius quod accipimus nos sumus ... ad aquam venistis et conspersi estis et unum facti estis: accedente fervore Spir-:itus sancti cocti estis et panis dominicus facti estis. Ecce quod accepistis. Quomodo ergo unum videtis esse quod factum est, sic unum estote vos diligendo vos, tenendo unam fidem, unam spem, individuam charitatem ... iam in nomine Christi tanquam ad calicem Domini venistis: et ibi vos estis in mensa et ibi vos estis in calice'.

The baptistery/

The baptistery of Hippo Regius used by Augustine for these rites has been uncovered in the 'Christian quarter' about 10m. from the east wall of the basilica near its south-east end - the basilica has its apse on the north-west side - in a corner of the area bounded by a street. The baptistery is roughly D-shaped, apparently to fit into the curve of the street, and is preceded on the west side by an apsed room decorated with a fine mosaic pavement, interpreted by Khatchatrian as a vestibule or waiting-room, and connected on its south side with a rect-:angular room, also decorated with a mosaic pavement, possibly the place where the newly-baptized were sealed with the gift of the Holy Spirit. The font is rectangular and was originally sheltered under a baldaquin supported by pillars at the four corners: according to van der Meer (op. cit., pp.21) it measured not more than 1.8m. by 2.7m. and would only accommodate the bishop, one deacon or deaconess, and one candidate. There is no evidence of a supply of water, and van der Meer suggests that it was either conveyed by pipe and came flowing down from above through a spout or else it was brought in a vessel. M. Leglay (Actes Ve, 1954) reports that there is a small rectang-:ular 'font' attached to the side of the main font. (Fig.iv).

Such, then, is the evidence for the fully-developed bapt-:ismal liturgy of the fourth and fifth centuries as practised in some of the main centres of the West.

For places/

G A U L

For places of less importance in the West there is one small hint about the baptismal liturgy in the Peregrinatio Egeriae (ed. J. Wilkinson, 1971). Egeria, who left this record of her visit to Palestine in (probably) c.381-4, came in all likelihood from the western sea-board of the Atlantic. She does not mention her home-town by name although she draws many com-:parisons between practice in Jerusalem and the custom of her home-church. It seems likely, therefore, that she lived not in some notable Christian centre such as Burdigala (Bordeaux) but in some place of average or minor importance in West Gaul or North-west Spain - comparable in some respects to northern and western parts of Britain. As it stands, her evidence on baptism is slight and negative although it follows a detailed account of the preparation of catechumens: 'They keep their Paschal vigil like us but there is one addition. As soon as the 'infants' have been baptized and clothed and left the font, they are led with the bishop straight to the Anastasis. The bishop goes inside the screen and after one hymn says a prayer for them. Then he returns with them to the Church' (i.e. the Martyrium) 'where the people are keeping the vigil in the usual way. They do all the things to which we are accustomed, and when the offering has been made they have the dismissal' ( ) Egeria specifically tells us that the Paschal vigil and Euchar-:ist - in the setting of which baptism took place - were on the same pattern as in her home-church: baptism itself, it seems, differed only by the one additional rite in the Anastasis. It is quite likely that Egeria did not witness the baptismal ceremonies at the font but remained with the congregation in the Martyrium. But undoubtedly she attended some of the cat-:echetical lectures before Easter and some of the lectures on the sacraments given during Easter week, both of which related to baptism/

to baptism and the latter particularly to the ceremonies in-
:volved. Moreover she was of an enquiring nature and was keen-
:ly interested in the practice of the Jerusalem church. It seems inconceivable that she should have failed to find out any marked difference in its baptismal liturgy when she had already made so many observations about its services throughout the year. If so, it would be reasonable to assume that the baptismal rites which Egeria knew at home were substantially the same as the Jerusalem rites.

There is little or no contemporary evidence for a Baptism-:al liturgy in any of the centres of Christianity in Gaul in the fourth and fifth centuries. Such information as we have comes from the second letter formerly attributed to St. Germanus of Paris and now ascribed to the south of France c.700, and from the Missale Gothicum which is regarded as a pure Gallican sacramentary of c.700. Gregory of Tours mentions baptism on a number of occasions but gives little indication of the rites.

The second letter (P.L. 72) describes in detail the rite of delivering the creed to competentes and anointing them with chrism on the Sunday before Easter. The candidates are now, it would seem, predominantly infants in age. One or two points are of significance: the chrism is made from balsam, a gum gathered from the lentiscus tree which, according to tradition, supplied wood for the part of the Cross to which the Lord's hands were nailed; glass or crystalline vessels are used for the chrism to signify the brightness of baptism; the vessels of chrism are brought in chalices for blessing because all the rites of bapt-:ism are founded in the Passion of Christ. The book of the Gospel is covered on this occasion in red 'in the likeness of the body of Christ, signifying his blood'. The link between baptism and the Death of Christ is therefore clear. The anoint-:ing of the catechumen with chrism consecrated in 'our holy mother the Church' is likened to the nourishing of the infant with his mother's milk i.e. baptism is still seen as a new birth. Baptism is also still understood to bring forgiveness and cleansing from sin: 'the depths of the faith are opened to the catechumen in the creed that through his faith he may be wiped free of all sin'.

The Missa in Symboli Traditione in the Missale Gothicum shows that the candidates were present at the Eucharist on the Sunday/

Sunday before Easter as they are mentioned in the Collectio post Nomina: 'we pray thee, O Lord our God, for those here present who are prepared for the saving sacraments of baptism'. The section on the Easter vigil contains, after the prayers, an Order 'for the making of a Christian' which describes the immed-:iate rites of baptism. First the children are signed with the sign of the cross in preparation for the sacrament: 'I sign thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit that thou mayest be a Christian'; this signing is carr-:ied out on eyes, ears, nose, mouth and heart. Then follows a prayer to 'our Lord God to bless this font, that to all who go down therein it may be a laver of rebirth unto the remission of all their sins ... that there may descend upon these waters the angel of thy blessing, that thy servants over whom it has been poured may receive remission of their sins and being born again of water and the Holy Spirit may serve thee ...'. The Eucharistic Prayer, the 'Contestatio', elaborates further on the consecration of the font: 'may the angel of thy goodness be present in these sacred fonts to wash away the stains of the former life and to sanctify a little dwelling for thee: so that the souls of them that are reborn may flourish unto eternal life and may truly be renewed by the newness of baptism. O Lord our God, bless this creature of water, may thy power de-:scend upon it, pour down from on high thy Holy Spirit the Com-:forter, the Angel of truth, sanctify, O Lord, the waves of this flood as thou didst sanctify the stream of Jordan, so that all who go down into this font in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit shall be counted worthy to receive the pardon of their sins and the infusion of the Holy Spirit'. Thereupon, making a cross with the chrism, the officiant exorcizes the water and calls upon the devil to 'give place to the Holy/

the Holy Spirit', breathes thrice upon the water and pours in chrism, saying: 'the infusion of the saving chrism of our Lord Jesus Christ'. The importance given to this particular rite and the repeated references to the Holy Spirit are significant. The actual rite of baptism still involved questions, according to the rubric: 'While you baptize him you question him and say: 'I baptize thee, ... , in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit unto the remission of sins that thou may-:est have eternal life, Amen'.

Immediately thereafter the officiant touches the neophyte with chrism, saying: 'I anoint thee with the chrism of holiness, the garment of immortality, which our Lord Jesus Christ first received from the Father, that thou mayest bear it entire and spotless before the Judgment-seat of Christ and live unto all eternity'. There follows the rite of foot-washing and the giving of a white robe, and in the collect which comes immed-:iately after these two rites the neophytes are referred to as those 'who are now baptized ... whom (sc. the Saviour) has re-:generated with water and the Holy Spirit'.

It is clear that in the fourth and fifth centuries there was a varied understanding of the mode of giving the Holy Spirit in baptism. In the West, Tertullian early in the third century indicates that the Holy Spirit operates in the baptismal water to give cleansing from sin, while the gift of the Holy Spirit to the neophyte is conferred when, immediately after he has been baptized, anointed and signed with the cross, the bishop stretches out his hand over him and prays for the coming of the Holy Spirit upon him (De Baptismo 3f.; De Resurrectione Carnis 8). Hippolytus at Rome seems to refer to the same practice, although the Latin version makes no mention of the Holy Spirit (Ap.Trad.22.1) In the fourth/

In the fourth century Ambrose at Milan speaks of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Spirit through the 'spiritual sealing' which follows baptism and which apparently includes signing with the cross and anointing (De Sacr. 3.8f.; 6.6f.). In the East, Cyril at Jerusalem states clearly that the gift of the Holy Spirit is imparted through the anointing of the forehead, ears, nostrils and breast with chrism after baptism, but elsewhere in Syria other ideas prevailed. In the Didascalia (probably Syrian and of c.200-250) pre-baptismal anointing and baptism are seen as a unity conferring the Holy Spirit; in the Apostolic Con-:stitutions (probably Syrian and of c.350-400) pre-baptismal anointing conveys the Spirit (7.22); according to John Chrys-:ostom, it is the act of baptizing that gives the Spirit (Bapt. Inst. 2.22f., Harkins), and Theodore of Mopsuestia seems to identify the coming of the Spirit with the moment of immersion (Cat. Hom. 13.20). It is a striking fact that none of the Gallican Missals, nor the Stowe Missal, contain a post-baptismal signing of the forehead with chrism by the bishop. Some scholars have suggested that the Missals give an incomplete account of Baptism and include only the part carried out by presbyters; others reject the suggestion, and regard the account as complete and the post-baptismal anointing as implic-:itly conferring the Spirit.

Paulinus of Nola refers in Letter 32, written in 403/4, to to the baptistery built by Sulpicius Severus between his two basilicas at Primuliacum (Prémillac). He mentions its 'fine, tower-shaped dome' and describes it as decorated in the interior with the portraits of Martin of Tours and of himself facing each other above the font. Such a structure points to the use of a well-developed baptismal liturgy and testifies to the importance given to baptism in a small Christian community in Gaul away from a major centre at the beginning of the 5C (Letter 32, ed. Walsh,1967).

Khatchatrian lists a number of baptisteries and fonts in Gaul uncovered by archaeological investigation. Of the baptisteries belonging in all probability to the 4C or 5C, eight were square or approximately square, at Cimiez, Poitiers, Marseille, Aix-en-Provence, Fréjus, Reims, Moncrabeau, St. Rémy, Mélas (approx.); one, at Nantes, was rectangular; one, at Port-Bail, hexagonal. Of the square baptisteries five had an octagonal interior; one, Reims, a circular interior; those at Cimiez and Poitiers were square rooms. Several piscinae, or traces of them, were also unearthed: of these, six or seven were octagonal, at Poitiers, Marseille, Nantes, Aix-en-Provence, Fréjus, St.Rémy, and probably Moncrabeau; two were possibly circular, at Reims and Mélas; two were hexagonal, at Cimiez (with a cruciform surround) and at Port-Bail.
The baptisteries at Cimiez, Poitiers, Port-Bail, Marseille and Nantes are thought to be of 4C date while the rest are assigned to the 5C (Khatchatrian, op.cit.).(Figs.xi, xviia, xviiia).

Side by side with the formal ecclesiastical mode of bapt-:ism it is probable that there was a continuing tradition of a simpler form in which the baptism took place in a river or stream. At the beginning of the 3C Tertullian declares cat-:egorically: 'nulla distinctio est mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur': it makes no differ-:ence whether a man is baptized in the sea or in a pool, in a river or in a spring, in a lake or in a trough (Tertullian, De Baptismo 4.3-4). Egeria records such baptisms at Aenon near Salim on the precedent of John the Baptist (Per.15.1f.). The Apostolic Constitutions, an anonymous Syrian work of c.375, after stressing that the sacrament consists of three main acts - anointing with holy oil, baptism in water and sealing with chrism - adds the note: 'but if there is neither oil nor chrism, water is sufficient both for the anointing and for the seal and for the confession of the one who is dead or rather is dying (sc. with Christ)'. (Ap.Const.7.22 in Whitaker 1960,pp.28). In line with this tradition is the record that Germanus of Auxerre baptized 'great numbers among the British soldiers' whom he led against the attacking Saxons and Picts (Vita Germani by Constantius of Lyons, written c.480, text M.G.H.vol.7,pp.247f., tr.F.R.Hoare, Western Fathers,pp.300); also the later accounts given by Bede of the baptism in 627 of King Edwin of Northumbria and his people (Bede, H.E.2.14).

B R I T A I N

Contemporary evidence relating to the Baptismal liturgy practised by the Romano-British Church of the fourth and fifth centuries is derived from two sources: the works of St. Patrick, and in particular the two indisputably authentic writings, the Confessio and the Epistola ad Coroticum; and secondly the six Pelagian writings , edited by Caspari in 1890 and ascribed by him to one single Pelagian author, viz. Letters I and II (P.L. Supp.i., 1687f., 1375f.), the De Divitiis (ibid. 1380f.), the De Malis Doctoribus et Operibus (ibid. 1418f.), the De Possibil-:itate non Peccandi (ibid. 1457f.), and the De Castitate (ibid. 1464f.) - provided that these can be attributed to a British author or authors. As this is still very much a matter of dispute, the various arguments are subjected to a detailed scrutiny in Appendix I. Meantime, for the sake of brevity, the author is named as Fastidius.

Patrick gives no detailed description of baptism as he administered it in Ireland but he makes a number of incidental references to it. From these it would appear that it comprised at least the following rites:

(i) baptism in the Lord: quos in Domino ego baptizavi (C14);

(ii) anointing on the forehead with chrism: crismati neophyti ... flagrabat in fronte ipsorum (E3);

(iii) the 'consummatio' or completion: qui baptizaret ...aut populum consummaret (C51, cf. C38); in Christo confirmavi (E2);

(iv) robing in white: neophyti in veste candida (E3).

Patrick does not mention the three baptismal questions with the corresponding threefold baptism but it is noteworthy that he quotes Matthew 28, 19 as the prime authority for baptism - the text which, as J N D Kelly convincingly argues (1972, 203), was in all likelihood 'the creative model on which the baptismal questions, and so the baptismal creeds were constructed'. Moreover he makes it clear that he upholds the doctrine of the Trinity (C4, I4 etc). It is probable, therefore, that Patrick practised the form of baptism which had these questions at its core. It is not apparent whether (ii) and (iii) were distinct rites, as at Milan in the late fourth century and in the early third century at Rome, or whether they were identified, as at Jerusalem in the fourth century (Cyril, M.C. III, I, 4, 5, Cross 1951) and apparently at Rome c. 500 AD (Ep. ad Sen. 6). As to the rites immediately preceding baptism, Patrick does not refer either to the renunciation of evil

or to the declaration of faith in Christ, but various passages imply beyond doubt that for pagan Irish baptism involved first responding to Patrick's preaching of the Gospel, renouncing their idols and pagan way of life, and declaring belief in the Christian faith (E6, C40, 4I). There is no mention of exorcism, which figures so prominently in the Roman liturgy of c. 2I5 AD and c. 500 AD, or of the Ephpheta of the late fourth century Milan rite. In the post-baptismal rites there is no hint of the foot-washing.

Patrick is familiar with the New Testament interpretation of baptism as rebirth, widely held in both East and West from the earliest times: renascerentur (C38); quos in Christo genui (E2, I6); neophyti (E3). There is no unequivocal evidence that he used the Pauline conception of baptism as 'burial with Christ unto death' and 'being raised to newness of life' (Romans 6, 3f), stressed by both Cyril of Jerusalem and Ambrose, but there are indications pointing in that direction. In E7 he speaks of the Death of Christ in a baptismal context: 'servos Dei et ancillas Christi baptizatas pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus'; he uses the phrase 'baptize in the Lord'; furthermore he has some fourteen quotations from the Epistle to the Romans- more than from any other book of the Bible - and could not fail to be aware of Paul's interpretation.

Patrick holds that the effect of baptism is that the neophyte shares in a new life, the vita aeterna of sonship in the Kingdom of God, whether in this human existence or more fully hereafter. The baptized are now 'the people of

the Lord and sons of God', 'plebs Domini et filii Dei' (C4I), 'brothers of the Lord' (E2I), 'members of Christ' (EI4); at death they are received in paradise (EI7), and will reign with apostles, prophets and martyrs (EI8).

Finally Patrick emphasises that there is one and the same baptism for all, whether raiding Britons or Irish captives, and he quotes his New Testament authority, Ephesians 4, 5-6 (EI6).

One might, then, reasonably reconstruct the form of baptism practised by Patrick as follows:

(i) exorcism, as a preparation for the renunciation of evil, or the Ephpheta, in preparation for the profession of faith;

(ii) the renunciation of evil;

(iii) the profession of faith;

(iv) disrobing;

(v) consecration of the water;

(vi) baptism in water in response to the baptismal questions;

(vii) robing in white;

(viii) anointing with chrism on the forehead;

(ix) Possibly identified with (viii), the consummatio, the bestowing of the Holy Spirit.

A study of the six Pelagian writings leaves the impression that in Britain, as elsewhere, baptism was taken for granted as the initiatory rite of the Christian Church. The understanding of its significance can be gathered from incidental references scattered throughout the works but two passages appear to give a comprehensive picture:

(i) De Div, VIII, 3: the author argues for a more equal society by pointing out that all the gifts directly distributed by God eg fresh air, sunshine, rain, are shared equally by all: among these gifts he includes the two dominical sacraments:

'Let us notice whether there is one law (lex) for the rich and another law for the poor, if they are born again (renascuntur) by two kinds of baptism, if they do not all receive the same pardon for sin, the same justification and sanctification, if they are not all endued with the One Spirit, if they do not all share in the communion of the same alter and partake of one holy cup'.

(ii) De Div, IX, 5: the author, speaking of the acquisition of wealth, puts to the baptized Christian a series of questions, most of which seem to recall baptism:

'Again why should one who is bidden to live after Christ's example choose rather to live the life and follow the pattern of holy Abraham and the rest? I ask you, by whose death were you restored to life? By whose blood, by whose passion were you ransomed? Who for your salvation heard unmerited revilings and insults?... Whose brow was pierced with a crown of thorns for the brambles of your sins? ... Who restored you from death to life? Who summoned you from hell to heaven? No Patriarch, no prophet, no other holy man of old, but Jesus Christ our Lord.

(ii) He is our hope, He is our salvation, He is our redemption; it is He whom we should imitate and follow; to Him, whose we are, we owe all our life'.

The emphases of these extracts are repeated in shorter comments found throughout the writings. A number of these hint at the actual rites:

(a) Baptism seems to have involved the renunciation of evil. The author of the De Divitiis, after indicating that Luke I4, 38 is usually interpreted as referring to the renunciation of sins, suggests that this step is only possible after accepting the teaching of Christ and becoming a catechumen (X, 3); the De Operibus records that some teach that the one unforgivable sin after baptism is idolatry or pagan unbelief (V, 3).

(b) Baptism seems to have included a profession of faith confirming the earlier acceptance of Christ's teaching in the catechumenate; Christians are 'believers' (Ep. II, 3, 2; De Op. IX, I); faith or belief is a pre-requisite of baptism (De Op. III, 2); there is specific mention of a profession of faith (De Op. V, 3; VII, I; De Div. VI, I). The reference to the law binding upon Christians, presumably the lex Christi, (De Div. VIII, 3) may relate to this rite. It is even possible that in Ep. I, I we have an allusion to some of the very words used: 'facile est enim dicere, Deum scio, Deo credo, Deum diligo, Deum timeo, Deum servio'.

(c) The central feature of baptism is 'washing' in water. The writer of Ep. I speaks of 'the washing of baptism' (Ep. I, I); there are one or two references to the baptismal font or lavacrum (Ep. II, 3; De Div. XII, 5); and of course it is this rite which gives expression to the Pauline association of baptism with the Death, Burial and Resurrection of Christ which is mentioned in De Div. IX, 5 and in De Castitate, in the latter case with the quotation of Romans 6, 3f.

(d) At baptism the Holy Spirit is bestowed (De Div. VIII, 3); to be baptized is to be born spiritually (De Cast. X, 4) and it brings sanctification, the work of the Spirit (De Div. VIII, 3; XII, 5); the new life of the baptized is expected to show the fruits of the Spirit described in Galations 5, 22 (De Cast. X, I6). The actual form of the rite may be indicated by the references to the 'name of Christian', evidently first received at baptism (Ep. II, 3, 5; De Div. VI, 3; De Cast.XXI), since Cyril of Jerusalem specifically links the giving of this name with the post-baptismal anointing with chrism on the forehead, ears, nostrils and head (Mystagogic Catacheses III, 5, Cross I97I).

Other comments define the effects of baptism as cleansing from past sins (De Cast. X, 4; De Div. VII, 3; XII, 5; De Op. I, I; III, 2) and the conveying of salvation (De Div. IX, 5), hope, eternal life (De Op. III, 2) new life (De Cast.) and a share in the Kingdom of Heaven (De Div. IX, 5).

Baptism is interpreted in New Testament terms as a new birth, a spiritual birth; the same concept

is implied in De Op. XVIII, XXI, XXIV, where baptised Christians are described as 'born of divine parentage' and denoted by the New Testament title 'sons of God'. It is associated in Pauline terms with the Death and Resurrection of Christ both in the De Div. and in the De Cast. There are hints that it was also seen as 'enlightenment' (De Div. I, 2; De Op. XXI).

Baptism clearly had its rightful place in the practice of the British Church as the first of the two dominical sacraments, the rite of initiation into the Christian community and the Christian way of life. The two are mentioned together as 'ipsa mysteriorum sacramenta' (De Div. VIII, 3) and described as the sacraments of Christ (De Div. XIV); the font is 'of God', divini lavacri, (De Div. XII, 5). Furthermore - and significantly for the British Church's attitude to heresy - there is, as in the New Testament (Ephesians IV, 5) one baptism only for all (De Div. VIII, 3; De Cast. XV).

The concern of the writings is not with the outward acts nor with the setting but rather with the significance of the rites for the participant. There is no mention of a baptistery, no reference to ceremonial in rites such as exorcism, the white robe or the laying-on of hands. Nonetheless it must be kept in mind that it was to give visual expression to the concepts associated with baptism that the detailed observances of the baptismal liturgy were devised, and it would be a mistake to assume that these were altogether lacking.

From the evidence it would seem legitimate to conclude that the writer was familiar with a liturgy which comprised the following rites:

(i) exorcism or the Ephpheta as a preparation for (ii) or (iii);

(ii) the renunciation of evil;

(iii) the Profession of faith;

(iv) disrobing;

(v) consecration of the water;

(vi) baptism in water in response to the baptismal questions;

(vii) the bestowing of the Holy Spirit, possibly at the post-baptismal anointing with chrism.

It is clear that there is a great deal of common ground between Patrick and the Pelagian writer(s). The evidence of both - scant as it is - points to the same series of baptismal rites. Neither mentions exorcism or the Ephpheta; neither mentions the foot-washing or the laying-on of hands by the bishop for the bestowing of the Holy Spirit. The two latter could be significant omissions.

The foot-washing was an integral part of baptism at Milan in the time of Ambrose (De S. III, 4), was practised elsewhere (De S. 5), and was defended by Ambrose as correct practice against the contrary use of Rome. It is found in the later Gallican sacramentaries, viz, the pure Gallican Missale Gothicum which, according to D M Hope(Jones Wainwright and Yarnold 1978, 228) 'had its possible origins at the end of the seventh century and was perhaps written in the scriptorium of Luxueil', and two Missals which include

Gallican material, the Bobbio Missal which is basically Gallican with Roman additions and is dated c. 700 AD, and the Stowe Missal, written in Ireland c. 800 AD and containing Celtic, Spanish and Eastern elements as well as Gallican and Roman.

The post-baptismal laying-on of hands by the bishop is specifically mentioned at Roma c. 215 AD by Hippolytus (Ap. Trad. XXII;Dix, Chadwick 1968), together with 'sealing' on the forehead with consecrated oil(ie probably marking with the sign of the cross) and bestowing the kiss of peace. John the Deacon c. 500 AD does not mention it although he speaks of post-baptismal anointing of the head with chrism on the analogy of the anointing of O.T. princes and priests. It appears, however, in the Gelasian Sacramentary, codex Reginensis 316 of the Vatican, which is thought to be a mid-eighth century Gallican edition, written near Paris, of a Roman liturgy first drawn up in the early-sixth century (Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold 1978, 66, 224): there the neophyte is signed on the head with chrism by the presbyter, then the bishop places his hands upon him to seal him and prays that he may be given the sevenfold Spirit. In North Africa Tertullian vouches for the laying-on of the bishop's hands accompanied by prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit (De Bapt. 8) and preceded by signing with the cross(De Res. Carn. 8); Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, endorses that the Holy Spirit is conferred at the imposition of hands and is followed by sealing or consignation; Augustine in Sermon 324 lists the series of acts: 'baptized, ...

sanctified, ... anointed, hands were laid upon him'. At Milan, however, the Holy Spirit was bestowed through 'spiritual sealing', ie apparently anointing with the cross (De S. III, 8-10).. At Jerusalem the post-baptismal anointing with chrism on forehead, ears, nostrils and breast was for giving the Spirit (Cross 1951) and here and elsewhere in the Eastern Church there is no mention of the imposition of hands for this purpose. Nor does the rite appear in the Gallican Missale Gothicum or in the Bobbio and Stowe missals, whether, as Fisher and Yarnold suggest (Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold 1978, 112), these missals were for the use of presbyters and the Holy Spirit was given through the unction with chrism immediately after baptism, or the missals were incomplete and omitted the bishop's part. Support for the former explanation comes from Gregory of Tours in his account of the baptism of King Clovis and two of his sisters in 496 AD, probably in Reims cathedral: 'The King confessed Almighty God, Three in One, and was baptized in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Thereafter he was anointed with holy chrism with the sign of the cross of Christ...so, too, was one of his sisters, Albofled, while another sister, Lanthechild, was converted from Arianism and on confessing the Son and the Holy Spirit equal to the Father was anointed with chrism' (Dalton 1927, II, 22).

The two groups of writings have two other common features of note: both describe the Christian's proper response to God as being 'to love God and to fear God' and both emphasize that there is one baptism only.

North African practice, as evidenced by Tertullian (De Bapt. I5) and Cyprian in the third century, was to insist upon the re-baptism of heretics; Roman practice on the other hand was to receive them into communion after the laying-on of hands. In Gaul Gregory of Tours provides evidence that in the fifth and sixth century, while the Arians insisted on the re-baptism of Catholics converted to Arianism, the Catholic Church received Arians, on their acceptance of the Catholic law and the confession of the Trinity, with anointing in holy chrism with the sign of the cross (Dalton I927, II 22, IX I5, IV 20).

These points would appear to have a bearing both on Patrick's acquaintance with the continent and on the place of origin of the Pelagian writings.

It is far from easy to disentangle from later documents anything that can safely be attributed to the 4/5C baptismal liturgy. The Stowe Missal, according to E.C.Whitaker (op.cit. pp.156), was written in Ireland c.800 and combines in a highly individual manner material from Gallican and Roman sources. D. M.Hope (Study of Liturgy pp.229) sees it as the work of monks who had travelled across Europe: 'The Celtic liturgical forms were the result of the indefatigable travels of many of the Scottish and Irish monks across Europe, who when returning to their native lands combined what they had found abroad with what already existed. Clearly they had no intention of creat-:ing a new liturgy, but they felt free to combine elements from various sources. The Stowe Missal is one such collection. From this and other surviving documents it is clear that the Celtic type was indeed a mélange of foreign elements, Roman, Gallican, Mozarabic and oriental patterns, together with any indigenous liturgical compositions'.

The Stowe Missal gives the following order of baptismal rites:

First the candidate is signed with the cross with a prayer bidd-:ing the Devil depart; then a prayer to God to drive out the Devil and the heathen condition from the candidate; a prayer to God to bless the water of baptism; a prayer to God, mentioning the gift of salt, that the candidate may confess the 'trinum Deum' and drive away the Devil by his renunciation and the sign of the cross.

Then the salt is exorcized with a prayer to God for its sanct-:ifying and blessing.

The threefold renunciation follows: three questions are put in succession: 'Do you renounce Satan? And all his works? And all his pomp?', and the candidate answers each time 'I renounce'

Then comes the threefold confession, again in the form of three successive/

successive questions: 'Do you believe in God the Father Almighty? And do you believe in Jesus Christ? And do you believe in the Holy Spirit?', and the answer each time is 'I believe'.
An exsufflation comes immediately thereafter; the officiant touches the candidate, touches his breast and back with oil and chrism, saying 'I anoint you with sanctified oil in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'.
The threefold renunciation is repeated exactly at this point: a prayer to God to loose the bonds of Satan and open the door of truth for the candidate (two prayers for a sick candidate): a prayer commanding the unclean spirit to depart from him.
Salt is put into the child's mouth.
The Effeta, the Opening: a prayer for the candidate as he comes to baptism: a prayer to God to bless the water of baptism: a prayer to God to send his angel from heaven to protect 'all who dwell in this dwelling of your servant'. This marks the end of the catechumenate.
The pre-baptismal anointing now takes place: the candidate is anointed with oil and chrism on the breast and between the shoulder-blades: a litany is sung around the font, then two psalms, Ps.42 'My soul thirsts ... living God', and Ps.29 to 'The voice of the Lord is over the water-floods'.
The water is exorcized (four prayers): a prayer to God to be present at the sacraments and to send down the Holy Spirit, sanctifying the water (five prayers): chrism is poured cross-wise into the font: the people may fill a vessel with the water of blessing for consecrating their homes: the people present are sprinkled with blessed water.
The deacon puts the three baptismal questions: 'Do you believe in God the Father Almighty? Do you believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, who was born and suffered? Do you be-:lieve in the Holy Spirit, the catholic Church, the remission of sins/

of sins, the resurrection of the flesh?', and each time the candidate replies 'I believe'.

The candidate goes down into the font and is dipped or aspers-:ed three times.

After baptism he is anointed with chrism on head and brow by the presbyter with one preceding prayer and two accompanying prayers.

The deacon puts the white robe over the neophyte's head upon his brow (super caput eius in frontae) while the presbyter says 'Receive this robe, white, holy and stainless, and bear it be-:fore the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ'.

The neophyte receives the sign of the cross on the right hand: the presbyter requests the boy to open his hand and says 'Re-:ceive the sign of the cross of Christ upon your right hand and may it preserve you unto eternal life', and the boy re-:plies 'Amen'.

The foot-washing follows: four Alleluias are sung (presumably) with reponses from the Psalms (Ps.119.105; 119.117; 106.4; 119. 4 and 138.8): the Scriptural authority for the rite is read, Jn.13.14, and a prayer is spoken.

The baptismal Eucharist apparently follows immediately: the words of administration at Communion are quoted 'The Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: may it avail you unto eternal life', and then three prayers of thanksgiving after Communion.

A number of peculiarities are to be noted: the separat-:ion of the blessing of the salt from its administration, the elaboration of the consecration of the water and of the ex-:orcism of the salt, the duplication of the renunciation, the threefold baptism at the completion of the baptismal questions and the omission of any reference to post-baptismal laying-on of hands and the bestowal of the Holy Spirit with sevenfold gifts. It is conceivable that some of these elements and the

rite/

rite of foot-washing were part of the baptismal liturgy of the British Isles in the 4/5C. Ambrose seems to imply that other places beside Milan incorporated foot-washing in the baptismal rites: 'quod alibi rectius servatur, et nos rectius custodi-:mus' (De Sacr.3.5), while Augustine mentions a variety of practice which seems to spring from a desire to move away from such an observance: 'De lavandis vero pedibus ... quaesitum est quonam tempore potissimum res tanta etiam facto doceretur, et illud tempus occurrit quo ipsa commendatio religiosius inhaer-:eret. Sed ne ad ipsum sacramentum Baptismi videretur pertin-:ere, multi hoc in consuetudinem recipere noluerunt. Nonnulli etiam de consuetudine auferre non dubitaverunt. Aliqui autem ut hoc et sacratiore tempore commendarent et a Baptismi sacra-:mento distinguerent, vel diem tertium octavarum, quia et tern-:arius numerus in multis sacramentis maxime excellit, vel etiam ipsum octavum ut hoc facerent elegerunt' (Ep.55.33).

What we do know, on the authority of Bede (H.E.2.2), is that at the final consultation between Augustine of Canterbury and the British bishops at 'Augustine's Oak' in 603 the one area of difference in the matter of liturgy was not the cel-:ebration of the Eucharist but the administration of Baptism: 'Your customs conflict with those of the universal Church in many respects', said Augustine; 'nevertheless if you will agree with me on three points I am ready to countenance all your other customs although they are contrary to our own. These points are: to keep Easter at the correct time; to ad-:minister the sacrament of Baptism by which we are reborn to God according to the rites of the holy Roman and apostolic Church; and to join with us in preaching the word of God to the English'. It is perhaps of interest to note that in 789 Charlemagne's decree ordering that the Roman rite should be used throughout his dominion affected Gallican practice in the matter/

matter of baptism in two respects: the rule was established that baptism should normally be administered at the Vigil of Easter or, failing that, at the Vigil of Pentecost; and the post-baptismal rite of sealing i.e. marking with the sign of the cross the forehead of the neophyte with chrism, traditionally associated with the giving of the Holy Spirit, was re-established as an essential part of the sacrament of baptism to be administered only by the bishop (M.G.H.Epp.Merovingii et Karolini Aevi i,pp.626). Patrick himself observed the rite but neither the Stowe Missal nor the Missale Gothicum contain any reference to this post-baptismal consignation of the forehead by the bishop.

Among the archaeological finds in Britain which have a bear-:ing on Baptism perhaps the most significant include the 4ft. square tile foundation lying about 11ft. to the east of the bas-:ilica at Silchester, interpreted by I.A.Richmond as the found-:ation of a baptistery; the horseshoe-shaped font at Icklingham, the elongated hexagonal font at Richborough, the various lead tanks marked with a Christian sign, and the relief adorning the fragment of one such tank found at Walesby.

The Silchester tile foundation to the east of the basilica was interpreted in 1892 by St.John Hope as 'clearly the place of the labrum or laver in which the faithful used to wash their hands and faces before entering the church'. The shallow pit in front 'was probably covered by a pierced stone and served to carry off the waste water'. The water 'could be obtained from the well west of the church, to which, as there are no other buildings near, it seems to have belonged' (Arch.53,1893,pp.563f

In 1962 Richmond reported that he had made a full examin-:ation of the tile foundation: 'The tile base, 4ft. square, found in 1892, proved to occupy the middle of a heavy flint foundation, in the west end of which the so-called 'pit' proved to be a soak-away, carefully built in flint and tile and 20ins. square, forming an integral part of the structure. This strengthens the view that the foundation carried a laver, if it was not itself the bottom of a built basin. The edge of the foundation had been heavily robbed, but a well-built straight edge survived on the south side, attesting a little building some 11½ft. square' (J.R.S.52,1962,pp.186). In a lecture given to the Silchester Archaeological Society in January 1963 Rich-:mond said in the course of discussion that 'he envisaged some form of light or temporary wooden screen' (Arch.105,1976,pp. 295,n.2). He further reported that, from a trench he had dug on the south side of the flint platform, it was clear that beside/

beside this platform was a spread of large flints, one stone thick, resting on a layer of occupation, beneath which in turn were two successive gravel surfaces; one small patch of clean gravel above the level of the flints - found near the N.E. corner of the narthex - probably represented a surface laid over the flints; on the surface of the gravel patch lay a coin of Delmatius of 335-7 in an apparently undisturbed position. The soak-away was uncovered to a depth of 3ft. 9ins. below the level of the platform, revealing that its sides were constructed of flints and tile fragments set in mortar which contained small pieces of painted wall-plaster; the latter were similar to fragments found in the layer of occupation above-mentioned, both of which might be derived from the 3C timber building which preceded the basilica. Prof. S.S.Frere in his discussion of the 1961 Excavation adds the note that 'the flints resemble the heavy bedding sometimes found beneath an opus signinum floor e.g. in a bath-building: but there was no trace of any applied surfacing of such a sort' (Arch.105,1976,pp.290,n.2). Richmond's conclusion was that the tile base was used to supp-:ort a baptismal font, that the sump absorbed the water from the font and that the platform with its straight edge of flint-work on the south and east sides formed the floor of a simple wooden baptistery; the latter was probably rectangular in shape as the platform had originally been c.4.1m. long (E.-W.) and 3.5m. wide (N.-S.).

Boon in general takes the same view as Richmond: he sugg-:ests that the baptistery was a temporary structure and that the narthex of the church was used by the candidates to make ready for the rite and that possibly a screened passage linked narthex and baptistery. He points out that the small size of the baptistery is matched by that at Kaiseraugst which measures 4m. by 2.5m. and is annexed to the north side of the church, and he sees/

and he sees a parallel for the shape in the rectangular structure both there and at Zurzach. Like Richmond he presumes that the font was free-standing. He raises the objection, however, that there is no sign of an outlet-pipe, such as is found at Zurzach and Köln (though not at Kaiseraugst) and that the sump is unus-:ually large and remote: accordingly he puts forward the altern-:ative suggestion that a cylindrical lead tank may have been placed on the tile base as a water-container and that the cand-:idate stood on a grille or pierced stone set over the sump. In support of this idea he refers to the baptistery, assigned to the 4C at Emmaus in Palestine, in which there is a shallow sinking in the floor, c.1.5m. in diameter, on either side of the quatrefoil piscina, with a narrow drain in each leading down to the bottom of the piscina so that water used in baptism by affusion could flow back. (Silchester, 1974).

Dr.Ralegh Radford in an article published in 1971 (Med. Arch.15,p.3) drew attention to the paucity of evidence for a wooden baptistery of the type visualized by Richmond and reject-:ed the most obvious alternative that the baptisms took place in public in the open air on a site so close to the city centre. He therefore preferred the suggestion originally made by St. John Hope that the tile base held a laver.

Prof.S.S.Frere in his discussion of the 1961 Excavation reviews the pros and cons with characteristic thoroughness. He accepts that the flint platform carrying the tile base and its soak-away is contemporary with the basilica. He ackowledges that 'the demonstration that water had stood in the soak-away naturally suggests the idea that the structure is a baptistery' and agrees that its position conforms 'mutatis mutandis with that prescribed in the Testamentum Domini, save for the absence of a forecourt'. But he sees a number of insuperable difficult-:ies. He rejects the idea of a wooden baptistery as insuffic-:iently attested/

insufficiently attested: 'No trace of walling surrounds the platform, nor was any suitable pattern of post-holes found. It is extremely unlikely that a wooden building could have rested on sleepers lying on the edges of the flint platform without either needing extra foundations there or leaving any trace of subsidence or settlement. Moreover, it would have been incon-:veniently close to the main door of the church'. He is doubt-:ful about the suggestion that the tile base held a font: 'the baptismal basins of almost all late Roman churches are counter-:sunk in the ground and entered by steps, since the rite was by immersion; moreover, all are placed within buildings. At Silchester we would have to envisage a basin above ground, standing on the base; the latter (4ft. i.e.1.22m. square) is too small to have supported anything more elaborate than a rectangular piscina, which, if baptismal, cannot have stood high since no trace exists of substructure for steps at either side'. He then considers the three remaining possibilities: open-air baptism, a laver, or a pagan altar. With Radford he rejects the first as unthinkable. The second alternative he discusses at some length. He points out the ritual ablution was obligatory for Jews on entering the synagogue; that examples are known of synagogues (mainly of 6C date) with a tank opposite the entrance; that the synagogue at Beit-Alpha has a narthex, side-aisles and apse as well as a tank in the forecourt; nevertheless he discounts the idea that there was a large community of Jews at Silchester or that the basilica was a synagogue. Finally, he examines the evidence for ritual ablution in 4C Christian churches. He quotes literary evidence for three churches: the cathedral of Tyre, built by bishop Paulinus c.315, where a fountain for ablution is attested by Eusebius (H.E.10.39f.) in the atrium opposite the church; the church built by Paulinus at Nola soon after 400, where a cantharus/

cantharus was provided for those entering (Paulinus, Ep.32.15); the memoria-basilica of St.Peter in Rome, where a massive canth-:arus stood in the atrium as described by Paulinus in Ep.13.13. He mentions four examples of a cantharus uncovered by archaeo-:logical investigation, viz. outside the west church at Mampsis in Israel and in the atria of the cathedral church at Gerasa in Jordan, of the church of St.Mary at Ephesus and of the memoria-church at Tebessa in Algeria: he suggests that three of these may have been influenced by Jewish practice. Lastly he quotes epigraphic evidence for a cantharus at S.Paolo fuori le mura at Rome. But he emphasises that such canthari 'appear to be very rare', adding that 'possibly portable vessels were more often used'. In support of the third alternative, that of a pagan altar, he adduces the matter of dating: 'the likelihood that any Christian church at Silchester would be maintained well into the fifth century if not later, and the date of the squatters would then be well after that of the pottery - and coins - found in their hollows; whereas a pagan shrine so close to the town centre might well have been closed at almost any date during the fourth century and the building abandoned to other uses at a time contemporary with the coins and pottery found'. His conclusion is that 'since, apart from synagogues, there are no examples of non-Christian shrines of appropriate date aping so closely the architectural arrangement of a Christian place of worship, and since all the features found in the Silchester building can be paralleled or supported in Christian traditions, the balance of probability thus strongly suggests that the building should be accepted as Christian and a church'. He expresses surprise at the appearance of notable features found in Syria and the Mediterranean region, but not so far in the western provinces: nonetheless he considers them 'not in themselves incredible' and suggests that future finds in Gaul/

in Gaul may reduce their apparent significance (Arch.105,pp.295f).

If the basilica at Silchester was indeed the bishop-church of the civitas-capital of the Atrebates, as seems likely, it may be thought surprising that this solid, carefully-designed church building was not provided from the start with a corres-:ponding baptistery. Baptism was the sole mode of entry into the Christian ecclesia and such slender evidence as we have suggests that it was observed in Britain on much the same lines as elsewhere in the fourth/fifth century Church. Silchester cannot have been an exception to this universal practice. It is possible that, just as the basilica shows phases of develop-:ment in its use, so arrangements for baptism developed over a period of years. The number of Christians at Silchester may have been quite small in the early years: Stephen Johnson suggests that the basilica would have held at the most fifty or so worshippers (Later Roman Britain, 1980, pp.33). The building of the basilica may have been due to the presence of a wealthy layman who could command skilled labour and a pro-:minent site. M.J.T. Lewis lists at least five pagan temples in Silchester (Temples in Roman Britain, 1965, pp.213). Two of these were Romano-Celtic temples set in a temenos just inside the east gate in an insula which obstructed the direct course of the road from the gate to the forum. The whole insula was apparently sacred and perhaps contained more temples and a priest's house. Both buildings were constructed in the first century A.D. and continued in use until at least 370 and poss-:ibly to 400. One of the two was the largest of all the thirty-seven square Romano-Celtic temples recorded by Lewis in Britain, the other rated eleventh in size: the first was more than five times the size of the Christian basilica, measuring 73 ft. square as compared with 42 ft. by 25 ft. Both temples revealed two phases/

two phases: the first was rebuilt at some point in its history, the second had its plaster renewed. It would seem, therefore, that paganism was strongly entrenched within the walls of Sil-:chester throughout the first four centuries (ibid., pp.3,13, 25, 53-4,108,134,140). Accordingly the number to be baptized as Christians at Easter in the early years of the church's life may have been comparatively few. (Fig.xvii a,b).

The history of developing arrangements for baptism can be traced at several Christian centres. At Aquileia excavations have revealed that as four bishops succeeded one another the cathedral itself underwent corresponding stages of construct-:ion. At the end of the third century the Christians there worshipped in an oratory and the baptistery, according to Brusin, was in a couloir coudé which preceded the oratory. Bishop Theodore (308-319) constructed the first cathedral, which consisted of two parallel churches linked by a trans-:verse three-nave vestibule: the baptistery is thought to have stood near a well found to the N.E. of the vestibule, appar-:ently in a rectangular room attached to the side of the north church and approached by a square room in the angle between that church and the vestibule. At the end of the fourth cent-:ury or in the fifth, when the north church was replaced by a larger basilica, the western part of the narrow space separat-:ing the two churches was used for a new baptistery, rectang-:ular in shape and preceded by a square vestibule: the basin in the centre of the baptistery is an elongated hexagonal and is surrounded by a platform with six shallow niches on its outer side: it is suggested that columns were probably placed between the niches to support a ciborium. Finally, towards the end of the fifth century, the south church was provided on the west/

on the west with a long narthex preceded by an atrium: in the atrium was constructed a baptistery, square on the exterior and octagonal in the interior with four angular niches, opposite the basilica and on its axis, communicating with the two side porticos of the atrium by a door on the north side and likewise on the south: the basin in the centre of the baptistery was hexagonal and sheltered under a baldaquin supported by six columns. (Fig.xii a,b).

At Salona A. Khatchatrian reconstructs the history of the baptisteries at the episcopal basilica. The fourth century basilica which preceded the cruciform church had no baptismal building to the west of it as Gerber had suggested in 'Forschungen in Salona', vol.i, 1917, pp.81f.; at this period baptism would have been administered in a room in the thermae to the east of the basilica. At the beginning of the fifth century, when another basilica was built to the north parallel to the fourth century basilica, the first square baptistery was constructed as part of a complex of communicating rooms beyond that on the north side: access was by a flight of steps from the north end of the narthex to a rectangular room, which contained a semi-cirular stone bench for presbyters with a bishop's chair in the centre of it and which probably served as a catechumeneum. In the baptistery was an elongated hexagonal piscina, which at a later date was replaced by one of regular hexagonal shape. Before the middle of the sixth century a larger baptismal complex was built on the same site: the new baptistery was octagonal on the exterior and circular inside: the piscina in the centre was cruciform but later was reduced to a rectangle: a ring of six and later of seven col-
:umns formed as it were a monumental baldaquin: the old cate-
:chumeneum was preserved: another room was added on the oppos-
:ite/

opposite side of the baptistery, probably for use as a waiting-room: a small room on the north, linked both to it and to the baptistery, may have served for the final disrobing. The baptistery itself had a semi-circular niche on the east which was probably used by the bishop for the post-baptismal sealing, and a vestibule led from the baptistery back into the north aisle of the basilica (A. Khatchatrian, Baptistères Paléochrétiens, Paris, 1962). E. Dyggve, who carried out an archaeological investigation of the site, drew attention to large incised crosses of an early fourth century type on two detached limestone pillars in the tepidarium of the thermae situated to the east of the basilica and to the fact that the tepidarium contained a bath-tub: while admitting that this does not constitute incontrovertible proof of use for Christian baptism, he insists that the presence of large cross-ornamented columns in an originally secular room cannot be without reason. Furthermore, he regards the fourth century north basilica as the bishop-church which replaced the earlier Oratory lying to the north-west. (Figs.xiv d,e and xv).

At Parenzo (Parentium, Istria) there is no sign of a baptistery for the primitive cathedral which consisted of two rectangular rooms lying side by side: not until the middle of the fifth century is one provided in the square area at the foot of an open-air corridor separating the two parallel basilicas built at that time: towards the middle of the sixth century, when these were replaced by one larger basilica with an atrium, a new octagonal baptistery with a western apse and a hexagonal piscina was constructed in the atrium opposite the church.

At Lavant (Noricum) the primitive church was a room roughly square in shape except that the eastern side took the form of an apse: this main room was flanked by two others on the north/

north and south sides. This building was replaced later in the fourth century by a rectangular hall which contained a semi-circular presbyteral bench. In the fifth century a baptistery was provided by extending the hall farther to the east.

At Naples the apsed basilica of S. Restituta was built be-:tween 366 and 413, but the square baptistery which lies to the right at some distance from the apse is identified with the one constructed by Soter, bishop from 465.

At Trier the earliest baptistery was a square room, with a square basin at its centre, set in the narrow space between the two Constantinian basilicas built in 326-348: this was later re-:placed by a baptismal complex in the same location containing a square baptistery with a round font.

At Rome, according to Khatchatrian, the cathedral, the Lateran basilica, at the beginning of the fourth century used for the purpose of baptism one of the 'salles thermales' of the palace which had been transformed into a baptismal room with one or two exedrae. Later Constantine constructed a circular baptistery on the same spot with a ciborium to shelter the basin. In the fifth century Sixtus III (432-440) replaced the circular wall with an octagonal and put in a larger circular basin surr-:ounded by a parapet with concave niches which supported eight columns. In the 460s two chapels - of St.John the Baptist and St.John the Evangelist - were attached to the baptistery as well as a vestibule flanked by two exedrae.

These examples and others quoted by A. Khatchatrian and in Actes de Ve Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, 1954, give ample support to the suggestion that the arrangements for baptism at Silchester may have undergone development. It is not necessary to posit a long period: a change of bishop could bring a change of practice. It is conceivable that at the start baptisms/

baptisms took place at the main baths of the town or at those of the 'inn', both of which were apparently still in use in the fourth century. Such an hypothesis would find support in Dyggve's suggestion that the adjoining baths were so used by the bishop-church at Salona and in the fact that a number of early churches were built at or over baths e.g. the late fourth century basilica of S.Pudienza at Rome, constructed out of a second century thermae hall, and churches built over the baths of villas in Gaul as at St.-Aubin-sur-Mer in Normandy (John Percival, The Roman Villa, 1976, pp.185f.) and over the town baths at Jublains; likewise Oratory A at Salona built inside baths.

On the other hand Khatchatrian suggests that the presence of a well near a basilica or within a church complex indicates the provision of water for liturgical purposes. At Aquileia, for instance, the well found in the north-east part of the transverse vestibule linking the two parallel churches built by Bishop Theodore (308-319) probably supplied water to the baptistery situated in front of the third century oratory and later to the fourth century baptistery attached to the side of the north church; at Nantes a well and an octagonal font lying to the north of the cathedral are believed to have belonged to the fourth century bishop-church; at Merida in Spain the atrium of a Roman dwelling, which is thought to have been used for Christian worship before 313, has two apses on the east, the larger one possibly used for the Eucharistic liturgy, the smaller one to the north for the Baptismal liturgy, while out-:side to the north-east of the house lies a well and a rectang-:ular font; and at Pergamon in Turkey an early Christian aisled basilica with an atrium has a square room, containing a font, attached to the north side and communicating with it, probably a baptistery, although Khatchatrian also draws attention to the pavement/

the pavement of a structure, apparently circular, in the atrium and the remains of a well set in the axis of the church. At Silchester St. John Hope in 1893 recorded the finding of a well 6.10 metres west of the fourth century church and in line with its axis.

A little later baptisms may have taken place in the north end of the narthex, screened off for the occasion with hangings between the pillars. Then, as numbers grew, the flint foundat-:ion and tile base may have been laid in front of the basilica and a timber baptistery set upon it. In both cases a free-standing font of the circular lead tank type may have been used. Cogent arguments can be marshalled to support such an hypothesis:

1. Baptism was one of the two dominical sacraments of the Church, universally observed in East and West by the orthodox catholic churches and also by Arian, Donatist and Pelagian Christians as the sole mode of entry to the Church.

2. If this was the bishop-church of a civitas capital it was likely to provide facilities for baptism: although evidence at many centres is scant or non-existent for the early years, literary records indicate that the rite was punctiliously observed and provision made for it: later, archaeological finds lend corroboration, as, for instance, at Ravenna where both orthodox and Arian cathedrals had baptisteries.

3. Archaeological evidence in Britain points in the same direction, e.g. the Walesby lead tank relief, the hexagonal font at Richborough.

4. The British climate made it likely that baptisms did not as a rule take place out of doors in a river or stream, espec-:ially in a Romanised township with its superior quality of life, although such baptisms might occur in the country, in remote/

remote areas or in exceptional circumstances.

6. There is some evidence that the Christian communities built wooden churches where that was the most accessible material and the necessary skill was available e.g. in the neighbourhood of Tours, as attested by Gregory, and in Britain, as indicated at a later date by Bede and as suggested by P.D.C. Brown for Richborough. In some parts stone was unobtainable, bricks were not made or were available only for military purposes; and British villages of the period in the remoter areas of the country, such as the Lleyn peninsula or Cornwall, suggest that the Britons in their own cultural environment and untutored in Roman ways of building showed little natural skill in stone and little aptitude for architecture. Bede mentions that Ninian built his church, Candida Casa, of stone 'which was unusual among the Britons' (H.E., Bk.3, c.4), while Ailred records in his Life of Ninian that Martin sent masons from Gaul to build the 'stone church at Whitherne'.

It is odd, undoubtedly, that this situation should arise at Silchester where there is evidence of so much solid building. If Richmond's surmise is correct that the tile base in front of the church served for a baptistery, one can only suppose that the fortunes of the Christian community fluctuated: at some point a prominent and wealthy patron or bishop may have put up the stone basilica which, though small, corresponded to the architecture of much of the rest of the town: at another time resources may have been very limited, with paganism predominant among the rich and powerful, and a simple wooden structure may have been erected for a ceremony which took place at most twice a year and involved comparatively few people. One can compare the history of the Church at Tours. There the Christians of the second half of the third century could not/

could not set up a fixed headquarters for worship for fear of the pagans but had to worship 'in crypts and hiding-places' (Greg. Tur., Hist. Fr. 10.31): in the period 300/1 - c.337/8 the same situation obtained and the Christians worshipped 'occulti et per latebras' without even a bishop of their own (ibid. 1.35 : only in 337/8 was the second bishop appointed, Litorius (337/8 - 371), a citizen of Tours, who 'for the first basilica converted the house of a certain man of senatorial family' (ibid. 10.31), which apparently continued in use until burnt down in 560 and replaced by the first purpose-built ecclesia in c.580 by Gregory himself.

The Britons, however, were well-skilled in metal-work and no doubt they knew how to handle wood; indeed, recent evidence of fifth century houses in Viroconium supplies some evidence. A sizeable wooden hut today is often set on low piles, made of loose bricks or stone, to raise the wooden floor clear of the ground. If such a structure were placed on wood blocks all traces would disappear in time. A baptistery of this type would have the advantage of allowing a lead tank to be partially sunk by cutting the wood floor to accommodate it in the centre and letting it rest on the tile base below.

7. The evidence suggests that a labrum for ritual washing before entering a church was far from universal. The custom, symbolic of cleansing from sin, derives its authority from the O.T. (e.g. Dt.21.6f., Ps.26/7.6); we know from the N.T. that the Pharisees fussed over the washing of cups and platters at meals, but there is no mention of hand-washing as one of the pre-:liminary civilities at the meal at Simon the Pharisee's house (Lk.7.44). There is little evidence of such ritual washing be-:fore entering the synagogue in the first century. It is, how-:ever, a regular part of Muslim worship and clearly has its origin/

origin in the East. It is a custom more likely to persist in a hot Mediterranean climate such as that of Palestine, Asia Minor, Italy and N.Africa, or in a centre such as Rome where a strong Jewish community formed the nucleus of the Christian church at the start. It was a custom on a totally different footing from the sacrament of baptism and would undoubtedly have been regarded by St.Augustine as one of those minor items which could be introduced or abandoned by a bishop at his dis-:cretion. As he writes to Januarius (Epp.54,55), the two sacra-:ments of Baptism and the Eucharist are obligatory and anything else commended in the canonical Scriptures (except the rites laid upon the ancient Israelites in the Law); other practices handed down by tradition and universally observed as having been authorized by the apostles or by plenary councils should be retained, such as the keeping of Easter and Pentecost; but everything else is at the discretion of the local church: 'Alia vero quae per loca terrarum regionesque variantur... totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observationes'!.. Quod enim neque contra fidem neque contra bonos mores convincitur, indifferent-:er est habendum ...'(Ep.54.2) and he quotes as examples Satur-:day fasting, the celebration of the Eucharist whether daily, or on Saturday and Sunday, or only on Sunday.

In East Anglia the rectangular building aligned east-west and the small D-shaped structure lying east of it on its axis, both set in a cemetery not far from the Romano-British settle-:ment at Icklingham, have been identified as in all probability a Christian church and font by S.E.West and J.Plouviez (The Romano-British site at Icklingham, East Anglian Arch.3,1976, pp.63f.). Near the baptismal font a pewter tank bearing the Christian Chi-Rho symbol was found and two similar tanks had previously been reported from the area. The liturgical imp-:ortance of the two stone structures is that they serve as evidence/

evidence that the Romano-British church made due provision for the observance of baptism on the same lines as churches throughout the Empire during the second half of the 4C. West and Plouviez date the use of the buildings to the period 350-400/420 and point out that the font has features in common with those found at Richborough, Cologne, Boppard and Zurzach: 'All are plaster lined; Richborough, Boppard and Zurzach are about the same size (c.1m. internally), Cologne twice as large (2.03m. internally) ... The continental examples all have an internal step' (like that at Icklingham), 'but at Zurzach on the N.side only; that at Cologne has second steps on the N. and S.sides. All are dated to the late 4C or the early 5C' (op.cit.pp.120). West and Plouviez found no evidence of a baptistery to contain the font; on the other hand 'the example at Boppard is at the west end of the church and separated by a partition; the others all appear to be incorporated in buildings (baptisteries) to one side' (ibid.); they concluded that as 'the timber foundation slot on the S.side could at most only have been a minor partition wall'...'this structure would appear then to have been free-standing; probably within a larger building to the east of and in line with, if not actually joining Building B' (the church). The lead tank poses a problem as the internal step of the font precludes its positioning there. Perhaps it is worth considering whether it represents an earlier phase in the life of the Christian community, possibly even preceding the building of the stone church.(Figs.xxi, xxiva, xvib,c).

The main interest for our purpose of the hexagonal structure at Richborough, identified by P.D.C.Brown as a baptismal font in 1971, is that it indicates that the understanding of baptism in the Romano-British church was abreast of that in the church at large in the Empire. Comparatively few hexagonal fonts have come to light: Khatchatrian lists only one in the East/

East, at Deir Seta in N.Syria, and dates it to the 5/6C; the two in the West which are 'probably 4C' are in N.France and in Dalm-:atia and the third western one in N.Italy is attributed to the 7C: another early example occurs at Cimiez. The important point is that they are widely scattered in the Empire. They give arch-:itectural expression to the association of baptism with the Death, Burial and Resurrection of Christ which found its author-:ity in the N.T. (Rom.6.3f., Mt.20.22). This link is constantly referred to by 4/5C Christian writers: Augustine for example mentions it in his letter to Januarius: 'iam commortui sumus cum Christo et consepulti illi per baptismum in mortem, sicut dicit Apostolus...'(Ep.55.3). The hexagonal shape focussed on the Death of Christ on the sixth day. Archaeological evidence sugg-:ests that soon there was a tendency to stress instead the idea of rising again with Christ to new life through baptism and to express that by using an octagonal design for piscina or baptist-:ery: thus at Salona the hexagonal piscina was replaced by a cruciform one set in an octagonal baptistery. (Fig.xxiia,b).

The lead tanks marked with the Chi-Rho symbol and found in several parts of the country have been accepted by a number of scholars as probably vessels used to hold the water of baptism. The view has recently been challenged by C.J.Guy who in his art-:icle 'Roman Circular Lead Tanks in Britain' examines possible alternative uses e.g. ritual ablutions, water containers set in cemeteries for diluting the wine drunk at the tomb on the ann-:iversary of a death. He concludes: 'It is still not possible to ascribe a use to them with any certainty. The most plausible suggestion that can be made at present is that they were decor-:ated water tanks, some of which were in Christian ownership. These may have had a Christian liturgical function, such as for ritual ablution, but such a use cannot be stated for certain...' Undoubtedly there can be no certainty in tha matter at the moment/

moment. The use of the Chi-Rho symbol, which was a symbol for Christ himself, on the domus ecclesiae at Lullingstone and on sarcophagi in Rome and elsewhere suggests that the Church would be likely to employ this most holy sign to mark places of spec-:ial holiness such as those devoted to worship or hallowed by death, and vessels required for the administration of its two dominical sacraments. But this use could have been imitated and applied merely to Christian ownership by lay people. If their function was indeed liturgical, the rival claims of bapt-:ism and of ritual ablution have to be weighed. The great maj-:ority of Christian writers of the time stress the centrality of baptism in the Church's faith and practice: one cannot doubt that it was duly provided for at every bishop-church from the start. Ritual ablution on the other hand is seldom mention-:ed and was clearly of minor significance in the Church's think-:ing: even as early as the beginning of the 3C Tertullian dis-:misses it as superfluous and pointless, tracing its origin to Pilate's act as he surrendered Jesus to crucifixion and urging that the washing of baptism is all-sufficient: at the same time he does of course testify to the existence of the practice in N.Africa.(De Oratione 13). (Fig.xxiv a,b).

In assessing the value of this evidence for any conclusion about the baptismal liturgy of the Romano-British Church one must bear in mind the contemporary evidence of the Continent that the individual bishop exercised a real measure of freedom in the matter. The practice of Patrick as bishop in Ireland may therefore not coincide exactly with that of his home-church in Britain, wherever that was situated: the practice known to the writer(s) of the six Pelagian works may belong to a different part of the country and reflect a somewhat different observance. The fundamental beliefs embodied in the baptismal liturgy will be common to all the fourth/fifth century churches of Britain which profess the catholic faith, but the expression of each of these in a rite and the elaboration of minor rites may vary from church to church.

We can be reasonably sure that in Ireland Patrick included the renunciation of evil and the profession of faith on the part of each candidate; that baptism in water was threefold in response to the three baptismal questions and answers on the Three Persons of the Trinity; that the neophytes were robed in white to underline the significance of baptism as a cleansing from sin and a putting-on of the 'new man', and that they were anointed with chrism on the forehead to consummate the baptismal rite. Patrick does not mention exorcism, but his main concern was to bring the Christian faith to pagan Irish: he has no illusions about the strength of the pull towards 'idola et immunda' (C41) and he may have used the rite to emphasize the decisiveness of the break with the past. Undoubtedly his two writings leave us with the impression that Patrick concentrated on the essentials of the liturgy, on belief and faith rather than ceremonial, that he himself preferred things simple and direct/

direct rather than over-elaborate, and that he would not be inclined to endanger the focal points of the liturgy by elevat-:ing minor acts into a solemn rite. It is likely enough that he was aware of other practices on the Continent: he pays his own tribute to the quality of Romano-British education from which he himself was denied the opportunity of benefiting: and the expression of Gnostic ideas in the decoration of the mosaic pavement at Brading in the Isle of Wight and possibly at Hinton St. Mary indicates that Britain was open to Continental trends of thought (D.J. Smith in 'The Roman Villa in Britain', ed. A.L.F. Rivet, London, 1969, pp.84).

Patrick does not mention his own baptism and he does not cast any reflection on the baptismal practice of his home-church to excuse his lack of faith when he was carried off into captivity at the age of sixteen. Presumably, therefore, he was in basic agreement with that practice. The criticism he voices is of himself and his fellow-captives: 'sacerdotibus nostris non obaedientes fuimus qui (nos) nostram salutem admonebant' (C1); and at most it implies a certain laxity of discipline in that church.

The six Pelagian writings appear to bear testimony to several of the baptismal rites - the renunciation of evil, the profession of faith, baptism in water, the bestowing of the name of 'Christian', the giving of the Holy Spirit. They, too, concentrate on the basic significance of the sacrament, as associated with the Death of Christ, as conveying pardon for sin, justification and sanctification, as bestowing new life and a share in the Kingdom of God, and as the one and only mode of entrance into the Christian community, required of all and common to all.

If these eight works do indeed provide evidence for a Romano-British baptismal liturgy they have implications for archaeological investigation.

We should expect to find at any well-established church serving a town or sizeable settlement or region a place set apart for the administration of baptism. This could take the form of a separate baptistery building, as at S. Tecla, Milan, the Lateran, the bishop-church at Salona, and in Britain apparently at Richborough, Icklingham and Silchester; or it might be a separate room within the church complex, as at Dura-Europos, Aquileia, Hippo Regius, Kaiseraugst, and in Britain possibly at Lullingstone and Hinton St Mary, or attached to the church as at Zurzach; or there might be a space set apart within the church itself, as at Bōppard and Carnuntum - suggesting a possible early use of the circular base in the narthex at Silchester. As an alternative, a nearby stream or river would on New Testament authority always be acceptable as a place of baptism, and in Britain the River Darent at Lullingstone may have been so used. In the former case a supply of water would be needed on the church site or within easy reach: this could be a piped supply as at Salona, or it might be fetched from a well or a river eg the well at Silchester. Room would be provided for the bishop to carry out the rite of anointing the newly-baptized with chrism either within the baptistery itself as at the Lateran, Salona, S. Tecla, Milan, and in Britain no doubt at Richborough, etc, or in an adjacent room as at Hippo Regius.

Excavations carried out elsewhere in the West have revealed a wide range of baptisteries from the simplest to the most elaborate. The ideas contained in the eight writings prompt a number of further suggestions.

The baptistery might be shaped to express architecturally the association of baptism with the Death and Resurrection of Christ; or else it might simply be a square or rectangular room or shaped to fit into an awkward space. Examples of both categories may be quoted from A Khatchatrian's valuable study of early Christian baptisteries (1962).

A hexagonal shape pointed to the link with the Death and Burial of Christ on the sixth day. Only a few such baptisteries have been found, one in the East at Deir Seta in North Syria, dated fifth/sixth century, and three in the West, at Port-Bail in North France, and at Zara in Dalmatia, both probably of the fourth century, and at Varese, North Italy, dated seventh century. It is possible that, as at Port-Bail, the hexagonal font identified by P D C Brown at Richborough (1971) was housed in a hexagonal baptistery, made in this case of timber. A circular plan was sometimes used to convey the same idea: H Windfeld-Hansen of Oslo (1954) drew attention to the architectural link between the round baptistery and the Roman mausoleum in Italy and neighbouring countries. The base on which the hexagonal font at Richborough is set is roughly circular and may indicate a round baptistery.

An octagonal shape was designed to stress the association with the Resurrection on the eighth day.

Octagonal baptisteries are found at the Lateran (fifth century, if not fourth century), in Milan at S. Tecla (late fourth century?) with possibly an earlier one at S. Gregorio (third/fourth century) and another at S. Aquilino (400-450 AD). A number in France are octagonal in the interior but square on the outside, as at Frejus (c. 400 AD), Reims (400-450 AD) and Melas (fifth century).

On the other hand simple rectangular baptisteries are known in the fourth/fifth century at Rome (S. Marcello, in Via Lata, fourth/fifth century; S. Crisogono, fifth century), in Austria at Carnuntum (fourth century) and Lavant (fifth century), at Notre Dame, Geneva, at Nesazio in Istria (fourth century), while many occur in North Africa from the fourth century onwards. At Silchester the flint pitching, c. 4.1m by 3.5m, outside the church suggests a rectangular baptistery. A square baptistery is found at Poitiers in the fourth century and several fifth century baptisteries in France have a square exterior; the baptistery at Salona also was square at the beginning of the fifth century. Baptisteries fitted into an unusual space occur at Hippo Regius in the early-fourth century and at Zurzach in Germany in the fifth century; it is possible that some such arrangement may explain the form of the D-shaped font at Icklingham.

The baptismal font likewise might be designed to express ideas associated with the rite.

The rectangular shape of the stone sarcophagus was used to convey the idea of 'dying with Christ'. The third century Dura-Europos font is rectangular, so too perhaps the one of which Ambrose speaks at Milan; the early-fifth-century piscina at Tarraco in Spain is rectangular, also that at Notre Dame, Geneva, late-fifth/sixth century. The hexagonal font also indicated the link with the Death of Christ. Fonts of this shape are rare in the East and of late-fifth/sixth century date, eg at Mount Gerizim, Palestine, and at Stobi, Macedonia. In the West, however, some twenty such fonts are noted by Khatchatrian, ranging from the fourth century to the seventh century. Early examples occur at S. Marcello, Rome(fifth/sixth century), at Trieste (fourth century) and Aquileia (fourth/fifth century), at Salona (early-fifth century), in Gaul at Port-Bail and Cimiez (fourth century), in Noricum at Carnuntum (fourth century), in North Africa at Timgad (fourth century), at Damous-el-Kariba, Carthage, and at Tebourba (fourth/fifth century), and there are later cases in the same areas. The hexagonal font at Richborough belongs to this group.

An octagonal shape pointed to the Resurrection and the idea of 'rising again with Christ'. Notable examples are the fonts at the Lateran (fourth/fifth century) and Vicence (fourth/fifth century), in Gaul at Poitiers and Nantes (fourth century) and at Frejus (fifth century), in Switzerland at Riva san Vitale (early-fifth century).

The font was sometimes round in shape and may in some cases have been so designed to express the idea of 'new birth'. Such circular fonts are known at Rome (South Crisogono, fifth century, and the Lateran, early-fourth century), at S. Aquilino, Milan (early-fifth century?), in Gaul at Melas (fifth century), in North Africa at Tipasa (fifth century), Timgad and Tigzirt (fifth/sixth century). To this category may be assigned the lead tanks marked with the Christian monogram found in Britain at Ashton, Icklingham, Lickfold and Walesby, the latter three respectively 33cm, 48cm and 51cm deep.

Occasionally a more unusual shape occurs. At a villa at Velletri, Italy, a semi-circular font is found in the apse of a fourth/fifth century baptistery; at Gouea in Algeria a triconch font preceded by steps, set in the rectangular room which flanks the deep apse of the basilica on its south-east side; at Cap Bon, Kélibia, Tunisia, an oval font set in the outer wall of the rectangular room flanking the west apse of the basilica. To this group must be allocated the D-shaped font at Icklingham with its single step on the inside running along one flank of the curve.

The lavacrum was usually fixed in the ground but a few free-standing examples have been found. Four, made of marble, have been recognised, three of them from Rhodes - Messanagros, Ametha and Lachania - and one from the island of Carpathos. At Augsburg in Germany five 'bassins' of various shapes, set on top of one another, were found 4.20m west of a small rectangular early Christian church excavated under the

foundations of the basilica Saint John and dated to the fifth century. There also provide a certain parallel to the British lead tanks. So, too, does the shallow round vessel in which a candidate is shown standing, with the rim reaching only to his lower calf, while water flows down on his head and body from above, in the scene depicted on the fourth century tombstone of Innocens at Aquileia. This latter indicates how baptism could have been administered originally in the narthex of the Silchester church, with the candidate standing in a lead tank set upon the circular base there, and perhaps at a slightly later date in the rectangular baptistery in front of the church. Similar evidence comes from the fresco found at Rome in Chamber A2, the oldest part of the Catacomb of Saint Callixtus, and dated to the early-third century, in which the candidate is seen standing in water up to the calf, while water pours down on his head from above from the beak of a dove.

The frequent references to the 'lex Christi' in the Pelagian works might lead us to expect that any decoration of the baptistery would include the 'Traditio Legis' which, as de Bruyne has pointed out (1954), appeared along with relevant Biblical scenes 'in the iconographic repertory of one of the two earliest decorated baptisteries known to us', that of Saint Giovanni in Fonte, Naples (c. 400 AD). There it occupies a prominent position on the right of the cupola where it would catch the eye of the candidate on entry. It is also found in the decoration of the fifth

century 'orthodox' baptistery at Ravenna, but there together with the Biblical scenes it has a subordinate position. According to De Bruyne, the representation of the 'Traditio Legis' was peculiar to the West.

A separate room could be provided for the instruction of catechumens eg the catechumeneum in the baptistery complex at Salona or the earlier one in the church at Dura-Europos. One of the rooms in the Lullingstone complex may well have been put to similar use.

The low-relief panel on the Walesby lead tank fragment, incomplete as it is, lends confirmation to the impression gathered from these eight writings that a fully-developed baptismal liturgy was practised punctiliously in the ecclesiastical baptistery in fourth/fifth century Britain.

THE CREED

We know from the Catechetical Lectures that candidates for baptism at Jerusalem c.350 had to learn the Creed by heart. In Lecture 5 Cyril writes: 'For since all cannot read the Script-:ures, but some as being unlearned, others by business are hindered from the knowledge of them: in order that the soul may not perish for lack of instruction, in the articles which are few we comprehend the whole doctrine of the faith. This I wish you to remember even in the very phrase, and to rehearse it with all diligence among yourselves, not writing it upon paper, but by memory engraving it on your heart as on a monu-:ment ...'. Cyril does not give the full text of the Jerusalem baptismal creed, but it has been reconstructed from Catechet-:ical Lectures 7-18 by A.A. Stephenson (Studia Patristica III, pp.303-313, Berlin, 1961), as recorded by J.N.D. Kelly in 'Early Christian Creeds' pp.183:

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν, πατέρα, παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,
ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων.
καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα θεὸν ἀληθινὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,
[τὸν σαρκωθέντα καὶ] ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,
[τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα καὶ] ἀναστάντα [ἐκ νεκρῶν] τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
καὶ ἀναλθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς,
καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός,
καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος.
καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις,
καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν,
καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

Most of the text comes from direct quotations by Cyril: the gaps have been filled in hypothetically from allusions and are shown within brackets.

The Jerusalem creed is typical of Eastern baptismal creeds in a number of respects. In the first article it stresses that God is One and that He is the Creator of the entire universe, visible and invisible; in the second article it emphasises the uniqueness of the Son (ἑνὶ μονογενῆ), His pre-cosmic begetting by the Father, His role as agent of the Father in the creation, and refers very briefly to His Incarnation and Resurrection in the terms ἐνὶ θεμιστήσαντι, ἀναστάντα ; the third article is amplified to include baptism and eternal life and the Church which is de-:scribed as one, holy and catholic. In common with the creed given in Apostolic Constitutions 7.41 it concludes the second article with the clause οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Kelly notes that Cyril did not incorporate any Nicene doctrine into his creed.

Four other early Eastern creeds are known to us from the same region:

1. the creed of Ap. Const.,given in Ap. Const.1.41: the treat-:ise is generally thought to have been written in Syria or Palestine in the later fourth century;
2. the creed of Caesarea, submitted by Eusebius, its bishop, at the Council of Nicaea in 325 and generally believed to be the baptismal creed of his own church: the text is given by Athanasius (De Decret. Nic. syn., appendix, PG 20.1537);
3. the creed of Mopsuestia in Cilicia contained in the Cat-:echetical lectures of Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia 392-428, previously presbyter of Antioch c.383-392 (Syriac text and E.T., A.Mingana, Woodbrooke Studies V, Cambridge, 1932);
4. the creed of Antioch/

4. the creed of Antioch, conjectured from the symbolum Antioch-
:enum quoted by John Cassian in his treatise against Nestor-
:ius, written c.430/1 (Contra Nestorium 6.3).

In addition to these, three creeds associated with Egypt in the 4C are known to us to a greater or less extent:
1. the creed of Alexandria, partially known from references in the letter sent by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria 313-328, to the bishop of Constantinople at the start of the Arian contro-
:versy and quoted by Theodoret (H.E.1.4.46 and 53f.);
2. the creed of Arius and Euzoius, submitted in 327 to the Emperor Constantine: this creed secured their re-admission to the Church (Socrates, H.E.1.26; Sozomen, H.E.2.27; PG67.149 and 1012);
3. the creed of St. Macarius, so-called: Kelly (pp.190) regards it as very probably the official creed of an Egyptian church: it is preserved in a 9C Viennese codex of the Apophthegmata Macarii (Kattenbusch II.242f.) and in a Paris MS: Macarius lived from 300 to 390.

Finally, in a separate category, there are the various creeds promulgated at councils held mostly in the East in the course of the 4C. These may be listed as follows:
1. the creed of Nicaea, ratified in 325: this included the term ὁμοούσιος : the text is preserved by Athanasius (De decret. Nic. syn., appendix, and Ep. ad Iov. imp.3, P.G. 26.817), Socrates (H.E.1.8.29, P.G.67.68) and Basil (Ep.125. 2, P.G.32.548). With this creed is linked the formula append-
:ed to the letter previously circulated to the bishops at the beginning of 325, the text of which, in Syriac, was identified by E. Schwarz in three MSS, Cod. Par. Syr.62 in Paris, Cod. Syr.148 at the Vatican, and the Mingana Cod. Syr.8 at Selly Oak: Kelly gives an English translation on pp.209f.

2. the creed ratified by the Dedication council of 341 held in Antioch on the occasion of the dedication of the 'golden church' founded by Constantine: the text is preserved by Athanasius (De syn.23, P.G.26.721f.) and Hilary (De syn.29, P.L.10.502f.): E.T. Kelly, pp.268f.

With this council are associated three other creeds:

a. the formula promulgated at the very outset of the council, the text of which is given by Athanasius in De. syn.22, P.G.26. 720f.; Kelly, pp.265;

b. the formula submitted by Theophronius, bishop of Tyana in Cappadocia (Athanasius, De syn.24, P.G.26.724f.; Kelly, pp.266f.);

c. a creed which, according to Athanasius, was drawn up by the bishops a few months later and conveyed by four of their number to the Emperor Constans at Trier (Athanasius, De syn.25, P.G.26. 725f.; Socrates, H.E.2.18, P.G.67.221f.; Kelly, pp.272).

3. the creed drawn up at the synod of Sirmium in 357, attended mainly by Western bishops: this creed Hilary described as 'the Blasphemy' (De syn.10, P.L.10.486).

4. the creeds associated with the two parallel councils held in 359 at Ariminum and at Seleucia in Cilicia:

a. the formula prepared as a working basis for both councils (Athanasius, De syn.8, P.G.26.692f.; Socrates, H.E.2.37, P.G. 67.305; Kelly, pp.289);

b. the modified version of this which was signed at the end of 359 (Theodoret, H.E.2.21.3-7; Athanasius, De syn.29, P.G.26.744f.; Socrates, H.E.2.40, P.G.67.337f.; Kelly, pp.291f.); Jerome's comment was 'ingemuit totus orbis et Arianum se esse miratus est' (Dial. con. Lucif.19, P.L.23.172);

c. the creed finally ratified in January, 360 (Athanasius, De syn.30, P.G.26.745f.; Kelly, pp.293)

5. the creed passed at the general council of 381 held at Constantinople, which once more incorporated the phrase ὁμοούσιος.

The Old Roman creed has been reconstructed mainly from the treatise 'Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum' (C.C.L.20.133f.) written by Rufinus, presbyter of Aquileia c.404. In this work Rufinus comments in detail on the creed taught to candidates for baptism at Aquileia and compares it with that of Rome. The text thus recovered is confirmed by the Latin creed inserted, on the back of the second last page, into the 6/7C Graeco-Latin uncial Codex E of the Acts of the Apostles (MS Laud. Gr. 35 in the Bodleian Library) and by the 8C Cottonian MS in the British Museum (MS 2 A XX). Kelly gives the text as follows (op.cit. pp.102):

Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem;
Et in Christum Iesum filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum,
qui natus est de Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine,
qui sub Pontio Pilato crucifixus est et sepultus,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit in caelos,
sedet ad dexteram patris,
unde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos;
Et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.

Rufinus recounts the legend of the composition of the Roman creed by the twelve Apostles and is convinced that the Roman Church has preserved it unaltered.

Kelly compares this text with the three baptismal quest-:ions recorded in the Latin text of Hippolytus' 'Apostolic Tradition' and with credal statements in the works of Tertull-:ian ; he rejects the view of Capelle that all three bear wit-:ness to the official creed of the Roman Church at successive phases of its development and concludes that 'there is every likelihood that at Rome, as in other churches, several formulae were/

were in use at this time and there is nothing to show that the language of any of them was religiously safeguarded.

It is generally agreed that the Greek text of the Old Roman creed is to be found in the creed submitted in 340 by Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Cappadocia, to Julius I, bishop of Rome, at a synod held in the latter city. It also occurs, transcribed in Anglo-Saxon characters, at the end of the Psalter of Athelstan in MS Galba A XVIII, a 9C Ms in the Cottonian collection in the British Museum.

The creed which Augustine quotes and expounds in Sermon 215 (P.L.38.1072-6) was delivered at the Redditio symboli, the occas-:ion on which the candidates for baptism recited individually to the bishop the creed which they had received at the preceding Traditio symboli and had since learnt by heart. Kelly regards it as 'a local African form' (pp.175) and it clearly has affin-:ities with the creed extracted by Dom Morin from four ps-August-:inian sermons (P.L.40.637-68; 42.1117-30) and attributed to Quodvultdeus, bishop of Carthage, Augustine's younger contempor-:ary, and to the early 6C creed reconstructed from fragments of the 'Contra Fabianum' of Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe in Byzacena (Frags. 36 and 32, C.C.S.L.91A, 854f., 831f.). Kelly quotes Augustine's creed as follows (pp.176):

Credimus in deum patrem omnipotentem, universorum creatorem,
regem saeculorum, immortalem et invisibilem;
Credimus et in filium eius Iesum Christum dominum nostrum,
natum de Spiritu sancto ex virgine Maria,
crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, mortuum et sepultum,
(qui) tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit ad caelos,
sedet ad dexteram dei patris,
inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos;
Credimus et in Spiritum sanctum, remissionem peccatorum,
resurrectionem carnis, vitam aeternam per sanctam ecclesiam.

The words and phrases underlined are found also in the creed of Rome alluded to by Rufinus: the dotted line indicates corres-:pondence of language, but in a different form or order. It is clear from this that while there is a general likeness there are also significant variations.

The creed of Hippo opens with 'Credimus': all the other Western creeds/

Western creeds quoted by Kelly have the singular 'Credo', where-
:as the plural is found in the Eastern baptismal creeds of Jerusalem, Caesarea and Mopsuestia, in the creed of Arius and Euzoius, and in the conciliar creeds of 325, 341, 359/60 and 381.

The amplified definition of the first article is identical in the three African creeds. The description of God as Creator is found elsewhere in the West only in the 6C creed of Arles ('creatorem caeli et terrae') and possibly in that of Remesiana, while that of Aquileia adds the two epithets 'invisibili et im-
:passibili'. In Eastern creeds, on the other hand, it is char-
:acteristic to have a reference at this point to God the Creator e.g. in the creeds of Jerusalem, Caesarea, Antioch, Mopsuestia and the Ap. Const., and in the conciliar creeds of 325, 341, 359 and 381.

In the second article the omission of 'unicum' or any sim-
:ilar adjective occurs in the West only in the creeds of Remes-
:iana, Carthage and Riez, in the East only in the creed of Arius and Euzoius and in that of Macarius (the latter, however, introduces the Nicaean ὁμοούσιον). The term 'mortuum' is includ-
:ed in the Western creeds of Remesiana and Arles; the Eastern creeds of the Ap. Const. and of Macarius insert ἀποθανόντα after σταυρωθέντα ; so, too, the conciliar creeds of 341(c), 359 and 360.

The form of the third article is virtually the same in the three African creeds and appears to be peculiar to the area. 'vita aeterna' is included elsewhere in the West in the creeds of Remesiana and Ravenna, Riez and Arles, and in the 6C Spanish and Mozarabic creeds. In the East ζωὴν αἰώνιον occurs in the creeds of Jerusalem, Antioch, Mopsuestia and of 341(a), while those of the Ap. Const., Arius and Euzoius, and of 381 speak of ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος . Augustine declares that the phrase was added to the creed/

the creed to assure Christians that 'carnis resurrectio' for them had as its precedent, not the calling back to life of Laz-:arus, but Christ's own Resurrection (Serm. ad catech.9, P.L.40. 636). John Chrysostom writes to similar effect in Hom.40.2, P. G.61.349.

But Augustine also makes use of another baptismal creed, as is evidenced by the three sermons 212-214, P.L.38.1058-72, preached at the Traditio symboli in the week following the fifth Sunday of Lent. This creed is almost identical with that of Milan expounded in the Explanatio symboli and therefore with that of Rome as set forth by Rufinus. The points of difference from the creed of Milan are as follows:

'et Maria virgine' in place of Milan's 'ex Maria virgine';

'passus est sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus et sepultus' in-:stead of 'sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus'.

In the first case he prefers the expression used in the Roman creed; in the second case he combines the Roman reading with the Milanese, making it part of the relative clause but retain-:ing the 'passus' of the Milanese formula.

The creed which Ambrose taught to his candidates for baptism can be extracted from the Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos (P.L. 17.1155-60) which is now generally believed to have been composed from notes taken down at Ambrose's lectures. Confirmation is found in the fact that Augustine uses an almost identical creed in Sermons 212-4; since this differs markedly from the local African form which he expounds in Sermon 215, it is presumably, as Kelly suggests (op.cit., pp.173), the creed which he learnt at Milan at the time of his own baptism.

Kelly gives the text of Ambrose's creed as follows:

Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem;
Et in Iesum Christum, filium eius unicum, dominum nostrum,
qui natus est de Spiritu sancto ex Maria virgine,
sub Pontio Pilato passus, et sepultus,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit in caelum,
sedet ad dexteram patris,
inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos;
Et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem
peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem.

It is clear that there are only minor points of difference be-
:tween this creed and the Roman creed cited by Rufinus, viz.

in Iesum Christum	in place of	Rome's	in Christum Iesum;
ex Maria virgine	"	"	et Maria virgine;
passus et sepultus	"	"	qui ... crucifixus est et sepultus;
ascendit in caelum	"	"	ascendit in caelos;
inde venturus est	"	"	unde venturus est.

The Explanatio Symboli itself states that its creed is that used at Rome: 'quoniam symbolum Romanae Ecclesiae nos tenemus' (P.L. 17.1157) ; and Ambrose writes elsewhere: 'credatur symbolo Apost-
:olorum quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et serv-
:at.

Speaking of the creeds of Milan, Aquileia, Ravenna and Turin, all of them attested in the period c.375-450, Kelly writes (ibid.,pp.172): 'it is unquestionable, of course, that they all derive from much earlier dates, for the documents which reproduce them treat them as authoritative and established'. He does not deal with the question whether Ambrose himself introduced this creed at Milan. F.J. Badcock (The History of the Creeds, London, 1930, 1938) holds that Ambrose's predecessor, Auxentius, bishop of Milan 355-373, an Arian in doctrine who had been nominated to the office by the Emperor Constantius II and came from Cappadocia, used at Milan a creed based upon the baptismal creed of Cappadocia with certain Arian additions of his own, and he quotes as evidence Hilary of Poitiers 'c. Auxentium' c.14, P.L.10.6,7. This situation, combined with the fact that Ambrose himself was only baptized shortly before his consecration as bishop in 373, that he was a student in Rome from the spring of 357 and that his sister was dedicated as a virgin in Rome by the bishop of Rome, makes it likely that he deliberately altered the practice of Milan in the matter of the baptismal creed and assimilated it to that of Rome.

One expression, 'passus', seems to link the creed of the Explanatio Symboli with another tradition. παθόντα occurs in the baptismal creeds of Caesarea and of Arius and Euzoius, attested in 325 and 327 respectively, while that of the Ap. Const. (7.41) includes the phrase μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν ; it is also found in the conciliar creeds of Nicaea (325) and the Dedication Council (341 and 341b. Among Western baptismal creeds the verb 'patior' is used in the 4C creeds of Remesiana and of Priscillian of Spain, in the early 6C creeds of Arles and Toulon, and in the later Spanish creeds of the 6/7C and of the Mozarabic Liturgy.

The text of the creed which Auxentius used at Milan is quoted by J.E.L. Oulton (The Credal Statements of St. Patrick, 1946) as follows:

Credo in unum solum verum Deum, patrem omnipotentem, invisib-
:ilem, impassibilem, immortalem;

Et in filium eius unigenitum, dominum nostrum, Iesum Christum,
ante omnia saecula et ante omne principium natum ex patre,
deum verum filium ex vero deo patre, secundum quod
scriptum est in evangelio:'haec est autem vita aeterna
ut cognoscant te solum verum deum et quem misisti
Iesum Christum';

per ipsum unum omnia facta sunt, visibilia et invisibilia;

qui descendit de caelis voluntate patris propter nostram
salutem

natus de Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine secundum carn-
:em, sicut scriptum est,

et crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato, sepultum,

tertia die resurrexisse, ascendisse in caelis,

sedere ad dexteram patris,

venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos;

Et in Spiritum sanctum paracletum, quem misit dominus et deus
noster, salvator Iesum Christum discipulis, spiritum
veritatis.

Two Gallic creeds and part of a third have come down to us from the late 5C and the early 6C, namely the creeds of Riez, Arles and Toulon.

The earliest is that of Riez which has been reconstructed from three writings ascribed tentatively to Faustus, bishop of Riez in the latter half of the 5C. Faustus was born a Briton and became abbot of Lérins, from which he was appointed in due time bishop of Riez. He won fame as a castigator of the Arians c.470 - 485. The three writings in question are two homilies 'De symbolo' (Caspari, Quellen II.185f., 191f., Christiana, 1866-9) and 'Tractatus de symbolo' (Caspari, Alte und neue Quellen, Christiana, 1879, 262f.). There is further evidence of the third article of the creed in the 'De Spiritu sancto' (1.2; ed. Engelbrecht) which is unquestionably the genuine work of Faustus.

Kelly gives the creed of Riez as follows (pp.179):

Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem;
Et in filium eius dominum nostrum Iesum Christum,
qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine,
crucifixus et sepultus,
adscendit ad caelos,
sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis,
inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos;
Credo et in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam, sanctorum communionem, abremissam peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam.

The words and phrases underlined occur in the Old Roman creed attested by Rufinus.

Among the noteworthy features of this creed are:

i) the omission in the second article of 'unicum', 'sub Pontio Pilato'/

'Pilato', and 'a mortuis';

ii) the readings 'qui conceptus ... virgine' and 'sedet ... omnipotentis' (article ii); 'sanctorum communionem', 'vitam aeternam' and 'abremissam' for the usual 'remissionem' (article iii).

i) The omission of 'unicum', or a corresponding epithet, occurs only in the creeds of Hippo, Carthage and Remesiana in the West; in the East it is missing in the creed submitted by Arius and Euzoius and in that of Macarius; the latter, however, introduces the Nicaean ὁμοούσιον. The omission of the dating-phrase 'sub Pontio Pilato' seems to be unparalleled in the West with the possible exception of the creed of Ruspe; in the East it is omitted from the creeds of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Macar-:ius and that of Arius and Euzoius. The lack of the phrase 'a mortuis' in the statement on the Resurrection is unusual in the West and occurs with certainty only in the creed of Ravenna, though possibly also in those of Ruspe and of Priscillian; in the East it occurs in the baptismal creeds of Caesarea, Antioch and Mopsuestia, of Macarius and of Arius and Euzoius.

ii) The clause 'qui conceptus ... virgine' appears in all three Gallic creeds, but in none of the other Western or any of the Eastern baptismal creeds cited by Kelly. It is first found in a creed which, according to Jerome (Dial. adv. Lucifer. 17, P.L.23.170f.) was formulated by the orthodox party at Arim-:inum in 359 but rejected by the rest; it has been attributed to Phoebadius of Agen and Kelly suggests that if he was the author he probably drew upon the baptismal creed in use there (op.cit.pp.376). At about the same time Hilary of Poitiers shows familiarity with similar wording (De Trin.10.20, P.L.10. 358) and discusses the role of the Holy Spirit in the Incarn-:ation (ibid.2.24;10.17f.,35). Augustine also deals with the topic/

topic in the Enchiridion (37-40, P.L.40.251f.) and, according to the text of P.L.38.1061, he quotes the whole clause in Serm-:on 213; Kelly, however, rejects the reading as probably faulty. The clause was subsequently incorporated into the 'Apostles' Creed', the final form of the Old Roman creed first attested in the early 8C (Priminius, 'De singulis libris canonicis scaraps-:us', P.L.89.1029f.).

The expression 'ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis' occurs also in the creed of Arles and in all three Spanish creeds, while the creed of Hippo has 'ad dexteram dei patris. In the East the creed of Mopsuestia uses the brief phrase ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ and that of Alexandria ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης.

In the third article the expression 'sanctorum communio' is found also in the creed of Arles, the 4C creed of Remesiana and the Mozarabic liturgy of Spain. Kelly, accepting the sugg-:estion of Morin (Rév.Bén.16.1f., 1904; Anecdota Maredsolana III,iii.199f.) traces it back beyond Nicetas to the 'Fides Hieronymi', which he regards as the creed subscribed by Jerome in the desert of Chalcis in 377/8 and in all probability an Antiochene formula (op.cit.pp.389). It does not appear, how-:ever, in the creed of Antioch quoted in Latin by John Cassian in 430/1 nor in the references to this creed in the works of John Chrysostom who was baptized at Antioch (Hom.40 in 1 Cor. 15.29, P.G.61.348f.). Kelly points out that it occurs also in an old Armenian creed quoted by Caspari (Quellen II.11), and in two official documents of the 4C, an Imperial rescript of 388 which banned Apollinarians 'a communione sanctorum' and canon 1 of the synod held at Nimes in 394 or 396 (Codex Theod. 16.5.4, C.C.S.L.148.50). Kelly inclines to the view that the expression originated in the East. His strongest argument is derived/

derived from the meaning placed upon it: in the East bore the clear sense of 'participation in holy things' i.e. in the Communion of the Eucharist, whereas in the West the meaning varied. Nicetas uses it in the sense of 'the fellowship of the faithful, living and dead' (Instructionis Libellus V, P.L.52. 847f.); Faustus of Riez employs it to mean 'the veneration of the saints' (Hom.II in Caspari, Quellen II.197); the two offic-:ial documents use it in the Eastern sense of 'excommunication'; so, too, does Jerome in Ep.92.3 (P.L.22.764f.), where he trans-:lates a Greek original as 'a communione sanctorum ... separat-:us'. The expression was subsequently incorporated in the Apostles' Creed.

'vita aeterna' is included in the Western baptismal creeds of Remesiana and Ravenna, in the three African and the three Spanish creeds, and in that of Arles; in the Eastern baptismal creeds of Jerusalem, Antioch (John Chrysostom) and Mopsuestia, and in the creed of 341(a), while others contain the phrase εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος e.g. the creeds of the Ap. Const., of Arius and Euzoius, and of 381.

The use of 'abremissa' (peccatorum) for the usual 'remissio' is distinctive. The nearest parallel quoted by Lewis and Short in their Latin Dictionary is 'remissam pecc-:atorum' in Tertullian (adv. Marc.4.18) and in Cyprian (Ep.59).

The creed of Arles has been reconstructed from the Sermon on the creed which is included in the Missale Gallicanum Vetus (P.L.72.348f.). This sermon, delivered either at the Traditio symboli or at the subsequent Redditio, has been shown by Morin on grounds of style to be the work of Caesarius, bishop of Arles 503-543 (Rev.Bén.46, 1934, pp.178f.).

Kelly quotes the creed as follows (op.cit.pp.179):

Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae;
Credo et in Iesum Christum filium eius unigenitum sempiternum,
qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus est de Maria virgine,
passus est sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus,
descendit ad inferna,
tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
ascendit ad caelos,
sedit ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis,
inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos;
Credo in sanctum Spiritum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam,
sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem, vitam aeternam.

Words and phrases underlined occur in the Old Roman creed.

Kinship with the other two Gallic creeds is shown in the second article which includes the clauses 'qui conceptus ... virgine' and 'sedit ... omnipotentis', and in the third art-:icle which contains 'sanctorum communionem' and 'vitam aeternam'.

The creed, however, also has its distinctive features: in the first article it adds 'creatorem caeli et terrae'; in the second it describes Christ as 'unigenitum sempiternum', omits 'dominum nostrum', has 'de Maria ..., adds 'descendit ad in-:ferna and has 'sedit' for the usual Western 'sedet'; in the third/

third it uses the term 'catholicam' in describing the Church.

The phrase 'creatorem caeli et terrae' is rare in the West: it may have been included in the 4C creed of Remesiana and it is paralleled to some extent in the three African creeds, all of which have 'universorum creatorem'. In the East it occurs in various forms in all but three of the baptismal creeds, viz. those of Alexandria, of Macarius and of Arius and Euzoius; and in all the conciliar creeds except those of 357 and 360.

In the second article the epithet 'unigenitum' occurs in the West only in the creed of Toulon and in that of Auxentius of Milan, who came from Cappadocia; it corresponds exactly to the μονογενῆ (rendered 'unigenitum' in Cassian's version of the creed of Antioch) of all the Eastern creeds except those of Mac-:arius, who refers to the Son only as τὸν ὁμοούσιον αὐτοῦ λόγον, and of Arius and Euzoius. No other Western creed uses 'sempi-:ternum' or any phrase of similar meaning: it may be intended to convey the idea contained in phrases such as πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων and πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως found in the Eastern creeds of Jerusalem, Caesarea, Antioch, Mopsuestia and the Ap. Const. and in the con-:ciliar creeds of 341, 359 and 360. The omission of 'dominum nostrum' is paralleled, possibly in the creed of Remesiana, and certainly in that of Carthage in the West, and in the East in the creed of Macarius and in the conciliar creeds of 341(a), 359 and 360. 'de Maria virgine' occurs only here; elsewhere the preposition used is 'ex', ἐκ ; but where the expression 'natus de Spiritu sancto et Maria virgine' occurs 'de' is implied e.g. in the Old Roman creed, the creed quoted by Augustine in Sermons 212-4, and the 6C Spanish creed.

The verb 'patior' appears elsewhere in the West in the creed of Toulon, the three Spanish creeds and those of Milan and Remesiana; in the East in the creeds of Caesarea and of Arius and Euzoius/

Arius and Euzoius, and in the conciliar creeds of 325, 341 and 381. Its use in this context is well-established in the N.T. e.g. 1 Peter 3.18 and is found in 2C and 3C writings such as Justin's'Dialogue with Trypho'126, Irenaeus' 'Adv. Haer.1.10.1' and Tertullian's 'Adv. Marc.1.11'. 'mortuus' in this context is likewise found in 2C and 3C works (Justin, Dial.63; Tertullian, De carne Christi 5; Ignatius, ad Trall.9); it appears in the Western creeds of Remesiana and Hippo, and in the Eastern creeds of Alexandria, Macarius and the Ap. Const.

The clause 'descendit ad inferna' occurs in the West only in the creeds of Aquileia and of 6C Spain, in the East only in the conciliar creeds of 359 and 360 where it is further elaborated. Kelly holds (op.cit.pp.378) that at Aquileia the clause was probably not a recent addition and that the Descent in all likelihood 'figured very early in Eastern creed material': in support he cites its mention in the doxology of the 3C Syrian Didascalia, the creed of the Persian Aphraates dated c.340, and the 3C Acts of Thomas. He accordingly concludes: 'it is very likely that the West admitted it to its formularies under Eastern influence' (ibid.pp.379). The form 'sedit' is unusual in the West and occurs only here and in the creed of Ruspe; in the East the corresponding participle appears in the creeds of Jerusalem and the Ap. Const. and in the creed of 341.

In the third article the epithet 'catholica' is applied to the Church only in the Western creeds of Remesiana, of 6C Spain and of the Mozarabic liturgy; in the East it occurs in the creeds of Jerusalem, the Ap. Const., Alexandria and Mopsuestia, and of Arius and Euzoius, and in the conciliar creeds of 325, 341(c) and 381. The word was widely used, however, in early Christian literature and there is no reason to see here a case of Eastern influence upon the West at some later stage.

In Confessio c.4 Patrick makes a statement of his faith in credal form. The context of his declaration is significant. The Confessio itself - basically a defence of his life, work and beliefs - was written 'in senectute' (C10). It contains the most solemn protestations of veracity that a Christian bishop could give: 'Non ignoro testimonium Domini mei qui in Psalmo testatur: 'Perdes eos qui loquuntur mendacium' (Ps.5.6). Et iterum inquit: 'Os quod mentitur occidit animam' (Wisdom 1.11). Et idem Dom-:inus in evangelio inquit: 'Verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines reddent pro eo rationem in die iudicii' (Mt.12.36). Unde autem vehementer debueram cum timore et tremore metuere hanc sententiam in die illa ubi nemo se poterit subtrahere vel abscondere, sed omnes omnino reddituri sumus rationem etiam min-:imorum peccatorum ante tribunal Domini Christi' (C7,8). In the light of these words we can only conclude that the credal statement expresses, as adequately as language can, the gist of the faith held and taught by Patrick. Furthermore, the par-:enthetical 'ut didicimus', if accepted as genuine, indicates in all probability that it represents the faith that he himself was taught as a boy in the village of Bannaventa Berniae in Britain, for there is no suggestion in the Confessio or Epistola that he ever had to repudiate in later life what he had first learnt but neglected in boyhood. This statement, therefore, is of crucial interest in any consideration of the possible form of a 4/5C Romano-British baptismal creed.

The text of Patrick's declaration of faith is given by Bieler as follows:

Quia non est alius Deus nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec praeter Deum Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a quo est omne principium, omnia tenentem, ut didicimus;

Et huius filium/

Et huius filium Iesum Christum, quem cum Patre scilicet semper fuisse testamur, ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem (et) inenarrabiliter genitum ante omne principium,
et per ipsum facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia,
hominem factum,
morte devicta
in caelis ad Patrem receptum, et dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen caelestium et terrestrium et infernorum ut omnis lingua confiteatur ei quia Dominus et Deus est Iesus Christus
quem credimus et expectamus adventum ipsius mox futurum, iudex vivorum atque mortuorum, qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua;
Et effudit in nobis habunde Spiritum sanctum, donum et pignus inmortalitatis, qui facit credentes et oboedientes ut sint filii Dei et coheredes Christi;
Quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in trinitate sacri nominis.

It is clear at once that Patrick is not here making a bare recital of the baptismal creed he knew and taught; but, however much elaborated, it would appear to contain not a few echoes of such a formula.

There are six notable omissions:

1. the title 'dominus' is not ascribed to Christ;
2. there is no mention of the Nativity from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary;
3. there is no specific reference to the Crucifixion 'sub Pontio Pilato';
4. there is no direct mention of the Resurrection;
5. there is no precise description of the Session of the Risen Christ at the right hand of God;
6. there is no elaboration of the third article beyond the giv-

ing/

the giving of the Holy Spirit and His work of sanctification.

1. The omission of 'dominus' may or may not be significant, Elsewhere in the Confessio Patrick does ascribe this title to Christ e.g. in c.8 'ante tribunal Domini Christi' where he is quoting 2 Cor.5.10 and deliberately inserts it; also in c.20 'a Christo Domino meo subventus sum'. But its absence from the opening phrase of article ii may suggest that it was not includ-:ed in the creed which Patrick inherited. The majority of bapt-:ismal creeds, Eastern and Western, use this title: of the East-:ern, only those of the Ap. Const. and of Macarius omit it and the former includes it in article iii: of the Western, only the 5C creed of Carthage and the 6C creed of Arles leave it out. The only synodal creeds that omit the title are those regarded as favouring or positively supporting Arianism, viz. creed a. of 341 and the creeds of 359 and 360.

2. The Nativity from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary is mentioned in every other Western baptismal creed known to us. In Eastern creeds practice varies: those of Jerusalem, Caesarea and Arius and Euzoius speak in general terms of the Incarnation using an expression such as σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα; those of the Ap. Const., Antioch and Mopsuestia mention that Christ was born from the Virgin Mary, and the two Egyptian creeds include a similar reference. Of the creeds associated with synods and councils, that of Nicaea alone confines itself to the use of the general terms κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα; those of early 325, all four of 341, the 'Blasphemy' and the creed of 359 mention the birth from the Virgin Mary, while those of 360 and 381 speak of the birth from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary.

3. The omission of the Crucifixion is unparalleled in Western creeds: all without exception use the word 'crucifixus':

Patrick himself uses it in Ep.7: 'pro quibus mortuus est et cruci-:fixus'; several also use 'passus', viz. those of Remesiana, of Arles and Toulon, and the three Spanish creeds; only the creed of Riez, and possibly that of Ruspe, omit the phrase 'sub Pontio Pil-:ato'. Of the Eastern baptismal creeds only two omit the partic-:iple σταυρωθέντα, using παθόντα instead, viz. the creeds of Caesarea and of Arius and Euzoius; those of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Macarius leave out the dating phrase. Among the synodal and conciliar creeds those of 325, 341, 341a, 341b, and the 'Blasphemy' use the verb παθεῖν; 341c, 359, 360 and 381 all have σταυρωθέντα and 381 in-:cludes the dating phrase ἐπὶ Π

4. All the creeds, with the sole exception of the 'Blasphemy' refer expressly to the Resurrection by using a verb such as ἀναστάντα, ἀνέστη, resurrexit; only those of Arius and Euzoius and of 341a have the verb alone: the others add one or more of the phrases 'tertia die', τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ; 'a mortuis', ἐκ νεκρῶν ; 'vivus a mortuis'.

5. The great majority of creeds make specific mention of the Session at the right hand of God: all Western creeds do so with-:out exception: but three Eastern creeds, those of Caesarea, Antioch, and of Arius and Euzoius, the conciliar creed of Nicaea and the 'Blasphemy' omit all reference to it.

6. In the third article all Western creeds mention at least four subjects of belief, the Holy Spirit, the Church, the forgiveness of sins and the resurrection: several add a fifth, eternal life, or in one case baptism: four have a sixth, the communion of saints. Of the Eastern creeds that of Caesarea alone mentions only the Holy Spirit: Macarius has two items, the Holy Spirit and the re-:surrection: the rest, where complete, have five or six items. The synodal and conciliar creeds, with the exception of 341a and 381, confine themselves to a mention of the Holy Spirit.

Since Patrick's credal statement appears to be in a category apart from the Western creeds listed by Kelly, it will repay study to examine it phrase by phrase in an endeavour to trace possible sources and influences, direct or remote, proximate or ultimate.

Article i:

a) 'non est alius Deus nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec praeter Deum Patrem ingenitum'

Patrick begins with this emphatic statement of the Oneness of God. This doctrine is not incorporated in Western creeds as a rule, but it does occur in the creed of Priscillian, who uses the word 'unus', and in that of Auxentius, bishop of Milan, 355-374, who has 'unum solum Deum': the latter, howevern may be of eastern origin. In contrast, Eastern creeds invariably lay stress on this doctrine by inserting εἷς or εἷς-μόνος; the synod-:al and conciliar creeds, likewise, with the one exception of creed b. of 341.

Basically this is a Biblical doctrine and Patrick's language seems to reflect that of the LXX, e.g. Isaiah 44.6f. ἐγὼ πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα· πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστι θεός.

Isaiah 45.21f. ἐγὼ ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν ἐμοῦ — οὐκ ἔστι πλήρες ἐμοῦ. Ἐπιστράφητε ἐπ' ἐμὲ, καὶ σωθήσεσθε, οἱ ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς· ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος.

a text that might well have a special appeal for Patrick; sim-:ilarly Zech.14.9 καὶ ἔσται Κύριος εἰς βασιλέα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν· ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσται Κύριος εἷς, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἕν, κυκλῶν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

and Ex.20.2 οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ, and Tobit 13.4 καθότι αὐτὸς Κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ θεὸς αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἡμῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Statements similar to Patrick's in content and in expression, particularly in the use of 'praeter', are to be found, as Oulton points out, in the writings of Irenaeus (adv. haer.1.15, 2.41), Hilary (De Trin.5.37) and Arnobius Junior (P.L.53.241).

b) 'ingenitum' is the Latin equivalent of the Greek ἀγέννητος ; it occurs in the creed which Arius sent in 318 to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and which is regarded as the classic statement of his beliefs, the creed of Alexandria itself, that of the Ap. Const., and the creed of Ulfilas; it also appears in the preliminary formula of the council of Nicaea. The term is quite widely used in early Christian literature and Oulton quotes from Irenaeus (adv. haer.4.63.2), Origen (in Joh.2.10), Phoebadius of Agen (c. Arianos 16.21, P.L.20.24,29), Faustus of Riez (De Sp. Sancto, C.S.E.L.21.115) and others.

c) 'sine principio' corresponds to the Greek epithet ἄναρχος ; the phrase is found in two creeds, that submitted by Arius in 318 and the 'Blasphemy' of 357; and Oulton quotes it from the writings of Arnobius Junior (P.L.53.257).

d) 'a quo est omne principium' corresponds in general to the thought of the Pauline clause ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα (1 Cor.8.6) which is incorporated verbatim in the creed of the Ap. Const. and in the synodal creeds of 341, 341b, and 360. Oulton quotes the use of the term 'principium' in the same context from the writings of Hilary (De syn.59.60), Augustine (De Trin.4.18-29, c. Max. 2.17.4, P.L.42.908,784) and Prosper of Aquitaine (in Ps.119.3, P.L.51.319).

e) 'omnia tenentem' may be a synonym, as Bieler suggests, or even a MS error, as Oulton thinks, for the customary 'omnipotentem' which corresponds to the Greek παντοκράτωρ . The epithet is found in all the Western and Eastern creeds, and in all synodal and conciliar creeds with the sole exception of 341a. Patrick himself uses the word in C19 and C60. On the other hand Oulton shows that the form 'omnitenens' is employed, often in combination with 'omnipotens', in Christian literature of the period e.g. by Augustine (Conf.7.15; 11.13; De Genesi 8.26, P.L.34. 391), in Sermonis Arianorum frag.P.L.13.604), and that earlier

still Irenaeus and Novatian convey the same idea in phrases such as 'omnia capiens' (Iren. adv. haer.2.47.2), 'continens omnia' (ibid.2.1.1.), 'continens cuncta' (Nov. De Trin.ii, P.L.3.389). The creed of 341 contains a comparable phrase τὸν πάντων δημιουργόν τε καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ προνοητήν.

f) 'ut didicimus': Bieler retains this reading and points out that it occurs at the end of the first article of the creed of Victorinus, bishop of Pettau in Upper Pannonia, who was martyr-:ed c.304; White on the other hand prefers 'ut dicimus', the reading found in Jerome's recension of Victorinus' work (Texts for Students no.4, S.P.C.K., 1918). It is worthy of note that Victorinus' first article is extremely brief: '"mensura" autem fidei est mandatum domini nostri: patrem omnipotentem, ut di-:dicimus, ...; while in Jeromes recension it appears as:'... patrem confiteri omnipotentem; ut dicimus et huius filium Christum ...'i.e. with 'ut dicimus' in the second article. If, however, 'ut didicimus' is Patrick's own comment and not a somewhat superfluous importation into an article which other-:wise owes nothing to Victorinus or Jerome, then the straight-:forward conclusion would be that it relates to Patrick's own experience.

If Patrick in C4 is amplifying from various sources, Biblical, credal and literary, the first article of the creed which he himself learnt in Britain and which he now teaches in Ireland, it is arguable that behind this elaborated state-:ment there lies a fairly typical credal assertion: 'Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem' to which are added two phrases, one indicating God's relation to the creation, the other stressing that He is eternal. For the first, the three N. African creeds provide as an example 'universorum creatorem, regem saeculorum', that of Arles and possibly that of Remes-:iana 'creatorem caeli et terrae'; in the East, almost every

creed provides a precedent with phrases such as ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς (Jerusalem); τῶν πάντων δημιουργόν τε καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ προνοητήν. (Dedication Council, 341). For the second concept, the N. African creeds alone in the West set an example with the word 'immortalem'; Auxentius, whose creed may be of Eastern proven-:ance, uses the same expression; so,too, does the 'Blasphemy'.

Article ii

a) 'quem cum Patre scilicet semper fuisse testamur'

The doctrine of the eternity of the Son, to which this clause bears testimony, is founded upon the words of Jn.1.1,2: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ Λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος. Οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν The only Western creed which includes a reference to the doctrine is that of Arles which uses the word 'sempiternus'. None of the Eastern baptismal creeds make any mention of it. It comes to the fore, however, in several of the synodal and conciliar creeds. In the creed of 325 and its preliminary formula it appears as the orthodox reply to the claim of Arius in 318 that God alone is eternal and that there was a time when the Son did not exist: the latter states unequivocally 'Who exists everlastingly and did not at one time not exist' (Kelly,pp.209); the former adds an anathema on the Arian assertion. The creed of 341 includes a quotation of Jn.1.1: τὸν ὄντα ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, preferring the Biblical statement to the paraphrase of it sugg-:ested in its preliminary formula, 341a: πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ὑπάρχοντα καὶ συνόντα τῷ γεγεννηκότι αὐτὸν πατρὶ ...

b) 'ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud Patrem (et) inenarr-:abiliter genitum ante omne principium'

The second half of the phrase undoubtedly speaks of the gener-:ation of the Son from the Father. The expression 'apud Patrem' is strange in such a context: Bieler points out that it occurs similarly in the creed of Victorinus of Pettau which reads: 'ante/

'ante originem saeculi spiritaliter apud patrem genitum' and that it may there have been a mistranslation of παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. Jerome accepted the reading although he altered 'spiritaliter' to 'spiritalem'. The phrase 'apud Patrem' itself, however, corresponds to the πρὸς τὸν Θεόν of Jn.1.1 and it is just possible that in his first part Patrick is drawing upon a further statement of the eternal co-existence of the Son with the Father. A precedent for such a combination of the two doctrines exists in the preliminary formula of 341, i.e. 341a quoted above. There is the further point that the expression 'ante originem saeculi' is roughly equivalent in meaning to the Greek phrase πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων, and this latter, which is widely used in Eastern baptismal and conciliar creeds in connection with the pre-cosmic generation of the Son, is in creed 341a employed with regard to His eternal co-existence with the Father. 'Spiritaliter'and its adjective 'spiritalis' are Biblical terms, used chiefly in the Pauline letters e.g. 1 Cor.2.14, Rom. 8.6. The only creed in which it occurs is that of Victorinus.

In the second part, which speaks unequivocally of the Son's generation from the Father, the adverb 'inenarrabiliter' is rare, but the thought that it conveys is thoroughly Biblical for it attributes to the relationship between Son and Father the same ineffable quality that the O.T. and Jewish worship ascribed to the Divine Name.

'ante omne principium genitum': all the Eastern baptismal creeds except the two Egyptian use the phrase πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων with γεννηθέντα, γεγεννημένον in referring to the pre-cosmic generation of the Son, some including also the Biblical μονογενής; so, too, do the synodal creeds of 341c, 359 and 360 and the creed of 381. The actual words 'ante omne principium' or the Greek equivalent πρὸ πάσης ἀρχῆς are found in the creed of Auxentius and in those/

and in those associated with the councils of Ariminum and Sel-:eucia in 359/360, including the one ascribed by Kattenbusch and others to Phoebadius of Agen (Jerome, Dial. adv. Iucif.17, P.L.23.170). Phoebadius also uses the phrase in his Liber c. Arianos 16, P.L.20.25.

If the first as well as the second part of the whole phrase 'ante originem ... principium' is taken to refer to the pre-cosmic generation of the Son, it is significant that the mode of this generation was very much under discussion at the time of the Council of Nicaea in 325 and in the period 357-360. In early 325 the preliminary formula stated that the Son was 'be-:gotten in an ineffable, indescribable manner; because only the Father Who begot and the Son Who was begotten know (for 'no-one knows the Father but the Son, nor the Son but the Father')...'. The 'Blasphemy' of 357, rejecting the terms ὁμοούσιος, ὁμοιούσιος , gave as reasons that they were not con-:tained in Scripture and that 'the subject is beyond the know-:ledge of man, and no-one can explain the nativity of the Son, regarding Whom it is written, 'Who shall explain His generat-:ion?'. For it is plain that only the Father knows how He be-:got the Son, and the Son how He was begotten by the Father'. the creed of 359 included the clause 'Whose generation no-one knows save only the Father Who begat Him', οὗ τὴν γένεσιν οὐδεὶς ἐπίσταται εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ.

so, too, the creed ratified in 360.

c) <u>'et per ipsum facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia'</u>

The doctrine of the Son as Agent of Creation is securely based in the Logos-doctrine of O.T. and N.T., in Pauline teaching and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, particularly the following extracts:

1. Cor.8.6: δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα

Col. 1.16: τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται.

Hebrews 1.2: δι' οὗ καὶ ἐποίησεν τοὺς αἰῶνας. The Eastern baptismal creeds, with the exception of those of Egypt, either quote the relative clause of 1 Cor. 8.6 by itself or combine it with an extract from Col. 1.16. Only two include the phrase ὁρατά τε καὶ ἀόρατα, namely the creed of the Ap. Const. and that of Auxentius which reads: per ipsum unum omnia facta sunt, visibilia et invisibilia. Of the creeds associated with councils the preliminary formula of 341, (341a), and the creed ratified in 360 both have this same combination: δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τά τε ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα. The orthodox creeds of 325 and 381, on the other hand, use the phrase πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν of God the Creator in article i. The longer form found in the Ap. Const. occurs also in Latin in the formula of 359 attributed to Phoebadius of Agen: 'per quem omnia facta sunt, quae in caelis, quae in terra, visibilia et invisibilia', and similarly expressed in the Latin versions of two earlier creeds mentioned by Hilary, the semi-Arian creed of 343 (De Syn. 34, P.L.10.507) drawn up at Philippopolis and that of 351 (ibid.38, P.L.10.559) compiled at Sirmium.

d) 'hominem factum' has a N.T. basis in such passages as ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος (Phil.2.7) and εἷς καὶ μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς (1 Tim.2.5). It corresponds to ἐνανθρωπήσαντα and ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον which occur in the creeds of Jerusalem and Mopsuestia respectively and are found in the conciliar creeds of 325 and 381 (ἐνανθρωπήσαντα) and in that of 341 (ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον). The Latin form appears in the creed of Victorinus of Pettau as 'factum hominem', which Jerome transposes to read 'hominem factum'.

e) 'morte devicta' has as its N.T. authority such statements as θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει (Rom.6.9); κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος (1 Cor.15. 54-7); Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καταργήσαντος μὲν τὸν θάνατον.... (2 Tim.1.10); and ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς (Hosea 13.14) in the O.T. The concept of vanquishing death is not expressed/

in any of the Eastern baptismal creeds listed by Kelly. Among the conciliar creeds only those of 359/360 touch on the idea and they both combine it with reference to the Descent to the place of the dead e.g. the creed of 360, which had already in-:cluded the phrase ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου in its mention of the Nativity, reads: ὅντινα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ᾅδης ἐπτήξεν.
The only Western creed which gives expression to the concept is that of Victorinus of Pettau and it uses the identical phrase 'morte devicta', which Jerome retains unaltered. The phrase is found in early Christian literature e.g. Tertullian, adv. Prax. 23, P.L.2.188); Hilary, De Trin.11.34, P.L.10.422, where he quotes the Itala reading of 1 Cor.15.26 as 'novissime devicta est ab eo mors'; Priscillian, Tract.1.3, C.S.E.L.18.5.
It is to be noted that White prefers the reading 'devicta morte' in C4.

f) <u>'in caelis ad Patrem receptum'</u> is founded upon N.T. phrases and clauses such as: τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑψωθείς (Acts 2.33); ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ (1 Tim.3.16); and, from the longer ending of Mark's Gospel, ἀνελήμφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (Mark 16.19); likewise Lk.24.52 (margin) καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, and Acts 1.11: οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν: ... . The early Church saw a parallel to the Ascension in the O.T. account of the translation of Elijah: καὶ ἀνελήφθη Ἠλιοὺ ἐν συσσεισμῷ ὡς εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. (2 Kings 2.11, LXX). Most of the Eastern baptismal creeds use an active verbal form, the one exception being that of Alex-:andria which has: ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν οὐρανοῖς . Among Western creeds those of Carthage and of Victorinus of Pettau use a passive form, the former reading 'assumptus est in caelos', the latter 'in caelis cum corpore a patre receptum'. Of the creeds assoc-:iated with councils, only the preliminary creed of 325 (Kelly, pp.210), and those of 341c, 359 and 360 use the passive.
The actual phrase/

The actual phrase 'receptum in caelis' is used by Tertullian in De Virg. Vel.1, and Irenaeus writes 'receptus est in caelos' in adv. Haer.iii.11.6.
White prefers the textual reading 'in caelis a patre receptum' in C4.

At this point in his credal statement Patrick incorporates a paraphrase of Phil.2.9-11.

g) <u>'quem credimus et expectamus adventum eius mox futurum, iudex vivorum atque mortuorum'</u>

The last phrase, 'iudex ...' is a direct quotation from Acts 10. 42: ὅτι οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ ὡρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν.
All creeds, Western and Eastern alike, use a verbal form, a part-:iciple or the infinitive.
The Parousia is mentioned in all creeds except those of Alex-:andria and the 'Blasphemy'. In Western creeds it appears in the form 'inde venturus/ venturum/ venturus est' (Rome has 'unde'). Only five Eastern creeds include a reference to time, viz. those of the Ap. Const. and 341c which have: ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ; that of Macarius which reads: ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ; and those of 359/360 which use: ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀναστάσεως.
The imminence of the Parousia, indicated by Patrick's use of 'mox', is suggested by such N.T. passages as Mt.24.36f., 1 Thess. 4.15f.; 5.23.

h) <u>'qui reddet unicuique secundum facta sua'</u>

The doctrine expressed in this clause is securely based both in the O.T. and in the N.T. Ps.61 (62).12 reads: ὅτι σὺ ἀποδώσεις ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ; Prov.24.12: αὐτὸς οἶδε πάντα, ὃς ἀποδίδωσιν ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ . St Paul quotes the O.T. saying in Rom.2.6, and the same belief is voiced in Mt.16.27: μέλλει γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεσθαι ..... καὶ τότε ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῦ ; and likewise in Jn.5.29 and 2 Cor.5.10./

and 2 Cor.5.10. None of the baptismal creeds, Eastern or West-:ern, include a clause of this kind. It does occur, however, in three mid-4C conciliar creeds quoted by Kelly, those of 341c and 359/60, as follows: 341c: καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ; 359: ἀποδιδόντα ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ; 360: ἵνα ἀποδῷ ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Oulton quotes a similar Latin phrase in three creeds recorded by Hilary, those of Philippopolis in 343, of Sirmium in 357, and of Germinius, bishop of Sirmium in 366, all of which use practic-:ally the same words: reddere unicuique secundum opera sua.

Article iii

a) 'et effudit in nobis habunde Spiritum sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis, qui facit credentes et obedientes ut sint filii Dei et coheredes Christi'

The various phrases which go to make up this statement are thor-:oughly Biblical in content and in expression. In his sermon on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2.17f.) Peter quotes the words of Joel 2.28f. καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ Θεός, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα ; Titus 3.5f. speaks of the Holy Spirit. Πνεύματος Ἁγίου οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως; in Acts 2.37f Peter tells the people who respond to his teaching: Μετανοήσατε καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν .... καὶ λήμψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (Vulgate tr. 'donum'); St. Paul speaks of the 'pledge of the Spirit' in 2 Cor.1.22: δοὺς τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, and similarly in Eph.1.13f; he uses two terms for 'immortality', ἀφθαρσία and ἀθανασία, the former in Rom.2.7 and 2 Tim.1.10, both together in in 1 Cor.15.53f., and the latter in 1 Tim.6.16; and 'obedience to the faith' is a familiar Pauline concept e.g. Rom.1.5: δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ; similarly Rom.15.17; 16.19; 2 Cor.2.9. For the phrases 'filii Dei' and 'coheredes Christi', too, there are precedents in the Pauline letters, particularly in Rom.8.11 f.: ὅσοι γὰρ Πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοί εἰσιν Θεοῦ ... αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα συμμαρτυρεῖ τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐσμὲν τέκνα Θεοῦ, εἰ δὲ τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι· κληρονόμοι μὲν Θεοῦ, συνκληρονόμοι δὲ Χριστοῦ ....

It is not surprising, therefore, to find these phrases used in early Christian literature. Irenaeus, for instance, writes of the Holy Spirit,'effusus est in nos' and 'pignus hoc habitans in nobis iam spirituales efficit et aborbitur mortale ab immortalitate' (adv. Haer.4.55.6; 5.8.1) and of the work of Christ, 'Christus, qui filios dei facit credentes in nomen suum' (ibid.3.6.2). Hilary/

Hilary speaks of the Spirit as 'immortalitatis pignus' (De Trin. 1.36, P.L.10.487); Augustine writes: 'sanitatis futurae atque perpetuae nunc pignus spiritum dedit' (c.Iul.ii.137, P.L.44.149).

Only a few of the Eastern baptismal creeds mention the work of the Holy Spirit. The Jerusalem creed describes it in Biblical terms: καὶ εἰς ἓν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις; that of Mopsuestia uses the epithet ζωοποιόν ; that of the Ap.Const. elaborates further: βαπτίζομαι καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τουτέστι τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ ἐνεργῆσαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, ἁγίοις ὕστερον δὲ ἀποστολὰν καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις... καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν τῇ ..... ἐκκλησίᾳ. In the West the creed of Auxentius confines itself to Biblical terms: 'et in spiritum sanctum paracletum, quem misit dominus et deus noster salvator Iesus Christus discipulis, spiritum veritatis'. The creed of Victorinus reads: 'et pignus immortalitatis, hunc per prophetas praedicatum, hunc per legem conscriptum, hunc per manum dei et per verbum patris omnipotentis et conditorem orbis totius mundi'; and Jerome emends thus: 'effudisse spiritum sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis ... esse manum dei et verbum patris et conditorem orbis'. Among the conciliar creeds that of 341 is the first to describe the work of the Spirit: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ εἰς παράκλησιν καὶ ἁγιασμὸν καὶ τελείωσιν τοῖς πιστεύουσι διδόμενον; and creed 341c elaborates it further: τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τουτέστι τὸν παράκλητον, ὅπερ ἐπαγγειλάμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄνοδον ἀπέστειλε διδάξαι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπομνῆσαι πάντα, δι' οὗ καὶ ἁγιασθήσονται οἱ τῶν εἰλικρινῶς εἰς αὐτὸν πεπιστευκότων ψυχαί ; the creed of 357 speaks of the Spirit 'per quem sanctificantur credentium in eum sinceriter animae', while those of 359/360 simply add a N.T. quotation, Jn.14.16-17,26 in 359, Jn.14.17 (paraphrased) in 360.

b) <u>'quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in trinitate sacri nominis'</u>

The N.T. nowhere uses the word 'Trinity' although the doctrine is securely/

is securely based in its teaching e.g. Mt.28.19: πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος;

likewise Jn.14; 15.26f.; and the Pauline literature passim. None of the baptismal creeds refer to the Trinity as such, al-:though the idea is contained to some extent in their three-fold form. Of the conciliar creeds only two make specific mention, namely those of 341 and 357. The former, after its description of the work of the Spirit (quoted above), quotes Mt.28.19 and expounds the text thus: δηλονότι πατρὸς ἀληθῶς πατρὸς ὄντος, υἱοῦ δὲ ἀληθῶς υἱοῦ ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀληθῶς ἁγίου πνεύματος ὄντος, τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ ἀργῶς κειμένων, ἀλλὰ σημαινόντων ἀκριβῶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἑκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ὑποστάσιν τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ δόξαν, ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει τρία, τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ ἕν.

and it concludes with a clear assertion of the primacy of the Scriptures for Christian doctrine. The creed of 357, the 'Blasphemy', sums up with the statement: ' the whole faith is summed up and secured in this, that the Trinity must always be preserved, as we read in the gospel, 'Go, baptize all nations in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. Complete, perfect is the number of the Trinity' (Kelly,pp.286). Oulton found no exact parallel to Patrick's Trinitarian phrase in early Christian literature, but the doctrine was well dis-:cussed in the 4C, as is evident from Hilary's 'De Trinitate'.

From this study of Patrick's credal statement it seems possible to disentangle four separate strands of thought and expression:

(i) the framework of a baptismal creed of the Eastern type;

(ii) a Biblical strand which may spring directly from Patrick's own knowledge of the text or may be due to the emphasis of the creed of 341 on the primacy of the Scriptures;

(iii) language and thought which are related to the Arian controversy;

(iv) phraseology which is paralleled in, if not derived from, various 4C creeds, especially those of Victorin-:us of Pettau (with Jerome's recension of it), Auxent-:ius of Milan, and the conciliar creeds of 325,341, and 357-60.

(i) The following Latin version of an Eastern type creed can be reconstructed from Patrick's statement in C4 and references elsewhere:

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem et ingenitum;
et in filium eius Iesum Christum,
ante originem saeculi ex patre genitum,
per quem facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia,
hominem factum,
pro nobis mortuum et crucifixum, (from E7)
in caelis ad Patrem receptum,
venturum iudicare vivos et mortuos;
et in Spiritum sanctum et vitam aeternam.

(iii) Several of the terms and expressions used in article(i) appear to spring from the context of the Arian dispute: 'ingen-:itum', ἀγέννητον ; 'sine principio', ἄναρχος ; 'a quo est omne principium', the source and origin of all existence - all vigorously/

vigorously asserted by Arius in his creed of 318; likewise the omission of any reference to God as the Creator, which is characteristic of Arian teaching (318, 357, 360). In article (ii) the emphasis on the eternal co-existence of the Son with the Father is anti-Arian. The term 'inenarrabiliter' is also linked with the Arian controversy.

(ii) and (iv) can be tabulated as follows:

	Baptismal (E.)	Creeds (W.)	Conciliar Creeds	Biblical	Arian	Literature
Article i						
(a) non est alius Deus ...	✓	Pr. Aux.		O.T.		✓
(b) ingenitum	Alex. Ap.C.	Ulf.	325a		318	✓
(c) sine principio					318 357	✓
(d) a quo est omne principium	Ap.C?		341 341b 360	N.T.		✓
(e) omnia tenentem	✓	✓	✓	O.T. N.T.		✓
(f) ut didicimus		V.				
Article ii						
(a) quem cum Patre ...		Arles?	325a 325 341a 341	N.T.		
(b) ante originem saeculi ...						
apud Patrem		V. J.	341a	N.T.		
ante originem saeculi	✓	V. J.	✓			
spiritaliter		V.		N.T.		
inenarrabiliter			325a?	O.T.	357 359?	
ante omne principium genitum	✓	Aux.	341c 359 360 381?		359 360	✓
(c) et per ipsum ...	Ap.C.	Aux.Phoeb,	341a	O.T. N.T.	343 351 360	
(d) hominem factum	Jerus, Mops.	V.? J.	325 341 381	N.T.		
(e) morte devicta		V. J.		N.T.	359 360?	✓

	Baptismal (E.)	Credds (W.)	Conciliar Creeds	Biblical	Arian	Literature
Article ii						
(f) in caelis ad Patrem receptum	Alex.	V.	325a 341c 359 360	N.T.		✓
(g) quem credimus et expectamus ...				N.T.		
(h) qui reddet ...			341c 345 357 359 360 366	O.T. N.T.		
Article iii						
(a) et effudit in nobis ...	Ap.C.?	V. J.	341 341c 357?	N.T.		✓
(b) quem confitemur et adoramus ...			341 357			✓

Abbreviations

Alex.	Alexandria
Ap.C.	Apostolic Constitutions
Aux.	Auxentius
J.	Jerome
Jerus.	Jerusalem
Mops.	Mopsuestia
Phoeb.	Phoebadius of Agen
Pr.	Priscillian
Ulf.	Ulfilas
V.	Victorinus of Pettau

When and by whom the four strands were woven together must be a matter of speculation. The Biblical strand, as al-:ready mentioned, may be due to Patrick himself or it may re-:flect, at least in part, the outlook of the creed of 341 which uses Biblical phraseology extensively, quotes from the text, anathematizes in its appendix certain Arian doctrines as con-:trary to the Scriptures and ends with an assertion of the primacy of the Biblical writings for Christian doctrine. Much depends on whether the first strand may be taken as correspond-:ing approximately to the creed which Patrick inherited in Britain. On that hypothesis the third and fourth strands may have been added at various times in the 4C by different bishops in Patrick's home-region.

Oulton, after a detailed study of c.4 of the Confessio, comes to the conclusion that it is primarily 'a thankful a acknowledgment of God's mercies as revealed in Jesus Christ and experienced in Patrick's life'; that Patrick knew and was dependent upon Victorinus' Commentary on the Apocalypse in the recension made by Jerome c.406; that the general structure and contents of his credal statement are taken from c.11 of Jerome's recension; that, apart from phrases directly borrowed from Jerome's recension, almost all Patrick's theological express-:ions in Confessio c.4 are paralleled in Gallican writers and documents of the 4C and 5C; and finally that Patrick was poss-:ibly acquainted in some form or another with a creed origin-:ally brought to the West from Cappadocia by Auxentius, bishop of Milan 355-374.

Bieler points out in his Commentary on the Confessio that c.4 is not, as it stands, a formal creed; he considers that 'a regular symbolum would be strange in the context' and notes that 'by 'quia' it is attached loosely to the theme of thanksgiving/

thanksgiving in c.3 which is resumed in c.5 by 'enim' as if c.4 did not exist'. The keynote of the whole work, he contends, is that 'Patrick wants to see the experiences of his life and the fulfilment of his mission in the light of his belief in the Holy Trinity'. But he stresses that c.4 is a whole 'not only in concept but also in structure' and it is his conclusion that 'it is based on a formal symbolum', 'a Gallican creed that he had learnt in his youth', which was 'partly based upon the creed of Victorinus of Pettau and was perhaps used later by Jerome in his recension of Victorinus' work'. In his article in J.Th.St., 1947, he examines Oulton's findings in detail and rejects them: 'Dr. Oulton is therefore hardly right in his assertion 'that the general plan of this credal passage is ... shaped by the passage in Victorinus-Jerome''; and he sums up his own views as follows: 'It would be safer to assume that Confessio 4 is based on a formal creed of Eastern character, more or less related to Gallican symbols still known, and that it was this creed which Patrick had learnt when studying in Gaul. The parallel in Victorinus is certainly most striking, but it remains doubtful whether Patrick derived these statements directly from that author. The parallelism might be explained also on the assumption that the creed which Patrick was taught in Gaul had been partly based on the original text of Victor-:inus. The Trinitarian character of the passages in Patrick and Victorinus-Jerome would then be a mere coincidence'.

Professor R.P.C. Hanson has now established convincingly that Patrick's debt, educationally and ecclesiastically, was to his native Britain and not to Gaul. Patrick's home was in Britain; his parents were British and owned an estate near Bannavem Taburniae/ Bannaventa Berniae. As Christine Mohrmann has shown/

has shown (The Latin of St. Patrick, pp.33), 'Latin was not the language of Patrick's daily intercourse'. Furthermore, it was to Britain, not to Gaul, that Patrick returned after his escape from six years' captivity in Ireland (Hanson, St. Patrick, pp.122, 125). As to the period between Patrick's return to Britain at the age of twenty-two and his second arrival in Ireland, this time as a bishop, this, according to Professor Hanson, 'is one of great obscurity. It was during this period that he visited Gaul, if he ever visited Gaul, and it was at this time that he acquired what education he had beyond an elementary one' (ibid., pp.125). During that period 'he certainly did not acquire a higher education'. 'He did during this time acquire a good knowledge of the Latin Bible, and he was at some point in it ordained deacon (Conf. 27)'. (ibid., pp.128). 'His references to his education, or lack of it, leave us no firm ground for deciding that Patrick went to Gaul, or anywhere other than Britain. His words consist most with the suggestion that Patrick spent the period intervening between his return from captivity and his being elected bishop as a cleric (deacon or presbyter), and possibly as a monk, in Britain'. Christine Mohrmann's conclusion that there is no sign in the Confessio or Epistola ad Coroticum of the sort of Latin spoken in Gallic or Continental monasteries generally 'surely tells against any long residence of Patrick in Gaul' (ibid., pp.128).

Likewise Professor Hanson has made it clear that Patrick's mission to Ireland originated from and was sponsored by the Church in Britain. 'There can be little doubt that Patrick was chosen bishop in Britain, consecrated there, and sent from there' (ibid., pp.109). Accordingly he accepts in general the view of Bury, McNeill, C. Mohrmann, Carney and J. Morris that 'the main/

main reading public envisaged by Patrick' in the Confessio 'was in Britain, probably for the most part bishops and other clergy' (ibid., pp.108), but he modifies it by adding 'but towards the end of the Confession the reader senses that Patrick, without turning his attention wholly from his audience in Britain, associates with them his friends, converts, and supporters in Ireland'... There is no hint in either work that Patrick envisages readers in Gaul (in Lérins or in Auxerre), or in Rome' (ibid., pp.109). Even the variously interpreted phrase 'domini cati rhetorici' 'places us under no obligation to conclude that Patrick was addressing an audience in Gaul. Clearly he was here writing for well-educated British persons, probably clergy, who were casting aspersions on his education and suggesting that it was not fitting that so ill-educated a person as Patrick should be a bishop in Ireland' (ibid., pp.112).

Professor Hanson accepts the view of Bieler that there is no sufficient evidence that Patrick knew Jerome's revision of Victorinus' Commentary on the Apocalypse and agrees with him that 'Patrick's rule of faith in Confession 4 is more likely to have come from some other symbol, which itself was based on or influenced by that of Victorinus, than to represent a direct borrowing from Victorinus. The coincidences with the rule of faith of Jerome's revision of Victorinus are not as striking as Oulton suggested, and may be the result of mere chance or even some common Gallican formula' (ibid., pp.173). But he goes on to point out that there is no reason to assume that Patrick learnt his rule in Gaul. 'We know nothing of doctrinal formulae current in Britain, but we must assume that they existed, and that they would in all probability be originally derived from the Gallic Church. There is no reason to doubt that Patrick found this rule of faith of his in the British Church' (ibid., pp.173,n.3)/

pp.173, n.3). A little later he writes: 'Patrick gives us, indeed, early in his Confession, a passage containing his rule of faith (4). It is a very conservative one, deriving origin-:ally from a very conservative writer, Victorinus of Pettau. Though it is entirely orthodox, it does not show much sign of influence from the doctrinal controversies of the fourth cent-:ury, and no consciousness whatever of fifth-century contro-:versies, such as Pelagianism and Nestorianism.' (ibid., pp.201).

J.N.D. Kelly has shown the close relationship of the 'rule of faith' to the formal creed (Early Christian Creeds, p.2 and passim), and in the light of his thorough examination of the whole matter one must at least discern in Confessio c.4 the foreshadowing or the echo of one British baptismal creed.

It is of interest to consider why Patrick inserted his credal statement in the Confessio, whether at the original time of writing or as an after-thought. It is hardly satisfactory to see it simply as an expression of thankfulness to God. Creeds, or their fore-runners, were at an early date used to claim orthodoxy of doctrine. The Council of Arles, 314, which was attended by British bishops, prescribed in Canon 9 that heretics who desired to join the Catholic Church should be 'asked the creed': interrogent eum symbolum. The canon applies to N. Africa but no doubt had a wider connotation. Kelly quotes it as follows: 'With regard to Africans, forasmuch as they practise rebaptism according to their own regulations, it is decided that if anyone comes to the Church out of heresy, they should address to him the symbol questions (interrogent eum symbolum). If they perceive that he has been baptized in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, it will only be necessary for a hand to be laid upon him so that he may re-:ceive the Holy Spirit. But if on being questioned he does not answer/

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY

J E R U S A L E M

Evidence for the liturgy of the Eucharist as celebrated at Jerusalem in the second half of the fourth century comes from two sets of lectures, the nineteen Catechetical lectures addressed to candidates preparing for baptism at Easter and the five lectures on the Sacraments given to the neophytes in Easter week. It is generally agreed that the first set are the authentic work of Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem c.348/50 - 386; according to Telfer (Cyril of Jerusalem, etc., 1955, Introd. pp. 38), the likeliest date on which they were delivered was in 350 shortly after Cyril had succeeded Maximus as bishop; F.L. Cross, on the other hand, prefers a slightly earlier date, 347/9, when Cyril was still a presbyter (Lectures on the Christian Sacra-:ments, 1978). It is less certain that the lectures on the Sacraments are to be attributed to Cyril. A number of scholars incline to the view that they reflect later usage; F.L. Cross (ibid., pp.xxxvif.) quotes Dr. W.J. Swaans (Le Museon lv, 1942, pp.1-43) who points out that one MS. (Cod. Monac, gr.394) assigns them to John, bishop of Jerusalem, 386-417, and three other MSS. (Ottobon. 86, 466, Monac. gr.278) to Cyril and John jointly, while there is no mention of them as the work of Cyril until the sixth/seventh century in the writings of Eustratius; similarly Jungmann suggests that the attitude of awe towards the consecrated elements inculcated in the final lecture (M.C. 5.20) indicates a later period. Telfer (Introd., pp.39f.) likewise argues that both the MSS. evidence and several features in the Eucharist described - the Epiclesis, the use of the Lord's Prayer, the interpretation of the effect of consecration on the elements, and the mention of 'emperors' (pl.) in the Eucharist-:ic Prayer - suit a date in the 390s. F.L. Cross, however, ends by stressing the points of correspondence between the two sets of lectures, e.g. the promise of post-baptismal lectures in Cat.18.33/

Cat.18.33, the backward references in M.C.1.9 and 5.1; he accepts them as the authentic work of Cyril, assigns them to 348, and makes the highly probable suggestion that John continued to use the substance of Cyril's original lectures.

There is no mention in the lectures on the Sacraments of the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy, no doubt because Cyril could take it for granted that his listeners were already thoroughly familiar with it. By tradition this part of the service was open to all - catechumens, penitents, interested pagans and others, as well as the 'faithful' - and all candid-:ates for baptism were expected to attend regularly during the period of preparation. There are, however, a number of incid-:ental references in the course of the Catechetical lectures which together give some indication of the content. There is little doubt that by and large it was derived from the Sabbath worship of the synagogue; now, adapted to the beliefs of the Christian community, it consisted of readings from the O.T. and N.T., the chanting of psalms or canticles, a sermon, and the blessing and formal dismissal of the catechumens and others.

Cyril frequently alludes to the Biblical passages read in Church and leaves us in no doubt of the centrality of the Scriptures in both worship and doctrine at Jerusalem. The serm-:on preached at the Sunday liturgy was primarily an exposition of one of the readings. Each of the Catechetical lectures was preceded by a relevant Biblical reading. The Procatechesis, which was given in the presence of the whole congregation, draws the attention of the candidates to the nature of the occasion thus: 'Look, I ask you, at this solemn setting of the Church. Give heed to the order and thought-out arranging of it, the Scripture lessons, the attendance of the entire ecclesiast-:ical body, the arrangements for teaching. Let the very place put/

put you in awe and be admonished by what you behold' (Procat.4). A little later on Cyril speaks of the impression made upon cat-:echumens by the Scripture readings and contrasts it with the new understanding which they will have after baptism: 'You were called catechumen, which means one into whom something is dinn-:ed from without. You heard mysteries without understanding anything. You heard Scriptures without plumbing their depth .. when you hear in future Scriptures concerning mysteries, you will understand things you knew nothing of' (Procat.6). Furthermore, the lectures assume that the candidates have some acquaintance with the Scriptures: in Cat.6.6, for instance, Cyril answers a hypothetical question from a listener who quotes Mt.18.10.

The Scriptures, Cyril emphasises, are divinely inspired: 'There is one God, the Father of Christ, and one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, and one Holy Spirit who sanctifies all and makes divine, who spoke in the Law and in the Prophets, in the old covenant and in the new' (Cat.4.16); and in reply to those who try to define the Son's generation from the Father he says: 'What but the Holy Spirit, whose words are sacred Scripture, 'knoweth the deep things of God'? (1 Cor. 2.10)'. He urges the candidates to read for themselves the Scriptures which are recited in Church: 'Be studious to learn, and that from the lips of the Church, all about the books of the O.T. and about those likewise of the N.T. But I charge you not to read any non-canonical book. For while you remain ignorant of the Scriptures that all confess to be inspired, why waste time on questionable reading? Read the divine Scriptures of the O.T., which is to say the twenty-two books interpreted by the seventy-two translators' (i.e. the Septuagint) (Cat.4.33). He describes how the Greek translation of the O.T. came to be written/

written and concludes: 'Just as the Scriptures had been verb-:ally inspired by the Holy Spirit, so the Holy Spirit guided their translation' (Cat.4.34). 'Read these twenty-two books', he repeats, 'and do not have anything at all to do with the uncanonical writings. Give your earnest care to those books only which we read without hesitation in church. The apostles, and the bishops who were set over the Church in ancient times, greatly excelled you both in prudence and in piety and they handed down these Scriptures to us. If you are a son of the Church you must not modify their canon' (Cat.4.35). Cyril names the twenty-two O.T. books, lists the accepted N.T. writ-:ings - which do not include Revelation - and finally renews his warning: 'Treat all other Christian writings as in a diff-:erent class. And anything that is not read in church do not you read privately' (Cat.4.36). It is worth noting that the book of Revelation was long subject to criticism in the East: Eusebius (H.E.3.24, 25) records that in his day, early in the fourth century, opinion about it was evenly divided and he himself is uncertain whether to include it among canonical books or among the spurious: it was not placed among canonical books at the Council of Laodicaea in c.360 and it was omitted from the early fifth century Peshitta version. In the West, however, it appears in the Muratorian canon at the latter part of the second century.

Cyril makes it clear to the candidates that the creed which he gives them to learn and later recite to him is secure-:ly based on the Scriptures: 'Now the one and only faith that you are to take and preserve in the way of learning and profess-:ing it is that which is now being committed to you by the Church as confirmed throughout the Scriptures ... And at this stage listen to the exact form of words and memorize this faith, leaving/

leaving it to the appropriate season for each of the articles which it contains to be built up from Holy Scripture. For these articles of our faith were not composed out of human opin-:ion, but are the principal points collected out of the whole of Scripture to complete a single doctrinal formulation of the faith' (Cat.5.12). This is the criterion for all the Church's doctrine. Of the Holy Spirit he writes: 'let us say about the Holy Spirit exactly what Scripture says and nothing else, and do not let us pry where Scripture does not answer' (Cat.16.2). On the Second Coming and the Antichrist he declares: 'these doctrines are not the fruit of ingenuity but are derived from the sacred Scriptures read in the church, particularly as gathered out of the prophecy of Daniel in our today's lection' (Cat.15.13). Similarly he will say nothing of the Son's gener-:ation from the Father except that 'He was begotten eternally and ineffably' (Cat.11.10), for 'the Holy Spirit Himself has not spoken in the Scriptures about the Son's generation from the Father' (ibid.12); and for the same reason he refuses to be led into a discussion on the Divine Nature or to use the term 'hypostasis': 'let us be content with this knowledge and not busy ourselves with questions about the divine nature or hypo-:stasis. I would have spoken of that had it been contained in Scripture. Let us not venture where Scripture does not lead, for it suffices for our salvation to know that there is Father, Son and Holy Spirit' (Cat.16.24). This scrupulous attitude is all the more important since not all Christians at Jerusalem can read the Scriptures for themselves: 'not everyone can read the Scriptures, some because they lack the learning and others because for one reason or another they find no opportunity to get to know them' (Cat.5.12).

There is/

There is no specific mention of the singing of psalms or canticles between the readings, but Cyril talks more than once in general terms of the singing of praise to God: 'if all the children of the Church throughout the world, both to this day and for all time to come, united to the task, we still should not be able worthily to hymn our Shepherd' (Cat.6.2); 'and if your mind could see in thought all the heavens, neither would these heavens be able to praise God as He deserves, though they rang with voices louder than thunder. Now if these heavens and all they contain cannot worthily sing the praises of God, how possibly can earth and ashes, the least and slightest of exist-:ing things, upraise a worthy hymn to God?' (Cat.6.3). On the other hand, he does speak of the chanting of Ps.33/34.8 at Communion in M.C.5.20, and throughout the Catechetical lectures he frequently quotes from the Psalms, e.g. Ps.31/32.1 in Procat. 15, Ps.8.3 in Cat.4.5, Ps.150 in Cat.6.5.

The sermon was primarily an exposition of Biblical teach-:ing: 'You heard me on Sunday on this subject' (sc. the high-priesthood of Christ), Cyril reminds the candidates in the tenth Catechetical lecture, 'when I was preaching at the lit-:urgy (synaxis) on the text 'after the order of Melchizedek' (Hebr.5.10). In the Procatechesis he contrasts the series of lectures he is giving with the sermons preached at the daily liturgy: 'Do not think of them as on a par with ordinary serm-:ons. Sermons are good things and should evoke your faith. But suppose we neglected today's sermon, we attend to tomorrow's. In the sequence of carefully prepared instructions for baptismal regeneration if today's lecture be neglected when will the matter be put right?' (Procat.11). Clearly it was not his intention to detract from the sermon, and in fact he stresses its positive value in building up the hearer's faith.

For the content/

For the content of the sermon Cyril sometimes uses a succinct expression such as 'we preach the Crucified' (Cat.4.13), 'preach the Gospel' Cat.3.13), 'the friends who ... preached Him' (Cat.15.22). The reference to the Sunday sermon in Cat.10.14 gains further point if in the lecture he is amplifying material which the candidates heard at that service, and the line of his argument may therefore indicate its scope: 'Jews admit that he is Jesus but never that he is Christ ... now 'Christ' means that he is high-priest with a priesthood that passes not away ... Jesus ... received the high-priesthood not in a line of descent or by unction ... but from the Father before all ages. He is a priest by oath and is proportionately higher than all others'. He quotes Hebr.7.21 as proof. 'It would have sufficed to establish his priesthood simply that the Father willed it, but now it is doubly established, the will backed by an oath'. He quotes Hebr.6.18 to show that the pur-:pose of this was that we should be strengthened in our faith that Jesus Christ is the Son of God' (Cat.10.14). He links the thought of Jesus as high-priest with the name 'Christian': 'This is Jesus Christ 'who is come, an high-priest of good things to come' (Hebr.9.11), and with the ungrudging generosity of his Godhead he has granted to all of us to bear his name. For whereas human sovereigns have some special title of sovereignty which they keep exclusively from use by other men, Jesus Christ being Son of God has deigned to bestow on us the title of Christians'. He goes on to show that this is the new name promised in the O.T. (Is.65.15f., LXX), and points out that the Jews have no such new name but are still known as Jews and Israelites. He concludes by reminding his hearers that the name 'Christian' is now spread world-wide: 'It is a name that holds the world in its grip. For Jews belong to a particular country/

country, but Christians obtain as far as earth extends, seeing that it is the name of the only-begotten Son of God that they set forth' (Cat.10.16). Such would seem to be the summary which Cyril gives of his Sunday sermon: if so, we can see that it consisted of a careful exposition of a passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, designed to bring out the theological and practical implications, that he related it to the O.T. promise and that he showed its relevance to his hearers by connecting it with the name of 'Christian' which they all bore and by contrasting Christian belief with contemporary thinking among the Jews of Jerusalem.

In Cat.16.2 Cyril gives a reminder to the candidates which no doubt he regularly gave to the congregation who heard his Sunday sermon: 'it must be for the grace of Jesus Christ him-:self to grant me to speak impeccably and you to hear with understanding. For understanding is needed by hearers as well as speakers, lest they form a wrong impression in their minds from what they are rightly told'.

Cyril does not speak of the formal dismissal of catechumens at the end of the first part of the liturgy, but the blessing he pronounces at the conclusion of a lecture may give an idea of the form of words he might use: 'And may God preserve you all as well-pleasing in his sight, to Whom be glory and might, world without end, Amen' (Cat.15); 'in Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom be glory, world without end, Amen' (Procat.17; and similarly at the end of Cat.2, 3, 4, and 10). Cat 5.13 has the same blessing but with the addition of 1 Tim.6.15, 16. In two cases the blessing is Trinitarian in form: 'Jesus Christ .. to Whom be glory, honour and might, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, world without end, Amen' (Cat.11.24, and similarly Cat.15.33)./

and similarly Cat.15.33). The concluding formula would be preceded by an appropriate prayer of blessing for each group dismissed, corresponding to that spoken for the candidates at the end of the catechetical lecture: 'May God 'blot out the hand-writing that is against you' (Col.2.14), wink at your transgressions heretofore, plant you in His Church, enrol you in His host, and equip you with the arms of righteousness. May He fill you with the heavenly guerdons of the N.T. and give you the seal of the Holy Spirit that cannot be removed for evermore, in Jesus Christ ...' (Procat.17); 'And may Christ Himself, the great High-priest, accept your devotion of yourselves and offer you all as an oblation, saying to His Father, 'Behold I, and the children whom God has given me' (Hebr.2.13). And may God preserve you all ... (Cat.1.5).

At the close of the eighteenth lecture Cyril promises full instruction on the Eucharist itself after Baptism has taken place: 'After the holy and salvation-giving feast of Easter, beginning on the Monday you shall, God willing, hear further lectures, if you will come into the holy place of the Resurrection (i.e. the Anastasis) each day of Easter week after the liturgy ... You will be given proofs from the O.T. and the N.T. ... about the mysteries of the altar of the new covenant/

the altar of the new covenant which had their origin here, what holy Scripture tells us about them, with what virtue they are filled, then how these mysteries are to be approached and when and how received'. According to F.L.Cross that promise is ful-:filled in Mystagogic Catechese 4 and 5. As he points out, M.C. 5 preserves more details about the liturgy than any other East-:ern source of so early a date (op.cit.pp.xxv). From it can be reconstructed an outline of the second part of the Eucharistic liturgy as practised in Jerusalem in the latter half of the 4C. There are, however, one or two gaps in the account: these it may be possible to fill in from other Syrian liturgies e.g. the lit-:urgy of Antioch, referred to in all probability in the writings of John Chrysostom and in the Catechetical Homilies of Theodore of Mopsuestia, both of whom were presbyters there before becom-:ing bishops of Constantinnople and Mopsuestia respectively in the last decade of the 4C, and the liturgies described in the Apostolic Constitutions and in the Testamentum Domini, both now usually assigned to Syria and to the latter half of the 4C. Caution is needed, however, in such hypotheses since it has re-:cently been argued that Cyril's liturgy is more akin to Egypt-:ian than to Syrian practice (G.J.Cuming, J.Th.S.25,1974,pp117f).

COMMON PRAYERS: Cyril makes no reference to the 'common pray-:ers' of the faithful which traditionally followed the dismiss-:al of the catechumens and other groups. Ap. Const.8, on the other hand, gives a litany of twenty-four petitions 'for our-:selves and for others' led by the deacon, to each of which the faithful respond with the prayer: Kyrie eleison. The lit-:any is brought to a close with the words: 'Save us and restore us, O God, by Thy mercy'. Then the bishop utters a solemn prayer. The Kiss of Peace follows immediately. There is evid-:ence of a similar litany/

similar litany at the same point in the writings of John Chrys-:ostom, speaking presumably of Antioch.

OFFERTORY: There is no mention by Cyril of the bringing of offerings by the people or of the placing of the Bread and Cup on the altar. Yarnold (Study of Liturgy, pp.195) concludes that 'the people's offerings', which are mentioned without further elaboration in Ap. Const. 8.47.2-4, 'must have been given in with little formality before the Mass began' and he points out that there is no evidence in Syria of an offertory procession of the people within the service as in the West. Ap. Const. 8 describes the solemn bringing of 'the gifts' by the deacons to the altar for the bishop immediately after the Kiss of Peace. The children stand near the dais of the sanct-:uary, the 'bema', under the charge of a deacon to keep them in order: other deacons supervise the men and the women in the con-:gregation to prevent noise and to see that no-one nods or whispers or falls asleep: other deacons stand at the men's door, and subdeacons at the women's door, to ensure that none of the faithful go out and that the door is not opened to anyone dur-:ing the Eucharistic Prayer, the Anaphora.. One of the subdeac-:ons brings water to the priests for the symbolic washing of hands. Then the deacon gives a solemn warning that none but the faithful should be present - no catechumen, no hearer, no pagan, no heretic: he admonishes the faithful and requests all to stand to offer (προσφέρειν): then the deacons bring the gifts up to the altar: οἱ διάκονοι προσκαλέσωσαν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. The presbyters stand on the right and left of the bishop, while the deacons on either side gently wave fans to protect the chalices from flies. The Eucharistic Prayer follows (Ap. Const. 8.11). John Chrysostom/

John Chrysostom makes little reference to the offertory and gives no indication of its position in the liturgy. Both Theo-:dore (Cat. Hom. 15.34f.) and the Testamentum Domini (1.23) place it before the Kiss of Peace.

It is worth noting that Alexandria and Egypt may have been closer to Western practice in respect of the offertory. As well as the reference by Cyril of Alexandria in the third cent-:ury to the people 'bringing up the sacrifices in holy vessels' (Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, n.13), there is evid-:ence from the Greek Egyptian liturgy, as far as it can be re-:constructed from fourth/fifth century papyri and sixth/seventh century fragments together with the comments of contemporary Egyptian Fathers; this contains after the Kiss of Peace the rubric: 'the people bring up their gifts: the deacons bring vessels and fine muslin is spread out: the gifts presented are set out: ὁ λαὸς προσάγει τὰ δῶρα· οἱ διάκονοι προσκομίζουσι τὰ σκεύη καὶ ἡ σινδὼν ὑφαπλοῦται· προτίθεται ἡ δωροφορία.
(Brightman, ibid., Appendix).

HAND-WASHING: The first rite described by Cyril is the symbol-:ic washing of hands by the bishop and presbyters: 'You saw then the deacon give to the priest water to wash, and to the presbyters who stood round God's altar ... this washing of hands is a symbol that you ought to be pure from all sinful and un-:lawful deeds ... the hands are a symbol of action'. He quotes Ps.25/26.6 as providing authority: 'I will wash my hands in innocency and so will I compass thine altar, O Lord', and con-:cludes: 'the washing of hands is a symbol of immunity from sin' (M.C.5.2). Cyril makes it clear, then, that the rite has a relevance for the life of each worshipper. According to F.L. Cross, this is the earliest evidence for the rite of 'Lavabo' within the Eucharist/

within the Eucharist. It occurs also in Ap. Const.8.11f. and in Theodore (Cat. Hom. 15.42).

KISS OF PEACE: The Kiss of Peace follows immediately: 'Then the deacon cries aloud, 'Receive one another: and let us kiss one another'... the kiss blends souls one with another and solicits for them entire forgiveness ... this kiss is the sign that our souls are mingled together and have banished all re-:membrance of wrongs'. He quotes Mt.5.23: 'If thou bring thy gift to the altar ...'. 'The kiss is reconciliation and for this reason holy', he declares, and quotes in further support 1 Cor.16.20 and 1 Peter 5.14 (M.C.5.3). Cyril gives no detail of procedure, but this may perhaps be supplied from Ap. Const. 8 which includes the direction: 'those of the clergy are to greet the bishop, among the people men greet men, women women'.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER: The Prayer opens with the Dialogue: 'After this the priest cries aloud, μετὰ τοῦτο βοᾷ ὁ ἱερεύς, 'Lift up your hearts' ... Then you answer, 'We lift them up unto the Lord' ... Then the priest says, 'Let us give thanks to the Lord' ... Then you say, 'It is meet and right' (M.C.5.4,5). Then comes the Preface: 'After this we make mention of heaven and earth and sea; of sun and moon, of the stars and all the creation, rational and irrational, visible and invisible; of angels, archangels, virtues, dominions, principalities, powers, thrones; of the cherubim ... of the seraphim': here he quotes Is.6.3b ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος σαβαώθ (LXX) and adds: 'for this cause we rehearse this confession of God, delivered down to us from the seraphim, that we may join in hymns with the hosts of the world above. Then, having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual hymns ...' (M.C.5.6,7). F.L. Cross notes that Cyril is the first witness for the singing of the Sanctus to round off/

round off the Preface (op.cit., pp.xxvii). It also appears in Ap. Const.8.27, Theodore (Cat. Hom. 16.6) and John Chrysostom (Brightman, op.cit., n.20, 21). The Narrative of the Last Supper and the Words of Institution are not included in M.C.5; Cyril goes straight on from the Sanctus to the Epiclesis without even a mention of this, the N.T. authorisation and prototype of the Eucharist. In M.C.4.1, however, he quotes the Pauline account (1 Cor.11.23f.) and emphasises that the words 'This is my body' and 'This is my blood' are spoken by Christ Himself; and in M.C.4.6 he writes: 'Contemplate therefore the Bread and Wine not as bare elements, for they are, according to the Lord's declaration, the Body and Blood of Christ'. Professor E.C. Rateliff doubted whether the Jerusalem liturgy of Cyril's time did in fact include the Institution Narrative and pointed out that the early E.Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari omitted it (J.Th.S.30, 1928, pp.23f.); but F.L. Cross with more cogency takes the view that it is probably indicated by this citation in M.C.4.1 (op.cit., pp.xxvi). At Antioch the evidence is equivocal: John Chrysostom gives the full Institution Narrative (Brightman, op.cit., n.22), but Theodore simply says: 'When He was about to go to meet his passion, He bequeathed this food to his disciples' (Cat. Hom. 16.10). The Syrian liturgies of Ap. Const.8 and the Testamentum Domini both include the Narrative (Ap.Const.8.12.35f.; Test.Dom.1.23). The general consensus seems to be that the Jerusalem and Antioch liturgies both contained the Narrative, but that its recitation was not regarded as the consecratory act as in the West. By the middle of the fifth century it was included in the former (F.L. Cross, ibid., pp.xxvii).

The Anamnesis and the prayer of offering are not attested at Jerusalem but are found in the two Syrian liturgies, Ap. Const.8.12.38 and Testamentum Dei 1.23.

Testamentum Dei 1.23.

EPICLESIS: Cyril turns immediately from the singing of the Sanctus to the Epiclesis: 'Then, having sanctified ourselves by these spiritual hymns, we call upon the merciful God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him; that He may make the Bread the Body of Christ, and the Wine the Blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Spirit has touched is sanct-:ified and changed, μεταβέβληται . Then, after the spiritual sacri-:fice is perfected, the bloodless service upon that sacrifice of propitiation ...' (M.C.5.7,8). At Antioch both Theodore and John Chrysostom attest the use of the Epiclesis: in Theodore (Cat. Hom.16.11f.) it has two parts, the invocation of the Holy Spirit first upon the offerings, then upon the people, and it marks the moment of the sacramental presence of Christ; in John Chrysostom the Epiclesis is of the same type (Brightman, op. cit., n.23), but it is clear from De Prod.Jud.1.6 (Brightman, ibid., n.22) that it is the Words of Institution that effect the consecration of the elements: 'He (sc. the bishop) says, 'This is my Body'; this utterance transforms the offerings' (μετάρρυθμιζει).

Prayers of intercession follow, then the Commemoration, and finally the Lord's Prayer.

The intercessions are for the Church and the world: 'Then ... we entreat God for the common peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, for soldiers and allies, for the sick, for the afflicted, for all who stand in need of succour ...' (M.C.5.8). The Commemoration embraces the pioneers and leaders of the Church in the past and the recent dead: 'The we commemorate those who have fallen asleep before us, first Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their prayers and intervention God would receive our petition; afterwards/

afterwards, also on behalf of the holy Fathers and Bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and, in a word, of all who in past years have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a very great advantage to the souls for whom the supplicat-:ion is put up while that holy and most awesome sacrifice is presented ... we, when we offer to Him our supplications for those who have fallen asleep, though they be sinners, ... offer up Christ, sacrificed for our sins, propitiating our merciful God both for them and for ourselves' (M.C.5.8-10). The Lord's Prayer brings the solemn Eucharistic Prayer to a close: 'Then, after these things, we say that prayer which the Saviour de-:livered to His own disciples, with a pure conscience calling God our Father and saying: 'Our Father ...'.' Cyril comments on each phrase, ending with 'but deliver us from evil', and he interprets τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον as referring to the con-:secrated Bread of the Eucharist: 'This common bread is not super-substantial bread, but this holy Bread is super-substant-:ial, that is, appointed for the substance of the soul', while 'this day' means 'each day': τὸ δὲ σήμερον ἀντὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν λέγει.

At the end of the Eucharistic Prayer the people say 'Amen': 'Then, after completing the prayer, thou sayest 'Amen', by this 'Amen', which means 'So be it', setting thy seal to the petit-:ions of this divinely-taught prayer.

COMMUNION: A short dialogue introduces the Communion: 'After this the priest says, 'Holy things to holy men' ... Then you say, 'One is holy, One is the Lord, Jesus Christ'.' Cyril ex-:plains the dialogue thus: 'Holy are the gifts presented since they have been visited by the Holy Spirit; holy are you also, having been vouchsafed the Holy Spirit; the holy things there-:fore correspond to the holy persons ... truly One is holy, by nature holy;/

by nature holy; we, too, are holy, but not by nature, only by participation and discipline and prayer' (M.C.5.19). As F.L. Cross notes (op.cit., pp.xxvii), Cyril is the first witness for the call τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις . It is also found in Ap. Const.8 and at Antioch, where it is vouched for both by John Chrysostom and by Theodore. The latter records it in a slightly longer dialogue and with a Trinitarian response: 'Bishop: 'Peace be with you'; people: 'And with thy spirit'; deacon: 'Let us attend'; bishop: τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις ; people: 'One Holy Father, One Holy Son, One Holy Spirit. Glory be to the Father ...' (Cat. Hom.16.22f.). John Chrysostom states that the call is given immediately after the sacrifice is brought out (Brightman, op.cit., n.24). Ap.Const.8.13.11f. gives the same short form as Cyril but adds a version of the Gloria in excelsis and the Hosanna.

A Communion psalm is sung: 'After this you hear the chanter (ὁ ψάλλων) with a sacred melody inviting you to the Communion of the holy Mysteries and saying, 'O taste and see that the Lord is good' (Ps.33/34.9)' (M.C.5.20). Ap.Const.8. 3.16 test-:ifies to the same practice, while John Chrysostom mentions Ps. 144/145.1, 16.

Cyril describes the administration thus: 'Approaching, therefore, come not with thy wrists extended or thy fingers open; but make thy left hand as if a throne for thy right which is on the eve of receiving the King. And having hallowed thy palm, receive the Body of Christ, saying after it, Amen. Then after thou hast with carefulness hallowed thine eyes by the touch of the Holy Body, partake thereof; giving heed lest thou lose any of it ... Then, after having partaken of the Body of Christ, approach also to the Cup of His Blood; not stretching forth thine hands but bending and saying in the way of worship and reverence/

and reverence, Amen, be thou hallowed by partaking also of the Blood of Christ. And while the moisture is still upon thy lips, touching it with thine hands, hallow both thine eyes and brow and the other senses' (M.C.5.21-2). The Ap. Const. give fuller details: 'the bishop partakes, then the presbyters and deacons and subdeacons and readers and singers and ascetics and, among the women, the deaconesses and virgins and widows, then the children and then all the people according to rank, with reverence and respect and without any noise' (8.13.14-15).

PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING: The liturgy concludes with a prayer of thanksgiving: 'Then wait for the prayer and give thanks to God who hath accounted thee worthy of so great mysteries' (M.C.5.22). The Syrian liturgies give a bidding by the deacon, followed by a thanksgiving and doxology spoken by the bishop (Ap.Const. 8.14;1f.; Test.Dom. 1.23).

The church-building in which Cyril and his congregation met in Jerusalem for the Eucharistic liturgy on Sundays was the basilica, known as the Martyrium, built on Golgotha by the Emp-:eror Constantine and dedicated in 335. Telfer outlines its history in his Introduction (op.cit., pp.43f.).

The site was the low ridge of rock which ran from east to west on the eastern side of the garden containing the Sepulchre. Eusebius implies that, since the Sepulchre had been deliberately covered by a temple of Aphrodite, Christians in Jerusalem knew its location (Vita Constantini 3.26) and had already applied in vain to the Emperor Licinius to excavate the mound (ibid.30). When the work was carried out under Constantine, Eusebius records that 'the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's Re-:surrection was discovered' (ibid.28). 'Thereupon the Emperor... ordered that a house of prayer be built near the Tomb' (29) and the Martyrium is described in paragraphs 33-40.

The doors of the basilica were on its east side. One enter-:ed by a gate in the enclosure wall from the market street (pars quintana, Egeria, Peregrinatio 43), crossed a short colonnaded forecourt to a flight of steps which led up to the imposing entrance doors. The basilica had a very wide and lofty nave with a panelled wood ceiling richly adorned with gold and its floor was paved with marble. The apse was on the west overlook-:ing the garden. The outstanding feature of the interior was a hemisphere which rose to the ceiling: 'over against the entrance doors the crowning feature of all was the hemisphere which rose to the very summit of the church. This was ringed by twelve columns whose capitals were embellished with silver bowls of great age' (38). Eusebius concludes by describing the basilica as 'an illustrious memorial of the saving Resurrection, bright with rich and royal splendour' ... and adorned 'with untold wealth of gifts -/

wealth of gifts - gold, silver and precious stones of many kinds' (Vita Constantini 40). Outside the roof was covered with lead and the walls were so smooth and well-finished that the surface seemed like marble. 'Along both flanking walls upper and lower porticos were built, exactly alike on the two sides and both running the whole length of the building. These, too, were ceiled with panels adorned with gold. The lower porticos in front of the building leaned upon enormous pillars, while the upper, lying in from these front colonnades, were borne up by masonry that towards the outside was intricately ornamented' (ibid. 37).

The Bordeaux pilgrim who journeyed to Palestine in 333 describes the 'basilica' or 'dominicum' as 'a building of mar-:vellous beauty'. Paulinus of Nola, in Ep.31 written probably in 402 or 403 to Sulpicius Severus, makes no mention of the hemisphere in the interior, but describes the basilica as 'built on the site of the Passion' and 'gleaming with gilded ceilings and rich with golden altars' (Letters tr. Walsh).

These descriptions are open to a number of different inter-:pretations. As far as the hemisphere is concerned, Telfer sees a parallel in the baldacchino which sheltered the wooden mensa-altar placed in the middle of the nave of the early bas-:ilicas of Lepcis, Sabratha and Oea in Tripolitania, dated c. 400, as recorded by Ward Perkins and Goodchild in Arch. 95. These churches, too, had a western apse: the nave was flanked by a single aisle marked off from it by a row of pillars: at the west end of each aisle, on either side of the apse, lay a small room, the one used for the Eucharistic vessels, the other for the Scriptures: the floor of the apse was c.1.5m above that of the nave, and on it in a central position stood the bishop's cathedra with the presbyters' bench on either side: the baldacchino over the mensa-altar in the middle of the nave was supported/

was supported by four columns and the whole was enclosed by a low screen on all four sides. Accordingly he identifies the hemisphere in the Martyrium as a particularly magnificent bald-:acchino over the mensa-altar. R. Krautheimer, however, gives a different interpretation: 'the 'head' of the basilica was on the west: it was 'encircled as a wreath by twelve columns, like the number of the apostles' (Eus.): each column carried a silver vessel, and the whole was topped by a hemisphairon, apparently a dome ... As at Bethlehem, then, a centrally-planned structure was attached to a basilican nave' (op.cit.pp.40). J. Wilkinson (Egeria's Travels pp.170 n.1) refers the hemisphere to 'the semi-circular ground-plan of the apse, with a semi-circle of columns standing round the inner surface'.

The double colonnade flanking the basilica on either side is understood by Telfer to be on the outside: the lower one, supported by huge pillars, was beneath the level of the nave-floor: the upper portico, which was narrower, was entered from the top of the steps which led up to the doors of the basilica, and a short flight of steps at the west end led down into the garden court. Krautheimer, on the other hand, thinks that the double colonnades were inside forming double aisles as at Beth-:lehem. He describes the basilica thus: 'The basilica, on the street side, preceded by an atrium and a colonnaded propylaeum, adjoined this area (sc. the courtyard which held the Rock of Calvary and the Sepulchre which had been 'isolated, cut into conical shape and decorated with twelve columns supporting a baldacchino'). A few of the columns of the propylaeum and a corner of the atrium are the only surviving remnants, but they establish the width of the structure as 40m. Since the length of the basilica was restricted by the Rock of Calvary, it must have been short and wide (he gives the distance from the Sepulchre to the street as 120m). According to Eusebius, the nave/

the nave rested on huge columns and was flanked on either side by double aisles. These in turn were separated either by a row of short columns rising on pedestals, as at the Lateran, or by piers. Galleries apparently surmounted both aisles ... the coffered ceiling may have run all across nave and galleries. All this was crowded into a small interior one third the size of the Lateran basilica and the amassing of marble columns, gilded capitals and ceiling coffers overwhelmed the faithful' (pp.40).

Krautheimer's reconstruction of the ground-plan shows two small rooms on either side of the hemisphere-apse, one opposite each aisle, and a small square room projecting from the basilica at the east end on either side of the entrance doors into the north and south colonnades of the atrium.

The garden court which lay to the west of the basilica was bounded on one side by the apse-hemisphere and on the other three by a wall with a colonnade on the inside. In the western part of the garden stood the Rock of the Sepulchre which may still have been open to the sky in 350 and only later enclosed in the rotunda of the Anastasis: such is the view of Telfer (op. cit.pp.47), quoting Erik Westrand 'Konstantine Kirche am heil-:igen Grab in Jerusalem', Göteborg, 1952, who suggests that it was built towards the end of Cyril's life c.384/5; but F.L. Cross (op.cit.pp.xv) dates it with the Martyrium c.335. On the south side was the baptistery, and in the eastern part, quite close to the basilica, lay the monticulus Crucis where the Cross was found and on which was now built a shrine where on occasion the wood of the Cross was put on display.

A 6C mosaic found on the floor of a church of the same date at Madaba to the east of the Dead Sea (D.A.C.L.,s.v.Madaba) contains a representation of the church on Golgotha. It shows the colonnade of the market-street, with the entrance to the short fore-court of the basilica, the steps leading up/

leading up to the three entrance doors and the gable roof above these. Beyond the Martyrium can be seen the golden dome of the Anastasis and, beyond that, the enclosure wall. The rectang-:ular baptistery is shown on the south side, apparently between the basilica and the Anastasis: it appears twice, in the second case perhaps to show the path linking it to the Anastasis, and its roof is portrayed separately so that the rectangular pool can be seen. It is to be noted that no exterior side-portico is shown on the Martyrium. (Fig.ii).

At the Eucharistic liturgy on Sunday Cyril no doubt presid-:ed over the first part, the Ministry of the Word, from his cathedra in the apse, his presbyters seated on either side of him and deacons and other clergy standing behind or close at hand. As the nave was broad the cathedra may have been placed well up on steps at the back of the apse so that the bishop's voice could carry to all parts of the congregation: such seems to have been the case at Hippo Regius in N. Africa in the time of Augustine. The congregation presumably stood facing the apse in the nave and aisles, probably with men on one side and women on the other: the latter arrangement would be in accord-:ance with eastern custom, whether Jewish or Hellenistic, relat-:ing to the conduct of women, and it may be reflected in Cyril's request to the candidates for baptism, given in Pro-:catechesis 14, that they are to keep in separate groups according to sex in the interval between the exorcism and the lecture. It is indicated, likewise, in Ap. Const.8 which speaks of the 'men's door' and the 'women's door'.

There would almost certainly be a short interlude between the two parts of the liturgy. Egeria gives us some idea of the duration of the entire service at the time of her visit to Jerusalem, perhaps in 381-4. She explains that, since it is the custom/

the custom at Jerusalem for all presbyters present who wish to preach to do so before the bishop gives his sermon, the Sunday liturgy lasts longer at Jerusalem than in her home-church in the west and in fact begins at daybreak and finishes at 10 or 11 o' clock: 'cum luce autem, quia dominica dies est, et proceditur in ecclesia maiore quam fecit Constantinus ... quae ecclesia in Gol-:gotha est post Crucem: et sunt omnia secundum consuetudinem quae ubique fit die dominica. Sane quia hic consuetudo sic est ut de omnibus presbiteris qui sedent quanti volunt predicent ... quae predicationes dum dicuntur grandis mora fit ut fiat missa ecclesiae: et ideo ante quartam horam aut forte quintam missa (non) fit' (Per.25). At Epiphany the liturgy starts at 7 a.m. and lasts, it would seem, until after 11 a.m., for the service which follows at the Anastasis prolongs the final dismissal to noon: 'At ubi autem resumpserit se populus, hora incipiente secunda, colligent se omnes in ecclesia maiore quae est in Gol-:gotha ... ac sic fit missa forsitan sexta hora' (Per.8-10). During the interval the people no doubt strolled in the atrium or in the garden court to the west.

For the Eucharist itself Cyril with his presbyters and deac-:ons would come down from the apse to the nave and take their places at the mensa-altar, i.e. within the enclosure under the hemisphere on Telfer's interpretation. The congregation, which now consisted only of the faithful, gathered no doubt in front of the bishop who presided, the men on one side and the women on the other: the latter arrangement was now necessary to facilitate the appropriate exchange of the Kiss of Peace. Sufficient space, however, must have been left between the mensa-altar and the congregation to allow Communion to be administered in an orderly manner as people came up to partake, one at a time, of the con-:secrated elements.

If the faithfull/

If the faithful handed in their offerings informally be-
:fore the start of the liturgy, as Yarnold suggests (Study of Liturgy, pp.195) on the basis of Ap.Const. 8.47.2f., it may be that these were received by the deacons in one or both of the small square rooms flanking the entrance doors : the rooms on either side of the apse would then be used to prepare the ele-
:ments for the Eucharist, to store offerings not immediately re-
:quired, and to keep the Scriptures and other books. If, on the other hand, as G.J. Cuming contends (J.Th.S.25, 1974, pp.117f.), the Jerusalem liturgy at this time was more akin to that of Alexandria and Egypt and the people brought up their offerings in the course of the liturgy, then presumably this took place at the west end of the basilica and the rooms on either side of the apse were used for all the offerings.

The people may well have had to stand for most of the lit-
:urgy: this seems to have been the general practice, although there is an occasional mention of seats e.g. for Egypt by Syne-
:ius in Ep.121 (quoted by Brightman, op.cit.).

Whichever reconstruction is more accurate, the Martyrium on Golgotha shows that a fully-developed fourth century liturgy could be presented with complete adequacy and full dignity in a basilica of straightforward, unelaborated plan, consisting of nave, apse, probably double aisles, with sacristies at either side of the apse, with atrium but without narthex. The hemi-
:sphere, on Telfer's interpretation, enhanced and stressed the significance of the mensa-altar but otherwise had no direct bearing on the liturgy. The basic plan was of the simplest and could be paralleled in tiny churches in both East and West. This fact has important consequences in reverse for any conclus-
:ions that may be drawn about the liturgy practised in such minor churches.

R O M E

EUCHARISTIC LITURGY ROME

Evidence for the Sunday Eucharistic liturgy at Rome in the 4/5C is slight and has to be gathered in the main from the writings of Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome, from letters of the bishops of Rome, and from earlier practice as described in the works of Justin Martyr and Hippolytus. For its development in the course of the 4/5C some light is shed by later documents, such as the Verona Codex (the 'Leonine Sacramentary'), Ordo Romanus I, and the earliest form of the Gelasian Sacramentary.

The 'Apostolic Tradition' is now generally accepted - on the basis of the research of R. H. Connolly, 1916, and of H. Elfers, 1938 - as the authentic work of Hippolytus, a presbyter of the Church at Rome early in the 3C. G. Dix, who edited the work in 1937, dated it to c. 215. Although Hippolytus became involved in conflict with his bishop, Zephyrinus, and subsequently allowed himself to be elected bishop in opposition to Zephyrinus' successor, Callixtus, he was in fact arrested as one of the leaders of the Church in 235 and sent along with the then bishop, Pontianus, to the mines in Sardinia, where both died. Thereafter he was venerated as a martyr along with Pontianus, Callixtus and a later bishop, Fabiolus. Jungmann (The Early Liturgy, 1960, pp.53) concludes that 'since this fact is attested by the oldest sources we may rightly infer that before his death he returned to the unity of the Church'. Jungmann therefore accepts that Hippolytus gives 'a summary of the rites and regulations of the Church as he knew them' and that 'we may

confidently turn to him for information about Roman liturgical practice at the end of the 2C and the beginning of the 3C'(ibid.pp57). B.Botte, Paris 1946, and H.Chadwick, 1968, have endorsed this conclusion. The original Greek text has been lost and the work exists only in several translations - four Eastern, in Sahidic, Bohairic, Ethiopic and Arabic, and one Western in Latin, incomplete, found on a palimpsest at Verona; it was also used in the compilation of a number of other works - the 'Canons of Hippolytus'; the Apostolic Constitutions, probably compiled in Syria c. 375; the Epitome, an abridged redaction of Book 8 of the Apostolic Constitutions; and the Testamentum Domini. Jungmann quotes the text of Dix who showed a preference for the readings of the Latin version; other scholars e.g the editors of 'The Study of Liturgy;1978, express approval of the text as edited by Botte in 1963.

The Verona Codex, MS 85 Verona, is dated to c. 600. It is a collection of prayers for use at the Eucharist, some of which are regarded as undoubtedly the work of Leo I, bishop of Rome 440-461. D.M.Hope (Study of Liturgy, pp.224f.) accepts that the MS. may have been written at Verona but stresses that the prayers it contains are undoubtedly of Roman origin. He argues that they were gathered from various sources of the 5C and 6C in a purely private collection and concludes that 'there must still have been a good deal of fluidity about these elements in the Western liturgy to which

the manuscript bears testimony, and that any definitively fixed book of formulas was not yet possible'. In support he refers to the work of A. Stuiber who showed that the papal archives at the Lateran contained outlines of variable prayers for the Eucharist made by the bishops of Rome for their own use and that there was evidence that the Presbyters in charge of the titular churches had made collections of groups of these prayers on sheets of parchment or 'libelli' and that the latter were the predecessors of the Verona codex.

The earlier form of the Gelasian Sacramentary is extant in one MS. only, codex Reginensis 316 in the Vatican, acquired by Rome as part of the library of Queen Christina of Sweden. The MS. is thought to have originated in France and the suggestion has been put forward that it was written in a convent at Chelles near Paris c. 750. Many of the formulas it contains are regarded as unquestionably Roman, although there are also some Gallican features. Jungmann (MRR i, 62) holds that the Roman content was taken to France in the first half of the 7C at the latest. It has been shown by A. Chavasse that it was composed by Roman presbyters for their own use, in much the same way as the Verona Codex 85.

The Ordines Romani were edited by M. Andrieu in 1931-61. He showed that the text contained 50 'Ordines' dating from the 7C to the 15C, originally compiled by the Church at Rome but later used else-where and particularly by the churches of Gaul, and that Ordo I goes back to the 8C and describes

the Eucharist as celebrated by the bishop of Rome c.700 after the various reforms initiated by Gregory the Great.

From the above sources the main constituents of the Eucharistic liturgy can be reconstructed.

At Rome, as elsewhere, the first part of the liturgy consisted of Biblical readings, Psalms and a sermon on the pattern of Ist C Jewish worship in the Synagogue.

READINGS: Already in c. I50/I60 Justin Martyr, a Gentile native of Samaria who had settled in Rome, mentions that at the Christian assembly on Sunday there were readings from the O.T. or the N.T. 'And on the day called Sunday an assembly is held in one place of all who live in town or country, and the records of the apostles or writings of the prophets are read for as long as time allows. Then when the reader has finished...' (I Apol. 67, 3f.). Jungmann (pp.42) takes the view that the reading referred to by Justin was continuous, a 'lectio continua' of the Prophets and the Gospels.

Hippolytus in his account of Minor Orders in the Apostolic Tradition c.IIf records that the Reader is appointed by the bishop's act in handing the book to him, and that there is no imposition of hands.

At some time the number of readings seems to have been reduced from the three customary in most churches (one O.T. and two N.T.) to two: on Sundays both were taken from the N.T. (one Epistle and one Gospel reading), but on weekdays

one was from the O.T. Cobb (Study of Liturgy, pp. 185) thinks that the third lesson was being dropped in the 4C, but Jungmann would place it considerably later; he points out that the two chants still in use in the Roman rite, the Gradual Psalm and the Alleluia song, both responsorial chants of the earliest type, argue for continuity from the 4C to the 6C and 7C. It is also relevant to note that the mosaics in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, which are attributed to Sixtus III(432-440), consist of a series of small rectangular panels, each depicting an O.T. scene, set between the windows of the clerestory over the Ionic colonnade. Twenty-seven remain intact, showing a sequence of events in the lives of Abraham, Jacob, Moses and Joshua. These would suggest that the O.T. lesson still had a place in the liturgy on Sunday when the largest number of people were present. Furthermore, on Good Friday and on certain other days, e.g. Ember Wednesdays, there are still three lessons at Rome (Jungmann, op.cit.pp.290). Jerome mentions in Ep.147,3 that at Rome the Gospel lesson was read by a deacon.

PSALMS: Justin Martyr makes no reference to the singing of Psalms in the liturgy on Sunday in the mid-2C at Rome.

Hippolytus, in his account of the Agape describes how one of the clergy sang the Psalms and the people responded with an 'Alleluia' at the evening prayer-service which preceded the supper: 'On those days when an Agape was held... an evening meal... sponsored by some well-to-do member of the

community for the benefit of the poor or the widows', presided over by the bishop or a presbyter or a deacon, it was begun with 'an evening prayer-service. Since it was already dusk, the first ceremony was the blessing of the light. Then psalms were sung, usually the so-called Alleluia psalms, so that the people could respond to the cleric's recital of the psalm-verses with the 'Alleluia' as refrain. (Ap. Trad. c. IO, II; Jungmann, op. cit. pp. IO7, I24)

In the 4C there is evidence of the responsorial singing of psalms in the Eucharistic Liturgy in many churches both in the East and in the West e.g. at Milan and in N.Africa; indeed Tertullian mentions the use of the psalms in the first part of the liturgy, the Ministry of the Word, in De Anima 9: At Rome the psalm seems to have been sung between the first and second lessons. Jungmann describes the responsorial mode of singing the psalms thus: 'the chanter first sang the refrain, which the congregation repeated after him; then he began the psalm, after each verse of which the refrain was repeated by the faithful. The refrain-verse itself was determined by the celebrant i.e. the bishop or presbyter'. Jungmann quotes as evidence the action of Athanasius when, besieged by the Emperor's soldiers in the church of Theonas at Alexandria, he ordered the deacon to start the singing of Ps. I36 and the people to chant after each verse the refrain provided there: 'For His mercy endureth for ever';

similarly the case of John Chrysostom who at Easter told the congregation to sing the refrain: 'This is the day which the Lord hath made', and on another occasion for Ps.42 the first verse as refrain: 'As the hart...'.

The 'Alleluia', on the evidence of Sozomen (H.E.7,19), was used at Rome only on Easter day, but by the 6C John the Deacon testifies to its use throughout Eastertide (Ep. ad Senarium, 13): 'Illud etiam quod interrogare dignatus es, cur Alleluia usque ad Pente-costen in Ecclesia decantatur... Nihil ergo moveat, cum videntur hic aliqua in Dei laudibus fieri, quae alibi alio modo fieri comprobantur. Sive enim usque ad Pentecosten Alleluia cantetur, quod apud nos fieri manifestum est; sive alibi toto anno dicatur; laudes Dei cantat Ecclesia'. It was not until the time of Gregory the Great that the singing of the Alleluia was extended further at Rome (Ep. to John of Syracuse, Registrum BK. 9, 26). In the Ordo Romanus Primus the Gradual Psalm and the 'Alleluia' were both sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. In the account given there of the Eucharist we hear of a 'chief singer' who carries the ewer as well as of a choir who sing in the second part of the liturgy. Jungmann describes the original pattern of the 'Alleluia' song from its present-day form thus: 'the precentor first sings the 'Alleluia'; the people repeat it; the chanter begins the psalm; the people again repeat the 'Alleluia'. This is a primitive tradition'. (op.cit.pp.290).

SERMON: Justin speaks of the sermon preached on Sunday at the liturgy by the President:

'Then when the reader has finished the President in a discourse admonishes and exhorts (us) to imitate these good things'(I Apol. 67,4). From his words it is clear that the sermon was basically an exposition of the Biblical readings relating their teaching to everyday Christian living.

Hippolytus provides evidence of a common morning service at Rome at which instruction was given:

'And so let the deacons and Presbyters assemble daily at the place which the bishop shall appoint for them... And when all have assembled they shall instruct all who are in the assembly (ecclesia). And having also prayed, let each one go about his own business' (Ap.Trad.33, If.)

'And let every faithful man and woman, when they rise from sleep at dawn, before they undertake any work, wash their hands and pray to God, and so let them go to their work. But if there should be an instruction in the word, let each one prefer to go thither, considering that it is God whom he hears speaking by the mouth of him who instructs. For having prayed with the Church (ecclesia) he will be able to avoid all the evils of that day. The God-fearing man should consider it a great loss if he does not go to the place in which they give instruction, especially if he knows how to read. If there is a teacher there, let none of you be late in arriving at the assembly (ecclesia) where they give instruction. Then indeed it shall be given to him who instructs to utter things which are

profitable to all... and thou shalt be profited by the things which the Holy Spirit will give to thee by him who instructs, and so thy faith will be established by what thou hearest. And further he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do in thine own house. And therefore let each one be careful to go to the assembly (ecclesia), to the place where the Holy Spirit abounds' (ibid.35,If.). From these words one cannot doubt the seriousness with which the Roman Church treated the sermon in the late 2C and early 3C: God speaks through the preacher; the Holy Spirit is at work in the minds of the congregation; the sermon expounds the word of God; it builds up the faith of the hearer; and it gives instruction on Christian conduct within the family circle.

Duchesne expresses the view that the sermon or homily 'appears to have fallen into disuse at Rome at a somewhat early period. St Gregory, and St. Leo before him, were the only early popes who left homilies behind them or indeed seem, as far as we know, to have preached them. The homilies of St. Leo, moreover, are short and restricted to certain solemn festivals. Roman presbyters had no authority to preach and the popes looked askance at the permission to do so granted to their clergy by other bishops' (referring in a note to the letter of Celestine, bishop of Rome 422-432, to the bishops of Provence). 'Sozomen, who wrote about the time of Pope Xystus III' (432-440) 'tells us that no-one preached at Rome' (Christian Worship, pp. I7I). Similarly Cobb states that 'in the West the danger of heresy in the 4C

led to presbyters being forbidden to preach' and he quotes in support the same letter of Celestine (Ep.2I) together with the testimony of Sozomen (H.E.7, I9) and Socrates (H.E.5,22); he allows that exceptions were made e.g. in the case of Augustine when he was a presbyter at Hippo, but he declares that the decision 'was acceptable in N. Africa and Italy where dioceses were small' (Study of Liturgy, pp. I87). Whatever the practice was in fact at Rome in the 4/5C, it is worth noting that Celestine's prime concern in the letter was to remind the Gallic bishops that they themselves were responsible for controlling their presbyters in the matter of orthodoxy of preaching. The bishops in question had complained to Celestine that certain presbyters in Gaul were followers of Pelagius and were corrupting the people with Pelagian doctrine in their preaching. The gist of Celestine's letter is as follows: 'Filii nostri praeeuntes Prosper et Hilarius, quorum circa Deum nostrum sollicitudo laudanda est, tantum nescio quibus presbyteris illic licere, qui dissensioni Ecclesiarum student, sunt apud nos prosecuti ut indisciplinatas quaestiones vocantes in medium pertinacter eos dicant raedicare adversantia veritati. Sed vestrae delectioni iustius imputamus, quando illi supra vos habeant copiam disputandi... Timeo ne magis ipsi loquantur qui permittunt illis taliter loqui... Non sit his liberum habere pro voluntate sermonem. Desinat, si ita res sunt, incessire novitas venustatem:

desinat Ecclesiarum quietem inquietudo turbare ... Recurrerent ad apostolicam praedicti sedem, haec ipsa nobis quae tentat perturbatio conquerentes. Habetote, fratres charissimi, pro catholica plebis pace tractatum. Sciant se, si tamen censentur presbyteri, dignitate vobis subiectos. Sciant quod sibi omnes, qui male docent, discere magis ac magis competat quam docere. Nam quid in ecclesiis vos agitis si illi summam teneant praedicandi?'. (Ep.2I, PL 50, 528-530).

Ambrose, however, in De Virginibus 3, If. describes an occasion in 353 when, at the consecration of his sister Marcellina to a life of virginity in the basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican, Liberius, bishop of Rome preached a sermon: 'Namque is (sc. beatae memoriae Liberius), cum Salvatoris natali ad apostolum Petrum virginitatis professionem vestis quoque mutatione signares... astantibus etiam puellis Dei compluribus quae certarent invicem de tua societate: Bonas, inquit, filia, nuptias desiderasti. Vides quantus ad natalem sponsi tui populus convenerit, ut nemo im-pastus recedit?... Hic est qui rogatus ad nuptias aquam in vina convertit (Jn.2,9)... Hic est qui quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quatuor milia populi in deserto pavit (LK.9,I3f.)... Denique ad tuas nuptias plures vocavit sed iam non panis ex hordeo sed corpus ministratur e coelo. Hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus ex virgine, sed ante omnia generatus ex patre...Hunc, filia, dilige quia bonus est.'

Ambrose summarizes the address given in the presence of this large congregation in par.I-I4. In the course of it Liberius refers to the worship of the Church and the need

for silence and attention on the part of the congregation. He mentions specifically the O.T. and N.T. readings (lectiones, oracula divina), the Eucharist (sacramenta), and the prayer (oratio), but not the sermon, although he does urge them to apply their minds (mentem admove).

There is no place given to a sermon in the Ordo Romanus Primus. Jungmann nonetheless stresses that in the 4C the liturgy exercized to the full its function as teacher: 'In the worship of the ancient Church there was much reading of Holy Scripture, of the O.T. and of the N.T., much more than today. The 'lesson' occupied a prominent role in the Mass of the Sunday... it was ordinarily a lectio continua; it was an unbroken reading of whole books. Hence the complete commentaries on them by various Fathers, i.e. the sermons with which they accompanied these readings of the Scriptures. Thus it was that the people gained a very extensive knowledge of Holy Scripture, so extensive that the Fathers could constantly make allusions in their sermons to various passages in the Bible and especially to the figures and types of the O.T. The result was that a large treasury of figures and types in which Christ and His work were represented became familiar to the ordinary Christian. The Fathers in their homilies interpreted the O.T. not chiefly according to its literal, but much rather according to its typical, figurative sense..' 'Adam, Abel, Noah, Isaac, Joseph, Moses and David adumbrated Christ: the Ark, the Temple and Jerusalem were figures of the Church: the Red Sea,

the Bath of Susanna and the Flood prefigured Baptism... The result of this way of thinking is already evident in the paintings of the catacombs which in ever new repetitions represent these themes and thereby constantly represent only the one theme: Christ and His work. But the basis for it all was the knowledge of Scripture which had become the common property of the Christians through the homilies in the liturgy' (op. cit. pp. 167f.).

Ample evidence of this common knowledge of the Scriptures is certainly at hand in wall-paintings and mosaics and in sculptured reliefs found at Rome. Daniel in the lions' den denotes the deliverance promised by the Christian faith in the wall-painting on the vaults of the Crypt of Lucina in the catacomb of Callixtus, dated c.200, and on the sculptured relief on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, dated c. 359; Jonah's experiences at sea foreshadow resurrection and eternal life in the wall-painting in the catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino in Rome in the late 3C; Moses striking water from the rock symbolizes both Christ Himself and Baptism in the wall-painting from the Cappella Graeca in the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome in the 3C and on the relief on a 4C marble sarcophagus from the Grottoes of St. Peter, now in the Vatican Museum; Noah in his Ark, depicted in relief on a late 3C sarcophagus now in the Lateran Museum at Rome, prefigures the salvation/

the salvation offered by Christ; the sacrifice of Isaac, carved in relief on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, symbolizes both the Death of Christ and His victory over death; the meeting of Abraham and Melchisedek, which appears on the mosaic in the nave of S. Maria Maggiore c. 432-440, prefigures the Eucharist; the three men in the fiery furnace, shown in the wall-painting from the room of the Velatio in the catacomb of Priscilla in the early 4C points to the salvation offered to the Christian.

The account given by Paulinus of Nola of his motives in adorning his basilicas with similar paintings is of interest in this connection. In Carmen 27, which R.C. Goldschmidt dates to 404 (Paulinus' Churches at Nola, Amsterdam, 1940, pp.15), Paulinus records how he conducted Nicetas, bishop of Remesiana, round the restored memoria-basilica of St. Felix and asked him to pray for him and to seek themes for his prayers from the wall-paintings. These he describes in vv. 511f. as depicting events in the Pentateuch and in the lives of Joshua and Ruth. He begs Nicetas to let Genesis suggest to him the prayer that Paulinus may discard the old man and be born anew, that he may be saved from destruction and go forward on his way to the promised land of eternal life; the painting of the sacrifice of Isaac, that Paulinus be offered to God as a living sacrifice and may follow God, his bountiful Father, carrying his cross of wood as Isaac carried wood for the fire; the Exodus from Egypt and the crossing of the Red Sea,

that with the guidance of God's Law Paulinus may escape the dangers of this life and after his escape sing the triumph of the Lord, as Miriam celebrated the fall of Pharaoh. The figure of Lot should prompt the prayer that Paulinus may always be hospitable; Lot's wife, that he never look back; Abraham, that Paulinus may find and retain the well of living water; Jacob in exile in Edom, that Paulinus should flee the world; Jacob asleep at night with his head resting on a stone, that Paulinus may find his rest in Christ; Joseph, that Paulinus may be kept from the temptations of the flesh and that his love may always be pure and chaste. Paulinus further goes on to explain to Nicetas that his main reason for adorning the basilicas with these paintings is to influence thereby the crowds of unlettered peasants who flock to honour St. Felix in the hope that they will abandon the all-night feasts in which they pour wine over the grave of the saint and will instead, offer sober worship in the basilica with sacred hymns and songs of praise to the Lord.

On the other hand, the dearth of homilies or sermons on the books of the Bible from bishops of Rome no doubt speaks for itself. Sozomen, who wrote about the time of Pope Xystus III, tells us that no-one preached at Rome (H.E.7,19)' (op.cit.pp.171). Cobb (Study of Liturgy pp.187) draws the same conclusion.

DISMISSAL of CATECHUMENS: According to Justin Martyr and Hippolytus the catechumens left before the Prayers and the Kiss of Peace. 'After we have thus baptized him who has believed and has given his assent, we take him to those who are called brethren where they are assembled, to make common prayers earnestly... '(I Apol.65,I). 'Thereafter' (sc. after baptism) 'they' (sc. the newly-baptized) 'shall pray together with all the people. But they shall not previously pray with the faithful before they have undergone all these things. And after the prayer they are to give the Kiss of Peace' (Ap. Trad. 22,5).

Elsewhere Hippolytus describes the dismissal in greater detail: 'Each time the teacher finishes his instruction let the catechumens pray by themselves apart from the faithful. And let the woman stand in the assembly by themselves' (sc. apart from the men), 'both the baptized women and the women catechumens. But after the prayer is finished the catechumens shall not give the Kiss of Peace, for their kiss is not yet pure... After the prayer' (sc. of the catechumens) 'let the teacher lay hands upon them and pray and dismiss them. Whether the teacher be an ecclesiastic or a layman, let him do the same' (Ap. Trad.I8,I-3;I9, I). Cobb suggests (Study of Liturgy, pp.I88) that in the earliest practice the dismissed catechumens probably left in silence, but he quotes 4C evidence from the East to show that by that

time the congregation first prayed for them and the President gave them a blessing (Ap. Const. 8,6; John Chrysostom in 2 Cor. hom.2,5; Sarapion 3-4). This seems to be the type of dismissal indicated by Hippolytus in Ap. Trad.18-19. The formal dismissal of catechumens was, however, dropped entirely at Rome when the catechumenate ceased to function and there is no mention of it in the Ordo Romanus Primus.

PRAYERS: Justin speaks twice of the prayers which follow the sermon: 'Then we all stand up together and offer prayers; and as we said before when we have finished praying, bread and wine and water are brought up...' (I Apol. 67,5). In his account of the baptismal liturgy he gives more detail: 'we take him' (sc. the newly-baptized) to those who are called brethren where they are assembled, to make common prayers earnestly for ourselves and for him who has been enlightened and for all others everywhere, that, having learned the truth, we may be deemed worthy to be found good citizens in our actions and guardians of the commandments, so that we may be saved with eternal salvation. When we have ended the prayers we greet one another with a kiss' (I Apol.65,1). The content of the prayers suggests that they summed up and completed the teaching of the Scriptures in readings and sermon. As Jungmann points out: 'this is what is later called the 'Prayer of the Faithful' with which the oratio communis was concluded' (op.cit.pp.41).

Hippolytus likewise refers to the prayers after the sermon in Ap. Trad.22,5 quoted above.

Jungmann holds that the prayers of the faithful of the 4C and 5C at Rome have been preserved in their entirety in the Roman Good Friday service 'namely the Orationes Solemnes which follow the Gospel, that is the Passio. It must have been recited in a similar form during the 4C and 5C at every public celebration of the Mass on Sundays and feast-days. But towards the end of the 5C an incisive change was made, apparently by Pope Gelasius I (492-496). Suddenly the oratio communis is abandoned in favour of a new formulation at the beginning of the Fore-Mass. A new stratum was constructed before the lessons containing a prayer with similar contents. Meanwhile, too, prayers duplicating the contents of the oratio communis had been inserted into the canon. Both these factors undoubtedly led to the relinquishing of the ancient and traditional oratio communis' (op.cit. pp;29I).

Thus in the Ordo Romanus Primus the Gospel reading is followed immediately by the Salutation and while the bishop gives the invitation 'Oremus' no prayer in fact is said but the Offertory takes place forth-with.

As for the 'deprecatio Gelasii' which replaced the oratio communis, G.G. Willis argues that its original form is in all probability preserved in a 9C MS, of which

he gives the text: this contains eighteen petitions, to each of which the response made is 'Kyrie eleison' (Essays on Early Roman liturgy, A. C.46, 1964, pp.22f.; P.L.101, 560f.). The threefold 'Kyrie eleison' of the 7C is believed by many to be the vestigial remains of this litany.

In the 5C several features were brought in to give a more solemn and impressive start to the Eucharistic liturgy than the simple call to silence. These appear first in the Ordo Romanus Primus but some at least of the new items appear to date from the 5C.

According to the Liber Pontificalis (ed. Duchesne pp.230), it seems that Celestine, bishop of Rome 422-432, introduced the custom of singing a psalm while the clergy entered the church. Lights and incense came into use to accompany the entry and departure of the bishop, a practice associated with civil magistrates and borrowed by the Church some time after bishops were accorded the same status in the 4C.

The 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo', a 'psalmus idioticus' or popular hymn modelled on the psalms and canticles, was probably introduced into the West by Hilary of Poitiers (315-369) from the East where it was sung in the Office. According to Cobb (Study of Liturgy pp.183) there is 'a not improbable tradition that it was first used at the Eucharist

by the Pope at the Christmas Midnight Mass and its use was extended to Sundays and feasts by Pope Symmachus (498-514)'. As he points out, for several centuries only bishops used it at the Eucharist and in the 7C a presbyter was allowed to sing it only at Easter (Ordo Romanus 2). It is attested as sung in the liturgy after the 'Kyries' and before the lessons in the Liber Pontificalis in 530 (ed. Duchesne, I, 56 and 129f.)

The 'oratio prima', a first prayer of the collect type, was brought in probably by the middle of the 5C by Leo I (440-461) or his pre-decessor Sixtus III (432-440); according to the Liber Pontificalis (I, pp.230) it was not part of the liturgy in the time of Celestine I (422-432). F.L. Cross attributes some of the early extant collects to Leo himself (J.Th.St.50, 1949, pp.191f.). Some think that the purpose of the oratio prima was to sum up the people's petitions in the litany as in Ap.Const.8, but at Rome its introduction appears to ante-date the litany. Others hold that it served to introduce the readings, while Jungmann considers that it marks the conclusion of the entrance procession (op.cit.pp.296). In style it corresponds to the prayers at the end of the offertory procession and after Communion which were introduced about the same time. It was originally a brief, extempore prayer, solemn in tone, addressed to God the Father and concluding:

'per Christum, Dominum nostrum'. It continued in its extempore character, at least on occasion, until the 6C, but by then a number of such prayers had acquired a fixed form and samples of these are to be found in the 'Leonine' and Gelasian Sacramentaries.

The second part of the Eucharistic Liturgy at Rome is more difficult to trace. Jungmann expresses the view that a short version of the Eucharistic Prayer or Canon was already in use in the 4C and that it had affinities with Eastern anaphoras and particularly that of Alexandria. Jasper and Cuming reconstruct a non-Roman Canon from the second preface of the Arian fragment, the De Sacramentis of Ambrose and post-pridie prayers of the Mazarabic rite. C. Vagaggini re-assembles the early Roman Canon of 378-416 from the same sources. D. M. Hope takes the view that by the beginning of the 5C the core of the Canon of the Mass had been fixed and established and that all the evidence points to the completion of the Canon by the end of the 6C at the latest (Study of Liturgy pp.222). Before the Eucharistic Prayer itself came one or more preliminary rites.

KISS OF PEACE: In the time of Justin and Hippolytus the kiss of Peace followed immediately after the common prayers and preceded the bringing of the bread and wine to the President or bishop. According to Jungmann (op.cit.pp.41)

the Kiss appears at this time 'as a conclusion, as a putting of one's seal upon the prayer', and he quotes Tertullian's use of the term 'signaculum orationis' to describe it. 'After having prayed in common to God the Father of all, they affirmed by means of the Kiss of Peace that they all really wanted to be brothers and sisters of one family, because all are children of the Heavenly Father. This was also meant as a confirmation of the prayer and in that sense a sealing. But because it preceded the celebration of the Mass it received still another meaning, one that gradually moves into the foreground; everyone is reminded of Mt.5,34f., that one has to be reconciled with one's brother if one wishes to bring a gift to the altar'. The Apostolic Tradition gives a more detailed account of this rite: 'And when he has been made bishop let everyone offer him the kiss of peace, for he has been made worthy. To him then let the deacons bring the oblation' (Ap.Trad.4,If.). 'And after the prayer let them (sc. the newly-baptized) give the kiss of peace' (Ap.Trad.22,6). 'But after the prayer is finished the catechumens shall not give the kiss of peace for their kiss is not yet pure. But the baptized shall embrace one another, mem with men and women with women. But let not men embrace women' (Ap.Trad.I8,2f.).

By the end of the 4C, however, the kiss of Peace had been moved at Rome to a place at the conclusion of the Eucharistic Prayer, just before Communion. So well was it

established in its new position in 416 that Innocent I, bishop of Rome (401-417), could write to Decentius, bishop of Eugubium in Umbria, and claim that this was part of the tradition received by the Roman Church from the Apostle Peter and that churches in N. Italy which exchanged the Kiss before the Offertory had deviated irresponsibly from that tradition: 'Quis enim nesciat aut non advertat id quod a principe apostolorum Petro Romanae ecclesiae traditum est ac nunc usque custoditur ab omni-bus debere servari, nec superduci aut introduci quod auctoritatem non habeat, aut aliunde accipere videatur exemplum? Praesertim cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Galliam, Hispanias, Africam atque Siciliam insulasque interiacentes nullum instituisse ecclesias nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut eius successores constitu-erunt sacerdotes? Aut legant si in his provinciis alius apostolorum invenitur aut legitur docuisse. Quod si non legunt, quia nusquam inveniunt, oportet eos hoc sequi quod ecclesia Romana custodit, a qua eos principium accepisse non dubium est.' After this general reminder Innocent refers to various points in the Eucharist and first of all to the Kiss of Peace: 'pacem igitur asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare vel sibi inter se sacerdotes tradere, cum post omnia

post omnia, quae aperire non debeo, pax sit necessario indicanda, per quam constet populum ad omnia quae in mysteriis aguntur atque in ecclesia celebrantur praebuisse consensum, ac finita esse pacis con-cludentes signaculo demonstrentur.' (Ep.25, P.L.20,55If.). There can be little doubt, however - in spite of Baumstark's support of Innocent's contention - that it was in fact a Roman bishop who at some time altered the original position of the Kiss of Peace. Apart from the testimony of Justin Martyr and Hippolytus there is the evidence of the Eastern liturgies, including those of Cyril of Jerusalem, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Basil of Caesarea and the Apostolic Constitutions Book 8, all of which in the latter part of the 4C have the Kiss of Peace before the Eucharistic Prayer, while the Didache, which has been variously assigned to the IC, 2C or 3C, seems to indicate the same position: 'On the Lord's day of the Lord, come together, break bread, and give thanks, having first confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. But let none who has a quarrel with his companion join with you until they have been reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled' (c.I4,If.).

OFFERTORY: After the Kiss Of Peace in the 2/3C liturgy there came the rite later known as the Offertory.

EUCHARISTIC LITURGY ROME

In his account of the baptismal Eucharist Justin writes: 'Then bread and a cup of water and of mixed wine are brought to him who presides over the brethren and he takes them ...'(I Apol.65) A similar statement is found in his description of the Sunday Eucharist: 'When we have finished praying, bread and wine and water are brought up... '(I Apol.67,5). Jungmann takes the view that in Justin's time 'the faithful themselves do not bring the gifts to the altar' (op.cit.pp.4I).

Hippolytus at the beginning of the 3C makes it clear that the offering is brought by the deacons to the bishop at this point: 'then the deacons shall present the offering to him' (Ap.Trad.4,2) i.e. to the newly-consecrated bishop, after the Kiss of Peace; 'and then let the oblation ... be brought by the deacons to the bishop (Ap.Trad.23,I) sc. at the Paschal Eucharist. But Hippolytus also speaks of offerings brought by the people: 'those who are to be baptized shall not bring any other vessel save that which each shall bring with him for the Eucharist. For it is right for everyone to bring his oblation then' (ibid.20,IO). Jungmann suggests that while there is no trace in the first two passages of the faithful bringing gifts to the altar, there is such a trace in this third extract (op.cit.pp.67). 'Hence, at least in the Mass of baptism, everyone brings an oblation with him for Mass. Whether this was true for other Masses it is hard to say, for evidence is lacking' (ibid.). Hippolytus mentions other offerings, too, brought

by the people: 'if anyone offers oil... ' (Ap.Trad.5,I); 'likewise if anyone offers cheese and olives...' (ibid.6,I). Jungmann in fact traces the practice of allowing the faithful to bring their offerings up to the altar at the Eucharist to the Church's battle against Gnostic teaching and believes that it became established towards the end of the 2C. He quotes as evidence the statement of Hippolytus in Ap.Trad.20, IO; the words of Tertullian in De Exh. cast., c.II, when he sarcastically asks a widower who has re-married: 'You will therefore (sc. after your second wife has died) offer for both (offeres pro duabus) and you will recommend them both to God through the priest?'; and the remark of Cyprian a little later, c.250, who rebukes a rich lady for coming to church without an oblation (sine sacrificio) and therefore partaking at Communion of the offering of the poor (De Opere et Eleem.I5). So Jungmann concludes 'that an offertory procession had already been introduced, namely that offertory procession of the faithful which subsequently was to be found in all countries and which flourished in the Occident for over a thousand years'.

There is little contemporary evidence relevant to 4C practice at Rome apart from incidental hints in the writings of Ambrose, Jerome and others. According to Yarnold (Study of Liturgy,pp.I89) the practice of earlier times continued: 'the bishop offered the gifts offered by the faithful. The

people themselves brought their gifts up to the altar, but there is at this time no evidence whether or not there was a formal offertory procession or at what point in the Eucharist (or before it) this offering took place'. Jungmann speaks with much more confidence: 'at Rome the offering of the gifts was much more closely linked with the liturgy (than in the East and in Gaul). The faithful made their presentation of the gifts during the Mass at the offertory. Two different methods were followed (in Rome and N.Africa): either the faithful themselves approached the altar and handed over their loaf of bread and their little bottle of wine to the priest and his assistants, or the clergy descended to the nave of the church and collected the offerings there.' (op.cit.pp.I7I). He sees evidence of the gifts of the laity in the seven altars presented by Constantine to the Lateran basilica, 'altaria septem ex argento purissimo' (Liber Pont.I,I72), which, since 4C churches are known to have had one altar only, he interprets as 'altar-tables on which the faithful could place their offerings'.

So far no pictorial representation of an offertory procession has been found at Rome, but a 4C or 5C mosaic at Aquileia, in which people are shown bringing bread, wine and other goods, including grapes and birds, and in which a Eucharistic angel is depicted, is generally thought to indicate such a procession (Basilica of Theodore, Aquileia).

In the 7C the Ordo Romanus Primus describes the people as coming forward with their gifts to the chancel rail where they are collected by the deacons: 'The pope, after saying 'Let us pray', goes down at once to the senatorial area... and receives the offerings of the princes in the order of their authorities... The pope, before crossing to the women's side, goes down before the confessio and receives the offerings of the chancellor, the secretary, and the chief counsellor... Likewise the pope goes up to the women's side and carries out the above order. Likewise the presbyters do also, if need be, after him or in the presbytery. After this the pope... returns to his seat' (O.R.I, tr. Jasper & Cuming, Prayers of the Eucharist, pp.II2).

NAMING of the OFFERERS: At the beginning of the 3C Hippolytus records that immediately after the people have presented their offerings the bishop blesses (God) and names the offerers: 'All shall be careful to bring to the bishop the first-fruits of the fruits of the crops. And he shall offer them and bless (God), naming him who brought them, saying: 'We give thanks to Thee, O Lord, God, and we offer to Thee the first-fruits of the fruits which Thou hast given us for food, having perfected them by Thy word, bidding the earth to send forth fruits of all kinds for the joy and nourishment of men and for all beasts. We praise Thee, O God, for all these things, for all (other) things wherein

Thou hast been our benefactor, adorning for us all creation with diverse fruits. Through Thy child, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom to Thee be the glory for ever and ever, Amen' (Ap.Trad.28, If.). Yarnold understands this as taking place in Hippolytus' time outside the Eucharist (op.cit.pp.190).

Early in the 5C Innocent I in his letter to Decentius (Ep.25,5) insists that the names of those who have made the offerings should not be recited until 'after the commendation of the offerings' and thus should take place 'during the sacred mysteries: 'De nominibus vero recitandis antequam precem sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes, quorum nomina recitanda sunt, sua oratione commendet ...prius oblationes sunt commendandae, ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt, edicenda, ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur, non inter alia quae ante praemittimus.' The reason he gives for the Roman placing of this rite is that it would be pointless to mention the name before the offering has been offered to God: 'superfluum sit... ut cuius hostiam necdum Deo offeras, eius ante nomen insinues; and secondly that the later position opens room for further prayers: 'ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus'. Yarnold concludes: 'This publication of names appears to have taken place originally at its logical place when the gifts were offered; but Western practice, stemming probably from Rome, transferred the reading of the names to the eucharistic prayer itself, where

it became a prayer for the offerers, enhanced by its conjunction with the offering of Christ's own sacrifice' (op.cit.pp.I90).

The second of the two fragments, quoted by an anonymous Arian writer apparently from a catholic Eucharistic Prayer, contains such a commendation of the offerings (P.L.I3,6IIf.). It is generally believed to have been written in N. Italy towards the end of the 4C or in the first half of the 5C. It runs as follows: 'It is fitting and right, it is just and right, that we should give you thanks for all things, O Lord, holy Father, almighty, eternal God, ... neither can we be sufficient to give thanks to your great generosity for this loving kindness with any praises; but we ask (you) of your great and merciful goodness to hold accepted this sacrifice which we offer to you, standing before the face of your divine goodness; through Jesus Christ, our Lord and God'.

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER or CANON: in Justin's time this prayer, spoken by the bishop, was still a spontaneous extempore prayer: 'bread and wine and water are brought up, and the President likewise offers prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his ability (ὡς δύνατον)
and the people assent, saying the Amen' (I Apol.67,5). There is a longer account in the description of the baptismal Eucharist 'Then bread and a cup of water and of mixed wine are brought to him who presides over the brethren, and he takes them and offers praise and glory to the Father

of all in the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks at some length that we have been deemed worthy of these things from him. When he has finished the prayers and the thanksgiving, all the people present give their assent by saying 'Amen'. (I Apol.65,3). The prayer is addressed to God, but mention is also made of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the former as Mediator. Justin refers again to the Eucharistic Prayer in c.66,2, where his words can bear a variety of interpretations: 'For we do not receive these things as common bread or common drink; but just as our Saviour Jesus Christ, being incarnate through the word of God, took flesh and blood for our salvation, so too we have been taught that the food over which thanks have been given

by the prayer of the Word who is from him or

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from which our flesh and blood are fed by transformation, is both the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus.' As Jungmann comments (pp.43), the author of the prayer is Christ, and the effect of the prayer is that the bread and wine are now 'the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus'. The content of the Eucharistic Prayer at the baptismal Eucharist is barely suggested in I Apol.65: 'that we have been deemed worthy of these gifts from him' i.e. presumably the gifts received in baptism, forgiveness of past sins, the new life in Christ and the promise of eternal life.

EUCHARISTIC PRAYER ROME

Justin does not mention the Narrative of the Institution within the compass of the Eucharistic Prayer, but in c.66,3, after explaining the current understanding of its significance, he refers to the tradition handed down in the N.T. writings: 'For the apostles, in the records composed by them which are called gospels, have handed down what was commanded them: that Jesus took bread, gave thanks and said, 'Do this for my remembrance: this is my body'; and likewise he took the cup, gave thanks and said, 'This is my blood'; and gave to them alone.' In fact the dominical words he quotes do not come as they stand from any one of our gospels. It is quite probable, therefore, that Justin is giving the words used by the Church at Rome in his day.

In Hippolytus' time, too, it seems that the form of the Eucharistic Prayer was still not bound to a fixed phraseology. It is generally accepted that in Ap.Trad.4,3-I3 he gives only a sample or model of the line of thought which should be followed; and it is noteworthy that it appears only in the Latin version of the West and, among the Eastern versions, in the Ethiopic. The Prayer opens with the Dialogue:

'Dominus vobiscum; et omnes dicant: et cum spiritu tuo;
Susum (sic) corda; habemus ad Dominum;
Gratias agamus Domino; dignum et iustum est.'

Then follows a thanksgiving for the Incarnation, Death and Resurrection of Christ (4,4-8); the Narrative of the Institution (4,9-I0); the Anamnesis (4,II); concluding

petitions (4.12-13); and the Doxology (4.13).

The Narrative of the Institution does not quote verbatim any one of the N.T. accounts and Jungmann concludes that 'it represents a tradition all its own' (op.cit., pp.68). In the Latin version it takes the following form: 'accipiens panem gratias tibi agens dixit: Accipite, manducate: hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis confringitur. Similiter et calicem dicens: Hic est sanguis meus qui pro vobis effunditur; quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis'. As can be seen, the words spoken over the bread are taken from I Cor.11.24; those uttered over the cup are an abbreviation and adaptation of Mk.14.24 or Mt.26.28, while the concluding words are based on I Cor.11.25c.

The Anamnesis is brief and simple: 'Memores igitur mort-:is et resurrectionis offerimus tibi panem et calicem gratias tibi agentes quia nos dignos habuisti adstare coram te et tibi ministrare'. In some respects the phraseology recalls the words of Justin, I Apology 65.3, and beyond that the more general language of Clement, bishop of Rome either towards the end of the first century or in the third decade of the second, who wrote in his letter to the Church at Corinth: 'We are bound to do in an orderly fashion all that the Master has bidden us to do at the proper times he set. He ordered sacrifices and services to be performed: and required this to be done, not in a careless and disorderly way, but at the times and seasons he fixed. Where he wants them performed and by whom, he himself fixed by his supreme will/

supreme will, so that everything should be done in a holy way with his approval and should be acceptable to his will. Those, therefore, who make their offerings at the time set win his approval and blessing ... the high-priest is given his particular duties, the priests are assigned their special place, while on the levites particular tasks are imposed. The layman is bound by the layman's code. Each of us, brothers, in his own rank must win God's approval and have a clear conscience. We must not transgress the rules laid down for our ministry, but must perform it reverently ...' (I Clement 40f.). Clement's words suggest that already in his time the layman as well as the bishop, presbyters and deacons had their own particular functions to fulfil in the worship of the Church; but his meaning cannot be pressed for clearly he draws upon the O.T. account of worship in the Temple at Jerusalem.

The concluding petitions in Hippolytus' Eucharistic prayer are twofold: 'ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae' i.e. that God will send his Holy Spirit upon the offering of his holy Church; and 'in unum congregans des omnibus qui percipiunt sanctis in repletionem spiritus sancti ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te laudemus et glorificemus per puerum tuum Iesum Christum '. Jungmann de-:scribes the prayer as 'the oldest extant epiclesis' and he expounds it as 'a petition that God send the Holy Spirit upon his Church, so that all who receive of the gifts may be filled with the Holy Spirit. Hence/

Hence it is an epiclesis which does not ask for the transformation of the gift, but for a fruitful communion' (pp.70). The first petition is still the subject of dispute. Dix wished to cut it out on textual and liturgical grounds; Botte has established the authenticity of the text; Ratcliff would remove both petitions; as Cobb (Study of Liturgy pp.175) points out, the first petition is very similar to the epiclesis in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari which is of East Syrian origin and may go back to the first half of the 3C; he concludes that 'to remove it from Hippolytus' prayer would rob us of an intelligible basis for the development not only of the epi-clesis but also of intercessions within the Canon which are such a marked feature of later Eastern liturgies in particular'.

The Doxology in the Latin version of Hippolytus' prayer shows a development from Justin in a Trinitarian direction: '(Iesum Christum) per quem tibi gloria et honor patri et filio cum sancto spiritu in sancta ecclesia tua et nunc et in saecula saeculorum'.

It is noteworthy that the Eucharistic Prayer of the Apostolic Tradition does not contain the Sanctus. Jungmann points out that at this time there are indications that elsewhere the Sanctus was part of the Canon, e.g. in the writings of Tertullian and Origen, and he takes the view that Hippolytus probably omitted it deliberately (pp.71). In the 4C the Sanctus is found in the Anaphora of several Eastern liturgies, e.g. Ap.Const.8,27; Cyril of Jerusalem, M.C.5,6; Theodore of Mopsuestia, cat.Hom.16,6; and John Chrysostom

(Brightman, LEW). (p7I) Yarnold considers that there is no evidence of the Sanctus in the West until c.400, when there is a reference in the Libellus de Spiritu Sancto (P.L.I7,IOIO), a pseudo-Ambrosian work, to the effect that the words 'Holy, holy, holy' are recited in all the Eastern and several Western churches. The second Preface quoted in the Arian fragment does not include the Sanctus. He concludes therefore, that 'the use of the Sanctus was in the process of spreading through the West at the beginning of the 5C' (Study of Liturgy pp.I9I). By the 7C it is clear that the Sanctus was part of the Canon at Rome or immediately preceded it, for Ordo Romanus I records: 'And the district subdeacons go behind the altar when the offertory is finished and look at the pope, so that when he says 'For ever and ever' or 'The Lord be with you' or 'Lift up your hearts' or 'Let us give thanks', they may be ready to answer, standing upright until they begin to say the angelic hymn, that is 'Holy, holy, holy'. And when they have finished, the pope alone rises for the Canon.'

THE AMEN: Justin twice mentions the 'Amen' of the people at the end of the Eucharistic Prayer, in IApol.65,3 and 67,3.

It is uncertain whether Hippolytus included the 'Amen'. It appears in the Latin version of Ap.Trad.4,I3, but not in the shorter account of the Paschal Eucharist given in Ap.Trad.23,I. Jasper and Cuming, in their translation of 4,3, print the 'Amen' in brackets. In the 4C, however, we have the testimony of Jerome that the 'Amen' sounded like thunder from heaven in the Roman basilicas.

It is not mentioned in the Ordo Romanus Primus, where the account of the Eucharistic Prayer simply ends: 'The pope touches the side of the chalice with the offerings, saying, 'Through him and with him' up to 'For all the ages of ages', and puts the offerings in their place, and the archdeacon puts the chalice near them'.

The consecrated bread was now broken in preparation for Communion probably without any elaboration of ceremony at this period, as it is seldom mentioned.

According to Innocent I (Ep.25,8) it was the Roman practice that on Sundays a piece of the bread, consecrated by the bishop, the fermentum, was taken to each of the basilicas in Rome as a sign of their unity with him: Jungmann notes (pp.174) that c.300 there were already more than forty churches in Rome and indeed Eusebius quotes Cornelius, bishop of Rome, as saying that the city in his time had as many as forty-six presbyters (H.E.6,43,8). From somewhat later information Jungmann estimates that twenty-five of them were titular churches which had regular Sunday services and that several were martyrs' basilicas 'of which most probably the same can be affirmed'.

A particle of the consecrated bread was apparently put in the chalice. The practice may go back to the time of Sixtus II, bishop of Rome 257-8, since Ambrose describes the

martyr Laurence as protesting that Sixtus, his bishop, was being led off to death without his deacon 'cui commisisti consecrationem consummandorum consortium sacramentorum...' (De.Off.I,204, P.L.16).

It is possible that the Lord's prayer followed at this point in the 4/5C. Augustine says that it was recited in nearly every church: 'Orationes, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica orat-ione concludit' (Ep.149,16; P.L.33).

Some have questioned, however, whether it was so in Rome before the time of Gregory the Great. Jungmann on the other hand considers it quite certain that Rome included the Lord's prayer since one of the Mass formularies in the Verona Codex cites the phrase 'libera nos...' Ordo Romanus I makes no mention of it.

KISS of PEACE: By the beginning of the 5C it was well established at Rome that the Kiss of Peace should be exchanged at this point in preparation for Communion (Innocent I, Ep.25,4; P. L.20).

COMMUNION: Justin describes the administration of Communion as follows : 'And when the President has given thanks and all the people have assented,

assented, those whom we call deacons give to each one present a portion of the bread and wine and water over which thanks have been given and take them to those who are not present' (I APOL.65,5); 'and there is a distribution, and everyone participates in the elements over which thanks have been given; and they are sent through the deacons to those who are not present' (I Apol.67,5).

Hippolytus quotes the words spoken at the administration in the Paschal Eucharist: 'And when he (sc. the bishop) breaks the bread, in distributing fragments to each, he shall say: The bread of heaven in Christ Jesus'. And he who receives shall answer: Amen' (Ap. Trad.23,5). Cobb (Study of Liturgy pp.176) rejects these words as 'almost certainly not contemporary with Hippolytus' and he regards it as 'much more likely that the formula used in his time was that implied as in use in mid-3C Rome by Eusebius (H.E.6.43. 18f., of. Tertullian, De Spec.25) and wit-nessed by Ambrose ('The Body of Christ': Amen', De Sacr. 4,25)'. He sees significance also in the fact that these words appear in the 'Canons of Hippolytus'.

Ordo Romanus Primus gives the following details: 'the second deacon takes the paten to the seat in order that the pope may communicate.... he is communicated thus (sc, from the chalice) by the archdeacon... the bishops come up first to the seat that they may communicate from the hand of

the pope in order. The presbyters also come up to communicate. The chief bishop...stands at the corner of the altar; he communicates the remaining ranks down to the chief counsellor... when (the archdeacon) has administered to those whom the pope communicated, the pope comes down from his seat... to administer to those who are in the senatorial area, after which the archdeacon communicates them...when the chancellor nods, the presbyters by command of the pope communicate the people in both kinds... the pope, as soon as he has communicated those on the women's side, returns to his seat and communicates the district officials in order as they stand in line. When the station has been announced, they go up to the altar. The archdeacon gives them the communion after the pope. When all have communicated, the pope sits down...' There is little doubt that much of this is based on earlier practice. O.R.I. also mentions that a district sub-deacon gives the archdeacon 'the reed with which he communicates the people' and that the wine is poured 'into gemellions for the communion to the people'. O.R.I speaks, too, of a communion antiphon sung by the choir in turn with the sub-deacons throughout the administration: 'as soon as the pope begins to give the communion in the senatorial area, the choir at once begin the communion antiphon by turns with the sub-deacons, and sing until all the people have been communicated, and the pope nods for them to say

'Glory be to the Father', and then, when they have repeated the verse, they fall silent'. It is possible that this, too, is founded on earlier practice, for Augustine refers to the custom recently introduced at Carthage of a cantor singing psalms at this point (Retract.2,II).

It is of interest to note that Gregory the Great indicates in a letter that the Eucharist in his time lasted for upto three hours (P.L.77,956f.). It is likely, therefore, that there was a brief interval between the two parts, the liturgy of the Word and the liturgy of the Sacrament.

The cathedral church in Rome in which the bishop celebrated the Eucharistic liturgy each Sunday was the Lateran basilica. Quite early in his reign, possibly in 313, Constantine gave the Imperial palace of the Lateran to the Church as a residence for the bishop. The adjacent site, occupied by barracks, was clear-:ed and levelled and the basilica built on it. Its foundations lie beneath the present cathedral, S.Giovanni in Laterano, and were excavated in 1934 and again in 1956/7; E.Josi, R.Krautheimer and S.Corbett reported on the latter excavations in Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana 33 and 34 and a further report was made by Krautheimer and Corbett in Antiquity 34, 1960, pp.201f. From the remains of the basilica and from old drawings Krautheimer has suggested a reconstruction of the original plan. A huge nave 95m. long, ran east and west and terminated at the west end in a lofty semicircular apse; the foundation walls of both are well-preserved. The nave was flanked by a double aisle on either side; in each case the inner aisle ran right up to the short west wall of the basilica but the outer aisle was cut short by a low transverse wing which projected beyond the north and south walls of the basilica. Each double aisle was divided by a low arcade supported by twenty-two columns set on high pedestals and was itself separated from the nave by a row of fifteen huge columns, possibly surmounted by an architrave. Traces survive of two large windows in the aisles and Krautheimer thinks it likely from the general practice of Constantinian architecture that there were similar windows in the nave. Across the opening of the apse there was a huge fastigium of silver which was apparently supported by a double row of columns. Below stood statues of solid silver; those facing the people represented Christ the Teacher, seated, with the Apostles on either side, while those confronting the clergy represented the Risen Christ enthroned between four angels./

The construction of the basilica was solid and substantial. The lower section of the foundation walls was 1.7m. thick and sunk 10m. into and below the foundations of the barracks; it was built of large pieces of stone and marble. The foundation of the apse went farther down still to reach the foot of a slope in the terrain; it was faced with brick and the inner part was com-:posed of concrete masonry. All the upper walls of the basilica were of concrete faced with brick.

No trace has been found of the interior decoration. There are, however, lists of gifts to the Lateran included in the Liber Pontificalis (ed. Duchesne) and on the basis of these Krautheimer suggests that gold foil was used to adorn the open beams of the roof, that the dome of the apse was decorated with mosaic and gold and the aisle-arcades with mosaic, that forty-five chandeliers were used to light the nave and five the sanct-:uary where the mensa-altar stood in front of the apse, forty to light the right aisle, twenty-five the left aisle, as well as sixty candlesticks, all of gold or silver; the columns of nave and aisles were of variegated marble, the fastigium of silver, and there were seven gold altars.

As for the use of the various parts of the basilica, he expresses the view that the apse held the bishop's cathedra and the presbyters' seats, that the mensa-altar stood in the western part of the nave in front of the apse and that this area, the sanctuary, which was 20m. long, was reserved for the clergy. The nave and aisles, an area 75m. long and 55m. wide, would be given to the congregation and would, he estimates, accommodate several thousand. He suggests that the outer aisles were curtained off and used by the catechumens who had to withdraw at the end of the first part of the liturgy to a position where they could hear the celebration of the Eucharist without actual-:ly witnessing it./

witnessing it. The low side-wings, he thinks, may well have been repositories for the offerings and he suggests that six of the seven altars were in fact offering-tables since only one mensa-altar was used at this period for the Eucharist. (Fig.v).

Eusebius quotes a letter written by Bishop Cornelius of Rome in the middle of the third century to Bishop Fabius of Antioch about Novatus, a presbyter of the Roman Church, who claimed that he had been consecrated to the episcopate by three Italian bishops: in it Cornelius gives details of the personnel of his church: 'He (sc. Novatus) was unaware that there can be only one bishop in a Catholic church, in which, as he knew per-:fectly well, there are forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, read-:ers and doorkeepers' as well as more than fifteen hundred widows and distressed persons and laymen 'too numerous to count' (H.E.6.43). In a note the translator, G.A. Williamson (Penguin 1965) states that on the strength of these figures the number of Christians in Rome has been reckoned as between thirty and fifty thousand. The clergy of the Lateran, according to Kraut-:heimer, could be accommodated in the sanctuary up to the number of two hundred or more. A large proportion of the lay-:men belonged to the parish churches in the city which were served by presbyters.

It seems probable that from c.150 to c.250 the various Christian communities in Rome had their domus ecclesiae install-:ed in tenements, each bearing a marble slab or titulus with the owner's name which established his right to the property. By the early fourth century evidence points to the existence of twenty-five such tituli e.g. titulus Clementis, titulus Praxedis. These tituli still continue in law and each is assigned to one of the cardinals as his title church; the name has/

has either been prefixed by San or Santa or else replaced by the name of a saint. Most are now parish churches, built be-:tween the fourth and the ninth centuries and remodelled in the course of time; almost all stand on the site of large tenements or private thermae of the second or third century, parts of which can be seen incorporated into their walls or among their foundations. At S.Clemente, for instance, the original basilica built in the late fourth century was constructed over the remains of a third century tenement with shops and a hall which was possibly a factory on the ground-floor (Krautheimer, Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae, 1939f., vol.i, pp.119f.; E.Junyent, Il Titolo di S.Clemente, 1932). At S.Pudenziana the late fourth century basilica was constructed out of a second century thermae hall (A.Petrignani, La Basilica di S.Pudenziana, 1934). The early fifth century basilica of Ss.Giovanni e Paolo, accord-:ing to Krautheimer (Corpus 1, pp.267f.) incorporates the structure of a second century tenement house with shops on the ground-floor which was combined with the small adjacent thermae probably shortly before 250; later, in the early fourth century, the disused shops were decorated with mural paintings which in-:clude Christian subjects; moreover, the third century staircase, which he describes as of monumental size, and the distribution of windows in the third century façade suggest that at that per-:iod there was a large hall in use on the upper floor, which it is reasonable to suppose was a domus ecclesiae. The hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that in the latter part of the fourth century a confessio for martyrs' relics was inserted on a landing of the staircase, apparently marking the position of the altar near the east wall in the hall above. For most of the tituli, however, there is no conclusive proof that the under-:lying structure was used by a Christian community and the question/

question must remain open although the likelihood is strong. It is noteworthy that he quotes the statement of J.P. Kirsch (Die romischen Titelkirchen in Altertum, 1918) that such domus eccles-:iarum were purchased and remodelled in Rome far into the fourth century.(pp.13). The structure of the tenement was capable only of slight adaptation; in most cases it was probably confined to removing a partition wall between adjoining rooms to give a sizeable hall suitable for Christian worship, as was done in 231 at the domus ecclesiae in Dura-Europos in Mesopotamia (Fig.1). Furnishing, too, was necessarily restricted: a dais at one end for the cathedra of the bishop or presbyter and the seats of any assistant presbyters, a wooden table set in front of the dais for the Eucharist, probably some appropriate wall decoration, possibly a side-table for offerings; nearby, a small room for the holy Books and the sacred vessels and another from which the catechumens could listen to the second part of the liturgy.

There is some slight evidence, too, that church-buildings designed as such were beginning to appear in the early fourth century. Krautheimer quotes the accusation of Porphyry that the Christians 'erected huge buildings thus imitating the structures of temples' (adv.Christianos, frag.76, ed.Harnack, 1916) and expresses the view that this can only refer to 'a meeting-hall of public appearance' (op.cit., pp.15). He gives as one possible example at Rome the first church of S.Crisogono, the remains of which lie beside and far below the twelfth cent-:ury basilica. These give evidence of a simple rectangular building with a truss roof, measuring 27m. by 15.5m., and an impressive three-arched entrance of public character in the fac-:ade; it possibly had an atrium on the right of the building with a portico running along the adjacent side; in the interior there is no trace of aisles. Krautheimer dates it from its brickwork/

brickwork to 'very early in the 4C' (Corpus 1.144f.). This would provide facilities for worship similar to those of a domus ecclesiae but on a larger scale. In general it bears comparison with the rectangular hall of the double cathedral at Aquileia, built to replace a domus ecclesiae and completed, according to Krautheimer (Architecture pp.23), before 319 and perhaps as early as 313: this hall, measuring c.37m by 20m, had its eastern end separated off - presumably for the use of the clergy - by a marble screen and also by the lay-out of its floor-mosaic and by its transverse roof, which, Krautheimer suggests, was a light one of cane, barrel-vaulted and coffered; its main area, however, was to some extent divided into nave and broad single aisles by two rows of three columns each and by the floor-mosaics.(Figs.vii,xii).

Such, then, were the varied settings for the Eucharistic liturgy celebrated each Sunday at Rome where regular congregat-:ions met in the first half of the 4C. In the course of that century, however, and particularly from c.380, churches of bas-:ilican plan began to be built to serve the parishes of the city. The earliest was probably S. Marco, built in 336, the scanty re-:mains of which suggest a basilica with the nave divided off from the single aisles by a colonnade and with a low platform at the far end presumably for the clergy: the site of the altar is in front of the platform: there is not sufficient evidence to show whether the nave ended in an apse or in a straight wall (Corpus 2.216f.). The late 4C basilica of S. Clemente is a typ-:ical example of the developed plan: the nave measured 35m by 15m and thus was comparatively short and broad: it was separated from the single aisle on either side by a row of eight columns supporting a wide-arched arcade and it terminated in an apse on the west: the clerestory windows on the other three sides were wide: on the east side an open arcade separated the nave from the portico which ran along the facade of the basilica and it-:self formed/

formed part of the colonnade surrounding an atrium. The nave and aisles are inserted into the walls of the 3C building which may possibly have been used as a domus ecclesiae: under the apse, curiously enough, is part of the ground floor of a 2C house which contains a 3C or early 4C Mithraeum. Other basilicas followed in the early 5C: S. Vitale, 401-417, with a five-arched opening in the upper facade and an arcaded entrance below; Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, 410-420, also with a five-arched opening in the upper facade but with an eight-columned entrance; S. Sabina on the Aventine, 422-432, embodying the new proportions of the 5C Roman basilica, with its lofty, long, narrow nave, its two rows of twelve tall columns supporting the arcades of the nave, its narrow aisles and its huge windows in the clerestory, apse and facade, but with the narthex cut off from nave and aisles by a wall and doors; the first church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, with its row of round windows in the upper facade and still with its arcaded entrance; similarly S. Sisto Vecchio, S. Anastasia, the slightly later S. Lorenzo in Lucina, 433-466, with its doors leading from narthex into nave and aisles, S. Pudenziana with its fine apse mosaic of c.400; the small basilica of S. Agata dei Goti, 462-470, with the smaller windows of this later period. Of these S. Sabina is still intact; most of the rest survive to a considerable extent in later remodellings; others such as S. Marcello and the Quattro Coronati are known in plan; all are standard Roman basilicas consisting of nave, aisles and apse and are preceded by an atrium. (Figs.viii, ix).

In addition to these parish churches there is the huge basilica of S. Maria Maggiore built under Sixtus III (432-440), with its wide nave divided off from the single aisle on either side by a long row of columns supporting an entablature and its apse set off by a lofty triumphal arch; it is enhanced by the use of pilasters and colonnettes in the upper nave walls to frame the windows and the mosaic panels./

the mosaic panels. The latter contain a series of scenes from the O.T. - the earliest extant - showing events in the lives of Abraham, Jacob, Moses and Joshua. On the triumphal arch are depicted episodes from the infancy of Christ, laying special emphasis on the role of the Virgin Mary in accordance with the findings of the Council of Ephesus held in 431. Dorigo favours the view, expressed by Bettini in 1943, that 'the continuous narrative cycle', exemplified in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, was elaborated in the earlier domus ecclesiarum of Rome (op.cit., pp.118). (Figs.vii, viii, ix a,b).

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EUCHARISTIC LITURGY MILAN

The fullest account of a 4th C. Western Eucharistic Liturgy is contained in the writings of Ambrose, bishop of Milan (374-397) These provide abundant evidence that in the latter part of the 4th C the liturgy consisted of two parts which were apparently separated by an interval but were nonetheless regarded as forming one complete service of worship as at Jerusalem. The first, which may be described as the liturgy of the Word, followed largely the pattern of Sabbath morning worship in the synagogue and was devoted to Biblical readings, the singing of Psalms and a sermon. It was attended both by the faithful and by catechumens, penitents and others not permitted to take part in the sacrament of the Eucharist itself, and it was open also to non-Christians attracted to the faith or curious about its teaching and to Christians treated by the Catholic Church as heretical. At the second part of the liturgy, the celebration of the Eucharist, only the faithful were present and participated, although, according to Homes Dudden (St. Ambrose, Oxford, 1935, pp.450) 'at Milan penitents were allowed to attend but were debarred from Communion'.

THE LITURGY OF THE WORD:

The service began with a call to silence, made by a deacon, in preparation for the first reading from the Scriptures: 'Quantum laboratur in Ecclesia ut fiat silentium

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cum lectiones leguntur? Si unus loquatur, obstrepunt universi; cum psalmus legitur, ipse sibi est effector silentii. Omnes loquuntur et nullus obstrepit' (In Ps.I Enarr.9, P.L.I4).

Nor, it seems, was the silence long observed. Ambrose records - no doubt because it was still relevant at a later date in Milan - how, at the service held in 353 in the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome when his sister Marcellina was set apart as a dedicated virgin, Liberius, bishop of Rome, reminded his congregation: 'Maxima est virtus tacendi, praesertim in Ecclesia. Nulla te divinarum sententia fugiet lectionum, si aurem admoveas, vocem premas .....et tu, cum legitur aliquid quo Christus aut venturus nuntiatur aut venisse ostenditur, noli fabulando obstrepere sed mentem admove. An quidquam est indignius quam oracula divina circumstrepi, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur?(De Virg.3).

READINGS Three Biblical passages were read, one from the O.T., one from the N.T. epistles, and one from the Gospels: 'Prius propheta legitur et apostolus et sic Evangelium, in quo verba lucida sed validiora praecepta. Lex dicit: Diliges proximum tuum (Lev.I9, I8); et Evangelium dicit tibi: Diliges inimicum tuum (Mt.5, 44)' (Ps.II8 Expos. I7, I0). In his Sermon c. Auxentium Ambrose refers specifically to the three readings, viz. 1 Kings 2I, I (on Naboth), Galatians 2.I6 and Lk. I9.55 (Sermo c. Aux. 8, I3, I7, resp., P. L. I6) The reading of the Scriptures

was assigned to a lector. Speaking of the various functions in the Church Ambrose writes: 'unusquisque igitur suum ingenium noverit et ad id se applicet quod sibi aptum elegerit... Alius distinguendae lectioni aptior, alius psalmo gratior, alius exorcizandis qui malo laborant spiritu sollicitior, alius sacrario opportunior habetur. Haec omnia spectet sacerdos et quid cuique congruat id officii deputet.' (De Off. I, 214f., P. L.16). Ambrose describes the reader in Church as 'making the words of the sacred readings resound': 'invenit in Ecclesia...filium sacrarum lectionum oracula personantem' (Exhort. Virg. 55, P. L.16); but normally he uses the verb 'legere'. In the reading of the Gospel it seems that the title 'Dominus' was inserted before the name of Jesus: thus in Ep.41. 5, Ambrose writes: 'Evangelii quoque lectio quid habeat consideremus: rogavit quidam pharisaeus Dominum Iesum ut manducaret cum illo'; but in the next verse he continues simply: 'quod Iesus accubuit in domo Pharisaei' (Lk.7 36). Likewise in Ep.80 I, referring to the reading of St. John 9, he quotes v.1:...'Praeteriens Dominus Iesus vidit a generatione caecum'. It is clear that for some seasons, particularly Eastertide, the choice of reading was fixed by tradition. In Ep.20 Ambrose mentions that in Holy Week passages from Job and Jonah were read by custom: 'Audistis, filii, librum Job legi qui solemni munere est decursus et tempore' (Ep.20 14); 'Sequenti die lectus est de more liber Jonae' (ibid.25).

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PSALM : Between the Biblical readings a psalm was sung or chanted. Ambrose uses the verb 'legere' to denote this chanting which, it seems, was led by a lector 'psalmo gratior' (De Off. I. 215): 'Coeli, inquit, enarrant gloriam Dei (Ps.19.2). Cum legitur hic psalmus...'; 'Alius psalmus lectus dicit: Quis sicut Dominus Deus noster...(Ps.113.5)' (Ep.22.4, 7). From a remark in De Excessu Satyri I 61 it is clear that the lector in question was often a young boy: 'hodie quoque per vocem lectoris parvuli Spiritus sanctus expressit: Innocens manibus...(Ps.24.4,6).
J. A. Jungmann describes this method of singing the psalms as follows: 'In the dialogue or responsorial mode of singing customary at the time the chanter first sang the refrain which the congregation repeated after him; then he began the psalm, after each verse of which the refrain was repeated by the faithful. The refrain-verse itself was determined by the celebrant' (The Early Liturgy, E.T. London, 1960). Homes Dudden, on the other hand, suggests that the congregation merely took up 'the last modulations of the chant' which was rendered by the skilled precentor alone (op.cit.pp.293). It is generally agreed that, although there is no clear evidence until the 4th C, this method of responsorial singing was derived from the practice of the synagogue. Unfortunately little is known for certain about Ist C Jewish chanting. Oesterley and Box (The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue, London 1907) make no mention of it, and Edersheim

(The Temple and its services in the time of Jesus Christ, London, 1874) notes that, while there is good Biblical evidence that in the first Temple the people took part in the singing of psalms, in the second Temple they were sung by a choir of Levites and in the Temple of Herod by Levite boys 'nor did the worshippers any more take part in the praise except by a responsive Amen' (pp. 56f). Psalms undoubtedly have an assured place in the traditional Morning Service of the synagogue. It is also noteworthy that by long established custom the lessons are intoned by a professional reader, the Chazzan.

We know that Ambrose introduced another method of singing the psalms at Milan, the antiphonal method, in which the two halves of the congregation sang the verses alternately. The method was also adapted to the use of choirs when these were established. Paulinus describes the occasion of its introduction thus in the Vita Ambrosii which he wrote from personal knowledge probably in 422: 'Hoc in tempore' (i.e. when the Arian Empress Justina sent soldiers to guard the doors of the cathedral church) 'primum antiphonae, hymni ac vigiliae in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari coeperunt. Cuius celebritatis devotio usque in hodiernum diem non solum in eadem ecclesia, verum per omnes pene Occidentis provincias manet' (Vita 13, P. L. 14)

Ambrose, who describes the episode at length refers only briefly to the singing of psalms and does not mention the change of method: 'Exactus est totus ille dies in moerore nostro... Ego domum redire non potui, quia circumfusi erant milites qui basilicam custodiebant. Cum fratribus psalmos in ecclesiae basilica minore diximus.' (Ep. 20.24)

Augustine, who sometime before his baptism was present with his mother in the cathedral, describes the scene in Confessions, Bk.9: 'Quantum flevi in hymnis et canticis tuis suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus commotus acriter.... Non longe coeperat Mediolanensis ecclesia genus hoc consolationis et exhortationis celebrare magno studio fratrum concinentium vocibus et cordibus...Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem orientalium partium, ne populus maeroris taedio contabesceret, institutum est: ex illo in hodiernum retentum multis iam ac paene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cetera orbis imitantibus.' (Conf. Bk.9 6f.)

It seems clear that the new method of singing psalms was introduced at a 'vigil', probably an all-night service, such as that held on Easter Eve leading up to the Easter Baptism and Paschal Eucharist. The vigil consisted of Biblical readings separated by prayers and the singing of psalms and was therefore closely akin to the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy as celebrated in the 4th C. Paulinus links together the introduction at Milan of the antiphonal

singing of psalms, hymns and vigils (Vita, c.13). Duchesne holds that vigils were held every Sunday before dawn in the first few centuries of the Church and that the younger Pliny attests their observance in Bithynia in the 2nd C when he records the statement of Christian witnesses: 'Adfirmabant... quod essent soliti ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere se invicem...; quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium' (Ep. 10.96) (Duchesne, Christian Worship, pp. 229). Others, however, interpret Pliny's account differently.

This mode of singing also was in all probability derived from Jewish practice. Edersheim suggests that at the laying of the foundation of the second Temple and at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem the singing was 'antiphonal or in responses, the two choirs afterwards apparently combining and singing in unison in the Temple itself' and he refers to the accounts of Ezra (3. 10f) and of Nehemiah (12.27, 40). He considers that 'something of the same kind was probably also the practice in the first Temple'. (op. cit., pp56f.) Edersheim further suggests that this mode of singing is reflected in Rev. 14. 1-5 where at the close of their antiphony the two choirs combine, as at the dedication of the second Temple, to join in this grand unison, 'Alleluia; for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth' (Rev. 19.6f) (op. cit., pp 56f).

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Socrates records that antiphonal singing was introduced into the Christian Church by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (martyred in II0) after he had seen a vision of angels praising the Trinity in antiphonal hymns (H.E. 6 . 8), but Lightfoot suggests that the legend may be derived from Ignatius' own words in Rom.2, Eph.4, Trall.5(Apostolic Fathers 2.i.30). Theodoret states that Flavian and Diodorus were the first in the Christian Church to divide the choir into two sections and teach them to sing the psalms alternately (H.E.2.24). Accordingly Homes Dudden concludes that the custom was probably begun in Antioch and spread from there among the Eastern Churches; thus Basil refers to it as the common method of chanting psalms in the East (Ep.207 . 3) (Homes Dudden, op. cit. pp. 286, n. 7).

Peter G. Cobb (The Study of the Liturgy, pp.I86) puts forward the view that the antiphonal method was introduced, not for the singing of a psalm between the Biblical readings, but for the later innovation of chanting a psalm at the very beginning as the bishop and clergy entered the church, and again as the people offered their gifts for the Eucharist and during the Communion. The Introit psalm, however, was probably a 5th C development as it is attributed to Celestine, bishop of Rome (422-432) (Liber Pontificalis, p.23I, ed. Duchesne).

It is clear from Augustine's account that the congregation

enjoyed the singing, and Paulinus gives the same impression when he speaks of the soldiers outside as 'joining with the congregation in lifting up their voices on behalf of the Catholic faith' (Vita 13). Ambrose speaks enthusiastically of congregational psalm-singing in 'In Ps.1 Enarr.' 9-11: 'Quid ergo psalmo gratius? Unde pulchre ipse David: Laudate, inquit, quoniam bonus est psalmus: Deo nostro sit iucunda, decoraque laudatio (Ps.147.1). Et vere; psalmus enim benedictio populi est, Dei laus, plebis laudatio, plausus omnium, sermo universorum, vox Ecclesiae, fidei canora confessio, auctoritatis plena devotio, libertatis laetitia, clamor iucunditatis, laetitiae resultatio...pignus pacis atque concordiae, citharae modo ex diversis et disparibus vocibus unam exprimens cantilenam...Mulieres Apostolus in Ecclesia tacere iubet: psalmum etiam bene clamant: hic omni dulcis aetati, hic utrique aptus est sexui. Hunc senes rigore senectutis deposito canunt, hunc veterani tristes in cordis sui iucunditate respondent, hunc iuvenes...cantant, hunc adolescentes concinunt, iuvenculae...psallunt, puellulae... hymnum Deo inflexae vocis suavitate modulantur... cum psalmus legitur, ipse sibi est effector silentii. Omnes loquuntur et nullus obstrepit... Psalmus cantatur ab imperatoribus, iubilatur a populis. Certant clamare singuli quod omnibus proficit... Magnum plane unitatis vinculum, in unum chorum totius numerum plebis coire ...Certat in psalmo doctrina cum gratia simul. Cantatur ad delectationem, discitur ad eruditionem.'

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Ambrose also introduced the singing of hymns and composed a number of them himself. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers from 350/3, was the first to write hymns in Latin according to Jerome (De Vir.Illustr.100) but the surviving fragments show that they were ponderous in style and not well suited to congregational use and Jerome mentions elsewhere that they were not popular among his people (Comm. in Gal.2, Praef.). Ambrose's hymns were very different: they were written in a light metre, iambic dimeter, and arranged in four-line stanzas; the style was simple and dignified; and they gave memorable expression to the great central truths of the Christian faith. They quickly proved successful in the worship of the Church at Milan and became a permanent feature there; and very soon, after some scattered opposition, they became established in other Western churches. Homes Dudden shows (op.cit-pp.295) that four hymns are beyond question the authentic work of Ambrose since they are attested by Augustine, viz. Aeterne rerum conditor (Aug. Retract.i.21); Deus creator omnium (Conf.9.12;10.34); Iam surgit hora tertia (De nat.et grat.74); Veni redemptor gentium (Serm.372.3). To these Homes Dudden adds as in all probability genuine: Illuminans altissimus, an Epiphany hymn, and the fragment Orabo mente Dominum, both quoted by Cassiodorus (Expos.Ps .74, 8; 101, 1; 118, 164- P.L.70 . 539, 707, 895), and possibly Splendor paternae gloriae, attributed to Ambrose by Bede (De Arte Metrica, 21).

It is not certain that hymns were used in the first part

of the Eucharistic liturgy although on the whole it seems likely. Ambrose makes a number of references to hymn-singing which indicate that it was popular with the people. In his Sermo c. Auxentium he writes: 'Hymnorum quoque meorum carminibus deceptum populum ferunt. Plane nec hoc abnuo. Grande carmen istud est quo nihil potentius. Quid enim potentius quam confessio Trinitatis, quae cotidie totius populi ore celebratur? Certatim omnes student fidem fateri, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum norunt versibus praedicare. Facti sunt igitur omnes magistri, qui vix poterant esse discipuli.' (ibid.34). In his 'Ps.II8 Expositio' he mentions it in connection with the midday Eucharist: 'immo plerique sunt eiusmodi dies: ut statim meridianis horis adveniendum sit in Ecclesiam, canendi hymni, celebranda oblatio. Tunc utique paratus assiste, ut accipias tibi munimentum; ut corpus edas Domini Iesu, in quo remissio peccatorum est, postulatio divinae reconciliationis et protectionis.' (ibid. Sermo 8,48). Homes Dudden, however, takes the view that Ambrose here is alluding to two distinct services, 'an office of psalmody and the Mass', the first consisting mainly of a recital of Ps.II9 which he terms 'hymni' in the prologue to the Expositio: 'Titulus autem psalmi Alleluia est: hoc est laus Dei. In his enim hymnis vere Deus laudatur, in quibus est peccat-orum remissio' (Prol.3). Ambrose also speaks of the singing of psalms in the evening: 'Quis enim sensum hominis gerens non erubescat sine psalmorum celebritate diem

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claudere, cum etiam minutissimae aves solemni devotione et dulci carmine ortus dierum ac noctium prosequantur.'(Hexaem. 5.36) This hymn-singing Homes Dudden assigns to Vespers (op.cit.pp.444).

But Church-attendance at Milan was a cause of concern to Ambrose. As he says in Ps.II8 Expos.I6.45: 'Alius circens-ibus ludis aut theatralibus sollicitatus voluptatibus aut caeter-is vanitatibus occupatus Ecclesiam non frequentat: alium ruris quieta delectant, eaque causa ad Ecclesiam rarus accessus est.' He indicates the situation even more clearly in Hexaem.3.I: 'et frequenter dicitur, Congregetur populus, et non congregatur. Non mediocris pudor est imperio Dei insensibilia elementa parere et homines non obedire, quibus sensus ab ipso tributus est auctore. Et fortasse hic pudor fecerit ut hodie plures conveniretis; ne quo die congregata est aqua in congregationem unam (Gen.I,9), eo die populus nequaquam congregatus in Ecclesiam Domini videretur.'

It would appear feasible, therefore, to suppose that Ambrose would wish to use this popular medium at the main service of the week, the Sunday Eucharistic liturgy.

Throughout the fifty days of Eastertide, from Easter Sunday to Pentecost, the Alleluia was chanted in association with the reading of the Gospel. As Ambrose says: 'Hunc numerum (sc.50) laeti celebramus post Domini passionem.... et suscipimus advenient-em in nos gratiam Spiritus sancti die Pentecostes: vacant ieiunia, laus dicitur Deo, alleluia cantatur. (Apol. Prophetae David, 42).

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SERMON: After the Biblical readings and psalms came the Sermon and it would seem evident from Ambrose's language in Ep.20 that in his view readings and sermon together formed the core of the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy: 'Sequenti die, erat autem dominica, post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis...' (Ep.20,4). The sermon was the responsibility of the bishop. Ambrose himself normally preached every Sunday. Augustine, speaking of the period at Milan before his conversion, writes: 'I willingly heard him (sc.Ambrose) preaching to the people... I was careless and despised the matter which he delivered, but I was attentive and delighted with the sweetness of his speech.. But in point of the matter... Ambrose did most substantially teach salvation'(Conf.5, ppI32) Sed certe mihi nulla dabatur copia suscitandi quae cupiebam de tam sancto oraculo tuo... Et eum quidem in populo verbum veritatis recte tractantem omni die dominico audiebam, et magis magisque mihi confirmabatur versutarum calumniarum nodos, quos illi decep-tores nostri adversus divinos libros innectebant posse dissolvi'. (Conf. 6,4). Likewise Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Dorostor-um on the Lower Danube who had taken refuge at the court at Milan and become leader of the Arian community, seems to have preached daily: 'Tamen illi iam de Auxentio pronuntiaverunt, cui tractanti quotidie non crediderunt' (Ambrose, Serm. c. Aux.26). In Ep.63.10 Ambrose speaks of daily

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sermons: 'et ideo Ecclesia quotidie in lectionibus sacris, in sacerdotium tractatibus laudem pudicitiae, gloriam integritatis personat' and similarly in De Myst I.I: 'De moral-ibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus'.

Ambrose speaks of his own responsibility in this respect as a bishop: 'Non igitur mihi apostolorum gloriam vindico. Quis enim hoc, nisi quos ipse Filius elegit Dei?. Non prophetarum gratiam, non virtutem evangelistarum, non pastorum circumspectionem: sed tantummodo intentionem et diligentiam circa Scripturas divinas opto assequi, quam ultimam posuit Apostolus inter officia sanct-orum (Eph.4.II), et hanc ipsam ut docendi studio possim discere. Unus enim verus magister est, qui solus non didicit quod omnes doceret: homines autem discunt prius quod doceant et ab illo accipiunt quod aliis tradant. Quod ne ipsum quidem mihi accidit. Ego enim raptus de tribunalibus atque administrationis infulis ad sacerdotium, docere vos coepi quod ipse non didici. Itaque fact-um est ut prius docere inciperem quam discere. Discendum igitur mihi simul et docendum est quoniam non vacavit ante discere' (De Officiis I,3f). The bishop could on occasion delegate a presbyter to preach in his place, usually when he himself was unable to be present with his congregation. Jerome, a Westerner, expressed disapproval of the Eastern practice - known to us at Jerusalem in the time of Egeria (Per.25.I) - whereby presbyters preached in the presence of the bishop

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immediately before the latter's sermon (Ep.52.7). Ambrose gave instruction on preaching to his presbyters which suggests that it was a function they regularly fulfilled: 'sermo in duo dividitur, in colloquimm familiare, et in tractatum, disceptationemque fidei atque justitiae. In utroque servandum, ne sit aliqua perturbatio: sed tamquam mitis et placidus, et bene-volentiae plenus et gratiae, sine ulla sermo ducatur contumelia.. Disceptatio sine ira, suavitas sine amaritudine sit, monitio sine asperitate, hortatio sine offensione. Et sicut in omni actu vitae id cavere debemus, ne rationem nimius animi motus excludat, sed teneamus consilii locum: ita enim in sermone formulam eam teneri convenit, ne aut ira excitetur aut odium aut cupiditatis nostrae aut ignaviae aliqua exprimamus indicia. Sit igitur sermo huiusmodi de Scripturis maxime. Quid enim magis nos oportet loqui, quam de conversatione optima, adhortatione observationis, disciplinae custodia. Habeat caput eius rationem et finis modum. Sermo enim taediosus iram excitat. Quam vero indecorum, ut cum omnis confab-ulatio habere soleat incrementum gratiae, habeat naevum offension-is ? Tractatus quoque de doctrina fidei, de magisterio continent-iae, de disceptatione iustitiae, adhortatione diligentiae, non unus semper, sed ut se dederit lectio, nobis et arripiendus est, et prout possumus prosequendus: neque nimium

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prolixus neque cito interruptus; ne vel fastidium derelinquat vel desidiam prodat atque incuriam. Oratio pura, simplex, dilucida atque manifesta, plena gravitatis et ponderis: non affectata elegantia sed non intermissa gratia...licet interdum honesta ioca ac suavia sint, tamen ab ecclesiastica abhorrent regula...Nam de voce quid loquar? quam simplicem et puram esse satis arbitror: canoram autem esse naturae est, non industriae. Sit sane distincta pronuntiationis modo, et plena succi virilis; ut agrestem ac subrusticum fugiat sonum, non ut rythmum affectet scenicum, sed mysticum servet' (De Officiis I 99f.) According to Homes Dudden (op.cit,ppI32 n.2) 'the presbyters appear to have preached only in the cathedral or bishop's church and it was not until the 6C that they were given the right, by canon 2 of the second Council of Vaison, to preach in country parishes. Ambrose himself preferred that preaching should be entrusted to older and more experienced presbyters: with reference to Cant.6.5 he writes:' intelligimus animae esse virtutes, doctorumque diversitates: qui vel spiritalem menti alimoniam dispensatione sedula subministrent: vel praedicatione Dominicae crucis, sicut verbi quadam linea alligent audientem: vel modesti ac verecundi et iuventutis flore gratissimi etsi a tractatu pudore revocentur, redoleat tamen in his odor Christi, et sicut in genas quasi de capite sacerdotali descendit unguentum, eluceat pulchritudo doctrinae.' (Ps.II8 Expos.I5.I4). Possidius recounts (Vita Augustini 5) that Valerius, bishop of Hippo, who was

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himself a Greek and not well versed in Latin, gave his presbyter Augustine 'permission to preach the Gospel in his presence in the Church and very frequently to hold public discussions also, contrary to the custom and practice of the Churches of Africa'. But 'this was the practice in the Eastern Churches'. 'Some bishops found fault with him for this' but Valerius paid no heed to their objections 'as the presbyter was getting done what the bishop could see could never be done by himself'. Possidius also records that the new idea spread but his statement is imprecise: 'Presently the news of it got about everywhere and such was the force of good example, other presbyters were given permission by their bishops and began to hold forth to the people in their bishop's presence' (Vita Aug.5, tr.F.R.Hoare, The Western Fathers, London, 1954).

Many of Ambrose's works consist of sermons. Several are avowedly expositions of the Scriptures e.g. the Hexaemeron (on Genesis I), De Interpellatione Job, Enarrationes in Psalmos duo-decim, Ps.118 Expositio, Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam.

Others focus upon an O.T. personality e.g. De Abraham I, De Jacob, De Elia, De Nabuthe, Apologia David, De Tobia. Some are doctrinal e.g. De Fide 3-5, preached against Arianism; De Incarnatione, De Bono Mortis, De Institutione Virginis, on the perpetual virginity of Mary; A few dealt with the worship, order and ministry of the Church e.g.

De Sacramentis, De Mysteriis, De Officiis Ministrorum, De Virg-
:inibus, Exhortatio Virginitatis, De Viduis. Some of these were preached to a special audience e.g. De Abraham I and Enarration-
:es in Psalmos Duodecim to candidates for baptism, De Officiis to the younger clergy; others were given to the congregation in Church e.g. Ps.118 Expositio, sermons at the Eucharist; Exposit-
:io ev. Luc., sermons preached in Church (J.R. Palanque, S.Ambr-
:oise et L'Empire Romain, 1933., pp.451): Apologia David, preach-
:ed at Whitsuntide (idem, pp.178f., 520f.). Ambrose himself says that he preached on the Epistles of St. Paul but found it hard to expound his thought: 'delectari te insinuasti mihi, cum aliquid de Pauli apostoli scriptis coram populo ad disputandum assumerem; quod eius profundum in consiliis vix comprehendatur, sublime in sententiis audientem erigat, disputantem accendat' (Ep.37.1). Generally he preferred to preach on the O.T. which gave him more scope, and Augustine bears testimony to the thor-
:oughness with which he treated it: 'For it seemed to me that what he said could be defended ... especially when I heard the hard places of the O.T. explained one after another'(Conf.5, pp. 134). Ambrose did not know Hebrew and read the O.T. in Greek, mostly in the LXX version which was the one favoured by the Church: 'Septuaginta virorum sententias magis sequitur ecclesia' (Expos.Ps.118.9.13) and which he himself preferred to the Latin versions. But he was also acquainted with the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion and the Hexapla of Origen (In Ps.36.11, 43.4, 118.4).

Ambrose was fully alive to the needs of his hearers. Aug-
:ustine testifies to 'the unspeakable delight wherewith I con-
:sidered the depth of thy counsels concerning the salvation of mankind' (Conf,9, pp.230). Paulinus (Vita 17) tells how a pro-
:minent Arian present in the cathedral was won over by Ambrose's preaching: 'erat quidam vir de haeresi Arianorum, acerrimus nimium/

nimium disputator, et durus atque incontrovertibilis ad fidem catholicam. Is constitutus in Ecclesia, tractante Episcopo, vidit (ut ipse postmodum loquebatur) Angelum ad aures Episcopi tractantis loquentem; ut verba angeli populo Episcopus renuntiare videretur; quo visu conversus, fidem quam expugnabat coepit ipse defendere.'

In De Isaac 57 Ambrose mentions that many of his hearers are ignorant people: 'Constitue nunc aliquem doctorem, qui rem obscuram velit aperire audientibus: quemadmodum etsi ipse potens in sermone sit et scientia, condescendat tamen ad eorum inscitiam qui non intelligunt et simplici et planiore atque usitato sermone utatur ut possit intelligi. Quisque igitur inter audientes vivac-ior sensu sit, qui facile sequi possit, elevat eum atque excutit. Hunc videns doctor revocat, ut patiatur magis doctorem humilior-ibus et planioribus immorari quo et caeteri sequi possint'. He considered it therefore all-important that the sermon should be carefully planned and clearly expressed so that it could be fully understood by the congregation and make an impact on their minds and general good sense. In writing to a newly-elected bishop, Constantius, he gave the following advice: 'sint ergo sermones tui proflui, sint puri et dilucidi; ut morali disputatione suavitatem infundas populorum auribus et gratia verborum tuorum plebem de-mulceas; ut volens quo ducis sequatur. Quod si aliqua vel in populo vel in aliquibus contumacia vel culpa est, sint sermones tui huiusmodi ut audientem stimulent, compungant male

conscium... Alloquia tua plena intellectus sint...id est, fulgeat sermonum tuorum manifestatio, intellectus coruscet, et alloquium tuum atque tractatus aliena non indigeat assertione...nec ullum verbum tuum in vanum exeat et sine sensu prodeat...Et ideo circa eos qui gravi ulcere vexantur, utere oleo sermonis quo foveas mentis duritiam...ut vagos et fluctuantes circa fidem vel disciplinae observantiam nequaquam soluto animo et remisso vigore patiaris perire. Admone igitur plebem Domini atque obsecra ut abundet in operibus bonis, renuntiet flagitiis, non accendat flammarum incendia, non dicam in sabbato sed in omni tempore... Edoce etiam atque institue ut faciant quod bonum est' (Ep.2 5f): thus Ambrose urges the need for clarity and persuasiveness so that ordinary people will understand the implications of the Christian life and want to live it, and will receive the necessary appeal to mind and intellect, instruction, challenge, rebuke, and comfort as circumstances require. Similarly when he gave instruction on preaching to his own presbyters Ambrose emphasized the need for thorough and comprehensive teaching on the Christian faith and the Christian life, but tempered to the powers of the congregation to absorb it: 'Tractatus quoque de doctrina fidei, de magisterio continentiae, de disceptatione iustitiae, adhortatione diligentiae non unus semper, sed ut se dederit lectio, nobis et arripiendus est et prout prosumus prosequendus: neque nimium prolixus neque cito interruptus;

ne vel fastidium derelinquat vel desidiam prodat atque incuriam'(De Off.1. 101)

DISMISSAL of CATECHUMENS: The first part of the Eucharistic liturgy ended with the dismissal of the catechumens etc. to which Ambrose briefly refers in Ep.20, 4: 'post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis'. We know from Ap. Const. Bk.8 that the dismissal was carried out formally in Syria in the 4C with a separate prayer, blessing and dismissal for each group. We do not know the form adopted by Ambrose but the prayers uttered at the end of books 4 and 6 of the De Sacramentis, addressed to the newly-baptized, may provide a clue: 'Dominus Deus noster conservet vobis gratiam quam dedit, et oculos quos vobis aperuit plenius illuminare dignetur per unigenitum Filium suum regem ac salvatorem Dominum Deum nostrum, per quem sibi, et cum quo sibi est laus, honor, gloria, magnificentia, potestas cum Spiritu sancto a saeculis et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.' (ibid.4.29) 'Sanctitas vestra institutis sacerdotalibus informata laboret tenere quod accepit a Deo: et oblatio, sicut hostia pura, in vobis semper suum signaculum recognoscat, ut et ipsi ad gratiam et ad praemia virtutum pervenire possitis, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum; cui est gloria, honor, laus, perpetuitas a saeculis et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.' (ibid.6 26) The dismissal of catechumens continued at Milan

in the later Ambrosian rite.

It seems that there was a short interval between the first and second parts of the Eucharistic liturgy. In Ep.20 Ambrose mentions that on the Sunday before Easter he imparted the Creed to the candidates for baptism at that time in the baptistery: 'Sequenti die, erat autem Dominica, post lectiones atque tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam basilicae. Illic nuntiatum est mihi comperto quod ad Portianam basilicam de palatio decanos misissent et vela suspenderent, populi partem eo pergere. Ego tamen mansi in munere, missam facere coepi. Dum offero...' (ibid.4). In the same way the conversation with the Emperor Theodosius on the punishment he had imposed for the destruction of the synagogue at Callinicum, reported in Ep.41,27f., took place in the interval. 'Ubi descendi, ait mihi: De nobis proposuisti. Respondi: Hoc tractavi quod ad utilitatem tuam pertineret. Tunc ait: Re vera de synagoga reparanda ab episcope durius statueram, sed emendatum est. Monachi multa scelera faciunt. Tunc Timasius magister equitum et peditum coepit adversus monachos esse vehementior. Respondi ei: Ego cum imperatore ago, ut oportet; quia novi quod habeat Domini timorem: tecum autem aliter agendum qui tam dura loqueris. Deinde cum aliquamdiu starem, dico imperatori: Fac me securum pro te offerre, absolve animum meum. Cum assideret annueretque, non tamen aperte polliceretur atque ego starem, dixit se emendaturum rescriptum. Statim dicere coepi, ut omnem cognitionem tolleret, ne occasione cognitionis comes aliqua christianos atteret injuria. Promisit futurum. Aio illi: Ago fide tua; et repetivi: Ago fide tua. Age, inquit, fide mea. Et ita ad altare accessi...'

EUCHARISTIC LITURGY MILAN

At the celebration of the Eucharist itself only baptized Christians were allowed to be present. The cleansing of baptism is completed by the cleansing given in the Eucharist: 'Nunc quoque in Evangelii mysteriis recognoscis, quia baptizatus licet toto corpore, postea tamen esca spiritali potuque mundaris' (Ps. II8, I6, 29). Likewise in Expos. ev. Luc.IO, I35 he writes: 'non ante altaris sacramenta quam baptismum: sed baptismum ante, sic poculum.' At Milan this seems to have included penitents who had been debarred from Communion for a time by the Church for some offence as Ambrose said to the Emperor Theodosius before he sought pardon from the Church for the savage vengeance he took on Thessalonica: 'offerre non audeo sacrificium, si volueris assistere...Tunc offer es, cum sacrificandi acceperis facultatem, quando hostia tua accepta sit Deo' (Ep.5I.I3, I5). Thanks to the disciplina arcani Ambrose gives no detailed account of the Eucharist but from incidental remarks scattered here and there in the writings we can piece together a certain amount of information about practice in Milan in his day.

THE COMMON PRAYERS OF THE FAITHFUL may be referred to in a number of passages in which Ambrose speaks of prayers for the Emperor. In Ep.I.2, addressed to the Emperor Gratian, he writes: 'Et haec quidem cum pro tua salute deferebamus, pro nobis faciebam_us...Scit ipse

nostri arbiter, quem fateris et in quem pie credis, refici viscera mea tua fide, tua salute, tua gloria: meque non solum officio publico debitas pendere preces, sed etiam amore privato. Reddidisti enim mihi quietem Ecclesiae.' In Ep.I8.8, written in reply to the Relatio Symmachi, he contrasts pagan with Christian practice: 'Vos pacem diis vestris ab imper-atoribus obsecratis, nos ipsis imperatoribus a Christo pacem rogamus' In Ep.I2.2, written to thank the Emperors Grat-ian, Valentinian and Theodosius for restoring peace to the Church he says: 'Sed tamen etsi beneficia vestra verbis explicare non possumus, votis tamen concilii compensare desideramus: qui licet per singulas quasque ecclesias quotidianas apud Deum nostrum pro imperio vestro celebremus excubias: tamen conducti in unum, quo munere nihil esse pulchrius opinamur, Deo nostro omnipotenti et pro imperio, et pro pace ac salute vestra gratias agimus quod per vos nobis pax et concordia ita sit refusa.' Finally, in De Sacramentis 4.I4, after emphasizing that the consecration of the elements is effected in the very words of Christ he states that the preceding parts of the Service are spoken in the words of the priest: 'Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, cuius sermonibus? Domini Iesu. Nam et reliqua omnia quae dicuntur in superioribus a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris'.

THE KISS OF PEACE: was exchanged, as in the Apostolic Constit-utions, before the great Eucharistic Prayer In Ep.4I.14f

addressed to his sister, Ambrose writes; after quoting Luke 7,45: 'Osculum utique insigne est charitatis...Non habet synagoga osculum; habet Ecclesia, quae expectavit, quae dilexit, quae dixit: Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui (Cant.I,I)... Then, quoting Ps.I, I7: Os meum aperies et annuntiabit laudem tuam, he continues: 'Qui ergo laudat Dominum Iesum, osculatur eum: qui laudat, credit utique'. He quotes Scripture to show that one kisses Christ by receiving the Spirit, by confessing Christ, by reading the Gospel and admiring the deeds of Christ: all this is summed up in the osculum communionis: 'De specialis quoque gratiae infusione eadem te Scriptura docet, quod osculetur Christ-um qui accipit Spiritum, dicente propheta sancto: 'Os meum aperui et attraxi Spiritum'(Ps.II8.I3I). Osculatur ergo Christum, qui confitetur illum:'Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem' (Rom.I0.I0). Osculatur vero pedes Christi, qui Evangelium legens Domini Iesu gesta cognoscit et pio miratur affectu; ideoque religioso osculo velut quaedam deambul-antis Domini lambit vestigia. Osculamur ergo Christum Communionis osculo: 'Qui legit, intelligat' (Mt.24, I5).'

In De Poenitentia 2,I8, in the course of expounding the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk.I5.IIf) he describes the kiss given by the father as 'insigne sacrae pacis.' 'In Ps.39 Enarr.I7' comments on the kiss of Judas as a violation of the sanctity of a kiss. The Christian kiss on the other hand conveys the grace of Christian love; it is the sign

of peace; it strengthens loyal friendship; and it designates or seals Christian faith. He reiterates that the kiss given by the Christian is the mark of Christian love and faith, of Christian friendship and humanity, the pledge of peace, the sincere expression of the inmost thoughts of the mind, the feelings of the heart and the intention of the will; and he concludes by saying that it has a universal character. We know from the letter of Innocent 1, bishop of Rome 401-417, (Ep.25.4 addressed to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio, P.L.20) that some churches in N. Italy continued to exchange the Kiss Of Peace before the Offertory although at Rome it had apparently long been given before Communion. It is possible that Ambrose preferred the Roman position for this rite and introduced it at Milan. In the later Ambrosian liturgy it is observed before Communion, but traces of earlier practice remain in the rubric 'Pacem habete' spoken before the Offertory.

THE OFFERINGS: Ambrose speaks of the offerings of the people at the Eucharist in the Prologue (2) to 'Ps.118 Expositio' when he points out that the newly-baptized do not participate in this rite until the Sunday after the baptism) of Easter day: 'Ubi autem venit resurrectionis dies, convivificati Domino Iesu resurreximus et erecti sumus, in novitate vitae ablutionis gratiam praeferentes. Meritoque primo-genita offerimus animantia in figura primogeniti Filii Dei, castit-atis et simplicitatis, spiritale sacrificium) acceptum Deo, non quarto aut quinto die; ne immundum aut inconsummatum sacrificium sit; sed octava die qua omnes in Christi resurrectione non solum resuscitati sed etiam confirmati sumus. Unde licet in baptismate plena sit statim purgatio, tamen quia ablutionis ipsius sacrificii-que rationem baptizatus debet cognoscere, non offert sacrificium, nisi octavum ingrediatur diem; ut informatus agnitione

capax, tunc demum suum munus altaribus sacris offerat, cum coeperit esse instructior; ne offerentis inscitia contaminet oblationis mysterium'. The newly-baptized, then, were not considered fit to take part in the people's offering for the Eucharist until their instruction in the two dominical sacra-:ments had been completed in Easter week (Expos. Ps. 118, Prol.2). Another reference is found in the record of the incident when Theodosius exacted vengeance on the city of Thessalonica. According to Paulinus, Ambrose went so far as to excommunicate the Emperor: 'Quod factum ubi cognovit sacer-:dos, copiam imperatori ingrediendi ecclesiam denegavit: nec prius dignum iudicavit coetu ecclesiae vel sacramentorum communione quam publicam ageret poenitentiam' (Vita, c.24). Homes Dudden rejects the view that Ambrose formally ex -:communicated the Emperor (which is suggested also by the statements in Sozomen, H.E.7.25 and in Theodoret, H.E.5.18) and argues that Ambrose would not do more than simply decline to celebrate the Eucharist in the presence of the Emperor (op.cit.pp.387). Theodosius, he thinks (ibid.pp.390), finally accepted Ambrose's judgment of the matter and underwent penance in the weeks before Christmas, 390; during this period he was allowed to be present as a penitent at the Eucharist but not to communicate nor presumably to make an offering (Sozomen, H.E.7.25; Rufinus, H.E.2.18) until he was solemnly readmitted on Christmas Day (Theodoret, H.E.5.18). Theodoret specifically refers to the offering.

There is mention also of gifts to the altar of Christ from the Emperor Valentinian 11 in Ep.17, 12f; the letter was addressed to the Emperor, then only some thirteen years old and un-baptized, when he was considering the petition of Symmachus on behalf of the Senate to restore the ara Victoriae and to support the old religion. Ambrose, urging Valentinian to reject the petition: writes: 'Certe si aliud statuitur, episcopi hoc aequo animo pati et dissim-ulare non possumus; licebit tibi ad Ecclesiam convenire: sed illic non invenies sacerdotem aut invenies resistentem. Quid respondebis sacerdoti dicenti tibi: Munera tua non quaerit Ecclesia, quia templa gentilium muneribus adornasti? Ara Christi dona tua respuit quoniam aram simulacris fecisti; vox enim tua, manus tua et sub-scriptio tua, opus est tuum. Obsequium tuum Dominus Iesus recusat et respuit quoniam idolis obsecutus es; dixit enim tibi: Non potest-is duobus dominis servire (Mt.6,25). Privilegia tua sacratae Deo virgines non habent, et vindicant virgines Vestae? Cur sacerdotes Dei requiris quibus petitiones profanas gentilium praetulisti? Alieni erroris societatem suscipere non possumus. Quid respondebis his verbis? Puerum esse te lapsum? Omnis aetas perfecta Christo est; omnis Deo plena. Pueritia fidei non probatur: parvuli etiam Christum intrepido adversus persecutores ore confessi sunt.' (Ep. 17, 13f.). Both Homes Dudden (ibid.pp.450 n.3) and A.A. King (the Liturgies of

the Primatial Sees, London, 1957), however, take the view that Ambrose cannot be referring here to the offering at the Eucharist as Valentinian had not been baptized but rather to imperial gifts bestowed upon the Church such as those credited to Constantine by the Liber Pontificalis. Valentinian in fact was never baptized but Ambrose conceded at his death that he had been baptized in effect by his piety and earnest desire for baptism, just as martyrs are baptized by their martyrdom: 'Quod si suo abluuntur sanguine, et hunc sua pietas abluit et voluntas.' (De obitu Val. Consolatio 53; P.L.16).

It has been suggested that Ambrose's words in De Sacr.4.14 refer to a prayer of commendation of the offerings: 'Nam et reliqua omnia quae dicuntur in superioribus a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris' (P.L.16) and that the alternative reading 'laus Deo defertur' is accordingly to be preferred.

In the De Spiritu Sancto Ambrose describes the Holy Spirit as 'invoked in the oblations': 'Quomodo igitur non omnia habet (sc. Spiritus sanctus) quae Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio sacerdotibus in baptismate nominatur, et in oblationibus invocatur, cum Patre et Filio a seraphim in coelestibus praedicatur, cum Patre et Filio habitat in sanctis, infunditur iustis, inspiratur prophetis.' (ibid III. 112). According to Homes Dudden (op.cit.pp.451), these words do not furnish evidence of the use at Milan of 'anything

resembling the Eastern form of Invocation of the Holy Spirit' which some scholars have claimed to see indicated here. According to Yarnold (Study of Liturgy, pp.190) Ambrose may refer to the use of incense at the offertory in Expos. Ev.Luc.1,28. There, speaking of the experience of Zacharias in the Temple, recorded in Lk.1,11, he writes: 'Atque utinam nobis quoque adolentibus altaria, sacrificium deferentibus assistat angelus, immo praebeat se videndum. Non enim dubites assistere angelum, quando Christus immolatur. 'Etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus' (1 Cor. 5,7).

THE EUCHARISTIC PRAYER seems normally to have contained as its core the Narrative of the Last Supper and the consecration of the elements and to have opened with an introductory prayer or preface leading up to this. According to Homes Dudden (op.cit.pp.450f.) there may be an allusion to the use of the Sanctus,(derived from Isaiah 6,3), as the climax of the Preface in De Spiritu Sancto 3, 109f: 'Ergo sanctus Pater, sanctus Filius, sanctus et Spiritus: sed non tres sancti, quia unus est Deus sanctus, unus est Dominus. Una est enim vera sanctitas sicut una est vera divinitas, una illa vera sanctitas naturalis. Ideo omnia haec quae sancta nos credimus illam solam praedicant sanctitatem. Cherubim et Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant et dicunt: 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus

Deus Sabaoth.' Non semel dicunt, ne singularitatem credas: non bis dicunt, ne Spiritum excludas: non sanctos dicunt, ne pluritatem aestimes: sed ter repetunt et idem dicunt, ut etiam in hymno distinctionem Trinitatis et divinitatis intelligas unitatem: hoc cum dicunt, Deum praedicant. Nos quoque nihil pretiosius invenimus quo Deum praedicare possimus nisi ut sanctum appellemus. Quodlibet aliud inferius Deo, inferius est Domino. Ergo hinc quoque considerate utrum aliquid sancto Spiritui derogandum sit, cuius nomen Dei laus est. Sic enim laudatur Pater, sic laudatur et Filius, quemadmodum et Spiritus nominatur et laudatur. Seraphim laudat, omnis beatorum chorus laudat, ut sanctum Deum dicat, sanctum Filium, sanctum Spiritum. Quomodo igitur non omnia habet quae Dei sunt, qui cum Patre et Filio a sacerdotibus in baptismate nominatur, et in oblationibus invocatur, cum Patre et Filio a Seraphim in coelestibus praedicatur, cum Patre et Filio habitat in sanctis, infunditur iustis, inspiratur prophetis.' The phrase 'indefessis vocibus' does not come from the Hebrew LXX text of Is.6.3. Ambrose uses the phrase again in par. 164 of the same work: 'Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant et tu discutis' and also in Expos. Ev.Luc.7.120: 'Denique Cherubim et Seraphim indefessis vocibus clamant: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, ut Trinitas repetita tertia appellatione signetur.'

Homes Dudden (op.cit., pp.451, n.1) sees a parallel in the Eastern phrase ἀκατακρίτοις στόμασι and in the words 'incessabili voce' used in the 'Te Deum'. Gregory Dix, however, takes the view that Ambrose does not provide evidence of the use of the Sanctus (The shape of the Liturgy, c.14,pp.539).

Ambrose speaks of the recital of the names of the departed at the altar but he gives no clear indication of the point at which this took place: 'Beati ambo (sc. Valentinianus et Gratianus) si quid meae orationes valebunt nulla dies vos silentio praeteribit, nulla inhonoratos vos mea transibit oratio, nulla nox non donatos aliqua precum mearum contextione transcurret. Quis prohibebit innoxios nominare? Quis vetabit commendationis prosecutione complecti?' (De Ob. Val. 78).

THE NARRATIVE OF THE LAST SUPPER as used for the consecration of the elements at Milan is quoted in De Sacramentis 4,21: 'Vis scire quia verbis coelestibus consecratur? Accipe quae sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, ratam, rationabilem, acceptabilem: quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit in coelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, gratias agens, benedixit, fregit, fractumque apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit dicens: 'Accipite et edite ex hoc omnes: hoc est enim corpus meum quod pro multis confringetur.' Similiter etiam calicem

postquam coenatum est, pridie quam pateretur accepit, respexit in coelum ad te, sancte Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, apostolis suis et discipulis suis tradidit, dicens: 'Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes: hic est enim sanguis meus.' The Narrative is a compilation from 1 Cor.11.24f. and Mt. 26.26f, to which are added a number of statements by way of explanation and amplification, viz. 'pridie quam pateretur', 'respexit in coelum...Deus', 'in sanctis manibus suis', 'apostolis suis et discipulis suis'. The words: 'This is my body which shall be broken for you' occur only in 1 Cor. 11.24 (Textus Receptus margin), in participial form; the brief statement 'This is my blood' is amplified in all four N.T. accounts.

In De Fide 4.123f., quoting Jn.6.54, he asks: 'Secundum Filium hominis se dicere ante praemisit, et tu quod secundum Filium hominis de carne est locutus et sanguine, ad divinitatem putas esse referendum?' Then, quoting Jn.6.56; 'Carnem audis, sanguinem audis, mortis dominicae sacramenta cognoscis: et divinitati calumniaris? Audi dicentem ipsum: 'Quia spiritus carnem et ossa non habet' (Lk.24.39).Nos autem quotiescumque sacramenta sumimus quae per sacrae orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus'.

56: caro enim mea vere est esca, et sanguis meus est potus.) It can be seen from these quotations that Ambrose uses a number of different terms to refer to the words of consecration in the Eucharistic Prayer e.g. benedictio (De.Myst.9,50), sacrae orationis mysterium (De Fide 4,I24), consecratio divina (De Myst. 52), benedict-io verborum coelestium (ibid.), sermo coelestis De Sacr.4,20), consecratio (De Myst.54, De Sacr.4,I3 etc.)

ANAMNESIS: Ambrose's account of the Eucharist in the De Sacramentis continues with details of the Anamnesis: 'Deinde quantum sit sacramentum cognosce. Vide quid dicat: Quoties-cumque hoc feceritis, toties commemorationem mei facietis donec iterum adveniam (I Cor.II,26). Et sacerdos dicit: Ergo memores gloriosissimae eius passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis et in coelum ascensionis, offerimus tibi hanc immaculatam hostiam, ration-abilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem vitae aeternae' (ibid.4,26-7). Immediately thereafter follows the petition: 'et petimus et precamur ut hanc oblationem suscipias in sublimi altari tuo per manus angel-orum tuorum, sicut suscipere dignatus es munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos Melchisedech.' (ibid.27).

At the close of the Eucharistic Prayer the people responded by saying 'Amen': 'post consecrationem corpus significatur...post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis: Amen, hoc est, verum est. Quod os loquitur, mens

interna fateatur: quod sermo sonat, affectus sentiat' (De Myst. 54).

There is no specific evidence in Ambrose of the use of the Lord's Prayer in the Eucharistic liturgy, but he does expound it briefly to the newly-baptized in De Sacramentis 6.24 and it may be significant that he finishes this exposition with the following words: 'Quid sequitur? Audi quid dicat sacerdos: per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christ um, in quo tibi est, cum quo tibi est honor, laus, gloria, magnif-icentia, potestas cum Spiritu sancto a saeculis et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.' In the later Ambrosian rite the recital of the Lord's Prayer follows the Fraction as it did in the Roman liturgy until Gregory the Great placed it before the Fraction.

It seems that the congregation did not see the action of the bishop at the consecration. In De Officiis I,250, speaking of the functions of the deacons (levitae) Ambrose writes: 'Non enim omnes vident alta mysteriorum, quia operiuntur a levitis; ne videant qui videre non debent...'

From Ambrose's words in De Spiritu 3,79, Homes Dudden concludes (op.cit.pp.452) that the consecrated elements were adored, presumably with prostrations: There, commenting on Isaiah 66,4 Ambrose writes: 'Videamus tamen ne terram illam dicat adorandam propheta, quam Dominus Iesus in carnis assumptione suscepit. Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur: per terram autem caro Christi, quam hodieque in mysteriis adoramus et quam apostoli in Domino Iesu...adorarunt.'

There is some evidence that the bishop blessed the congregation before the Communion. In par.36 of In Ps 40 Enarr., commenting on v.13: 'Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel a saeculo et in saeculum: fiat, fiat', he explains that 'Fiat' corresponds to the LXX γένοιτο and 'Amen' in Hebrew, and that it has different meanings, sometimes expressing an order, sometimes a prayer, sometimes assent. Of this third sense he says: 'confirmantis est cum benedicit propheta vel sacerdos vel sanctus aliquis; et populus respondit: Fiat, fiat. Hic ergo magis confirmatio mihi videtur benedictionis quam oratio vel deprecatio: maxime quia repetitio ipsius facta sermonis est. Et videtur Hebraeus quidem sermo mutatus; sed idem sensus expressus. Sicut enim cum sacerdos benedicit populus respondet, Amen, confirmans benedictionem sibi quam plebi sacerdos a Domino deprecatur; ita in psalmo responsum est: Fiat, fiat; quasi: Amen, amen.'

Ambrose makes it clear that it is the words of Jesus Himself in the Narrative of the Last Supper that effect the consecration of the elements at the Eucharist.

In De Sacr. 4.23 he writes: 'Qui pridie, inquit, quam pateretur, in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem. Antequam consecretur, panis est; ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi. Denique audi dicentem: 'Accipite et edite ex eo omnes; hoc est enim corpus meum'. Et ante verba Christi, calix est vini et aquae plenus: ubi verba Christi operata fuerint, ibi sanguis Christi efficitur qui plebem redemit'.

Similarly in De Mysteriis, 54, referring to the miracles of Moses and Elisha recorded in the O.T. (Exod.15.25f and 4 Kings 6,6) he writes: Quod si tantum valuit humana benedictio ut naturam converteret, quid dicimus de ipsa

consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis Christi sermone conficitur... non valebit Christi sermo ut species mutet elementorum? De totius mundi operibus legisti:Quia ipse dixit et facta sunt: ipse mandavit et creata sunt (Ps.148,5); sermo ergo Christi qui potuit ex nihilo facere quod non erat, non potest ea quae sunt in id mutare quod non erant? Non enim minus est novas rebus dare quam mutare naturas.'...Ipse clamat Dominus Iesus: Hoc est corpus meum. Ante benedictionem verborum coelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur, post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur'. Ambrose also argues from the Virgin Birth in par.53: 'Et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex Virgine est: quid hic quaeris naturae ordinem in Christi corpore, cum praeter naturam sit ipse Dominus Iesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi quae crucifixa est, quae sepulta est: vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est'. The same arguments are adduced in De Sacr.4,13f.

Likewise In De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum. 38, Ambrose expounds the words of Genesis 49.20 as fulfilled in Christ: 'Aser pinguis eius panis, et ipse dabit escam principibus'. Aser interpretatione Latina significat divitias...Quis dives nisi Dominus Iesus?...Hic ergo dives est thesaurus, huius pinguis panis. Et bene pinguis quem qui manduc-averit, esurire non poterit. Hunc panem dedit

apostolis ut dividerent populo credentium; hodieque dat nobis eum, quem ipse quotidie sacerdos consecrat suis verbis. Hic ergo panis factus est esca sanctorum. Possumus et ipsum Dominum accipere, qui suam carnem nobis dedit sicut ipse ait:' (he quotes Jn.6. 48-9 and 51-2).

COMMUNION: The people came up to the altar and stood while they received the consecrated elements. Speaking to the newly-baptized Ambrose reminds them: 'veniebas desiderans ad altare, quo acciperes sacramentum' (De. Sacr. 4.7); 'venisti ad altare, vidisti sacramenta posita super altare' (ibid.8). Likewise in the De Elia, 33: 'Venit iam dies resurrectionis, baptizantur electi, veniunt ad altare, accipiunt sacramentum, sitientes totis hauriunt venis.' Thus Paulinus in the Vita Ambrosii c. 44. writes: 'Per idem tempus Nicentius quidam ex tribuno et notario, qui ita pedum dolore tenebatur ut raro in publico videretur, cum ad altare accessisset ut sacramenta perciperet, calcatusque casu a Sacerdote...'

The words of administration are given by Ambrose in De Sacr. 4.25 'Ergo non otiose dicis tu: Amen, iam in spiritu confitens quod accipias corpus Christi. Dicit tibi sacerdos: Corpus Christi; et tu dicis: Amen, hoc est, verum. Quod confitetur lingua, teneat affectus'. The communicant partook of both consecrated elements as De Myst.58 testifies: 'Denique cor nostrum esca ista confirmat et potus iste laetificat cor hominis, ut Propheta memorat (Ps.103.15)'. Likewise he writes in 'Expos. Ps. 118.18. 26f.:' In te ipso est

ut accipias hunc panem: accede ad hunc panem et accipies eum...Hic est panis vitae: qui ergo vitam manducat, mori non potest...Accedite ad eum et satiamini, quia panis est: accedite ad eum et potate, quia fons est: accedite ad eum et illuminamini quia lux est...'.

In De Sacr.5.2f. he explains the mixing of water with the wine in the Eucharistic cup by referring to Moses' action in striking the rock to find water (Ex.17.6) and St. Paul's interpretation of that act in 1 Cor.10,4; then taking Moses' rod to indicate the Word of God (virga, hoc est, verbum Dei) he says:'Sacerdos verbo Dei tangit petram et fluit aqua et bibit populus Dei. Tangit ergo sacerdos, redundat aqua in calice, salit in vitam aeternam et bibit populus Dei, qui Dei gratiam consecutus est.' In Expos. ev.Luc.10,135, he explains it by reference to the blood and water which flowed from the side of Christ at the Crucifixion, and concludes with the plea: 'Bibamus ergo pretiun nostrum ut bibendo redimamur.'

It seems likely that a psalm or chant was sung during the admin-istration of Communion. In De Cain 1.19, speaking of the Eucharist, he writes: 'Sed vis manducare, vis bibere? Veni ad convivium sapient-iae quae invitat omnes cum magna praedicatione dicens: Venite et edite panes meos et bibete vinum quod miscui vobis (Prov.9.5). Delectant cantica quae epulantem demulceant? Audi hortantem, audi cantantem Ecclesiam, non solum in canticis sed etiam in Canticis canticorum (he quotes Cant.5.1)... Nec

verearis ne in convivio Ecclesiae aut grati odores tibi aut dulces cibi aut diversi potus aut convivae nobiles desint aut decentes ministri. Quid Christo nobilius? qui in convivio Ecclesiae et ministrat et ministratur? Istius convivae recumbentis annecte te lateri ac te Deo adiunge...' In De Myst.58 Ambrose quotes in this context an appropriate Psalm, Ps.33,9: 'Unde et Ecclesia videns tantam gratiam hortatur filios suos, hortatur proximos ut ad sacramenta concurrant, dicens concurrant, dicens: 'Edite proximi mei et bibite et inebriamini, fratres mei (Cant. 5.1)'. Quid edamus, quid bibamus, alibi tibi per Prophetam Spiritus sanctus expressit dicens: 'Gustate et videte quoniam suavis est Dominus... (Ps.33.9)'

Ambrose urges the importance of fasting as a preparation for Communion. In De Elia 33 he writes: 'Mystica quoque mensa ieiunio comparatur'; quoting Ps.23, 5 he continues: 'Mensa ista famis acquirit-ur pretio; et poculum illud inebrians sobrietate, coelestium sacra-mentorum siti quaeritur...Non autem omnis famis acceptabile ieiunium facit, sed fames quae Dei timore suscipitur.' In his exposition of Ps.118, likewise, he reminds his people: 'Indictum est ieiunium, cave ne negligas. Et si te fames quotidianum cogit ad prandium aut intemperantia declinat ieiunium; tamen coelesti magis te servato convivio. Non epulae paratae extorqueant ut coelestis sis vacuus sacramenti. Differ aliquantulum, non longe finis est diei: immo plerique sunt eiusmodi dies ut statim meridianis horis

adveniendum sit in Ecclesiam, canendi hymni, celebranda oblatio. Tunc utique paratus assiste ut accipias tibi munimentum, ut corpus edas Domini Iesu, in quo remissio peccatorum est, postulatio divinae reconciliat-ionis, et protectionis aeternae.' (Ibid. 48).

Conduct at the Eucharist, however, was not above reproach. In the passage, quoted above, in which Ambrose describes the consecration of Marcellina at Rome in 353, he quotes Pope Liberius as saying: 'An quidquam est indignius quam oracula divina circumstrepi... circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus, ut impediatur oratio pro salute deprompta omnium?....Et tu in mysterio, Dei virgo, gemitus, screatus, tussis, risus abstine.' (De virg.3 II 13).

The church-building in which Ambrose celebrated the Eucharistic liturgy on Sundays in Milan has been identified by Krautheimer (op. cit., pp.58f.) as the one uncovered in 1943 in the Piazza del Duomo and excavated by De Capitani d'Arzago, whose findings were published posthumously in 1952 (La chiesa maggiore di Milano, Milan). A re-excavation was carried out in 1960-1 during the building of the underground station. The excavations revealed the outlines of the nave, flanked by a double aisle on either side: the nave continued as the sanctuary chancel right up to the eastern wall of the basilica and terminated in a semicircular apse of the same span as the nave: the sanctuary was of a slightly higher level than the nave and projected into it with a narrow raised path or solea. In contrast to the nave, the double aisles on either side were cut off by a transverse wall some 17m. short of the eastern wall of the basilica, and the rectangular space thus left was linked in each case to the sanctuary in the middle by a quintuple arcade. On the south side the transverse wall was continuous, giving no sign of means of access from the south aisles. The outer wall of each rectangular area - on the north and south sides of the basilica - was considerably slimmer than all the other outer walls of the building and Krautheimer concludes that these two areas formed low wings and were covered by a sloping roof. There may have been a row of columns continuing the line of those which divided the double aisle on each side; when the basilica underwent a remodelling after 450 there certainly was a row of piers here to support a colonnade. In this event the rectangular area took the form of an inner aisle opening into an outer shallow wing, as at the Lateran. This basilica, which in the Middle Ages was dedicated to S. Tecla, Krautheimer dates to the third quarter of the fourth century and identifies as the cathedral or bishop-church/

bishop-church used by the bishops Auxentius and his successor Ambrose, who were appointed to Milan in 355 and 373 respective-:ly. Homes Dudden, on the other hand, takes the view that there were two cathedral basilicas in Ambrose's time, the old and the new; the former, the 'vetus basilica' mentioned by him in Ep.20.10, which he identifies with the one uncovered in the Piazza del Duomo and dedicated in the Middle Ages to S. Tecla; and the latter, the 'basilica nova, hoc est intramurana, quae maior est' of Ep.20.1, which had been recently built on the site of the present cathedral (S. Ambrose, 1935, pp.63). In a note he explains that 'ecclesia maior' signifies cathedral church and quotes Ep.63.68 in support (ibid., n.2).

The width of the basilica excavated in the Piazza is 50m., which is 5m. less than that of the Lateran basilica at Rome; the length of the latter is 75m., excluding the sanctuary, and Krautheimer estimates that it would have held a congregation of several thousand (op.cit., pp.26); the length of the Milan bas-:ilica is not known. To the south-east of the apse, some 9m. away, lay an octagonal baptistery on a slightly different axis.

As for the function of the two wings at the east end of the aisles, Krautheimer suggests that 'presumably they served the rite of the offerings, just like the rooms in the Lateran which projected sideways from the inner aisles flanking the chancel area (op. cit., pp.59f.). (Fig.iii).

Jungmann (The Early Liturgy, pp.173) draws attention to a recent study by V. Monachino in which he declares that probably as late as 390 in a town like Milan only one divine service took place, namely that which the bishop conducted (La cura pastorale a Milano, Cartagine e Roma nel secolo IV, Rome, 1947, pp.54f.). At Rome itself, Jungmann points out, there were in c. 300 over forty churches, of which at least twenty-five were titular churches. If Monachino is correct/

correct, Jungmann concludes that 'it would obviously have been impossible for a great part of the faithful to go to Mass for reasons of space, because no church at Milan could have contain-:ed them all'.

Ambrose himself mentions three other churches at Milan: the basilica Portiana, outside the walls, where his predecessor, bishop Myrocles, was buried (Ep.20.1); the basilica Faustae, also outside the walls, a small church in which was the tomb of the martyr Victor and close to which was the burial-place of Satyrus, the brother of Ambrose (Ep.22.2); the basilica Naboriana, built in an ancient Christian cemetery and containing the tombs of the martyrs Nabor and Felix, and said by tradition to have been once the house of a rich Christian called Philip (Ep.22.4). Ambrose himself built two churches: the basilica Ambrosiana, situated close to the basilica Faustae and dedicated in 386 with the relics of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius which he claimed to have discovered in the basilica Naboriana (Ep.22); and the Church of the Apostles which he laid out in 382 and dedicated with the relics of the Apostles Peter and Paul. This latter church, according to Krautheimer, took the form of a huge cross, 200 Roman feet long and c.50 wide, with two side-arms of the same width linked to the nave by a triple arcade: there were entrances at the ends of the arms as well as at the west end of the nave and the altar stood in the centre of the crossing: the dedicatory inscription, once in the church, leaves little doubt that it was a copy of Constantine's Apostoleion at Constanti-nople. Two other churches, known from excavations, seem to be-:long to the period: S. Lorenzo, 'a huge quatrefoil structure of double-shell design', which Krautheimer dates to 'probably c.370 on the basis of the character of the masonry and the decor-:ation; it lies outside the walls close to the Imperial palace and he suggests that it was possibly built under Auxentius/

Auxentius as the court church for the Arian Emperors (op.cit. pp.55f.); and secondly, S. Giovanni in Conca, which Krautheim-:er describes as an aisle-less church, terminated by an apse, which survives in the lower portion of its outer walls to a length of 53m (ibid.pp.58).

There is little evidence to show how far these churches were used for regular Sunday services, but Krautheimer argues that they indicate the importance of Milan as 'one of the great architectural centres of the Christian world' (ibid. pp.55), particularly as 'from 350 the city had frequently been the Imperial residence and, in effect, the capital of the West', while through Ambrose it became 'for some decades the spiritual centre of the West as well' (ibid.).

H I P P O - N. A F R I C A

EUCHARISTIC LITURGY N.AFRICA

Augustine gives a short pen-picture of the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy as practised in the early years of the 5C at Hippo in N.Africa in two passages in the De Civitate Dei: 'et murmurant... quia populi confluant ad ecclesiam casta celebritate, honesta utriusque sexus discretione, ubi audiant quam bene hic ad temp-us vivere debeant, ut post hanc vitam beate semperque vivere mereantur, ubi sancta scriptura iustitiaeque doctrina de superiore loco in conspectu omnium personante et qui faciunt audiant ad praemium et qui non faciunt audiant ad iudicium. Quo etsi veniunt quidam talium prae-ceptorum inrisores, omnis eorum petulantia aut repentina mutatione deponitur aut timore vel pudore comprimitur. Nihil enim eis turpe ac flagitiosum spectandum imitandumque proponitur, ubi veri Dei aut prae-cepta insinuantur aut miracula narrantur aut dona laudantur aut bene-ficia postulantur' (De Civ. Dei 2.28). The second passage is incidental to the account of the cure of a young man from Cappadocia. Augustine relates how on Easter day, when many had come to church in the morning, they were filled with amaze-ment at this healing which had taken place at St. Stephen's shrine: 'Quis ergo se tenuit a laudibus Dei? Clamantium gratulantiumque voc-ibus ecclesia usquequaque completa est. Inde ad me curritur ubi sed-ebam iam processurus. Inruit alter quisque post alterum, omnis post-erior quasi novum quod alius prior dixerat nuntiantes; meque gaudente et apud me Deo gratias agente ingreditur etiam ipse cum pluribus. Inclinatur ad genua mea, erigitur ad

osculum meum. Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum:Deo grat-ias, Deo laudes! nemine tacente hinc atque inde clamantium. Salutavi populum, et rursus eadem ferventiore voce clamabant. Facto tandem silentio scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta sollemnia. Ubi autem ventum est ad mei sermonis locum, dixi pauca pro tempore et pro illius iucunditate laetitiae. Magis enim eos in opere divino quandam Dei eloquentiam non audire sed considerare permisi' (De Civ.Dei 2.28) From these words it is clear that the bishop made an informal entry to the church at the beginning of the service, that he gave a greeting to the congregation, that the sermon had a regular place in the liturgy after the readings and that the latter were fixed by tradition at least for Easter.

More detailed references to the liturgy are scattered throughout Augustine's writings and together they build up a more or less complete pattern.

For the first part of the liturgy the bishop took his seat in the apse which was raised by several steps above the level of the nave. No doubt the presbyters sat on either side of him and the deacons stood close by. In front of him the congregation stood in the nave, the men on one side and the women on the other. From his elevated position the bishop conducted the first part of the service and addressed the people. As he goes on to say in De Civ.Dei 2.28: 'in gradibus exedrae in quo de superiore loquebar loco' ; and he uses the same expression in Serm. 23.1 and 101.4.

Likewise in Ep.23 he speaks of the steps of the apse and the draping of the cathedra: 'nec absidae gradatae, nec cathedrae velatae...' (Ep.23,3). In Sermon 9I he defends the prominence given to the clergy of the church in the matter of seating thus: 'Oportet ut servo Dei habenti aliquem honorem in ecclesia deferatur primus locus: quia si non deferatur, malum est ei qui non defert, non tamen bonum est illi cui defertur. Oportet itaque ut in congregatione Christianorum praepositi plebis eminentius sedeant, ut ipsa sede dis-tinguantur, et eorum officium satis appareat: non tamen ut inflentur de sede, sed ut cogitent sarcinam unde sunt reddituri rationem' (S.91.5.)

READINGS: The readings were normally taken from the O.T. and the N.T. Augustine mentions a reading from the Book of Kings as the first lesson in Sermon II: 'Hoc dixi propter lectionem Regnorum, quam primo audivimus' (S.II.2); and in Sermon 2 he refers to one from the Book of Genesis: 'Notissima pietas patris nostri Abrahae reddita nobis est in memoriam per recentem lectionem' (S.2.I). But quite often the psalm sung between the two N.T. lessons was regarded as the O.T. reading. For instance in Sermon I65 he writes: 'Apostolum audivimus, Psalmum audivimus, Evangelium audivimus; consonant omnes divinae lectiones ut spem non in nobis sed in Domino collocemus' (S.I65.I). This is made even more clear in Sermon I76.I: 'De divinis lectionibus quod Dominus admonere dignatur, intenti audite, fratres, illo dante, me ministrante.

Primam lectionem audivimus Apost-oli (he quotes I Tim.I,I5-6) ...'Hoc de apostolica lectione percepimus. Deinde cantavimus Psalmum (he quotes Ps.95,vv.6,2) ... Post haec evang-elica lectio decem lepros mundatos nobis ostendit... Has tres lection-es, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de sing-ulis...' The readings were carried out by a lector or lectors and the bishop greeted each with the words: 'Pax tecum'. Thus in Ep.53, addressed to Generosus who was attracted to Donatism, Augustine wrote: 'Quid autem perversius aut insanius quam lectoribus easdem Epistolas legentibus dicere,'pax tecum', et ab earum ecclesiarum pace separari, quibus ipsae Epistolae scriptae sunt?' (Ep.53.3).

Sometimes the reading was of a continuous nature, as is indicated for instance by Sermons 46 and 47 based on Ezekiel 35,vv.I-I6 and vv. I7-3I respectively; or by Sermons 5I-94 which deal with the Gospel of St. Matthew. Sometimes the choice was determined by the season: 'Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum veritatem quatuor Evangelistarum hesterno die videtur esse completa. Primo enim die lecta est resurrectio secundum Matthaeum, alio die secundum Lucam, tertio die secundum Marcum, quarto, id est hesterno, secundum Joannem' (Sermon 247.I). On the anniversary of a martyr's death one of the readings might be from the 'Passio', as Augustine makes clear in Sermon 3I5: Beatissimus Stephanus, quomodo fuerit diaconus ordinatus cum aliis sex etiam ipse septimus, et quomodo pervenerit ad supernam

coronam, cum ipsa lectio legeretur audistis. Hoc primum primi martyris meritum commendatum est charitati vestrae, quia cum aliorum martyrum vix gesta inveniamus, quae in solemnitatibus eorum recitare possimus, huius passio in canonico libro est' (S315.I). He goes on to say that the Book of Acts is by custom read continuously in the churches from Easter Sunday: 'Actus Apostolorum liber est de Canone Scripturarum. Ipse liber incipit legi a Dominico Paschae, sicut se consuetudo habet ecclesiae...'

Augustine leaves us in no doubt that he regarded the readings as of prime importance in the worship of the church. Speaking of the Vigil of Easter which consisted of some twelve readings punctuated by prayers, he says: 'Vigilemus ergo et oremus, ut et forinsecus et intrinsecus hanc vigiliam celebremus. Deus nobis loquatur in lectionibus suis; Deo loquam-ur in precibus nostris' (Serm.219); and he concludes: 'Si eloquia eius obedienter audiamus, in nobis habitat quem rogamus'. We gather that many of the congregation did listen intently to the readings and reacted expressively to them. In Sermon 332.4 for instance, he describes how they responded to the reading of Galatians 6,19-21: 'Nam cum Scriptura commemorasset eos qui non intrabunt (sc. in coelestem civitatem), ibi etiam nominavit homicidas: non expavistis. Nominavit fornicatores: audivi quia pectora tutudistis. Ego audivi, ego audivi, ego vidi: et quod non vidi in cubilibus

vestris, vidi in sonitu, vidi in pectoribus vestris, quando tutudistis pectora vestra'. On occasion the congregation made the wrong response because they misunderstood the sense of the passage: 'Sanctum evangelium cum legeretur, audivimus exsultasse Dominum Jesum in spiritu et dixisse:'Confiteor tibi, Pater, Domine coeli et terrae, quia abscondisti haec... parvulis.' Hucusque interim verba Domini si digne, si diligenter, si, quod primum est, pie consideremus, inven-imus primitus non semper cum in Scripturis legimus confessionem, debere nos intelligere vocem peccatoris. Maxime autem hoc dicendum fuit et hinc admonenda charitas vestra: quia mox ut hoc verbum sonuit in ore lectoris, secutus est etiam sonus tunsionis pectoris vestri... Tundere autem pectus quid est nisi arguere quod latet in pectore et evidenti pulsu occultum castigare peccatum?' (Serm.67,I).

Augustine bears witness to the strong position which the Septua-gint version of the O.T. held in both the Eastern and the Western Church. He himself used the Old Latin version of it by preference and the Old African on occasion and he held to the conviction that this translation was divinely inspired. Accordingly he was very cautious in his attitude to other translations from the Hebrew, whether into Greek or into Latin. Of the Septuagint he writes as follows in De Civitate Dei, I8.42-3: 'Traditur sane tam mirabilem ac stupendum planeque divinum in eorum verb-is fuisse consensum ut, cum ad hoc opus separatim singuli

sederint...in nullo verbo quod idem significaret et tantundem valeret vel in verb-orum ordine alter ab altero discreparet, sed tamquam unus esset inter-pres, ita quod omnes interpretati sunt unum erat, quoniam re vera spiritus erat unus in omnibus. Et ideo tam mirabile Dei munus accep-erant ut illarum scripturarum non tamquam humanarum sed, sicut erant, tamquam divinarum etiam isto modo commendaretur auctoritas'. He mentions other Greek translations, such as those of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, but declares that the Church has received the LXX as if it were the only translation: 'hanc tamen quae Septuaginta est, tamquam sola esset, sic recepit ecclesia eaque utuntur Graeci populi Christiani, quorum plerique utrum alia sit aliqua ignorant' (ibid.) He refers to Jerome's translation of the O.T. from the Hebrew text into Latin and describes him as 'Presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus'; nonetheless he concludes: 'Sed eius tam litteratum laborem quamvis Judaei fateantur esse veracem, septuaginta vero interpretes in multis errasse contendant, tamen ecclesiae Christi... ad hoc tantum opus electorum (sc.the LXX) neminem iudic-ant praeferendum...Cum vero tantum in eis signum divinitatis apparuit, profecto quisquis alius illarum scripturarum ex Hebraea in quamlibet aliam linguam interpres est verax, aut congruit illis septuaginta inter-pretibus, aut si non congruere videtur altitudo ibi prophetica esse credenda est' (ibid.). Augustine tells an amusing story of a congregation's reaction to Jerome' new translation: 'Nam quidam frater noster

episcopus, cum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia cui praeest interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter abs te positum apud Jonam prophetam quam erat omnium sensibus memoriae-que inveteratum et tot aetatum successionibus decantatum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe maxime graecis arguentibus et inclamantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus (Oea quippe civitas erat) Judaeorum testimonium flagitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in hebraeis codicibus responderunt, quod et graeci et latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendosi-tatem corrigere, volens post magnum periculum non remanere sine plebe'. (Ep.7I.5). The disputed verse was Jonah 4.6 on Jonah and his gourd, a story particularly familiar to the people as we know from paintings in the catacombs and on church walls and from reliefs on sarcophagi.

PSALMS: A psalm was apparently sung between the reading of the Epistle and that of the Gospel, and the singing was in the responsorial mode inherited from the synagogue, as Augustine indicates in a number of passages: 'Psalmus quem modo nobis cantatum audivimus et cantando respondimus' (In Ps.II9.I); 'Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore' (In Ps.I38.I) Clearly he saw value in the singing of the refrain in unison by the whole congregation: 'consona voce, ore consono, dulci concentu' (In Ps.18.2.1); 'deinde cantavimus Psalmum, exhortantes nos in-:vicem una voce uno corde dicentes, 'Venite adoremus'(Ps.94.6)' (Serm.176.1).

But as well as the one lector or cantor who chanted the psalm in this fashion Augustine also speaks of a 'flock of singers': 'Transit honor huius saeculi, transit ambitio. In futuro Christi iudicio nec absidae gradatae nec cathedrae velatae nec sanctimonialium occursantium atque cantantium greges adhibebuntur ad defensionem, ubi coeperint accusare conscientiae, et conscientiarum arbiter iudicare' (Ep.23,3). The psalm was chosen by the bishop but occasionally the lector mistook the number and sang another: 'Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei quam nostram in nostro proposito' (In Ps.I38.I). Sometimes Augustine felt that the music took the attention away from the words of the psalm and almost wished to have it cut out: 'sed valde interdum, ut melos omnes cantilenarum suavium quibus Davit-icum psalterium frequentatur ab auribus meis removeri velim atque ipsius ecclesiae' (Conf.IO.33.49); and he tended to favour the simpler method of singing attributed to Athanasius: 'tutius mihi videtur, quod de Alexandrino episcopo Athanasio saepe dictum mihi commemini, qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti' (ibid.). But on the whole he found the music an asset: 'nunc ipsum quod moveor non cantu sed rebus quae cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instit-uti

huius utilitatem rursus agnosco (ibid.). The important thing is that the people should reflect on the thought of the psalm: (In Ps.18.21.1; Conf.10.33.49f.).

Augustine contrasts the sober singing of the psalms in the catholic church with the more exuberant practice of the Donatists: 'Donatistae nos reprehendunt quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia divina cantica Prophetarum, cum ipsi ebrietates suas ad canticum psalmorum humano ingenio compositorum quasi ad tubas exhortationis inflamment' (Ep.55,33). But hymns were also used at Hippo, including those written by Ambrose. Augustine had been deeply impressed by those he heard sung at Milan at the time of his baptism in 387: 'reminiscor lacrimas meas quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiae in primordiis recuperatae fidei meae' (Conf. IO.33); and in a sermon preached on Christmas Day he reminds the congregation of the hymn they have just sung and quotes part of the Christmas hymn written by Ambrose 'Veni, redemptor gentium' (Serm.372.3).

Augustine refers on several occasions to the singing of the 'Alleluia' on Sundays, particularly during the fifty days of Eastertide 'Numquid forte ipsi sunt quinquaginta isti dies quos nunc celebramus? Non enim sine causa, fratres mei, consuetudinem antiquae traditionis tenet ecclesia ut per istos quinquaginta dies Alleluia dicatur. Alleluia enim laus est Dei' (Serm. 252.9). He mentions, however, that practice varies among the churches: 'Ut autem Alleluia per

illos solos dies quinquaginta in ecclesia cantetur, non usquequaque observatur: nam et aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi, ipsis autem diebus ubique' (Ep.55.32); and in a sermon preached at Eastertide he speaks of its use daily: 'Non sim oneri si commemoro quod nostis: quia et ipsum Alleluia quotidie dicimus et quotidie delectamur' (Serm.255.I). Again his concern is that it should not be a meaningless repetition: 'Quod hebraica lingua dicitur Alleluia, latine est Laudate Dominum. Laudemus ergo Dominum Deum nostrum non tantum voce sed etiam corde. Quoniam qui corde laudat, interioris hominis voce laudat. Vox ad homines sonus est; vox ad Deum affectus est' (Serm.257.I).

Perhaps Augustine's final thoughts on music in the services of the church are summed up in his letter to Januarius: 'sicut de hymnis et psalmis canendis, cum et ipsius Domini et apostol-orum habeamus documenta et exempla et praecepta. De hac re tam utili ad movendum pie animum et accendendum divinae dilectionis affectum, varia consuetudo est... Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur aut disputatur aut antistes clara voce deprecatur aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur? Aliis vero particulis temporum quid melius a congregatis Christianis fiat, quid utilius, quid sanctius omnino non video' (Ep.55.34-5).

SERMON: At the conclusion of the readings the bishop normally preached a sermon to the congregation. Many of Augustine's sermons are extant and show that his purpose was to expound the teaching of the Bible and to relate it to the situation of his hearers. His text was often taken from one of the lessons just read or from the psalm which had been sung and his exposition concerned that particular passage. Sometimes, as in Sermon I76 quoted above, he dealt with both the readings and the psalm: 'Primam lectionem audivimus Apostoli ... Deinde cantavimus psalmum... Post haec, evangelica lectio... Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, dicentes pauca de singulis; et quantum conari possumus, adiuvante Domino, non in aliqua earum sic immorantes ut aliis duabus impedimentum afferamus' (Serm.I76.I). The extant sermons indicate how faithfully Augustine fulfilled the bishop's responsibility of preaching to his people: his grasp of the meaning of the Scriptures is second to none of his time, his passion-ate concern that his hearers should grow in their understanding illumines his whole exposition, and his knowledge of his people and their everyday problems is evident again and again. Always he was conscious that it was the Word of God that he was expounding and interpreting to his people and that he spoke under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Thus he begins Serm.I68 with the words: 'Lectionibus, canticis, sermonibusque divinis, et quod est praecipuum, gratia sua aedificet Dominus cor vestrum; ut quod verum auditis, non audiatis ad iudicium sed ad praemium'.

He had to hold the attention of a mixed congregation who remained standing throughout and his address lasted, on van der Meer's estimate, for more than an hour (Augustine the Bishop, pp.397). The latter gives it as his considered judgment that Augustine placed equal value on Word and Sacrament: 'Augustine knew... that we can hear the voice (sc. of God) equally well at the altar and when we sit at the feet of a preacher or are bent over our texts. He... sincerely believed that the all-embracing word, which manifested to us the reality of the fulness of Christ, is presented to us both in the sacrament and in the scripture' (ibid.pp.346). Augustine himself speaks in the same terms in Ep.2I, written shortly after his ordination as a presbyter to Valerius, his bishop at Hippo: in it he begs for a short space of time in which to prepare himself more adequately for his duties which, since Valerius was of Greek birth and not fluent in Latin, included preaching: 'Quod verum est, nondum sciebam quid mihi deesset ad tale opus quale me nunc torquet et conterit. Quod si propterea in re ipsa didici quid sit homini necessarium qui populo ministrat sacramentum et verbum Dei...' (Ep.2I.4). Likewise in Sermon 20 Augustine urges his congregation to give full attention to his own presbyters when they preach: 'Exhortamur Charitatem vestram ut impigre et vigilanter verba Dei ministr-antibus presbyteris vos audire non pigeat. Dominus enim Deus noster est ipsa veritas quam auditis per quemlibet loquatur; et nemo

est maior in vobis nisi qui minor fuerit' (Ep.20.4). In Sermon I53.I he says categorically: 'Nos loquimur sed erudit Deus; nos loquimur sed Deus docet'; and in Sermon I59.I: 'Hesterno die de iustificatione nostra, quae nobis est a Domino Deo nostro, sermo productus est, ministrantibus nobis, donante illo, audient-ibus vobis'.

PRAYER: Augustine often ended his sermon with a short prayer, intro-duced by the traditional formula 'conversi ad Dominum', in which he asked for God's protection for all his hearers. Such a prayer is quoted in full at the end of Sermon 67: 'Conversi ad Dominum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, puro corde ei, quantum potest parvitas nostra, maximas atque uberes gratias agamus; precant-es toto animo singularem mansuetudinem eius ut preces nostras in beneplacito suo exaudire dignetur, inimicum a nostris actibus et cogitationibus sua virtute expellat, nobis multiplicet fidem, gubernet mentem, spirituales cogitationes concedat et ad suam beatitudinem perducat, per Jesum Christum Filium eius, Amen' (Serm.67.I0). Elsewhere the prayer is merely indicated by the opening phrase 'Con-versi ad Dominum etc.' e.g. in Sermons 69.4 and 76.9. On other occasions Augustine seems to have finished more briefly with a doxology as in Sermon 72: 'per Christum Dominum nostrum, qui vivit et regnat cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

DISMISSAL of CATECHUMENS: The formal dismissal of the catechumens took place after the sermon: 'Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis: manebunt fideles, veniet-ur ad locum orationis' (Serm.49.8). The second part of the Eucharistic liturgy was conducted from the 'locus orationis', the area in the nave in front of the apse in which the mensa-altar of wood was placed within an enclosure, the cancelli. The bishop and clergy stood inside the enclosure; the congregation of the faithful stood outside in the nave. Augustine makes a number of references in his writings to the various constituent rites.

COMMON PRAYER: The Eucharist begins with the oratio communis, the common prayer of the faithful after the bishop has exchanged the customary greeting with the people: 'The Lord be with you': 'And with thy spirit'. In Ep.149.16 Augustine states that the whole Church or almost the whole, is accustomed to describe this common prayer by the term 'precationes': 'Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut 'precationes' accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici:' this is in contrast to later prayers in the Eucharist which the Church calls 'orationes': thus he continues: ''orationes', cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia dominica orat-ione concludit' (ibid.). He proceeds to outline

the content of these precationes and urges that they should not be neglected: '(sc. he has given the above explanation) ut... non putaretur neglig-endum esse quod sequitur', 'pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, et his qui in sublimitate sunt, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus in omni pietate et charitate': 'ne quisquam... existimaret non esse ista facienda pro his a quibus persecutionem patiebatur Ecclesia, cum membra Christi ex omni essent hominum genere colligenda. Unde adiung-it et dicit: 'Hoc enim bonum et acceptum est coram Salvatore nostro Deo, qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri et in agnitionem veritatis venire' (ibid.I7). A further indication of the content is given in Ep.2I7 in which Augustine chides Vitalis of Carthage for teaching that the beginning of faith is not the gift of God: 'Dic ergo apertissime nos pro eis quibus Evangelium praedicamus non debere orare ut credant, sed eis tantummodo praedicare. Exsere contra orationes Ecclesiae disputationes tuas: et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis ut eis desiderium regenerat-ionis inspiret, et pro fidelibus ut in eo quod esse coeperunt eius munere perseverent, subsanna pias voces et dic te non facere quod hortatur...' (Ep.2I7.2). In par. 6 of the same letter he quotes the Lord's Prayer (Mt.6.9f.) and the Dominical saying 'Orate pro inimicis vestris' (Mt.5.44)

as author-ity for praying 'pro infidelibus' as well as 'pro fidelibus', and in par. 26 he indicates that the people responded to the prayer with 'Amen': 'Numquid ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad eius altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum vel ipsum clara voce orantem ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis, Amen?'. The prayer was introduced by the deacon: 'communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur' (Ep.55.34). According to van der Meer (op.cit.pp.398) it consisted of a series of separate petitions, each introduced by the deacon's call 'Let us pray' and rounded off, after silent prayer on the topic by the people, with a short prayer spoken by the bishop to sum up their thoughts and the response, Amen. Like Jungmann he bases his reconstruction on the ancient Good Friday prayers of the Church in Rome.

OFFERTORY: It seems clear that the people themselves brought their offerings up to the altar. In Ep.III, which Augustine wrote to his 'compresbyter' Victorianus to encourage him to bear with equanimity the woes which had been inflicted on 'sancti viri et sacrae virgines' by barbarians invading Italy and Spain, he singles out this privilege as now one of their major deprivations: 'Sic enim sunt illae in terra captivitatis suae quomodo erant illi in ea terra (sc. the three men in the fiery furnace, Daniel 3), ubi nec sacrificare more suo poterant Domino, sicut nec istae possunt, vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei, vel invenire ibi sacerdotem

per quem offerant Deo' (Ep. III.8). Elsewhere Augustine explains the significance of this action: and relates it to belief in personal resurrection: 'Sed sunt qui dicant: Ecce resurrexit Dominus; numquid propterea sperandum est et me posse resurgere? Utique propterea: in hoc enim resurrexit Dominus quod a te accepit. Non enim resurgeret nisi mort-uus esset, non autem mortuus esset nisi carnem portaret. Quid accep-it a te Dominus? Carnem. Quid venit ipse? Verbum Dei, quod erat ante omnia, per quem facta sunt omnia. Sed ut acciperet abs te ali-quid, verbum caro factum est et habitavit in nobis (Jn. I.3,14). Accepit abs te quod offerret pro te; quomodo accipit sacerdos a te quod pro te offerat quando vis placare Deum pro peccatis tuis. Iam factum est, ita factum est.'

It is of note that the Council of Carthage held in 393 laid it down in canon 24 that no other offerings should be brought than bread and wine.

During the Offertory a psalm was sung - a practice which had recently been introduced by the Church at Carthage. Some apparently did not like the innovation: 'Inter haec Hilarius quidam, vir tribunitius, laicus catholicus, nescio unde adversus Dei ministros ut fieri assolet irritatus, morem qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem coeperat ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem sive cum distribueretur populo quod fuisset oblatum, maledica

reprehensione ubicumque poterat lacerabat asserens fieri non oportere. Huic respondi iubentibus fratribus et vocatur liber ipse Contra Hilarium' (Retractiones 2.II).

OFFERTORY PRAYER? In Sermon 227 Augustine speaks - after his discussion of the significance of the offering of bread - of a prayer before the opening dialogue of the Eucharistic Prayer: 'Primo post orationem admonemini sursum habere cor'. Yarnold (Study of Liturgy pp.190) thinks that this may be a reference to a prayer over the offerings and he points to the words of Innocent I in Ep.25.5 and of Ambrose in De Sacr.4.14 which (punctuated 'laus deo, defertur oratio, petitur pro populo...') could bear a similar interpretation.

EUCHARISTIC PRAYER: Augustine quotes in a number of sermons and other works the dialogue with which the bishop opened the Prayer and in Sermon 227 he gives an explanation of it: 'admonemini sursum habere cor. Hoc decet membra Christi. Si enim membra Christi facti estis, caput vestrum ubi est? (he quotes from the creed to give the answer) Ergo in coelo est caput nostrum. Ideo cum dicitur, Sursum cor; respondetis, Habemus ad Dominum. Et ne hoc ipsum quod cor habetis sursum ad Dominum, tribuatis viribus vestris, meritis vestris, laboribus vestris, quia Dei donum est sursum habere cor, ideo sequitur episcopus vel presbyter qui offert et dicit, cum responderit populus, Habemus ad Dominum sursum cor: Gratias

agamus, ~~quia nisi donaret~~ quia sursum cor habemus. Gratias agamus, quia nisi donaret in terra cor haberemus. Et vos attestamini, Dignum et iustum est dicentes, ut ei gratias agamus qui nos fecit sursum ad nostrum caput habere cor'. Thereupon the bishop proceeded with the solemn praefatio of the Prayer which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems that Augustine spoke ex tempore. The keynote was thanksgiving to God. As he writes in Ep.140.48: 'Haec est gratia quae gratis datur, non meritis operantis sed miseratione donantis. Hinc gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro, quod est magnum sacramentum in sacrificio Novi Testamenti'. There is no specific mention of the Sanctus, but he quotes it in Ep.55.29. In Sermon 159 Augustine speaks of the reading of the names of martyrs and of prayers for the dead: 'Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina, quod fideles noverunt, cum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oratur;pro caeteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Iniuria est enim pro martyre orare, cuius nos debemus orationibus commendari' (Serm.159). According to Yarnold (op.cit.pp.192) 'there is evidence for the existence of an Epiclesis of the Spirit in Africa about the time of Ambrose' and in a note he refers to Optatus of Milevis, De Schism. Donat.6.1, and to a possible interpretation of Augustine's words in De Trin.3.4.10.

agamus, quia sursum cor habemus. Gratias agamus, quia nisi donaret in terra cor haberemus. Et vos attestamini, Dignum et iustum est dicentes, ut ei gratias agamus qui nos fecit sursum ad nostrum caput habere cor'. Thereupon the bishop proceeded with the solemn praefatio of the Prayer which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems that August-:ine spoke ex tempore. The keynote was thanksgiving to God. As he writes in Ep.140.48: 'Haec est gratia quae gratis datur, non meritis operantis sed miseratione donantis. Hinc gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro, quod est magnum sacramentum in sacrificio Novi Testamenti'. There is no specific mention of the Sanctus except that it is quoted in Ep.55.29. In Sermon 159 Augustine speaks of the reading of the names of martyrs and of prayers for the dead: 'Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina, quod fideles noverunt, cum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oratur: pro caeteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Iniuria est enim pro martyre orare, cuius nos debemus orationibus commendari'. According to Yarnold (Study of Liturgy, pp.192), 'there is evidence for the existence of an Epiclesis of the Spirit in Africa about the time of Ambrose' and in a note he refers to Optatus of Milevis, De Schism. Donat. 6.1, and to a possible interpretation of Augustine's words in De Trin.3.4.10.

The focal point of the Eucharistic Prayer was the Narrative of the Institution recounted in words drawn from the several N.T. accounts and the Anamnesis, which related the Last Supper to the present celebration and was based upon the command recorded in I Cor.II.25c and Lk.22.I9c. This is the 'prex sacerdotis verbis et mysteriis evangelicis confirmata' spoken of by Augustine in the 'Contra Litteras Petiliani 2.30.68. Augustine gives little detail in his extant writ-ings, but in Sermon 227 addressed to the newly-baptized on Easter day, he quotes twice from I Cor. to emphasise the theme of unity exemplified in the sacrament and to warn against casual attitudes to Communion. It is the sacrament of the Lord's table: 'mensae Domin-icae sacramentum'; the bread, consecrated through the word of God, is the body of Christ, the cup, likewise consecrated, is His blood: 'Panis ille quem videtis in altari, sanctificatus per verbum Dei, corpus est Christi. Calix ille, immo quod habet oalix, sanctificatum per verbum Dei, sanguis est Christi'; those elements represent His redeeming death: 'per ista voluit Dominus Christus commendare corpus et sanguinem suum, quem pro nobis fudit in remissionem peccatorum'. Augustine then expounds St. Paul's interpretation of the sacrament: 'apostolus enim dicit: 'Unus panis, unum corpus, multi sumus'(I Cor. IO.I7): Sic exposuit sacramentum mensae Dom.. icae', and urges them to express that unity: 'Si bene

accepistis vos estis quod accepistis...Commendatur vobis in isto pane quomodo unitatem amare debeatis'. He tells them that it is their duty to receive the sacrament daily: 'quotidie accipere debetis'. Towards the end of the Sermon he quotes St. Paul's words on unworthy receiving (I Cor.II.27) and expounds its meaning: 'Quid est indigne accipere? Irridenter accipere, contemptibiliter accipere. Non tibi videatur vile, quia vides.' Finally he stresses the permanent significance of the sacrament: 'Quod vides transit: sed quod significatur invisibile, non transit sed permanet. Ecce accipitur, comeditur, consumitur: numquid corpus Christi consum-itur? numquid Ecclesia Christi consumitur? numquid membra Christi consumuntur? Absit. Hic mundantur, ibi coronantur. Manebit ergo quod significatur aeternaliter, quanquam transire videatur.' Augustine links the redeeming death of Christ with the present celebration of the sacrament in much the same way in the extant fragment of Sermon 229: 'Quia passus est pro nobis, commendavit nobis in isto sacramento corpus et sanguinem suum; quod etiam fecit et nos ipsos. Nam et nos corpus ipsius facti sumus, et per misericordiam ipsius quod accipimus nos sumus'; while in Sermon 272, preached to the newly-baptized at Pentecost, he again points to the permanent, spiritual significance of the sacrament: 'Hoc quod videtis in altari Dei, etiam transacta nocte vidistis: sed quid esset, quid sibi vellet, quam magnae rei sacramentum contineret,

nondum audistis. Quod ergo videtis panis est et calix ... ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritualem' and once again he quotes from I Cor.(I2.27) According to In ev. Jn.Tract. II8.5, the bishop makes the sign of the cross over the bread and wine during the consecration.

Van der Meer places at this point the intercessions made for various groups of people and the reading of names and recalling of martyrs, the 'generalis commemoratio pro omnibus' (De Cura pro Mortuis 4.6). Yarnold, however, seems to suggest that these came before the Institution Narrative (Study of Liturgy pp.I9I) and Augustine himself in Sermon 227 passes straight from the consecration to

THE LORD'S PRAYER: 'Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii Dei... ecce ubi est peracta sanctificatio dicimus orationem dominicam quam accepistis et reddid-istis'. Hence the inclusion of the Lord's Prayer in the preparation for bapt-ism: it will be said daily in Church at the Eucharist: 'Oratio quotidie dicenda est vobis, cum baptizati fueritis. In ecclesia enim ad altare Dei quotidie dicitur ista Dominica oratio et audiunt illam fideles' (Serm.58.I2). 'Oratio ista (sc.dominica) Ecclesiae est, fidelium est an catechumenorum? Certe utique regeneratorum est, id est, baptizatorum: postremo, quod totum superat, filiorum est. Nam si non est filiorum, qua fronte dicitur, 'Pater noster, qui es in coelis?' Ubi ergo estis, o iusti et sancti? In membris Ecclesiae huius estis...

ergo si tota Ecclesia dicit,'Dimitte nobis debita nostra', reprobus est qui hoc non dicit' (SermI8I.7). Probably it was introduced by the words 'audemus dicere', for in Sermon II0.5 he writes of the promised Kingdom of God: 'Inde namque est quod audemus quotidie dicere, 'Adveniat regnum tuum', ut adveniente regno eius et nos cum illo regnemus'. At the petition the people evidently expressed their feelings by beating their breasts: 'Est etiam poenitentia bonorum et humilium fidelium pene quotidiana, in qua pectora tundimus dicentes:'Dimitte nobis debita nostra'...' (Ep.265.8).

FRACTIO: Augustine seems to have stressed the significance of the breaking of the bread. In Sermon 234.2 he takes it for granted that the faithful are familiar with the link between the breaking of the bread at the Eucharist and the incident recounted in Lk.24.I3-35: 'Mementote tamen, charissimi, quemadmodum Dominus Jesus ab eis, quorum oculi tenebantur ne illum agnoscerent, in fractione panis voluit se agnosci. Norunt fideles quid dicam: norunt Christum in fractione panis'.

KISS of PEACE: The Lord's Prayer is followed by the Kiss of Peace: 'Post ipsam (sc. oratio dominica) dicitur, Pax vobiscum: et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto. Pacis signum est: sicut ostendunt labia, fiat in conscientia. Id est, quomodo labia tua ad labia fratris tui accedunt, sic cor tuum a corde eius non recedat' (Serm.227). In Enarr. in Ps.I40.I8 he gives the full text of the greeting

exchanged: 'Quibus respondetur cum dixerint, Pax vobiscum, Et cum spiritu tuo'.

BLESSING of the PEOPLE: Augustine mentions the Blessing of the people in some detail in Ep.149.16 when he writes in response to the query of his fellow-bishop, Paulinus: 'Interpellationes autem, sive ut vestri codices habent postulationes, fiunt cum populus benedicitur: tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimae offerunt pot-estati. Quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit'.

He speaks of the accompanying prayer in two letters dealing with Pelagian errors: Ep.175, which is written in the name of a Council of Carthage and addressed to Innocent, bishop of Rome, and Ep.179, addressed by Augustine to John, bishop of Jerusalem: 'Contradicitur etiam istorum contentione benedictionibus nostris, ut incassum super populum dicere videamur quidquid eis a Domino precamur, ut recte ac pie vivendo illi placeant... Si ergo voluerimus benedic-endo super populum dicere, Da illis, Domine, virtute corroborari per spiritum tuum, istorum nobis disputatio contradicit...' (Ep.175.5); 'Illis itaque disputationibus perversis et impiis non solum contra-dicitur orationibus nostris, quibus a Domino petimus quidquid sanctos petiise legimus et tenemus, verum etiam benedictionibus nostris resistitur, quando super populum dicimus, optantes eis et poscentes a Domino ut

eos abundare faciat in charitate invicem et in omnes (I Thess.3.I2) et det eis secundum divitias gloriae suae virtute corroborari per Spiritum eius (Eph.3.I6) et impleat eos omni gaudio et pace in credendo, et abundent in spe et potentia Spiritus sancti (Rom.I5.I3) Utquid eis ista petimus, quae populis a Domino petiisse Apostolum novimus, si iam natura nostra, creata cum libero arbitrio, omnia haec sibi potest sua voluntate praestare?' (Ep.I79.4).

COMMUNION: Augustine refers several times to the administration of Communion to the people, usually in the context of an exposition of the meaning of the rite. In Sermon 272, addressed to the newly-baptized on the day of Pentecost, he speaks as follows: 'Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem, quod intelligitur fructum habet spiritualem. Corpus ergo Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus, 'Vos autem estis corpus Christi et membra' (I Cor.I2.27). Si ergo vos estis corpus Christi et membra, mysterium vestrum in mensa dominica positum est: mysterium vestrum accipitis. Ad id quod estis, Amen respondetis et respondendo subscribitis. Audis enim, Corpus Christi; et respondes, Amen. Esto membrum corporis Christi ut verum sit Amen.' In Sermon I8I.7 the relevant words come in the course of a discussion on the forgiveness of sin: 'In ipsa enim cruce... pro nobis sanguinem fudit. Et nostis fideles quale testimonium perhibeatis sanguini quem accepistis. Certe enim dicitis, Amen. Nostis qui sit sanguis qui pro

multis effusus est in remissionem peccatorum'.

The people came up to the altar to receive Communion. The newly-baptized, however, may have been given the privilege of entering the enclosure to approach nearer to the altar: 'Sed vos me audite, O baptizati; audite me, vos per sanguinem Christi renati: obsecro vos per nomen quod super vos invocatum est, per illud altare ad quod accessistis ... (Serm. 224.4, preached on Easter day). According to van der Meer (op.cit., pp.401), the bishop administered the consecrated bread to the presbyters and other clerici, to the ascetics and dedicated virgins, and finally to the members of the congregation, first the children, then the men, and lastly the women. Each stretched out his hands to receive the consecrated bread, the left hand supporting the right: 'in cuius (sc. episcopi) manibus eucharistiam ponebatis, cui vicissim danti manus porrigebatis' (c. Litteras Petiliani 2.7.53); 'coniunctis manibus' (c. Fp. Parm. 2.7f.). The deacon administered the chalice to each communicant, who in turn responded, 'Amen'.

During the administration Psalm 33/34 was probably sung by the choir: Augustine quotes v.5 in the Easter day address to the newly-baptized, Sermon 225.4: 'Cum venires ad bibere, accede et illuminare. 'Accedite ad eum et illuminamini' (Ps.33.5)'.

At Hippo Regius excavations carried out in the early 1950s by L. Marec and reported in 'Hippone la royale, antique Hippo Regius', Algiers, 1954, have revealed a large church complex in the area between the Forum and the Baths of Severus which is believed to belong to the time of Augustine and to be the bishop-church of the town. The complex occupies an insula of uneven shape: the chief building is a large basilica with a deep semicircular apse extended to form almost a horse-shoe shape on the north-west side and the entrance on the south-east fronting on to the street with only a very narrow narthex. The straight walls of the apse run forward into the nave to cut off a rectangular area, shut in by cancelli, for the mensa-altare. The nave is of the same width as the apse and is flanked on either side by a broad single aisle which is about two-thirds of the width of the nave. van der Meer (Augustine the Bishop, pp.22) gives the measurements of the basilica as 126' by 60', excluding the apse which is 21' deep, i.e. 58m by 18m. approx-:imately, with the apse c.6m. in addition. The apse was raised a few steps above the level of the nave. At the back of it, according to van der Meer (ibid., pp.23), 'and backed ultimately by the semicircular walls ran the stone sigma-seats for the priesthood, these seats being ranged one behind the other in two tiers on the pattern of an amphitheatre. Up against the wall and at its centre, and raised upon a couple of additional steps, stood the bishop's cathedra'. It was from the cathedra in the apse that Augustine conducted the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy and addressed the congregation in his sermon. There is no evidence of seating in the nave for the congregation even along the side walls and van der Meer con-:cludes that they remained standing throughout 'after the manner/

manner still to be seen in the Orthodox East'. Thus, while its measurements are just average for a fairly large main church in N.Africa, van der Meer estimates that it would be 'possible for larger numbers to be packed into it ... than its actual size would lead one to assume. As many as two thousand may some-:times have been gathered there' (ibid.).

The decoration of the interior was probably quite simple. van der Meer suggests that 'in all probability the limits of the decorative effect were represented by a marble covering of the walls going up to the height of a man and possibly embellish-:ment with intarsia, some mosaic work in the cupola of the apse, a number of candelabra or lamp-holders, and an elaborate mosaic floor'. 'The only other decorative things would be the sacred vessels, the chalices, basins, ewers and so on, which were of gold and silver' (ibid., pp.23f.). In addition, rich draperies or vela may have been hung between the pillars separating the nave from the aisles and 'some kind of decorative curtain, either of worked leather or of heavy wool, might well have hung behind the door'.

A mosaic found on a grave in a small memoria-basilica at Tabraca shows the interior of a typical church of this date in N.Africa. It bears the inscription 'Ecclesia Mater' and shows the nave with flanking single aisles separated off by a row of pillars, a semicircular apse approached by four steps, lit by a round window and fronted by a triple-arched triumphal arch, and also the tiled gable roof. The interior decoration is con-:fined to the mosaic floor of the nave which has a pattern of birds and flowers, three lighted candles set on the mensa-altare which is placed in the nave between the second and third pairs of aisle-pillars and is enclosed by cancelli, and a drapery which/

which is looped up at the entrance door; in addition, the capitals of the four pillars of the triumphal arch are, in con-:trast with those of the aisles, of elaborate Corinthian style.

Augustine does not describe the church or the complex at Hippo in detail but he makes a number of incidental references to the various rooms and buildings.

In Ep.213.1 (Acta Ecclesiastica) the church is spoken of as the 'ecclesia pacis': 'cum Augustinus episcopus una cum Re-:ligiano at Martiniano coepiscopis suis consedisset in ecclesia pacis Hipponensium Regiorum, praesentibus etc.': this was the occasion on which, towards the end of his life, he nominated his successor. In Serm. 325.2 he refers to it as the 'maior basilica': 'Haec charitati vestrae pro exhortatione in hoc sancto loco sufficiant; quoniam dies parvi sunt et adhuc nobis in maiore basilica restant quae agamus cum Charitate vestra': these words were spoken on the anniversary of the death of the twenty martyrs in their memoria-basilica where the first part of the liturgy was observed: the Eucharist itself was celebrat-:ed in the cathedral.

In Ep.23.3 Augustine speaks in general terms of the steps of the apse and the rich covering of the cathedra: 'nec absidae gradatae nec cathedrae velatae'; in Serm.91.5 he refers to the special places in church given to the bishop and presbyters: 'oportet enim ut servo Dei habenti aliquem honorem in Ecclesia deferatur primus locus: quia si non deferatur, malum est illi qui non defert: non tamen bonum est illi cui defertur. Oportet itaque ut in congregatione Christianorum praepositi plebis eminentius sedeant, ut ipsa sede distinguantur et eorum officium satis appareat: non tamen ut inflentur de sede, sed ut cogitent sarcinam unde sunt reddituri rationem'; in De Civ. Dei 22.8/

22.8 he records that when a young man was suddenly cured at the shrine of St.Stephen he made him and his sister stand on the steps of the exedra so that the whole congregation might see them: 'in gradibus exedrae in qua de superiore loquebar loco feci stare ambos fratres cum eorum legeretur libellus. Intue-:batur populus universus sexus utriusque unum stantem ...alter-:am ...', and he proceeds to tell how the sister went down the steps on which she had been standing and hurried to the shrine to pray there: 'Illa enim ubi de gradibus descendit in quibus steterat ad sanctum martyrem orare perrexerat', and so was also cured.

In Serm. 49.8 Augustine refers to the place in the nave in which the mensa-altare stood enclosed as the 'locus orationis': 'Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis: manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis'; elsewhere he speaks of the enclos-:ing parapet as the 'cancelli'.

Augustine mentions the shrine of St.Stephen in De Civ. Dei 22.8 in his account of the cure of the young man and his sister. There is some difficulty in identifying this shrine among the excavated remains. van der Meer is inclined to think that it is the trefoil-shaped structure situated to the south of the basilica at a distance of some 20m., but he admits that this finds little support in the words of Augustine which give the impression 'that it not only could be reached directly from the cathedral, but was so near to it that in the apse of the cathedral the cries before the chancel of the chapel could be heard' (op.cit., pp.21f.). Augustine's precise words are: 'venerunt autem ante Pascha ferme dies quindecim, ecclesiam cotidie et in ea memoriam gloriosissimi Stephani frequentabant ... venit et Pascha atque ipso die dominica mane, cum iam frequens/

frequens populus praesens esset et loci sancti cancellos ubi martyrium erat idem iuvenis orans teneret, repente prostratus est ... et ecce surrexit ... sanatus ... et stabat incolumis intuens intuentes ... clamantium gratulantiumque vocibus ecclesia usquequaque completa est. Inde ad me curritur ubi sedebam iam processurus ... procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum: Deo gratias! Deo laudes!' A little later he writes of the cure of the sister: 'mox ut cancellos adtigit', and of the reaction in the basilica: 'Dum ergo requireremus quid factum fuerit unde ille strepitus laetus extiterit, ingressi sunt cum illa in basilicam in qua eramus, adducentes eam sanam de martyris loco'. There is no other evidence of a shrine, but perhaps the possibility re-:mains that the relics were kept in Augustine's time in a room adjacent to the basilica on the north-east side and at a later time moved to the cella trichora.

The excavated complex contains other buildings: a large hall just north of the cella trichora, which may have been the meeting-place of the Council of 393; a small baptistery, set in a much larger area covered with fine mosaic pavements, on the north-east side; other rooms on the same side which contained finds indicating that grain and other stores were kept there, perhaps for distribution to those in want; beyond the trefoil shrine, a number of simple cells which may have been used by the community of monks who lived in the bishop's residence. Somewhere, too, must have been the secretarium near the basil-:ica in which Augustine received people and waited before mak-:ing his formal entry at the beginning of the liturgy, the guest-house or xenodochium, and the residence for dedicated virgins.

The site/

The site of the church complex is within the walls of Hippo at some short distance from its centre. The basilica itself is built over earlier structures, which include a house and a 'purple'-factory. There is nothing to indicate Christian use of these buildings and van der Meer suggests that the Christian community had taken over an established secular site. As to the structure of the buildings he writes: 'From the char-:acter of hundreds of other ruins found elsewhere we may infer with confidence that, like the rest, the churches of Hippo were simple, quickly erected and somewhat impermanent structures which manifested no marked characteristics, architecturally or otherwise, that might be called specifically African. They varied occasionally in their general ground plan, but otherwise one of these African churches was pretty much like another' (op.cit., pp.21, 24). (Fig.iv).

Augustine refers on occasion to the vessels used in the Eucharistic liturgy. Although these were apparently of prec-:ious metal, Possidius tells us that Augustine did not rate their value above that of people and he would, when need arose, have them melted down for the purpose of redeeming captives and helping the poor: 'Occasionally, when the funds of the Church gave out, he would announce this to the flock, telling them he had nothing to bestow upon the needy. He would even order some of the sacred vessels to be broken up and melted down for the benefit of captives and of as many of the poor as possible and to be distributed to them'. He mentions that some raised objections but adds that 'Ambrose of revered memory said and wrote that it was unquestionably a thing that ought to be done in such extremities' (Vita Augustini, c.24, tr. Hoare).

In the Acta of 14th May, 303, the confiscation of the possessions/

possessions of the Church at Cirta is recorded. Cirta, the capital of Numidia, was, according to van der Meer (op.cit., pp.19), probably of about the same size as Hippo. The goods listed as seized include: 'calices duo aurei, item calices sex argentei, urceola sex argentea, cuccumellum argenteum', i.e. two gold and six silver chalices, six silver jars and a silver vessel, as well as silver lamps and candelabra and bronze hang-:ing lamps:'lucernas argenteas septem, cereofala duo, candelas breves aeneas undecim cum lucernis suis septem, item lucernas aeneas undecim cum catenis suis'. The chalices certainly, and the other vessels probably, were used in the Eucharistic lit-:urgy. Augustine, speaking of the description of idols in Ps. 134/5.15-17, meets the objection that Christians, too, have silver and gold 'instrumenta et vasa': 'Sed enim et nos plera-:que instrumenta et vasa ex huiusmodi materia vel metallo habemus in usum celebrandorum sacramentorum, quae ipso minist-:erio consecrata sancta dicantur, in eius honorem cui pro salute nostra inde servitur: et sunt profecto et ista instru-:menta vel vasa quid aliud quam opera manuum hominum? Verum-:tamen numquid os habent et non loquentur? numquid oculos habent et non videbunt? numquid eis supplicamus quia per ea supplicamus Deo?' (Enarr. in Ps.134.2.6).

G A U L

Evidence for the Eucharistic liturgies in use in Gaul in the early centuries comes from a variety of sources: references in the writings of Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons in the late second century, particularly in the work 'Adversus Haereses' written c.185; the Letters formerly ascribed to St.Germanus of Paris and now attributed, on the authority of Wilmart, to an anonymous writer in the South of France c.700; the sixth century Masses published by F.J. Mone (P.L.138.865-882); the Missale Gothicum, dated c.700 and perhaps written in the Scriptorium of Luxeuil (Vat.Reg.lat.317, ed. L.C.Mohlberg, Rome, 1961); and also the Missale Gallicanum vetus, the Missale Francorum and the Bobbio Missal.

Irenaeus' references are of an incidental nature and give little detail. Like Justin at Rome he speaks of the consecrated bread and wine, on the authority of the N.T., as the Body and Blood of Christ, but he also gives a new prominence to the idea that the Eucharist is an offering to God of the first-fruits of creation and the oblation of the New Covenant. He stresses that it is through the Word, His Son Jesus Christ, that God created the world; that in the Incarnation Christ entered His own world to lead it back to God; that in His own Person He summed up or recapitulated the entire universe; and that in instituting the Eucharist it was from His own creation that He took bread and wine. Thus he writes of the Eucharist: 'It is our duty to make an oblation to God and in all things to be found grateful to God our Maker, in a pure mind and in sincere faith, in well-grounded hope and in fervant love offering the first-fruits of His own created things. The Church alone offers this pure oblation to the Creator, offering to Him with thanks-:giving from His own creation' (Adv. Haer. 4.18.4). 'The Eucharist/

Eucharist consists of two elements, an earthly and a heavenly ... the Lord taught His disciples to offer the first-fruits of creation ... not as if He Himself had need of them, but in order that they might not be ungrateful and unfruitful; when, there-:fore, He took the oblation of bread He gave thanks and said, This is my body; and likewise the cup, which is a product of this earthly creation, He declared as His blood and made it the oblation of the New Covenant' (ibid., 4.17.5). At the same time, in line with his predecessors, Irenaeus points out that it is the offering of the self that matters in the sight of God: 'God does not require sacrifice but the conscience of the offer-:er', and he quotes Ps.50/51.17: 'the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit' (ibid., 4.18.3).

Jungmann, on the basis of comments such as these, argues that either in Irenaeus' own day or shortly afterwards the practice was introduced of allowing the people themselves to bring their offerings up to the altar. Thus he writes: 'It can-:not be accidental that precisely since this time, namely just since the end of the second century, the first traces appear of the practice of bringing offerings to the altar'. He links the practice with 'a marked change in the concept of the Eucharist in consequence of the need of defence against the teachings of the Gnosis' , a change which he sees exemplified in Irenaeus' writings. He adduces supporting evidence from Hippolytus at Rome and from Tertullian and Cyprian in N.Africa to show that by the mid-third century an offertory procession had already been introduced, 'namely that offertory procession of the faithful which subsequently was to be found in all countries and which flourished in the West for over a thousand years'. From now on/

From now on, he points out, the material side of the Eucharist is stressed rather than merely the thanksgiving: 'Bread and wine are not only brought to the altar, as in Justin, but they are offered - offered to God - the gifts are offered by the entire community in a solemn act, in a well-ordered procession, which since the fifth century is further accompanied also by a special song, the offertorium ... the gifts are the gifts of this earth that include something of our own labour ... that help to preserve our own life ... our entire life is included therein ... through these gifts our entire life and the whole of this earthly creation are taken up into the holy Sacrifice ... the whole of creation is thus returned to God' (The Early Liturgy, pp.117f.). Jungmann insists that this change of emphasis altered considerably the understanding of the Eucharist: 'the gift, the oblation, the sacrifice stood out much more strongly'; whereas in the first two centuries the spiritual aspect was foremost and sacrifice, if mentioned at all, was described as 'a spiritual sacrifice, rationabile sacrificium', now the Church, in its stand against Gnosticism, stressed 'the outward, the material and the objective; now we hear that the Church's sacrifice is a real sacrifice' (ibid., pp.120). With this change Jungmann associates a change in name from the 'Eucharistia', thanksgiving, to the 'oblatio' or 'sacrificium'. Within the area of the Gallican liturgy, he notes, the latter term became so common that it was used to denote the consecrated bread itself. To this change, also, he traces the development of the church building from a 'domus ecclesiae' or 'ecclesia', with the bishop's cathedra as the focal point and a wooden table for the Eucharist/

for the Eucharist, to a basilica adapted for Christian worship and focussed upon an altar of stone (ibid.pp.117f.). As to Irenaeus' influence on the development of the content of the Gallican liturgy and the sources upon which he himself drew there is a considerable variety of opinion among scholars, as will be indicated below.

From the later evidence it is clear that the liturgies in use in Gaul in the 5/6C varied from one centre of Christianity to another but nonetheless formed a distinct group which differed in certain notable respects from those in use at Rome and at Hippo.

In the first part of the liturgy there were regularly three Biblical lessons, one from the O.T. and two, the Epistle and Gospel, from the N.T. Between the Epistle and the Gospel the Benedicite was sung; there was no singing between the first two lessons. After the readings a sermon was preached and in 529 the Council of Vaison gave presbyters the right to preach (canon 2: Mansi, Concilia 8.727) - an important and significant privilege. The formal Dismissal of Catechumens and Penitents continued to have its due place in the liturgy. Three introductory features led up to the readings: a Salutation or greeting; the singing of the Benedictus, here called the 'Prophetia'; and a short prayer, the 'collectio' (later 'collecta'). The purpose of the latter may have been to conclude the entrance procession, as Jungmann suggests (M.R.R.I, pp.265f.), or to introduce the readings (Willis 'Further Essays ...' pp.112). Two other points are of note: the readings often took the form of centos i,e. they were compiled from a selection of verses or even from different books of the Bible; and the prayers were often addressed directly to Christ, a practice/

a practice which reflected the opposition of the catholic Church to the Arianism entrenched among the Burgundians and the Visigoths who ruled S.Gaul until 507.

The Letters formerly ascribed to St.Germanus of Paris supply the fullest detail on this part of the liturgy. On the readings and singing the author writes as follows: 'Lectio vero prophetica suum tenet ordinem, Veteris videlicet Testamenti, corripiens mala et adnuncians futura, ut intelligamus ipsum Deum esse qui in Prophetia tonuit quam qui et in Apostolo doc-:uit et in Evangelico splendore refulsit. Quod enim Propheta clamat futurum, Apostolus docet factum ... Hymnum autem trium puerorum ... post lectiones canitur ... Ecclesia servat ordin-:em ut inter Benedictionem (i.e. the Benedicite) et Evangelium lectio non intercedat nisi tantummodo responsorium quod a parvulis canitur. Tunc in adventu sancti Evangelii claro modulamine denuo psallit clerus Aius ... Egreditur processio sancti Evangelii ... cum praedictis harmoniis et cum septem candelabris luminis ... ascendens in tribunal analogii velut Christus sedem regni paterni, ut inde intonet dona vitae clam-:antibus clericis: 'Gloria tibi, Domine' ... Sanctus autem quod redeunte sancto Evangelio clerus cantat ...' (P.L.72.90f.). If this liturgy belongs to a church in S.Gaul, as Wilmart con-:tends, it is clear that there the O.T. lesson was retained not simply out of regard for tradition but because its true value for the Christian Church was appreciated. The writer adds that Acts or Revelations were read at Eastertide 'servant-:es ordinem temporum', just as the historical books of the O.T. were read in Lent, while on the anniversaries of the death of confessors and martyrs a reading was taken from their 'gesta'. The evidence of these Letters on the readings is supported by that/

that of a lectionary found on a seventh century MS. at Luxeuil which Dom Morin attributes to the Church at Paris (P.L.72.199). The singing of the Trisagion, which was known in the East in 451 at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (Mansi 6.936) and was used in the seventh century Byzantine liturgy as an entrance chant, is attested for Gaul at the Gospel procession only in the Letters; so, too, the singing of the respond by young boys.

The Letters give details of the introductory features in the liturgy they describe. At the start an antiphon is sung as the bishop enters: 'Antiphona ad praelegendum canitur ... Psall-:entibus clericis procedit sacerdos in specie Christi de sacrar-:io'. The deacon calls for silence and the bishop exchanges a greeting with the people: 'Silentium diaconus annuntiat ... Sacerdos ideo datur populo ut dum ille benedicit plebem dicens: Dominus sit semper vobiscum, ab omnibus benedicatur dicentibus: Et cum spiritu tuo'. Three chants follow: Aius vero ante pro-:phetiam pro hoc canitur in graeca lingua ... Incipiente prae-:sule ecclesia Aius psallit dicens latinum cum graeco ...Dict-:um 'Amen' ex hebraeo', i.e. the Trisagion, sung in Greek and Latin, the bishop leading and the people joining in; then the Kyrie eleison, sung by three boys; and finally the Benedictus: 'Tres autem parvuli qui ore uno sequentes Kyrie eleison (cant-:ant) 'Canticum autem Zachariae pontificis in honorem sancti Iohannis Baptistae cantatur ... ideo prophetiam quam pater eius ipso nascente cecinit alternis vocibus ecclesia psallit'. The Council of Vaison in 529 laid it down that the Kyrie eleison should always be sung at the Eucharist and at the morning and evening services, following the example of Rome and of all the Eastern and Italian provinces:

Canon 3: 'Et quia tam in sede apostolica quam etiam per totas Orientales/

Orientales atque Italiae provincias dulcis et nimis salutaris consuetudo intromissa est ut Kyrie eleison frequentius cum grandi affectu et compunctione dicatur, placuit etiam nobis ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista tam sancta consuetudo et ad matutinum et ad missas et ad vesperam Deo propitio intromittat-:ur'.

The Letters give evidence of the importance attached to the sermon: 'Homiliae autem sanctorum quae leguntur pro sola praedicatione ponuntur, ut quicquid Propheta, Apostolus vel Evangelium mandavit, hoc doctor vel pastor Ecclesiae apertiori sermone populo praedicet, ita arte temperans ut nec rusticitas sapientes offendat hec honesta loquacitas obscura rusticis fiat'. So, too, does Canon 2 of the Council of Vaison:
'Hoc etiam pro aedificatione omnium ecclesiarum et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit ut non solum in civitatibus sed etiam in omnibus parochiis verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem; ita ut si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum Patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni sunt diacones quod Christus in Evangelio locutus est legere, quare indigni iudic-:entur sanctorum Patrum expositiones publice recitare?'
It is to be noted that now in the early sixth century the 'par-:ochia' is no longer as in the fourth century the region for which the bishop is responsible: that is now denoted by the term 'civitas', and the bishop's presbyters under his direction sev-:erally have charge of the constituent 'parochiae'. Thus Caes-:arius of Arles writes in Serm.1.12 (C.C.S.L.103, p.8): 'Ista enim omnia et his similia non solum sacerdotes domini in civ-:itatibus, sed etiam in parrochiis presbyteri et diaconi et possunt et debent frequentius praedicare'

According/

According to the Letters, the sermon was followed by Prayers and only then were the catechumens dismissed. The Prayers evidently took the form of a litany led by the deacon: 'Preces veri psallere levitas pro populo ab origine libri Moysacis ducit exordium ut audita apostoli praedicatione levitae pro populo deprecentur et sacerdotes prostrati ante Dominum pro peccata populi intercedant'.

The Dismissal of the catechumens is described in detail in the Letters: 'Catechumenum ergo diaconus ideo clamat iuxta anticum Ecclesiae ritum, ut tam iudaei quam haeretici vel pagani instructi, qui grandes ad baptismum veniebant et ante baptismum probabantur, starent in ecclesia et audirent consilium Veteris et Novi Testamenti; postea deprecarent pro illos levitae, diceret sacerdos collectam, post precem exirent postea foris qui digni non erant stare dum inferebatur oblatio, et foras ante ostium auscultarent prostrati ad terram magnalia. Quae cura ad diaconum vel ad ostiarium pertinebat ut ille eos admoneret exire, iste provideret ne quis indignus retardaretur in templo, dicendo: 'Nolite dare Sanctum canibus, neque mittatis margaritas ante porcos' (Letter I, P.L.72.92 and Duchesne, 'Christian Worship', pp.190f.).

From the description given in the Letters it is fair to surmise that there was a short interval between the two parts of the liturgy.

At the beginning of the second part there is a call to silence from the hubbub of talk: 'Spiritualiter iubemur silent-:ium facere observantes ad ostium, id est ut tacentes a tumultu verborum ... cor intendat ut in se Christum suscipiat'.

The Offertory Procession follows at once to the accompani-:ment of a chant, the Sonum: 'Sonum autem quod canitur quando procedit oblatio ... procedentem ad altarium corpus Christi ... spiritalibus vocibus praeclara Christi magnalia dulci modilia psallit Ecclesia. Corpus vero Domini ... defertur in turribus ... Sanguis vero Christi ... specialiter offertur in calice ... Aqua autem ... miscetur ...'. The chant finishes with the threefold 'Alleluia', the 'angelicus cantus' which John heard sung after the Resurrection, as he records in the Apocalypse. As it is sung, the elements are placed on the altar and covered with a veil, the altar itself being draped with a pure linen cloth: 'corporalis vero palla ... pura linea est super quam ob-:latio ponitur ... coopertum vero sacramentorum ... exornatur.. sirico ... aut auro vel gemmis. Laudes autem, hoc est Alleluia, Johannes in Apocalypsi post resurrectionem audivit psallere.' This procession, in which the Bread was brought in a tower-shaped vessel and the Wine, mixed with water, in a chalice, is similar to that indicated in the 4C Syrian liturgy described in Ap. Const.8.47.2-4, where it is implied that the people handed in their offerings before the service began.

The Reading of Names takes place at this point: 'Nomina defunctorum ... hora illa recitantur qua pallium tollitur'.

Thereafter the Kiss of Peace is exchanged:

'Pacem/

'Pacem autem ideo Christiani mutuo proferunt ut per mutuum osculum teneant in se caritatis affectum'.

The Eucharistic Prayer opens with the Dialogue: 'Sursum corda ideo sacerdos habere admonet ut nulla cogitatio terrena maneat in pectoribus nostris in hora sacrae oblationis'. The Preface, called in Gaul the 'contestatio' or 'immolatio', leads up to the singing of the Sanctus; then a prayer, opening with the words 'Vere sanctus', links the Sanctus with the Institution Narrative, which in turn is followed by the Epiclesis.

The Fraction and the Commixtio take place to the accomp-:animent of an antiphon: 'Confractio vero et commixtio corpor-:is Domini tantis mysteriis declarata ... In hac confractione sacerdos vult augere; ibidem debet addere quia tunc caelestia terrenis miscentur et ad orationem sacerdotis caeli aperiuntur. Sacerdote autem frangente supplex clerus psallit antiphonam'.

Then the Lord's Prayer is said: 'Oratio vero dominica pro hoc ibidem ponitur ut omnis oratio nostra in dominica oratione claudatur'.

The bishop now utters a blessing over the people in prep-:aration for Communion: 'Benedictionem vero populi sacerdotibus fundere Dominus per Moysen mandavit ... Propter servandum hon-:orem pontificis sacri constituerunt canones ut longiorem benedictionem episcopus proferret, breviorem presbyter funderet, dicens: 'Pax, fides et caritas et communicatio corporis et sang-:uinis Domini sit semper vobiscum'.

The Communion follows, and during the administration a chant is sung, the Trecanum, which gives expression to the doctrine of the Trinity: 'Trecanum vero quod psallitur signum est catholicae fidei de Trinitatis credulitate procedere. Sic enim prima in secunda,/

prima in secunda, secunda in tertia et rursus tertia in secunda rotatur in prima. Ita Pater in Filio mysterium Trinitatis complectit: Pater in Filio, Filius in Spiritu sancto, Spiritus sanctus in Filio et Filius rursum in Patre'.

At Communion, according to Caesarius of Arles (Sermon 252, P.L. 39.2168), men received the consecrated bread in the bare hand, while women received it in the hand covered with a linen cloth specially brought for the purpose: 'Omnes viri quando ad altare accessuri sunt lavant manus suas; et omnes mulieres nitida exhibent linteamina ubi corpus Christi accipiant'.

After Communion the bishop says a prayer of thanksgiving and the people are formally dismissed.

If Egeria, who visited the Holy Land at the end of the fourth century or in the early fifth, came from the Western sea-board of Gaul, then her reactions to the practice of Jerus-:alem in the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy may throw some indirect light on the custom of her home-church. Speak-:ing of the normal Sunday Eucharist she writes as follows: 'Cum luce autem, quia dominica dies est, et proceditur in ecclesia maiore quam fecit Constantinus; quae ecclesia in Gol-:gotha est post Crucem; et sunt omnia secundum consuetudinem quae ubique fit die dominica. Sane quia hic consuetudo sic est ut de omnibus presbiteris qui sedent quanti volunt predic-:ent et post illos omnes episcopus predicat; quae predication-:es propterea semper dominicis diebus sunt ut semper erudiatur populus in Scripturis et in Dei dilectione; quae predicationes dum dicuntur grandis mora fit ut fiat missa ecclesiae; et ideo ante quartam horam aut forte quintam missa (non) fit' (Pere-:grinatio 24.8). Clearly Egeria was not accustomed to hear the presbyters preach as well as the bishop, but there is no reason to think that she was not used to hearing a sermon; her surprise is at the multiplicity of addresses and the consequent 'grandis mora', but she appreciates the thorough education which the people receive in the Scriptures and in the faith. She comments on the same point in her description of worship at Pentecost: 'Cum autem mane factum fuerit procedit omnis populus in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium; aguntur etiam omnia quae consuetudinaria sunt agi; praedicant presbyteri, postmodum episcopus' ... 'aguntur omnia legitima, id est, offertur iuxta consuetudinem qua dominica die consuevit fieri'; but the dismissal is speeded up and takes place 'ante hora tertia', before nine o'clock (Per.43.2).

Egeria/

Egeria vouches, then, for the general similarity of the Sunday Eucharistic Liturgy of her home-church to that of Jerusalem: 'sunt omnia secundum consuetudinem quae ubique fit die domin-:ica'.

Egeria also mentions the use of the response 'Kyrie el-:eison' at Jerusalem, but not in the context of the Eucharist. It occurs in her description of the late afternoon daily service, known in Jerusalem as 'licinicon' and in Egeria's home-region as 'lucernare' (Per.24.4f.). She recounts that, after the lucernare psalms and antiphons - in the course of which the bishop and presbyters enter and take their seats -, the bishop rises and stands in front of the Cave of the Anas-:stasis, a deacon makes 'the normal commemoration of individ-:uals, and each time he mentions a name a large group of boys responds 'Kyrie eleison' (in our language, 'Lord, have mercy'). Their voices are very loud. As soon as the deacon has done his part, the bishop says a prayer and prays the Prayer for All'. Then follows the formal Dismissal, first of the Cat-:echumens, then of the Faithful. 'Hora autem decima (quod appellant hic licinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare) similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasim, incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei et fit lumen infinitum. Lumen autem de foris non affertur sed de spelunca interiori eicitur ... Dicuntur etiam psalmi lucernares sed et antiphonae diutius. Ecce et commonetur episcopus et descendet et sedet susum, nec non etiam presbiteri sedent locis suis; dicuntur ymni vel antiphonae. Et ubi perducti fuerint iuxta consuetudinem, lebat se episcopus et stat ante cancellum, id est ante spel-:uncam, et unus ex diaconibus facit commemorationem singul-:orum sicut solet esse consuetudo. Et diacono dicente singulorum/

singulorum nomina, semper pisinni plurimi stant respondentes semper: 'Kyrie eleyson', quod dicimus nos: Miserere Domine, quorum voces infinitae sunt. Et at ubi diaconus perdixerit omnia quae dicere habet, dicet orationem primum episcopus et orat pro omnibus'.

Of the Prayer for All Wilkinson writes (op.cit.pp.255): 'we should probably conclude that its form was first a litanic series of intentions announced by the leader (whether bishop or deacon), for example, 'For the holy Church let us pray to the Lord', to which Kyrie eleison was the response, and that at the end (if not more frequently) the deacon called the people to kneel for silent prayer for a time before the bishop summed up the petitions in a collect'. Elsewhere (ibid.pp.57) he comments: 'The response Kyrie eleison 'or, as we say, 'Have mercy, Lord'' seems new to Egeria, or she would hardly have taken the trouble to translate it for her sisters. It does not seem to have been usual in the West till the sixth century, though by Egeria's time it was probably in general use in the East' (he refers in a note to Ap. Const.8.6,8) 'having taken the place of the simple response Amen, inherited from Jewish sources'.

Against Wilkinson's suggestion that the Kyrie eleison is new to Egeria it may be noted that she introduces the Latin equivalent both of this response and of the service itself in almost identical terms:

> 'hora autem decima (quod appellant hic licinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare) ...'
>
> 'Et diacono dicente singulorum nomina, semper pisinni plurimi stant, respondentes semper: Kyrie eleyson, quod dicimus nos: Miserere Domine...'

Moreover/

Moreover, Egeria leaves the impression that she is familiar with the service called 'lucernare': she mentions that in Jerusalem the fire is brought 'not from outside' but from the lamp in the Cave 'lumen autem de foris non affertur'; she speaks of the lucernare psalms and antiphons without explanat-:ion as though her sisters would know those specified 'dicuntur etiam psalmi lucernares sed et antiphonae diutius'; she refers to the sung part of the service as though it were a more or less fixed form 'ubi perducti fuerint iuxta consuetudinem'; and she seems to know the Prayer for All as she mentions it without explanation at Morning Hymns (Per.24.2), here at lucernare (Per.24.6), and on Sunday morning at the short service of three psalms and prayers held in the Anastasis at cockcrow (Per.24.9) 'Ecce et supervenit episcopus cum clero et statim ingreditur intro spelunca, et de intro cancellos primum dicet orationem pro omnibus; commemorat etiam ipse nomina quorum vult' (Per.24.2). Jungmann argues that the two daily services were regularly held in the churches in the West as well as in the East and in particular gives evidence of their observance in Gaul and Spain. Referring to Egeria's account he writes: 'now ... we meet the first of those two completely public Hours which become observed by clergy and people in the larger city churches from the 4th century onwards. This is the Morn-:ing Hour ... balanced in the evening by Vespers'; 'the Morn-:ing Hour which had constituted the morning service at least in episcopal churches, both in East and West, since the 4th century. The evening service of Vespers was its counterpart. These were the two Hours in which the people took part in vary-:ing numbers'/

numbers'; 'there are several indications that both in Gaul and in Spain a regular church service, attended by the faithful in greater or lesser numbers, took place early in the morning. In the principal churches it must have been an established custom' - in support he quotes from Hilary of Poitiers' Commentary on the Psalms 'matutinorum et vespertinorum hymnorum delectationes' (In Ps.64.12, C.S.E.L. 22.244) and refers to Canon 14 of the Synod of Vannes in Brittany, held in 405, which prescribed penalties if presbyters missed the morning service except in cases of illness (Mansi, Concilia 7.955) and to Canon 30 of the Synod of Agde, held in 506, which laid it down 'studendum est ut, sicut ubique fit, et post antiphonas collectiones per ordinem ab episcopis vel presbyteris dicantur et hymnos matut-:inos vel vespertinos diebus omnibus decantari ...' (Mansi, Concilia 8.329f.) (Jungmann: Pastoral Liturgy, pp.113, 123, and 129f.). It is a possible conclusion, then, that Egeria was familiar in her home-church with these two services and with the use of the response 'Miserere, Domine' to a prayer of litany-type preceding the Prayer for All and the Dismissals.

W.S. Porter, in his book 'The Gallican Rite', London, 1958, notes a number of references made to various parts of the Eucharistic Liturgy by Caesarius of Arles (ob. 542) in his Sermons. Several of these are of considerable importance as they throw light on the development of the liturgy in Gaul.

In the first part of the Eucharistic Liturgy Caesarius mentions that a reading could be taken from the Passio of a martyr on the anniversary of his death (Sermones, ed. Morin, pp.294, 309); in Sermo i (Morin, pp.11) he is 'very emphatic that not only bishops in their cathedrals, but also priests and deacons/

and deacons could and should preach frequently' (Porter, pp.28); in Sermo 77 (Morin, pp.305) he quotes the deacon's call 'Flect-:amus genua', which Porter interprets as referring to the Prayers of the Faithful, since 'there is good evidence that Gaul did indeed retain them considerably longer than Rome' (Porter, pp.30), and he himself inclines to the view of Séjourné that the two Gallican prayers, Praefatio and Collectio, are 'a development of the introductory and concluding formulas of the Prayers of the Faithful' and were transferred to the beginning of the second part of the liturgy, perhaps when the Great Entrance was first introduced in Gaul c.590, probably from Byzantium (Porter, pp.31f;). Caesarius also speaks of the Song of the Three Children, the Benedictiones (Sermo 59, Morin pp. 278), and of the singing of a psalm, possibly before the Sermon or else later at Communion.

In the second part of the Eucharistic Liturgy Caesarius mentions several times that the people bring their individual offerings (Sermones 13, 14, Morin pp.63,69) and makes no reference to a formal Offertory Procession; he quotes the response to the call 'Sursum corda', probably in the dialogue introducing the Eucharistic Prayer (Sermones 33, 34, Morin, pp. 97, 141), and he implies that the Sanctus and Benedictus which concluded the Preface or Contestatio were sung by all the people (Sermo 63, Morin pp.294); he notes in Sermones 35 and 63 (Morin pp. 141, 294) that at the end of the Eucharistic Prayer the whole congregation join in saying the Lord's Prayer; he quotes the deacon's call 'Humiliate vos benedictioni' and refers to the subsequent blessing of the people before Commun-:ion (Sermones 76, 63, Morin pp.303, 294); and in Sermon 227 (Morin pp. 854) he reminds the men of the congregation to wash their hands/

their hands before coming to the Liturgy so that they may receive the consecrated Bread in clean hands, while women are asked to bring white linen cloths to spread over their hands.

A number of councils and synods held in Gaul in the 6C give a few further details about the development of the liturgy. Caesarius himself presided over the Second Council of Vaison in 529 when seventeen bishops from the region were present. This Council in Canon 3 introduced the Kyrie eleison into the churches of its region: 'Et quia tam in sede apostolica quam etiam per totas orientales atque Italiae provincias dulcis et nimium salutaris consuetudo est intromissa ut Kyrie eleison frequentius cum grandi affectu et compunctione dicatur...' it prescribed that it should be used 'in all our churches' at the morning and evening services and at the Eucharist. According to Duchesne (op. cit.pp.165 n.2) 'it is clear that the Council of Vaison regarded the Kyrie then in use at Rome and in Italy (Milan) as an importation of somewhat recent date' ... 'the Kyrie was adventitious in the Roman Church, as it was throughout the entire West' ...'the Eastern Churches ... used the Kyrie from the remotest times'. Porter, however, is less dogmatic: 'This is, however, not so simple as it looks. It might mean: 'Rome and the rest now use Kyrie eleison more frequently (than they did - or, than we do), and therefore we will have it at all the public services' - an interpretation which neither affirms or denies its previous use at Mass or at the Office' (op. cit.pp.22). The Council also stressed the importance of the Sermon and in Canon 2 it gave authority to presbyters to preach their own sermons in their parish churches and, when a presbyter was not available, instructed deacons to read a Homily from the writings of the Fathers. In Canon 4 the Council/

the Council laid it down that the name of the Bishop of Rome should be included among the 'Names' recited at the altar at the Offertory.

The Council of Epaon in 517 provides evidence in Canon 29 that the formal Dismissal of catechumens and other groups con-:tinued to have a place at the end of the first part of the Eucharistic Liturgy; so, too, the Synod of Lyons about the same date permits penitents to remain 'usque ad orationem plebis quae post evangelia legeretur'. Porter (op.cit.pp.31) regards the phrase 'oratio plebis' in this canon as referring to the Prayers of the Faithful and thus as providing evidence that these were still in use in the early 6C. The Council of Mâcon in 585 testifies in Canon 4 that the people at that time were still bringing their individual offerings to church for the Eucharist. The blessing of the people before Communion, restricted to bishops in 506 by the Council of Agde (Canons 44, 47), was entrusted, in the absence of a bishop, to presbyters in 511 by the First Council of Orléans in Canon 22.

Dalton, in his discussion of the Eucharistic Liturgy in use in Gaul in the Merovingian age ('History of the Franks' by Gregory of Tours, Introd.pp.318f.) mentions that its form has been reconstructed by liturgists largely from passages in the works of Gregory of Tours and from the two letters formerly ascribed to St. Germanus of Paris and now attributed to S. France c.700, with confirmation and some supplementary material from the Mozarabic, Irish and Gallican missals and writings. As early as the 17C Mabillon made a reconstruction of the liturgy from the works of Gregory alone (De liturgia Gallicana, Paris, 1685) and Ruinart did likewise more recently. Dalton takes the view that the liturgy as known to Gregory was probably/

probably derived from that of Milan, like those used in N.Italy, Visigothic Spain, Britain and Ireland, that it was of Eastern origin and was possibly introduced by the Arian bishop Auxent-:ius of Milan (355-374), who was by birth a Cappadocian. He notes, however, an alternative theory that the early Gallican liturgy was derived from Ephesus and was brought into Lyons at a very early date. The evidence both of Eusebius (H.E.5.1f.) and of Gregory of Tours (H.F.1.31; 10.35) attests the celebrat-:ion of the Eucharist in Gaul in the second and third centuries: at Lyons and Vienne, where the persecution of Christians is re-:counted by Eusebius, Eastern influence was certainly strong; at Tours, Bourges and the other early centres mentioned by Gregory, the missionary bishop is said to have been sent from Rome, where on the testimony of Hippolytus the form and content of the liturgy was already tending to become fixed c.215.

Gregory mentions a number of features in the liturgy, among them some which are characteristically Gallican and dis-:tinct from contemporary Roman practice. In the first part he refers to the cantiele, the Benedictus (Lk.1.68f.) or Prophetia, sung by the bishop at the beginning (H.F.8.7); to the O.T. read-:ing, lectio prophetica (H.F.4.16; V.S.M.1.5), and to the fact that a passage could be taken from the Passio of a martyr on the anniversary of his death (De Mir.s.Mart.2.29); he mentions that a psalmus responsorius is sung by a deacon (H.F.8.3) and possibly alludes to the Benedictiones, the Song of the Three Children, sung after the Epistle (V.P.6.7); at the Gospel read-:ing he speaks of the procession of the deacon carrying the Book of the Gospels and the response of the people, 'Gloria Deo Omnipotenti' when the reading was announced (H.F.8.4); and he records the formal dismissal of catechumens and others (H.F.10.8; V.P.17.3).

In the second part/

In the second part of the liturgy he makes clear mention of the Offertory Procession in which the deacon carries 'the mystery of the Lord's Body' in a 'turris' and the Wine is brought in a chalice (L.M.1.86; H.F.10.31; G.M.86), a practice which suggests that the people handed in their offerings before the liturgy began; he refers to the custom of covering the Oblations when placed on the altar with a rich silk veil, sometimes sewn with gems (H.F.7.22; G.M.73); to the exchange of the Kiss of Peace before the Eucharistic Prayer (H.F.6.40); he speaks of the Preface of the Eucharistic Prayer as the Con-:testatio (V.S.M.2.14) and to the use of the sign of the Cross at the Consecration (V.P.16.2), and he indicates that the people join in saying the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Eucharistic Prayer (V.S.M.2.30; V.P.16.2); at Communion he mentions that the people receive the consecrated elements 'ad altarium' (H.F.9.3; 10.8) and that blessed bread, eulogiae, was distributed to those who had not participated (H.F.5.14).

It is clear from all this that the liturgies in use in Gaul in the 5/6C differed in certain notable respects from those of Rome and Hippo. Jungmann classes the Gallican liturgies with those of Milan, Spain and the Celtic areas of the British Isles: 'In the West there were two large areas, each of which possessed its own liturgical order: Rome and N. Africa on the one hand and the rest of Europe on the other ... the entire large area from the Iberian peninsula over Gaul up to the Danube countries' including Gallia Cisalpina and Britain. Within this territory, he argues, there was 'one common liturgical system'. The liturgies themselves varied in content, since the prayers they contained differed from country to country and from place to place. But they all shared the principle that there should be a Eucharistic Prayer which had a fixed form only in the words of consecration and a few other formulae drawn from the Scriptures and that it should not form a single, unbroken whole but consist of a series of separate, variable prayers. Further distinctive features which Jungmann singles out are that the Institution Narrative always began with the words 'Pridie quam pateretur', that the prayer following it often had little in common with a typical Anamnesis and did not stress the idea of offering to God, and that the Offertory was arranged in accord-:ance with Eastern practice (Jungmann, op.cit.). Other diff-:erences have been noted above, such as the use of the Bene-:dictus as an introductory chant, the retention of the O.T. reading and the singing of the Benedicite before the Gospel in place of the Alleluia used in all other rites except the Ethiop-:ian. Some of these practices suggest a direct link with the East at one or more periods.

Several hypotheses have been put forward to explain the divergence between Gallican practice and that of Rome and N. Africa/

Africa. F. Cabrol in 1932 (La Messe en Occident, Paris) sugg-
:ested that it was brought from Rome at an early date and that
while it spread and developed throughout the West Rome itself
drastically altered its own practice. His theory meets with
little support today. Jungmann, for instance, points out that
'the Gallic type from the very beginning shows features which
cannot be imagined as coming from Rome, because they contra-
:dict Roman simplicity and clarity' (op.cit., pp.233), while
Duchesne notes that Innocent I in his letter to Decentius re-
:gards such deviations as foreign: 'quod ... aliunde accipere
videatur exemplum' (Ep.25, P.L.20). Duchesne takes the view
that the Western source of the Gallican liturgies was Milan,
which as the place of residence of the Emperors for much of
the fourth century exercised a wide influence; the Eastern
features he attributes to bishops of Milan such as Auxentius,
the Cappadocian, and to direct importations from the Byzantine
and especially the Palestinian liturgies (Christian Worship,
pp.91f.). Jungmann tends to favour Duchesne's explanation.
Anton Baumstark (op.cit., p.5) sees an affinity so close be-
:tween the Gallican type and that of the Asiatic East that it
could pass for a Latin translation of the Syro-Byzantine rite,
and he traces it back to Irenaeus who in his youth in Asia
Minor was a disciple of Polycarp. He compares the reverse
influence of Gaul upon the East through the Constantinian
dynasty which originated in Trier and finally established it-
:self in Constantinople, quoting as evidence the fact that the
Benedictus, 'native to the milieu of Trier in the first part
of the liturgy, is found in the East only in the old urban
rite of Constantinople'. Archdale A. King (Liturgies of the
Primatial Sees, London, 1967) examines this claim that Iren-
:aeus was responsible for the Asiatic origin of the Gallic
liturgy/

liturgy and contends that, while he may have been Asiatic by birth, the main influence upon him was his commissioning at Rome when he conveyed the letter of the Christians of Lyons and Vienne to Eleutherus, bishop of Rome, a letter in which they 'commended Irenaeus, already a presbyter in the Lyons diocese, to the bishop' (Eus., H.E.5.4). His conclusion is that 'the Eucharistic references of Irenaeus are such as one would be led to expect in the second century but they have no sort of bear-:ing on the origins of the actual rite of Lyons beyond what they may have for all the rites of Christendom', and he insists that, except for some few details, 'there is nothing Gallican about the rite of Lyons, which is none other than the Roman rite por-:trayed in Ordo Romanus Primus'. He therefore argues that the 'Ephesine theory' of the origin of the rite of Lyons and of the old Gallican rite, as supported by Mabillon (ob.1705) and by W. Palmer and J.M. Neale in the nineteenth century, is untenable on the ground that there was no stereotyped liturgy before the fourth century and by that time Lyons - important in the late second century as the Western terminus of the trade-route from the East with many Greeks and Levantines among its Christian population, and influential as the metropolis of the Three Gauls until Diocletian's re-organisation - had probably ceased to have any dealings with Asia Minor or to have any significance as a Christian centre beyond Lugdunensis Prima (op.cit., p.3f.). D. M. Hope (Study of Liturgy, 1978, pp.22f.) notes as the main features of the Gallican liturgies 'independence of Rome ... a definite leaning towards splendour and ceremonial ... a wide diversity of variable prayers exhibiting a strong Byzantine in-:fluence', the style of the prayers which are often long and prolix, with extravagant rhetoric and complicated thought-forms, and the anti-Arian habit of addressing prayers to Christ. He concludes/

He concludes: 'No one theory of the origins of the Gallican type has yet won universal acceptance among scholars, but perhaps the least unsatisfactory possibility is that at the time when the forms of prayer began to be composed and written more fully the Gallican temperament asserted itself in its own prayer-forms and ways of worship'.

The influence of the East upon the Gallic liturgy seems to be generally accepted: the question remains open as to how early and how continuous that influence was. Did it go back to the very beginnings of Christianity in Gaul, to the 2C and 3C, or did it start only later in the 4C? Talking of the factors which went to form the religious-cultural stamp of the early Middle Ages, Jungmann writes: 'we dare not overlook the cultural heritage of the Greek Orient which overflowed abundantly during this period into the West, into the Gallo-Frankish part of Europe in particular. It is well-known that from the 4th cent-:ury the Gallican liturgy, i.e. the liturgy of the whole non-Roman West, presents numerous features which point to an Oriental origin: the pre-eminence of Epiphany, the system of weekly and yearly fast-days, the veneration of Saturday, the Trishagion in the Mass, the Offertory Procession, the Kiss of Peace before the Consecration, the Epiclesis - to mention but a few obvious examples. From the 6th century the Kyrie eleis-:on, and also the Litany as a prayer-form, spread to Rome and then over the whole of the West ... The example par excellence of Oriental influence is the Nicene-Constantinapolitan Creed itself. For examples of Oriental influences in art we need only point to the monuments in Ravenna and at S.Maria Antiqua in Rome ...' (Pastoral Lit. pp.9f.).

4/5C churches in S. Gaul are known only through partial investigations but the evidence is sufficient, according to Krautheimer (op.cit.pp.130), to show that in Gallia Narbonensis the variety of early church plans was replaced as at Rome and in N. Italy by the standard Roman type of basilica from the late 4C. He takes the view that this standard basilican plan prob-:ably spread from Rome to Milan c.385 and slightly later east-:wards to Ravenna, Istria and Dalmatia. The octagonal baptist-:ery plan, on the other hand, which became standard both in S. Gaul and in Ravenna and Dalmatia, he attributes either to Rome or to Milan as a place of origin; and he regards both cities as the leading architectural centres in the northern half of the Latin West from 400 onwards, but he notes that 'around and after 400 Milan relinquished its political dominance to Con-:stantinople, its ecclesiastical influence to Rome'(pp.125,132).

There is a brief reference to a church-building in Gaul in the correspondence of Paulinus of Nola with Sulpicius Severus. In Ep.31, probably written in 402 or 403, Paulinus mentions a 'family church' which the former has built in the village of Primuliacum (Prémillac in the Perigord) and for which he had apparently requested relics. The church is described as a bas-:ilica and it seems that this new, larger basilica was construct-:ed quite close to an older, smaller basilica and a baptistery placed between them. Paulinus clearly regards the three as forming one church-complex: 'just as he worships one Mind under three names, so here he has dedicated a threefold work of sacred building' (Ep.32.5): the two basilicas are 'twin struct-:ures' harmonizing with the sacred Laws, representing the Church with her two Testaments (ibid.). The basilica had an apse (Ep.32.17); beneath the altar of the basilica were bur-:ied the sacred bones of the priest Clarus. For the con-:secration/

consecration of the new basilica Paulinus sent in a gold case a sliver of the wood of the Cross, brought to him from Jerus-:alem by Melania as a gift from Bishop John. The three build-:ings were evidently quite substantial and impressive: Paulin-:us speaks of 'the beauty and holiness of your buildings' (Ep. 32.7), 'your holy and splendid buildings', 'Immaculate build-:ings gleaming with the spotless beauty of your labours'(Ep.32. 9). It would appear that the basilicas were designed for the regular worship of a congregation. Paulinus sends some verses which he has written in memory of Clarus and expects Sulpicius Severus to 'read them out in the Lord's presence' (Ep.32.6); and at Easter 'Mother Church receives the newly-baptized in twin bosoms, the priest our father leads them round to the fest-:ive altars and introduces them to the Bread of salvation' wit-:nessed by 'the crowd of elders, a gathering of friends', and the faithful chant in fresh chorus 'Alleluia' (Ep.32.5).

O.M. Dalton in the introduction to his edition of the 'History of the Franks' discusses the references to church-buildings in this and in the other works of Gregory of Tours. It seems clear that the churches in use in the fourth/fifth centuries were often hurriedly erected and soon stood in need of repair and often of reconstruction. As a result, churches continued to be built throughout the Merovingian period. Few traces even of these remain and only three are regarded as authentic, viz. parts of the crypt of S. Paul at Jouarre (since restored) and of S. Laurence at Grenoble and the baptistery of S. John at Poitiers (Introd., pp.318).

Many of the earliest churches in Gaul, Dalton thinks, must have been placed over the tombs of saints. In some cases these had already been protected by a modest structure of some perish-:able material e.g. the tomb of S. Martin (H.F.2.1) and that/

that of S. Médard: 'cellula minutis contexta virgultis' (G.C.93). The tomb might be that of a bishop: for example a small wooden building had evidently been placed over the tomb of Aravatus, bishop of Tongres, who died in the fifth century, before a per-:manent church was erected over it by Bishop Monulf (G.C.71).

But perhaps more often the original structure took the form of an oratory or small church built of wood and Gregory himself mentions various wood churches even in his day. The walls, accord-:ing to Dalton, were probably constructed of planks (tabulae) fixed to vertical wooden posts or columns: examples include the church on the walls of Rouen where Merovech and Brunhild took refuge from the prince's angry father, Chilperic: 'quae super muros ligneis tabulis fabricata est' (H.F.5.2), and churches at Tours, Reims and Brives. Oratories, too, were often built of wood in this fashion: the one at Yseure on Creuse is described as 'consortium ligneis tabulis' (G.M.58); that erected on a spot where the remains of S.Saturninus had rested was a similar structure (ibid.47); another, 'ligneis constructa tabulis' stood at Thiers, Puy-de-Dôme.

French historians treat Gregory of Tours as a reliable source. Robert Latouche, for instance, in his book on the be-:ginnings of France, 'Caesar to Charlemagne' (E.T., Dent, 1968), writes: 'Gregory of Tours is a conscientious historian and his outline of the early history of Christianity carries conviction' (pp.126f.). He is most likely, perhaps, to have trustworthy in-:formation in the areas of Gaul known to him, whether directly or through acquaintances i.e. Tours, Bourges and Clermont. The history of church-building in these places is, therefore, part-:icularly worth examining.

In the second half of the third century Gatianus, the first bishop of Tours (c.250/1 - c.300/1), sent there on a mission by the bishop/

bishop of Rome, managed to convert some of the people by his preaching, but since the pagans were in the majority and host-:ile he was obliged to celebrate the Eucharist 'in crypts and hiding-places' (H.F.10.31). By the time he died, however, there were enough Christians to give their name to the quarter of the city in which they lived and they had their own cemetery; accordingly he 'was buried in the cemetery of the quarter be-:longing to the Christians' (ibid.). A gap of thirty-seven years followed in which there was no bishop: pagans were in command and treated Christians ruthlessly: the Eucharist could be observed only in secret: 'occulte et per latebras divinum officium celebrabant' (H.F.1.35). The second bishop, Litorius (c.337/8 - 371), was a citizen of Tours and as the Christians were now numerous he 'built the first church erected in the city of Tours', establishing it apparently in a house converted for the purpose: 'for the first basilica he converted the house of a certain man of senatorial family' (H.F.10.31): in due course he 'was buried in the aforesaid basilica which today (i.e.c.580) bears his name' (ibid.). According to Duchesne (Fastes Episcopaux) this was the first cathedral church of Tours. Martin, the third bishop (371 - 397), established the Maius Monasterium, Marmoutier, in the canton of Tours, built a church there in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul, and six other churches at villages in the canton. In the fifth cent-:ury Brice, the fourth bishop (397 - 444), built a small bas-:ilica above the tomb of Martin, probably in 437 - 444, and churches in five villages: he himself was buried in the former (ibid.). The fifth bishop, Eustochius (c.444 - 461), a man of senatorial family, built the church within the walls in which he deposited the relics of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius brought from Italy by Martin: he also built churches in four villages (ibid.)/

villages (ibid.). In the later part of the fifth century the sixth bishop, Perpetuus (c.461 - c.490), also of senatorial fam-:ily, very rich, with property in many cities, replaced Brice's small basilica over the tomb of Martin with one 'of greater size and wondrous workmanship and translated the remains of Martin to the apse' (H.F.10.31). Gregory gives details of the new basilica which still stood in his day: it measured 160' by 60' and its height to the ceiling was 45'; it had 32 windows in the sanctuary, 20 in the nave, with 41 columns; in the whole structure there were 52 windows, 120 columns and 8 doors, 3 in the sanctuary and 5 in the nave (H.F.2.14). The basilica was situated about half a mile from Tours. Since the ceiling of the earlier chapel was of fine workmanship, 'eleganti opere fabricata', Perpetuus installed it in another basilica which he built in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul; he also built the church of S.Laurence in the vicus Laudiacus and churches in five named villages (H.F.10.31): 'multas et alias basilicas aed-:ificavit quae usque hodie in Christi nomine constant'(H.F.2.14). The cathedral church built by Litorius seems to have continued in use until the time of Gregory's immediate predecessor when c.560 a great fire burnt Tours and all its churches; Gregory rebuilt the cathedral church 'ecclesia urbis Turonicae' 'all ruined and destroyed by the fire', completing it, according to Dalton, c.580; Gregory records that it was dedicated in the seventeenth year after his consecration (H.F.10.31). Thus the 'domus ecclesiae' in the converted house of a man of senatorial family served as the cathedral church of Tours for more than two hundred years. During this time the Christian community had become numerous, powerful and wealthy; their bishops had included rich men of senatorial family such as Eustochius, Per-:petuus and Volusianus, Ommatius, Francilio and Volusianus; property/

property had been bequeathed to it in 490, 508, 523 and prob-
:ably in 527. This would suggest that the original house was large, well-built and capable of considerable conversion. Be-
:hind this first 'domus ecclesiae' lay some ninety years of Christian presence, and behind the first purpose-built church of c.580 lay some two hundred and thirty years of Christian work and witness.

Tours, which is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus in his History, written c.380, as one of the four cities in provincia Lugdunensis secunda, and in the Notitia Galliarum, which Pro-
:fessor A.L.F. Rivet dates to the late fourth or early fifth century (B.A.R., s.s.15, 1956, pp.120) as the metropolis of Lugdunensis Tertia, may have been exceptional in the strength of its opposition to Christianity. At Bourges, however, one of the five cities in provincia Lugdunensis prima in c.380 and re-
:corded in the Notitia Galliarum as the metropolis of Aquitania prima, the development of church-building was even slower. According to Gregory, Bourges was evangelised by a disciple of one of the seven bishops sent to Gaul in 250/1 (H.F.1.31). Dalton identifies the disciple with Ursinus of Bourges, ment-
:ioned by Gregory in G.C.79, and Duchesne (Fastes Ep.), quoting an eleventh century ivory diptych which lists the archbishops of Bourges, names Ursinus as the first bishop and assigns him an episcopate of twenty-seven years. There is no record here of open hostility or persecution on the part of pagans; none-
:theless the response was slow initially: 'ex his pauci quodam modo credentes'. According to Dalton, these few 'were ordain-
:ed priests', 'clerici ordinati', and were given a threefold training - how to chant psalms, how to build churches and how to celebrate properly the rites due to God: 'ritum psallendi suscipiunt ... qualiter ecclesiam construent vel omnipotenti Deo/

Deo sollemnia caelebrare debeant' (H.F.ibid.). From the start, then, Christian worship was organised for the new believers in some common meeting-place and evangelisation involved the building of ecclesiae. Gregory indicates that it was the new believers rather than the incomer Ursinus who took the lead in finding a place to meet: they were poor and had small resources, while houses of sufficient size were in the hands of pagans: 'qui vero crediderant ex pauperibus erant ... illis parvam adhuc aedificandi facultatem habentibus ... senatores vero vel reliqui meliores loci fanaticis erant tunc cultibus obligati' (H.F.1.31). Their first step was to beg for the house of a certain citizen, but he refused: 'civis cuiusdam domum de qua ecclesiam faciant expetunt'; next they made an offer to a wealthy citizen with a Christian connection, Leucadius, the first senator of Gaul, re-:lated to one of the martyrs of Lyons, Vettius Epagathus, put to death shortly after Irenaeus in 202. Their request was to buy a house belonging to Leucadius at Bourges and they offered 300 pieces of gold and a silver salver in payment. They made it plain that they were Christians and did not disguise their purpose: 'cui cum petitionem suam et fidem pariter intimassent'. Leucadius consented and virtually presented them with the house, taking only three pieces of gold and excusing them all other payment: 'ille, acceptis de his tribus aureis pro benedictione, clementer indulgens reliqua ...'. Leucadius became a Christian and may have played a part in re-designing the house as a church: 'christianus factus domum suam fecit aecclesiam'. This build-:ing apparently continued in use for at least three hundred years, for Gregory records that it was still in his day the first church of Bourges, that it was of wondrous workmanship and now housed the relics of S.Stephen: 'haec est nunc ecclesia apud Biturican urbem prima, miro opere conposita et primi mart-:yris Stephani/

Stephani reliquiis inlustrata' (ibid.). Its survival in spite of devastation and fire in 561 and the long duration of its use suggest that the house, transformed into an ecclesia in the late 3C, was a spacious and solid building.

At Clermont-Ferrand, mentioned in 360 as one of four cities in Aquitania and in the Notitia Galliarum as a city of Aquitania prima, Gregory seems to have had access, at first or second hand, to written records as well as to oral tradition. He relates that Stremonius, one of the seven bishops sent to Gaul in 250/1, escaped death in the 3C persecutions, won over many of the Arverni to the Christian faith and evangelised the surrounding territory (H.F.1.30). But he goes on to mention a serious per-:secution against the Christians in the time of the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus and the destruction by Chroc, king of the Alemanni, of the shrine of Vasso Galatae (H.F.1.32). He then names two martyrs buried near the city, Liminius and Ant-:olianus, the death of the former being dated by Dalton c.255 (op.cit.pp.486n.); also two others, Cassius and Victorinus, martyred about this time, and on these he adds a short note based, it would seem, on early records (refert antiquitas). From this we gain a brief glimpse of the Christian community at Clermont in the second half of the 3C. Victorinus was slave to a priest of the temple of Vasso Galatae: 'he often went into the Christian quarter to persecute the Christians, but was con-:verted by the preaching of Cassius and was baptized': 'qui, dum frequenter vicum quem Christianorum vocant ad persequendos Christianos adit, Cassium repperit christianum. Cuius prae-:dicationibus atque miraculis motus credidit Christo relictis-:que fanaticis sordibus ac baptismo consecratus ...'(H.F.1.33). Dalton dates the martyrdom of Cassius, Victorinus and many others in c.264. At this period, then, there was a vicus Christianorum, facilities for celebrating the Eucharistic liturgy/

liturgy, to the first part of which anyone, including pagans, could gain admission, and for baptism. The second bishop was a convert, married and a member of a senatorial family, Urbicus by name: according to the custom of the church the bishop and his wife lived apart as ascetics, the bishop residing in a house which Gregory subsequently describes as the 'domus ecclesiae' and the 'domus ecclesiastica' (H.F.1.44). Only in the time of the ninth bishop, Namatius, do we hear of the building of the 'ecclesia' which still stood in Gregory's day and which was be-:lieved to be the older of those within the town walls: 'Hic ecclesiam quae nunc constat et senior intra muros civitatis hab-:etur, suo studio fabricavit' (H.F.2.16). As Dalton points out, Gregory uses 'ecclesia' almost exclusively to denote the bishop-church, while he reserves 'basilica' for other churches outside or inside the town walls. There can be little doubt that Greg-:ory regarded Namatius as the builder of the first purpose-built cathedral in Clermont. He describes it in some detail: it was 150ft. long and 60ft. broad across the nave, with a height to the ceiling of 50ft.; it ended in a rounded apse with walls on either side of skilled construction; it had 42 windows, 70 col-:umns and 8 doors; the walls of the sanctuary were adorned with a lining of many kinds of marble; it housed relics of Ss. Vital-:is and Agricola brought from Bologna; and in plan it was cross-shaped (H.F.2.16). The date of the building must have been c. 460, since the eleventh bishop was Sidonius Apollinaris, 469/70-479. Namatius' successor, Eparchius, had his lodging in the 'salutorium' as the Church had little property within the city; he used to return from his Lenten retreat to his cathedral with ceremony on Holy Thursday: 'die autem coenae dominicae cum magno psallentio comitantibus clericis civibusque ad ecclesiam suam revertebatur' (H.F.2.21); and it contained his 'cathedra a Dom-:ino consecrata' (ibid.). At Clermont, then, the 'domus eccles-:iae' continued/

continued in use for some two hundred years from 250/1 to c.460 if Gregory's account is accepted.

Gregory mentions churches ('ecclesia' or 'templum') in the fifth century in Gaul, chiefly in the cities of Novempopulana and Aquitaine ('sacra templa', 470-480) ; and at Vienne ('eccles-:ia' of the bishop Mamertus, and the Arian cathedral 'eclesia hereticorum') about the same time (H.F.2.24f.). He refers to basilicas: at Brioude, the basilica of Julian; at Autun, that of Symphorian; at Poitiers, that of Hilary (H.F.2.10, 15, 27). He speaks of the 'domus ecclesiae' at Clermont (H.F.2.23, in 480) and at Angers (H.F.2.13, c.468). He also mentions an oratory of S.Stephen and altars at Metz (oratorium beati Stef-:ani, altaria, H.F.2.5) and monasteries (monasterium) on the hill of Chanton and at Clermont (H.F.2.21).

Gregory still uses the term 'domus ecclesiae' in the sixth century but in many cases it is clear that he is referr-:ing to the bishop's residence. Dalton tends to interpret all the examples in this sense. A 'domus ecclesiae' is mentioned at Tours (H.F.5.48,49), across the Loire (H.F.5.4), at Mar-:seilles (H.F.6.11), at Toulouse (H.F.7.27), at Convenae (H.F. 7.37), at Saintes (H.F.8.43), at Verdun (H.F.9.12) and at Lyons (H.F.4.36). At Angoulême, however, the term may be used in the older sense, for Gregory records that shortly before his own day Marachar, count of that city, laid down office, became a cleric and in due course a bishop and showed zeal in erecting and furnishing churches and church-houses: 'qui multum vigilanter vel ecclesias vel ecclesiae domos et erigens et componens ...' (H.F.5.36). (Fig.xia).

It can be readily appreciated that for the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy a building of the basilican type, con-:sisting of a rectangular hall with an apse at one end, was ad-:mirably suited. The apse held the bishop's cathedra in a foc-:al position and, if the floor of the apse area was raised above that of the hall, he could conveniently address the con-:gregation whether seated for the sermon or standing for the prayers. On either side of him sat the presbyters and nearby the deacons apparently stood in attendance. The hall or nave accommodated the people. The second part of the liturgy placed some special demands upon the building which no doubt at first were met by improvisation but which in course of time were like-:ly to occasion more permanent adaptations in the basic struct-:ure. Among these probably the most noteworthy are the re-:quirements of the Offertory and the Communion which are uni-:versal components of the liturgy. There is also the question whether in a particular church the rite of hand-washing was in-:cluded for the people or the clergy.

OFFERTORY: According to Yarnold (Study of Liturgy, pp.195), in the areas where the Syrian liturgies were in use, i.e. in Jerusalem, Antioch and the neighbouring countryside, there is in the fourth/ fifth centuries 'no offertory procession of the people as in the West. The people's offerings referred to in Ap.Const.8.47.2-4 must have been given in, with little formal-:ity, before the Mass began'. Then at the beginning of the second part of the liturgy such of the offerings of bread and wine as are needed for the celebration are brought ceremonious-:ly by the deacons to the altar, as Theodore of Mopsuestia de-:scribes - probably with reference to practice at Antioch - in his Catechetical Homilies (15.25-6). The Testamentum Domini, which/

which, like the Ap.Const., is generally dated to the second half of the fourth century and regarded as probably Syrian in origin, prescribes that the altar should be screened from the people and that those who have contributed the offerings should be present along with the clergy within the screen (1.23). In those regions, therefore, and in other churches influenced by them we should not be surprised to find a room or a space set apart at the entrance for receiving the offerings of the people as they arrived.

In the Western type of liturgy, however, a different arrangement evolved. As Yarnold writes (op.cit., pp.189): 'In the fourth century the practice of earlier times was continued: the bishop 'offered' the gifts 'offered' by the faithful. The people themselves brought their gifts up to the altar, but there is at this time no evidence whether or not there was a formal offertory procession, or at what point in the Eucharist (or before it) this offering took place'. We do know that the names of those who had made offerings were read out. This is indicated by Hippolytus at Rome early in the third century for offerings made by the people on occasions other than the Euchar-:ist: speaking of the blessing of an offering of oil he writes: 'If anyone offers oil, he (sc. the bishop) shall make eucharist (or render thanks) as at the oblation of bread and wine'; and again, of the fruits which it is right to bring to the bishop: 'All shall be careful to bring to the bishop the first-fruits of the fruits of the crops. And he shall offer them and bless (God), naming him who brought them, saying, We give thanks to Thee, O Lord God, and we offer to Thee the first-fruits ...' (Ap.Trad.5.25f.). Yarnold points out that this reading of the names/

names of offerers is frequently attested in the fourth/fifth century, sometimes within the Eucharistic rites, and that while it appears to have taken place originally at its logical timing when the gifts were offered, Western practice, stemming probably from Rome, transferred it to the Eucharistic Prayer, where it became a prayer for the offerers enhanced by its conjunction with the offering of Christ's sacrifice. This, and the fact that a psalm came to be sung during the offertory (as Augustine attests in Retract.2.11) and that incense may have been used (as, according to Yarnold, Ambrose may indicate in 'In Luc.1.28') suggest that the people's act of offering received increasing emphasis in the West. It seems likely that at least in some places other gifts as well as bread and wine were offered at the Eucharist throughout the fourth and even in the fifth cent-:ury: the Council of Hippo in 393, while in general it restrict-:ed the offerings to bread and wine, allowed milk and honey to be included for the baptismal Eucharist and the first-fruits of grapes and wheat in season; and the fourth/fifth century mosaic of Aquileia with its Eucharistic angel shows people bringing a variety of goods such as grapes and birds (Fig.xiii b,c). Aug-:ustine, writing to the presbyter Victorianus about captives carried off in the barbarian invasions, singles it out as one of their main deprivations that they could not bring their offering to the altar of God: 'Sic enim sunt illae in terra captivitatis suae, quomodo erant illi in ea terra (sc. the three Jews in the fiery furnace in Babylon, Daniel 3), ubi nec sacrificare more suo poterant Domino, sicut nec istae possunt, vel ferre oblationem ad altare Dei vel invenire ibi sacerdotem per quem offerant Deo' (Ep.111.8). There is evidence, too, that in Alexandria in the third century the people themselves brought up their offerings: Brightman (op.cit., n.13) quotes Cyril/

Cyril of Alexandria's reference to the holy vessels in which each brings up his offering. In regions where the offertory took this form we should expect provision to be made for receiv-:ing the offerings and selecting from them for the requirements of the Eucharist in a space or room set apart for the purpose somewhere in the vicinity of the altar, but screened off from it. The latter precaution would be particularly necessary where the offerings included living creatures, as Ambrose suggests in 'In Ps.118', Prologue 2: 'meritoque primogenita offerimus anim-:antia in figura primogeniti Filii Dei, castitatis et simplic-:itatis, spiritale sacrificium acceptum Deo, non quarto aut quinto die ne immundum aut inconsummatum sacrificium sit, sed octava die qua omnes in Christi resurrectione non solum resus-:citati sed etiam confirmati sumus'.

COMMUNION: All the evidence, both in the East and in the West, suggests that the people came forward to the altar or to the altar-enclosure to receive Communion. Cyril of Jerusalem tells the newly-baptized: 'After this you hear the chanter with a sacred melody inviting you to the communion of the holy Myster-:ies and saying, 'O taste and see that the Lord is good ... Approaching therefore come ... Then after having partaken of the Body of Christ approach also to the Cup of His Blood', προσιὼν οὖν προσέρχου ... προσέρχου καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ (M.C.5.24). John Chrysostom says of Communion at Antioch: 'The curtains are drawn back and the sacrifice is brought out ... the faithful approach and the deacons distribute the gifts', ἀνέλκεται τὰ ἀμφίθυρα καὶ ἐκφέρεται ἡ θυσία ... οἱ πιστοὶ προσέρχονται καὶ οἱ διακονούμενοι διανέμουσι τὰ δῶρα (Brightman, op.cit., pp.370f.). Book 8 of the Syrian Ap.Const. gives the following rubric: 'And after this let the bishop partake, then the presbyters and the deacons and the subdeacons and the read-:ers/

readers and the cantors and the ascetics, and among the women the deaconesses and the virgins and the widows, then the children and then all the people, in order, with modesty and reverence and without noise ... Let the bishop give the Offering, saying, 'The Body of Christ' ... Then let the deacon hold the Cup and give it, saying, 'Blood of Christ, Cup of life'... While all the rest are partaking a psalm is sung. When all men and all women have partaken, let the deacons take what is left over and carry it into the pastophories', καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος διδότω τὴν προσφορὰν λέγων, Σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος λεγέτω, Ἀμήν. ὁ δὲ διάκονος κατεχέτω τὸ ποτήριον. ... ψαλμὸς δὲ λεγέσθω ἐν τῷ μεταλαμβάνειν πάντας (Brightman, ibid.).

In the Greek Egyptian liturgy of the fourth/fifth century 'the people approach and stretch out their hands to receive the holy food' (Brightman, ibid., n.2).

In the West, Ambrose at Milan likewise speaks of the people coming to the altar to receive Communion: 'veniunt ad altare, accipiunt sacramentum' (De Elia 34); and of the newly-baptized at the baptismal Eucharist: 'sequitur ut veniatis ad altare' (De Sacr.4.2.5), 'veniebas desiderans ad altare quo acciperes sacramentum' (ibid.4.2.7), 'his abluta plebs dives insignibus ad Christi contendit altaria ... venit igitur et videns sacro-:sanctum altare compositum exclamans ait: 'Parasti in conspectu meo mensam' (De Myst.8.43). At Hippo Augustine mentions that the people receive Communion at the altar-enclosure, 'cancelli', (Serm. 392.5). Both, it would seem, provide evidence that a psalm was sung during the administration.

On the basis of contemporary references such as these D. M. Hope (Study of Liturgy, pp.238) describes the setting of the early Western Eucharist thus: 'Its emphasis (was) on community celebration - singers, readers, congregation and celebrant with their/

their respective parts, the celebration taking place around a simple table and the celebrant facing the people', a pattern which lasted on until about the end of the tenth century. It can readily be appreciated that such a setting, including the arrangements for the administration of Communion, made certain demands upon the church-building.

HAND - WASHING: The earliest evidence of Hand-washing as a rite in the Eucharist is found in the Lectures on the Sacraments attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem. There it is described as the opening rite of the second part of the liturgy, preceding the Kiss of Peace: 'You saw then the deacon give to the priest water to wash, and to the presbyters who stood round God's altar'. He explains the significance of the rite: 'He gave it, not at all because of bodily defilement; no, for we did not set out for the church with defiled bodies. But this washing of hands is a symbol that you ought to be pure from all sinful and unlawful deeds: for since the hands are a symbol of action, by washing them we represent the purity and blamelessness of our conduct. Have you not heard the blessed David opening this mystery and saying, 'I will wash my hands in innocency, and so will I compass Thine altar, O Lord' (Ps.25/26.6)?' (M.C.5.2). The rite, then, symbolizes cleansing from sin. It is attested elsewhere in the East in the fourth century. In Ap.Const.8.11. 12 it occurs after the Kiss of Peace just before the Offertory when 'one deacon gives to the priests water to wash their hands as a symbol of the purity of their lives dedicated to God.' Likewise Theodore of Mopsuestia provides evidence for the rite at Antioch in Cat. Hom. 15.42. There is, however, no trace of this rite in the fourth/fifth century either in the West or in Alexandria in Egypt. On the other hand there is evidence/

evidence in the West, both literary and archaeological, for the observance of this rite by the people before they enter the church-building to worship. Paulinus of Nola, describing the new basilica which he has built there in honour of St. Felix, mentions the cantharus or fountain placed between the old bas-:ilica and the new: 'sic nova destructo veteris discrimine tecti culmina conspicimus portarum foedere iungi. Sancta nitens famulis interfluit atria lymphis cantharus intrantumque manus lavat. Plebs gemina Christum Felicis adorat in aula, Paulus apostolico quam temperat ore sacerdos' (Ep.32). In Carmen 28 he describes the inner court which has a cantharus in the open part and a series of 'fonticuli': he does not specify their use but he does mention that the court is connected with all three basilicas and from one point offers admittance to them all in various directions: 'interior ... area ... cuius in exposito praelucens cantharus extat quem cancellato tegit aerea culmine turris. cetera dispositis stant vasa sub aere nudo fonticulis, grato varie quibus ordine fixis dissidet artis opus, concordat vena metalli, unaque diverso fluit ore capacibus unda. basilicis haec iuncta tribus patet area cunctis diversosque aditus ex uno pandit ad omnes' (Carmen 28.28f.). In Carmen 27 he explains how water is obtained for the fountains: the town is remote and the aqueduct is inadequate for the purpose as only an insignificant quantity of water flows along the narrow branch from the town to the site: accordingly Paulinus has had cisterns built up against the houses on all sides to collect rain water:

'forsitan haec inter cupidus spectacula quaeras
unde replenda sit haec tot fontibus area dives,
cum procul urbs et ductus aquae prope nullus ab urbe
exiguam huc tenui dimittat limite guttam ...
denique/

denique cisternas adstruximus undique tectis
capturas fundente deo de nubibus amnes' (Carmen 27.463f.). Paulinus also describes a cantharus in the atrium of the basil-:ica of St. Peter at Rome, evidently a massive structure with a bronze cupola supported by four columns: 'Quave praetento nitens atrium fusa (sc. basilica) vestibulo est, ubi cantharum ministra manibus et oribus nostris fluenta ructantem fastigatus solido aere tholus ornat et incumbat, non sine mystica specie quattuor columnis salientes aquas ambiens' (Ep.13.13f.).

Archaeological evidence is also found at Salona in Dalmat-:ia. In the atrium, directly opposite the Western entrance to the late third century church-complex (Oratory A), stood a structure which Dyggve interprets as a cantharus supplied with water from the town aqueduct which passed close to it. For con-:firmation he points to the remains of reservoirs and fountains for ritual use in the later buildings e.g. south of the apse of the fifth century basilica episcopalis and to the cantharus de-:picted on the mosaic of Empress Theodora in S.Vitale at Ravenna (Forschungen in Salona i.124f. and History of Salonitan Christ-:ianity).

It is clear that, while the two forms of the rite are dis-:tinct - the one within the frame of the Eucharistic liturgy and carried out only by the priest(s), the other a rite of the people performed outside, yet they are linked in content and significance, although how they are related to the historical development of the liturgy is more difficult to determine. It may well be that the liturgical rite attested in the East is a refinement of an earlier rite of the people performed outwith the liturgy and outside the church-building.

R. Krautheimer, in his introduction to Part Three (the Fifth Century) of his study of church architecture (op.cit.) sums up/

sums up its development in the fourth and fifth centuries in the following terms: 'Throughout Constantinian and post-Constantinian times architects, churchmen and patrons had striven to evolve an architecture appropriate to the needs and demands of the young, powerful Church. By 380 the search for new building types and for a new style comes to an end. The complex plans of Constantinian origin were gradually eliminated'. Among those that disappeared he mentions huge cross churches and composite martyria-basilicas; 'continuous' transepts like those of St. Peter's and St. Paul's at Rome were seldom imitated; other plans and features survived only 'in backwater provinces', e.g. double cathedrals, halls without apses, altars place in the middle of the nave. 'Instead, clearly distinct building types come to be defined for the ordinary services of the congregation, for the cult of martyrs, for baptism, for private devotion, for public receptions' (op.cit., pp.68).

The churches which were built for the regular services of a congregation he describes thus: 'standard types of basilicas rise as parish churches in villages and in urban centres. Much simpler than Constantinian designs, they are composed of only a few basic elements: nave, apse and two aisles. Local custom adds to this basic theme variations of different kinds'. Among the variable features Krautheimer lists: atrium, narthex, aisles (single, double or with gallery above), the rare occurrence of a crypt below or near the apse, and of towers at each end of the narthex; the occasional appearance of a transept, tripartite or cross in type, between the nave and the apse. To these he adds the choice of nave supports (col-:umns, piers, or a combination of the two), the shape of the windows (rectangular, round, or round-headed), the style of ceiling (flat, coffered, or open timber). Orientation becomes the rule./

the rule. Cathedrals have the same basic plan as parish churches, but they are larger in size, they have richer ornamentation, they have provision for baptism in the form of a baptistery, and sometimes also a consignatorium and a catechumeneum, and occasionally they have a salutatorium or reception-room and side-chapels. In all, separate areas are set aside for the requirements of the Eucharist, but their siting varies from place to place: they may be inside the church, either in the end of the aisle on either side of the apse, or, if there is a transept, in its two arms; or they may be placed outside, in rooms built on either side of the apse or attached to the narthex or to the atrium.

The same general principle holds, according to Krautheim-:er, for martyria: 'the manifoldness of late Constantinian and post-Constantinian martyria also gives way to a few formulas'. 'In the East martyria are generally large, free-standing and of central plan: either round ... or octagonal ... or cross-shaped. In the West, from Greece to N. Africa and Italy, martyrs' graves more often than not are enclosed in ordinary basilicas of standard plan, indistinguishable from parish churches within a town. The relics of a martyr brought inside a city - in Eastern as well as in Western provinces - are usually sheltered in a small cross-shaped martyrium attached to a parish church or cathedral. At times the diaconicon ... serves simultaneously as the martyr's chapel. In N. Africa the relics often occupy ... a counter-apse' (ibid., pp.68f.).

It is reasonable to suppose that the use to which some of the variable features in churches were put e.g. the atrium , the narthex, the aisles, was related to the church's practice at the Eucharist, particularly with reference to the Offertory, hand-washing and the place allocated to catechumens for the second part of the liturgy. Krautheimer names the two areas/

the two areas set aside for the needs of the Eucharist as the 'prothesis' and the 'diaconicon' and defines their functions as follows: 'The 'prothesis' serves for the preparation of the Eucharist before it is brought to the altar and, as a rule, for its storage after Mass. In the 'diaconicon' the deacons receive the offerings, keep the archives, the library, the vestments and the church treasure ... it depends on local custom whether the Eucharist is kept in the 'prothesis' or in the 'diaconicon' (ibid., pp.69).

B R I T A I N

Patrick makes no direct reference in the Confessio or in the Epistola ad Coroticum to the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy, but there is every reason to think that he would ful-:fil his responsibilities as bishop in the Ministry of the Word as faithfully as in the observance of the two dominical Sacraments.

Both the Confession and the Epistle, his two unquestion-:ably authentic writings, are full of quotations from the Scriptures and allusions to them or echoes of their phraseol-:ogy. It is estimated that in these two comparatively short pieces of writing he has 92 quotations and allusions from the N.T. and 55 from the O.T. The proportion of N.T. quotations and allusions to O.T. is c.8:: 5. Patrick takes it for grant-:ed, then, that his readers are well-acquainted with O.T. as well as N.T. and that his quotations and allusions will not be lost on them. It may be argued that in the Confession he was addressing himself primarily to the Church leaders in Britain and so to a specialized clerical audience. The Epistle, how-:ever, has 30 quotations and allusions from the N.T. and 17 from the O.T.; in other words it has more in proportion in each category for it is less than a third of the length of the Confession; and it is addressed to Coroticus and his raiding British soldiers, some of whom at least seem to have been nom-:inally Christian ('resciat omnis homo timens Deum', Ep.5; 'unde ergo quaeso plurimum, sancti et humiles corde,..', Ep.7). One might infer from this that both O.T. and N.T. readings were included in the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy. The N.T. quotations and allusions in the two works come from both Gospels and Epistles in the proportion of roughly 1 ; 3, which suggests that there were two N.T. readings.

Patrick has a larger number of quotations and allusions from the Psalms than from any other single O.T. book in each of the works/

the works - in the Confession 11 out of a total of 38, in the Epistle 6 out of a total of 17; in all a little less than a third of the O.T. references. Perhaps one might deduce from this, not simply that Patrick, in the manner of 5C monks, nour-:ished his own mind on the Psalms in the monastic offices, but that the Psalms were sung in the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy between the readings and were thus familiar to the people from regular use.

One can hardly doubt either, from a study of these two works, that Patrick regularly preached a sermon to his congreg-:ation. His own love of the Scriptures, his sense of his voc-:ation as 'a hunter and fisher of men' called by God Himself to his mission in Ireland, his earnest and dedicated resolve to serve God and his fellowmen, his own hard-won grasp of the Scriptures, and his undeviating concern to build up his people in the faith, all combine to suggest that he would carry out this supreme responsibilty - symbolised by the bishop's cathedra - conscientiously and to the very best of his ability.

As for the prayers, one can only note that he mentions prayer some 22 times in the Confessio alone and leaves us in no doubt that he sets great store by it.

All this is, of course, a matter of inference and there-:fore open to question. Its main vindication lies in the impression conveyed by these two writings, that Patrick was no detached scholar closeted in his ivory tower, but a practical working bishop who exercised a pastoral ministry over a flock whom he knew personally, most if not all of whom owed their faith to his preaching of the Gospel, to his constant training, who wrote as he spoke, directly to people.

It is a curious fact that while Patrick speaks of so many aspects of his work as bishop in Ireland he makes little mention of the Eucharist. He did, of course, see his primary task as evangelism and he refers frequently to it and its outcome in the baptism of new Christians. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that he saw himself, not simply as a lone pioneer preaching the Gospel to a pagan people, but as an envoy of the catholic Church, rooted in the Scriptures and built on the foundation of the prophets, apostles and martyrs, and that when he baptized his converts he brought them into a Christian ecclesia, a community or church organised in the pattern familiar to us from the writings of the fourth and fifth century Fathers. This fact is of over-riding importance for the understanding of his work and practice, and the substantiating evidence must be sought in his own authentic writings.

a) In speaking of the Church of God in Ireland Patrick uses 'ecclesia' in the general sense of 'the people of God', the faithful wherever they are: in Confessio 48, for instance, he declares that he has over-reached none of the faithful among whom he lives, nor would he think of doing so 'for the sake of God and His Church, for fear of rousing persecution against them and all of us': 'Etiam ad gentes illas inter quas habito, ego fidem illis praestavi et praestabo. Deus scit neminem illorum circumveni, nec cogito, propter Deum et ecclesiam ipsius, ne excitem illis et nobis omnibus persecutionem et ne per me blasphemaretur nomen Domini'. There is probably a similar use of 'ecclesia' in the Epistola ad Corotticum where he speaks of the Church mourning for those who have been/

have been carried away captive: 'Quapropter ecclesia plorat et plangit filios et filias suas' (E.41). His description of his Irish Christians as 'a people of the Lord' bears the same implic-:ation: in C.58, for example, he prays to God that he may never lose 'His people' whom He has purchased in this distant land: 'quapropter non contingat mihi a Deo meo ut numquam amittam plebem suam quam adquisivit in ultimis terris'. Likewise in C. 41 he records that pagan Irish have become a 'plebs Domini' and are called 'sons of God': 'unde autem Hiberione qui nunquam not-:itiam Dei habuerunt nisi idola et immunda usque nunc semper col-:uerunt quomodo nuper facta est plebs Domini et filii Dei nuncu-:pantur ...?'

b) Patrick was familiar from childhood with the pattern of ministry established throughout the Church everywhere and seems to have taken steps to provide the same form of ministry in his new Christian communities in Ireland. His father Calpornius was a deacon, his grandfather Potitus a presbyter; he and the others who were carried off captive to Ireland deserved their fate be-:cause among other things they did not obey their priests (sacer-:dotes) who used to remind them of their salvation: 'patrem hab-:ui Calpornium diaconum, filium quendam Potiti presbyteri' ... 'secundum merita nostra quia ... sacerdotibus nostris non oboedientes fuimus qui (nos) nostram salutem admonebant' (C.1); while he despatched his letter to Coroticus by the hand of a presbyter whom he had taught from childhood together with a number of clerici: 'misi epistolam cum sancto presbytero quem ex infantia docui, cum clericis' (E.3).

c) He was responsible for establishing other groups within his Irish communities corresponding to those we find elsewhere in the Church/

the Church in the 4/5C - monks, virgins of Christ, widows, 'continentes', possibly 'mulieres religiosae': 'Unde autem Hib-:erione ... filii Scottorum et filiae regulorum monachi et virg-:ines Christi esse videntur?' (41); 'et nihilominus plus auget-:ur numerus (sc. of virgins of Christ) ... praeter viduas et continentes' (C42); 'conatus sum quippiam servare me etiam et fratribus Christianis et virginibus Christi et mulieribus re-:ligiosis, quae mihi ultronea munuscula donabant et super alt-:are iactabant ex ornamentis suis' (49).

d) Patrick was aware of his relationship as bishop with other bishops and church authorities, albeit he was isolated by the nature of his work of evangelism. He refers more than once to his 'seniors'; some of them brought personal charges against him; on occasion he flouted the wishes of some: 'Et quando temptatus sum ab aliquantis senioribus meis qui ven-:erunt et peccata mea contra laboriosum episcopatum meum ... (C.26); 'Et munera multa mihi offerebantur cum fletu et lacrim-:is et offendi illos, nec non contra votum aliquantis de sen-:ioribus meis, sed gubernante Deo nullo modo consensi neque adquievi illis' (37). Some of these seniores are no doubt re-:ferred to in C.46 when he speaks of the many who tried to pre-:vent his mission on account of its danger: 'multi hanc legat-:ionem prohibebant, etiam inter se ipsos post tergum meum narr-:abant et dicebant: 'Iste quare se mittit in periculo inter hostes qui Deum non noverunt?' No doubt, too, they are the people mentioned in C27 and C29 who brought up against him the confession he had made before he became a deacon: 'Occasionem post annos triginta invenerunt me adversus verbum quod confess-:us fueram antequam essem diaconus' (C.27); 'Igitur in illo die quo reprobatus sum a memoratis supradictis' (C.29); likewise/

e) Likewise Patrick was aware of the sense of unity which he had, or should have, with Christian people elsewhere. In C43 he expresses his feeling of brotherhood with fellow-Christians in Gaul: 'Unde autem etsi voluero amittere illas et ut pergens in Brittaniis - et libentissime paratus eram quasi ad patriam et parentes; non id solum sed etiam usque ad Gallias visitare fratres et ut viderem faciem sanctorum Domini mei'; and he quotes the practice of Christians there in ransoming captives as a model: 'Consuetudo Romanorum Gallorum Christianorum, mitt-:unt viros sanctos idoneos ad Francos et ceteras gentes cum tot milia solidorum ad redimendos captivos baptizatos' (E14). Earl-:ier in the letter he implies that in normal circumstances he should have been able to address Coroticus and his soldiers in Britain as fellow-citizens and fellow-Christians: 'Manu mea scripsi atque condidi verba ista danda et tradenda, militibus mittenda Corotici, non dico civibus meis neque civibus sanct-:orum Romanorum sed civibus daemonicorum ob mala opera ipsorum' (E2) ... 'Forte non credunt unum baptismum percepimus vel unum Deum Patrem habemus. Indignum est illis Hiberionaci sumus' (E16). Finally, the Picts, instead of being brother-Christians, are 'apostatae' who have abandoned their faith and are thus distinct from the Scotti who are pagan (E2).

f) Patrick is an orthodox Christian bishop according to the standards of the fourth/fifth century. In his various refer-:ences to the Trinity he makes it clear that he is no Arian but stands in the tradition of the creeds adopted at Nicaea and Constantinople: 'Quia non est alius Deus nec umquam fuit nec ante nec erit post haec praeter Deum Patrem ingenitum, sine principio, a quo est omne principium, omnia tenentem, ut didicimus; et huius filium Iesum Christum, quem cum Patre scilicet/

scilicet semper fuisse testamur, ante originem saeculi spirit-
:aliter apud Patrem (et) inenarrabiliter genitum ante omne
principium, et per ipsum facta sunt visibilia et invisibilia,
hominem factum, morte devicta in caelis ad Patrem receptum, et
dedit illi omnem potestatem super omne nomen caelestium et
terrestrium et infernorum et omnis lingua confiteatur ei quia
Dominus et Deus est Iesus Christus, quem credimus et expectamus
adventum ipsius mox futurum, iudex vivorum atque mortuorum, qui
reddet unicuique secundum facta sua; et effudit in nobis habunde
Spiritum sanctum, donum et pignus immortalitatis, qui facit
credentes et obedientes ut sint filii Dei et coheredes Christi;
quem confitemur et adoramus unum Deum in trinitate sacri nomin-
:is'. Thus runs Patrick's summary of his beliefs in C4.

Elsewhere Patrick makes briefer references to the Trinity:
'In mensura itaque fidei Trinitatis oportet distinguere, sine
reprehensione periculi notum facere donum Dei et consolationem
aeternam ...'(C14); 'nos autem, qui credimus et adoramus solem
verum Christum, qui nunquam interibit, neque qui fecerit vol-
:untatem ipsius sed manebit in aeternum quomodo et Christus man-
:et in aeternum, qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum
Spiritu sancto ante saecula et nunc et per omnia saecula saecul-
:orum. Amen' (C60); and finally, at the conclusion of his letter
to Coroticus: 'Pax Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto'. In line
with this he stresses the divinity of Christ in E5: 'Quapropter
resciat omnis homo timens Deum quod a me alieni sunt et a Christo
Deo meo, pro quo legationem fungor'.

g) Patrick makes it clear that he was duly appointed and
authorised by the Church and that his calling came from God.
He was made deacon after careful scrutiny: 'Occasionem post
annos triginta invenerunt me adversus verbum quod confessus
fueram antequam essem diaconus' (27). As bishop he was appar-
:ently/

apparently accountable to some extent to the Church which commissioned him - and this must be the Romano-British Church, as Professor R.P.C. Hanson has so convincingly shown (Saint Patrick, 1968, pp.128f.) - although it is to be noted that he maintained a considerable measure of independence and on occas-:ion defied an opinion expressed there e.g. over the acceptance of gifts (C37, quoted above). But it was God who called him and bestowed upon him the gifts he exercised as bishop and it was to be His helper that he had been chosen: 'Patricius peccat-:or indoctus scilicet Hiberione constitutus episcopum me esse fateor. Certissime reor a Deo accepi id quod sum' (E1); 'Unde autem debueram sine cessatione Deo gratias agere, qui saepe in-:dulsit insipientiae meae ..., qui adiutor datus sum et non cito adquievi secundum quod mihi ostensum fuerat et sicut Spir-:itus suggerebat' (C46). It was from Christ that he learnt his work, Christ who bade him come to Ireland and stay there for the rest of his life: 'mea ... opera quod a Christo Domino meo di-:diceram' (C30); 'Christus Dominus qui me imperavit ut venirem esse cum illis residuum aetatis meae' (C43).

It is in this context that we must consider Patrick's few allusions to the Eucharist.

Patrick uses the term 'sacerdos', a title which applied primarily to the function of the celebrant at the Eucharist. In C1 he mentions that he and his fellow-captives in Ireland deserved their fate because they did not keep God's command-:ments and they were disobedient to their priests, sacerdotibus nostris; in E6 he accuses Coroticus of having no respect for God or His priests: 'per tyrannidem Corotici qui Deum non veretur nec sacerdotes ipsius, quos elegit et indulsit illis summam divinam sublim sublimam potestatem, quos ligarent super terram ligatos esse in caelis'.

Patrick/

Patrick also specifically mentions the altar and he does so in connection with the offering of gifts: 'conatus sum quippiam servare me etiam et fratribus Christianis et virgin-:ibus Christi et mulieribus religiosis, quae mihi ultonea mun-:uscula donabant et super altare iactabant ex ornamentis suis et iterum reddebam illis et adversus me scandalizabantur cur hoc faciebam' (C49). It is not clear whether the 'ornamenta' cast upon the altar are to be identified with the 'munuscula' given to Patrick. It is possible that they are distinct and that the 'ornamenta' cast upon the altar were part of the offerings made by the 'mulieres religiosae' at the Eucharist. The latter is the view of Professor Hanson. If so, it indic-:ates that the people brought up their gifts themselves to the altar at the Eucharist. Patrick, then, is saying that where there was any doubt about the propriety of the offerings made by women at the Eucharist, he rejected them so that his person-:al honesty and his ministry should not be brought in question. The gifts mentioned in C37 and E7f. are probably in a different category, although in the first case they were offered to Patrick as bishop and in the second case they were presumably presented to the Church: C37 is quoted above: in E7f. Patrick appeals to the 'sancti et humiles corde' not to consort with Coroticus and his fellow-raiders: 'Unde ergo quaeso plurimum, sancti et humiles corde, adulari talibus non licet nec cibum nec potum sumere cum ipsis nec elemosinas ipsorum recipi debeat donec crudeliter (per) paenitentiam effusis lacrimis satis Deo faciant et liberent servos Dei et ancillas Christi baptizatas pro quibus mortuus est et crucifixus. 'Dona iniqu-:orum reprobat Altissimus. Qui offert sacrificium ex sub-:stantia pauperum quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris sui'. The quotation from Ecclesiasticus 31.19f. and the words 'elemosinas/

'elemosinas recipere' and '(per) paenitentiam satis Deo facere' put the plea in the setting of the Church: there can be little doubt that 'elemosinas recipere' refers to a formal giving of goods or 'money' for the poor and needy in church to the clergy. In the same way it is possible, perhaps likely, that 'nec cibum nec potum sumere' refers not to private entertaining but to a more solemn church-meal on the pattern of an Agape.

There is, however, a clearer reflection of the Eucharist in C34: 'Unde ego indefessam gratiam ago Deo meo, qui me fidel-:em servavit in die temptationis meae, ita ut hodie confidenter offeram illi sacrificium ut hostiam viventem animam meam Christo Domino meo, qui me levavit ab omnibus angustiis meis, ut et dicam: Quis ego sum, Domine, vel quae est vocatio mea, qui me tanta divinitate cooperasti, ita ut hodie in gentibus constanter exaltarem et magnificarem nomen tuum ubicumque loco fuero, necnon in secundis sed etiam in pressuris'. In the fourth/fifth century the offering of the self to God by identi-:fying with the self-giving of Christ on the Cross had become the keynote of the Eucharist.

One may note in passing Patrick's recurring use of the phrase 'gratiam(s) Deo agere' which echoes the opening words of the Eucharistic Prayer e.g. in C30, 34 (quoted above) and 46. on two occasions he quotes the words of Ps.115/116.12 in antic-:ipation of expressing thanks to God: in C12, after recalling the difficulties he encountered in securing the authorisation of the Church for his mission to Ireland, he writes: 'et inde fortiter debueram exclamare ad retribuendum quoque aliquid Dom-:ino tantis beneficiis eius hic et in aeternum quae mens homin-:um aestimare non potest'. In C57, after listing some of the hardships and perils that beset him as bishop and then remind-:ing himself that he was chosen for the office by God, he asks: 'Unde autem/

'Unde autem retribuam illi pro omnibus quae retribuit mihi?' and there can be little doubt that he was aware of the Psalm-:ist's next words: 'I will take the cup of salvation' (Ps.115/116.13). Patrick does in fact go on to speak of 'drinking the cup', although he does so in the context of Jesus' answer to the request of the sons of Zebedee (Mk.10.38, Mt.20.22): 'quia satis et nimis cupio et paratus eram ut donaret mihi bibere calicem eius, sicut indulsit et ceteris amantibus se'.

The doxology which Patrick uses in C60 also seems to echo the formal worship of the Church: 'Christus ... qui regnat cum Deo Patre omnipotente et cum Spiritu sancto ante saecula et nunc et per omnia saecula saeculorum'.

It is somewhat surprising that he makes no reference to the Baptismal Eucharist in E3 where he mentions two of the rites of baptism: 'postera die qua crismati neophyti in veste candida - flagrabat in fronte ipsorum dum crudeliter trucidati atque mactati gladio supradictis', but it may be that in using the word 'mactati' he indicates that he regards their death as an identification in real terms with the Death of Christ which they had commemorated for the first time in that Eucharist.

Of all the other pieces of writing attributed to Patrick perhaps the most worthy of consideration are the three 'Dicta Patricii'. The third of these has a bearing on the liturgy: 'Church of the Irish, nay, of the Romans, in order that you be Christians as are the Romans, you must sing in your churches at every hour of prayer that praiseworthy utterance: Kyrie el-:eison, Christe eleison. Let every church that follows me sing: Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Deo gratias. Three main views have been expressed on the authorship of the Dicta: that they are authentic, that they are falsely ascribed to Patrick, and thirdly that they contain an authentic core. Professor Hanson/

Hanson tends to reject them on the grounds of Latin style and the reference to the formula 'Christe eleison' which 'suggests a later period than Patrick's, for this phrase was first intro-:duced into the liturgy of the Western Church by Pope Gelasius (492-6)' (Saint Patrick, pp.73). Alternative solutions have been suggested e.g. that the simple formula 'Kyrie eleison' was introduced by Patrick into the worship of his churches in Ire-:land in the middle of the fifth century and that the record was adapted in the course of transmission to accord with later practice. There is yet another possibility: that the form used by Patrick was 'Miserere, Domine', i.e. the opening words of Ps. 50/51.1 in the Latin version of the LXX, and that at a later date the churches in Ireland changed over to the Greek form on the model of other churches in the West and particularly Rome.

The evidence calls for careful study. The earliest evid-:ence for 'Kyrie eleison' is probably to be found in the East-:ern liturgies of the late fourth century where it appears as the response of the people in the prayers of intercession at the end of the first part of the liturgy. These took the form of a litany. In Ap.Const.8, for instance, the litany begins with a call by the deacon warning 'listeners' and non-Christians to depart; then when there is silence he calls upon the cate-:chumens to pray; all the faithful respond: Kyrie eleison; the deacon calls upon all to pray earnestly for the catechumens and utters a long bidding prayer; the catechumens are asked to stand and a short litany follows with the people responding 'Kyrie el-:eison' at the end of each petition; thereafter the catechumens are asked to bow their heads for the bishop's blessing which he gives in a lengthy prayer and the deacon calls to them 'Go forth in peace'. The same procedure followed for 'the possessed', those preparing for baptism, and the penitents (Ap.Const.8.6). In the West/

In the West, on the other hand, the 'common prayer' of the faithful after the sermon, attested by both Justin Martyr (I Apol. 65) and Hippolytus (Ap.Trad.22.5), seems to have taken a diff-:erent form. Tertullian (De Orat.29) gives some of the subjects of intercession - the dead, the sick in mind or body, the weak in faith, prisoners, travellers, the poor, the rich, against temptation, persecution, etc. According to Jungmann, Cobb and others, the Roman Solemn Prayers of Good Friday (until the last revision) retained the pattern of these intercessions: the bish-:op or presbyter asked for prayers for a particular subject, the people knelt at the bidding of the deacon and prayed in silence, then arose at his call to hear the prayer of the bishop or pres-:byter summing up their thoughts. By the last decade of the fifth century this form of common prayer is no longer mentioned at Rome. Instead there is a litany serving the same purpose, probably introduced by Gelasius, Bishop of Rome (492-6), since it is known as the Deprecatio Gelasii: according to Cobb (Study of Liturgy, pp182) its text is probably to be found in a ninth century MS published by G.G. Willis (Essays in Early Roman Lit-:urgy, AC 46, 1964, pp.22f.). By the time of Gregory the Great the petitions were omitted on weekdays and only the responses used (Ep.26 to John of Syracuse, P.L.77.956) and these included the form 'Christe eleison' as well as 'Kyrie eleison': 'In quo-:tidianis missis aliqua quae dici solent tacemus, tantummodo Kyrie eleison et Christe eleison dicimus ut in his deprecation-:is vocibus paulo diutius occupemur. Kyrie eleison autem nos neque diximus neque dicimus sicut a Graecis dicitur, quia in Graecis simul omnes dicunt, apud nos autem a clericis dicitur et a populo respondetur: et totidem vicibus etiam Christe el-:eison dicitur, quod apud Graecos nullo modo dicitur' (Ep.9.12). Duchesne points out (op.cit., pp.165) that the place given to the Kyrie/

'Kyrie eleison' in the Roman litany differs from that of the Eastern liturgies since at Rome it occurs at the beginning and at the end and is said alternately by the precentor and the people.

In Gaul, according to Cobb, the common prayers of the faithful survived at least until the sixth century. In 529 the Council of Vaison passed a canon agreeing to the introduct-:ion of the 'Kyrie eleison' in the region of Arles and its territory: 'Et quia tam in sede apostolica quam etiam per totas orientales atque Italiae provincias dulcis et nimium salutaris consuetudo est intromissa ut Kyrie eleison frequentius cum grandi affectu et compunctione dicatur, placuit etiam nobis ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris ista tam sancta consuetudo et ad matutinum et ad missas et ad vesperam Deo propitio intromittat-:ur' (canon 3). In the Letters formerly attributed to St. Germanus of Paris and now dated c.700 and ascribed to S.France the 'Kyrie eleison' appears among the canticles sung at the beginning of the liturgy before the readings: 'Aius (sc. the Trisagion) vero ante prophetiam pro hoc canitur in graeca lingua ... incipiente praesule ecclesia Aius psallit dicens latinum cum graeco ...dictum Amen ex hebraeo ... tres autem parvuli qui ore uno sequentes Kyrie eleison (cantant); then follows the Benedictus, the 'prophetia' sung by the church: in this position it is a chant quite separate from the litany.

Egeria's Peregrinatio, written c.381-4 or possibly early in the fifth century, is of value both for the information it gives about the Church in Jerusalem and also for the indirect allusions she often makes to practice in her own home-church in the far West. She mentions the 'Kyrie eleison', not in the Eucharist, but in the daily afternoon service held at about 4 p.m. in the Anastasis: 'Hora autem decima (quod appellant hic lieinicon/

licinicon, nam nos dicimus lucernare) similiter se omnis multitudo colliget ad Anastasim, incenduntur omnes candelae et cerei ... lumen autem de foris non affertur sed de spelunca interiori eicitur, ubi noctu ac die semper lucerna lucet ... dicuntur etiam psalmi lucernares, sed et antiphonae diutius. Ecce et commonetur episcopus et descendet et sedet susum, nec non etiam presbiteri sedent locis suis; dicuntur ymni vel antiphonae. Et ubi perducti fuerint iuxta consuetudinem, lebat se episcopus et stat ante cancellum ... et unus ex diaconibus facit commemorat-:ionem singulorum sicut solet esse consuetudo. Et diacono die-:ente singulorum nomina semper pisinni plurimi stant respond-:entes semper: Kyrie eleison, quod dicimus nos: Miserere Domine, quorum voces infinitae sunt. Et ad ubi diaconus perdixerit omnia quae dicere habet, dicet orationem primum episcopus et orat pro omnibus: et sic orant omnes tam fideles quam et cathe-:cumeni simul'; and there follows the dismissal first of the catechumens, then of the faithful. It is clear that in her home-church Egeria was familiar with the afternoon service (nos dicimus lucernare ... psalmi lucernares) and likewise with the response: Miserere Domine (quod dicimus nos); she appears also to be used to the prayer 'commemoratio omnium' which she ment-:ions without explanation. Egeria describes in similar terms but much more briefly the daily morning service held at dawn at Jerusalem: there she mentions 'matutini ymni', the entry of the bishop 'cum clero', the 'oratio pro omnibus' which he says from within the cancelli, naming those whom he wishes: 'commemorat etiam ipse nomina quorum vult', and the two separate dismissals.

There is some difference of opinion among scholars on the origin and antiquity of these two daily church services. Duch-:esne favours the view that the earliest references are to private prayers and that it was not until the fourth century that/

that they were transferred to the church and became a public service (op.cit., pp.446f.). G.J. Cuming, on the other hand, (Study of Liturgy, pp.353f.) suggests that they may go back to the first century and have a link with the worship of the syn-:agogue. It is relevant to note that Hippolytus in the Ap.Trad. speaks of a public morning service of this kind held daily and attended by the clergy and whenever possible by the people. In the late fourth century and in the fifth the daily worship was increasingly adapted under the influence of the practice of mon-:astic communities and the evidence points to wide variations from place to place. J.D. Crichton, speaking of the daily wor-:ship in churches of the West from the fifth century onwards, comments: 'the first factor we have to take into account is the existence of different offices in churches not only in different regions but sometimes even in the same city' (Study of Liturgy, pp.370). In Rome, for instance, the major basilicas were serv-:ed by monastic communities from the fifth century and followed the full monastic office, whereas the 'tituli', the churches served by presbyters, kept simply to morning and evening prayer: 'Outside Rome morning and evening prayer had their own distinct-:ive character and, as Jungmann has shown, they were meant for the people ... in Spain the nucleus of morning prayer was ... psalms 148-150 (the one invariable element of morning prayer throughout the Church), the lesson (...sometimes omitted), the Kyries with petitions, the Lord's Prayer, to which according to the Mozarabic custom the people replied with Amen after each petition, and the blessing. To this was prefixed the more cler-:ical part of the office, three psalms (3, 50/51, 56/57) sung in various ways, and the canticle i.e. the Benedicite, sung responsorially ... There seem to have been only minor differ-:ences/

If these psalms were part of morning prayer in Egeria's home-church and if v.1 was chosen as the people's part for responsorial singing, this might account for her familiarity with the petition: Miserere, Domine (Per. 24.6); and if it were part of morning prayer likewise in fourth/fifth century Britain it might explain the introduction of the words as a petition of the people into Ireland by Patrick and provide the basis of the saying attributed to him. It would be very apt to be corrected at some later date in order to bring it into line with the new practice of saying it in Greek. The alternative would be to suppose that this was a feature of the liturgy which Britain received when it was first evangel-:ised and which it continued to hold in common with the East-:ern churches and that Patrick conveyed the 'Kyrie eleison' petition as part of the litany of the Eucharistic liturgy from Britain to Ireland.

For further evidence we may turn to the six Pelagian writings, assuming that they may be ascribed to British authorship and to Fastidius in particular. The arguments on authorship, pro and contra British, are considered fully in the Appendix.

Fastidius speaks of the Eucharist, together with Baptism, as the two sacramental mysteries of the Christian faith: 'ad ipsa mysteriorum sacramenta veniamus ... videamus ... si non (sc. omnes) ... eiusdem altaris communione vescuntur et unius haustus sanctificatione potantur' (De Divitiis 8.3); 'Si con-:fusionem timebas, quid te illi mancipare voluisti cuius sacra-:menta huius mundi confusionibus plena sunt?' (ibid.14). His descriptions of the actual Eucharistic liturgy, however, are few and brief and are confined mostly to incidental allusions to some of its rites, as in De Divitiis 14 (quoted above), where he singles out the two actions of the Christian laity at Communion, viz. partaking of the consecrated Bread and drinking from the Chalice. Later in the same paragraph he speaks of the same two acts in more general terms as 'receiving heavenly things': 'qui caelestia sine discretione consequitur'. These two acts, it would seem, he regards as epitomising the sacra-:ment of the Eucharist.

In one tract he uses the phrase 'Deo hostias offerre' three times. On the first occasion he describes the action of Christian priests as 'standing and offering sacrifices to God': 'Accipe etiam humani generis exemplum, sacerdotum scilicet, quos assistere et Deo hostias offerre nonnisi continentes licet' (De Castitate 3.3). In the other two instances he uses the phrase in the course of a longer argument where the interpret-:ation depends upon the context. According to Haslehurst (Introd., pp.xxv), the work is addressed to 'a young man con-:templating marriage in the hope that he will renounce his intention and get rid of his wealth'. Fastidius rebuts the de-:fence that Abraham had a wife and yet was approved by God with the rejoinder: 'Then you ought never to have been baptized, you ought/

ought never to fast; you ought to have been circumcised and to offer animal flesh in sacrifice to God'; then he contrasts the Christian requirement more fully as he understands it: 'Nam qui te docuit spiritaliter circumcidi, ieiunare crebrius, baptizari semel, alias offerre hostias, ipse etiam ad virginitatis glor-:iam cohortatus est?' (ibid., 15.4). A little later in the same tract Fastidius argues for virginity by referring to curr-:ent practice in the Church: 'Pulchrum enim est te eos in prae-:senti vita imitari, cum quibus semper esse credendus es in futuro. Nam quam magnum sit pudicitiae bonum, ex hoc vel maxime recognosce, quod incontinens nec legere nec orare fiducialiter potest, hostias vero offerre et Domini corpus attingere aut in-:graviter praesumit aut scienter tremescit. Contra pudicus et abstinens infinitam conscientiae fiduciam gerit et pudicitiae auctoritate defensus cuncta intrepide exercet. In oratione quasi praesens cum Domino, immo quasi amicus cum amico loquitur ... In lectione vero nulla animi confusione retrahitur. Offerre autem Deo hostias tam audacter potest quam celebratam iam eucharistiam fiducialiter sumere' (ibid., 17).

There can be little doubt that in par.17 Fastidius is list-:ing the main actions of clerici in the Eucharistic liturgy: the reading of the Scriptures by the lector(s), the leading of prayer - whether by the deacon, if the reference is to the 'prayers of the faithful' (communis oratio), or by the bishop or presbyter, if he speaks of the Eucharistic Prayer, the re-:sponsibilities of the bishop or presbyter in 'offering the sacrifice', 'handling the Body of the Lord', 'celebrating the Eucharist' and 'partaking in Communion'. If in par.15, on the other hand, he is speaking more generally of the part of the Christian fideles, then one might surmise that the Christian laity at this time in Britain brought their offerings and pre-:sented/

presented them in Church at the liturgy. The evidence, however, is admittedly slender.

Fastidius twice quotes the saying 'Sancta sanctis'. In one case he uses it without specific mention of the Eucharist: his argument is that it is a great privilege to be a son of God and to hope to attain to heaven after life on earth: if we would win such a splendid reward it is demanded of us that we live righteous and holy lives: 'Grande est filium Dei esse: in-:finitum est caelum habere post terram ... quod speramus immens-:um est. Quid igitur a nobis pro tantae magnitudinis percept-:ione deposcitur? Ut interim iuste sancteque vivamus ... Sancta sanctis debentur, caelestibus caelestia regna promissa sunt. Quid autem est quod dico caelestibus? Caelestia vide-:licet opera exercentibus, quamvis versentur in terris' (De Malis Doctoribus 24.1). On the second occasion he quotes the words as 'the introduction spoken by our priests before Commun-:ion': 'Unde (sc. 1 Sam. 21.4, the reply of the priest Ahimel-:ech when David requested bread for his men) derivatam puto egregiam illam ante communionem sacerdotum nostrorum praefat-:ionem: Sancta sanctis, ut qui se non sanctificatum agnoverit sancta sibi intelligat non debere contingere' (De Castitate 5.3).

Fastidius uses the phrase 'Christi corpus' or its equival-:ent three times and always with reference to the consecrated elements of the Eucharist. 'Domini corpus attingere' has already been quoted (De Castitate 17). In the same work he argues that St. Paul's injunction in 1 Cor. 7.5 applies not only to prayer but by implication even more to Communion, since prayer is 'a lesser thing than Communion': 'Animadvertat ergo prudentia tua, quale bonum sit, quod ab oratione retrahit, quod a Christi corpore ad tempus removet. Nam quod communicare in-:continenti non expediat, hinc manifestissime declaratur quod etiam/

etiam oratio illi quodammodo interdicitur' (ibid.10.4). Later in the same paragraph he quotes, or according to Haslehurst misquotes, Lev.7.19, 20, the law of peace-offerings, as 'pre-:figuring the truth of the Lord's Body': 'Sed hoc in veteri testamento evidentius declaratur ubi scriptum est: Omnis mundus manducabit carnem, et qui manducaverit carnem sacrificii sal-:utaris, quod est Domini, et immunditia eius super ipsum, ex-:terminabitur anima illa de populo suo; et alia multa, quae nec animalium carnes, quibus veritas dominici corporis praefigur-:abatur, ab incontinentibus contigi sinebant'.

Fastidius also knows the saying of St. Paul in 1 Cor.12;27: ὑμεῖς δέ ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους; and he quotes it as a guideline for Christian conduct in De Divitiis 6.3: 'Unum corpus nos esse, apostolo dicente, cognoscimus: et si unum certe sumus, unitatis opera facere debemus'.

Fastidius emphasises that the Eucharist is available to all alike on the same terms i.e. presumably to all baptized fideles. In De Divitiis 8.3, partly quoted above, he argues that God does not will universal inequality in the matter of material wealth and he brings forward two considerations as proof: first, the gifts that come to man by God's decree from sky, earth or any element to minister to human need are distrib-:uted in equal measure to all, rich and poor alike, e.g. fresh air, the heat of the sun, rain, the light of moon and stars: 'aeris beneficio, solis calorem, pluvia, lunae vel stellarum micantia lumina'; secondly, the two sacraments ordained by Christ, Baptism and the Eucharist, are likewise open to all on the same terms: 'ipsa mysteriorum sacramenta'. Thus he sums up: 'Quod si tam in carnalibus quam in spiritualibus dispens-:atoris Dei erga humanum genus aequalissima indulgentia inven-:itur, iam clarescere incipit inaequalitatem illam, quae in parte/

parte divitiarum est, non divinae gratiositati sed humanae in-
:iquitati esse reputandum'.

He makes the further point that the dominical sacraments cause confusion to unbelievers. He does not say exactly why they have this effect, whether from their simplicity or from the moral demands they make upon the participants; the latter is perhaps the more probable since the statement arises from the proposal that wealth should be renounced and the rich giver become beggar: 'Sed confusionis est, inquies, ut ab illis accip-
:iat qui aliis dare consueverat. Si confusionem timebas, quid te illi mancipare voluisti cuius sacramenta huius mundi confusion-
:ibus plena sunt? Nam et nativitas ipsius et passio et tota secundum assumpti hominis formam vitae decursio non modicam praestant incredulis confusionem' (ibid.14).

From Fastidius' comments and references, few and incident-
:al as they are, several tentative conclusions may be drawn about the celebration of the Eucharist in the early fifth cent-
:ury Romano-British Church known to him:

1. The Eucharist held a secure and honoured place in the worship of the Church as one of the two dominical sacraments recorded in the N.T.

2. The first part of the liturgy consisted at least of Biblical readings and (probably) prayers.

3. The Eucharist celebrated continued to be securely found-
:ed on the N.T. records of the words of Jesus at the Last Supper and of His death on the Cross 'for many'.

4. The Christian laity (probably) brought their offerings of bread and wine or other gifts to Church and presented them at the Eucharist.

5. At Communion all baptized Christians partook of the con-
:secrated Bread and of the Chalice.

6/

6. This participation in Communion was seen to be the central feature of the Eucharist.

7. The Eucharist was open to baptized Christians, but not to catechumens, adherents or pagans: 'Sancta sanctis'.

8. At the Eucharist rank and status in secular society were disregarded, the Church realised a sense of true unity as 'the body of Christ', and it could truly be said that the sacraments were open to all on terms of equality.

We have a short but vivid pen-picture of fifth century Pelagian Christians in Britain in the Vita S.Germani of Con-:stantius of Lyons, written, according to Levison, in 480 or a little later. In it Constantius recounts how Germanus, whose life covered the years c.378 to c.448, visited Britain in 429 when he was bishop of Auxerre (c.12f.). He came at the in-:stance of the bishops of Gaul in response to a deputation from Britain who appealed for help in combating the heretical teaching of Pelagius. Germanus and his colleague Lupus, bishop of Troyes (c.426-478), tackled the task of defending the catholic faith by preaching and healing: 'the word of God was preached not only in the churches but at the crossroads, in the fields and in the lanes ... preached by such men the truth had full course so that whole regions passed quickly over to their side' (c.14, tr. F.R. Hoare, The Western Fathers, pp.297). The Pelagian teachers, who presumably were in most cases bishops or presbyters, decided in the end to take part in a public contest. 'They came forth flaunting their wealth, in dazzling robes, surrounded by a crowd of flatterers'; the Pelagians used 'empty words drawn out to great length but to little purpose'; Germanus and Lupus, on the other hand, mingled their own eloquence 'with the thunders of the Apostle and the Gospels/

and the Gospels, for their own words were interwoven with the inspired writings and their strongest assertions were support-:ed by the testimony of Scripture'; the result was that 'the jury of the people' gave 'their verdict by their shouts' on the side of Germanus. If Constantius' account is substantially true it suggests that the people were well-informed in the Scriptures and that these had their due place in the Church's Sunday liturgy. A little later, according to Constantius, the Saxons and Picts combined to attack the Britons and the latter appealed to Germanus and Lupus for help in their danger. 'It was the season of Lent and the presence of the bishops made the sacred forty days still more sacred; so much so that the soldiers, who received instruction in daily sermons, flew eagerly to the grace of baptism; indeed great numbers of this pious army sought the waters of salvation. A church was built of leafy branches in readiness for Easter Day on the plan of a city church though set in a camp on active service ... when the Easter solemnities had been celebrated ... Germanus announced that he would be their 'dux proelii' and he proceed-:ed to station his army in a valley enclosed by steep mount-:ains. When the enemy were close at hand 'Germanus rapidly circulated an order that all should repeat in unison the call he would give as a battle-cry. Then, while the enemy were still secure in the belief that their approach was unexpected, the bishops three times chanted the Alleluia. All as one man repeated it and the shout they raised rang through the air and was repeated many times in the confined space between the mountains. The enemy were panic-stricken ... and fled in every direction ... the bishops were elated at the rout of the enemy without bloodshed and a victory gained by faith and not by force' (cc.17,18). It seems highly unlikely in such a sit-:uation/

situation that Germanus would choose an unfamiliar word as the battle-cry; there is no reason to think that the Britons in the army were all pagan apart from those baptized by Germanus or that those so baptized came over direct from paganism; indeed the fact that they 'received instruction in daily serm-:ons' suggests that a large proportion were catechumens and accustomed to observe the forty days' fast of Lent; as Con-:stantius puts it, the bishops 'made the sacred forty days still more sacred'. Thus, if the general accuracy of Constant-:ius' account can be accepted, we can perhaps assume that Romano-British Christians were accustomed to sing the 'Alleluia' at the Eucharist at least from Easter to Pentecost: at any rate it is a possible view.

Bede in his History of the English Church and People, written in 731, describes at some length the mission of St. Augustine to England initiated by Gregory the Great in 597. one or two points in his narrative are relevant to this en-:quiry. After Augustine had been consecrated 'archbishop of the English nation' at Arles by the archbishop of that city and had returned to Britain, he wrote to Pope Gregory for advice on a number of matters. His first question includes the query: 'how are the offerings made by the faithful at the altar to be apportioned?' The second is concerned with vary-:ing customs, particularly in the Eucharist, and mentions the differences between Rome and the churches of Gaul in this respect. The Pope's reply is given as follows: 'My brother, you are familiar with the usage of the Roman Church in which you were brought up. But if you have found customs, whether in the Roman, Gallican or any other churches, that may be more acceptable to God, I wish you to make a careful selection of them/

them and teach the Church of the English, which is still young in the Faith, whatever you can profitably learn from the various churches. For things should not be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Therefore select from each of the churches whatever things are devout, religious and right; and when you have arranged them into a unified rite let the minds of the English grow accustomed to it' (H.E.1.27, tr. Sherley-Price). Clearly Augustine at this juncture is not primarily concerned with the practice of Gallican churches and Gregory shows in his answer that he is fully aware of that. Augustine has in mind Canterbury, and the context suggests that he is cautiously enquiring how far he may accept the customs of Romano-British Christians there in their Eucharistic liturgy. Gregory's liberal response indicates something of the extent of the divergence existing and accepted in the churches of the West even as late as the end of the sixth century.

In Book 2 of the History (H.E.2.2) Bede describes the conference between 'the bishops and doctors of the nearest British province' and Augustine. Augustine began by making two requests: that the Britons 'establish brotherly relations with him in Catholic unity', and that 'they join with him in God's work of preaching the Gospel to the heathen'. The first request was obviously the crucial one for both sides, for it implied that Augustine regarded the British Christians as deviating from catholic practice and bordering on heresy in much the same way as Augustine of Hippo regarded the Donatists of his time. The rest of Bede's account of the conference deals with the differences and says nothing of the response to the second request: 'Now the Britons did not keep Easter at the correct time, but between the fourteenth and twentieth days of the moon/

the moon - a calculation depending on a cycle of eighty-four years. Furthermore, certain other of their customs were at var-:iance with the universal practice of the Church. But despite protracted discussions neither the prayers, advice or censures of Augustine and his companions could obtain the compliance of the Britons who stubbornly preferred their own customs to those in universal use among Christian churches'. Augustine submitt-:ed 'his beliefs and practice' to test in the healing of a blind Englishman: the Britons agreed reluctantly: and the blind man's sight was restored. But the Britons remained unyielding: 'The Britons admitted that his teaching was true and right but said again that they could not abandon their ancient customs without the consent and approval of their own people and there-:fore asked that a second and fuller conference might be held'. Two points emerge from their reaction: there was no doctrinal difference between the two sides, only divergences of practice in matters of worship; and in the British church the people had a considerable say.

A further conference was duly arranged and attended by seven British bishops. It seems that they were still uncertain whether 'they should abandon their own traditions at Augustine's demand', and, on the suggestion of a hermit, they resolved to be guided by Augustine's reception of them. It is a fair guess that the British bishops saw this as a test, not of Augustine's good manners or even of his character, but of his true attitude towards them and their ways of worship. They would treat with him on an equal footing or not at all. Augustine declared himself willing to accept all their other customs provided they agreed with him on three points: 'to keep Easter at the correct time, to administer the sacrament of baptism ... according to the rites of the holy Roman and apostolic Church, and to join with us/

with us in preaching the word of God to the English'. On the other points of difference he said: 'Your customs conflict with those of the universal Church in many respects; neverthe-:less, if you will agree with me on three points, I am ready to countenance all your other customs although they are contrary to our own'. It is reasonable to suppose that some of these different customs appertained to the Eucharistic liturgy of Sunday. The Britons, whom Augustine received without 'rising courteously', kept to their resolve and rejected his advances. Bede notes that 'Augustine is said to have threatened that if they refused to unite with their fellow-Christians they would be attacked by their enemies, the English'; but any fears the British Christians may have had did nothing to tone down the sense of offended pride at Augustine's attitude to their trad-:ition. They had a measure of right on their side. As Pro-:fessor R.P.C. Hanson has shown in his definitive work on Pat-:rick (Saint Patrick, pp.66f.), the British Church used for its calculation of Easter a modified version of the cycle known as the Supputatio Romana, which they had probably brought back from the Council of Arles in 314 and which had been formally accepted by the Church of Rome in 312. It was based on the Lateroulus of Augustalis, an 84-year cycle originally drawn up to cover the years 213-312. The modification of the Supputatio Romana took place in 342 when Britain was still part of the Roman Empire.

Among the meagre shreds of evidence from the 5C for the Eucharistic liturgy of the Romano-British Church two pieces stand out: the use of the phrase 'Sancta sanctis' as testified by Fastidius and the reference to the petition 'Kyrie eleison' in one of the sayings attributed to Patrick.

The 'Sancta sanctis', the reminder spoken by the bishop as part of the dialogue immediately preceding Communion, is found in the 4C Eastern liturgies of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrys-:ostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia (both with reference probably to Antioch) and in the Apostolic Constitutions 8. There are two passages in the Didache - variously attributed to the 1st C., 2C. (middle or late), or regarded as a composite document of 1st C. dates from 60 onwards, and assigned to Syria as the likeliest place of origin - which suggest the use of the saying at that early date or else anticipate it. In section 9, which gives a thanksgiving over the Cup followed by another over the broken Bread, par.5 runs: 'Let no one eat and drink of your Eucharist but those baptized in the name of the Lord; to this, too, the say-:ing of the Lord is applicable: 'Do not give what is holy to dogs' (Mt.7.6). In section 10, which gives a longer thanksgiving, a short dialogue follows, ending thus: 'If anyone is holy, let him advance; if anyone is not, let him be converted. Marana tha. Amen'.

The 'Sancta sanctis' is also found just before the Commun-:ion of the people in the Egyptian Eucharistic liturgy of the 4/5C according to Brightman (L.E.W.n.26). In the West, however, there is no trace of it at Milan in the writings of Ambrose or in the later Ambrosian liturgy, or in N. Africa in the writings of Augustine or others, or at Rome.

L. Brou published the results of an exhaustive study of possible Western references to the 'Sancta sanctis' in J.Th.S. 16, 1945, pp.160f. and in the subsequent volume/

volume. After careful examination he was convinced that in two countries only was there fifth century evidence of indisputable, positive character for the use of the 'Sancta sanctis', viz. the British Isles and Dacia. For the latter country he quotes a passage from the 'De Spiritu sancto', written by Niceta, bishop of Remesiana, c.406, in which is cited not the actual phrase itself, but the people's response to it. Niceta is con-:trasting Christians with Jews and his words are as follows: 'sed potius perfectam Trinitatem adorantes et magnificantes, sicut in mysteriis ore nostro dicimus, ita conscientiam teneamus unus sanctus, utique Spiritus, unus Dominus Iesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris, Amen, quia una est religio Trinitatis'. Brou takes the text from the edition of A.E. Burn (Niceta of Remesiana, Cambridge, 1905) since he considers that the text of P.L.52.864 has been seriously interpolated at this point. His comment is: 'en effet, les paroles que nous avons soulignées ne sont autre chose que la réponse du peuple au Sancta sanctis dans plusieurs liturgies orientales'. He further indicates that it is well known that this response consists chiefly of a doxology which may be christological or trinitarian. As examples of the former he lists the Byzantine liturgy, the first part of the formula in the Armenian liturgy, the Apostolic Constitutions, the Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem and the liturgy of St. James, all as given in Brightman: Liturgies Eastern and Western. That of Cyril reads simply: τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις ..... εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (M.C.5.19). Since the formula cited by Niceta is christological in its source, Brou concludes: 'quoique son diocèse fut situé dans la partie de l'Illyricum qui dépend-:ait du patriarcat romain et où la langue officielle etait le latin, Niceta célébrait cette portion de la messe d'après un rituel traduit, en partie du moins, d'après un formulaire en usage/

usage soit a Constantinople, soit en Syrie occidentale ou en Armenie'. But he adds that by the gloss 'utique Spiritus' Niceta tends to transform the christological formula into a trinitarian doxology and to show thereby that he knows and per-:haps prefers one or other of the E.Syrian or Egyptian doxolog-:ies. The dates of Niceta are given as 335? - 414?; Remesiana in Lower Dacia is now Bêla Palanka, between Nisch and Pirot in Yugoslavia.

For the British Isles Brou adduces the evidence of Fastid-:ius, the British bishop at the beginning of the fifth century to whom Gennadius (De Vir. Illustr. 56) attributes two treat-:ises and whom Brou accepts as the author of the six Pelagian writings (edited by Caspari in 1890) on the authority of Dom Morin. From these he quotes the two passages mentioned above from the 'De Malis Doctoribus' and the 'De Castitate' and he points out that the allusion to the 'Sancta sanctis' of the liturgy in the latter is extremely clear and precise: 'la monition prend place avant la communion (ante communionem), elle est dite par le prêtre (sacerdotum), elle est prononcée a haute voix (praefationem), de façon que tout fidèle puisse l'entendre et prendre ses dispositions en conséquence (ut qui se non sanctificatum agnoverit ...), enfin on lui attribue cette meme signification morale de préparation à la communion que luireconnaissaient en Orient les tout premiers témoins du Sancta sanctis' (n.3: Cyril of Jerusalem, M.C.5.19; S. John Chrysostom, In Hebr.hom.17.4-5; possibly Origen, Hom.13 in Lev. 5-6, a century earlier). 'En un mot, le rit décrit par Fastid-:ius au début du Ve siècle garde encore les caractéristiques principales du Sancta sanctis primitif'.

Brou then deals with the question of the country to which Fastidius refers in these words. While accepting that theoret-:ically/

theoretically Fastidius might have written them in Gaul or Italy or Sicily since he certainly made a journey from Britain as far as the latter island, he insists that the expression 'sacerdotum nostrorum' is the one positive hint supplied by Fastidius himself and that the simplest and most obvious interpretation of 'nostrorum' is that the 'Sancta sanctis' is pronounced by priests of the same country as Fastidius, namely Britain. To refer it to Italy, Gaul or Sicily would involve a double hypothesis, that Fastidius wrote the 'De Castitate' in that country and that he stayed long enough virtually to identify himself with its native population. He adds that the country involved would still be Britain if the works were attributed to Agricola, another fifth century Pelagian author, on the outmoded view of Caspari, or to Pelagius himself, on the very improbable suggestion of G. de Plinval, since both men were unquestionably of British origin.

Brou examines two other possible traces of the 'Sancta sanctis' in the British Isles, namely, the first strophe of a hymn sung at Communion in the Antiphonary of Bangor, written in Ireland at the end of the seventh century: 'Sancti venite, Christi corpus sumite, Sanctum bibentes Quo redempti sanguinem'; and in the Stowe Missal, also of Irish origin but written at the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, one of the series of short verses, apparently for singing, among which is: 'Omnes sancti venite, Alleluia': these occur immediately after the formula for the Commixtio. He concludes that, if indeed the 'Sancta sanctis' was in use in the British Isles in the fifth century, it is not impossible that the first is a recognisable echo of it and the second a feebler echo almost lost in the midst of a variety of other verses.

In neither France nor Spain is there clear evidence even of a developed/

developed form of the 'Sancta sanctis' until the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. In France, for instance, Dom Martene pointed to the existence of the words: 'Sanctum cum sanctis: haec sacra commixtio' in a Missal of the Church of Angers and a similar phrase in a second Missal there; Canon V. Leroquais drew attention to the words: 'Sancta cum sanctis et coniunctio corporis et sanguinis' in the eleventh century Sacramentary of Gellone, in two twelfth century Missals of Reims and in a twelfth or thirteenth century Sacramentary of Angers. Equally Brou is satisfied that there is no evidence whatever of the formula at Milan or in N.Africa.

As for Rome itself, he reaches the conclusion, after studying the possible evidence in detail, that there 'l'absence constante du Sancta sanctis parait plus probable'. He rejects the testimony of the additional prayers in the Ethiopian version of the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus as probably originating in some Egyptian source of a later date. He discusses the possible allusion in the Letter of Siricius, bishop of Rome, 384-399, to the Gallic bishops (Ep.10.6, P.L.13.1185), and while conceding that it might be taken as a clear echo of the 'Sancta sanctis' provided there was other sure evidence that Rome possessed it in the fourth century, he insists that without that it is of little value and in any case is capable of interpretation without specific reference to the use of the 'Sancta sanctis' in Rome or in Gaul. The occurrence of the phrase 'sancta sanctorum' in two prayers of the 'Leonine' Sacramentary he regards as inadequate evidence for the existence of the liturgical rite of the 'Sancta sanctis' at Rome but allows that it indicates that Roman liturgists were aware of the usage and of the interpretation put upon it elsewhere.

For Brou, then, the certain evidence is confined to the British Isles/

British Isles and to Dacia. He makes the point that in both the 'Sancta sanctis' does not appear to be a recent innovation nor to have been restricted to small areas since it is spoken of as something well-known at least in the immediate entourage of the writers or in the eyes of their correspondents. He also concedes that between these two regions at the opposite extremities of the W. Empire there is 'quelque vraisemblance que ... d'autres pays latins avaient aussi incorpore le Sancta sanctis a leur liturgie ou devaient le faire d'un moment a l'autre'. Thus he tends to accept the view favoured by Dom Morin that the 'Sancta sanctis' 'a ete anciennement en usage en diverses contrees du monde latin' and that the traces found in the Missals and Sacramentaries of these French churches and in the Mozarabic Missal of Spain are genuine echoes of its early use in these two countries.

If this latter hypothesis of Dom Morin and Brou is adopt-:ed, Fastidius' reference to the 'Sancta sanctis' may be taken as indicating that Britain received its Eucharistic liturgy, or this part of it, either from Gaul or from Spain at an early period, namely in the second or third century. But one must bear in mind that the evidence on which the hypothesis is based is of the slightest. There is a further difficulty: such evid-:ence as we have for Gaul, viz. that of Gregory of Tours, sugg-:ests that the seven bishops sent from Rome c.250/1 were open-:ing up hitherto unevangelised territory in the centre and north of Gaul and implies that the Eucharistic liturgy which they introduced was such as was used at Rome. In Spain the evidence points in the same direction: traces of the 'Sancta sanctis' can only be found, if at all, in comparatively late MSS., none earlier than the eleventh century; D.M. Hope does not mention it in his account of the Mozarabic liturgy in the early/

early Middle Ages (Study of Liturgy, pp.229f.). Comparatively little is known of the beginnings of Christianity in Spain. Henry Chadwiak writes: 'Apart from St. Paul's proposed journey the first evidence of churches in Spain comes from allusions in Irenaeus and Tertullian. Cyprian mentions churches at the chief cities of Leon, Astorga, Merida and Saragossa'. Then came, apparently, a period of rapid growth: 'Early in the fourth century a vivid picture of the by then vast extension of the Church and of its contemporary problems of moral laxity is provided by the canons of the Council of Elvira' (The Early Church, 1967, pp.65). A little later in the same century Hosius, bishop of Cordova, played a notable part in the deliberations of the Church, particularly at the Council of Nicaea in 325, and was closely associated with the Emperor Constantine. Innocent I, bishop of Rome, in his Letter to Decentius in 416 regards it as a matter of general knowledge that the churches of Spain were founded by bishops consecrated by the successors of the Apostle Peter: 'praesertim cum sit manifestum in omnem Italiam, Galliam, Hispanias, Africam atque Siciliam insulasque interiacentes nullum instituisse ecclesias nisi eos quos venerabilis apostolus Petrus aut eius successores constituerunt sacerdotes'.

An alternative possibility is that the use of the 'Sancta sanctis' in the Romano-British liturgy of the early fifth century known to Fastidius indicates the direct influence of Eastern Christianity, either in the first beginnings of the British Church perhaps in the second or third century, or else in the course of the fourth century when liturgies were assuming a fixed form.

As for the 'Kyrie eleison' attested in the Dictum attributed/

attributed to Patrick, the choice of a likely date for its introduction into Britain would seem to rest between three possibilities: either that it came in as an element in the common Morning Worship of the Church at an early period in the second or third century when the faith was first implanted in the country; or, as in Rome, it represents the vestigial remains of the litany which, in imitation of the Eastern Church, Gelasius substituted for the common prayers of the faithful in the last decade of the fifth century and which Gregory the Great abbreviated to 'Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison' (Cobb and Hope, Study of Liturgy, pp.182, 188, 224, 234), the former substitution spreading to S. Gaul early in the sixth century; or, thirdly, it is evidence of the direct influence of an Eastern liturgy upon Britain at some period between these two extremes.

Another point which depends on the question of origins and which has a possible bearing on the architecture of any British church-building is the timing of the people's offering at the Eucharist and the mode of its presentation. Did they bring up their offerings to the altar at the beginning or in the course of the second part of the Eucharistic liturgy, as seems to have been the practice at Rome and at Milan in the fourth/fifth century? Or did they hand in their gifts inform-:ally as they arrived so that the bread and wine required for the Eucharist could be selected and later, in the course of the liturgy, be brought formally by deacons to the altar, as was the custom in the East and in Gaul at least in the time of Greg-:ory of Tours? In the former case one would expect provision to be made in the form of a small room or alcove at the altar end of the church for holding the offerings not required for the immediate Eucharist; in the latter practice it would not be surprising/

surprising if such provision were made near the entrance of the church. The evidence of both Patrick and Fastidius, slight as it is, suggests the former practice.

One further relevant question arises at this point: how far was there room for initiative on the part of the bishop in the form of the liturgy he used or in its component parts? The evidence would appear to suggest that there was consider-:able freedom at least until the end of the sixth century. Ambrose, although he expressed a general desire to keep in line with Roman practice, felt free to retain the distinctive custom of Milan in observing the rite of foot-washing as part of the Baptismal liturgy. Augustine dealt with the whole question in detail in his correspondence with Januarius (Ep.54, 55). In Milan in his early manhood he accepted fully the stand of Ambrose on Saturday fasting: Rome fasted, Milan did not: when in Rome Ambrose observed Roman practice, at Milan he followed Milanese ways. As Augustine writes: 'ego vero de hac sententia etiam atque etiam cogitans, ita semper habui tamquam eam coelesti oraculo acceperim' (Ep.54.3). He counsels the same principle in the matter of frequency of re-:ceiving the Eucharist, of breaking the Lenten fast on Holy Thursday to wash, of timing the Eucharist on that day, of the rite of foot-washing in baptism, and of singing the 'Alleluia'; and he reiterates more than once his considered judgment: 'Omnia itaque talia, quae neque sanctarum Scripturarum auctor-:itatibus continentur, nec in conciliis episcoporum statuta inveniuntur, nec consuetudine universae Ecclesiae roborata sunt, sed pro diversorum locorum diversis moribus innumerabil-:iter variantur ita ut vix aut omnino nunquam inveniri possint causae quas in eis instituendis homines secuti sunt, ubi fac-:ultas tribuitur sine ulla dubitatione resecanda existimo'(Ep. 55.19)./

(Ep.55.19). He takes the widespread diversity of practice in the Church for granted; he expresses surprise that Januarius should ask him to write on such matters, for it is unnecessary and there is only one salutary rule that need be kept: 'cum et non sit necessarium et una in his saluberrima regula retinenda sit, ut quae non sunt contra fidem neque contra bonos mores et habent aliquid ad exhortationem vitae melioris, ubicumque institui videmus vel instituta cognoscimus, non solum non improbemus sed etiam laudando et imitando sectemur, si aliquorum infirmitas non ita impedit ut amplius detrimentum sit' (Ep.55. 18). The letter of Innocent I to Decentius, bishop of Fugubium in Umbria, in 416 testifies to the exercise of this freedom in the very structure of the Eucharistic liturgy in N. Italy, and the early Gallican liturgies indicate the same for churches in Gaul in the fourth and fifth centuries. Sparse as the evidence is for Britain, it points in the direction of the same freedom. The very prevalence of Pelagian views among the leaders and people of the British churches in the early fifth century suggests freedom of thought and a spirit of independence. Patrick's independent outlook illumines all his writing, whether he is speaking of his sense of outrage at the actions of Coroticus or his feeling of rejection and neglect by the indifferent British Church (E11,12) or his strong conviction that his episcopate and his mission are the gift of God (E1.10; C12, 13, 15) or his belief in his own destiny under God in spite of opposition and hostility from some of his colleagues in the British Church (C. 29f.). While he was orthodox in his theology Patrick was slave to no man and the creed which he enunciates in C.4 suggests that he was aware of the thinking of the universal Church as it evolved in the controversies and councils of the preceding century. There is every reason to think that his independent spirit/

spirit would manifest itself also in the practice of the Church he established in Ireland and that he stood in the succession of Ambrose and Augustine in exercising his own judgment in all matters that did not touch the essentials of the faith. Gregory the Great's reply to the tactful enquiry of Augustine of Canterbury about the varying customs of different countries, including the contrasting Eucharistic liturgies of the Roman and Gallican churches, suggests that Patrick was not alone among British bishops in this respect.

But basically Patrick was an orthodox fifth century bishop of the Church of the Western Empire: his attitude to the O.T. Scriptures is typical of his time and the creed he quotes indicates knowledge of the struggle of the whole Church in the fourth century to define its faith. It is true that in his conception of his role as bishop he is more akin to Martin of Tours, Victricius of Rouen and the shadowy figure of Nynia than to the church leaders of Pelagian sympathy whom Germanus of Auxerre confronted in Britain or to the 'dominicati rhetor-:ici' there - if they were clerici - or to the fourth century Gallic bishops who opposed Martin's election as bishop. But at rock bottom he was a traditional bishop of the Western cath-:olic Church and any freedom he exercised would be within these limits. In the matter of the Sunday Eucharistic liturgy we can be sure that his practice was typical of that age and would have been regarded by other bishops as fully acceptable, however much it might vary in detail from their own.

Slight as the evidence is in the few scant references culled from the two works of Patrick and the six Pelagian writ-:ings, it seems to point to a fully developed fourth/fifth century Eucharistic liturgy basically akin to those in use elsewhere in the Roman Empire, although possibly in parts less formalised.

Patrick testifies to the conscientiousness of the clergy of his home-church and to the good standard of education among contemporary British clergy: from his 'creed' and his own Biblical knowledge he bears witness to the thoroughness of his training in Britain. His writings give the impression that the first part of the liturgy would be faithfully and carefully performed and would include, as elsewhere, readings from O.T. and N.T., the singing of psalms, prayers and a sermon. The six Pelagian works give a similar impression: the Scriptures are known, studied, taught and discussed and the sincerity of faith is seldom, if ever, a question.

For the second part the hints are again slight: Patrick possibly testifies to the use of the Kyrie eleison, and prob-:ably to the offerings brought by the people to the altar and to the Doxology and the Amen of the people: the six writings attest the use of the Sancta sanctis. One can have little doubt that both, and particularly Patrick, bear indirect wit-:ness to the faithful performance of the Eucharistic Prayer with its keynote of thanksgiving and self-dedication and with the Narrative of Institution at its centre. It is possible that this was still uttered more or less spontaneously, within the customary guide-lines, by some bishops if they so chose. Both Patrick and the six writings bear direct witness to the Communion of the people in both kinds as the heart of the Eucharist.

Among the early church-buildings excavated in the British Isles the one most fully known to us of fourth century date is the small basilica situated near the Forum of Calleva (Sil-:chester, Hants.), the civitas-capital of the Atrebates. Its foundations were revealed in the excavations of 1892 carried out by Fox and St. John Hope, and a further exploration was undertaken in 1961 by I.A. Richmond. The basilica is generally recognised as a Christian church although no specifically Christian object has been found within its bounds.

In his report St. John Hope described the basilica in the following terms: 'The building stood east and west and consist-:ed of a central portion 29¼' long and 10' wide with a semi-:circular apse at the west end. North and south of this were two narrow aisles, only 5' wide, terminating westwards in somewhat wider chambers or quasi-transepts: the northern of these was cut off from the aisle by a thin partition wall. The east end of the building was covered by a porch 24¼' long and 6¾' deep, extending the whole width of the three main div-:isions. The total length was exactly 42'. The walls average 2' in thickness and were built of flint rubble with tile quoins. The central division retains considerable portions of its floor of coarse red tile 1" tesserae, with, just in front of the apse, a panel 5' square of finer mosaic formed of ½" tesserae. The design of this panel consists mainly of:

1. four squares filled with black and white checkers, of which the grounds are counter-changed;

2. outside this is a broad border of white edged with black and filled with lozenges made alternately of tesserae of red tile and Purbeck marble;

3. beyond this again is an edging of white ...

At the north end of the porch part of the pavement of 1" red tesserae/

tesserae remained, somewhat blackened by burning. In other portions of the building no traces whatever of the flooring could be found' (Archaeologia 53, 1893, pp.563f.).

St. John Hope reported at the same time the finding out-:side the basilica of two significant items: 'About 11' east-:wards of the building and in line with its axis is a foundat-:ion 3' 11" square, built of tiles, on the east side of which is a small shallow pit lined with flints. Around the tile foundation are the remains of a rough pavement of flints'; and secondly: 'About 20' west of the building, and also in line with its axis, is a well, of which the lower portion retains its wooden lining'.

In their report the excavators proceed to give their interpretation of their finds, mentioning incidentally that 'only in the apse and in the north chamber does anything remain above floor level, and here only to a height of some inches', while 'owing to the slope of the ground the rest of the walls are reduced to mere foundations'.

The following points are of note in their reconstruction of the building: 'There can be little doubt that the aisles were divided from the central portion or nave by piers and arches. The projecting chambers or quasi-transepts at the west end of the aisles seem not to have been altogether open to the central division, as there are traces on the north side of a doorway into the chamber there; they were probably shut off by dwarf walls with arched openings over and doors at one end. At the east end of the church were three doors opening into the nave and aisles from the porch or narthex, the east side of which was most likely an open colonnade. The church was prob-:ably lighted by a clerestory, with perhaps a west window or windows. That the walls were painted internally is proved by the finding/

the finding of some remains of the coloured plastering, includ-
:ing a few fragments speckled in imitation of marble ... The pavements of the church appear to have been at the same level throughout, and as there is no sign of any break or division in the nave pavement, it is not easy to determine precisely the arrangement for the clergy. There can be no reasonable doubt that the altar stood upon the panel of fine mosaic in the front of the apse and that it was at first a wooden table. Some small patches of pink cement upon the surface of the mosaic seem, however, to show that the wooden altar was replaced at a later time by a more substantial one in stone or marble ... The state of the red tessellation of the nave and apse raises, how-
:ever, some unexpected difficulties. In the first place, there is so little room between the mosaic panel and the apse wall that there cannot have been any seat here for the clergy. In the next place, the floor of the apse, which extends right up to the wall, not only shows no sign of wear but the edges of the tesserae are so sharp that it is quite certain that they cannot have been walked on for even a very short period. The mosaic panel is also not worn at all. East of the panel, on the other hand, the red tesserae are considerably worn and those on each side also show signs of wear. The eastern pos-
:ition of the celebrant was so universally the custom of the Church that the floor ought certainly to show traces of wear on the west side of the altar, but this it does not do and the conclusion therefore seems inevitable that the apse floor had been relaid just before the destruction of the building (which is unlikely) or that the tesserae were effectively protected by being constantly covered by a mat or carpet'.

On the two finds outside the church the excavators made only brief comments: the tile foundation to the east of the church/

church 'is clearly the place of the labrum or laver in which the faithful used to wash their hands and faces before entering the church, and the shallow pit in front was probably covered by a pierced stone and served to carry off the waste water. The water itself could be obtained from the well west of the church, to which, as there are no other buildings near, it seems to have belonged'.

During the excavations of 1961 Richmond made a detailed drawing of the remains of the building and supplemented it with an interpretative plan (Archaeologia 105, figs.2, 3, pp.282/3). He gave several corrected and additional measurements: overall length, 42' 6"; overall length without apse, 36' 6"; overall width of nave and aisles, 28'; overall width of nave and tran-:septs, 31'; diameter of apse, 10' 2"; space between apse wall and mosaic panel on the axis, 5' 3"; and at the sides, 2' 7".

Professor S.S. Frere in his comments on the 1961 excavat-:ions in Archaeologia 105, 1976, writes of the basilica thus: 'The building seems to have been entered at its eastern end by a central door, whose threshold had been lost. From the narthex probably three doors gave access to nave and aisles ... Close to the north wall of the narthex ... was found ... a hole 2' 4" in diameter through the make-up for the tessellated floor and also through the pre-building layers 27, 28 and 21. The fill-:ing, only removed in excavation to a depth of 19" below the surface of the tessellation ... was clearly the result of robb-:ing, the original feature being a circular foundation c.22" in diameter set centrally 15" from the north wall ... The site of the base after robbing had been concealed by a later squatter's hearth. Partially surrounding the base and extending south-:wards c.4' 8" from the north wall of the narthex was a floor of coarse red tessellation. There was no trace of this floor or of its bedding/

of its bedding elsewhere in the narthex or aisles'. Richmond himself expressed the view that the tessellation gave a spec-:ial emphasis to this north end of the narthex and that the circular foundation was the base for a table for offerings. He suggested, too, that the rest of the narthex and the aisles probably had wooden floors.

In the north aisle and transept Richmond showed that 'originally there had been a timber-framed partition set on a concrete sill with a 3' doorway at the south end: a post-hole marked the position of the door-post'. Frere notes that 'the emplacement for the frame at the south end of the door over-:sailed the nave-aisle sleeper wall, showing that the frame was attached to a pier or column at this point', and he con-:cludes that this implies a partition rising to the full height of the aisle and so cutting off all view of the 'transept'. He suggests that the partition was probably an afterthought since there was no provision for it in the masonry foundations and, if so, that it would be reasonable to infer that the 'transept' was originally open also to the 'sanctuary' and that the piers or columns on either side of the nave ran continuously from the narthex to the springing of the apse, a distance of 24', with a pilaster or half-column at either end, two piers or columns between (one supporting the door and partition) and an intercolumniation of 8' from centre to centre. Frere further notes that subsidence in the north-west corner led to the rebuilding of part of the outer wall and the replacement of the wood partition by short masonry walls with a central opening: these walls, he thinks, probably did not reach to the full height of the aisle but left the 'transept' partly open at the top. He considers it likely that in this second phase the 'transept' was also cut off from the 'sanctuary'/

the 'sanctuary' by a wall with a door at its eastern end since the flints here survive above the level of the tessellation.

In the south aisle, on the other hand, there was no sign of a partition dividing off the south 'transept'. Here the one noteworthy feature was a rough semi-circle of flints - one course thick, held together by dark earth and resting in a slight hollow in the ground - which projected southwards from its north wall c.9' 6" from its east end. Frere suggests that 'if significant at all, this was perhaps a slight foundation for something to rest on' (ibid., pp.284).

In the nave and apse Frere notes that the small mosaic panel lay on axis at the chord of the apse. Round the inner face of the apse some stake-holes were detected with a minimum spacing of 1": these Richmond interpreted as the provision for attaching wall-plaster. Opposite the centre of the mosaic panel a large flint projected from the north wall of the nave: this Richmond took to be possibly the base for a side-table.

At a later date squatters occupied the eastern half of the nave: traces of their presence were found in hollows and post-holes which contained sherds of pottery, bones and burnt pott-:ery as well as the seven coins which were identified by Boon, three as of early fourth century date, three of the mid-fourth and one of the late third century.

St. John Hope in his report on the 1892 excavations con-:cluded that 'in spite of the absence of distinctive Christian symbols in the mosaic or elsewhere' the building was a Christ-:ian church and of early date. For evidence he pointed to :

1. 'the design of the mosaic panel which is similar to one found in the north aisle of the great civil basilica of Uriconium'; and

2. 'the absence/

2. 'the absence of symbols in the mosaic floor-panel', which 'would not be surprising or unlikely' in a 'church of the earlier half of the fourth century, as this may have been, and would be an additional proof of early date'.
His final summing-up was as follows: 'Despite the scanty evid-:ence of date the building of the church can safely be assigned to the period between Constantine's Edict of Toleration issued in 313 and the official withdrawal of the legions about a cent-:ury later. From the character and workmanship of the mosaic pavement there may nevertheless be claimed for the church an early rather than a late date' (Archaeologia 53, 1893, pp.563f.).

Richmond, reporting briefly on the 1961 excavations (J.R.S. 52, 1962, pp.185f.) suggested a terminus post quem of 360 for the construction of the building on the mistaken assumption that three of the seven coins found in the squatters' hollow near the east end of the nave had once been enclosed in the white mortar of the pavement. The latest of the three coins was a slightly worn Fel. Temp. copy of c.360. But a scientific examination of two of the three coins at the British Museum laboratory led to a different conclusion: 'These results suggest that the coins were buried near corroding lead: this had led to the formation of the deposit, which is neither mortar nor produced by natural corrosion' (Arch.105, pp.298).

Boon in 'Silchester', revised edition, 1974, pp.178f., bases his dating on the plan of the church and particularly its quasi-transepts. He recalls that while the double hall church at Aquileia had a 'transverse nave', the earliest extended transepts were to be found in Rome in the Lateran basilica built c.313-335, in the basilica of St. Peter on the Vatican begun c.333, in the basilica of S. Agnese fuori le mura dated c.350, and thereafter at the basilica S. Paolo fuori le mura begun in 386./

begun in 386. He concludes: 'as far as our present knowledge goes, the transeptal basilicas of Rome are at some unknown remove the model for Silchester'. Boon points out that this design did not reach the eastern provinces until the late fourth century e.g. in the large basilica at Epidauros in the Peloponnese c.400 and in the fifth century church at Daphnousion, both of which he regards as examples 'of the momentous and surely officially-inspired extension of the transeptal design from Rome to the provinces' (ibid., pp.179). Using this development in the East as an analogy he sums up: 'In short, it must be doubted whether the Silchester building could possibly have been erected before the very late fourth century, because the very slight off-setting of the end-walls of the transept shows that we have to do with a derivative and not an original plan'. Boon's analogy, however, must be used with caution. At S. Agnese in Rome the aisle enveloped the apse to form an ambulatory, as at S. Sebastiano (312/3?), S. Lorenzo (c.330), and Ss. Marcellino e Pietro (also Constantinian). At Epidauros the transept is not extended beyond the outer walls of the church: the basilica has double aisles at either side of the nave and the transept is correspondingly divided into five sections by short column screens: thus, as Krautheimer notes (op.cit., pp.91), the plan of the transept recalls that of S. Tecla in Milan, where in c.400 the dwarf wings of the chancel had been raised to form a tripartite transept and repartitioned into five sections.

Frere favours an earlier date in the fourth century (Arch. 105, pp.291f.). The 1961 excavations showed that the site had previously been occupied by a large timber building, one side of which was demarcated by the line of post-holes and the drainage trench found to the north of the church in 1892. Five more post-holes/

more post-holes were now uncovered and their size and stratif-:ication indicated that they belonged to the same structure. Associated finds pointed to a third century date: they included a sherd of a third century Rhenish indented beaker found on the gravel floor of the drainage trench, a sherd of (probably late) Antonine Samian, form 333, C.G., found trodden into the gravel floor of the timber structure, and a sherd of third century Samian, form 337, from Trier, found in the filling of one of the five post-holes. Frere quotes Richmond's suggestion that the timber structure, situated thus close to the forum, may have been a market-hall of some kind and concedes that the scarcity of third century pottery on the site and the lack of stratified accumulations may be accounted for if the floor was kept clean and regularly swept. He further suggests that the well which lies c.20' due west of the apse of the church should probably be associated with the third century timber building, and likewise the three coins of Victorinus (268-270) found in its filling. Frere concludes: 'it seems likely, therefore, that the site of the 'church' had been occupied by a large timber building until a fairly late date in the third century' (ibid., pp.291).

For the dating of the 'church' itself within the fourth century he adduces the following points as providing clues:

1. The design of the square mosaic on the chord of the apse 'though of a simple, not closely datable type, yet has its only dated parallel in Britain in a floor at Verulamium laid in the early fourth century' (Plate 48B in 'Verulamium, a Belgic and two Roman cities', R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler, 1936, pp.108, 148). He also mentions the mosaic panel in the north aisle of the civil basilica at Viroconium, which he assumes to be of fourth century date and describes as of similar pattern to that/

to thst at Verulamium but larger and more regular in design (c.8' by 11', J.B.A.A.17, 1861, Plate 9); and a mosaic of some-:what analogous pattern from the late first century palace at Fishbourne (Cunliffe, 'Excavations at Fishbourne' 1961-9, Plate 74C, pp.147).

2. A coin of Delmatius (335-337) was found in an apparently undisturbed position in the surface of a small patch of clean gravel near the north-east outside corner of the narthex which, he thinks, 'probably represented a surface laid over the spread of flints' revealed in the stratification of this area by the trench dug on the south side of the flint platform of the 4' square tile base to the east of the 'church' and apparently contemporary with that flint platform. This gravel patch con-:tained some second century pottery and some freshly-cut, un-mortared red tesserae and one white tessera. Frere holds that this suggests that the 'church' was in use during the middle decades of the fourth century (ibid., pp.292).

3. Frere discusses fully the find of seven coins uncovered in the squatters' hollow near the east end of the nave. These Roman coins, of which three were only 'slightly worn' and three 'very slightly worn', were all except one dated to the period 275 - 340, and the seventh, a copy of a Fel. Temp. Reparatio coin of the reign of Constantius II (324-361), was regarded as probably made c.360. It was noted that when the mosaic and all the red tessellated floor of the 'church' were lifted and the ground below searched, no coins were found seal-:ed in that position nor any other objects that could be close-:ly dated. Accordingly, Frere concludes that the seven coins 'were not part of a casual scatter below the building' (ibid., pp.288). He also tends to reject the suggestion that it may have been a hoard concealed either in the gravel make-up of the floor/

floor below the tessellation or somewhere in the superstructure of the building, chiefly on the ground that the seven coins, covering a period of c.85 years, make an unlikely single group. He quotes the comments of Dr. Richard Reece that no comparable groups of coins have been found, that the three coins of 309-324 are substantially larger and heavier and probably had a much better silver surface that the others, that it is very rare to find such a proportion of these coins in deposits of c.360 or of c.340 (if the latest coin was intrusive), that in the late fourth century groups of coins from burials in the Lankhills cemetery, Winchester, while the range of dates may be wide, the sizes are uniform; and likewise his conclusion that the seven coins are unlikely to be a hoard or the con-:tents of a purse, as the earliest Constantinian coin is un-:worn and the latest coin of all is worn, and that 'from the numismatic point of view' the collection 'remains a problem' (ibid., pp.289, n.2). Frere also discounts the idea that the seven coins represent a casual loss, and as to the possibility that the coins were lost by the squatters he considers that 'even this explanation is not entirely satisfactory' (ibid., pp.290). Thus he concludes: 'a priori considerations laid aside (e.g. the date of the squatters' occupation), the evid-:ence of the coins and pottery from the squatters' hollows would support the suggestion that the building was already in decay before the last quarter of the fourth century', and later he expresses the view that the collection of seven coins may possibly corroborate the evidence of the coin of Delmatius which suggests that the 'church' was in use through the middle decades of the fourth century (ibid., pp.290, 292).

4. Finally Frere examines the evidence from the squatters' occupation. His finding is that the pottery concerned 'is not closely datable/

closely datable' but may be tentatively assigned to the period 340-370: this would give a terminus post quem of the third quarter of the fourth century to the squatters' occupation. But he adds the proviso: 'Whether the real date was much later than this must partly depend on the interpretation given to the building' (ibid., pp.292).

Frere sums up his conclusions in the following words: 'The results of re-excavation, though revealing important new detail, have not added conclusively to our knowledge of the date ... of the building' (ibid.). 'Archaeological evidence for the date of its construction is only able to suggest a terminus post quem of the middle or later third century. But a free-standing church, and one in so prominent a position, cannot have been built before the reign of Constantine and is more likely to date to the middle or later years of the fourth century. It is unfortunate that the numismatic evidence does not give greater precision. But if the church was first erected a decade either side of 350, it is most unlikely to have been abandoned to squatters soon after 360. What signif-:icance, then, is to be attached to the group of coins? Few of the small group of sherds from the squatters' occupation are closely datable: they form a fourth century group, not safely to be put much later than 370: in other words they are contemporary with the coins. The upper level of the squatters' occupation has unfortunately long been ploughed away: in what remains there was no evidence of metal-working such as might suggest that the coins had been intentionally collected for re-smelting. It would seem probable that both pottery and coins are irrelevant to the date of the squatters' occupation, and merely represent residual material such as must exist in quant-:ity throughout the latest levels of Silchester' (ibid., pp.297).

As to/

As to the purpose of the building, Richmond was convinced that it was a Christian church. Frere is more hesitant in his conclusion: 'the Silchester building has the characteristics of a Christian church and none of its features present obstacles to this view' (ibid., pp.297). In his discussion he notes the points made by Professor J.M.C. Toynbee in her article 'Christianity in Roman Britain' (J.B.A.A.16, 1953, pp. 6-9) in which she showed how insecure the grounds were for mak-:ing this identification although she accepted it as the most likely theory. Among the difficulties she mentioned the absence of any Christian object found on the site, the lack of room for a cathedra and seats for the presbyters, the unused condition of the floor of the apse on the west side of the mensa-altar, and the resemblance of the basilica to such pagan shrines as the underground one found near the Porta Maggiore in Rome. Frere admits that the 1961 re-excavation has added no conclusive evidence on this question either, such as finding that the bas-:ilica was built on the site of a private house which might have served as an earlier 'domus ecclesiae'. Its identification as a church must, therefore, rest on its probable fourth century date and its possession of the characteristics of a Christian place of worship.

Among the significant features of the Silchester building and site Frere considers in detail the western apse; the con-:junction of nave, narthex, two aisles and two lateral chambers or quasi-transepts, which together are difficult to parallel in a non-Christian building; and the design of the mosaic. The western apse, he points out, is extremely rare among fourth century provincial churches although it appears in various churches in Rome; one example, however, is known, the small memoria-basilica of S. Severin at Cologne, a rectangular struct-:ure/

structure measuring 36' by 30', with a western apse, built c. 320 and enlarged by the addition of two aisles and a narthex towards the end of the fourth century. But Krautheimer (op. cit., pp.314, n.35) questions the dating and interpretation which is based on the work of F. Fremersdorff in Neue Ausgrab-:ungen in Deutschland, Berlin, 1958, pp.329f.: 'neither the re-:construction nor the date of this first building nor of the structures succeeding it - supposedly in the late fourth and in the fifth centuries, as proposed by F. Fremersdorff ... - are beyond question'.

Frere discusses the mosaic at greater length. The theory that it marked the position of the mensa-altar presupposes that, because the basilica was small, the altar was pushed nearer the apse than was normal, since the majority of fourth century churches in the West have the altar in the nave: he therefore puts forward the alternative suggestion that it mark-:ed the position of the celebrant and that the later covering of opus signinum had nothing to do with replacing the altar in stone. He notes one important difference in the design of the mosaic from that at Verulamium: in the latter the cruciform elements appear randomly over the pattern, whereas at Silchest-:er the solitary cruciform element is central. He quotes the edict of the emperors Theodosius II and Valentinian III in 427: 'signum salvatoris Christi nemini licere vel in solo vel in silice vel in marmoribus humi positis insculpere vel pingere, sed quodcumque reperitur tolli ...' (Codex Iustinianus 1.8) and suggests very tentatively that the opus signinum may be connect-:ed with the visit to Britain in 429 of Germanus, bishop of Auxerre.

Frere considers carefully the significance of the circular foundation set in the tessellated north end of the narthex and first/

first uncovered in 1961. He takes the view that 'the emphasis given ... by the tessellated floor ... strongly suggests the presence of an offering table on the foundation: here in the narthex it would be accessible to the unbaptized members of the congregation' (ibid., pp.293), and he mentions that Rich-:mond supported this idea from the Testamentum Domini, a Syriac text, probably of the fifth century, which gives the plan of an ideal church. This plan, designed for fifth century Syrian churches whose doors were often set in the right flank of the building, was recommended thus: 'Let therefore the church be made so, with three entrances according to the resemblance of the Trinity. Let the diaconicon be placed to the right of the right-hand entrance, so that the Eucharist or the offerings can be seen. Let there be a forecourt (atrium) with portico to the diaconicon. Then within the forecourt let there be a place for a baptistery' (Testamentum Domini, tr. Cooper and Maclean, 1902). Frere endorses the use of this plan to inter-:pret the circular foundation in the narthex at Silchester and he quotes Krautheimer (op.cit., pp.211) on the early purpose of the diaconicon as a place for the collection of the offer-:ings and possibly for the preparation of the elements for the Eucharist. But he allows that there is one difference: namely that at Silchester 'in addition to a table for offerings to the right of the doors into the narthex, a separate diaconicon was also provided beside the apse' (ibid., pp.294). Moreover, in claiming that the Silchester table for offerings in the narthex corresponds to the Syrian diaconicon, he has to con-:cede that the latter 'was normally a room, separated from the aisle and sometimes from the apse by a door' (ibid.).

Of the features in the architecture which combine to suggest that this is a Christian basilica Frere singles out the 'transepts'/

'transepts' for special mention: 'in particular the 'transepts' are specific indications of church architecture, though not, of course, provided in all churches' (ibid., pp.293). He does, however, point out that these are not strictly transepts at all: 'the plan clearly indicates a nave running the whole length of the building from apse to narthex rather than a nave crossed by a 'transverse nave' or transept - and separated from it by a 'triumphal arch' - such as was to be seen at the basilica of St. Peter (c.313 onwards) or at S. Paolo fuori le mura (c.385), both of them martyria, at Rome' (ibid., pp.294). They were, in effect, sacristies, and 'if the plan of the Silchester build-:ing was derived from any proto-type in Rome, it would rather have been that of St. John Lateran (c.313 onwards) where chambers projected outwards, but only from the lower level of the outer of the two aisles which flanked each side of the nave'. As to the purpose of the feature at Silchester, he makes the point that the closure of the north chamber suggests a different purpose from that of transepts which 'seem in gen-:eral to provide for greater circulation'. Frere leaves the matter there and concludes: 'In our present ignorance of fourth century urban churches in Gaul it is premature to stress analogies in Rome' (ibid., pp.294).

Frere also looks briefly at the suggestion of Dr. Ralegh Radford that the Silchester basilica may be 'a memoria of a British martyr, whose body had been destroyed or whose grave was unknown', which 'could well have been raised outside the entrance to the forum within which he had been sentenced' (Med. Arch.15, 1971, p.4). He regards the suggestion as poss-:ible only if the basilica belongs to the later fourth century, since the earliest record of transferring relics to a church is in 356/7 at the Apostoleion in Constantinople: if it is accept-:ed/

accepted, the south transept may have been used for housing relics, but we have no means of knowing; it would, however, explain the enclosure of the room at the end of the north aisle (ibid., pp.294).

It seems clear from the report of the 1961 re-excavation that the basilica went through at least three phases of develop-:ment.

In the first and original phase the nave, aisles and 'transepts' were open to the west of the narthex apart from the row of four columns or pilasters - two free-standing and two half-columns or pilasters at each end - separating the nave from the aisle on either side. Both Frere and Boon are of the opinion that the wood partition set in the concrete sill to divide the north 'transept' from the aisle was probably not part of the original plan since it was not provided for in the masonry foundations, for instance by a cross-wall such as is found at Guesseria (S. Gsell, Les Monuments antiques de l'Alger-:ie, Paris, 1901).

In the second phase a timber-framed partition was set on a concrete sill which ran across the aisle from the north wall of the basilica to the free-standing pier or column nearest to the west end. A door post-hole shows that the partition framed a 3' doorway at its south end beside the pier or column. As Frere suggests, the partition probably rose to the full height of the aisle and so cut off all view of the north 'transept' from that aisle. But it would appear that the north 'transept' was open to the nave and apse at this stage.

The third phase seems to have coincided with some re-con-:struction which had to be done at the north-west corner of the basilica as a result of subsidence. Part of the outer wall was rebuilt; at the same time the wood partition was replaced by constructing/

constructing two short lengths of cross-wall to support a central opening. Frere expresses the view that these probably did not reach as high as the wood partition. In this phase, too, it seems likely that the north 'transept' was cut off from the nave as well by a wall containing a door at the end farthest from the apse. During all three phases the south 'transept' was apparently open both to the south aisle and to the nave.

There can be little room for doubt that these alterations in the north 'transept' were linked to changes of practice in the presentation of offerings by the people and the preparation from these of the elements for the Eucharist. If, as Richmond and Frere suggest, the circular foundation in the north end of the narthex represents the base for a table for the people's offerings, then one must assume that the people handed in their gifts as they arrived at the basilica for the Eucharistic liturgy. In this event they would be open to view by all, catechumens, adherents and curious pagans as well as the faith-:ful. Were they left there during the first part of the lit-:urgy so that the deacons could bring the elements formally into the basilica at the appropriate point in the Eucharist? But the narthex, according to St. John Hope, was open to the outside, although cut off from the nave and aisles: 'at the east end of the church were three doors opening into the nave and aisles from the porch or narthex, the east side of which was most likely an open colonnade' (1893 Report). Alternative-:ly one might suppose that the people's offerings were trans-:ported forthwith by the deacons to the north 'transept' for safe keeping until the moment came to select the bread and wine for the Eucharist. In either event the practice followed would not be that of Rome, where the people brought forward their offerings/

offerings themselves to the altar or sanctuary at the appropri-:ate time in the second part of the liturgy, but that apparent-:ly in use in Jerusalem and other eastern churches in the fourth and fifth centuries, whereby the people handed in their gifts informally at the entrance to the church on arrival. This, according to Dalton, may well have been the practice in Gaul in the same period: but this is a matter of surmise as there is no positive contemporary evidence. Liturgical usage at Silchester might certainly be interpreted thus in the first phase of the church's existence. The second and third phases, on the other hand, favour the interpretation that the people brought their offerings up to the altar or sanctuary themselves in the course of the liturgy. If so, then either there was a complete change of practice - and this could be initiated by a new bishop with a different background, although the example of both Ambrose and Augustine shows that bishops tended to be cautious in altering well-established local custom in church worship - or else another construction must be put upon the function of the circular foundation in the narthex. If Rich-:mond was right in interpreting the large flint projecting from the north wall of the apse, just opposite the centre of the floor mosaic panel, as the base for a side-table, this would lend support to the view that the north 'transept' was used from the start for receiving the offerings of the people and that the circular foundation in the narthex served some other purpose.

The measurements supplied by Richmond show that there was adequate room in the crown of the apse for the bishop's cath-:edra, which may have been quite a shallow structure of wood not more than 18" deep. Seats for presbyters - perhaps only one or at most two would be available or required in so small a church/

church - could easily be fitted in on either side of the cath-:edra if they were simple wooden chairs or small benches.

The rough semicircle of flints in the south aisle, pro-:jecting from its north wall about 9' 6" from the east end, is more difficult to interpret as there is no obvious analogy. It is possible that the south aisle was screened off and used by catechumens who attended the first part of the liturgy but were only allowed to listen to the second part without being act-:ually present and able to see. We know that elsewhere hang-:ings or draperies were suspended between pillars: they appear as door-hangings on the fourth century 'city-gate' sarcophagus from the grottos of St Peter at Rome, in which typical basil-:icas and round buildings, no doubt churches and baptisteries or martyria, are depicted as a background to two Biblical scenes (Vatican Museum: 'The Origins of Christian Art', Michael Gough, 1973, Plate 92); and they are shown between pillars in the palace of Theodoric in the early sixth century mosaic in the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (ibid., Plate 157). If the south aisle was so used, the semicircle of flints may have marked the position of the chair used by the bishop or teacher when the catechumens assembled for instruction in pre-:paration for baptism.

The 'transept' or quasi-transept presents another problem. As Frere points out (op.cit., pp.293), the 'transepts' in particular are 'specific indications of church architecture' although they do not appear in all churches. He mentions that 'the purpose of transepts seems in general to provide for greater circulation' (ibid., pp.294), and this certainly seems to be the case in the large memoria-basilicas frequented by pilgrims. At Silchester, however, as he rightly emphasises, we find, not a transept proper, but what can be described at best/

best as two quasi-transepts; and these in turn can be inter-
:preted as two lateral side-chambers embracing the west end of each aisle and projecting beyond its outer wall. Thus he sees its prototype, not in a memoria-basilica such as the basilica of St. Peter at Rome, but rather in the Lateran basilica, the cathedral church of Rome, or some other church of similar plan where the two projecting side-chambers seem to have served the purpose of sacristies. In the Lateran, which was large (almost nine times as long as the Silchester basilica and six times as wide), the projection provided the side-chamber with consid-
:erable extra space and justified the elaborate transverse roof involved. At Silchester, on Richmond's measurements (Arch.105, pp.280, n.1), the projection amounted only to 18" on either side: this may have been due to the nature of the terrain, since St. John Hope mentions the slope of the ground on which the basilica was built (ibid., pp.278) and Richmond drew attention to the subsidence at the north-west corner which led to reconstruction in this area. The slightness of the extens-
:ion, however, hardly seems to justify the intricate roofing shown in the imaginary reconstruction of the church which appears in the Guide (rev. by Boon, 1972, p.5). Several other points are worthy of note in this connection: the walls of the quasi-transepts are of the same thickness as those which form the rest of the outer perimeter of the church, and in this respect they differ from the thin chancel-wing walls of S. Tecla, the cathedral church of Milan, where the low wings are assumed to have been used for the offerings of the people; there is no evidence that the south quasi-transept was ever divided off in any way for separate use; and even in the north aisle the partition is a secondary feature and not part of the original plan. A purely functional explanation seems in-
:adequate/

inadequate in view of these considerations and particularly of the paucity of gain in space.

Some have seen in the plan of the transeptal basilica an attempt to reproduce in architecture the form of the Tau-cross. Krautheimer, on the basis of Eusebius' description of the Apostoleion at Constantinople in his Vita Constantini (4. 58f.), takes the view that it was built by Constantine, that it was cross-shaped with the entrance arms perhaps slightly elongated, and that it became the prototype for 'dozens of churches during the later fourth century and the early fifth century'(op.cit., pp.47 and n.4), e.g. the Apostoleion built at Milan by Ambrose in 382, the cross-plan structure built after 400 over the tomb of St. John at Ephesus, the cross-plan church built at Gaza c.401 from a plan sent by the Empress Eudokia from Constantinople and described by Mark the Deacon (Life of Porphyry of Gaza, c.75, tr. Hill, Oxford, 1913), the Church of the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs built at Gerasa in 465, and the cross-shaped martyrium of St. Babylas built at Antioch-Kaoussie in 378 - all of equal-armed cross-plan or with one arm somewhat elongated; and he traces to the same model the Tau-cross plan of the basilica of St. Menas at Abu Mina in Egypt, built in the period 400-450. Basilicas with cross transepts, built on this Tau-cross plan, are found in the late fifth century at Salonica, H. Demetrios, and in the early sixth century at Nikopolis, Basilica A. Churches with reduced cross-transepts, built on the plan of a Tau-cross with shortened arms, are found in the fifth century at Corinth-Lechaion, St. Leonidas, 450-460?, at Perge, Basilica A and at el-Tabgha, Israel, c.500, while the cathedral at Hermo-:polis in Egypt is built on the same plan but with the short-:ened ends of the cross ending in semicircular apses, 430-440?. But/

But the reduced cross-transept plan had already appeared in the West in the fourth century at S. Paolo fuori le mura, built c.385, and, if all these churches are to some extent copies of Constantine's Apostoleion, presumably the plan could appear at any time subsequent to 337 in locations where circumstances such as difficulty of terrain, shortage of skilled builders, cost, the small size of the Christian con-:gregation or the like dictated an adaptation of the original plan. The basic plan of the Silchester basilica is undoubt-:edly of this type. At the same time it seems certain that in the second and third phases the quasi-transept on the north side served the function of a sacristy for the offerings of the people and the preparation of the elements of the Euchar-:ist, and it is possible that it was so used from the start.

It is of interest to compare the situation at Salona in the fourth century. To the south-east of the earliest church, Oratory A, was found a basilica, first excavated by Bulic and later re-examined by Dyggve and designated by him the basilica episcopalis. A well-preserved mosaic inscription in the floor of the apse of this basilica records that it was begun by Bishop Synferius, who died in 405, and completed by his successor, Esychius. It belongs, therefore, to the first decade of the fifth century. The inscription indicates that Synferius' basilica replaced an earlier church on the same site: NOVA POST VETERA COEPIT SYNFERIUS ESYCHIUS EIUS NEPOS C(U)M CLERO ET POPULO (FE)CIT HAEC MUNERA DOMUS XPE GRATA TENE. Presumably the 'vetus basilica' was built at some time between 313 and 350 to qualify for its description as 'vetus', and possibly nearer to the earlier date, since a well-built stone building/

building of 50 years would not readily be dismantled and re-:placed by another which was not very much larger. Dyggve re-:constructs the ground-plan of this 4C basilica as that of a simple rectangular basilica with broad nave flanked by narrow single side-aisles separated off by a row of pillars: the long axis ran due E/W: the semi-circular apse at the E. end had a span slightly less than the width of the nave and contained a semi-circular stone bench for the clergy: presumably the mensa-altar stood in front of the bench on or near the chord of the apse. Dyggve found no trace of a room or rooms adjacent to the apse which might have served as a sacristy, so it seems likely that the people brought their offerings at the Eucharist to an open space reserved for the purpose at the E. end of one of the aisles. No arrangement is visible in the ground-plan for the withdrawal of catechumens and others at the end of the first part of the Eucharistic liturgy: one must therefore suppose that one of the side-aisles was curtained off for their use. Outside the W. gable-end of the basilica was a forecourt. In another open courtyard to the S. of the apse Dyggve found traces of a cantharus which may have been associated with this 'vetus basilica' since a cantharus foundation was also found outside the earlier Oratory A.

On the site of the later octagonal baptistery, on a low terrace north of the 'vetus basilica' and at a short distance from the western part of its N.wall, Dyggve found evidence of an earlier rectangular structure which he interpreted as the remains of the 4C baptistery.

Immediately south of the site of the 'vetus basilica' Dyggve traced the remains of another basilica lying parallel to it under the later cruciform church. This S.basilica was of much the same size as the 'vetus basilica', but slightly shorter and narrower: its nave and single side-aisles were separated off/

separated off by a row of pillars, but the nave was extended for a short distance beyond the east-end walls of the aisles and was crowned by a narrower and shallower curved apse, like the basil-:ica of Hauraan built c.345: at the east end of the north aisle there was built on a rectangular room of the same width as the aisle. Dyggve regards this south basilica as 'probably older' than the early fifth century basilica of Symferius and so of fourth century date. Krautheimer assigns it to 350 but considers the evidence ambivalent. As to its use, Dyggve suggests that it was associated with the growing cult of relics and served as a memoria-church: this is also the view of Gerber (1912) and Egger (1917), but Krautheimer after a careful study of 'double cathedrals' feels that the question must be left open and that it is equally possible that it was used as a hall for catechumens (Studies in Early Christian Medieval and Renaissance Art, pp.161f.).

The remains of the church-building set in a cemetery at Icklingham show the outline of a small rectangular structure measuring c.6m. by 3m. and aligned east-west. It would seem to be a memoria-church, associated perhaps with the tomb of some notable Christian - possibly the first, or the first significant bishop of the community. It is just possible that the church had an apse at the east end as both long walls project slightly beyond the east wall. In shape it invites comparison with the two rectangular halls of the early fourth century complex at Aquileia; the rectangular fifth century church at Zillis, Switz-:erland (c.17m. by 9½m.), with one aisle on the north-east side; and the fifth century church at Zurzach, Germany, (c.11½m. by 10m.) with an apse on its south-east side and its south-east walls protruding slightly inwards beyond the springing of the apse (Khatchatrian, op.cit., addendum) (Figs. xxia, xiia, xvib).

At Richborough P.D.C. Brown reconstructs a church on the basis of a series of stone blocks found on the site: he vis-:ualizes a basilica made of wood, with its nave ending in an apse but without side-aisles: equally it may have been a plain rectangular structure as at Icklingham, with no special archi-:tectural provision for the requirements of the liturgy: in either case such furniture as there was must have been moveable and made of wood or metal. A structure of this kind would be the work of Britons who were using their own traditional skills and were uninfluenced by Roman architecture and methods of building. It is strange that this situation should arise at Richborough where a great Roman monument was erected in the first century A.D. and an earth-fort, established in 262-282, was quickly superseded by a stone fort in the time of Carausius (287-293). The Notitia Dignitatum, probably compiled c.395, vouches for the presence of Legio II Augusta there with its praefectus, although by this time the men could not have numbered more than c.1000, nor could the six-acre fort have accommodated more. But in 401 Stilicho withdrew forces from Britain and, according to Professor Frere, this 'must have deprived the command of the Duke, and probably also that of the Count of the Saxon Shore, of all effectiveness, if indeed they survived at all'; a few years later, in 407, another and final withdrawal took place under the usurper Constantine III (Britannia, pp.118, 188f., 236, 317, 348, 351, 363f.). No doubt when the army was in occupation all building was carried out under the direction of army engineers, and when these were withdrawn no trained personnel remained among the local inhab-:itants. Poverty may have been an additional factor. Certain-:ly if the hexagonal structure is correctly identified as a baptismal font - and this seems a strong probability - then Christian/

Christian worship must be presupposed to have taken place somewhere near at hand, either in one of the buildings of the Roman fort itself in the fourth century or in some timber structure of later date. Scholars are divided in opinion about P.D.C. Brown's hypothesis; some tend to reject it out-:right as unthinkable in a region of Britain so long Romanised; others see it as an example of the tenacity of British ways under the surface of Romano-British culture. Lloyd Laing reminds us that 'until the seventh century the tradition of building in the Celtic-speaking areas was in wood, not stone. Until recently the evidence for this was entirely literary, but excavations have now provided archaeological evidence for timber oratories or chapels. Bede provides a reliable account of the transition from wooden- to stone-church build-:ing in Northumbria and there are references in saints' Vitae and early Irish sources of various types ... In the Celtic-speaking areas ... the timber church was essentially a product of native tradition ...' (The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland, 1975, pp. 382f.). It is perhaps apposite to recall that when Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, took command of the army of the Britons in 429 to repel an attack by Picts and Saxons and required a place in which to keep Easter with his men, many of whom he had persuaded to be baptized, the Britons speedily constructed a church from leafy branches to serve his purpose (Vita S. Germani, c.17, by Constantius of Lyons) (Fig.xxiia).

At Lullingstone villa about the middle of the fourth century a complex of three or four interconnecting rooms on the north side was cut off from the rest of the house, given a separate entrance and set apart for use apparently as a Christian 'domus ecclesiae'. The main room was approximately rectangular in shape and measured c.7m. by 4¼m. The walls were freshly plastered and painted, and it is this pictorial decoration that provides the chief clue to the use of the room. On the south wall, facing people as they entered from the vestibule and ante-chamber, was a large Chi-Rho monogram in red set against a white background within a wreath of flowers and leaves: the wreath was tied at the foot with a ribbon (taenia), and on either side was perched a bird, facing inwards, and apparently feeding on the red berries or seeds of the wreath, some of which had fallen from its beak. One column, possibly two, flanked the right side of the monogram and wreath which is estimated to have had a diameter of c.2ft. 8ins. by K. S. Painter (British Museum Quarterly, vol. 33, 1968/9). The reconstructed painting has been thoroughly studied both by K. S. Painter and, earlier, by Professor J. M. C. Toynbee. The latter pointed to a parallel in the relief on a mid-fourth century sarcophagus found at Rome in the Catacomb of Domitilla (now no.171 in the Lateran Christian Museum). In this relief a similar wreathed Chi-Rho monogram is set on the stem of a Cross/

of a Cross, two birds perch on the arms of the Cross facing in-
:wards to the wreath, and beneath at the foot of the Cross are
two sleeping soldiers. The relief clearly represents the Re-
:surrection. K.S.Painter accordingly suggests that the Lull-
:ingstone monogram in the main room may also symbolize the Re-
:surrection and that the pillars, if they continued below the
wreathed monogram, may have represented the architecture of the
Tomb (ibid.pp.147 n.8). A. Grabar describes in some detail
'the outstanding group of sarcophagi known as the 'Passion
sarcophagi', in which Passion scenes are represented alone or
with others relating to Peter and Paul and in which the setting
usually consists of columns or tabernacles, but sometimes of a
line of trees with their branches forming natural branches over
the figures.' 'Both aesthetically and iconographically these
reliefs are dominated by a symbol of the Resurrection ... a
Cross surmounted by the monogram of Christ in a medallion
flanked by two doves and two soldiers - the Roman guards of
Christ's sepulchre are either keeping watch on it or sleeping
at the foot of the Cross. What we have here is a Christian
derivative of the monumental Roman trophy, symbol of victory'.
He quotes two examples from Rome, the one mentioned above (no.
171, Lateran Museum) and another 4C specimen from the same mus-
:eum in which the Passion scenes are separated by trees with
overarching branches (fig.296); a 4C sarcophagus found under
the ambo in the nave of the Basilica of S.Ambrogio at Milan,
on which the monogram and birds are carved in relief in the
shallow triangle at the top of the short end above four fig-
:ures depicting Abraham's sacrifice, with the birds facing out-
:wards and pecking at loaves spilling from a basket; and he
also refers to similar examples in the Museum at Arles (The Be-
:ginnings of Christian Art, France 1966, E.T.London 1967).

Paulinus/

Paulinus of Nola describes a similar Chi-Rho monogram on the apse-vault of the basilica which he built at Nola and ded-:icated 'in the name of Christ our Lord and God to our common protector and lord of our house' (i.e.S.Felix): 'A vault adorn-:ed with mosaics provides light for the apse, the floor and walls of which are faced with marble. These are the verses which describe the scene depicted on the vault: 'The Trinity shines out in all its mystery, Christ is represented by a lamb the Father's voice thunders forth from the sky, and the Holy Spirit flows down in the form of a dove. A wreath's gleaming circle surrounds the Cross, and around this circle the apostles form a ring, represented by a chorus of doves. The holy unity of the Trinity merges in Christ, but the Trinity has its three-fold symbolism. The Father's voice and the Spirit show forth God, the Cross and the Lamb proclaim the holy victim. The purple and the palm point to kingship and to triumph. Christ Himself, the Rock, stands on the rock of the Church, and from this rock four plashing fountains flow, the evangelists, the living streams of Christ' (Ep.32.10f. ed. Walsh). A little later in the same letter he refers to the monogram painted above the two side-arches of a triple-arched wall between the new basilica and the old: 'Again there are the following in-:scriptions on either side ... beneath Crosses painted in red lead: 'The Cross on high is circled by a flowery wreath and is red with the blood which the Lord shed: the doves resting on this divine symbol show that God's kingdom lies open to the simple of heart ... If your peace thrives in our hearts made pure, O Christ, you will make us also your pleasing doves' (Ep.32.13). (Fig.x).

At Lullingstone villa there is evidence of another wreath-:ed Chi-Rho monogram on the E.wall, while a third was painted on the S.wall of the antechamber, in this case apparently with an alpha/

an alpha and an omega. (Fig.ix c,d).

Almost the entire west wall of the main room was decorat-:ed with a painting in two registers: in the upper register six human figures, apparently in a frontal position, were depicted in the six intercolumniations of a colonnade of seven pillars: below this, the lower register was painted in an all-over pattern of roses. These paintings have been fully discussed by Professor J. M. C. Toynbee and by K. S Painter. There is no inscription to indicate the identity of the six people concerned - whether owners of the villa and donors of the church-complex, or founders of the small Christian commun-:ity and church leaders presiding over it, or a combination of these. It has been suggested that it was primarily a memoria-church, dedicated to the memory of deceased members of the family who owned it: this would undoubtedly fit in with the earlier practice of the occupants as revealed by the use of the Deep Room to house the marble busts in the third century and the building of the Temple-Mausoleum in the early fourth century. But it is perhaps more likely to have been an estate-church, used regularly for worship by the family and their dependants. The decoration of the west wall may remind us of the portraits of Martin of Tours and Paulinus of Nola painted in the interior of the baptistery built by Sulpicius Severus between his two basilicas at Primuliacum and of the portraits of donors in the floor mosaics at the entrances to the south rectangular hall in the double cathedral built at Aquileia by Theodore c.308-319 and similar-:ly of a proprietress or woman donor on the floor mosaic in the Christian Oratory found near the Via Giulia Augusta in the same city ('Late Roman Painting' by Wladimiro Dorigo, 1971, coloured illustrations 16 and 17); likewise of the later portrait/

portrait of the founder-bishop Ecclesius in the apse mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna, dated c.525-547 ('The Origins of Christian Art', by Michael Gough, 1973, illustration 150). At Lulling-:stone the figure nearest the door may have been seated (K. S. Painter, op.cit., pp.140) as there are traces which can be interpreted as the back and cushioned seat of a chair: could he be a bishop seated in his cathedra, or a presbyter, possibly a member of the family who owned the estate, like Potitus, the grandfather of Patrick? Was the lady next to him in the fifth intercolumniation his wife? The figure in the third inter-:columniation is apparently standing in the attitude of Christ-:ian prayer with arms stretched out and palms extended out-:wards: could he have been in his life-time a presbyter who led the worship of those who met here? There is no evidence apart from the posture and the setting and the answers can only be a matter of conjecture.

There is some trace also of another painting from the main room, apparently of a garden scene which includes a human figure carrying a long palm-branch and also a dog and a man carrying a basket. The presence of the dog suggests a naturalistic painting of a garden such as is found in several secular contexts, for example the Viridarium of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta (now in the Museo Nazionale at Rome) and the garden with pavilion from the Boscoreale Villa (Dorigo, op.cit., pp.24 and pl.1). The palm-branch, on the other hand, suggests a martyr, like the men and women martyrs, each with halo, crown and palm-branch, depicted on the nave mosaic of the sixth century Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, and the setting may be the garden of Paradise, as in the painting of 'Dionysas in Pace' in the crypt of the Five Saints in the Cemetery/

Cemetery of Callistus at Rome, or the 'Traditio Clavium' in the right-hand apse of S. Costanza (M. Gough, op.cit., illustr. 158-160; Dorigo, op.cit., pl.22,26). Paulinus of Nola also associates the garden with Paradise; in Ep. 32.12 he mentions a more private door to one of the basilicas from the garden or orchard: 'At a more private door to the second basilica ... our private entrance from the garden or orchard ... An approach from bright gardens is fitting, for from here is granted to those who desire it their departure to holy Paradise'.

The alignment of the main room shows the orientation characteristic of churches in the latter half of the fourth century. It has been suggested that the east wall had a central niche flanked by two windows and that there was a small platform at that end for the bishop or presbyter presid-:ing and an adjacent chamber which could serve as a sacristy: there is also some evidence of a supply of water. There is no reason to doubt that a full fourth century Eucharistic liturgy could be celebrated in this simple setting. It is perhaps worthy of note that the two types of flower depicted in the wall paintings, the rose on the west wall and the lily in the garden scene, are those mentioned in the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus as alone acceptable among the offerings of the people: as well as bread and wine, oil could be offered (Ap. Trad. 5); similarly cheese and olives (ibid. 6); likewise first-fruits of the crops and of certain named fruits, but not vegetables, and of flowers only the rose and the lily (ibid.28). (Figs. xix and xx).

At Hinton St. Mary/

At Hinton St. Mary in Dorset excavation has revealed two rooms, both adorned with mosaic pavements, linked together by an opening 11ft. wide, and measuring in toto 28ft. 4ins. by 19ft. 6ins. In the larger room the roundel in the centre of the mosaic frames the bust of a man: behind his head is a Chi-Rho and on either side of it a pomegranate. The mosaics have been studied by a number of notable scholars, led by Professor J. M. C. Toynbee in 1964, and there is general agreement with her finding that the head is that of Christ Himself and is probably 'not only the earliest known representation of Christ made in Britain but also the only known picture of Christ as Christ in a mosaic floor in the Roman Empire' (K. S. Painter, British Museum Quarterly 32, 1967, pp.19). One is tempted, therefore, to see these rooms in the same light as the suite at Lullingstone, namely as the regular place of worship of some small Christian community with the owning family perhaps as the nucleus. Doubts have been expressed, however, as to whether the remains represent a normal villa: 'The site has been called a villa on the grounds that the two rooms floored by the pavement resemble the triclinium of a country house; but it must not be forgotten that Mr. R. A. H. Farrar has pointed out the diff-:iculty of accepting the remains at Frampton with similar pavements as a normal villa. They lie in low, wet, unsuitable ground and although Lyson's excavation/

although Lysons' excavation did not recover the whole plan his account suggests that he did not miss much of what remained. The plan is peculiar and cannot as it stands represent a villa-site. Lysons said that the function of the site must be relig-:ious, and Farrar has suggested that he may be right. What sort of site is Hinton St.Mary? We do not know; but it may be some-:thing similar to Frampton' (K.S.Painter, op.cit.pp.24).

It is of interest to compare the portrait of Christ in the Hinton St.Mary mosaic with others known to us from the earliest centuries. In recent excavations the painting of an 'Image of Christ', haloed and flanked by an alpha and an omega, was found among a set of caissons of the vault of the Cubicle of Leo in the Cemetery of Commodilla: it shows a youthful Christ with long narrow head, large dark eyes, dark moustache and beard and loose-flowing locks: Dorigo regards it as a 'non-mannerist painting' belonging to the end of the 4C (W.Dorigo, op.cit.pp. 223, illustr.178). Dorigo also describes an Ostian tarsia in opus sectile, lately reconstructed by Becatti, which 'almost certainly represents a 'Head of Christ', haloed and bearded, dateable to the second half of the fourth century': the illustr-:ation shows a youthful Christ, again with a long, narrow head, with moustache and double-pointed beard and thick curling locks. (ibid.pp.247, illustr.199). On the 'Passion' sarcophagus from the Catacomb of Domitilla, dating from the second half of the 4C (Lateran Mus.no.171), Christ is shown in the Passion scene relief as a youthful figure with a round, almost boyish, clean-shaven face and thick curling hair worn to neck-length (Gough, op.cit.pp.108, illustr.91). The Hinton St.Mary roundel con-:tains a somewhat different representation: a mature, thick-set face and neck, the face clean-shaven, the hair stylized.

It is worth considering whether the mosaic scenes were planned to make a contribution to the celebration of the Eucharist/

Eucharist such as Dorigo detected in the lay-out of the mosaics in the basilica of Theodore at Aquileia. There Dorigo suggests that on entry by a side door leading into the N.aisle the worshipper saw first a series of five portraits of Donors fac-:ing him, with another four to the right and four portraits of women beyond that: on reaching the central nave where he would turn to proceed towards the altar at the E.end, he would see a mosaic with five more portraits of Donors and the four Seasons, and beyond, in the S.aisle, the 'Good Shepherd': as he approach-:ed the altar two emblemata in particular would catch his eye, one a representation of the 'Offertory' and the other of the 'Eucharistic Victory', while on either side were depicted a great variety of animals representing, in catacombal symbolism, the people of God, ovilia Dei: in front of him, at the E.end of the basilica, lay the great seascape and fishing scene again re-:presenting in N.T.imagery the faithful.(Dorigo, op.cit.pp.169f) At Hinton St.Mary if the larger room was used for the Eucharist and the mensa-altar placed at the E.end, the worshipper on entering would see only the hunting-scene in the W.semi-circle of the floor mosaic: the bishop or presbyter from his cathedra at the E.end would be confronted by the 'tree of life' and be-:yond that the portrait of Christ in the central medallion, while on either side of the tree he would see a bust with a rose on either side of it representing, as Prof. Toynbee sugg-:ests, one of the Evangelists. The people would be met with the portrait of Christ on two significant occasions: after they had come forward to make their offering and after Communion.(Fig. xxiiib)

The mosaic pavements found at Frampton in Dorset, of which S.Lysons preserved a record and which Prof.J.M.C.Toynbee attributes to the 4C, points to the existence of a partially-divided room very similar to that at Hinton St.Mary except that it is extended/

it is extended by an apse on one side of the main room. If the main apsed room was used for the Eucharistic liturgy, the apse itself no doubt held the cathedra while the mensa-altar may well have been placed centrally between the chalice in the inset panel at the top of the arc of the apse and the Chi-Rho monogram in the border linking the apse to the square mosaic of the room. Both chalice and Chi-Rho faced outwards and were clearly intend-:ed for viewing by the people in the room. It is just possible, too, that the other mosaics were carefully positioned with the liturgy in mind. If entry was from the long side of the rect-:angular portion of the room through the partition opposite, the Bacchus medallion in the rectangular mosaic would be seen only from the back and would make no impact, while the two hunting scenes on either side of the medallion faced the walls. If entry was from one of the short sides of the rectangular portion - and the area of wear and tear or damage on the side nearest the apse may indicate this - then the worshipper would be con-:fronted by one of the hunting scenes and would catch a side-view of Bacchus. According to Prof.J.M.C.Toynbee (Art in Roman Britain,pp.30) 'scenes of Bacchic jollification are uhiquitous as allegories of happiness beyond the grave'; M.Gough (The Orig-:ins of Christian Art,pp.80) declares that 'before the estab-:lishment of a Christian funerary iconography there was a Dion-:ysiac cycle which, mutatis mutandis, was thought acceptable for the Church too' and he points to the 'blatantly Dionysiac' floor and dome mosaics (known from drawings) in Santa Costanza, built 320 - 330, to the porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia decorated with vines and putti, to the vintage scenes of the ambulatory mosaic in Santa Costanza, and to the 3C marble sarcophagus with its low relief of the Good Shepherd and the vintage feast now in the Lateran Museum. As D.J.Smith stresses, even the repres-:entation of the cantharus/

of the cantharus links the Dionysiac and Christian traditions, being 'originally symbolic of the mystic communion between Dionysus (Bacchus) and those initiated into his cult, yet equally capable of representing the Christian chalice, symbol of the Eucharist', and he mentions those found at Fifehead Neville in Dorset and at Mill Hill, Castor, Northants.(The Roman Villa in Britain, ed.Rivet,pp.87). The hunter of game was coupled in Christian thought with the 'fisher of men' on the basis of Jeremiah 16.16: the imagery was likely to appeal to Celtic peoples with their love of hunting and Patrick was familiar with it, quoting both the Gospel and the Prophet in Confessio 40. In addition to the figures in this mosaic, each corner of the square containing the Bacchus medallion held a graceful, stylized motif in the form of a slender vessel out of which grows luxuriant foliage. This motif, according to van der Meer (Early Christian Art, pp.76) was a symbolic representation of the 'Fountain of Life' and was often used on the mosaic paving of baptisteries.

On entering the main square portion of the room the worshipper would tread over the figure of Cupid and the inscription on either side of him, but these he would only see upside down. Facing him, however, was the picture in the semicircular area of mosaic opposite Cupid: so the remaining fragments indicate with their representations apparently of water-birds, perhaps like dolphins recalling Christian baptism. The Venus and Adonis scenes in the two small squares flanking the semicircle faced away from it and therefore would make no impact. The scene depicted in the central medallion faced towards the apse and would be seen at an angle. Prof.Toynbee (Art in Roman Britain, ibid.) rejects it as a representation of Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera as no goat's head grows out of the latter's back/

back and she interprets it as a picture of a hunter in the act of spearing a feline. If the picture had a symbolic meaning for the Christian it would seem to be the defeat and overthrow of evil rather than the Scriptural concept of 'hunting and fish-:ing' for men: perhaps, as the Winds were de-paganised at Hinton St.Mary by omitting their trumpets (D.J.Smith,op.cit.,pp.110), so here the Chimaera was de-paganised by omitting the goat's head but the likeness otherwise sufficiently preserved to recall Bellerophon's noble exploit. Of the remaining mosaic pictures neither those in the two far squares nor those in the other three semicircles would be seen by people entering: what they would see would be the dolphin border on the sides - symbolizing baptism - and the eight eight-petalled roses in the spaces round the central 'hunter' medallion, reminding them of the eighth day the Day of the Resurrection, the Beginning of the New Age, the Lord's Day. As they came forward towards the apse to present their offerings and later to participate in Communion the Chi-Rho and the Chalice would hold their gaze; as they returned they would see the head of Neptune and the dolphins, symbolic of baptism, and the hunter medallion, symbolic of the battle with evil in day-to-day life.

The most interesting recent find of artefacts in Britain from the liturgical point of view is undoubtedly the collection of silver vessels unearthed at Durobrivae, Water Newton, in 1975. These have been carefully studied and discussed by K.S.Painter in the British Museum Publication 'The Water Newton Early Christ-:ian Silver' and he sums up by describing them as 'the earliest known group of Christian silver from the whole Roman Empire'.

Among the pieces found are several marked with a Christian symbol: this marking and the nature of the vessels suggests that they were the possession of some Christian congregation and were used for the celebration of the Eucharist. Those mark-:ed with the Christian symbol can be listed as follows:

1) a large, deep dish, 33.5cm. in diameter and 5.3cm. in height with straight everted walls and a small flat horizontal rim c. 8mm.wide, adorned with two circular grooves, the inner one of which is 11.2cm. in diameter and contains a large, lightly in-:cised Chi-Rho with open-form rho, with an omega but with no trace of an alpha;

2) the badly damaged half of a deep, basin-shaped cup or bowl with a slightly dashed base, with rim everted and a flat zone beneath, c.2½cm deep, bearing an inscription in neat letters c.1.3cm high, viz. Chi-Rho of elaborate form with open rho, INNOCENTIA ET VIVENTIA ... RUNT; for the final word Painter suggests DEDERUNT, DEDICAVERUNT or OFFERUNT, and for the three fragmentary letters after 'Viventia' LIB(ENTES); the letters are in rustic capitals;

3) a deep cup or bowl, with its base dished and a slightly con-:cave rim, in three fragments; 11.5cm in height and c.17½cm in diameter: the name PUBLIANUS is inscribed, facing inwards, on the exterior base in neat letters c.7mm. high and adorned with serifs: around the rim is inscribed in letters of the same type and size a dactylic hexameter and two Chi-Rhos, viz. Chi-Rho with/

with alpha and omega, SANCTUM ALTARE TUUM D, Chi-Rho with alpha and omega, OMINE SUBNIXUS HONORO, which Painter translates 'O Lord, I, Publianus, relying on you, honour (or adorn) your holy sanctuary (or sacred place)';

4) a strainer with a handle which has been broken and repaired, 20.2cm. long: at the end of the handle is a disc c.2cm. in diameter bearing on it an engraved Chi-Rho with alpha and omega within a circle of punched dots;

5) nine plaques marked with a Chi-Rho, one of which also bears a two-line inscription in relief along its upper edge which Painter reads : '... ANICILLA VOTUM QUO(D) PROMISIT CONPLEVIT': in the case of this plaque the Chi-Rho is contained in a simple circle in relief, the open rho has a distinct tail, the omega is on the left and upside down, and one edge of the alpha can be distinguished;

6) a disc of very thin sheet gold: the open rho of the Chi-Rho has a slight tail and the omega is upside down.

In addition a number of silver vessels were found which had no distinguishing Christian mark: a two-handled cup of cantharus form c.12½cm in height and c.10½cm in diameter; the mouth and neck of a spouted jug; a jug which originally had a handle and was decorated with zones of relief; a damaged plain bowl; and fragments of a facetted bowl, elaborately decorated with repoussée worked from outside, together with two rings and fragments of a chain belonging to it.

K.S.Painter finds it impossible at present to give a precise date for the hoard, but points out that some of the vessels are of 3C type and that they were all entire when buried like those found at Mildenhall and not broken up like the 5C hoards from Traprain Law and Coleraine. He therefore concludes that it was probably deposited in the 4C and perhaps in the earlier part rather than the later 4C. The use of the vessels he regards/

he regards as problematical: the plaques are clearly votive in character: the names - Publianus, Innocentia, Viventia and Ani-:cilla - and the use of Latin mark the hoard as belonging to the Western Roman Empire, but the type of Chi-Rho device and the double-stroke lettering suggest an Eastern origin for the work-:manship. Finally he expresses the view that the vessels were designed for one of three possible uses: for 'refrigeria', for Baptism, or for Communion.

For 'refrigeria' the offerings seem to have consisted of bread, wine and cakes. Augustine describes how his mother brought such offerings to the shrines of the saints at Milan: 'When therefore my mother brought to the shrines of the saints some provision of cakes, bread and wine, according to the custom in Africa, and was forbidden by the doorkeeper to carry them in; as soon as she understood that the bishop had so ordained she piously and obediently submitted ... although she used to bring her little basket with those provisions, she was accustomed only to taste reverently and then to give the rest away, offering but one small cup of wine diluted with much water ... if there were many shrines of the dead which seemed worthy of this hon-:our she still carried only the same measure so that it became almost all water and lukewarm with long carrying: this she would impart to those present by small sips only. As soon as she discovered that this custom was prohibited ... by Ambrose (both to prevent excess in drinking and because the practice resembled pagan custom) ... instead of a basket filled with the fruits of the earth she learned to take her heart full of purer desires to the tombs of the martyrs so that she might give what she could to the poor and that the Communion of the Body of our Lord might be rightly celebrated where in imitation of the Passion those martyrs had been sacrificed and crowned' (Conf.6. 2f.). In the case of Baptism Painter no doubt has in mind that the vessels/

the vessels would be used at the Baptismal Eucharist celebrat-:ed on Easter Sunday, or at Pentecost: on that occasion the same vessels would be required as at a normal Sunday Eucharist unless in Britain too the neophytes were offered a cup of water and a cup of milk sweetened with honey at the Communion in addition to the consecrated Bread and Wine. At the Eucharist :ist the large dish could be used for the Bread; the two-handled cup (unmarked with the Christian symbol) for the Wine; the strainer would be used to strain the wine; one jug was need-:ed for water, another to receive the wine brought in flasks by the people; bowls may have been used to receive the offerings of bread. (Fig.xxv).

Silver spoons marked with a Chi-Rho monogram have been found in various parts of Britain, including two in the Mildenhall treasure inscribed PAPITTEDO VIVAS and PASCENTIA VIVAS. Professor J. M. C. Toynbee suggested that these might well be christening spoons given as gifts at baptism (J.B.A.A. 16, 1953). The nature of the implement, often delicately fashioned, raises the question whether it had a functional use and possibly a liturgical use. It seems hardly likely that a spoon so marked and inscribed would be destined for a trivial secular purpose such as extracting unguent from a bottle, particularly as the Church disapproved of personal adornment. The Chi-Rho suggests that it may have had a liturgical use, at least in the first instance. We know from Ordo Romanus I that in the seventh century at Rome a calamus was used for the administration of Communion to the people. In the Eastern Orthodox Church a spoon is used: the custom is of long standing, the Eastern Orthodox Church has been singul-:arly tenacious of early practice, but the evidence does not go back/

go back as far as the fourth/fifth century. If a cup of water and/or a cup of honey and milk were offered to neo-:phytes at the Baptismal Eucharist in Britain, as is attested elsewhere, that might offer a once-for-all occasion for using such a spoon and treasuring it thereafter.

Among the artefacts of the St. Ninian's Isle treasure are several metal objects which were interpreted by Mgr. David McRoberts as parts of flabella or fans used in the Eucharistic liturgy, as at Jerusalem. (P.S.A.S. XCIV, pp.301f.). More recently, however, this identification has been questioned by Professor A. C. Thomas.

THE CULT OF MARTYRS

We know from literary sources as well as from archaeo-:logical evidence that in some parts of the Mediterranean world the cult of Christian martyrs was closely associated with the pagan cult of the dead.

Augustine describes the situation in N. Africa at Hippo Regius in 392-395 when he was a presbyter of the Church there. In Ep.22, which he wrote in 392, he appealed to Aurelius, the new bishop of Carthage, to give a lead in quelling disorderly conduct in the Christian cemeteries. His own bishop, Valerius, was elderly, moderate by nature, and as a Greek handicapped linguistically in his work in Hippo: Aurelius some four years previously as a deacon at Carthage had spoken out against such abuses: moreover the practice was so deeply entrenched that it would require the example of the metropolis-Church or the authority of a Council to uproot it. The disorderliness arose from revelling and drunkenness: 'comissationes enim et ebrie-:tates ita concessae et licitae putantur ut in honore etiam beatissimorum martyrum non solum per dies sollemnes ... sed etiam cotidie celebrentur' (Ep.22.3). It is clear fromEp.29 that the celebrations took place within the memoria-basilica in the cemetery: 'egi ut considerarent quam esset pudendum atque plangendum, quod de illis fructibus carnis (sc. ebrie-:tatibus) ... honorem ecclesiae deferre cuperent et, si potest-:as daretur, totum tam magnae basilicae spatium turbis epul-:antium ebriorumque complerent' (Ep.29.6). Such practices were sacrilegious: 'quam foeditatem, si tantum flagitiosa et non etiam sacrilega esset ...' (Ep.22.3); moreover they were wide-:spread and accepted in the African Church: 'multas carnales foeditates et aegritudines quas Africana ecclesia in multis patitur, in paucis gemit ...'(Ep.22.2). Augustine uses the strongest/

strongest possible terms to denounce the abuses: 'tantum de-:decus', 'tantam morum labem', 'quod licentiosa et male libera consuetudo vulnus influxit', 'istae in cimiteriis ebrietates et luxuriosa convivia', 'istam foeditatem et turpitudinem' (Ep.22. 3,4,6); 'illa sollemnitas ... quam laetitiam nominantes vino-:lentiae nomen frustra conantur abscondere', 'voluptatum carn-:alium sordidibus dediti', 'ebriosa convivia quae ubique sunt turpia', 'vinulenta convivia', 'in abundantia epularum et ebrie-:tate', 'tam immanem pestem' (Ep.29.2,3,4,9,10). He sums up his plea thus: 'saltem de sanctorum corporum sepulcris, saltem de locis sacramentorum, de domibus orationum tantum dedecus arceatur. Quis enim audet vetare privatim quod, cum frequent-:atur in sanctis locis, honor martyrum nominatur?' (Ep.22.3). Scholars disagree on the interpretation of the four expressions sanctorum corporum sepulcra, loci sacramentorum, domus oration-:um, sancti loci: some understand the first three as referring to three different places:

1. the cemeteries outside the town containing the tombs of martyrs and saints, and by the fourth century the memoria-basilica built in their honour;

2. basilicae or ecclesiae within the town where a Christian congregation met for worship and where the sacraments of Bapt-:ism and the Eucharist were observed;

3. domus ecclesiae, the house-church and the private oratory; while the fourth, sancti loci, would be a general term embrac-:ing all three: according to others, Augustine is describing in four telling phrases one sacred place which is being thus desecrated, viz. the tomb of the martyr-bishop Leontius, set in a cemetery outside Hippo, now incorporated in the memoria-basilica where the Eucharist is celebrated and prayers are said in his honour.

Augustine refers to the practice of other countries - Italy, and in particular Rome and Milan, and 'other churches across the sea'. In most of Italy such disorderly celebrations have been repressed: 'cum vero et per Italiae maximam partem et in aliis omnibus aut prope omnibus transmarinis ecclesiis ... extincta atque deleta sunt' (Ep.22.4); so, too, in almost all the churches across the sea. In this matter he appears to divide the churches into three groups:

1. churches which had never known such celebrations: 'partim quia numquam facta sunt' (Ep.22.4); 'deinde hortatus sum ut transmarinarum ecclesiarum in quibus partim ista recepta num-:quam sunt ... imitatores esse vellent' (Ep.29.10);

2. churches in which these celebrations had been of long standing but had been ended by their bishops: 'partim quia ... vel inveterata sanctorum ... episcoporum diligentia et anim-:adversione extincta atque deleta sunt'(Ep.22.4); 'partim iam per bonos rectores populo obtemperante correcta' (Ep.29.10);

3. churches in which such practices had arisen only recently but had been similarly repressed: 'partim quia vel orta ... sanctorum ... episcoporum diligentia et animadversione extincta atque deleta sunt'(Ep.22.4).

Milan seems to have belonged to the second category. We know from Augustine's Confessions that Ambrose was engaged in suppressing the practice there during Augustine's residence in the city: 'Itaque cum ad memorias sanctorum, sicut in Africa solebat (sc. mater mea), pultes et panem et merum adtulisset, atque ab ostiario prohiberetur: ubi hoc episcopum vetuisse cognovit, tam pie atque oboedienter amplexa est, ut ipse mirarer quam facile accusatrix potius consuetudinis suae quam discept-:atrix illius prohibitionis effecta sit' (Conf.vi.2). Monica's practice, which is primarily African although it seems to have tallied with former Milanese custom, is described in detail: sed/

sed illa cum attulisset canistrum cum sollemnibus epulis, prae-
:gustandis atque largiendis, plus etiam quam unum pocillum pro
suo palato satis sobrio temperatum, unde dignationem sumeret,
non ponebat: et si multae essent quae illo modo videbantur honor-
:andae memoriae defunctorum. idem ipsum unum, quod ubique pon-
:eret, circumferebat, quo iam non solum aquatissimo, sed etiam
tepidissimo cum suis praesentibus per sorbitiones exiguas part-
:iretur, quia pietatem ibi quaerebat, non voluptatem.' (ibid,);
and later he speaks of her basket as filled with 'the fruits of
the earth': 'canistro pleno terrenis fructibus'. Ambrose appar-
:ently forbade the practice altogether, partly because some
abused it and became drunk, partly because it resembled too
closely the custom of pagans: 'itaque ubi comperit a praeclaro
praedicatore atque antistite pietatis praeceptum esse ista non
fieri, nec ab eis qui sobrie facerent, ne ulla occasio se in-
:gurgitandi daretur ebriosis, et quia illa quasi parentalia
superstitioni gentilium essent simillima, abstinuit se libent-
:issime' (ibid.). Ambrose replaced former practice with the
celebration of the Eucharist at the martyrs' memoriae and the
giving of alms to the needy: 'plenum purgatioribus votis pectus
ad memorias martyrum afferre didicerat (sc. mater mea), ut et
quod posset daret egentibus et sic communicatio dominici corp-
:oris illic celebraretur cuius passionis imitatione immolati
et coronati sunt martyres.' (ibid.).

At Rome it proved much more difficult to suppress the old
customs. Augustine records in Ep.29 that when he himself pro-
:posed to deal with these practices at Hippo Regius people
quoted against him the case of the basilica of St. Peter outside
Rome which was the scene of daily drunkenness: 'quoniam de bas-
:ilica beati apostoli Petri cotidianae vinulentiae proferebant-
:ur exempla' (Ep.29.10). Augustine admitted that it had not
yet/

yet been suppressed and he did not minimise the seriousness of the disorder: 'tam immanem pestem nondum compesci sedarique pot-:uisse'; but he gave several explanations of the situation - the distance of the basilica from the bishop's residence, the large number of pilgrims, the city crowds, all of which militated against the frequent attempts to stop the abuse: 'primo audisse nos saepe esse prohibitum', 'quod remotus sit locus ab episcopi conversatione', 'in tanta civitate magna sit carnalium multitudo', 'peregrinis praesertim qui novi subinde veniunt tanto violentius quanto inscitius illam consuetudinem retinentibus'(ibid.). Fin-:ally Augustine appealed to St. Peter's own writings against the practice of his basilica at Rome: 'verum tamen nos si Petrum apostolum honoraremus, debere praecepta eius audire et multo devotius epistulam in qua voluntas eius apparet, quam basilicam in qua non apparet, intueri' (ibid.). It was this argument which won the day with Augustine's own congregation at Hippo.

Augustine substituted a midday service of worship at Hippo for the former feasting and drinking in honour of the martyr-bishop Leontius. At the morning service on the dies natalis he dealt with some of the last objections raised by members to the proposed change, particularly the tolerance shown by the Church towards the old customs in the period immediately follow-:ing 313 and their persistence at St. Peter's basilica outside Rome; and then he gave instructions for the midday service: 'hortatus sum ut meridiano tempore divinis lectionibus et psalmis interessent: ita illum diem multo mundius atque sincerius plac-:ere celebrandum' (Ep.29.10). In the afternoon a larger crowd attended: first there was a period of alternate reading and singing: then bishop Valerius and his presbyter Augustine came out: two psalms were sung, then Valerius commanded Augustine to give an address, which he did somewhat reluctantly: his main point/

point was to give thanks to God, but as the noise of the Donat-
:ist celebrations in their basilica could be heard by his con-
:gregation he took the opportunity to compare their own spirit-
:ual honouring of the martyrdom of Leontius with the gluttonous
conviviality of the others: 'pomeridiano autem die maior quam
ante meridiem adfuit multitudo; usque ad horam qua cum episcopo
egrederemur legebatur alternatim et psallebatur; nobisque egress-
:is duo psalmi lecti sunt. deinde me invitum, qui iam cupiebam
peractum esse tam periculosum diem, iussum compulit senex ut
aliquid eis loquerer.' (ibid.11). At the end of his sermon the
usual daily evening service was held, then the bishop and Aug-
:ustine left while the brothers and a considerable number of
both men and women continued singing hymns and psalms until
darkness fell: 'atque in hanc sententiam pro tempore cum ea quae
dominus suggerere dignatus est dicta essent, acta sunt vespertina
quae cotidie solent; nobisque cum episcopo recedentibus fratres
eodem loco hymnos dixerunt non parva multitudine utriusque sexus
ad obscuratum diem manente atque psallente.' (ibid.).

The Donatist celebration of the anniversary of the martyr-
:dom of bishop Leontius apparently consisted mainly of feasting
and drinking: 'quoniam in haereticorum basilica audiebamus ab
eis solita convivia celebrata, cum adhuc etiam eo ipso tempore
quo a nobis ista gerebantur illi in poculis perdurarent'; and
later he speaks of it as 'ex alia parte carnalis ingurgitatio'
(Ep.29.11).

At Hippo Augustine was also concerned that the cult of the
dead should take a form acceptable to the Church. It is the
view of ignorant lay people, he declares, that the drunken
revels in cemeteries not only honour the martyrs but give com-
:fort to the dead: 'istae in cimiteriis ebrietates et luxuriosa
convivia non solum honores martyrum a carnali et imperita plebe
credi solent/

credi solent, sed etiam solacia mortuorum' (Ep.22.6), but he acknowledges that he himself believes that the offerings made on tombs for the spirits of the dead are of some avail: 'oblat-:iones pro spiritibus dormientium, quas vere aliquid adiuvare credendum est, super ipsas memorias' (ibid.). Accordingly he proceeded to forbid the disorderly feasting on Biblical grounds but he allowed that offerings should be made upon the tombs for the spirits of the dead: these offerings should not be extra-:vagant, they should be given without ostentation to any who asked but should not be sold, and if anyone wished to make a money-offering he should distribute it to the poor on the spot: 'oblationes pro spiritibus dormientium ... super ipsas memorias non sint sumptuosae atque omnibus petentibus sine typho et cum alacritate praebeantur neque vendantur: sed si quis pro relig-:ione aliquid pecuniae offerre voluerit, in praesenti pauper-:ibus eroget' (ibid.). Augustine's purpose was two-fold: to ensure that the ceremonies in church were conducted with reverence and decorum; and to prevent any distress arising if the people appeared to be neglecting their burial-places: 'ita nec deserere videbuntur memorias suorum quod potest gignere non levem cordis dolorem, et id celebrabitur in ecclesia quod pie honesteque celebratur' (ibid.). In Ep.29 he makes it plain that feasts, even if sober and decorous, should not be held in church: 'quo recitato (1 Cor.5.11; 6.9f.; 11.20f.) diligentius commendavi ne honesta quidem et sobria convivia debere in ecclesia celebrari' (Ep.29.5).

The cult of the dead seems to have been associated partic-:ularly with the third, ninth and sometimes the thirtieth day after death, the Parentalia of February, and the yearly anni-:versary. In the evening of the third and ninth days the family and relations came to the grave to mourn and to share in a meal with the dead/

with the dead, and the latter day marked the end of the tradit-
:ional period of family mourning, the novemdialia: the thirt-
ieth day was sometimes similarly observed. On the anniversary
relations, heirs, friends, clients and servants all gathered at
the grave in the evening and shared in a meal with the dead.
During the Parentalia all the dead members of the family were
honoured and on the last day, February 22nd, all the relations
assembled at the grave for a meal shared with the departed, the
caristia. Augustine recommended that Christians should honour
their dead on the third day as the day of Resurrection and on
the seventh day as the day of rest.

It is clear from both literary and archaeological evidence
that in countries of the central Mediterranean the cult of mart-
:yrs took a variety of forms. In some the Church took the lead,
in others popular enthusiasm was a powerful factor.

The Sermons preached by Augustine 'in Natali Martyrum' show
both how the Church of Hippo encouraged the honouring of martyrs
and which martyrs she honoured. There are sermons in praise of
the universally known Biblical martyrs, Peter, Paul, John the
Baptist and Stephen; the Roman martyrs Laurence and Agnes; Gerv-
:asius and Protasius of Milan; Cyprian, Perpetua and Felicity of
N.Africa. But there was apparently much greater enthusiasm for
local martyrs, and Augustine celebrated the memory of a long
list of such people e.g Bishop Quadratus and the Three Hundred
martyrs of Utica, those of Scilli, the lector Marinus and deac-
:on Jacobus of Lambaesis, and those of Hippo itself, Bishop
Theogenes, the Eight, the Twenty. The service was held at the
memoria-basilica which by now had been built over the grave of
the martyr in the cemetery outside the town. Relevant readings
were taken from the Scriptures and from the Passio of the martyr
if available or from public records e.g. the records of the
trial/

trial of the Scillitani, the Acta Proconsularia for Cyprian's death (Serm.309.1f.), the Passio of Fructuosus (Serm.273.2f.). Augustine, however, warned his hearers that the Passio of Perpet-:ua and Felicity, and of others, were not canonical writings (Serm.280.1f.) and remarked that for most local martyrs not even 'Gesta' were available (Serm.315.1). While he faithfully observ-:ed the sequence of anniversaries, he was restrained in his attit-:ude to the cult. He rejected the claim of the Sixty at Colonia Sufetana (Ep.50) and he stressed the distinction between the hon-:ouring of martyrs and the worship of God. Thus he writes: 'God remains God without them, but what are they without God?' (Serm. 319.8); 'The saints have neither priests nor altars of their own, no sacrifice is offered to them, not even by the simple people who hold a feast for the dead upon their graves. The cult of the saints is really directed to him who made them what they are' (De Civ. Dei 8.27); 'the Christian people celebrates the memoriae of the martyrs with such solemn piety because it looks upon them as examples to be followed, as advocates, and so that they may share in their merits and be fortified by their prayers; but there is always this reservation: our altars are not erected to any martyr but to the God of the martyrs - even though they lie within the martyrs' memoriae' (c. Faustum Manichaeum 20.21).

In the Eucharistic liturgy on Sundays at Hippo the names of the martyrs were read out in the prayers of intercession. Aug-:ustine emphasises that the congregation do not pray for martyrs as they do for others who have died: 'rather do we ourselves wish to be recommended by their prayers'(Serm.59.1); 'we can do nothing for them except increase their joy by following their virtues: this is the only ground we can give them for aiding us in our temporal needs' (Serm.325.1, 317.1). But inscriptions in the catacombs at Rome show that people turned instinctively to the martyrs for help e.g. 'PAULE ED PETRE PETITE PRO VICTORE in the catacomb of S.Sebastiano at Rome.

Archaeological evidence from Salona shows clearly that the rites and observances for the dead of Christians and of pagans there were closely linked. The excavations of Egger and of Dyggve are particularly relevant. Dyggve records in his History of Sal-:onitan Christianity (c.4) that at the Marusinac and Manastirine cemeteries respectively the local martyrs Anastasius and Bishop Domnio were buried in the very midst of pagan burials, and in graves or sepulchral chambers which did not differ from those of pagans; and furthermore that the cult arrangements on ordinary private Christian graves were analogous to those on pagan graves. He quotes examples of detached sarcophagi, set in the open air, which have incised bowl-shaped depressions on the acroterion or top of the gable; burials under the level of the earth where the top stone has a bowl-shaped depression or is itself shaped as a flat basin surrounded by a profiled frame, with often, in addition, perforations and incised grooves; square grave tessellae with a round flat basin, with or without perforations, which have a groove and outlet at the outer edge; and grave-mensae of various shapes, rectangular, round and semicircular or sigma-shaped. In the Kapljuc cemetery he describes the triclinium, consisting of three large plastered masonry benches, with a mensa raised over the remains of the four soldier martyrs, dating most probably from shortly before 313, with five depressions of different types in the upper side of the stone flag cover. Dyggve concludes (ibid. pp.75) that it can be regarded as an indisputable fact that the cult of martyrs at Salona started as a cult of the dead and that, since pagan, ordinary Christian and martyr-Christian graves alike were provided with identical arrangements for the observance of the cult, the rites practised at these different types of tomb must have been identical. The rites in question, he contends, centred upon a meal shared by the living with the dead, a meal of communion, and it must have included a solid offering as well a as/

as a libation. He suggests that a grave-mensa from Tunis which shows in relief three flat bowls containing fish, bread and cakes, and a fourth deeper container open for the libation throws light on the precise nature of the offering. The perforation of the grave cap-stone proves that the cult act was directed towards the dead person in the grave, and the finding at Salona of a cap-stone shaped as a triclinium, where three persons were able to take part in the funeral meal while lying on the top of the very grave or grave-mensa, confirms that the death meal was shared with the dead person. As Dyggve puts it: 'it was simply an offering and partaking of food and drink, the things that maintain life', 'a meal shared by the living relatives with the dead and, in the case of martyrs, a meal shared by the worshippers with the martyr in order to attain a close personal relationship with him and se-:cure his aid as a powerful Christian 'hero', patron and protect-:or' (ibid.). Quoting the researches of Theodore Klauser Dyggve further asserts that both at private graves and at martyr-graves the cult also included the anointing of the grave-stone or mensa and the use of lights and antiphonal singing with the particip-:ants seated on symmetrically arranged benches: in the martyr-cult these rites preceded the death-meal proper (ibid.).

In the fourth and fifth centuries there was a growing desire on the part of Christian people to be buried close to the tomb of a martyr. Archaeological evidence leaves no room for doubt about the popularity of the custom. For this reason the cata-:combs at Rome, Naples and in Sicily were riddled with a multit-:ude of narrow passages surrounding the graves of early martyrs, and the closer they came to the martyr's tomb, the narrower be-:came the passage and the denser the burials. In the large memoriae-basilicae built in the cemeteries over martyrs' graves, every space round the altar was used for burials and sometimes the whole of the nave in addition. At S.Sebastiano on the Via Appia excavations carried out between 1915 and 1931 revealed that the entire floor was occupied by graves piled one on top of the other (ground-plan by Fornari in Rivista di archeologia cristiana 9.201, 1932; and Atti II Congresso di Archeologia crist-:iana, Rome, 1934). The bishops of Rome in the third century were buried in unpretentious chambers in the general cemetery of S.Callisto, but after 313 they chose to be buried either in a cemetery which contained the tomb of a martyr such as Priscilla or Laurence, or in a memoria-basilica which they had raised over a martyr's grave, or in the basilica of St.Peter which Kraut-:heimer describes as follows: 'the basilica was laid out to house the memoria of the apostle long since held in veneration, making it accessible to the crowds and offering space for serv-:ices held over it or nearby. At the same time the building served as a covered graveyard and a funeral banqueting hall. Its floors, excavated in the sixteenth century, were found carpet-:ed with graves, some holding fourth century sarcophagi. Wealthy mausolea, of later fourth century date, including the mausoleum of the Anicii adjoining the apse and an Imperial tomb of about 400 built against the south end of the transept, lined the outer walls: and as late as 400 we hear of funeral banquets being/

being held in the church' (op.cit.pp.34). Ambrose at Milan bur-:ied his brother Satyrus near the grave of St.Victor (De excessu Satyri 1.18, P.L.16.1352). Paulinus of Nola buried his only child near the martyrs of Complutum (Carmen 31.606f.) and later at Nola he built a shrine over the grave of St.Felix and expressed a de-sire to be buried there along with his wife, Therasia.

At Salona Dyggve concludes from a study of the results of excavations and of inscriptions that there was 'a desperate fight' to secure the best burial-places. Burial inscriptions contain phrases such as 'iuxta loca sanctissima', 'martyribus adscita' (106 and 110 in Egger, Forschungen in Salona II, 82, Vienna, 1917-39). Excavations carried out at the memoria-basilica of Mena-:stirine in the 1890s revealed that stone sarcophagi had been placed in great confusion and often in two layers both inside the apse which housed the martyr's grave and round about it: on the other hand Egger's later work showed that the western part of the basilica was almost unused except for some cheap tile graves of the poor. Similarly in the basilica discoperta at the Marus-:inac cemetery large stone sarcophagi were found set as closely as possible together under the floor of the apse which contained the martyr's tomb. In the Manastirine basilica the sarcophagus of Bishop Gaianus (c381-c391) was found next to that of the martyr-deacon Septimius which rested under the altar.

Augustine was critical of this custom. He recalled that Monica, his mother, was not troubled about her place of burial: she simply said: 'this only I entreat, that you will remember me at the altar of the Lord, wheresoever you be' (Conf.ix.11.27). Accordingly in the De Cura Mortuorum he declared that the burial-place was of little consequence; what mattered was prayer; but he conceded that people might pray better at a martyr's memoria because they believed that the martyr could help their dead bur-:ied nearby (1.1; 4.6; 5.7; etc.).

One of the main forms in which the cult of the martyrs ex-:pressed itself was in the construction of memoriae and basilicas over the martyrs' graves in the cemeteries. The cemeteries them-:selves were either underground catacombs as at Rome and Naples, in Sicily and N.Africa, or they were open-air areae as found at Rome and in N.Africa, in Dalmatia, Greece and Asia Minor, and in Spain and the Rhineland, dating from the late third to the sixth century.

Krautheimer traces the development of such structures in these countries: 'simple graves, often topped by funeral banquet tables (mensae), alternated with free-standing sarcophagi. In between stood small mausolea (cellae); some have survived, trans-:formed into crypts, in some medieval churches in France e.g. at Poitiers and Saint-Maximin. Funeral banqueting halls of varying size were at times enclosed buildings; at other times they were open to the sky; or they were porticos bordering the area and sheltering a few mensae as in the Bonn memoria c.250' (op.cit., p.9f.). He quotes as examples the portico with mensae adjoining tomb-basilica of Bishop Alexander of c.400, and the funerary building of fourth century date excavated in a Christian cemetery below the church of St.Severin at Cologne. When the structure had to serve the public cult of a martyr, then 'such purely pract-:ical layouts' had to give way to more monumental designs.

The development of the martyrium of St.Peter at Rome is of unique interest. In the late second century the wall sheltering the grave was hollowed into a niche and an aedicula was placed in front, consisting of two columns 5' high supporting a stone plaque: the upper part of the niche was perhaps surmounted by a gable resting on half-columns. The grave itself lay in a small area containing a few poor graves, set in the midst of a cemetery filled with the lavish monuments of followers of eastern relig-:ions, all except one dating from c.120-160. By 330 the lower part/

part of the aedicula was buried, but the upper part was made the focus of the great basilica erected on the site by Constantine. The construction was begun probably in 333 and completed by c. 360. A triple entrance gate on the east led into the atrium, in the centre of which stood an impressive cantharus consisting of a bronze pine-cone, symbol of eternity, placed under an arched canopy supported by six porphyry columns and adorned with bronze peacocks. The doors at the east end of the basilica opened into a huge nave, 84 metres long, flanked by two rows of twenty-two columns and, beyond these, double aisles: the columns supported an entablature later adorned with O.T. frescoes, while the aisles were divided by an arcaded colonnade. Across the west end of the basilica ran a continuous transept of the same height as the nave and extending slightly beyond the outer walls of the aisles: opposite the nave it terminated in a huge apse, on the chord of which rose the memoria of St.Peter, set off by a bronze railing and sheltered by a baldacchino supported by four spiral columns, as depicted on an ivory casket found at Pula in Yugoslavia. The apse was curtained off, but the transept was designed primarily to accommodate the great crowds who came to visit the shrine and was reserved for clergy only during services. The altar was apparently separate from the shrine and Krautheimer presumes that it was movable (ibid.pp.11f., 32f.).

At the catacomb of S.Sebastiano on the Via Appia an open courtyard was laid out c.268 as a funeral banquet hall, or triclia, with an open loggia on one side and a niche with marble revet-:ment to mark the memoria of the two apostles, Peter and Paul; at the same time a formal festival was instituted in their hon-:our. The fourth century basilica of S.Sebastiano may have been built as early as 312: according to Krautheimer it is still well preserved below a Baroque remodelling and is a huge structure in which the aisles enveloped the apse to form an ambulatory and the floors/

the floors were covered with graves, while mausolea crowded round the outside.(ibid.pp.15, 31).

In the catacomb on the Via Tiburtina the tomb of the deacon-martyr Laurence was at some point isolated from the rock of the catacomb wall and a tomb chamber was made round it to form an underground martyrium. Krautheimer records that 'a ring enclos-:ing a hollow tube or cataract was placed over the grave, allow-:ing the faithful to peer down, to offer libations of oil and wine, and to lower linen strips, which would acquire the power of a relic through contact with the martyr' and he quotes the note in the Liber Pontificalis (1.181) that imperial gifts of silver railings, lamps and candlesticks were placed around the tomb and in the chamber. Nearby, a large basilica similar to that of S.Sebastiano, was built in the early years of Constant-:ine's reign (ibid.pp29, 31). Another such basilica was erected near the grave of the martyr Agnes on the Via Nomentana, and among the mausolea surrounding the outside was that of Constant-:ine's daughter, now S.Costanza.(ibid.pp.31).

In the Callisto catacomb the two chambers used for the bur-:ial of the bishops of Rome from the early third century were by 250 joined together to form one larger room and were adorned with two attached columns. Inscriptions indicate that the en-:larged chamber was used as a martyrium, and in the fourth cent-:ury it was equipped with an altar and chancel screens (ibid.pp.12)

Krautheimer describes some of the elaborate martyria found at Rome in open-air graveyards above the catacombs dating from the early fourth century: 'some were triconchs (cellae trichorae), the centre bay vaulted, the facade open in a wide arch or a triple arcade or preceded by a short nave. The martyr's tomb was either below the floor or in a chamber of the catacomb e.g. the cellae trichorae of S.Sotere and S.Sisto above the Callisto catacomb. Other martyria were cross-shaped, the centre square groin-vaulted/

groin-vaulted, and the tomb apparently hidden underground in a circular vault enlarged by cross arms. At least one martyrium, that above the catacomb of St.Praetextatus, was a hexagon struct-:ure with low niches projecting between high buttresses, the centre room domed and lighted by narrow windows above the apses (the chapel of SS.Tiburtius, Valerianus and Maximus) ... All are closely linked in plan and design to the tradition of pagan Roman mausolea and heroa of an elaborate type (ibid.pp.14).

In N.Africa excavations have revealed an unusual number of martyria in the form of sigma-shaped stone mensae in the open air, small cellae, and great basilicas. The names of the martyrs are as a rule inscribed on the mensae and in the basilicas on the mosaic floor either at the altar or in a separate apse in the west end: often the inscription is adorned with a cross or the initials of Christ and with lambs, doves and peacocks. In many cases it is not clear whether the martyrium covers the actual grave or merely contains relics. A few give details of the per-:secution under Diocletian and, according to van der Meer, 'un-:doubtedly cover the graves of genuine martyrs': he quotes as an example the inscription found on a grave at Milevis: 'On the third day before the Ides of June burial of the blood of the holy mart-:yrs who suffered under Praeses Florus in the city of Milevis in the time of the offering of incense: among others there rests here in peace Inno(centius)' (Diehl, I.L.V.C.1.2100; van der Meer, op.cit.pp.479). A few actual graves of martyrs have been detect-:ed, for instance that of Perpetua and Felicity in the remains of the Basilica Maiorum or Restituta at Carthage.

New memoriae were constantly being added: not only did the Church seek to honour its martyrs fittingly, as when Augustine built a basilica ad octo martyres (Serm.356.10) and a chapel was erected to St.Stephen in 424 next to the bishop-church at Hippo, but/

but free-standing stone mensae were frequently put up, often in response to dreams. So rife was the practice that the Synod of Carthage in 401 prescribed: 'The mensae which have been erected everywhere in fields and by the wayside, and of which it cannot be proved that they contain a body or a relic, are to be destroyed by whatever bishop exercises ecclesiastical authority over the place concerned ... bishops should warn the faithful not to visit these places ... not a single memoria should be regarded as even probably genuine unless a body or relics of unquestionable authent-:icity are to be found at such a place, or unless there is at least a tradition that is worthy of belief concerning their rest-:ing-place, ownership and passion. Above all the bishops should put a stop to the practice that now obtains of erecting mensae on the strength of dreams and alleged revelations vouchsafed to all kinds of simple people'. The problem apparently persisted, for the warning had to be repeated by the Synod of 438 (Mansi, Concilia 3.971f.).

At Salona E. Dyggve traced similar stages of structural de-:velopment related to the cult, namely the actual burial of the martyr, then the construction of a small memoria, then in some cases the building of a large martyr-basilica in the cemetery to provide accommodation both for the public cult and for private death rites. The final stage he reckons was reached in the Kapljuc cemetery c.350, in the Eastern cemetery probably in the fourth century, at Manastirine early in the fifth century and at Marusinac c.428.

He describes a number of the small memoriae found in these various cemeteries outside Salona. At Kapljuc the memoria for the Five martyrs - the priest Asterius and four soldiers belong-:ing to Diocletian's lifeguard, Antiochianus, Gaianus, Paulinian-:us and Telius, all beheaded in 304 in the arena of the amphi-theatre/

amphitheatre in the neighbourhood of the cemetery - took the form of a raised platform erected over their graves and an open area; another, the 'north memoria' showed the unusual buttress archi-:tecture which appeared at Salona c.300. At Manastirine one memoria consisted of an open area which terminated in an apse with a small covered annexe; another he describes as an open peristyle yard surrounded by apses one of which held the martyr's tomb and provided with a burial corridor like a side aisle: this structure he dates to the time of Constantine and he suggests that several families erected it so that they could celebrate the martyr liturgy side by side with the ordinary death cult un-:disturbed behind the high enclosing walls. Marusinac held the grave of the martyr Anastasius. According to the tradition in-:corporated in his Vita he was a fuller from Aquileia who came to Salona and was martyred in the reign of Diocletian for putting a cross on the door of the hostel where he was staying. He was thrown into the Bay of Salona with a millstone round his neck. Local Christians retrieved his body and it was placed in a sarc-:ophagus in the crypt of the apse of a mausoleum which belonged to the wealthy matron Asclepia and her husband: their bodies were later buried in sarcophagi placed in a crypt in front of the apse. The upper part of the mausoleum contained 'a cult-room for use both for the private death-cult and for the martyr-cult' (Dyggve, op.cit.pp.78). On the exterior the mausoleum displays the buttress architecture which was introduced from the east, while the interior shows close conformity in structure and measurements with that of the small prostyle Hellenistic temple at the palace of Diocletian (Forschungen in Salona III.102f.). Krautheimer describes the mausoleum as a small two-storeyed rectangular building provided with an interior apse, barrel-vaulted and strengthened by exterior buttresses: 'the underground tomb vault sheltered the martyr's body under the apse, the founders' sarco-:phagi/

sarcophagi under the nave. The upper chamber, also barrel-vaulted, was used for funeral banquets and memorial services. The type obviously derives from Roman two- and three-storeyed mausolea and heroa ...' (op.cit.pp.14). He dates the mausoleum to 305-10. Another memoria in the Marusinac cemetery takes the form of a free-standing exedra like an apse with a grave below floor level: the space above, the cubiculum superius, would be used exclusively for cult acts, according to Dyggve.

The oldest of the martyr-basilicas at Salona is that of the Five martyrs at Kapljuc cemetery: it was built under Bishop Leontius c.350. The floor was laid on the level of the tessella and the benches, but the tessella itself continued in use. At a later period the facade was furnished with buttresses. Dyggve proceeds to show that the interior furnishing was identical with that of an urban congregational church for fragments of fretwork screen plates with varying patterns found on the site can be reconstructed to form a presbytery 'which with its cross-bars and pulpit might just as well belong to one of the con-:gregational basilicas inside the town' (op.cit., figs.iv.32-4). At Marusinac cemetery the Anastasius basilica, according to Dyggve, belongs to the time of Bishop Paschasius who took office before 426, and he points out that the oldest dated inscription from the basilica is from 428. The sarcophagus of Anastasius was moved from its original place to the apse of the basilica and its lid was replaced by an ordinary burial cover or tessella so that a confessio could be set under the floor of the choir. A fenestella was made with a railing cast into the wall of the sarcophagus and a small narrow stair was constructed down which worshippers might descend. Krautheimer describes the basilica as 'a normal basilica like any in Greece, including the mosaic carpets in nave and aisles, the altar directly in front of the apse, the atrium enveloped by porticos ... the short bay in front/

front of the apse seems derived from the local basilica episcop-
:alis. Were it not for the site of the church outside the town
on a cemetery, the fact that the mausoleum of the martyr is en-
:closed in the atrium, and the presence of private mausolea at
the four ends of the aisles, nothing would reveal the cemetery
function of the structure ... A large open-air precinct of reg-
:ularised plan, adjoining the Anastasius basilica to the north,
was laid out in 426 to replace an older, small apsed martyrium
shrine. A courtyard enveloped by porticos terminated in a group
of three mausolea; an apse in the centre and two oblong rooms pro-
:jecting sideways ...' (op.cit.pp.135). Dyggve suggests that
cultic dances were performed in front of the martyr grave in the
open area surrounded by the covered colonnades, quoting as auth-
:ority the statement of Eusebius that on the final victory of Con-
:stantine in 324 'with dances and thanksgiving hymns God the al-
:mighty King was honoured in the town as well as in the country,
and after him the Emperor and his sons' (H.E.10.9.7), and referr-
:ing also to the representation in relief on the Theodosius ob-
:elisk from the hippodrome at Constantinople of dancing in hon-
:our of the Emperor. At the Eastern cemetery the ground-plan
of the basilica is T-shaped and thus similar to that of the East
basilica within Salona. This fact Dyggve sees as giving further
support to the view 'that there is absolutely no formal differ-
:ence between urban and cemeterial churches' and he concludes
that it has a bearing on the liturgy performed in each.

Germany supplies us with a number of examples of early Christian martyria.

At Bonn a simple martyrium-precinct was constructed c.258 on a Christian cemetery found below the medieval cathedral. The precinct, which was un-roofed, housed two tombs, each surmounted by a square structure of masonry; the tomb which had the larger superstructure was situated at one of the short ends of the rect-:angular precinct and was equipped on the top with shallow hollows for offering libations; the other tomb stood centrally on one of the long sides; a low masonry bench ran along the other long side and part of the adjacent short side of the precinct. This memoria is roughly contemporary with the triclia set up in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul at Rome at the site of S.Sebastiano on the Via Appia.

At Xanten below the medieval cathedral a funeral hall has been excavated of the type found in various parts of the Empire in Constantinian times. It is of simple rectangular plan and was designed for memorial services and funeral meals. Another of the same type has been discovered at St.Alban in Mainz. These find a parallel at Salona in the two halls adjoining an open area, found under the Anastasius basilica, and at Vicenza in N.Italy in the hall uncovered on the site of the later cemetery-church of SS. Felice and Fortunato.

At Cologne - important as the residence of the Emperor Jul-:ian and his successors during campaigns against invading barbar-:ians - a fourth century funerary structure has been discovered in a Christian cemetery situated below the church of St.Severin. The church lies not far from the Rhine at some distance due south of the south-east corner of the colony. F. Fremersdorff, who reports on the excavations in Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland, Berlin, 1958, detects several phases in the development of the martyrium:/

a) The earliest structure was set in a cemetery which had been in use from 50/75 A.D. Pagan cremation burials with grave-goods of this period were found in the area near the Roman road; on the east side, similar pagan burials of the 2nd and 3rd C, and among them some rich E-W burials in coffins of wood, lead and stone, one of which can be dated to c.160 from various data e.g. three coins of the 1st and mid-2nd C, the size of the lid, the later pagan burial of c.180 set in the soil above it; also the find in the 19th C of gold glass with O.T. pictures, the burial-stone of a girl, Concordia, adorned with Christian symbols, and Irenaeus' mention of Christian communities in Germany (adv. Haer.). The pagans were in the majority but evidently tolerant as the Christians did not have a separate burial-ground.

b) The earliest structure was erected probably c.320 - a small basilica, 10.6m. by 8.55m., with a western apse and the entrance on the east, slightly off-course on an E-W alignment, probably because it was set at an exact right-angle to the road. There was no sign of an altar, but a grotto had been made in the apse in the 17th C: excavations revealed two burials in wood coffins side by side, identified as those of Asclinius and Pamp-:ilius, noted in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum as martyred in Cologne on 30th June. The basilica and cemetery continued in use for burials in the 4th C: pre-320 burials were aligned due E-W, post-320 burials on the axis of the basilica. As well as graves there were several substantial memoriae equipped with a room for meeting: finds included a Good Shepherd representation.

c) In the late 4th C aisles and a narthex were added to the basilica: in the narthex was a spacious built grave, probably the original burial-place of bishop Severinus who died in 400 and whose body was moved to a Confessio in the west wall in 948.

d) In the 5th C a court was added measuring 11m. by 19m.

e) In the 6th C a more solid, new three-nave church, 37m. long, with choir on the west, was constructed on the same site.

One cannot conclude without more ado that the veneration of Christian martyrs took the same forms in countries where invading peoples with traditions quite different from those of the Mediterr-:anean basin constituted the bulk of the population. Gaul, Britain, Germany and Spain presented another setting for the reception of Roman culture and of Christianity, and the extent of the persist-:ence of native religious ideas and practices needs to be carefully estimated in the light of literary and archaeological evidence. The close connection at Rome, Salona and in N.Africa between the cult of the dead and the cult of martyrs, and the continuance of pagan practices in this field in the fourth and fifth centuries warns against hasty assumptions.

In Gaul Professor Jean-Jacques Hatt has shown convincingly from the evidence of archaeology that the survival of Gallic trad-:itions within the Romanised provincial civilisation of Gaul was most apparent and most striking in the field of religion and partic-:ularly in funeral rites which tend by their very nature to be less open to change ('Celts and Gallo-Romans', ET London, 1970). This he attributes to the following factors. The Gallic priestly class, the Druids, persisted right on to the third and fourth centuries, as Ausonius attests in Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium 1.1, 4.7, and 10.22. An 'interpretatio Gallica' accompanied and followed upon the 'interpretatio Romana', with the druids playing a con-:siderable part in it. Ancient Gallic religious traditions con-:tinued to be observed at great sanctuaries, some of which were gathering-places like the sanctuary at Le Donon (Bas-Rhin), capital of three confederated tribes, others dedicated to the native Apollo where the rites of prophetic medicine and divination inher-:ited from the Greeks were practised with the approval of the Romans. Finally, there were areas of Gaul which largely escaped Romanisation, such as the Massif Central, the Pyrenees and the agricultural/

agricultural district of Normandy, where the people continued to live and work in hamlets and the community often centred upon a sanctuary or a sanctuary with an associated cemetery (ibid.pp300f).

Professor Hatt disentangled the central myth of Gallic re-:ligion by comparing the imagery of the Gundestrup cauldron, dated to the first century B.C. and of Gallic origin although found in a Danish bog, with that of the earliest known Gallo-Roman monu-:ments, particularly the pillar of the boatmen of Paris of c.17 AD. His reconstruction runs as follows: a great mother-goddess marries first Taranis, the sky-god, and later Esus, the earth-god, who takes two forms: as Esus in human form he is the god of vegetation and marries the mother-goddess in spring: as Cernunnos, a monster half-man and half-stag, he is the god of the underworld and of riches; at the beginning of spring the mother-goddess leaves Tar-:anis and his fierce dogs to join Esus; she helps Esus' protector, the hero Smertrius, to kill Taranis' watchdog; Taranis with the aid of another dog changes the mother-goddess and her two attend-:ants into cranes; Smertrius sacrifices the three divine bulls found by the Gallic Dioscuri and thus restores the cranes to human form; finally he sacrifices a stag to enable Esus to return to earth in human form and marry the mother-goddess (ibid.pp.245f.). Scenes from this Gallic myth and allusions to it continue to appear, he contends, in the relief decoration of monuments of the first century AD such as the pillars of Mavilly and Dijon, the stele of Ehrang and the Mainz column, which show both increasing Romanisation and also 'a large number of characteristic associat-:ions which have no counterpart in Greco-Roman mythology and demonstrate the attachment of the priesthood and people of Gaul to their native beliefs and ritual' (ibid.pp.274). He shows that Gallic religious ideas continued to be expressed in various ways in the succeeding centuries: the gods may be Roman and the scene Gallic/

Gallic, as on the second century pillar from Saint-Landry de Paris; both gods and scene may be Gallic, as on the Vendoeuvres stele also of the second century; or both Roman and Gallic deities may be depicted, as on the Reims stele where Apollo and Mercury flank Cernunnos, who wears a stag's antlers on his head, squats in the Gallic fashion and is associated with a stag and a bull. Similar-:ly, he claims, some of the scenes depicted in terra sigillata represent Gallic religious ideas, for instance the troop of Bacchic revellers in a stag-hunt portrayed on the vase from Alesia, and Diana sacrificing a stag or roedeer and flanked by Attis and a figure of Victory. In the third century there was, according to Professor Hatt, an actual resurgence of Gallic religion: 'the native gods, and in particular the figure of Teutates, long banished by the Romans, reappear in the inscriptions and on the figured monuments; and similarly the archaic figure of Taranis with his wheel begins to crop up again in the epigraphy and the iconography' (ibid.pp.277). For proof he instances the third century figures found at Le Donon (Bas-Rhin) representing Smert-:rius with a stag, Jupiter on horseback with a snake-footed giant, and the warrior Teutates; and the history of the shrine at Mack-:willer, which from being in pre-Roman days a site with a spring sacred to native gods became in the first century AD a shrine to these gods, then from c.150 a Mithraeum with an associated local divinity, and from the end of the third century once again a shrine to the native local gods.

Further evidence, Professor Hatt asserts, is provided by 'the very frequent occurrence in both rural and urban sanctuaries of a type of temple peculiar to Gaul, either square, polygonal or circular in plan' (ibid.pp.301). He quotes as examples the shrines of Normandy standing in open countryside, those at Pesch in the Rhineland grouped in small enclosures, the shrines at Trier/

Trier and in the Altbachtal situated in regular temple areas, and those in the large Gallo-Roman cities of Autun and Perigueux. The excavations carried out by A. Brisson and A. Loppin have shown that the type is linked with the wood temples of the La Tene period onwards which were dedicated to heroes or gods of the underworld and associated with funerary precincts; and Professor Hatt believes that its origin goes back beyond that to the remot-:est Gallic past.

The persistence of age-old burial practices in Gaul is attest-:ed, according to Professor Hatt,'in the districts of Comminges and Couserans in the central Pyrenees, with their cemeteries situated round the sanctuaries of local gods; and in the Basses-Vosges, with their cemeteries adjacent to and associated with temples of Mercury.' In these two areas, he contends, 'the pre-:servation of religious beliefs and the maintenance of burial practices went hand in hand, for the stele houses of the Pyrenees and Vosges are heirs to a long tradition which goes right back to the structures within the Bronze Age tumuli' (ibid.pp.301).

Early funerary practices in Gaul are sparsely attested in tombs of the Bronze Age and of the Hallstatt and La Tène periods of the Iron Age. Tumulus tombs in Alsace and S.Germany reveal that the Proto-Celts of the Bronze Age buried their dead. Tombs excavated in Champagne and Burgundy show the different practice of cremation burial in flat graves brought by the Urnfield Proto-Celts of the Late Bronze Age who invaded Gaul c.1250 - 1000 BC. The cemetery of La Colombine, dated to c.1250 - 1200, yielded a number of grave goods from its tombs in which inhumation was still commoner than cremation: some relatively coarse pottery, many metal objects, including a fine diadem made from a boar's tusk mounted with bronze wire, engraved bracelets with large, rounded ends, a greave with spiral ornament, and a number of pins. A later cemetery established at Aulnay-aux-Planches c.950 - 900, contained/

contained cremation burials in flat graves grouped in an orderly fashion, and also later burials in tumuli surrounded by circular ditches on the earlier Proto-Celtic Bronze Age model, apparently made by fresh settlers who arrived c.800 - 750 BC. Aulnay-aux-Planches provides the earliest evidence of Gallic funerary rites. Immediately beside a group cemetery containing a number of separate tombs was found a large cult precinct surrounded by a ditch. Inside the precinct were two tombs set apart from the rest, two inhumation graves each holding a skeleton but no grave goods, a sacrificial pit containing the skull and horns of an aurochs and a large shinbone from a bovid, and a few traces of lines of stelae which had been set on a fixed orientation between these structures. Professor Hatt suggests that the two tombs belonged to priests or heroised chiefs and that the two inhumation graves may indicate human sacrifices, and he concludes: 'at this early period, therefore, about 950 BC, we have evidence of a funerary cult in which divinities of the world beyond the grave were probably associated with dead leaders who were worshipped as heroes. This is an important discovery, for, as K. Schwarz has recently shown ... it throws light on later developments: on this site we can recognise the origins of the Gallic funerary rite ...' (ibid.pp.81f.).

In the First Iron Age, the Hallstatt period of 725 - 480 BC, in which the culture is described by Professor Hatt as 'extremely heterogeneous and ... found in numerous regional variants with many features of foreign origin' (ibid.pp.82), tombs of a richer type appear from the end of the eighth century. These, he argues, testify to the emergence of an aristocratic class of 'knights' as a result of fresh invasions by Thraco-Cimmerian horsemen. The tomb furnishings now include harness, horse-bits and weapons such as the iron sword e.g. pieces of harness from a tumulus near Chabestan (Hautes-Alpes), long iron swords, horse-bits and pottery from seventh century tombs at Court-Saint-Etienne in Belgium, and from/

from the mid-sixth century chariots e.g.light two-wheeled fight-
:ing chariots, together with horse-bits, an Attic and an Ionian cup from Sesto Calende in N.Italy. At the end of the sixth cent-
:ury the magnificent tomb of the Princess of Vix, found in 1953, yielded a krater, two necklaces and a diadem. The view has been expressed that the burial has a religious character and that the krater was intended to hold libations of blood from ritual sacri-
:fices similar to the human sacrifices described by Strabo as carried out by priestesses of the Cimbri over large bronze vessels (F. Bourriot, Révue Historique, Oct.1965, pp.285f.). Professor Hatt regards the theory as attractive but does not accept it in its entirety; he agrees that the Princess was a priestess and that one of the necklaces was 'a liturgical object, the token of her priestly function', while he thinks it probable that the decor-
:ation of the krater - a procession of warriors round Artemis - represented 'in the eyes of the Gauls ... a cavalcade of warriors in honour of a native goddess' (ibid.pp.90f.).

The Second Iron Age, the period of La Tène culture of c.480 - 50 BC, is described by Professor Hatt as possessing from the start 'an independent, homogeneous and national culture, with a powerful capacity for expansion, which extended its influence over much of Europe as a result of the migrations of the Gallic peoples' (ibid.pp.82f.). To the earliest phase belong the princc-
:ly tombs of S.Germany at Schwarzenbach, Durkheim, Klein Aspergle, Armsheim, Rodenbach, Weisskirchen, etc., where rich grave goods point to an aristocracy who traded with the countries of the Mediterranean. Finds include two gold necklaces from Schwarzen-
:bach and Durkheim, two gold torcs from Reinheim and Besseringen, a gold bracelet and a dish with gold openwork from Reinheim and Schwarzenbach respectively, as well as a number of two-wheeled chariots. A little later the large cemeteries in Champagne, Brie and the Aisne valley show that they served not only an aristo-
:cracy/

aristocracy using two-wheeled chariots but also prosperous peas-
:ants and a class of craftsmen. Grave-goods down to the mid-
fourth century include Etruscan objects and handsome native orna-
:ments imitated from Greco-Scythian models; thereafter in tombs
north of the Alps Persian and Scythian objects appear to predom-
:inate e.g. the silver torc terminating in two bulls' heads found
in the Trichtingen tomb in Wurttemberg; and finally from the end
of the fourth century Mediterranean items occur once more in ex-
:cavation finds at Glanum and Saint-Blaise in Provence and at
Ensérune in Languedoc.

The cemeteries of the Marne area in Champagne indicate that
funerary practices and the cult of the underworld gods took on a
new form in this period. There now appear funerary enclosures,
square or rectangular in shape, heroes' tombs, votive pits, and
timber shrines dedicated to the cult of the dead and the deities
of the underworld. The votive pits, according to Professor Hatt,
were originally sacrificial pits which had the function of offer-
:ing a means of communication with the underworld gods who pro-
:tected the dead and bestowed wealth upon men; such a pit was re-
:cently excavated at Villeneuve-Renneville by A. Brisson beside
the grave of a Gallic warrior and was found to contain the remains
of a stag wearing a bit, a sacrifice which in Gallic religion
was a symbol of eternity. Of these sites in the Marne T.G.E.
Powell writes: 'The identification of one type of site clearly
incorporating shrine and burial aspects is of particular interest.
... square ditched enclosures formed the burial-places for assum-
:ed families over a period of some centuries. At the site excav-
:ated at Écury-le-Repos the sides of the square were approximate-
:ly 10 metres, and at the centre of the enclosed space were found
four large post-holes arranged in a rough square with a single
large oval post-hole at the centre point. This evidence is very
reasonably/

reasonably interpreted as speaking for a roofed shrine covering a free-standing object, whether a post or a carved image. The oldest burial within the precinct was by inhumation, and it lay immediately to the west of the shrine. Both it and another in-:humation in a less privileged position contained brooches of La Tène II style, but the subsequent burials were cremations which, with their pottery, showed continuance of use of the site to Roman times ... At some (sc. Romano-Celtic temples in Gaul) an original pre-Roman tomb and sanctuary seem to have been com-:memorated, and it has been claimed that the special virtue of these temples lay in the presence of a god, or hero, ancestor to whom the local population were as dependants. Without press-:ing this view, it may be said that the Irish literary evidence all points to tribal god ancestors in the genealogies, and to the tombs of gods and mortal heroes in field monuments recorded in topographical traditions. At Fin d'Écury, Marne, a small square precinct with four post-holes in a rough square at its centre lies adjacent to a larger square precinct containing some dozen graves' (op. cit., pp.173f.).

Professor Hatt takes the view that the funerary practices and cult of the underworld gods go back to the Bronze Age and that Gallic religion of the late Iron Age originated in the early Hallstatt period when 'there grew up in Celtic territory and in the Celto-Illyrian frontier area a pantheon and religious ritual of Indo-European origin' (op. cit., pp.136). In this he differs from F. Benoit who argued in the 1950s and 1960s that the Gallic religious art of S. France, and particularly of Roquepertuse and Entremont, expressed ideas which were purely Mediterranean/

Mediterranean in character. Professor Hatt concedes that some practices and buildings - particularly sanctuaries associated with springs - are of Mediterranean Greek origin, but he insists that by and large Gallic religion is distinctively individual. He instances the sculpture of the Celto-Ligurian oppida of the third to the first century BC, its links with the sixth century art of the Rhine and Moselle valleys and its peculiarly Celtic features of squatting figures, Janus heads and trunk figures; likewise the ornamental art and pottery decoration 'which reflect the religious ideas and rituals characteristic of the continental Celts from the Hallstatt period to the end of La Tène', such as stag-hunts, the ritual sacrifice of stags, figures of bovids or jars in the form of bovids; the mother-goddess, alone or with two female attendants or with a male deity; and men or women on horseback associated with representations of the sun. The scenes on such finds, he suggests, depict 'on the one hand figures from some archaic pantheon (solar horsemen) and on the other, various acts of religious significance forming part of a ritual which was still a living force in Gallic religion at the end of the La Tène period and the beginning of the Gallo-Roman period - sacrifices of stags or bulls, armed gatherings in honour of the mother-goddess or -goddesses, duels between young warriors and so on' (ibid., pp.81, 131, 133f.).

A Hungarian writer, Miklós Szabó, reaches much the same con-:clusion. In discussing the Celtic tradition in Hungary he writes: 'The process of Romanization in Pannonia was slow, which would lead one to expect that indigenous cults survived longer in Pannonia than elsewhere. As it happens the position is precisely the opposite, for where Romanization was quickly effected only the surface was affected, Roman customs being adopted without impairing the roots. Thus the indigenous population took over the custom of erecting altars, but, apart from official occasions, continued/

continued to worship their own gods. In such cases the inscript-
:ions generally provide information about the native deities, even when the Celtic god has a Roman cover name or takes on a Roman shape. In Pannonia, however, ... ('The Celtic Heritage in Hungary', Budapest, 1971).

One further conclusion of Professor Matt's on the ritual practices of the Gauls is of interest. From the survival into the early Middle Ages of pagan activities in the celebration of calendar Christian festivals - such as masquerades and dances in which men and women dressed up as stags and hinds - and from some traditional French folk customs he inferred that the Gauls observed a series of seasonal festivals every year to celebrate the main episodes of their religious myth, particularly the descent of the mother-goddesses into the underworld, the sacri-
: fice of the stag and the return of Esus to earth, and the sacred marriage of Esus after the sacrifice of the bulls.

M.J.T. Lewis in his study of temples ('Temples in Roman Britain', Cambridge, 1966) notes that 'among the Celts, as to some extent among the Romans, the concepts of tomb and sanctuary were often associated' (p.6); and he mentions by way of illustr-
:ation that several temples of Roman date in Gaul were centred on elaborate burials, notably at Sanxay, Vienne, which had a large octagonal temple with Corinthian columns; at Le Donon in Alsace, where the figures of some fifty deities were discovered, and the apsidal country shrine at Bac des Cars, Corrèze. He takes the view that the link between the La Tène barrows of the Marne area, along with a few in the Rhineland and in Yorkshire, and the design of Romano-Celtic temples should not be overstress-
:ed, although he allows that the plan of the temples may have been influenced by that of the barrows. He points out that most Romano-Celtic temples have no connexion with burials and that/

that there are only a very few examples of Romano-Celtic type buildings which are primarily mausolea and therefore preserve the funerary aspect of the barrow e.g. at Chagnon (Charente-Inf.). He also expresses the opinion that when Romano-Celtic temples are linked with burials 'the attention paid to the person buried suggests a hero- or aristocratic ancestor- worship rather than the cult of the ordinary dead' (ibid., p.6).

In Germany one early shrine is of particular interest, the earthwork known as the Goloring which lies between Koblenz and Mayen. Powell describes it as follows: 'Here a circular area some 190 metres in diameter was enclosed by a bank and inner ditch. In the centre is an elevated area some 88 metres across, and at its centre point was found a hole which had held a wooden post of some considerable height, possibly of the order of 12 metres. Excavation revealed that a long ramp had led down into the hole on one side, and this would have been used for sliding in the foot of the post which would then have been levered and hauled to an upright position ... the normal method in ancient Europe ... well-known ... in Neolithic Britain. There was no evidence for burial or habitation at the Goloring' but 'funerary associations were not lacking, for in close proximity were two groups of tumuli dating from Urnfield to Hallstatt times'. 'The Goloring must be envisaged as having stood in open country, and its actual situation was towards the southern side of a low ridge. The standing post would have been a conspicuous landmark for some distance around, and it does not seem unreasonable to interpret the site as a tribal assembly place. Here was adequate space for a concourse with its rites, judgments, deliberations, games and marketing' (The Celts, 1980, pp.171f.). From stray potsherds found in the central area and in the ditch silting the Goloring has been dated to late Hallstatt times, possibly to the sixth century B.C.

There is a certain amount of literary evidence on the nature of Gallic religion from both pagan and Christian sources.

In the first century B.C. Julius Caesar makes a number of comments in 'De Bello Gallico' Bk. VI: 'Illi (sc. Druides) rebus divinis intersunt, sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, re-:ligiones interpretantur; ad hos magnus adulescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque hi sunt apud eos honore' (13); 'In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virt-:utem excitari putant metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea ... de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt' (14); 'Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus' (16); 'Galli se omnes ab Dito patre pro-:gnatos praedicant idque ab druidibus proditum dicunt' (18); 'Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et sumptuosa: omniaque quae viris cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab eis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur' (19).

Diodorus Siculus wrote in c.8 B.C.: Ἐνισχύει γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Πυθαγόρου λόγος, ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀθανάτους εἶναι συμβέβηκε καὶ δι' ἐτῶν ἀριθμουμένων πάλιν βιοῦν εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς εἰσδυομένης. (Histories V.28.6).

Towards the end of the first century BC Strabo speaking of all the Gallic peoples, remarks: ἀφθάρτους δὲ λέγουσι καὶ οὗτοι (sc. δρυΐδαι) καὶ ἄλλοι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἐπικρατήσειν δέ ποτε καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι.

(Geographica IV.4,c.197.4).

Pomponius Mela, writing in the time of Claudius (41-54 AD), describes the activities and teaching of the Druids : 'Habent tamen et facundiam suam, magistrosque sapientiae druidas. Hi terrae mundique magnitudinem et formam, motus caeli ac siderum, et quid dii velint scire profitentur. Docent multa nobilissim-:os gentis clam et diu vicenis annis, aut in specu aut in abdit-:is saltibus. Unum ex his quae praecipiunt in vulgus effluxit, videlicet ut forent ad bella meliores, aeternas esse animas vitamque alteram ad Manes. Itaque cum mortuis cremant ac defod-:iunt apta viventibus. Olim negotiorum ratio etiam et exactio crediti deferebatur ad inferos: erantque qui se in rogos suorum velut una victuri libenter immitterent' (De Situ Orbis III.2, 18f.).

A few years later Lucan addresses the Druids rhetorically in Pharsalia I.450f. as follows:

> Et vos barbaricos ritus moremque sinistrum
> sacrorum, Druidae, positis repetistis ab armis.
> solis nosse deos et caeli numina vobis
> aut solis nescire datum: nemora alta remotis
> incolitis lucis: vos auctoribus umbrae
> non tacitas Erebi sedes Ditisque profundi
> pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
> orbe alio: longae - canitis si cognita - vitae
> mors media est.

A further piece of evidence is given by Ammianus Marcell-:inus who includes in his History extracts from a lost account of the Gauls/

of the Gauls written by a certain Timagenes, who is probably to be identified with the rhetorician and historian working at Rome in the time of Pompey and of Augustus. One such passage occurs in Book XV 9.8: 'Per haec loca hominibus paulatim excultis viguere studia laudabilium doctrinarum, inchoata per bardos et euhagis et drasidas ... Inter eos dryaridae ingeniis celsiores, ut auctor-:itas Pythagorae decrevit, sodaliciis adstricti consortiis, quaestionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti sunt et depect-:antes humana pronuntiarunt animas immortales.'

Valerius Maximus, like Diodorus Siculus, identifies the teaching of the Druids on the immortality of the soul with the doctrine of Pythagoras. Writing in the early part of the first century AD he states: 'Horum moenia egressis vetus ille mos Gall-:orum occurrit, quos memoria proditum est pecunias mutuas, quae his apud inferos redderentur, dare, quia persuasum habuerint animas hominum immortales esse. Dicerem stultos, nisi idem brac-:ati sensissent, quod palliatus Pythagoras credidit' (II 6.10).

In the third century Clement of Alexandria asserts that philosophy flourished first among the barbarians, including the Druids of the Galatae and the philosophers of the Celts, and that Pythagoras himself learnt from the Galatae: φιλοσοφία ... πάλαι μὲν ἤκμασε παρὰ βαρβάροις, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἕλληνας κατῆλθεν. προέστησαν δ' αὐτῆς ... καὶ Γαλατῶν οἱ Δρυΐδαι ... καὶ Κελτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφήσαντες. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ... ἀκηκοέναι ... Γαλατῶν ... τὸν Πυθαγόραν βούλεται. (Stromata I,xv 71.3;70.1). About the same time Hippolytus takes the opposite view that the Celtic Druids were students of Pythag-:orean philosophy (Philosophumena I,xxv).

T.D. Kendrick (The Druids, London, 1927) after a careful study of the evidence concludes that 'there is very little to be said in favour of the identification of druidism and Pythagorean-:ism suggested by the Romans' (pp.110) and attributes the con-:fusion to the accident that the doctrine of transmigration was strange to them. Stuart Piggott endorses this conclusion/

conclusion: 'It has been pointed out on more than one occasion that the Celtic doctrine of immortality, as set out in the sources ..., is not in fact Pythagorean in content at all, in that it does not imply a belief in the transmigration of souls through all living things ... but only a naive, literal and vivid re-living of an exact counterpart of earthly life beyond the grave. Despite the Greek influence on Celtic culture from the time of Pythagoras (in ... the Hallstatt D phase ...), we need hardly look to outside sources for this simple concept ... What is surely significant is the very real contrast between the Celtic and the classical vision of eternity and the after-life, which would render the former so strange as to be necess-:ary of explanation in some familiar philosophical terms: this is the contrast explicitly stressed by Lucan, though in Pythag-:orean terms' (The Druids, London, 1968, pp.114).

On the positive side Kendrick takes the view that ' the druidic teaching of the re-birth of the soul was part of the natural religion of a primitive society' (op.cit.pp.110). He quotes stories from early Irish and Welsh sagas to show that 'the privilege of metamorphosis and re-birth was not thought to be within the reach of ordinary mortals' e.g. the stories of the goddess Etain, the hero Cuchulainn and of the Welsh bard Taliessin; and he sums up accordingly: 'All that the evidence seems to show is that they (sc. the druids) believed in the continued existence of the same soul in a new but recognisable body after death ... it is entirely in agreement with the custom of placing food-offerings, and equipment for fighting or hunting or domestic pursuits, in the grave by the side of the corpse' (ibid.pp112f.); and he adds a little later: 'they doubtless conceived the future estate as continued and similar existence in the Under-Earth. But there is nothing to show that they had any notion of moral retribution in the after-life' (ibid.pp.143)/

T.G.E. Powell (The Celts, London, 1958, new ed. 1980) argues that Caesar's friend and informant, the druid Divitiacus, must be regarded as an exception and suggests that 'it is only to be expected that such exceptional druids, who were brought into con-:tact with Mediterranean life and Greek thought, would have devel-:oped intellectual realms very different from their up-country cousins. That the druids had views on the nature of an after-life life is nothing remarkable in face of the great weight of archae-:ological evidence from Celtic graves showing the solicitude for a a continued existence in providing weapons, ornaments and food, for the journey, if not for the feast at the other end' (pp.184).

Stuart Piggott (The Druids, London, 1968) draws two infer-:ences from the archaeological evidence of Celtic burials: 'Here the outstanding characteristics, in common with a long series from barbarian Europe, are on the one hand the reflection of a socially stratified society in the elaborate and costly burials furnished with the equipment of an heroic or an aristocratic class, and on the other the inherent implication of a very liter-:al view of an after-life in the contents of these graves'. In support of the first inference he refers to royal tombs, chief-:tains' graves and the like in Central European bronze-using cultures and among the later Celts and Scythians down to the point of Romanisation; for the second he describes the contents of such tombs, 'the men's graves often provided with a four-wheeled or two-wheeled vehicle as well as martial equipment, with the inescapable implication that an other-world is thought of as one where earthly status is recognised and prolonged to eternity', the banquet scenes depicted on Gallo-Roman tombs, and the interior carving on the Romano-Batavian stone sarcophag-:us from Simpelveld of the third century which gives a complete illustration of the deceased's household furniture and belong-:ings; and he also refers to the accounts of Gallic funerals supplied/

supplied by Julius Caesar and Pomponius Mela and the text of the Romano-Celtic will of a member of the tribe of the Lingones in the upper Marne area of Gaul who gives instructions that his river-boat, his hunting and wild-fowling tackle are to be burnt with him and describes in detail the funerary monument he wishes to be built. (op.cit.pp.86f., 114).

Gerhard Heim (The Celts, E.T. London,1976) sees the Celtic attitude to death as two-fold: on the one hand, the promise of a better life beyond the grave, re-birth or both; on the other hand, a sacrifice, an abandonment of life for the sake of others, for a better future, a more beautiful kingdom, or for the world itself. The Druids, he argues, seem to have regarded both as different sides of the same coin. He quotes the testimony of Caesar that as judges they condemned murderers to death, not be-:cause they had killed people, but because 'if a human life is not given for a human life, the ruling gods cannot be appeased' and he concludes from this that the druids were 'redressing the balance in an entirely consistent way'. So, too, 'if a wrong-doer escapes them they will even slaughter the innocent'; and since other crimes as well as murder would arouse the gods against men, it was vital to stage occasional ritual sacrifices not preceded by any trial, such as that described by Strabo when they constructed a colossus of straw and wood, threw into it cattle, wild animals and human beings and made a burnt offer-:ing of the whole (Geographica IV.4,c.198.5): these practices might be interpreted as indicating that for the Celts life was expendable, but Heim prefers the view that 'death seemed to them the lesser evil and life something that could never really be forfeited, for it would go on beyond the grave'.

It is of interest to note that Caesarius of Arles in the many warnings he gives to his people against continuing to observe pagan practices or reverting to them after baptism, e.g. Sermon 1.12f., 13.3f., 19.4f., 33.4, 53.1, 54.5, 55.2, etc., makes no mention of a pagan cult of the dead. He does, however, speak of the tombs of the rich in terms which indicate that both cremation and inhumation were still practised in his day: 'aspic-:ite ad sepulchra divitum et quotiens iuxta illa transitis con-:siderate et diligenter inspicite, ubi sunt illorum divitiae, ubi ornamenta, ubi anuli vel inaures, ubi diademata pretiosa, ubi honorum vanitas, ubi luxoriae voluptas, ubi spectacula vel furiosa vel cruenta vel turpia. Certe transierunt omnia tam-:quam umbra ... Considerate diligentius et videte superborum sepulchra, et agnoscite quia nihil in eis aliud nisi soli ciner-:es et foetidae vermium reliquiae remanserunt ... Si velis, O homo, audire, ipsa tibi ossa arida poterint praedicare ... Ecce quales ad nos praedicationes cotidie mortuorm cineres vel ossa proclamant' (Sermon 31.2, C.C.S.L. 103). This tallies with Constantius of Lyons' account of Martin's encounter with a Gallic funeral procession: 'Accidit autem ..., dum iter ageret, ut gentilis cuiusdam corpus, quod ad sepulchrum cum superstit-:ioso funere deferebatur, obvium haberet; conspicatusque eminus venientium turbam, quidnam id esset ignarus, paululum stetit. Nam fere quingent rum passuum intervallum erat, ut difficile fuerit dinoscere quid videret. Tamen, quia rustieam manum cerneret et, agente vento, lintea corpori superiecta volitarent, profanos sacrificiorum ritus agi credidit, quia esset haec Gall-:orum rusticis consuetudo, simulacra daemonum candido tecta vel-:amine misera per agros suos circumferre dementia. Levato ergo in adversos signo crucis, imperat turbae non moveri loco onus-:que deponere ... Sed cum beatus vir conperisset exequiarum esse/

esse illam frequentiam, non sacrorum ... dat eis abeundi et tollendi corporis potestatem' (Vita S. Martini, c.12).

There is, however, a mention of offerings to the dead in the canons of the Concilium Turonense of 567. Canon 23(22) states: 'Sunt etiam qui in festivitate cathedrae domni Petri intrita mortuis offerunt et post missas redeuntes ad domus proprias ad gentilium revertuntur errores et post corpus Domini sacratas daemoni escas accipiunt' (C.C.S.L.148A, pp.191).

If the Celtic idea of literal personal immortality, involv-:ing transference from one life in the material body to an identical life in an immaterial one beyond the grave, is to be regarded as an inheritance from the primitive religion of their remote past, it may be relevant to compare the ideas which the Africans of Swaziland treasured from their tradition until the coming of Christianity. Bishop Bernard Mkabela, the first Swazi bishop of Swaziland, wrote in 1975 as follows: 'Unfortun-:ately the first missionaries viewed every Swazi custom as in-:compatible with Christian teaching. The African people have a strong belief in the life after death and a strong belief in the communication with the dead. Family ties cannot be broken by death. Although the missionaries did try to discourage this they were not successful. The converts even after baptism con-:tinued secretly to offer their respect or communication with their departed grandfathers and grandmothers once or twice a year, using a special ritual. When death occurs in a family the dead are informed by the head of the family, and at the burial the dead are asked to receive one of their family on the way coming to join them. The Christian Church has always viewed this as an act amounting to ancestor worship, but the Africans deny this, affirming that it is not worshipping the ancestors but giving the honour due to them'.

The earliest hint that a structure marked the tomb of Alban is contained in the Vita S.Germani, written c.480 by Constantius of Lyons, who records that Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes 'conpressa ... perversitate damnabili (in 429)... beatum Albanum martyrem acturi Deo per ipsum gratias petiverunt'(c.16). Constantius gives no description of a shrine and all that can be inferred from his narrative is that the tomb was known, marked and held in honour by the Christian community.

Gildas, writing probably some sixty years later, c.540/50, mentions by name the martyrs Albanus Verolamiensis and Aaron et Iulius Legionum urbis cives, and he gives an account of Alban's death: otherwise his statements are general in nature and some-:what equivocal. He apparently attributes the beginnings of Christianity in Britain to a comparatively early period: 'Quae, licet ab incolis tepide suscepta sunt, apud quosdam tamen integre et alios minus usque ad persecutionem Diocletiani tyr-:anni novennem, in qua subversae per totum mundum sunt ecclesiae ... Tunc ... quantae gloriosorum martyrum coronae ... eccles-:iastica historia narrat ... Magnificavit igitur misericordiam suam nobiscum Deus ... Qui gratuito munere, supra dicto ut con-:icimus persecutionis tempore, ne penitus crassa atrae noctis caligine Britannia obfuscaretur, clarissimos lampades sanctorum martyrum nobis accendit, quorum nunc corporum sepulturae et passionum loca, si non lugubri divortio barbarorum quam plurima ob scelera nostra civibus adimerentur, non minimum intuentium mentibus ardorem divinae caritatis incuterent: sanctum Albanum Verolamiensem, Aaron et Iulium Legionum urbis cives ceterosque utriusque sexus diversis in locis summa magnanimitate in acie Christi perstantes dico' (De Excidio Britanniae, cc.9-11). Then follows the story of Alban's martyrdom: 'Quorum prior postquam caritatis gratia confessorem persecutoribus insectatum et iam iamque comprehendendum/

comprehendendum ... domo primum ac mutatis dein mutuo vestibus occuluit et se discrimini in fratris supra dicti vestimentis libenter persequendum dedit, ita Deo inter sacram confessionem cruoremque coram impiis Romana tum stigmata cum horribili fantas-:ia praeferentibus placens signorum miraculis mirabiliter adorn-:atus est, ut oratione ferventi ... iter ignotum, trans Tamesis nobilis fluvii alveum, cum mille viris sicco ingrediens pede suspensis utrimque modo praeruptorum fluvialibus montium gurgit-:ibus aperiret et priorem carnificem tanta prodigia videntem in agnum ex lupo mutaret et una secum triumphalem martyrii palmam sitire vehementius et excipere fortius faceret' (c.11). Gildas then refers to other martyrs without indicating the place of their suffering and concludes the chapter with a mention of the survivors: 'Ceteri vero sic diversis cruciatibus torti sunt et inaudita membrorum discerptione lacerati, ut absque cunctamine gloriosi in egregiis Ierusalem veluti portis martyrii sui troph-:aea defigerent. Nam qui superfuerant silvis ac desertis abdit-:isque speluncis se occultavere ...'. In c.12 he describes the work of restoration after the ten years of Diocletian's persec-:ution: 'Igitur bilustro supra dicti turbinis necdum ad integrum expleto emarcescentibus nece suorum auctorum nefariis edictis, laetis luminibus omnes Christi tirones quasi post hiemalem ac prolixam noctem temperiem lucemque serenam surae caelestis ex-:cipiunt. Renovant ecclesias ad solum usque destructas; basilic-:as sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt ac velut victricia signa passim propalant, dies festos celebrant, sacra mundo corde oreque conficiunt, omnes exultant filii gremio ac si matris ecclesiae confoti'. He then records that after this per-:iod of peace in the British Church Arianism penetrated from be-:yond the sea and caused dissension sometime in the later part of the fourth century before the appearance of Magnus Maximus and his expedition to Gaul in 383.

Gildas' account is noteworthy for the form of the Alban legend by 540/550, the various martyrdoms he attests and his dat-:ing of these to the persecution of Diocletian as the most likely occasion. H. Williams (Gildas: De Excidio Britanniae, pp.26n.) accepts Gildas' dating and places Alban's martyrdom before 306 when Constantius came to Britain, pointing out that martyrdoms did take place in Spain during Constantius' rule. Professor Hanson prefers the Decian persecution as the likely setting: he regards Gildas' account as 'in the traditional style of early medieval saints' lives embroidered with miracles' but he accepts the facts of the martyrdom and of that of Aaron and Julius at Caerleon (op.cit.pp.30). Gildas hints that Christianity reached Britain at least by the third century but that it made slow pro-:gress. His description of the period of reconstruction and new building after 313 is, according to Williams (ibid.pp.28n.), de-:pendent upon Rufinus' Latin version of Eusebius' History. None-:theless he evidently took it as applying to Britain and assumed that a basilica was erected at the tomb of Alban at this time.

Bede recounts the story of Alban in his Historia Ecclesiast-:ica gentis Anglorum, written in 731 (Bk.I, c.7). He quotes Fortunatus' tribute to Alban at the beginning of the seventh century, dates the martyrdom to the persecution of Diocletian, and proceeds to give an account of Alban's harbouring of cleric-us quidam, of his conversion, of the house-search of Alban's tugurium by soldiers on the order of the princeps, of Alban's surrender ipsius (sc. clerici) habitu, id est caracalla qua vest-:iebatur indutus, of his arraignment before the iudex (later called princeps on pp.38, l.4) who ordered him to sacrifice to the gods, of his flogging and sentence to beheading. Then foll-:ows a more detailed description of the sequence: the route ad flumen quod muro et harena ubi feriendus erat meatu rapidissimo dividebatur and the fluminis ipsius pons; the crowd non parvam hominum/

hominum multitudinem utriusque sexus, conditionis diversae et aetatis; the hill that had to be ascended, montem ... ascendit: qui opportune laetus, gratia decentissima, quingentis fere pass-:ibus ab harena situs est, variis herbarum floribus depictus, immo usquequaque vestitus, in quo nihil repente arduum, nihil praeceps, nihil abruptum, quem lateribus longe lateque deductum in modum aequoris natura complanat, dignum videlicet eum, pro in-:sita sibi specie venustatis, iam olim reddens qui beati martyr-:is cruore dicaretur; the spring on the hill-top in huius ... vertice ... fons perennis; the effect of the martyrdom upon the executioner and the beheading of the soldier who had refused the task. Bede gives the day of the martyrdom as 22nd June: 'Passus est autem beatus Albanus die decimo Kalendarum Iuliarum; the place as near Verulamium: 'iuxta civitatem Verolamium, quae nunc a gente Anglorum Verlamacaestir sive Vaeclingacaestir appellatur'; and he indicates that a church was built there in the post-313 era: 'ubi postea redeunte temporum Christianorum serenitate ecclesia est mirandi operis atque eius martyrio condigna exstructa and that it was still in his own day a place of healing for the sick: 'In quo videlicet loco usque ad hanc diem curatio infirm-:orum ... non desinit'.

Bede also records the martyrdom of Aaron and Julius and of others: 'Passi sunt ea tempestate Aaron et Iulius Legionum urbis cives, aliique utriusque sexus diversis in locis perplures ...'. In c.8 he gives more or less the same account of the post-313 period in Britain as Gildas but he dates the spread of Arianism in the churches there to the time of the Emperor Constantine.

Clericum persecutores fugientem hospicio suo sanctus Albanus recepit (4): ipsiusque habitu ipsiusque caracalla qua vestiebat-:ur indutus pro eodem se obtulit feriendum, sed quantum antiqui-:tas tradidit adhuc paganus; statimque Severo impiissimo Caesari oblatus est ...(5) orabat ...(6) tribunal sibi impiissimus Caes-:ar parare praecepit (7). Then comes the dialogue in which Alban refuses Caesar's command to sacrifice and is condemned (8-13). Cumque ad victimam sicut agnus duceretur ... quo murus et arena ubi feriendus erat meatu rapidissimo dividebatur ... quo transducto ulteriore ripa vidit ingentem multitudinem hominum utriusque sexus, condicionis et aetatis, qui sine dubio divini-:tatis instinctu ad obsequium martyris vocabantur, ut intra vesperam transire ponte vix possent. Denique iudex sine obsequ-:io in civitate substiterat. Confert se ad torrentem, cui diu erat ad martyrium pervenire: et dirigente ad caelum lumina, dico siccato alveo suis cessit unda vestigiis (14). c.15 describes how the person appointed to carry out the execution threw down his sword and refused to proceed. c.16 recounts the ascent of the hill: montem cum turbis sanctus martyr ascendit, qui oport-:une editus gracia ineffabili quingentis fere passibus ab arena situs est, variis floribus picturatus atque vestitus: in quo nihil arduum, nihil preceps, nihil abruptum: quem lateribus longe lateque deductum a facie aequoris natura conplanat: quem haut dubie martyri praeparatum iam prius, quem sacro consacrar-:etur cruore, sacro similem fecerat pulchritudo. c.17 mentions the spring on the hill-top; c.18 the effect of the martyrdom upon the executioner; c.19 the punishment by death of the exec-:utioner who refused to act. c.20 describes the reaction of Caesar: 'Then the evil Caesar, aghast at such wonders, ordered the persecution to end, without the orders of the emperors, setting down in his report that the religion actually prospered from the slaughter of the saints which they had intended to be the means/

the means of its abolition. c.21 records the visit of Germanus: Ad cuius basilicam cum sanctus Germanus Antesioderensis episcop-:us ... revelatoque sepulcro iubet (ut) membra sanctorum ex di-:versis regionibus collecta, quos pares merito receperat caelum, sepulcri unius retineret ospicium ... de loco illo, ubi martyris sanguis effluxerat, massam pulveris sanctus Germanus rapuit violenta quidem devotione sed pro sacrilegio ... per sancti Germ-:ani episcopi praedicationem et virtutibus sancti Albani turba conversus est, prestante domino nostro, cui est honor et gloria in secula seculorum. Acta sunt X Kal. Iuliis, Deo gracias semp-:er, Amen.

Morris considers that this Turin version of the Passio or its original is the source of the Paris MS. and of the excerpts and of Bede's account. He points out that the phrase 'iniussu etiam principum' could apply only to one known year in Roman history, namely the summer of 209 when the Imperors Severus and his son Caracalla embarked on a campaign in N. Britain, leaving Severus' younger son, the Caesar Geta, in charge of the civil administration in the province (Herodian 3.14.9). The two Emp-:erors returned from the campaign in the autumn and Geta was pro-:claimed Augustus in September or October. He finds confirmat-:ion of the date in the use of 'caracalla', which, he thinks, probably occurred originally in a marginal note as the name of Severus' elder son who was nicknamed 'Caracalla', and that it was incorporated into the text at the wrong place by a later copyist who knew the word only in the meaning 'great-coat'.

Morris sees the short introductory chapters, cc.3-5, and the conclusion, c.20, as 'plainly an abridgement of a fuller original that was well-informed and much earlier than the date when the Turin MS. was compiled, after c.500'. Likewise 'the much fuller account of the martyrdom in cc.14-16, its detail and local knowledge, suggest a separate and earlier account'.

Morris/

Morris assigns the original account of the martyrdom to the fourth century for two main reasons:

a. firstly, the river is said to divide the wall from the amphi-:theatre: on present evidence the Verulamium wall is unlikely to have existed as early as 209, and though an Antonine bank and ditch may have fronted the river Ver it could hardly have been called a 'murus': the compiler, therefore, probably had know-:ledge of Alban's route, perhaps from oral tradition, but describ-:ed it in terms of his own day: Morris concludes that this could not have been earlier than the middle decades of the fourth century to allow for a sufficient spread of Christianity in Brit-:ain and a demand for such a written Passio;

b. secondly, c14 includes the words 'sacro similem fecerat pulchritudo': the expression suggests that in the compiler's day there was a shrine over the grave of Alban: in the Turin version of Germanus' visit there was a basilica there: Morris concludes that a basilica was built to replace the earlier shrine sometime before 429 and adds that it is highly improbable that a shrine that seemed so important to Germanus should be without a church at so late a date. He further argues that the visit of Victric-:ius of Rouen to Britain c.396 may well have led to the con-:struction of 'a monastic church on the site of the shrine of St. Alban' since Victricius was a known champion of the evangel-:isation of pagans, the ascetic life and the value of relics, and that accordingly 'the probable date of compilation of the description of his martyrdom lies between c.340 and c.395'.

Professor S.S. Frere gives great weight to the Passio of Alban contained in this earliest MS. on account of its detailed knowledge of the topography of Verulamium, and on the basis of its description of Alban's judge as 'impiissimus Caesar' he dates the martyrdom to 208/9 when Geta Caesar was left as gov-:ernor of the civil province while the two Augusti, Severus and Caracalla/

Caracalla, were campaigning in the north. He points out that the later MSS. read 'iudex', not 'Caesar'. Moreover he rejects a date in the Diocletianic persecution on the basis of Augustine's state-:ment in Ep.88.2 that no martyrdoms occurred in those parts of the Western Empire ruled by Constantius I (Britannia, 1967, pp.332). As to the town-wall at Verulamium, Professor Frere thinks that it was very probably in existence by 250 and certainly before 275/85: the former date is indicated by a hoard of five coins, the latest of which was minted in 227/9, concealed in the floor of a wall-tower: the latter approximate date by a second coin hoard buried in the ruins of the tower which had collapsed by this time (pp.252).

The case made out by Professor Frere and J. Morris for the dating of Alban's martyrdom in 208/9 is a powerful one, and the use of the name 'Severus' and the title 'Caesar' in the Turin MS. along with the evidence of both Augustine and Lactantius that Constantius Chlorus' rule of the West was free from capital punishment combine to lend it great weight. The situation at Rome and in N.Africa indicates that only a small number of written Passiones were in existence in Augustine's day: it seems unlikely, therefore that the Passio s.Albani would be written much before the mid-fifth cent-:ury: this would mean that the story of Alban was retained in oral tradition for some 240 years before it was committed to writing for use in the Church's worship. It also presupposes the existence at Verulamium from the first decade of the third century of a Christ-:ian community who would mark and honour Alban's burial-place and treasure his story: this is undoubtedly possible although support-:ing literary evidence is slight and so far there is no archaeolog-:ical evidence. One small historical point may just possibly have a bearing and suggest a source of MS. confusion: while Constantius Chlorus was responsible for Britain from 297 as Caesar in the West, he left the country after his campaign in 297 and did not return until 306: in 305 he became Augustus in the West with an Illyrian soldier/

soldier whose name was Severus. Finally, while there is ample archaeological evidence of Verulamium's life as a Roman town in th the fourth century and well into the Dark Age evidence for the presence of Christianity is scant and often equivocal.

Nonetheless the evidence of Constantius of Lyons is more th than adequate that in 429 the tomb of Alban was known and was honoured by the Church in Verulamium and that it was marked by a shrine. Both he and Bede (Book I, c.18) use the word 'shrine' in connection with Germanus' visit, while the Turin MS. of the Passio uses it in the account of Alban's martyrdom in c.16. How strong the cult of the martyr Alban was in 429 we do not know: Germanus, who is reported by Constantius to have worn a box of relics on his person, may well have made the gesture of visiting the shrine, not because of the importance it had already attain-:ed, but as a means of emphasising Catholic worship and practice as he knew it in contrast to the Pelagian stressing of Christian conduct and works.

The evidence for the existence of a 'basilica' at the site occurs in Gildas' general statement in c.12, in the account of Germanus' visit given in the Turin MS. of the Passio, and at the end of Bede's report of the martyrdom. The Turin MS. record of Germanus' visit reads as a considerably later version than that of Constantius: it speaks of the bishop depositing 'membra sanct-:orum' in the tomb, which would be contrary to all western pract-:ice at the time: the relics in question are likely to have been simply objects sanctified by being placed in contact with a martyr's tomb. Bede's reference is as follows: 'When the peace of Christian times was restored, a beautiful church worthy of his martyrdom was built, where sick folk are healed and frequent miracles take place to this day' (Book I, c.7). No doubt a bas-:ilica was built in due course to replace an earlier shrine, but at a somewhat later date than Bede suggests.

Relevant archaeological evidence at Verulamium is scant. J. Morris refers to two other possible sites of Christian structures: a small rectangular building with an apse - the plan commonly used for a Christian church - situated just outside the London gate; and the larger building excavated by Wheeler within the walls to the north-west of the London gate; both foundations are of fourth century date. He also notes that just enough Roman cremation burials have been found in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Albans Abbey to show that the hill-top was a cemetery in the first three centuries A.D.: on the other hand no inhumation burials have so far been revealed to indicate that it continued in use in the fourth century. One other possible piece of evid-:ence pointing to the continued presence of a Christian community on into the Dark Age is mentioned by Joan Liversidge (Britain in the Roman Empire, 1968, pp.321): 'Matthew Paris ... describes the Abbots of St. Albans pillaging Verulamium for building mater-:ials for their new abbey. It seems that in a palace in the middle of the old city they found a recess in a wall containing books and rolls including one fine old book roll on oak rollers with silk cords. Some of the books were in a Latin recognisable to the monks, but the best roll they could not understand at first. It was said to contain a history of St. Alban and after copying the roll crumbled into dust ... it seems possible that some actual discovery of Roman books may lie behind this story'.

For the martyrdom of Aaron and Julius and their continued honouring there is confirmation in the mention of their shrine in the Book of Landav.

Archaeological evidence indicates that, whatever the strength of the Christian presence at Verulamium in the Roman period, pag-:anism remained entrenched. The large square Romano-Celtic temple with its two annexes flanking the side porticos, set in its temenos on a dominating site, continued in use from c.90 A.D. into/

into the fifth century and various additions were made in the course of this time: the temenos was provided at an early stage, the annexes were added c.300 and shortly after that the temenos and the theatre were rebuilt: c.400 the temenos was rebuilt again after a fire and the gate was reversed from the east to the west end. Temple regards the temple, which was Hadrianic in date, as a sign of the social importance of the shrine. Of the final alteration he writes: 'The incongruity of the large-scale re-:building of the temenos c.400 under the noses of officialdom in one of the most important towns in the diocese has prompted the suggestion that this activity was the work of Christians converting the pagan site to their own uses. This theory might be supported by the reversal of the gate from the east to the west end and the simultaneous closure of the temple's essent-:ially pagan companion, the theatre. There is certainly no material evidence here or elsewhere of rededication as a church' (Temple, Temples in Roman Britain, 1966, pp.144).

The triangular temple, occupying a prominent site just in-:side and facing the original south gate, continued in use from the time of its building in the early second century at least to c.350 and possibly to the end of the fourth century. Its transverse hall contained three shrines, while the southern area was occupied by an open court flanked by porticos which converged on the entrance. The temple went through several phases and its late occupation is indicated by the fact that about one third of the fourth century coins found in the south of the town came from the surface soil of the temple site. It may have been dedicated to the cult of Cybele and Attis as imported pine cones were found there.(ibid.pp.95f.). An apsid-:al shrine in insula 27, situated below a private house built c.200, was occupied until the late fourth century; while a temple of basilican plan with a square projection at one end

and

and a rectangular projection at the other, situated in the south of the town, is also apparently of late date, judging from its masonry and from the fact that there are no strata above it. The two classical temples on the south-west side of the forum, both of monumental size, were built perhaps in Antonine times and continued in use at least until 250 and for an indeterminate time beyond that. Lewis thinks it unlikely that these, and the central structure between them, served as shrines of the Capitol-:ine Triad and he suggests that possibly the two temples were sacred to the Imperial house and state deities whose cult would logically belong to the forum (Lewis, op.cit., pp.74,97,67f.).

Professor Frere has shown (Britannia, 2nd ed., pp.420f.) that there is positive evidence of 'the active survival of town life at Verulamium well into the fifth century'. The technique of fitting fresh-water mains was 'still practised at a date which cannot be earlier than 450 and may be considerably later. Evidently the aqueduct and public fountains of the town were still in use and Romanised life still continuing. We cannot doubt that it was the town-walls, refitted by Count Theodosius and still manned by troops in late Roman uniform, which made this sort of urban survival possible ... The date of its evacu-:ation is quite unknown; we can only say that if life there sur-:vived until the German tide was halted late in the fifth cent-:ury ... there was nothing to prevent it continuing peacefully until the Saxon victories of 571. Archaeology is silent, partly because of the destruction of the upper levels by cultivation, partly because of the lack of datable material'. On the whole he gives his verdict against organised survival much later than 500 on account of the difficulty of maintaining buildings even of the late fourth century. Negative evidence is provided by the absence of Germanic burials in the area before the seventh century.

Archaeological evidence which has a considerable bearing on the cult of martyrs has been unearthed at Poundbury cemetery near Dorchester. In Research Report 22 of the Council of Brit-:ish Archaeology, 'Burial in the Roman World', 1977, C.J.S. Green reports that 1070 burials have been excavated. 'The orig-:ins of the cemetery', he writes, lay in a small suburban settle-:ment consisting of two simple courtyard houses and enclosures of the third century. Associated with the one house was a mixed cemetery of cremations and inhumations disposed in a variety of alignments and often with grave-goods of the third to the early fourth century. The earliest burials were frequently disturbed by later interments. At much the same time, in the courtyard of the other house, neat rows of unaccompanied inhumations, con-:sistently oriented with the head to the west, had been interred round a single special burial. The dead had been enclosed in wooden coffins, the special burial in a lead-lined coffin pack-:ed with plaster. In the early fourth century this community had encroached on the buildings and then expanded into a neigh-:bouring enclosure. Here the dead were inhumed in similar fash-:ion, arranged in serried ranks round a central cluster of 9 lead-lined and one stone coffin. The latter, and some of the ordinary wooden coffins, contained a plaster packing. In one corner of the enclosure two masonry mausolea overlay groups of plaster burials in lead and stone coffins. The mausolea were simple rectangular structures of mortared flint, 4 metres by 6 metres, with the long side aligned east - west. One had been internally decorated with figured wall-paintings, and, from occupation debris on the floor, had seen considerable use in the second quarter of the fourth century. The two lead coffins below the floor were of particular interest - one bore on the underside of the lid the inscription: 'IN DNE In Nomine (Tuo) Domine', and in both the remains of hair and possibly of embalm-:ing/

embalming agents were present.

'This cemetery had eventually spilled over into the neigh-:bouring larger enclosure, which contained at least six similar mausolea besides numerous simple inhumations. There were plast-:er burials again, but, except for one, they were contained in wood or stone coffins. One mausoleum was internally decorated with wall-paintings, depicting at least in one part of the scheme a group of seven male figures, two-thirds life-size, each holding a knobbed staff and clad in purple, white or green robes or tunics. There were other figures on the ceiling. The ident-:ity of the figures is uncertain - they may be members of a de-:ceased family and holders of an office indicated by the knobbed staffs. The interior floor of this mausoleum bore traces of intense activity and yielded finds of the third quarter of the fourth century, including a coin re-used as a Christian amulet. At the centre of this area was found the inhumation of a man and two children, extended side by side and covered by a burnt wood-:en structure. No above-ground monument has survived, but the central position and the dense cluster of graves at this point indicate that the burial was regarded as of some importance'. Green records that there was a further extension of the cemetery to the south-west, and that the entire site revealed a second phase of burial - shallow inhumations, usually without coffins, and occasional cist burials, which must fall in the late fourth century at the earliest. The stonework of these cist burials had been robbed to build the mausolea. Another similar cemetery near the west gate of the city included among its focal burials that of a young man with the remains of his hair in a pigtail, which Green describes as 'an interesting continuance of Celtic hairstyle among wealthier classes of late Roman provincial soc-:iety'. There were no grave-goods, and the burial probably be-:longed to the first half of the fourth century.

This/

This valuable evidence from Poundbury shows that as early as the second quarter of the fourth century Romano-British Christ-:ians at Dorchester were honouring their notable leaders by seek-:ing burial close to them, and in some cases by erecting a maus-:oleum over the grave or a wooden structure. Two of the mausolea are described as decorated with interior figured wall-paintings. There is no inscription to indicate clearly the identity of the dead so honoured. Elsewhere in the Christian world there is in-:disputable evidence of a widespread desire among ordinary Christ-:ians to be buried 'ad sanctos', close to a martyr, confessor or highly respected bishop, in the belief that thus they would bene-:fit by his protection and share somehow in his sanctity in the after-life; and the grave of the martyr or saint was in due course marked by a shrine. If the practice uncovered at Poundbury is an expression of the same desire, then the dead so honoured were probably a succession of leaders in the Christian community, whether bishops, presbyters, deacons or others. The knobbed staff would then in all likelihood indicate the office of 'pastor', the 'bachal' of the later Celtic bishop. The fact that both mausolea showed traces of considerable use would suggest that regular observances took place at the tomb in honour of the dead, no doubt on the anniversary of decease and possibly more frequent-:ly. The Poundbury cemetery, therefore, provides corroboration for the view that the Christian community at Verulamium would certainly mark the burial-place of their martyr Alban, regard it as sacred, and gather round it at the anniversary to honour him. It supports the literary evidence that in time they erect-:ed a memoria or martyrium and subsequently a basilica over the tomb: there the anniversary service would be held and a written Passio would be called for in the course of the years. This would be in line with developments in the cult of martyrs else-:where in the Christian Church of the West.

In Britain the question that immediately concerns us is whether there is any evidence that there was in the pre-Roman and pre-Christian era a widespread popular cult of the dead, similar to that in Italy, Salona and N. Africa, on to which the cult of Christian martyrs could naturally be grafted.

Both literary sources and the excavation of actual British graves throw a certain amount of light on pre-Roman religious ideas and practices in relation to the dead. A few remarks of the classical writers pertain specifically to Britain:
Julius Caesar (De Bello Gallico VI.13) asserts that the Druidic rule of life originated in Britain and that Britain remained in his day the fountainhead of Druidic lore: 'Disciplina in Brit-:annia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata existimatur, et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.'
Tacitus (Annals XIV.30) describes the stand made by the Druids in Anglesey against the advance of Paulinus in 61 A.D.: 'Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursant-:ibus feminis; in modum Furiarum veste ferali, crinibus deiect-:is faces praeferebant; Druidaeque circum, preces diras sub-:latis ad caelum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere militem, ut quasi haerentibus membris immobile corpus vulner-:ibus praeberent. dein cohortationibus ducis et se ipsi stim-:ulantes ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa sternuntque obvios et igni suo involvunt. praesidium posthac inpositum victis excisique luci saevis superstitionibus sacri: nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris con-:sulere deos fas habebant.' In Agricola XI.4 he notes that the religion of the British was very like that of their kindred in Europe: 'proximi Gallis et similes: in universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam occupasse credibile est: eorum sacra de-:prehendas, superstitionum persuasiones: sermo haud multum divers-:um'.

The 'Historia Brittonum' of Nennius, compiled c.800 A.D. records that the British prince Vortigern, when confronted by the wrath of Germanus, bishop of Auxerre at his incestuous marriage, con-:sulted his 'magi' for advice on how he should respond: 'Et postea rex ad se invitavit magos suos, ut quid faceret ab eis interrogaret' (c.40).

In addition, much of what the classical writers report about religion in Gaul can be taken as applying also to Britain, particularly the passages quoted above from Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Lucan and Ammianus Marcellinus, and above all, as a primary source, Julius Caesar.

Opinions differ somewhat as to the reliability of some of the comments of the classical writers. Kendrick (The Druids, 1927) takes the view that Caesar's account of the Druids is 'a considered and authentic description of the order in so far as it had come within his experience' and that his probable chief informant was the Gallic noble Divitiacus the Aeduan, himself a member of the Druidic order, who had no motive for telling Caesar anything but the truth. But he rejects the argument of later classical writers - Diodorus Siculus, Valerius Maximus and others - that Druidic belief in immortality was to be identified with Pythagorean teaching (ibid. pp.76f., 106f.). Dr. Anne Ross, however, feels it unwise to lay too much stress on Caesar's comments as he 'was concerned rather with propag-:anda than ethnography and wrote about much of which he had little or no direct personal experience' and she refers to Tierney's critical assessment in 'The Celtic Ethnography of Posidonius', Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 60, pp. 189f., 1960. She suggests that either the Celts of Hallstatt origin who settled in Britain c.500-450 B.C. on the East York-:shire coast and elsewhere in the East and South, or the Celts of La Tène/

La Tène origin who came c.250 B.C. to the East and South coasts and spread south and west may have introduced the Druidic priest-:hood to preside over their religious rites (Pagan Celtic Brit-:ain, 1967, pp.14); and she expresses the view that the suppos-:ition that the Celts had a sophisticated doctrine of immortal-:ity based on the transmigration of souls - metempsychosis - probably arose from 'the Celtic preoccupation with the other-:world and its occupants, the multiplicity of their deities and divine names, together with the fact that animals and humans are brought into a continual juxtaposition, their shapes and characters continuously merging and separating in the mytholog-:ical legends which must have been current then as later' (ibid. pp.55). Thus she rejects the statements of Greek and later Roman writers claiming a link between Druidic and Pythagorean teaching, but she accepts Caesar's account of Druidic belief in immortality and that of Pomponius Mela and she claims that they are amply verified by archaeological finds and by literary ref-:erences alike, Irish as well as classical.(ibid. pp.357). Professor Stuart Piggott questions Caesar's assertion that Druid-:ism was of British origin (Barbarian Europe, 1965, pp.235) and he points out that 'the Celtic doctrine of immortality, as set out in the (sc. classical) sources ... is not in fact Pythagorean at all ... but only a naive, literal and vivid re-living of an exact counterpart of earthly life beyond the grave' and that 'this simple concept ... is corroborated not only by the tales of the classical writers, such as that of Celts offering to pay off debts in the afterlife and by the inferences to be drawn from the earlier Irish literature, but also by the arch-:aeological evidence' (The Druids, 1968, pp.113f.). Lloyd Laing (Celtic Britain, 1979, pp.80f.) writes of Caesar's comment in De Bello Gallico V1.13: 'although it contains much which is no doubt/

no doubt quite true, it is also misleading, for Caesar was try-
:ing to interpret something which he but dimly understood and
which had to be rationalized into terms intelligible to his
urbane readers ... it is highly unlikely ... that the Druids
believed in the transmigration of souls. This probably stems
from a misinterpretation of the Celtic love of transformations
... Celtic literature abounds with miraculous transmutations of
one thing or animal into another.' T.G.E. Powell, likewise, is
critical of Caesar's source of information: 'it is difficult to
find any evidence that as a body they (sc. the Druids) indulged
in any speculative thought ... Divitiacus, the druid friend of
Caesar and Cicero, can hardly be taken as other than an except-
:ion, and it is only to be expected that such exceptional druids
who were brought into contact with Mediterranean life and Greek
thought would have developed intellectual realms very different
from their up-country cousins. That the druids had views on
the nature of an afterlife is nothing remarkable in face of the
great weight of evidence from Celtic graves showing the solici-
:tude for a continued existence in providing weapons, ornaments
and food for the journey, if not for the feast at the other end'
(The Celts, new edition, 1980, pp.184). D.W. Harding, on the
other hand, is more ready to accept Caesar's account, although
he has a few reservations: 'Though much of Caesar's record of
druidic practices must have been based upon first-hand exper-
:ience or upon direct reports during the Gallic campaign, it is
possible that he included also traditional elements, partic-
:ularly when dealing with the more horrifying practices which
were attributed to the druids by Posidonius and his successors
... There can be little doubt that Caesar exaggerated the imp-
:ortance of the druids, to the extent of attributing to them
powers and functions that elsewhere were divided between the
three classes/

three classes (sc. druids, bards and seers). His motive in do-
:ing so was presumably to demonstrate the politico-religious threat which they represented to Rome and to justify their suppression. It is difficult to imagine that their ritual was his only reason for wishing to stamp out the druids, and, in spite of his exaggeration for the purposes of propaganda, it is possible that the druids did indeed incite political resistance to Rome. An important element in this situation was the druidic belief in an afterlife' (here he quotes De Bello Gallico VI.14). 'This statement is dismissed by Tierney who argues that the 'Pythagorean belief in the immortality of the soul with its peculiar utilitarian motivation of valour in battle may be sus-
:pected of being an aetiology superimposed by Posidonius on the one great fact known about the Celts from the time of Aristotle onward, that is, their quite reckless valour in battle' (Tierney, op.cit.pp.223).' Harding concludes: 'Contrived the philosophy may have been, but more probably by the druids than by Posidon-
:ius; and its effect in fanning resistance to Rome ... could nonetheless have been extremely real' (The Iron Age in Lowland Britain, 1974, pp.100f.). As to Caesar's statement that Druid-
:ism originated in Britain, Harding comments: 'Tierney dismisses this as totally improbable, preferring a source for druidism somewhere in the middle Rhine or Bohemia. Of course it is con-
:ceivable that, having established druidism as a cause for re-
:pression, Caesar could derive further justification for extend-
:ing his campaign into Britain by inventing a spurious connect-
:ion with the cult; but were we to accept this view, we should have to explain the lack of further reference to the druids, which might have been expected for the sake of political con-
:sistency' and he proceeds to quote evidence from Irish liter-
:ature that Britain was the place for advanced studies in Druidism/

Druidism, namely the account in the 'Cattle Raid of Cooley' of Medb's meeting with a female fili or faith just returned from studying the arts of the filid in Britain (The Tain Bo Cuailnge, J. Strachan and J.G. O'Keefe, 1912).

As to Tacitus' account of the Roman assault on Druidism in Anglesey, Dr. Anne Ross makes the important point that the sacred groves in question were probably not simply groves of trees, but shrines or sanctuaries and that they were of more than local significance. She quotes a Latin gloss 'sacellum' for 'nemed' and argues that this implies 'a small shrine or enclosure of some sort'; as examples she mentions Vernemeton in Nottinghamshire, 'the especially sacred Grove', and Medionemeton situated near the Antonine Wall, 'the Middle Sanctuary'. She considers that the great deposit recovered from LLyn Cerrig Bach in Anglesey 'may perhaps be connected with this final attempt on the part of the insular Druids to escape what seems to have been complete annihil-:ation' and that the votive objects involved, coming as they do from various parts of Britain and Brigantia, indicate that Angle-:sey was of more than local significance' (op. cit. pp.36f., 56, 361).

Of the extract from the 'Historia Brittonum' of Nennius Kendrick writes: 'there is a faint possibility that in this part-:icular extract, since it quotes the Roman consul names as authority for the dates, the source may have been a lost con-:temporary history of the events described', namely that there were 'magi' in Britain in the first half of the fifth century who acted as advisers to Vortigern. He further points out that the fourteenth century Irish version of the Historia translates 'magos' as druids, which supports the impression that the functi-:ion or office of the magi may have been a direct heritage from druidism in decay' (op.cit.pp.98).

Dr. Anne Ross/

Dr. Anne Ross stresses the importance of early Irish literature, which goes back in its written form to the seventh and eighth centuries, as a source of information on British social and re-:ligious practices. Since the Christian Church in Ireland used the old pagan learning as the basis for its own, simply modify-:ing the pagan legends to eliminate anything offensive to the new way of thinking, the Law Tracts reflect Celtic social struct-:ures and the Ulster cycle of hero tales preserve many ancient Celtic traditions. From this literature it seems clear that Tara in Meath and Emain Macha in the north, which, so far as is known, were never sites of human dwelling, were used from the Bronze Age onwards for tribal gatherings and festivities, and Dr. Ross concludes from the evidence available that they provide 'an example of performing tribal rites about the graves of div-:ine ancestors, the grave mounds constituting the visible focus of belief'(op.cit.pp.39). 'The burial mound', she points out, 'like the well and the sea, were regarded in Celtic belief as one of the entrances to the otherworld ... and such great tumuli as those at New Grange on the Boyne are traditionally regarded as the houses of such divine beings as Oengus and his father, the Dagda'(ibid.pp.39). Since the Celts regarded death as 'a stage in the progression of life', it was natural for grave mounds and other burial sites to serve as a focal point for rit-:ual and for the religious games in which the Celts indulged' (ibid.). A shrine of some sort might possibly be erected beside the burial mound, on the lines suggested by traces found in ex-:cavations at comparable sites in Europe such as Ecury-le-Repos in Gaul and Libenice in central Bohemia. Further light on the early British way of life may be gained from the Irish Penitent-:ials which castigate unacceptable pagan practices and from some Lives of Christian saints who had to contend with the con-:tinued surreptitious observance of pagan customs by nominal adherents./

adherents. Furthermore Irish funerary inscriptions in Ogam script are of value for they appear to show that the ancestors named were 'the eponymous deities from whom the various tribes believed themselves to have sprung'(ibid.pp.17). To some extent Welsh literature, although in its written form it belongs to a later date, supplements the picture: this is particularly true of the earlier tales of the Mabinogion such as Culhwch and Olwen and The Four Branches of the Mabinogi, and of the Welsh Triads.

The archaeological evidence for early British burial practices comes mainly from the excavation of graves and most scholars emphasise that it can only be interpreted aright in the light of comparable European studies. Dr. Ross, for instance, traces the development of burial practices revealed by the excavation of sites on the Continent belonging to the presumed ancestors of the Celtic peoples. The so-called Urnfield people, who lived north of the Alps in the period 1300 - 700 B.C., cremated the dead and buried the ashes in urns placed in cemeteries (named 'Urnfields' by archaeologists). The iron-using Hallstatt culture between 700 and 600 B.C. brought a partial change of rite in central Europe: the aristocracy at least now began to be inhumed: 'the bodies of the wealthy chieftains are laid out, unburnt, on four-wheeled wagons in burial chambers, frequently of oak, and covered by an earthen mound. The weapons are elaborate ... iron now appearing as well as bronze. Iron swords accompany elaborate personal ornaments in bronze; armlets, torcs, belt-fasteners, and helmets already display symbols which are to be a regular feature in later cult contexts such as the ram-headed serpent. Bronze vessels are found,as are traces of joints of meat and pottery suggestive of the later Celtic belief in a material otherworld in which the traveller would have need of his worldly possessions, as in this life.' The grave-goods also included horse-gear/

horse-gear of altered pattern. c.500 B.C. further changes appear. In the middle Rhine and the Marne, now the centre of Celtic power, inhumation burials are 'laid out in the light two-wheeled chariot which was to become the typical Celtic veh-:icle of war. There is no evidence for the burial of the horses with the chariot, but horse gear is present in the graves. The evidence suggests that these changes do not represent a new in-:flux of peoples, but rather a shifting of power within the dom-:inant groups or families ... This second and most typically Celtic phase is known as La Tene ... It is to these people that we must look for the immediate origins of many of our later cult concepts...The metalwork is now recognisably that known as La Tene art... Deriving as it does from the old Hallstatt and Urnfield forms in which the linear patterning is used, as well as the old sacred bird-shapes of Bronze Age Europe, it combines new and exciting features, inspired by Greek and Etruscan plant and foliage designs, and the fantastic animals of Scythian and Persian derivation... A new import is seen in the oinochoe, the wine flagons ...' (op.cit.pp.9f.). Dr. Ross then traces the movements and expansion of the Celtic people from c.450 B.C., including their coming to Britain: 'The archaeological evidence suggests that there may be traces of Celts of Hallstatt ancestry in north-eastern Scotland as early as 600 B.C... Settlements of people of Hallstatt origin, presumptively from France and the Low Countries, took place about 500-450 B.C., initial settle-:ment occurring on the east coast of Yorkshire and elsewhere in the south and east. These Hallstatt-derived cultures are group-:ed by archaeologists under British Iron Age A. Although elements of the Continental La Tène culture were sporadically present from the first, the next influx can be detected about 250 B.C. when settlers of La Tène origin came across from France to the east/

to the east and south coasts again and they spread south and west. These are likely to have been the bearers of the heroic ideals which we have come to associate with the stories of the Ulster Cycle in Ireland. These people introduced the two-wheel-:ed war chariots, drawn by a pair of specially bred small ponies ...the La Tène art style which was to develop a particular insul-:ar quality ... and the heroic way of life... Whether these people introduced the Druidic priesthood ... or whether their Hallstatt predecessors were responsible for this must, like so much else, remain in question. These and other bearers of La Tène-derived cultures are contained within British Iron Age B. The third phase of Celtic settlements ... constitutes British Iron Age C and consists of the influx of Belgic peoples who settled in southern Britain ... before or around 100 B.C. and these people ... may have brought over the gods and the cult symbols they revered in Gaul ... Further Belgic settlements took place' between 55 B.C. and 43 A.D. 'The settlement of the south ... was a comparatively simple matter ... With the imposition of Roman rule and the creation of the Civil Province of Britain, the south soon settled down under Roman rule and the country people no doubt continued to live in much the same way as before, with a nominal respect for the gods of Rome and the dull divin-:ised emperors, and a continuing veneration for the old, proved gods of their own tradition. In the north it was a different matter ...' (ibid.pp.14f.). This background provides the sett-:ing for Dr. Ross's assessment of the British archaeological evidence.

In her discussion of the two statements of Caesar in De Bello Gallico V1.14 Dr. Ross avers that there is ample verific-:ation both in grave-good finds and in Celtic literature: 'the presence in many of the graves of joints of meat, especially pork/

pork, as well as vessels and equipment for wine and ale- drink-:ing, is a regular feature of Celtic burials and a recurrent theme in their literatures. In graves as early as Hallstatt we find such sacred symbols as the ram-headed serpent, adorning the terminals of torcs, in themselves symbolic, and appearing on armlets, while the bucket or cauldron, a persistently sacred object amongst the Celts, is found in the early burials, and continues into Roman contexts adorned with such sacred symbols as the human head, the ram, the bull, and the bird. British burial therefore suggests that, in the north as elsewhere, the Celtic chieftains were interred with all their personal insignia and trappings, equipped as warriors, with their chariots, weap-:ons and accoutrements necessary for the journey to the other-:world where they would partake, not as their reward but as their right, of the otherworld feast and continue an existence in no way markedly different from the one they had known in life. The details of the burial and the gods invoked must be left to the imagination but again, the remarks of the Roman writers and the Old Irish accounts of funeral games and rites suggest that these North British princely burials would be followed by sim-:ilar communal activity.' (ibid.pp.357). Later she mentions that in early Irish mythology the otherworld feast, fled Goibnenn, was presided over by the divine smith, Goibniu, one of the three gods of Danu, the tri dee Danann; he had a counterpart in Welsh mythology, namely Govannon (ibid.pp.80).

Dr. Ross suggests that the Irish tradition throws light on the attitude of the Britons towards objects they regarded as sacred. 'Certain objects, stones, sods of earth, weapons, were traditionally accredited with supernatural powers, being regard-:ed no doubt as symbolic of the attributes of the deities whose particular property they were. For example the cauldron was an attribute/

attribute of the tribal god, symbolising both plenty and the powers of resuscitation. There are many legends extant about the cauldron of rebirth, which could restore slain warriors to life, whole, but without the power of speech. The actual object could thus be used symbolically, epitomising the powers inherent in the vessel itself, and as an attribute of the tribal god ... Likewise weapons ... were clearly regarded by the Celts as being symbolic of, and in some cases in direct communication with, the god. There are many instances in the early literary tradition of weapons acting independently, and being in possession of the gods, and at least one reference to the belief that demons act-:ually resided in weapons. Consequently we may conclude that the prized weapons of these northern warriors held some super-:stitious significance for their owners, being allegedly imbued with some of the powers of the deity and to a certain extent be-:lieved to be capable of independent action' (ibid.pp.364). She instances the votive axes from Woodeaton and the votive shields from the temple at Worth as suggesting the religious signific-:ance of weapons, and continues: 'In the light of the Irish be-:liefs, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic and the ornithomorph-:ic daggers and other weapons belonging to the northern school of La Tene art can be regarded as manifesting similar beliefs in the magical powers of these objects among the inhabitants of pre-Roman North Britain as in Ireland.' She also mentions that the discovery of weapons in water rather than in the graves of warriors may suggest a different ritual in their disposal after the death of their owners than that observed by the Continental Celts.

Dr. Ross also refers to the many face-urns, pottery vessels adorned with a representation of the human head, which have been unearthed on a variety of sites both on the Continent and in Britain./

in Britain and have a long ancestry. She quotes Professor J.M. C. Toynbee's suggestion that they may have served a semi-relig-:ious purpose in some fertility cult and she notes that several have been found in burials, for instance at York (Royal Commiss-:ion, 1962, pl.294) and at Colchester, where they had a 'second-:ary use as burial urns' (ibid.pp.103f.). She points out that the Celtic reverence for the head is found in all spheres of their life, material and spiritual, and that they made it a 'distinct-:ive feature of their religious expression'. For the Celts the concepts of fertility and death were complementary, and 'as a result the portrayal of the head, especially on the rather crude face-pots, in funerary contexts is readily explicable' (ibid.pp. 125f.). Later on, speaking of the association of these pots with fertility/funerary rites, she puts forward the suggestion that possibly 'they were some religious expression of the more humble members of Romano-British society; and she adds: 'The crude, and indeed lewd manner in which many of them are represented, and the fact that they are very frequently female, rather than male, supports this view' (ibid.pp229).

Dr. Ross is not able to give any British examples of traces of shrines or sanctuary enclosures at burial sites but she argues that the existence of these at one or two European burial places makes it likely that they occurred also in Britain. She refers to Écury-le-Repos in Gaul and the Goloring in Germany and she describes in some detail the finds at Libenice in central Bohem-:ia. Here an area is enclosed by a ditch, inside of which are traces of an earthen wall: in the middle of one part of the area lay the grave of a woman aged about fifty, with La Tene brace-:lets, brooches and rings, but no pottery: at the other end of the area was a series of pits with an absidal semi-circular pit in which stood a stele of stone and, under it, a stone pavement one metre/

one metre broad, which was taken to be a place for sacrifices, human, animal or both: there were also traces of two wooden pillars, and beside these two necklets of twisted bronze wire: the pits contained animal and human bones and apparently an infant burial, as well as late Hallstatt pottery. Dr. Ross con-:cludes that 'the burial associated with it may itself have some bearing upon cult practice and further attest to the veneration of grave structures' and that'the presence of bones ... suggests that the rites included sacrifice, human and animal, and this coheres well with the comments of the classical writers on the Celtic predilection for sacrifices' (ibid.pp40f.).

In conclusion Dr. Ross stresses that 'one can never aim at reconstructing any aspect of native religion in operation. The finer details of cult practice cannot be convincingly demonstrat-:ed and we can at best only suggest from the information at our disposal the ways in which these people would seem to have given tangible expression to their religious and superstitious ideas' (ibid.pp356); and she sums up her conclusions on the burials of the northern peoples in pre-Roman times as follows: 'the con-:tents of the graves suggest that the aristocratic warriors be-:lieved in their own continued existence beyond the grave, an existence which would closely resemble their life in the mater-:ial world. They were buried in their chariots and accompanied by the usual utensils and supplies of food and drink. These burials suggest that the Brigantes shared with the rest of the Celtic world in their belief in an existence after death much the same as that to which they were accustomed in their worldly life, but with all the earthly pleasures intensified, and fight-:ing made even more satisfying. The Old Irish accounts of the otherworld and life in it augment what is suggested by the bur-:ial customs which archaeology have revealed for us and which have been commented on by the classical writers' (ibid.pp.364).

D.W. Harding/

D.W. Harding includes a detailed study of British burials in his survey of the Iron Age in Lowland Britain (The Iron Age in Lowland Britain, London, 1974, c.7). He questions the simple acceptance of the common dictum that the British Iron Age is dis-:tinguished from the corresponding phase of development in Eur-:ope by 'the apparent paucity of burials' and likewise Hodson's conclusion that the culture of the South British Iron Age was marked by the notable absence of a regular burial type in contrast with the forms current on the Continent. Instead he suggests that what has been really lacking is the ability to isolate a distinctive and recurrent type of inhumation or cremation burial (ibid.pp.6, 113). He proceeds to underline the fact that many Iron Age burials in Britain were discovered in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and were inadequately recorded, while others contained so few grave goods that dating was ex-:tremely difficult. Nonetheless he is able to list a variety of types of early Iron Age burial that have come to light, e.g.

1) isolated skeletons in pits found at Fifield Bavant (1924); Longbridge Deverill, Wilts.; Twywell, Northants.; and some half-dozen sites in the Upper Thames region (1972).

2) the small mound at Beaulieu, Hants. (1953), 15' in diameter, and at its centre 2' above the old ground level, which may poss-:ibly have been a modified burial in the Hallstatt tradition: the grave was originally on the old ground surface and was mark-:ed by the remains of timbers: a sherd of pottery and a cast bronze ring dated it to the Iron Age: the burial was probably an inhumation, but no trace of the body survived, due in all probability to soil acidity. The excavator, C.M. Piggott, con-:tended that it could have been 'a poor relation of the rich Hallstatt cart burials of the Continent' (Ant. J.33, 1953, 14f.). If so, according to Harding it is the only example of its kind to date/

to date: claims for other possible instances are based upon in-
:adequate evidence.

3) the distinctive group of burials in the Arras cemetery in East Yorkshire: these were La Tene cart-burials set in a mound which was surrounded as a rule by a square ditch. According to Harding this cemetery 'probably originally comprised several hundred barrows, some of which were as small as 10' in diameter. Of these only a limited number of graves, those presumably of the tribal aristocracy, contained the remains of wheeled vehicles. The normal method of burial was inhumation, either crouched or extended, and the grave-goods included a range of personal orna-
:ments such as bracelets, rings and brooches, which enable the majority of graves to be dated ... from about the third to first centuries B.C.' The earliest burial was apparently at Cowlam where the grave-goods included 'a fragmentary brroch of La Tene la type, a form which was current from about the fifth century B.C. in southern Britain' ...'the origin of this particular type of square ditched barrow would appear to have been the Champagne, though for the practice of burying in the grave a wheeled cart in dismantled state Stead (I.M. Stead, The La Tène Cultures of Eastern Yorkshire, 1965) has proposed an origin further south and east in Burgundy or even Switzerland' (ibid.pp.118). Out-
:liers of the square ditched barrow enclosures have been spott-
:ed in Lincolnshire, with allied examples at Leckhampton, Glos., and Handley, Dorset.

4) burials of disparate character, thinly but widely distrib-
:uted, which can be roughly grouped as follows:

a. burials under barrow mounds: these were many in number and included both inhumation and cremation burials: at Chronicle Hills, Cambs. (1923, 1971) the burials in two barrows had been deposited in central pits, one 5' square, the other 4' square, both/

both 8' deep, containing grave-goods including iron and bronze weapons since decomposed: the burials were surrounded by circular chalk walls 22' in diameter which call to mind the circular post-settings of Bronze Age tumuli. The three Woolley Down barrows (1934) 'introduce us to the idea of an Iron Age barrow cemetery, albeit on a fairly limited scale, comparable to the preceding Bronze Age' (ibid.pp.115). Examples of cremation burials under a barrow are found at Weeting Park, Norfolk; Thriplow Heath, C Cambs. (1923); Handley, Dorset (1970); King's Weston, nr. Bristol where the barrows are small (1925);Stiffkey, Norfolk (1935) where the mound was 50' in diameter.

b. burials not demarcated by a barrow: these too include both inhumation and cremation burials: examples of such inhumations occur at Egginton, Beds. (1940) and Worthy Down, nr. Winchester (1930) where the pit-grave involved consisted of a narrow trench 1½' wide leading to a circular pit c.2' in diameter in which a closely contracted skeleton had been buried: the purpose of the trench poses a question. A cremation in a small urn in an un-:marked grave was found at Park Brow (1924) in the chalk bedrock.

c. A few really wealthy graves e.g. the contracted inhumation at Newnham Croft, Cambs. (1903) where the grave-goods included an ornamented jointed bronze armring, an elaborate brooch, a pair of small penannular brooches and a bronze casting with ch chains, possibly a harness or vehicle mount: Harding regards it as either the grave of an invader or that of a wealthy tribal aristocrat, but does not include it among cart-burials.

d. warrior burials in the western Wolds of Yorkshire at Grim-:thorpe, Bugthorpe and North Grimston: the grave-goods included swords: none of the graves is marked by a barrow mound: all were found in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: one grave atGrimthorpe contained a rich array - a bronze shield, an iron sword/

an elaborately decorated scabbard and several bone pins appar-
:ently to fasten the shroud. At N. Grimston the grave-goods in-
:cluded a short anthropoid hilted sword. A comparable burial
occurs at Shouldham, Norfolk (1955).

5) the late La Tène flat cremation burials of the Aylesford
and Swarling cemeteries in Kent (1890, 1925): at Aylesford, crem-
:ation burials in small roughly cylindrical pits in pottery
vessels, with grave-goods generally in the form of wheel-thrown
pottery vessels including the La Tène 3 pedestal urn form: in
one case the pits were disposed in a circular arrangement which
the excavator described as 'a family circle': in three of the
graves the ashes were contained in wooden and metal buckets, in
one case decorated in repousse and accompanied by an oinochoe,
a ladle and two brooches, all of bronze. At Swarling nineteen
cremation pits were found in two groups: in one the ashes were
disposed in a wooden bucket and the grave-goods included six
pottery vessels and fibulae. A similar cemetery may have exist-
:ed at Welwyn Garden City (1967, Stead) and at Grove Mill, Hitch-
:in. Isolated cremations with datable wheel-thrown pottery
occur in Essex, Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, with a few in
E. Anglia and across the Chilterns: these include a series of
eight graves, described by Dr. Stead as 'Welwyn-type burials',
with rich grave-goods, and a ninth at Welwyn Garden City where
the ashes were heaped at the north end of a large pit, 10' 6"
long and 7' 3" wide: the grave-goods were either stacked against
the wall or placed at the south end so that the north end was
left relatively clean: the grave-goods comprised five wine amph-
:orae, about thirty other vessels, a bronze dish and strainer,
bronze attachments for a wooden vessel and a silver, handled
cup, as well as a set of gaming pieces, a wooden board with iron
binding, glass beads and bracelets. Two cremation 'vaults' at
Welwyn (1906)/

Welwyn (1906), generally dated to the Augustan period, contain-
:ed in one case a pair of firedogs with horned animal head upper terminals, as well as amphorae, a pedestal urn, pottery tazza and a bowl, jug-handle and three masks of bronze; and in the second case, two silver cups, a pair of firedogs with a substantial iron frame presumably for suspending vessels or spits over a hearth, and bronze goods including a handled jug, patella and tankard. Harding notes Stead's remark about these Welwyn class burials that 'in spite of the inclusion of a wide range of domestic utens-
:ils and tableware, and the clear emphasis upon drink' there is 'the lack of any trace of a funeral feast' (ibid.pp.123).

6) other burials in the neighbourhood of the above rich graves of tribal aristocrats: here the urns containing the ashes were the only items deposited with the dead.

7) the Lexden tumulus at Colchester (1927) dated to the close of the first century B.C. The mound, surrounded by lesser graves, was 9' high and c.100' in diameter: below it a central grave took the form of an oval pit c.30' by 18': the grave-goods were rich - many ornamental bronzes, a 'table' and other furnishings, frag-
:ments of iron wheel-rims and chain-mail, silver ornaments, buckle and studs, and medallion of Augustus, pieces of gold tissue, and pottery fragments of amphorae and butt-beakers - showing that this was the grave of an important tribal chieftain. A smaller barrow mound of the same period, c.27' in diameter, at Blagdon Copse, Hursbourne Tarrant (1930) covered a central cremation burial in a wooden bucket, with grave-goods of pottery vessels such as ped-
:estal urns, butt-beakers and platters, a bronze brooch and brace-
:let and parts of a glass vessel.

8) three cist inhumation burials at Birdlip, Glos. (1909, 1949): the graves were aligned , each cist was lined and covered with slabs of limestone: the central grave was that of a woman and its grave-goods were lavish - a bronze mirror with ornamental backing,

two/

two bowls, four rings and a bracelet, all of bronze, and a bead necklace; also a gold-plated silver brooch in the form of a gro-:tesque bird-head, and a bronze handle with horned animal head terminal. Other burials in stone-lined cists are found at Stam-:ford Hill, Plymouth, and in Cornwall at St.Keverne and, earlier in the Iron Age, at Harlyn Bay where there is a cemetery of over a hundred such burials.

9) the war cemeteries at Maiden Castle, Dorset; Spettisbury, Dorset; Battlesbury, Wilts.; Bredon Hill, Worcs.; and Sutton Walls, Herefordshire. At the first, the twenty-three men, ten women and one child had been hurriedly inhumed in graves roughly cut in the chalk: several wore ornaments, such as iron and shale armlets and bronze toe-rings: most graves contained pottery vess-:els, presumably holding drink, two also had joints of meat. At the second, about one hundred had been haphazardly buried in a pit c.35' by 15' along with a considerable quantity of metal goods including currency bars, a sword, a bronze cauldron and brooches. At the last two there had been no attempt at formal burial: at Sutton Walls, war dead and decapitated prisoners alike had been stripped of their possessions and thrown unceremoniously into the hillfort ditch.

Evidence of such wide variety clearly presents a problem for the interpreter. Harding suggests that the isolated skelet-:ons in pits (1) and the pit graves at Worthy Down and Egginton (4b) may have been those of 'criminals or social outcasts denied the customary funeral ceremonial. He assigns to tribal aristo-:crats the barrow inhumation graves at Arras which contained the remains of wheeled vehicles (3), the contracted inhumation at Newnham Croft (4b), the rich Welwyn type flat cremation burials (5) and to a chieftain the flat cremation pit burial at Welwyn Garden City and the Lexden tumulus; to warriors the inhumation burials of the western Wolds of Yorkshire (4d). The 'lesser graves/

graves' surrounding the Lexden tumulus (7) and the similar barr-:ows at Arras (3) were presumably used for people of substance or status within the tribe but of less importance than the aristocrats. To the poor Harding assigns the simple cremation burials in an urn, without grave-goods, at Welwyn Garden City(6).

Harding concludes that as yet no clear conclusion can be drawn from our knowledge of pre-Belgic burials. There seems to be a measure of continuity from Bronze Age practice, in burial both by inhumation and by cremation, in barrows, in the circular demarcation of one or two of these burials, and in the suggest-:ion of barrow cemeteries. What is most lacking is evidence for the mode of burial used for the mass of the population which increased greatly in Britain in the Iron Age. As he says: 'Some other supplementary form of burial must surely be envisaged which has hitherto evaded archaeological record' (ibid., pp.116). He makes two suggestions: either that the dead were cremated and their ashes scattered without any permanent monument or that the bodies were exposed, perhaps on platforms. But he concedes that there may be no one answer: the Iron Age was a period of widespread change, 'with innovation from the Continent fusing with insular tradition to produce regional patterns which were far from uniform, and in which intrusive or indigenous elements could in turn emerge as dominant' (ibid.). Finally, he regards the 'measure of respect' shown for the dead at Maiden Castle and Spettisbury as evidence 'that the apparent lack of regular burial sites in the British Iron Age, outside the Arras and Aylesford groups, is not simply a question of casual disregard for the after-life, but more probably the result of a complex and sophisticated rite which has simply failed to register in the archaeological record (ibid., pp.126).

Prof. B. Cunliffe quotes evidence from Wiltshire that bodies were commonly disposed of unceremoniously before 100 B.C. (1974, pp.292)

In the case of chieftains, aristocrats and warriors, and later of wealthy or comparatively wealthy leading men and women of soc-:iety, due honour was shown to the dead in the form of the bur-:ial - the construction of the grave, the accompanying grave-goods, the monument marking the grave - and no doubt also in the rites preceding entombment. These may well have included a games-gathering as Irish legend suggests. Duncan Fraser records that in the late seventeenth century Robert Campbell, although he had recently had to sell his ancestral home, Meggernie Castle, gave a memorable funeral for his mother. On the day before that appointed for her burial full-scale Highland games were held and the subsequent fun was so fast and furious that the burial had to be postponed to the following morning (Highland Perthshire, Montrose, 1978, by D. Fraser, F.S.A.Scot., pp.54). One is re-:minded of the funeral games which Achilles instituted in honour of Patroclus on the day after the cremation and burial (Iliad, Book 23). For further death rites repeated at periodic intervals the evidence is slight: the possibility of some type of shrine-structure in one or two cemeteries, the mausoleum in the form of a Romano-Celtic temple built in the early fourth century A.D. for the burial of a young man and woman at Lullingstone villa. For the poor and for the mass of the population the archaeolog-:ical evidence is negligible: no doubt the burial was carried out reverently with simple rites, but there is nothing to sugg-:est that periodic death rites continued to be observed at the place of burial. One must assume, then, that the cult of martyrs as a popular movement was started almost de novo by the Church in Britain, but that it had a certain precedent in the honour shown at death to chieftains and other notable members of British society.

From this detailed examination of the tradition of several Continental Christian centres and areas which appear to have special relevance for Britain one or two points emerge.

a) There is an accumulation of small pieces of evidence to show that the Romano-British Church and British Christian cult-:ure in the early centuries were open to trends of thought and practice on the Continent.

Pelagius, Faustus of Riez if born in Britain, Fastidius as author of the six Pelagian writings, and the 'dominicati rhet-:orici' to whom Patrick refers, all bear witness that the best of British education matched that of the Continent in standard and content. Patrick's knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures suggest church teaching and clerical training similar to that given elsewhere. Patrick's 'creed' and the arguments of Fastidius show awareness of developments of Continental Christian thought: so, too, does the presence of Gnostic elements in the decoration of the Brading mosaic and possibly that of Hinton St. Mary.

Eastern influences may perhaps be detected in the use of the 'Sancta sanctis' and the 'Kyrie eleison', the presenting of offerings at the entrance to the church at Silchester (on Professor Frere's hypothesis), the use of fans at the Eucharist (on McRoberts' interpretation), and the serifs on the letters inscribed on the Eucharistic vessels from Water Newton (if trad-:itional and not simply the idiosyncracy of a lone eastern craftsman).

The architecture of Romano-British church buildings reveals a debt to the Continent: the basilica at Silchester, the hexagonal baptistery at Richborough, the estate church-complex at Lullingstone. The wall-paintings at the latter find their parallel elsewhere in the Roman world: the quality, design/

design and decorative content of the best mosaic pavements are comparable with those of the Continent.

The cult of martyrs and saints - so far as it goes - foll-:ows the same pattern as elsewhere: burial ad sanctos, memoriae at Poundbury and at Stone by Faversham in Kent, the memoria-church in the cemetery at Icklingham, the martyrium of St. Alban and possibly that of Aaron and Julius: so, too, the east-west mode of burial for ordinary Christians.

b) In turn, where British evidence is particularly scant, light can be gleaned from Continental traditions. The fragment-:ary hints from British sources on the content of the Romano-British liturgies are a case in point and suggest that these contained most of the same constituent rites as elsewhere.

c) Such evidence as there is, however, gives the impression that Romano-British church practice was characterised by direct-:ness, simplicity and Biblical authorisation rather than by over-elaborate ceremonial. We sense an emphasis on reality in faith, belief and worship: there is passionate sincerity in the very different characters of Patrick and Fastidius: there is a search for truth exemplified in the work of Pelagius and in the determination of Faustus of Riez to discern what is of value in Pelagianism: Fastidius argues systematically and makes his appeal to reason and thought: Patrick was not converted in vacuo at fifteen, but was already well-grounded in the Christian faith and in the moment of crisis awoke to its truth: the cult of martyrs and saints grew on different soil in Britain. In short, Romano-British Christianity had a timbre of its own.

d) Each bishop had by tradition a measure of freedom and independence and the British character, epitomised in Patrick, fostered it. Accordingly, no two regions can be assumed to follow exactly the same pattern in Britain any more than in Gaul or Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries.

A P P E N D I X

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SIX PELAGIAN WRITINGS

Gennadius of Marseilles included the following entry in c. 56 of the continuation of Jerome's De Viris Illustribus which he added c.490-500 (P.L.58) or c.480 (Hanson, op.cit., pp.41):

'Fastidius Britannorum episcopus scripsit ad Fatalem quendam de vita Christiana librum unum et alia de viduitate servanda, sana et Deo digna doctrina'.

Haslehurst quotes this text in his Introduction to his edition of the works of Fastidius pp.viii (Works of Fastidius by R.S.T. Haslehurst, London, 1927) and notes that one of the oldest MSS, a palimpsest at Corbey, reads 'Britto' instead of 'Britannorum' and has 'episcopus' in a later hand. Gennadius' note on Fast-:idius occurs between that of Celestius, bishop of Rome 422-432, and that of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria from 412, who came to the fore in the Nestorian dispute in 429. As Gennadius observes a roughly chronological order, it is likely, as Haslehurst sugg-:ests, that Fastidius flourished c.430.

The two works mentioned by Gennadius were identified by Lucas Holsten in the seventeenth century (Rome edition, 1663) with a writing entitled 'De Vita Christiana', falsely attribut-:ed to Augustine (P.L.50.1031: it consisted of fourteen chapt-:ers on the Christian life and a fifteenth, clearly linked with these, on widowhood, and it is addressed to a widow. The ident-:ification therefore involved emending Gennadius' 'quendam' to quandam'. Two MSS of the ps-Augustinian writing contain notes of authorship: the eleventh or twelfth century MS. 232 of Monte Cassino has 'Fastidii episcopi' in a later hand, while the ninth or tenth century MS. of St. Gall, 132, adds 'Liber Pelag-:ii heretici 'de vita Christiana''. More recent scholars such as C.P. Caspari and Dom Morin, writing in 1890 and 1898 respect-:ively, reached the conclusion that the work bears an affinity to the accepted writings of Pelagius and they noted particular-:ly that/

particularly that it contains a prayer (c.XI) quoted both by Jerome (c. Pelagianos, P.L.23.611) and by Augustine (De gestis Pelagianis, P.L.44.329) as written by Pelagius in a tract addressed to a widow. Haslehurst examined afresh the arguments of Holsten, followed by Caspari, de Noris and Tillemont, that Fastidius was the author of the ps-Augustinian 'De Vita Christ-:iana' and rejected them, both on the strength of the above-mentioned quotations of Jerome and Augustine, and on the ground that the fifteen-chapter writing forms a literary unity and is addressed to a widow.

Dom Morin then addressed himself to the task of locating the two works attributed by Gennadius to Fastidius and he put forward the view that Fastidius' 'De Vita Christiana' is to be identified with the first of the six Pelagian writings edited by C.P. Caspari in 1890 (Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten, Christiana, 1890) and that his 'De Viduitate Servanda' is the letter on this topic beginning 'Audi, filia derelicta' attrib-:uted to Caesarius of Arles (P.L.67.1094).

The Pelagian writings edited by Caspari consist of the following items:

(1) Epistle I, addressed to 'honorificentia tua', 'dilect-:tio tua', 'parens dilectissime';

(2) Epistle II;

(3) Tract 'De Divitiis', Codex Vaticanus 3834, with the inscription in a later hand 'Epistola Sti Sixti Papae et martyris. De Divitiis.';

(4) Epistle III, in the same codex, with the inscription 'Incipit de malis doctoribus et operibus fidei et iud-:icio futuro';

(5) Epistle IV, in the same codex, distinguished by Caspari as a separate letter and given by him the title 'De Possibilitate non peccandi';

(6)/

(6) Epistle V, in the same codex, fol.86a, with a copyist's inscription 'Incipit epistola Sixti episcopi et martyr-:is de castitate', and the later marginal addition 'ad quendam vere Christianum'.

The last four, all from the one codex, were first published by the Spaniard Solanius at Rome in 1571. The first two are found in two codices, the eighth/ninth century Munich MS 6399 and the MS. Benedictine, Salzburg, both of which are themselves derived from an older Salzburg codex; they were first edited and publish-:ed by Caspari.

Caspari, in his detailed study of the six writings, brought forward strong evidence to show that they are all Pel-:agian in outlook and that they are all the work of one and the same author in Britain in the third decade of the fifth century or perhaps a little later. Haslehurst, relying on internal evidence alone, arrived at a conclusion which combined the findings of Caspari and of Dom Morin and suggested that the author of all six Pelagian writings and of the letter 'Audi, filia derelicta ... was Fastidius, bishop of the Britons, and that he wrote c.430 (Introduction, pp.vii) or c.420-430 (ibid., pp.xliv).

For dating Haslehurst takes account of four points:

(1) According to Ep.I, 'France' and Saxonia are still heathen: therefore the date must have been before 500: 'nam et in Francia et in Saxonia et in omni Britannia Deus est, non tamen et Dei cultores' (Ep.I.1).

(2) Pelagius and Coelestius came to notice in 411 and Pelagian views began to gain a hold in the years 411-420: therefore the date must have been after 410-420. In support Haslehurst quotes references from the correspondence and writings of Augustine and Jerome, viz. Ep.156, Ep.159, De perf. just. hom. c.1/

c.1 (P.L.44.292), De gest. Pelag. c.11.23, by Augustine, and Comm. on Jeremiah, bk.iv praef. (P.L.24.784) by Jerome.

(3) References to the persecution of those holding Pelagian views must belong to a date later than the Rescript of Honor-:ius against Pelagius and his followers, or at least to a date close to that: therefore the date must have been after 418, or at least in the years 416-418: 'inde est etiam quod iniquis et impiis factionibus opprimuntur, quod criminibus falsis appet-:untur, quod haeresis etiam perfunduntur infamia' (Ep.III, c. xvii.2).

(4) The mention of Jovinian as an early heretic, 'quondam haereticus': secundum Joviniani quondam haeretici' (Ep.V, c.10. 7); Jovinian flourished c.390.

For determining the place of writing Haslehurst draws upon two pieces of internal evidence:

(1) the mention of Francia and Saxonia in Ep.1.1: this, he suggests, indicates a neighbouring country such as N. Gaul or Britain;

(2) the reference to 'perils by land and sea' in Ep.1.2,5: 'nam si itineris, si maris pericula pertuli'; 'post magni itin-:eris laborem, post maris infinita discrimina': this, he argues, points to a long and dangerous journey to Sicily, i.e. from Britain rather than from Gaul.

Haslehurst therefore adopts the conclusion of Caspari that Brit-:ain is the more probable place of writing. He finds support in the fact that British Christians are known to have travelled to the Continent in the fourth and fifth centuries e.g. the group of British clergy who attended the Council of Arles in 314, Faustus who became a monk at Lerins and subsequently bishop of Riez, Pelagius, and the Britons who, attracted to the ascetic life, travelled to Jerusalem and were received there by Melania/

Melania (Historia Lausiaca i,ii); likewise in the fact that Pel-
:agianism had a British founder and that there is strong con-
:temporary or near-contemporary evidence that it gained a con-
:siderable foothold in Britain e.g. Prosper of Aquitaine: Chron-
:icle, entries for the years 413 and 429; c. Collatorem 21.2;
Constantius of Lyons: Vita s.Germani c.12f.

As to the actual authorship of the writings, Haslehurst considers the rival claims of British Pelagians known by name - Pelagius himself, Coelestius, Severianus and Agricola. Pel-
:agius he excludes on the grounds of literary style, his celib-
:ate status as a monk (whereas the writer of Ep.1 had two daughters, Ep.1.5,6), and his age (J.Morris points out that in his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, written in 405, Pelag-
:ius describes himself as an old man 'iam mihi senescente cor-
:pore et viribus lascescentibus'). He rules out Coelestius likewise on the grounds of style of writing and the unlikeli-
:hood that he ever had a daughter, quoting in support Marius Mercator, Liber Subnotationum in Verba Iuliani, Praef.4 (P.L. 44.12)

The claims of Agricola, which Caspari favoured, Haslehurst sets aside, as Duchesne had done, because there is no record of Agricola as a writer; he does, however, admit that they raise no difficulty chronologically. He ends by concurring with Dom Morin that the two works attributed to Fastidius by Gennadius are to be found in the first of the six Pelagian writings (Ep.1) which he takes to be the 'De Vita Christiana' and in the letter 'De Viduitate Servanda' addressed to a widow and formerly attributed to Caesarius of Arles. In the latter case he relies on the literary judgment of Dom Morin who was an authority on Caesarius of Arles and edited his Sermons in C.C.S.L. vols.103 and 104. Morin gave it as his opinion that there is no internal evidence of Caesarius' authorship in the letter/

letter 'De Viduitate Servanda', but that likewise there is no positive literary evidence of identity of authorship with the six Pelagian writings.

More recent British scholars vary widely in their views of the matter.

J. Morris, who made a detailed study of the Pelagian writ-:ings in 1965 in J.Th.St.16, pp.26-60 and refers to them more briefly in 'The Age of Arthur' (1973), accepts the 'De Vita Christiana' addressed to a young widow as the work of Fastidius: 'The one Pelagian author who is known to have written in Britain, Fastidius, takes it for granted in 411 that his read-:ers share his assumption and expresses incredulous amazement at rumours that abroad men urged the dogma of original sin. His social outlook is that of Pelagius rather than that of the Sicilian Briton' (to whom Morris assigns the authorship of the Pelagian writings), 'but he too gives ample witness that pleb-:eian protest was strong in Britain. In the course of his address to a young widow he welcomes a new government of men of property which had recently ousted a previous government also of men of property. The previous government had oppress-:ed the poor, and some of its members had been lynched by crowds acting in support of the new rulers. He instructs the new gov-:ernment, with heavy emphasis, that it must use wealth rightly for the benefit of the poor, without oppression' (The Age of Arthur, pp.342). Morris proceeds to point out that such 'ex-:hortations to charity', addressed not to individuals but to 'a government and a ruling class' are 'unusual'. He concedes that where the influence of St. Martin of Tours was strong peasants had become the concern of the Church, that Salvian of Marseilles wrote 'in criticism of the oppression of peasants and that Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, intervened in person to prevent/

prevent war being let loose on rebel peasants in Armorica and made an arduous journey to Ravenna to seek Imperial pardon for them. Nonetheless he maintains that 'the active pressure of the poor upon the government made little impression on Christian writers, except upon the British' (ibid., pp.343).

The six Pelagian tracts, according to Morris, were written by 'the Sicilian Briton'. 'The authors of the surviving (sc. Pelagian) tracts are British, foremost among them a young man who wrote in Sicily, called the Sicilian Briton, since his name is unknown. His half-dozen pamphlets have a single starting-point, the text 'If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast' (ibid., pp.341). Morris singles out the emphasis on social inequality as the most striking common feature of these writings: 'He condemns social inequality more fiercely than any Christian writer since the second century, turning Victricius' philosophical propositions into vivid rhetoric' (ibid., pp.340); and he quotes extensively in support from De Divitiis, c.5-7, 8. 1-3, 17.3, 18.1-3, and in particular the slogan 'tolle divitem et pauperem non invenies. Pauci enim divites pauperum sunt causa multorum'.

Morris makes two further relevant points:

(1) 'Though the Pelagians were universally condemned in name, their teaching was preserved ... some seventy Pelagian works were copied and re-copied through the centuries, most of them in northern European lands where monasteries inspired by monks from the British Isles were most numerous and where Protestant reform aroused its earliest and most enduring response a thous-:and years later' (ibid., pp.342).

(2) While 'in its own day Pelagianism was eclipsed and 'Gaul which was upon the margin of controversy ... soon accepted the ruling of Rome' ... 'even Faustus and the Church of Gaul form-:ally accepted/

formally accepted its condemnation' although 'strict Italian Augustinianism reproached them as semi-Pelagian', Britain on the other hand 'escaped the controversy ... in Britain Pelag-:ianism was no heresy ... most of the Pelagian writers were British and their works were still read and cited as orthodox a century later in Britain' (ibid., pp.342). In a note (pp.593) Morris points out that Gildas in c.38 of the De Excidio Brit-:anniae cites De Virginitate c.6, using its exact wording, which does not occur anywhere else in the Pelagian writings, 'and refers to it as the work of 'quidam nostrum'

Morris sums up his views in c.3 where he deals with the evidence for independent Britain: 'In the last years of the Western Empire the British found their own voice. The extant works written by British authors of the early fifth century fill a fair-sized bookshelf. Most, but not all of them wrote abroad, and most wrote theology. But theology was in their day the stuff of social and political controversy, so that these writings have much to say of the manner of life of the British, of their disputes, and of the ideas that moved them. Most of these writers were educated gentlemen, brought up in comfort-:able mansions: their books trace their cultivated Roman soc-:iety down to about the year 440, but no further' (ibid., pp.35). In a note on pp.551 he specifies the British authors as 'espec-:ially Pelagius, Fastidius, the Sicilian Briton and his coll colleagues, with Patrick and Faustus of Riez'.

Morris' views have met with considerable criticism. Professor E.A. Thompson in his article entitled 'Britain, 406-410 A.D.' (Britannia 8, 1977, pp.303f.) contends that all the known historical events can be adequately explained on other grounds than the influence of Pelagian ideas. W. Liebeschutz in two articles, 'Did Pelagianism have social aims?' (Historia 12, pp.227f./

(Historia 12, 1963, pp.227f.), and 'Pelagian evidence in the last period of Roman Britain' (Latomus 26, 1967, pp.436f.), while rejecting the view of de Plinval (Pélage, Lausanne, 1943, pp.26f.) that the ps- Augustinian 'De Vita Christiana' and all but Ep.I of the six Pelagian writings are the work of Pelagius, suggests that De Vita Christiana and the six Caspari documents, together with the Virginitatis Laus (P.L.30.163-176) were addressed to the same audience, 'the highest classes in Italy, especially the senatorial order' (Latomus 26, pp.447) and re-:present a homogeneous literary genre' (ibid., pp.437). As to establishing the authorship of individual pamphlets, Liebeschutz concedes that this is 'extremely difficult' (ibid., pp.447). Of the ps-Augustinian De Vita Christiana he writes: 'it is more likely that a pamphlet which was known in Africa and in Palest-:ine was written in the central Mediterranean area than that it should have been of British origin' (ibid., pp.439,440) and he gives as possible examples of the killing of oppressive 'iudic-:es' the praetorian prefect, Rufinus, killed in 395, Gildo, the rebellious Comes Africae, probably executed in 398, and the pagan praetorian prefect, Nicomachus Flavianus, killed during the Eugenius rebellion (ibid., pp.442f.). Of the six Pelagian writings, Ep.I, he agrees, was probably written by a Briton: 'a single document, Caspari Ep.I, has been shown to have been addressed beyond the central Mediterranean area, quite probably to Britain' ...'the writer was a provincial' ... 'the young Briton had 'caught' Pelagianism in precisely the environment at which the other pamphlets seem to be directed' (ibid., pp. 438f.); but he does not rule out Gaul as the possible country of address (ibid., pp.438, n.7; pp.444, Appendix). Ep.II, he allows, 'may be by the same writer as Caspari Ep.I'; De Divit-:iis 'was clearly addressed to members of the senatorial order, certainly/

certainly in Sicily, perhaps also in N. Africa and Rome'; De Malis Doctoribus 'was written to a man of standing at a time when Pelagianism was under heavy attack'; De Possibilitate non peccandi 'must have been written by one of the men attacked by name for doctrines thought to be his. This would fit Pelagius himself or perhaps Caelestius rather than an anonymous pamphlet-:eer'; De Castitate c.17.1 'was surely addressed to a Roman of senatorial rank': c.16 suggests 'that this letter, too, was written from Rome': Gildas' quotation of c.6 in De Excidio c.38 'need not be regarded as establishing a British origin for it', as Morris argued: Gildas may have seen the phrase in another pamphlet which had clear British associations but was now no longer extant' (ibid., Appendix, pp.444 f.).

Finally, speaking of Pelagianism in Britain, Liebeschutz writes: 'A feature that Pelagianism shared with the Roman ascetic movement as a whole was that its preachers were not native Romans. Pelagius was a Briton. Some of his leading followers may have been. But this did not make Pelagianism a British movement. Even if it can be proved that one or more of the pamphlets was written by a Briton other than Pelagius it does not follow that circumstantial references contained in them are to Britain' (ibid., pp.439).

Professor A.C. Thomas (Christianity in Roman Britain to 500 A.D.), while stressing that evidence for Pelagianism in Britain, though scant, is strong, rejects the idea that events in Britain in the early fifth century were influenced to any appreciable degree, or even at all, by Pelagian dogma and thus concurs with the findings of Professor A.H.M. Jones and Pro-:fessor E.A. Thompson. He suggests that at the time of Germ-:anus' visit in 429 'Pelagianism had not long been current at all and that the orthodox reaction arose, understandably, immediately/

immediately there seemed to be any chance of heretical ideas getting out of hand'. He throws doubt upon Morris' contention that 'Britannia produced the majority of the Pelagian authors that we can identify' and in a note he specifies as British 'perhaps Caelestius, the Sicilian Briton, the author of the De Virginitate unless the same, bishop 'Fastidius' and Faustus of Riez, the architect of semi-Pelagianism'. While he does not discuss in detail the authorship of the six Pelagian writings he seems to favour the views of Liebeschutz and to support 'the tendency of scholars ... not to decry the importance of the (sc. Pelagian) movement as a purely ecclesiastical one, but to con-:fine it to theological circles in the Mediterranean and the Levant'. He concludes that 'the British Church, and Britain, in the fifth century are matters where his (sc. Pelagius') heresy and its social applications cannot at the moment be portrayed as central factors'.

Professor R.P.C. Hanson discusses Pelagianism and Pelagian writings in his chapter on 'The British Church in the fifth century' in 'St. Patrick' (pp.35f.). He shows convincingly that Pelagius was a Briton, not an Irishman, and that there is no evidence whatever to connect Caelestius with either Britain or Ireland. He takes the view that Pelagius 'died at some point between 423 and 429' (ibid., pp.39) and that 'it is not impossible, especially in view of the later history of Pelag-:ianism, that the place he went to on being banished from Italy was Britain. Not only are there several instances of exiled victims of Imperial displeasure going to Britain' (in a note he instances the Priscillianists banished to the Scilly isles by Magnus Maximus, and Valentinus banished to Britain between 364 and 375 according to Zosimus, Historia 4.29(168), Amm. Marc.28. 3.3-6), but he would in Britain at that time have been beyond the reach/

the reach of Honorius' arm' (ibid.). He accepts the contempor-:ary evidence of Prosper of Aquitaine 'that Pelagianism had taken a strong hold in the British Church' (pp.46). On the authorship of the Pelagian writings he agrees with Morris against de Plin-:val and R.F. Evans that the ps-Augustinian De Vita Christiana is not by Pelagius and that it is to be dated in 412 at the lat-:est, but he regards the evidence for authorship by a British Pelagian as 'quite insufficient' (pp.44). The six Caspari tracts may well be, as Morris argued, by one and the same author but he dismisses the attempt to link them with Britain. He suggests instead that Gildas, in quoting from De Virginitate c.6 may have known that the work was by Pelagius and so described him as 'quidam nostrum'; that alternatively Gildas may have taken the quotation from Ep.I or from the De Operibus et Malis Doctoribus 13 and that these went under the name of Pelagius (here he appears to approve the suggestion of de Plinval that Ep.I and Ep.II are 'a late cento of passages taken from the other (sc. Pelagian)works')(pp.45). Ep.I he regards as more probably addressed to Gaul than to Britain since it mentions the Franks and not the Picts or Scots and the unusual title 'honorificentia tua' has no known connection with Britain; the hypothesis of a British origin for the De Divitiis depends upon the baseless assumption that Caelestius came from Britain and that it has a literary kinship with the other Caspari documents (pp.45f.). Professor Hanson quotes with approval de Plinval's description of Fastidius as a 'fantôme indécis' and adds: 'it does not seem possible to conjure this ghost into more substantial existence.' (pp.44), but later (pp.70) he goes so far as to say:'if we think it right to give substance to Fastidius, we can believe that it (sc. the fifth century British Church) was producing literature of its own'.

On the other hand Louis Brou, in his article on 'Le sancta sanctis/

sanctis en Occident' Part I, published in J.Th.St. 46, 1945, pp.160f., accepts the findings of Caspari and Dom Morin in combination to support Fastidius' authorship of the six Pelag-:ian writings and he claims that competent scholars in the field of Patristics have almost universally followed this view: 'Les six traités dont se compose le petit Corpus pelag-:ianum publié par Caspari en 1890 et dont il a démontré l'unité d'auteur, ont été restitués précisément à Fastidius, par Dom Morin qui s'est livré à cette tâche depuis bientôt un demi-siècle, et dont les vues ont été adoptées quasi unanime-:ment par les auteurs compétents en matière de patrologie' (ibid., pp.162f.).

It is important to recognise that a study of the six Pel-
:agian writings raises three separate questions:

(1) are they the work of a British author or authors?

(2) if so, can we discern the political events and social con-
:ditions, attested by other evidence, to which they refer?

(3) did the ideas expressed in them influence the course of
events in Britain?

It must be stressed that we are not here primarily concerned with the last two questions and that a negative reply to them would not of itself predetermine the answer to the first quest-
:ion. It is generally agreed that Ep.I was written by a Gaul or Briton from Sicily to an older relative at home. Dom Morin writes with reference to the De Castitate: 'Il est assez diff-
:icile de déterminer pour quelle région de l'Occident vaut ce témoinage de Fastidius, car, quoique breton d'origine, et plus tard évêque en son pays, il peut avoir rédigé cet écrit, de même que plusieurs autres, au cours du voyage projeté en Orient, voy-
:age qu'il renonça à accomplir jusqu'au bout, sous l'influence d'une grande dame sicilienne, qui avait réussi à le gagner aux idées pélagiennes' (Rév.Bén. xl, 1928, pp.137). Thus as Brou points out: 'Fastidius a pu écrire le De Castitate dans l'un quelconque des pays situés entre la Grande-Bretagne et la Sicile' (op.cit., pp.165).

In considering the question of authorship the variety of views put forward by reputable scholars and Professor Hanson's cautionary remarks (op.cit.pp.40f.) give a salutary warning on the need to distinguish clearly between evidence, whether pos-
:itive, negative or circumstantial, and interpretation or hypo-
:thesis. The evidence can be tabulated as follows:

(a) <u>Circumstantial evidence</u>

(1) Pelagianism is attested as being strong in Britain in the second/

second quarter of the fifth century. The main sources are two fifth century writers, Prosper of Aquitaine and Constantius of Lyons. Professor A.C. Thomas describes the former as 'an able and learned man, friend of St. Augustine of Hippo ... who settled in Rome c.434 and subsequently entered the service of Pope Leo (440-461) (op.cit.pp.207, 331). Constantius of Lyons, born there c.415, wrote a Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre probably c.480 on the instructions of his bishop, Patiens (bishop of Lyons from 449); as Professor Hanson points out, he wrote at a time when Lupus, bishop of Troyes, who accompanied Germanus to Britain in 429, was still alive and a Vita S.Lupi written shortly after his death mentions his visit to Britain (op.cit.pp.48).

Prosper writes: 'Agricola Pelagianus Severiani Pelagiani episcopi filius ecclesias Britanniae dogmatis sui insinuatione corrupit. Sed ad actionem Palladii diaconi papa Coelestinus Germanum Autissiodorensem episcopum vice sua mittit et deturbatis haereticis Britannos ad catholicam fidem dirigit' (Chronicle s.a. 429, P.L.50.535f.). In another work, after recording the order of Pope Celestine (422-432) that Pelagians be expelled entirely from Italy, he continues: 'nec vero segniore cura ab hoc eodem morbo Britannias liberavit, quando quosdam inimicos gratiae solum suae originis occupantes etiam ab illo secreto exclusit Oceani, et ordinato Scotis episcopo dum Romanam insulam studet servare catholicam fecit etiam barbaram Christianam' (c. Collatorem 21.2, P.L.51.271f., written in 433/4). From these statements, Professor Hanson concludes: 'there can be little doubt that Pelagianism was popular in Britain if the Pope himself felt it necessary to send a mission there to extirpate the heresy'; but he adds the caution: 'it is perhaps significant that it is only in the latter part of the third decade of the century that Prosper places the spread of these doctrines in Britain i.e. after the exile decreed by Honorius' (op.cit.pp.147).

Constantius/

Constantius of Lyons gives the following account in his Vita s. Germani: 'Eodem tempore ex Brittaniis directa legatio Gallicanis episcopis nuntiavit Pelagianam perversitatem in locis suis late populos occupasse et quam primum fidei catholicae debere succurri. Ob quam causam synodus numerosa collecta est, omniumque iudicio duo praeclara religionis lumina universorum precibus ambiuntur, Germanus ac Lupus apostolici sacerdotes. Et quanto laboriosior necessitas apparebat, tanto eam promptius eroes devotissimi susceperunt ...'(c.12). Constantius then describes in considerable detail the visit in 429 (cc.13-18). The following extracts indicate the extent of the spread of Pelagianism at the time: 'Interea Brittaniarum insulam, quae inter omnes est vel prima vel maxima, apostolici sacerdotes raptim opinione, praedicatione, virtutibus impleverunt; et cum cotidie inruente frequentia stiparentur, divinus sermo non solum in ecclesiis verum etiam per trivia, per rura, per devia fundebatur ut passim et fideles catholici firmarentur et depravati viam correctionis agnoscerent ... Accedebat praeterea tantis auctoribus adsertio veritatis itaque regionis universitas in eorum sententiam prompta transierat. Latebant abditi sinistrae persuasionis auctores ... Ad extremum, diuturna meditatione concepta, praesumunt inire conflictum. Procedunt conspicui divitiis, veste fulgentes, circumdati adsentatione multorum, cognitionisque subire aleam maluerunt quam in populo, quem subverterant, pudorem taciturnitatis incurrere ne viderentur se ipsi silentio damnavisse. Illic plane immensae multitudinis numerositas etiam cum coniugibus ac liberis excita convenerat ... Priores in loco beatissimi sacerdotes praebuerunt adversariis copiam disputandi quae sola nuditate verborum diu inaniter et aures occupavit et tempora. Deinde antistites venerandi torrentes eloquii sui cum apostolicis et evangelicis tonitribus profuderunt; miscebatur sermo proprius cum divino et adsertiones violentissimas lectionum/

lectionum testimonia sequebantur. Convincitur vanitas, perfidia confutatur ita ut, ad singulas verborum obiectiones, reos se, dum respondere nequeunt, faterentur. Populus arbiter ... iudic-:ium ... clamore testatur' (c.14) ... Post quam diem (sc. on which the daughter of the 'vir tribuniciae potestatis' was cured of blindness) ita ex animis hominum persuasio iniqua deleta est ut sacerdotum doctrinam sitientibus desideriis sectarentur' (c.15). 'Conpressa itaque perversitate damnabili eiusque auctoribus con-:futatis animisque omnium fidei puritate conpositis, sacerdotes beatum Albanum martyrem acturi Deo per ipsum gratias petierunt' (c.16) ... 'Conposita itaque opulentissima insula securitate multiplici, superatisque hostibus vel spiritalibus vel carne con-:spicuis (sc. Saxons and Picts) ... (c.18) (Vita s.Germani, ed. R. Borius, Sources Chrétiennes, Paris, 1965).

The second visit of Germanus to Britain, probably in 444/5, is reported thus by Constantius: 'Interea ex Brittaniis nuntiat-:ur Pelagianam perversitatem iterato paucis auctoribus dilatari rursusque ad beatissimum virum preces sacerdotum omnium defer-:untur, ut causam Dei, quam prius obtinuerat, tutaretur' (c.25) ... 'Recognoscit populum in ea qua reliquerat credulitate durant-:em, intellegunt culpam esse paucorum, inquirunt auctores invent-:osque condemnant' (c.26) ... 'Praedicatio deinde ad plebem de praevaricationis emendatione convertitur omniumque sententia pravitatis auctores, expulsi insula, sacerdotibus addicuntur ad mediterranea deferendi ut et regio absolutione et illi emendat-:ione fruerentur. Quod in tantum salubriter factum est ut in illis locis etiam nunc fides intemerata perduret' (c.27).

N. Chadwick regarded this second account as a doublet of the first (Studies in the Early British Church, pp.28). Professor Hanson accepts it as a vague record of a visit that did in fact take place. Prosper's phrase 'ad actionem Palladii diaconi', used/

used of the first visit, he applies to a deacon of Auxerre, finding support for it in Prosper's note s.a. 431: 'Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a papa Coelestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur'. He insists that Germanus' visit to Britain, unless so authorized, could have been represented as interference in the sphere of other bishops, that Celestine in Ep. 4.5 (P.L. 50.431) gives the impression that he wished to prevent bishops meddling with episcopal elections ultra vires, and that Victricius of Rouen had been rebuked by the Pope of his time, at the end of the fourth century, for trespassing on the territory of others (P.L. 20.468-481) (op.cit., pp.52f.).

In Italy, on the other hand, Pelagianism was suppressed quite drastically in 418 by both Emperor and Pope. As Professor Hanson writes (pp.39): 'the Emperor Honorius early in 418 issued a particularly fierce decree banishing Pelagius, Caelestius and their adherents from Rome and indeed from Italy', whereupon Pope Zosimus, influenced by this action and by the continuing pressure of the African Church, condemned and excommunicated Pelagius and Caelestius. Pelagius had no option but to leave Italy. On the other hand we know from Marius Mercator (Commonit., P.L. 48.945) and Augustine (c. duas ep. Pel. 1.3, P.L.44.551)that the bishops of eighteen small Italian towns refused to sign the condemnation of Pelagianism.

In Gaul there is the acknowledged orthodoxy of Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, Lupus, bishop of Troyes, and no doubt Severus, bishop of Trier, and of the synod of Gallic bishops who, according to Constantius, were responsible for sending Germanus to Britain in 429. But we also know that Prosper of Aquitaine and his friend Hilary, bishop of Arles, visited Rome in 432 to seek help from Pope Celestine against the semi-Pelagians (Gennadius, De Vir. Ill. 85); likewise that Faustus of Riez, a Briton born c.405/

c.405, went to Lérins 'at some point between 426 and 433 (earlier probably rather than later in that period)', i.e. at the age of 21 to 28, and 'became a very prominent leader of the semi-Pelag-:ian school of thought' (Hanson, op. cit., pp.53, 64): in fact Professor Hanson suggests that when the British bishop Riochatus visited Sidonius Apollinaris in 475 or shortly before at his villa at Avitacum in Auvergne, bringing with him a book written by Faustus (who had become abbot of Lerins in 433 and bishop of Riez by 462), that book was probably semi-Pelagian in outlook and for that reason concealed from Sidonius (op. cit., pp.65).

(2) Pelagius himself, it is generally agreed, was a Briton. The contemporary evidence is overwhelmingly in support e.g. Prosper, Chronicle s.a. 413: hac tempestate Pelagius Brito dogma nominis sui contra gratiam Christi, Caelestio et Iuliano adiutor-:ibus, exeruit; Marius Mercator, Lib. Subnot. in verba Iul., Praef.2.1, P.L. 48.777: Pelagium gente Britannum monachum decep-:it (sc. Rufinus); Augustine, Ep. 186, P.L. 33.816: Pelagium... Brittonem fuisse cognominatum.

J.N.L. Myres expressed the opinion that 'the implied back-:ground of advanced formal education points to the civilised lowland zone as his home-region' (J.R.S. 50, 1960, pp.21f.). J. Morris spoke of Pelagius as defending 'the humanist, class-:ical, traditional values that Christianity inherited from its Roman past' and noted that 'Pelagius prevailed in debate in Jerusalem by reason of his fluent Greek' (Augustine, De Gestis Pel. 4) (Morris, The Age of Arthur, pp.339, 409). Professor A. C. Thomas remarks: 'a late Romano-British society able to pro-:duce a Pelagius, must, after all, have had its more interest-:ing side' (op. cit., pp. 54). Professor Hanson writes: 'Pel-:agius certainly was a Briton and probably not an Irishman' (op. cit., pp.35f.) and he regards Jerome's references to 'Irish ancestry'/

ancestry' and 'Irish porridge' as used simply to insult Pelagius (Jerome, Commentary on Jeremiah, P.L. 24.680-2, 757-8). Further-:more, Pelagius was probably indebted to some considerable extent to the British background of his youth for the development of his ideas on the implications of the Christian faith. The first twenty or so years of life are the most impressionable, and it seems reasonable to infer that the state of the British Church in his youth and the criticisms of it that were crystallizing in the minds of the thoughtful or of the younger generation led in due course, when they were corroborated later by his exper-:ience of the Church at Rome and elsewhere, to the formulation of the views expressed in his maturity. If so, this would sugg-:est that the British Church of the third quarter of the fourth century was somewhat complaisant and easy-going in its inter-:pretation of the demands of the Christian life and in its attit-:ude to much pagan conduct on the part of its members. This would tally with the implicit criticism of the British Church at the end of the fourth and in the early fifth century con-:tained in Patrick's brief references to his childhood home in his Confessio.

(3) The spread of Pelagian ideas in Britain is likely to have been due in part to written pamphlets, tracts and letters. Analogies are not far to seek. St. Paul pioneered the use of the epistle, both general and particular, to teach Christian doctrine. Germanus of Auxerre, while in Britain in 429 confut-:ing Pelagianism, not only preached but 'taught through letters' (Vita c.14). Further afield Jerome and Augustine answered Pel-:agius' arguments in letters and other writings. The surprising thing is that so many Pelagian writings (listed in P.L. Supple-:ment 1) have survived considering the strength of the opposit-:ion: 'some seventy Pelagian works were copied and re-copied through/

through the centuries, most of them in N. European lands where monasteries inspired by monks from the British Isles were most numerous' (J. Morris, The Age of Arthur, pp.302).

(4) The existence of these six Pelagian writings of disputed authorship implies at least the possibility that they were written in Britain.

(b) Direct evidence, positive and negative, bearing on authorship

(1) The six writings are Pelagian in their teaching and they are authentic works of the fifth century.

(2) The six works have survived in MSS. found at Munich, Salzburg and the Vatican; the De Viduitate Servanda, if it is to be identified with the letter 'Audi, filia derelicta', was preserved among the works of Caesarius of Arles.

(3) Ep.1 supplies one or two pieces of internal evidence:

i. 'nec idcirco quia ubique est (sc. Deus), ubique in omni loco coli poterit. Nam et in Francia et in Saxonia et in omni barbaria Deus est, non tamen et Dei cultores'.

ii. the several references to the dangers of the journey from the writer's home-country to Sicily: periculosam expedit-:ionem; nam si itineris, si maris pericula pertuli, sed maria sunt quae vitavi; in itineris necessitate; quoniam post magni itineris laborem, post maris infinita discrimina (Ep.1.1,2,3,5).

J. Morris (J.Th.St. 16, pp.55f.) considers that these two pieces of evidence together point to Britain rather than Gaul as the writer's home-country. Professor Hanson tends to favour Gaul: 'The journey from Sicily across the Straits of Messina, or up the coast of Italy to Puteoli or Ostia or a more northern port could be as difficult and dangerous as the Channel crossing, and a Briton would not be likely to omit from the list of 'all barbarian territory' the Picts and the Scots, and would not nec-:essarily/

necessarily include the Franks, whereas a Gallic writer would be likely to mention just these two races, Saxons and Franks' (op.cit., pp.46).

iii. 'Opto te semper Deo vivere et perpetui consulatus honore gaudere'.

As Professor Hanson points out (ibid.), a perpetual consul-:ship has no parallel in fourth or fifth century history. J. Morris suggested that some British ruler assumed such a title after 410 (ibid., pp.39), but Professor Hanson rejects the argument.

iv. 'honorificentia tua'

This title, which is used in both Ep.1 and Ep.2 as a form of address to the recipient, is extremely rare: Morris there-:fore argued that it indicated British usage rather than that of a country better represented in Latin literature, whereas Professor Hanson asserts that it 'constitutes no proof whatever' that it occurred in Britain.

(4) Gildas in the De Excidio Britanniae c.38 quotes the words of 'quidam nostrum' as follows: 'ut bene quidam nostrum ait, non agitur de qualitate peccati, sed de transgressione mandati'. These very words occur in De Virginitate c.6, but the same thought is expressed in similar language in De Malis Doctoribus 13. According to contemporary practice the quotation could have come from either of the writings. Morris concluded that in 'quidam nostrum' Gildas referred to a British writer other than Pelagius, since he would not willingly have quoted a notorious heretic; Professor Hanson suggests that Gildas quot-:ed from the De Virginitate c.6 and that he knew that the work was written by Pelagius.

(5) The De Divitiis was seized upon by Augustine at the height of the Pelagian controversy and used against Pelagius; Pelagius/

Pelagius denied authorship and Augustine accepted his word and attributed it instead to Caelestius (De Gestis Pel. 6.16). J. Morris takes the view that Caelestius 'was probably Irish and an educated Irishman in early fifth century Rome probably came from an Irish colony in civilised Britain, perhaps from Demetia' (The Age of Arthur, pp.340); accordingly he concludes that Aug-:ustine knew that the work was of British authorship. Professor Hanson on the other hand, following Bury, is convinced that the evidence on which Caelestius' supposed Irish ancestry is based, namely Jerome's two remarks referred to above, is irrelevant as it applies to Pelagius himself by way of a jibe and he concludes that the assumption that Caelestius came from Britain is ill-founded (op.cit., pp.46).

(6) There is a possible literary affinity between the six writings. Caspari and Dom Morin, after a thorough study of the vocabulary, phraseology and thought of the writings, came to the conclusion that they were the work of a single author. J. Morris and Louis Brou among others concur with their findings.

(7) The record of Gennadius that Fastidius, a bishop of the Britons, was a writer and the author of at least two works stands. Gennadius wrote this book, the De Viris Illustribus, c.480 and was himself a semi-Pelagian: he was therefore in a good position to know such facts.

It is obvious that there is no clear-cut, positive evidence that the authorship of these six Pelagian writings is to be attributed to Fastidius or to a British writer or even to one single writer. The question is one of literary judgment, of interpreting ambivalent evidence and of trying to discern a bal-:ance of probability.

The various items of circumstantial evidence indicate that Britain/

Britain must be a strong contender for recognition as the place of origin. Even Professor Hanson who tends to reject the claim of Britain acknowledges fully the quality of its Church life and of its education: 'Though the career of Pelagius demonstrates that fourth-century Britain could produce a writer of great ability and a thinker of great influence' ... 'we can be sure that the British Church in the fifth century appreciated the doctrines of its native son' ... 'the British Church in the first half of the (sc. fifth) century ... was clearly a vigorous and successful Church, claiming the loyalty of great numbers of people, probably of the majority of the population, pushing its evangelizing activity northwards and westwards, patronized and valued by those who were in authority. It was capable of producing men eminent for learning and for piety, like Pelagius and Faustus. It was not a mere dependant of the Church of Gaul nor a mere puppet of the Roman see. It was capable of fostering a very independent outlook upon the Pelagian question'(op.cit., pp.46,69f.); 'we can easily imagine that well-educated clergy in Britain, like Pelagius and Faustus of Riez, would not only have derived a knowledge of rhetoric from their higher education, but also some knowledge of law'(ibid., pp.111).

In estimating the value of the direct evidence due weight must, I think, be given to the following points:

i. The reference to 'Francia et Saxonia' in Ep.1 (3 i.above) finds a certain parallel in Patrick's Epistle to Coroticus, where the first instance that comes to his mind of a situation corresponding to that of his newly-baptized Irish Christians captured by Coroticus' men is that of Gallic Christians at the hands of Franks: 'Consuetudo Gallorum Christianorum mittunt viros sanctos idoneos ad Francos et ceteras gentes cum tot milia solidorum ad redimendos captivos baptizatos' (Ep. 14). Patrick, as Professor Hanson/

Hanson rightly asserts, was a British bishop who may never even have visited Gaul, and he was writing at the time from Ireland. He mentions not only Franks but other peoples, presumably some of the Germanic tribes that poured into Gaul. A mention of 'Francia et Saxonia', then, is at least as likely from a British as from a Gallic writer, and moreover the author of Ep.1 may have belonged to south-east Britain, well away from the attacks of Picts and Scots.

ii. The references to the journey from home to Sicily (3 ii above) suit better the longer distance, involving travel both by land and by sea, much of the former occupied by invading tribes, than the shorter journey to Italy or to Gaul across Mediterranean waters. Tacitus' comments on the inhospitality of the North Sea are still apposite in the fifth century: 'in old days emigrants travelled not by land but in ships: and owing to the limitless extent of the sea beyond our ken, and what I may call its inhospitality, Germany was seldom visited by ships from our clime. Besides, to say nothing of the dangers of the rough and unknown sea ...' (Germania c.2, trans. W.H. Fyfe).

iii. The negative evidence of 3 iii and 3 iv above tallies better with Britain than with Gaul, whose extant literature is more extensive and so more representative both of practice and of vocabulary in use; moreover, both K. Jackson and C. Mohrmann speak of the archaic quality of British Latin, the former with reference to the Latin spoken by the rural aristocracy (Language and History in Early Britain, pp.107f.), the latter with regard to Patrick's writings (The Latin of St. Patrick, pp.25).

iv. The positive evidence of Gennadius in the late fifth century and of Gildas in the early sixth century cannot easily be disregarded. Together they suggest British authorship. Gennadius, moreover, supplies the name of a British writer of Pelagian/

Pelagian or semi-Pelagian tracts on topics akin to those dealt with in the six writings, namely Fastidius.

v. The question whether the six writings are the work of a single author rests upon the acumen of literary experts. The judgment of Caspari and of Dom Morin deserves considerable re-:spect. The former presents an impressive array of passages culled from the writings which in thought, vocabulary and phrase-:ology show striking affinities with one another. The two or three discrepancies of argument which he candidly admits are not serious and can reasonably be attributed to a change of emphasis; the offence of Ananias and Sapphira, for instance, consisted both in keeping back part of the price (De Div.3.10.6) and in lying and breaking their vow (De Malis Doct.14.3) (Acts 5.1f.); the advice to the rich Christian to become 'pauper' or at least 'sufficiens' (De Div. 19.4) is not inconsistent with the general reminder of the dominical saying that it is very hard for the rich to enter the Kingdom of God (De Cast. 17) (Mt. 19.23), and the writings reflect a tacit acceptance of the view which pre-:vailed in the Church that the call to asceticism was a call to the few who sought 'perfection'; and this viewpoint accounts likewise for the two different interpretations of the phrases 'regnum caelorum' and 'vita aeterna', the De Cast.(19.4) dis-:tinguishing them as higher and lower spheres of the afterlife destined for the celibate and the married respectively. while the De Div. and the De Malis Doct. identify them on Biblical grounds (De Div.18.5; De Malis Doct.8).

vi. Liebeschutz' penetrating observations in his article 'Pelagian evidence on the Last Period of Roman Britain' (Latomus 26, 1967, pp.436f.) deserve careful examination. He concedes that there is a considerable affinity between the six writings: 'there is no doubt that all the works assigned by him (sc. de Plinval)/

de Plinval) to Pelagius, whether they are actually by the same author or not, represent a homogeneous literary genre. An out-:standing feature of the group is the occurrence of closely re-:lated passages in several pamphlets' (ibid., pp.437). He agrees that Ep.1 was 'written by a Gaul or a Briton from Sicily to an older relative at home' and that Ep.2 'may be by the same writer as Ep.1', but addressed to a stranger. On the other hand he con-:cludes that the De Divitiis 'was clearly addressed to members of the senatorial order, certainly in Sicily, perhaps also in N.Africa and Rome' on four grounds, that the outstanding abuse of riches lies in the acquisition of governorships (c.6), that a trader's stay at Rome is chosen as an example (c.19.4), that c.20.1 refers to estates scattered over every part of the world, and that the teachings of the pamphlet were known in Sicily in 414 as attested by Augustine in Ep.156, 157, 130. It is open to debate whether the grounds are sufficient to warrant the un-:qualified acceptance of the conclusion. Professor S.S. Frere notes that, whereas under Diocletian all the British provinces were governed by praesides of equestrian rank, the Notitia shows that later in the century Maxima had been promoted in status since its governor was now a senatorial consularis. He adds that this may have been due to Constantine who was the first to introduce consulares, but there can be no certainty about the date (Britannia, 1967, pp.211; 1974, pp.241f.). Of the judicial responsibilities of the provincial governor he writes: 'The gov-:ernor, too, was the court of appeal in provincial law-suits, and he exercised primary jurisdiction not only in all cases which involved Roman citizens ... but in all cases which involv-:ed capital punishment or condemnation to the mines or salt-works, and in all civil cases which involved more than a certain sum. When not campaigning, for instance in the winter months, it was/

it was his duty to go round on circuit' (ibid., 1967, pp.193). Dr. J.C. Mann demonstrated that the capital of Maxima was London (Antiquity 35, 1961, pp.316-20). The fifth British province, Valentia, established in 369, also had a consularis as governor according to the Notitia, but there is no certainty yet about its geographical location. As to the second argument, it is relevant to bear in mind that the writer of Ep.1 intended to go on to Rome from Sicily, that traders came to Rome from all over the world, including Aquila and Priscilla (Rom. 16.3), that if the writer was addressing a member of the senatorial order, the latter is likely to have been acquainted with Rome, and finally that his exact words are 'Rome or anywhere else': 'Nemo enim de India aut de Arabia aut de Egypto negotiandi causa adveniens, Romae vel quocumque alio in loco exiguo tempore moraturus, aut domos sibi ibidem aut possessiones comparat'.

The third argument could have been addressed to a person like Melania who possessed estates in Britain as well as in many other parts of the Roman world; and the fourth argument does not restrict us to Sicily as the place of residence of the person addressed in the pamphlet. It is arguable that the writer was addressing the provincial governor of Maxima or Val-:entia and that he had also in mind wealthy members of the sen-:atorial order in Sicily and Rome, both of which he had visited. The statement in which the reference occurs is a very general one: 'Nihil enim nobis proderit aut numerosae subolis gloriosa progenies, aut per universas mundi partes longe lateque diffusa uberrimi cespitis locuples ac spatiosa possessio, aut plurim-:arum aedium superba nimis et elata constructio, aut pretios-:arum vestium multiplex et gloriosa concinnitas, aut dignitatum vel honorum ambitiosa iactantia, cum extrema ad nos hora per-:venerit ...'.

On the authorship/

On the authorship of the 'De Possibilitate non Peccandi' Liebeschutz writes: 'The author has been under attack and is defending himself. The defence is against the charge of teach-:ing the possibility of sinlessness which was made against Pel-:agius and Caelestius after Augustine's 'De Remissione' in 412-3 ... The anonymous author must be one of the men attacked by name for doctrines thought to be his. This would fit Pelagius himself or perhaps Caelestius rather than an anonymous pamphlet-:eer'. But there is no evidence that the writer was attacked as the originator of the doctrines rather than as the teacher of doctrines which he had adopted and made his own.

In the 'De Castitate' Liebeschutz points to c.4.11 with its references to 'pagan features in Christian marriages, in-:cluding augurium and auspicium'. But augurium and auspicium were as characteristic of Celtic religion as of Mediterranean. Caesarius of Arles, speaking of the paganism into which the Christians of Arles and its immediate territory were apt to lapse, writes both of auguria and aruspices and also of the other features mentioned in the 'De Castitate' 4.11, namely turba bacchantium, obsceni cantus and ebrietates: 'quis est qui non possit dicere, ut ... nullus auguria observet, ... nullus paganorum sacrilego more consideret qua die in itinere egred-:iatur vel qua die ad domum propriam revertatur ...?' (Serm.1.12); 'Nam qui praedictis malis, id est, caragiis et divinis et aruspicibus vel filacteriis et aliis quibuslibet auguriis cred-:iderit, etsi ieiunet, etsi oret, etsi iugiter ad ecclesiam currat, etsi largas elemosinas faciat, etsi corpusculum suum in omni adflictione cruciaverit, nihil ei proderit, quamdiu illa sacrilegia non reliquerit' (Serm. 54.5); 'quis est qui contest-:ari non possit, ut nec alio tempore, nec in sanctorum solemni-:tatibus se ullus inebriet, nec sacrilego more cantica turpia proferre/

proferre, vel ballare, vel diabolico more saltare praesumat?' (Serm. 1.12); '...vicinos et proximos vestros iugiter admonete ut semper quod bonum est et honestum loqui studeant; ne forte detrahendo, male loquendo, et in sanctis festivitatibus choros ducendo, cantica luxuriosa et turpia proferendo, de lingua sua, unde deberent deum laudare, inde sibi vulnera videantur infligere' (Serm. 13.4).

Jovinian, who wrote a book against monasticism at the end of the fourth century is likely to have been known to any well-educated writer on celibacy anywhere in the Roman Empire and the writer of Ep.1 had stayed in Rome presumably as well as in Sicily. The counsel offered to the recipient in c.17.1: 'Inpleatur in ti illa sententia: beatus qui habet in Sion semen, non in senatu, et domesticos in Ierusalem non in urbe Roma, Babyloniae suis sceleribus conparata' could be given to a Christian consularis holding office in any province of the Roman Empire, including Britain and Gaul. The same is true of the wish expressed at the end of Ep.2: 'volo te semper Deo vivere et perpetui consulatus honore gaudere': Liebeschutz rightly points out that 'the 'perpetual' consulship must be a development of the metaphor of treasure in heaven' and he concludes that 'it is implied that the addressee belongs to a noble family and is asked to renounce his prospect of a consulship of a year for a perpetual one - in heaven'; but the terms of the wish would be equally appropriate in the case of achievement rather than anticipation (Liebeschutz, art. cit., appendix).

All told, these various considerations seem to tilt the balance of probability on the side of Britain and of one single British author. Thus Caspari suggested that they should be attributed to Agricola 'Pelagianus Severiani Pelagiani episcopi filius' (Prosper, Chronicle s.a.429); J. Morris assigned them to the hand/

to the hand of the 'Sicilian Briton'; G. de Plinval argued that they were the work of Pelagius himself (Pélage, Lausanne, 1943, pp.26f.); Louis Brou accepts the findings of Caspari and Dom Morin and credits Pastidius with the authorship; so, too, apparently does Professor S.S. Frere (Britannia, 1967, pp.313). Professor E.A. Thompson, although he does not discuss the question of authorship, gives an interpretation of events in Britain in 407/8 and in 444/6 which tallies with the spread there of the kind of social ideas expressed in these six Pelagian writings, for on the basis of the statement of the contemporary Greek historian Zosimus he argues that the purpose of the British rebellion in 407/8 was to gain independence from Rome and that it was a revolt of the poorer classes in the countryside against the Roman officials and the landed gentry; and he further suggests that it was a second similar peasant rebellion that prompted the British appeal to Aetius in 446 and led to the second visit of Germanus to Britain which he places in 444/5 (Antiquity 30, pp.163). Of those scholars who take a different view or leave the question open, Dr.J.N.L. Myres regards it as 'more probable that Pelagian ideas had already gained some popularity in Britain by the opening years of the fifth century', and, while not committing himself to any particular view on the authorship, he accepts that the six Pelagian writings 'illustrate the thought and teaching of the first generation of Pelagian writers' (J.R.S. 1960, pp.26). Professor A.C. Thomas considers that the whole debate is still wide open: 'Some have seen in it (sc. Pelagianism) a spiritually couched protest against social oppression and corruption; and, after Alaric's sack of Rome in 410, of special relevance in an age of tumult and uncertainty. Since Britain at this period exhibited civil unrest and ecclesiastical divisions, it can be argued/

argued that until at least 429, the year of Germanus' visit to Britain to combat this heresy, Pelagianism came to dominate British Christian thought. Others, however, prefer to see Pel-:agianism as a matter of conflict confined to theologians or intellectual Christians, with little relevance beyond Pelagius' personal origins to Britain at all, and even less to British social and political history from 400 to 430. It would be in-:correct to suppose that this debate is conclusive one way or another or has been concluded'. A little later, while urging that a distinction must be drawn between on the one hand the assertions of Myres and Morris that Pelagianism illustrates 'a responsible and rational early fifth century revolt against a distant and irremediably diseased regime', 'an early and extra-:ordinary case of British radicalism and egalitarianism' and, on the other hand, specific events in the British historical record in which Pelagian ideas rather than self-interest or sheer opportunism formed the commoner motives, Professor Thomas makes the significant statement: 'at the same time such movements are usually sparked off by ideals, but the other motives cash in on the situation' (op.cit., pp.57).

It must be squarely faced that the evidence is by no means conclusive. As Dom Morin pointed out some years ago, since the writer on his own testimony (Ep.1) stayed for a time in Sicily and intended to travel on to Rome, he may have written one or other of the works in one of the countries lying between Sicily and Britain and so may have been addressing, as Liebeschutz argues, recipients in Rome, Sicily and/or N.Africa. He may certainly have had these other countries in mind, even if he was primarily addressing a British audience; and he undoubtedly draws upon his experience of them in his writing: for example in De Divitiis/

in De Divitiis c.7.1: 'quasi bonus medicus, qui artis suae per-
:itia causas valetudinis esse aut melones aut pepones aut ficus
aut mala aut quaecumque pomorum genera noverit ...'. At least
the case can be made that at the present stage of our knowledge
there is reasonable ground for attributing the six Pelagian
writings to a British author, and most probably to the British
bishop Fastidius; and furthermore that it is conceivable that
one of the persons addressed was the Christian governor of
Maxima, or of Valentia, who stayed on in office after 410.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Actes Ve: Actes du Ve Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, Paris, 1964

Ambrose, Apol. Proph. David: Apologia Prophetae David

De M., De Myst: De Mysteriis

De Ob. Val. Cons.: De Obitu Valentiniani Consolatio

De Off.: De Officiis Ministrorum

De S., De Sacr.: De Sacramentis

De Virg.: De Virginibus

Exhort. Virg.: Exhortatio Virginitatis

Expos. ev. Luc.: Expositio Psalmi 118/119

Hex., Hexaem.: Hexaemeron

In Ps. .. Enarr.: In Psalmum .. Enarratio

Serm. c. Aux.: Sermo contra Auxentium

Ap. Const., A.C.: Apostolic Constitutions

Ap. Trad.: Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus

Arch.: Archaeologia

Arian frags.: two Arian fragments, P.L.13.611f.

Athanasius, De decret.Nic.Syn.: De decretis Nicaeani Synodi

Augustine, C., Conf.: Confessions

c. Ep. Parm.: contra Epistolam Parmeniani

c. duas Ep. Pel.: contra duas epistolas Pelagii

c. Litt. Petil.: contra Litteras Petiliani

De Civ. Dei: De Civitate Dei

De Cura: De Cura pro Mortuis

De Gest. Pel.: De Gestis Pelagii

c. Iul.: contra Iulianum

c. Max.: contra Maximinum

De perf. iust. hom.: De perfectione iusti hominis

De Nat. et Grat.: De Natura et Gratia

De Trin.: De Trinitate

Expos. Ps.118: Expositio Psalmi 118/119

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Augustine, In Ps., Enarr. in Ps.: Enarratio in Psalmum ...

In ev. Jn. Tract.: In Evangelium Johannis Tractatus

Retract.: Retractationes

S., Serm.: Sermo

Serm. ad catech.: Sermo ad catechumenos

Bagatti, Ve: Article by Bagatti in Actes du Ve Congrès

Bede, H.E.: Bede, 'History of the English Church and People'

Brightman, L.E.W.: Brightman, 'Liturgies Eastern and Western'

Cassiodorus, Expos. Pss.: Expositio Psalmorum

C.C.S.L.: Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina

Chrysostom, John, Bapt. Instit.: Baptismal Institutes

De Prod. Iuda: De Proditore Iuda

In 2 Cor. Hom.: Homily on 2 Corinthians

Clement of Rome, 1 Clem., Ep.1: First Epistle to the Corinthians

Cod. Monac. gr.: Codex Monacensis graecus 394 (10th century)

Cod. Ottobon.: Codex Ottobonianus 86 (10th or 11th century)

Cross, 1951: F.L. Cross, ed., 'Lectures on the Sacraments' (Cyril)

C.S.E.L.: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)

Cyprian, De Opere et Fleem.: De Opere et Eleemosyna

Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat., Cat. L.: Catechetical Lecture

M.C.: Mystagogic Catechesis

Procat.: Procatechesis

D.A.C.L.: Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie, ed. Cabrol et Leclercq

Dalton: O.M. Dalton, ed., Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours

De Bruyne, Ve: Article by De Bruyne in Actes du Ve Congrès

John the Deacon, Ep. ad Sen.: Epistola ad Senarium

Duchesne: 'Christian Worship' by L. Duchesne

Egeria, Per.: Peregrinatio Egeriae

E. Anglian Arch.: East Anglian Archaeology

Ep.: Epistle

Fastes Ep.: 'Fastes episcopaux' by L. Duchesne

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Fastidius, De Cast.: De Castitate

De Div.: De Divitiis

De Op., De Malis Doctoribus: De Operibus et malis Doctoribus

Gerber, Forsch. salon.: Gerber, Forschungen in Salona, Vienna

Gregory of Tours, G.C.: De Gloria Confessorum

G.M.: De Gloria Martyrum

H.F.: Historia Francorum

L.M., Lib. Mir.: Liber Miraculorum

Mir.S.Mart., De Mir.: De Miraculis S.Martini

V.P.: Vitae Patrum

V.S.M.: Vita S. Martini

H. E.: Historia Ecclesiastica

Hilary of Poitiers, De Syn.: De Synodis

De Trin.: De Trinitate

Hippolytus, Ap. Trad.: Apostolic Tradition

Ignatius, ad Eph.: Letter to the Ephesians

ad Rom.: Letter to the Romans

ad Trall.: Letter to the people of Tralles

I.L.V.C.(Diehl): Inscriptiones Latinae Veteres Christianae

Jerome, Comm. in Gal.: Commentary on Galatians

De Vir. Ill.: De Viris Illustribus

Dial. con. Lucif.: Dialogus contra Luciferanos

J.B.A.A.: Journal of the British Archaeological Association

John the Deacon, Ep. ad Sen.: Epistola ad Senarium

Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold: 'The Study of Liturgy' edd. Cheslyn Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold

J.R.S.: Journal of Roman Studies

J.Th.S.: Journal of Theological Studies

Jungmann: 'The Early Liturgy' by J.A. Jungmann

M.R.R.: The Mass of the Roman Rite

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Justin Martyr, 1 Apol.: First Apology

Dial.: Dialogue with Trypho

J.N.D. Kelly: 'Early Christian Creeds' by J.N.D. Kelly

Khatchatrian: 'Baptistères paléochrétiens' by A. Khatchatrian

Krautheimer: 'Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture' by R. Krautheimer

Leglay, Ve: Article by Leglay in Actes du Ve Congrès

L.E.W.: Liturgies Eastern and Western, ed. Brightman

Liber Pont.: Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne

Marius Mercator, Commonit.: Commonitorium de Caelestio

Liber Sub.: Liber Subnotationum in verba Iuliani

Med. Arch.: Medieval Archaeology

M.G.H.: Monumenta Germaniae Historica

Miss. Gall. Vetus: Missale Gallicanum Vetus

Miss. Goth.: Missale Gothicum

Novatian, De Trin.: De Trinitate

Optatus of Milevis, De Schism. Donat.: De Schismate Donatisto

O.R.1: Ordo Romanus 1

Origen, In Joh.: in Johannem

Patrick, C., Conf.: Confessio

E., Ep.: Epistola ad Coroticum

Paulinus of Nola, Ep.: Letters, ed. Walsh

Carm.: Carmina

P.G.: Patrologia Graeca

Pilgrim of Bordeaux, Iter Burd.: Iter Burdigalense

P.L.: Patrologia Latina

Pliny, Ep.: Letters, ed. Loeb

Praef.: Praefatio

Prol.: Prologue

Rev. Bén.: Revue Bénedictine

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Study of Liturgy: 'The Study of Liturgy' edd. Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold

Telfer: 'Cyril of Jerusalem: Procatechesis and Catechetical Lectures', ed. Telfer, Library of Christian Classics

Tertullian, adv. Marc.: adversus Marcellum

adv. Prax.: adversus Praxitelem

De Bapt.: De Baptismo

De Exh. Cast.: De Exhortatione Castitatis

De Orat.: De Oratione

De Praescr. Haer.: De Praescriptione Haereticorum

De Res. Carn.: De Resurrectione Carnis

De Spec.: De Spectaculis

De Virg. Vel.: De Virginibus Velandis

Test. Dom., T.D.: Testamentum Domini

Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cat. Hom., C.H.: Catechetical Homilies

Ward Perkins: 'Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania' by J.B. Ward Perkins and R.G. Goodchild, Archaeologia 95, 1953

Wilkinson: 'Egeria's Travels', ed. and tr. by J. Wilkinson

Windfeld-Hansen, Ve: Article by Windfeld-Hansen in Actes du Ve Congrès

Yarnold: 'The Study of Liturgy' by Jones, Wainwright and Yarnold

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Apostolic Constitutions, see Brightman and Whitaker

The Arian Fragments, P.L. 13.611 f.

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Athanasius, Works, P.G. 20

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Celestine, Epistles, P.L. 50.430 f.; 528 f.

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Faustus of Riez, Works, C.S.E.L. 21

Fulgentius of Ruspe, Works, C.C.S.L. 91

Gennadius, De Viris Illustribus, P.L. 58

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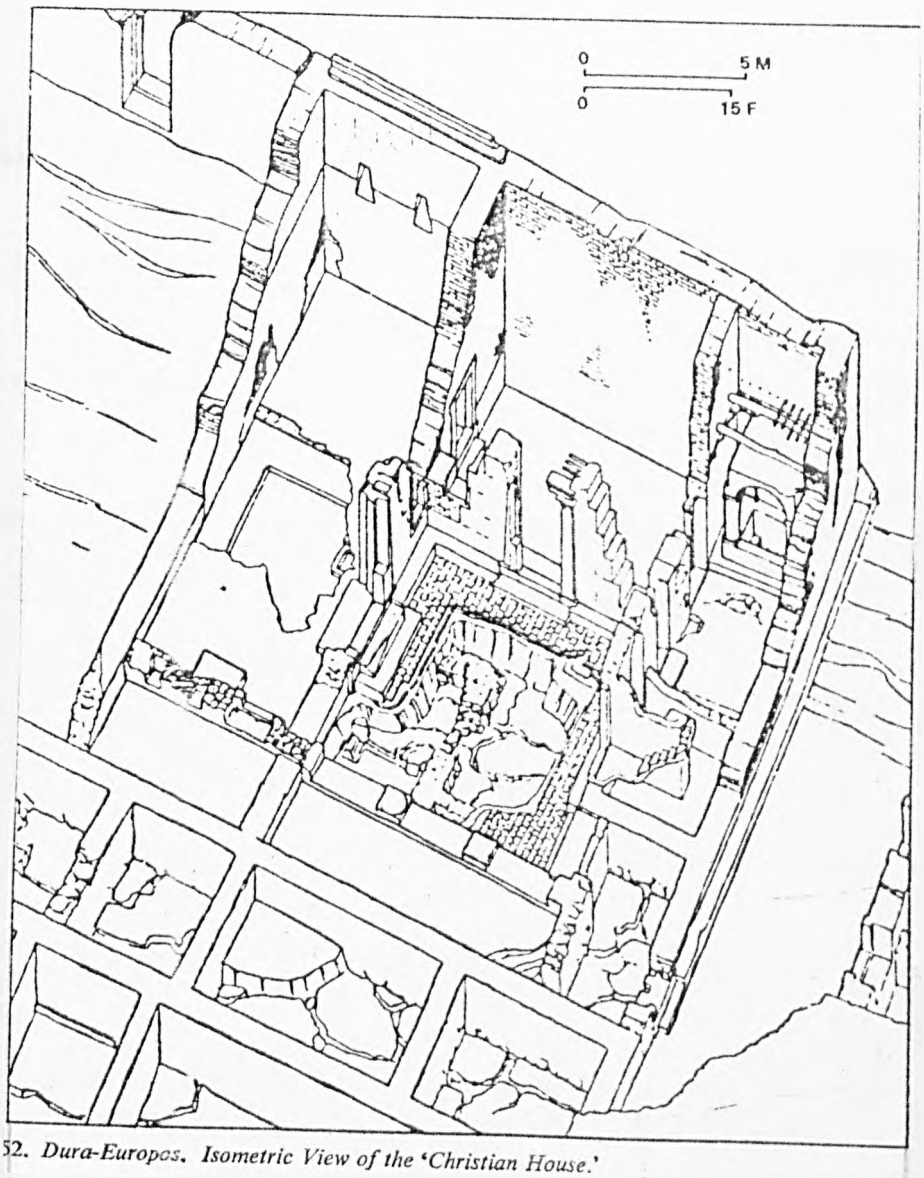
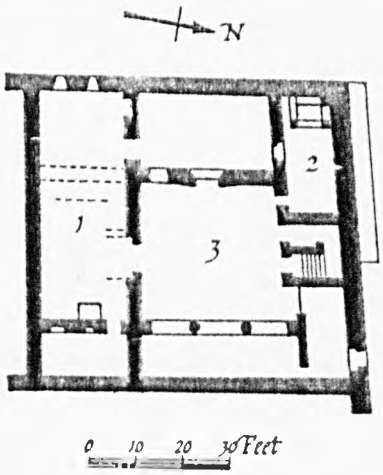
(a)



52. *Dura-Europos. Isometric View of the 'Christian House.'*

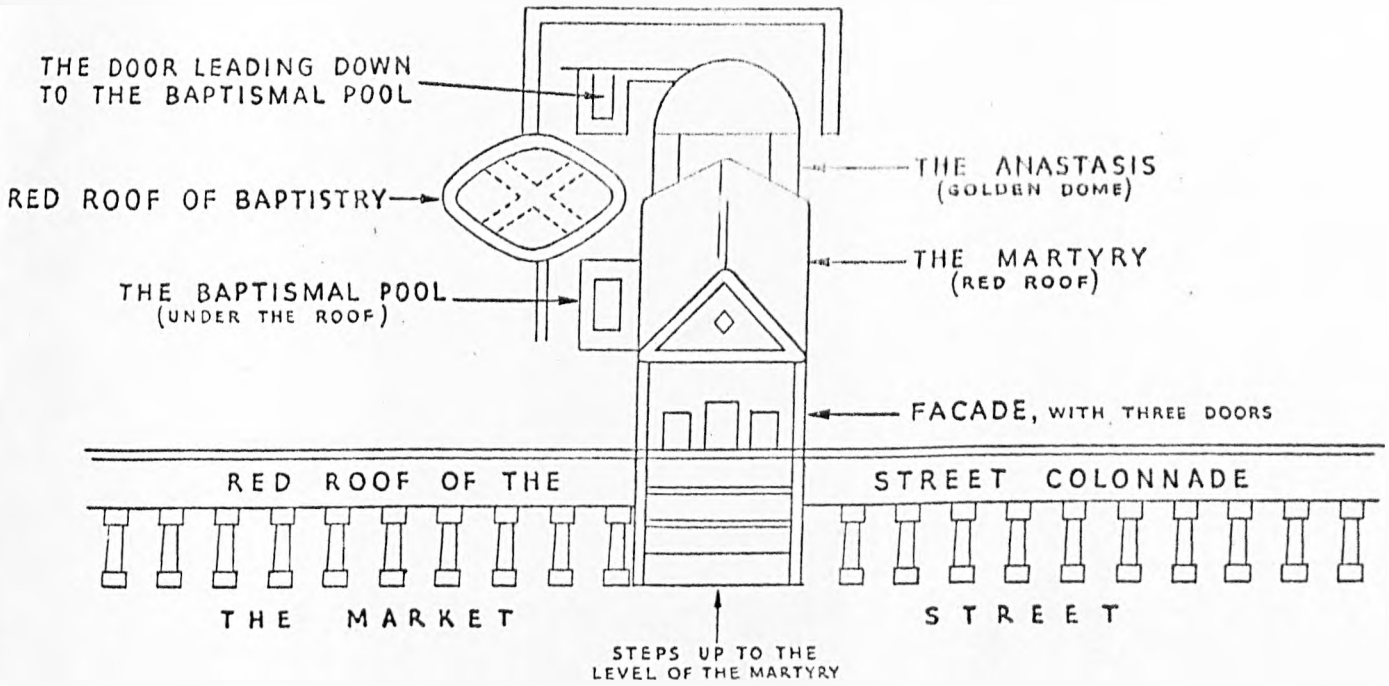
(b)



1 Plan of Dura Europos House Church

1 Eucharistic Assembly Room with dais at east end
2 Baptistry
3 Open courtyard

THE BUILDINGS ON THE GOLGOTHA SITE AS SEEN BY THE ARTIST OF THE MADABA MOSAIC



LINE-DRAWING C

CONJECTURAL PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS ON GOLGOTHA

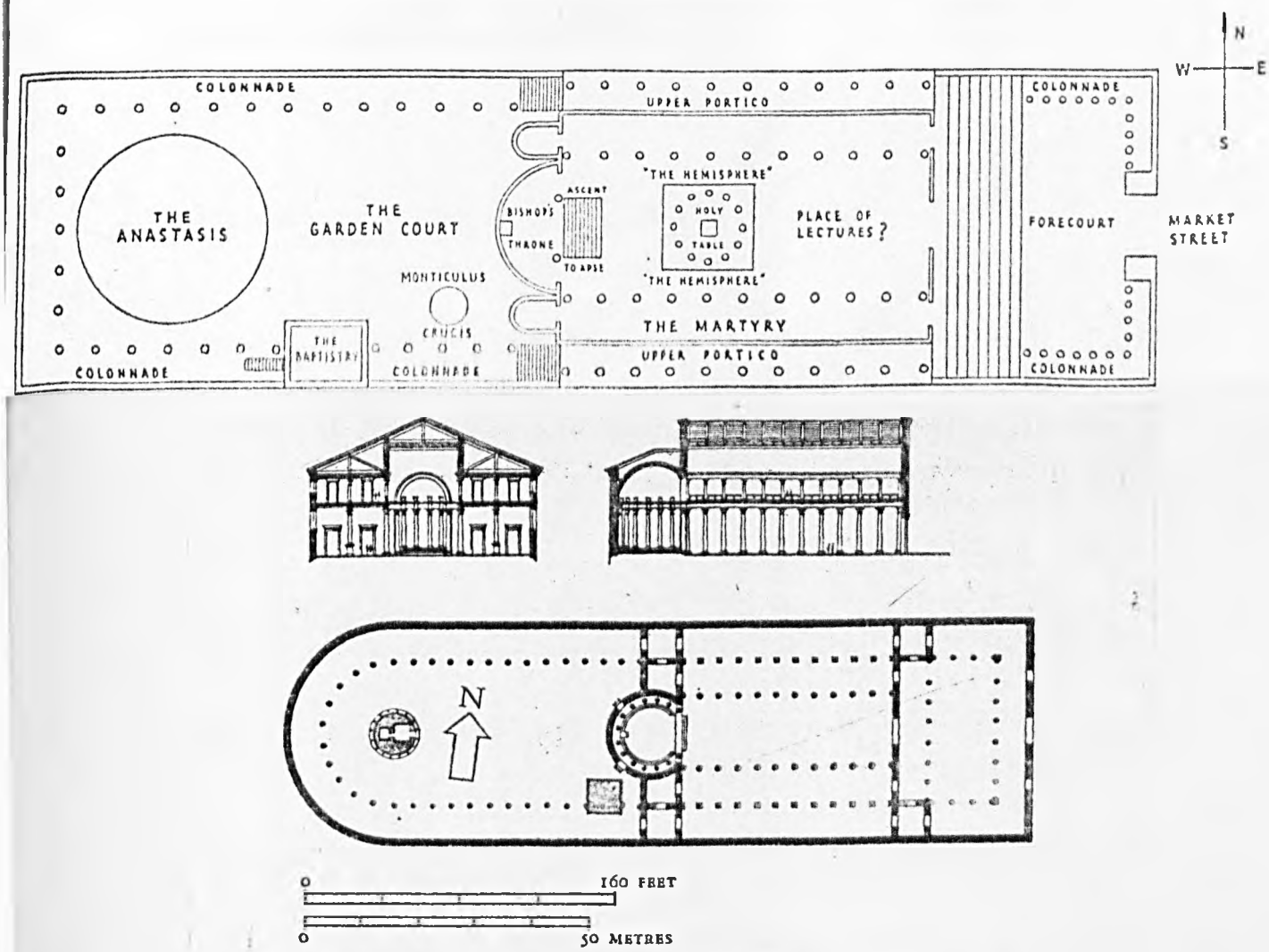


Figure 16. Jerusalem, basilica on Golgotha, as in *c.* 335. Sections and plan (1 : 1250)

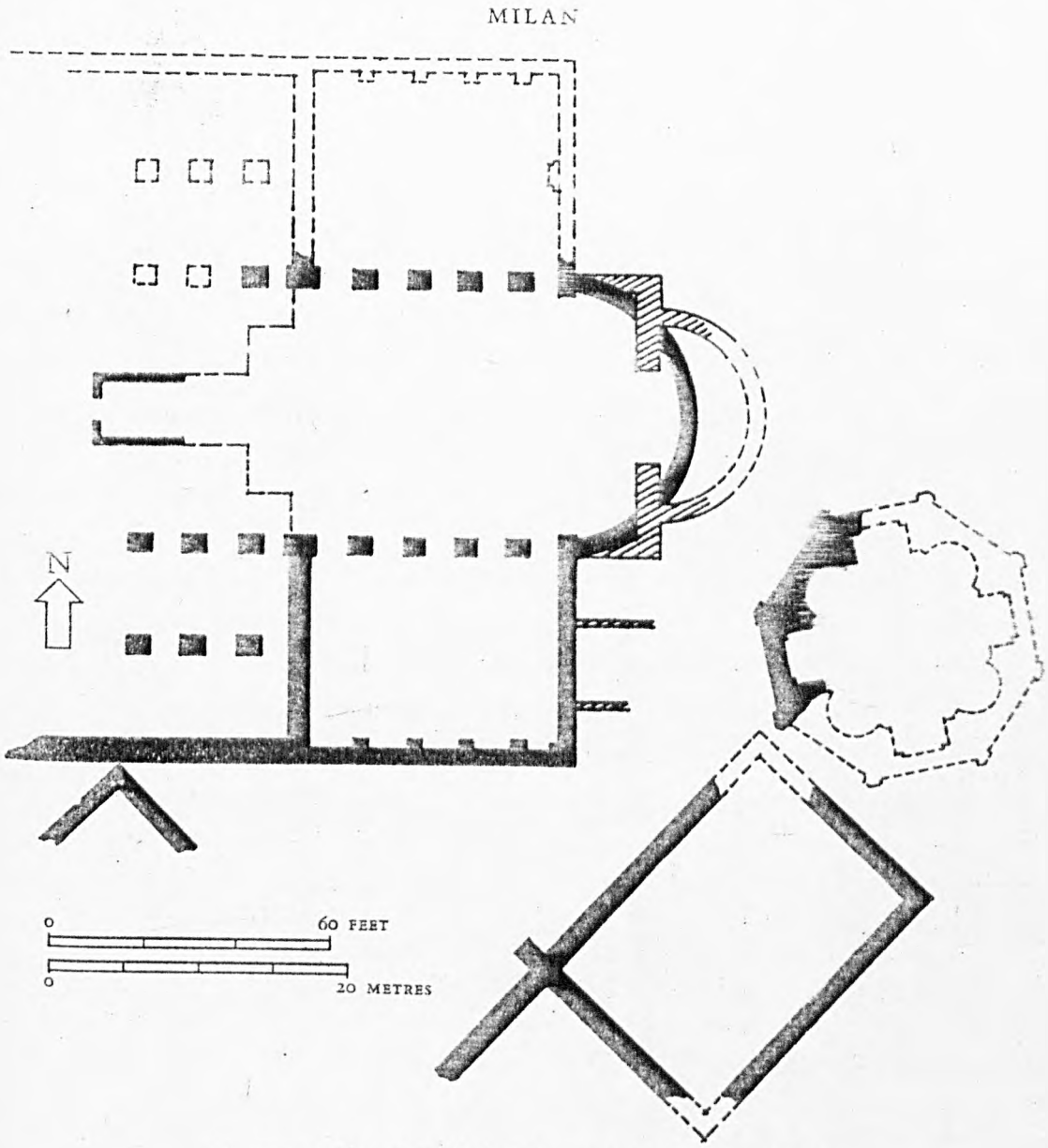


Figure 22. Milan, S. Tecla, fourth century (third quarter). Plan

HIPPO - N. AFRICA

QVARTIER CHRETIEN

(a)

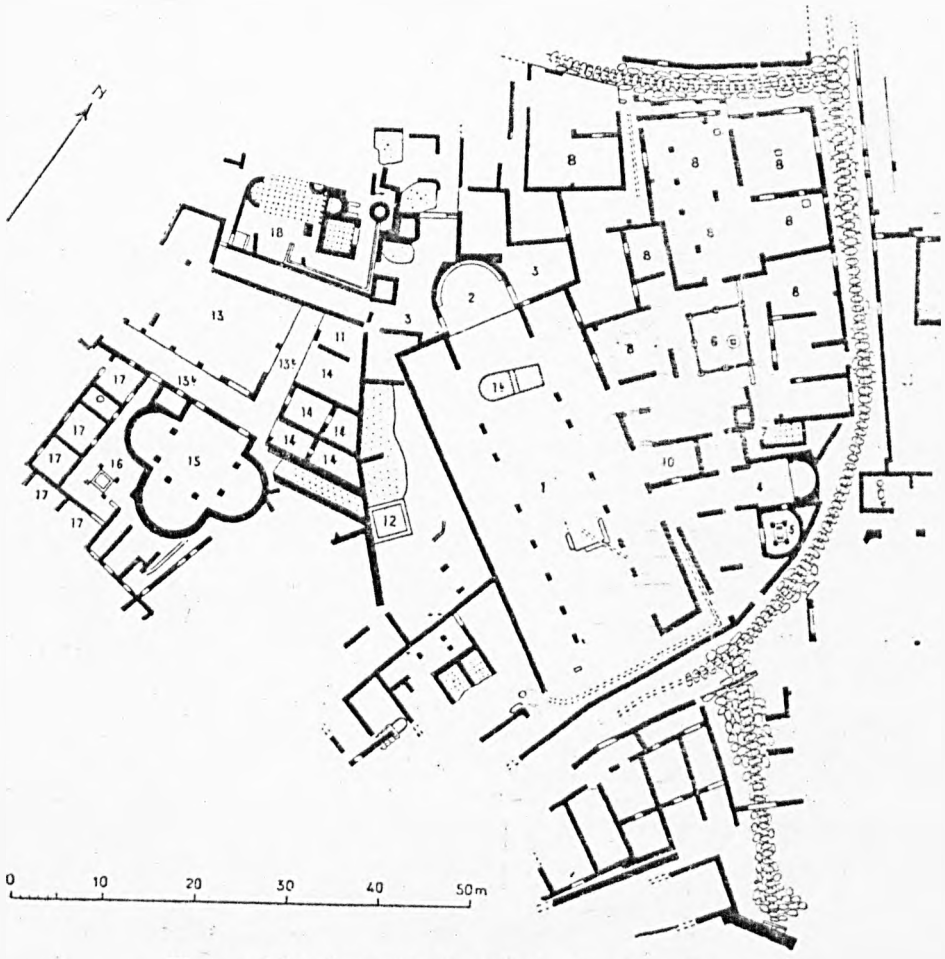


Fig. 4 – Vue d'ensemble du Quartier Chrétien d'Hippone

(b)

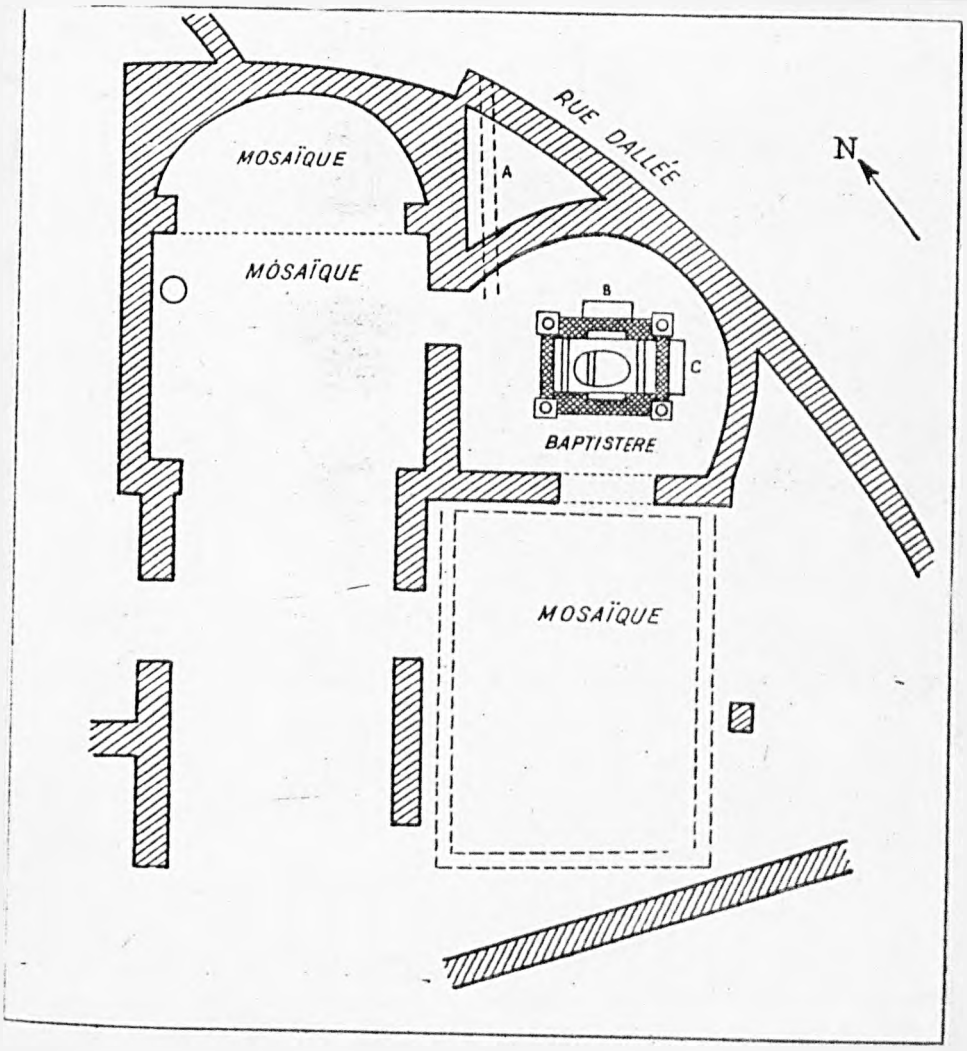
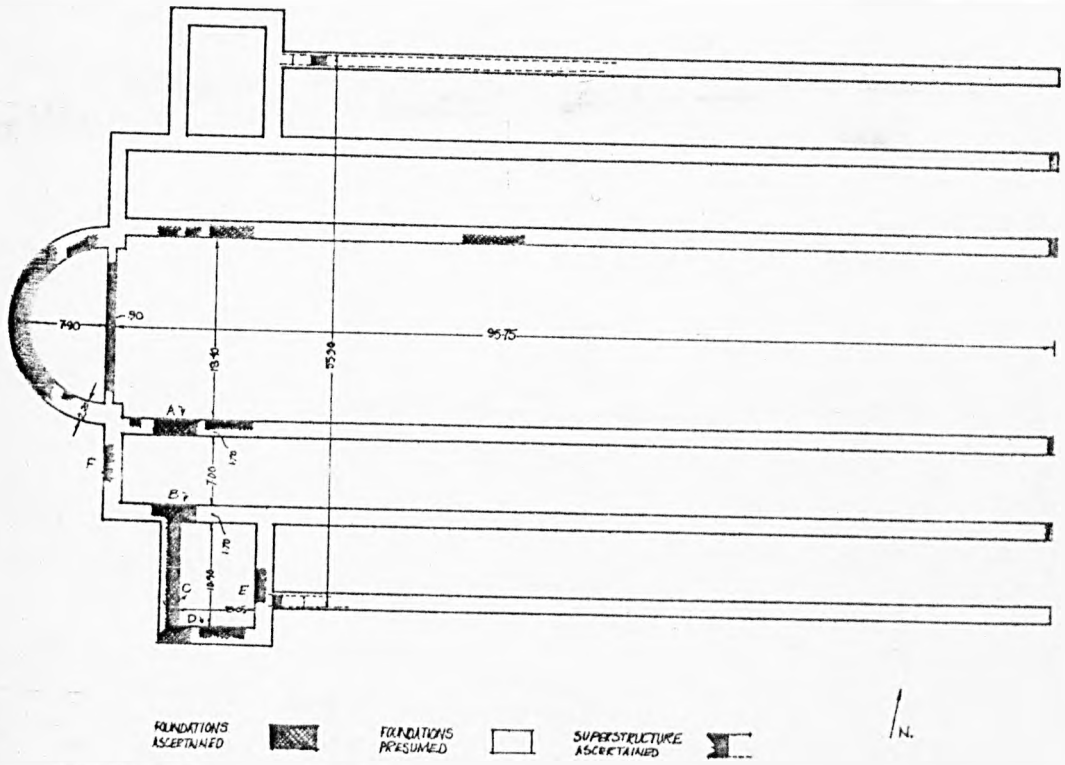


Fig. 5 – Baptistère d'Hippone. Détail de la fig. 4



Text fig. 5. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano, fourth-century remains, general plan (Corbett)

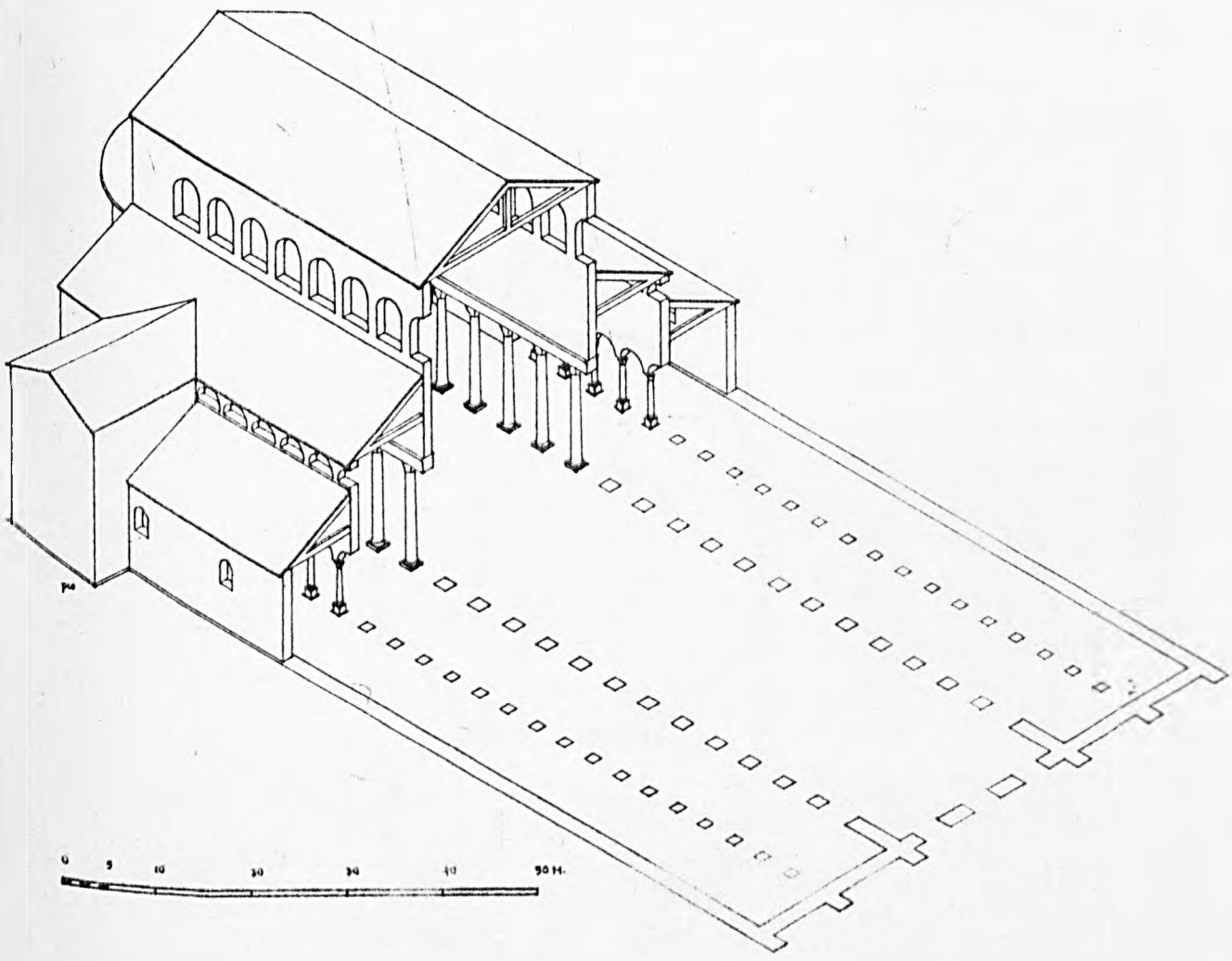
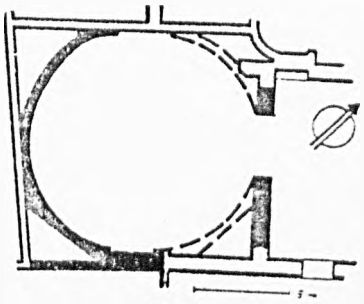


Fig. 5. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano, western end in 320, reconstruction by Krautheimer

ROME

Lateran baptistery,
phase I

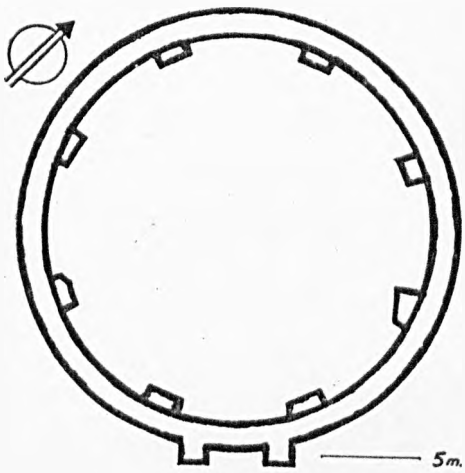
(a)



292

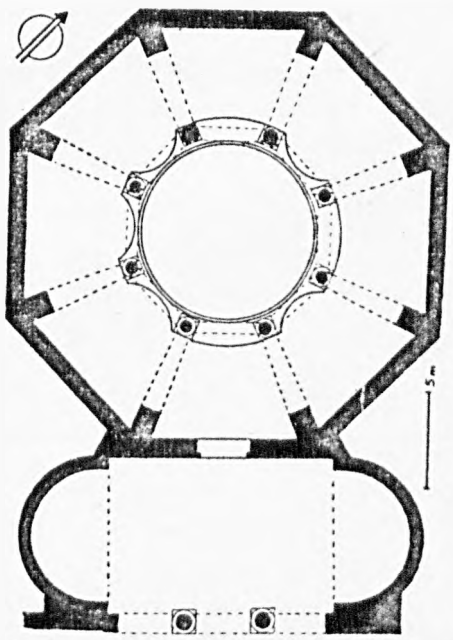
Lateran Baptistery,
phase II

(b)



349

(c)



Lateran 326 Baptistery III

(a)

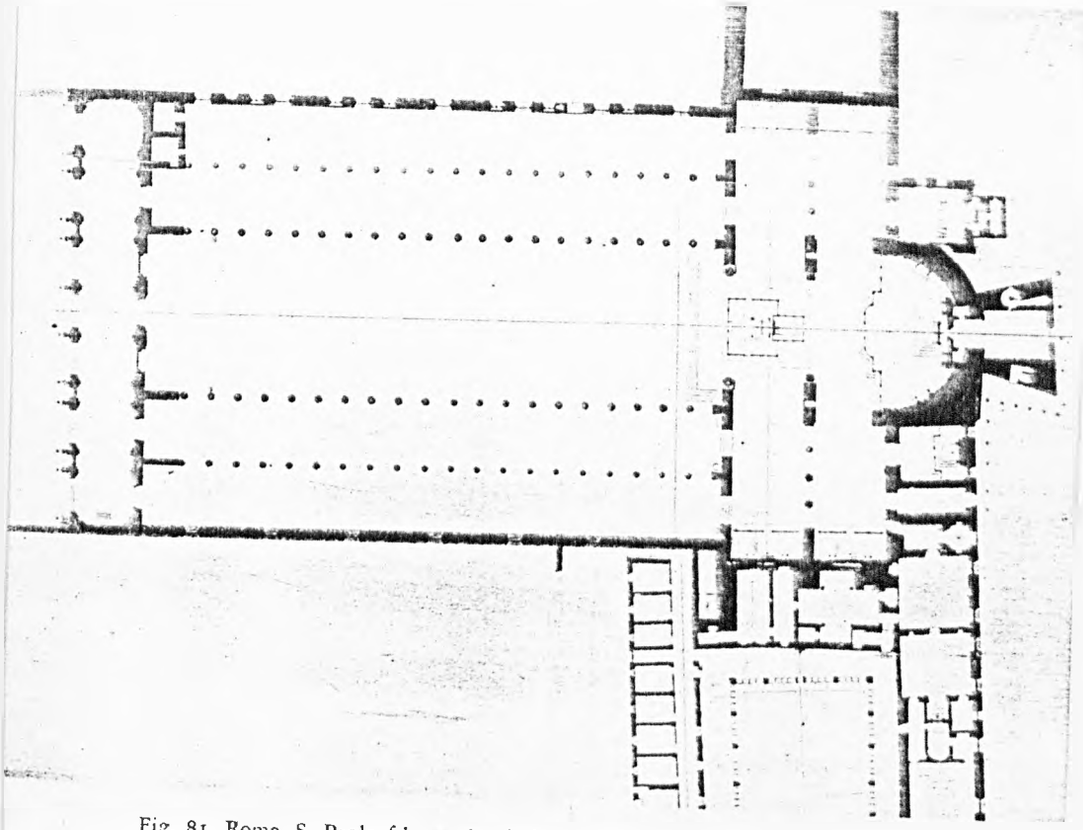
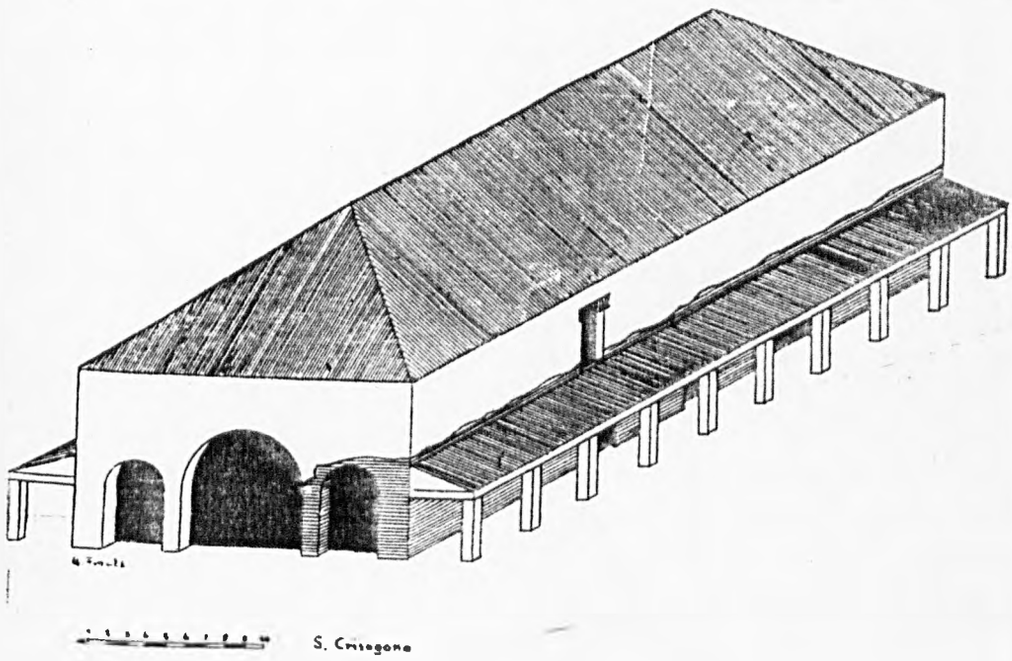


Fig. 81. Rome, S. Paolo f.l.m., plan before 1823, Rome, Palazzo Venezia

(b)



Text fig. 2. Rome, S. Crisogono, exterior, isometric reconstruction (Frankl)

(a)

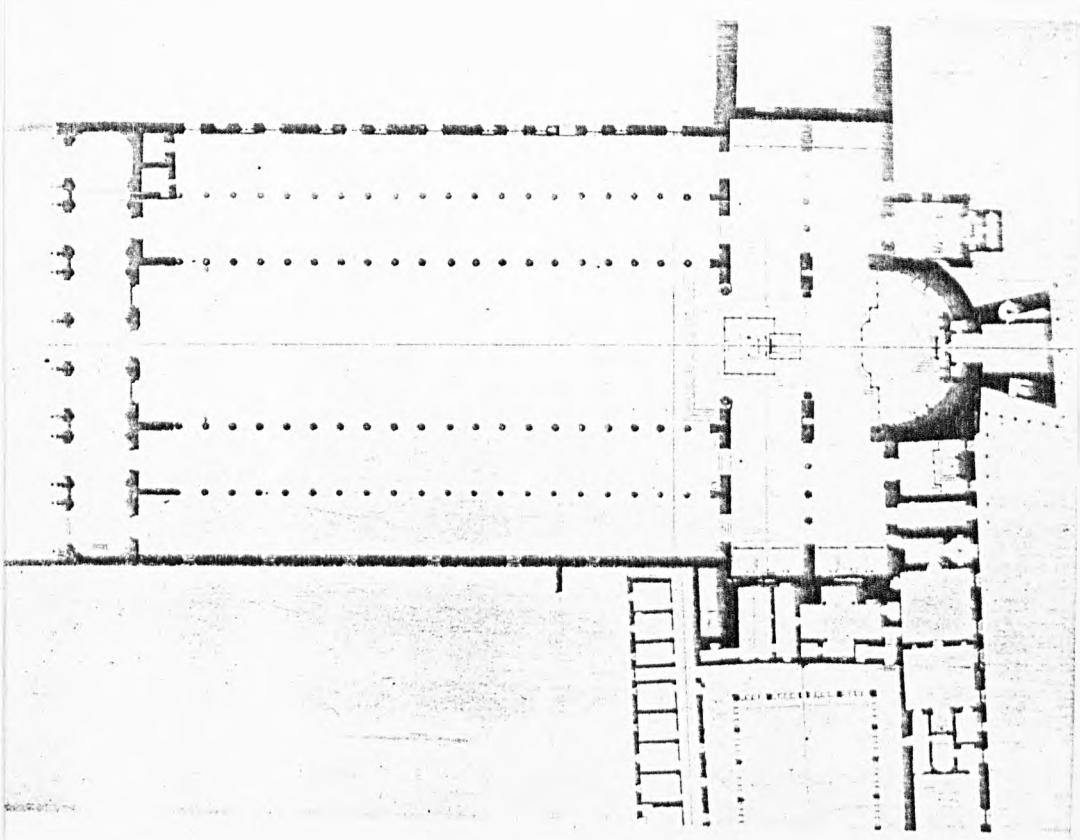
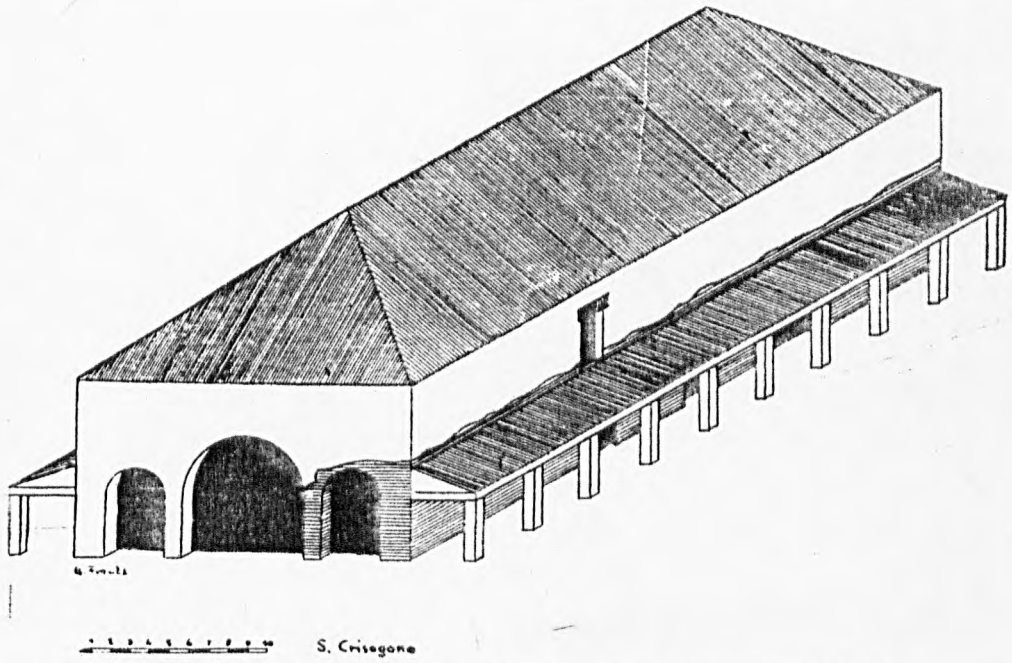


Fig. 81. Rome, S. Paolo f.l.m., plan before 1823, Rome, Palazzo Venezia

(b)



Text fig. 2. Rome, S. Crisogono, exterior, isometric reconstruction (Frankl)

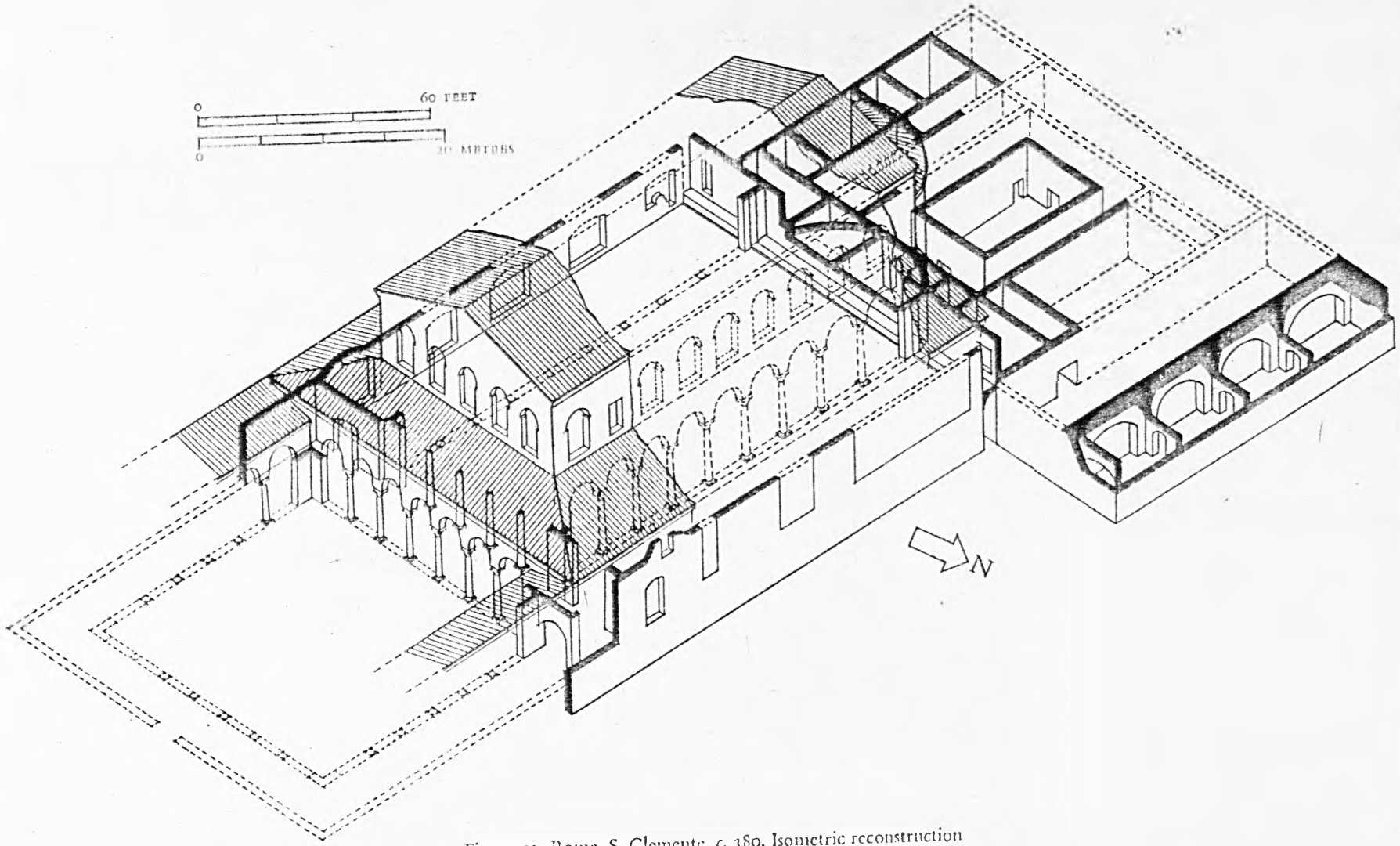
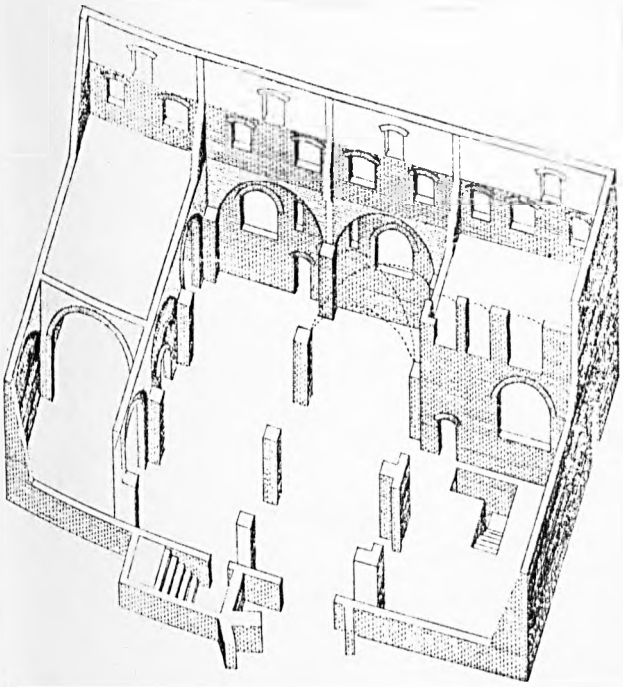


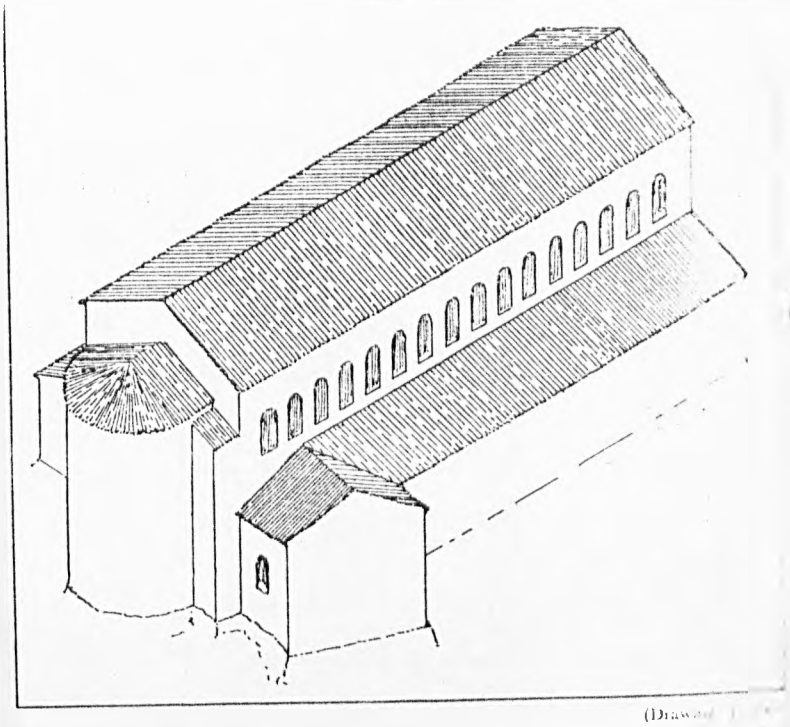
Figure 53. Rome, S. Clemente, *c.* 380. Isometric reconstruction

ROME



(Photo: Pont. Comm. di Arch. Sacra)

Fig. 81. S. Martino ai Monti, Vielliard, reconstruction of Roman Hall and upper story

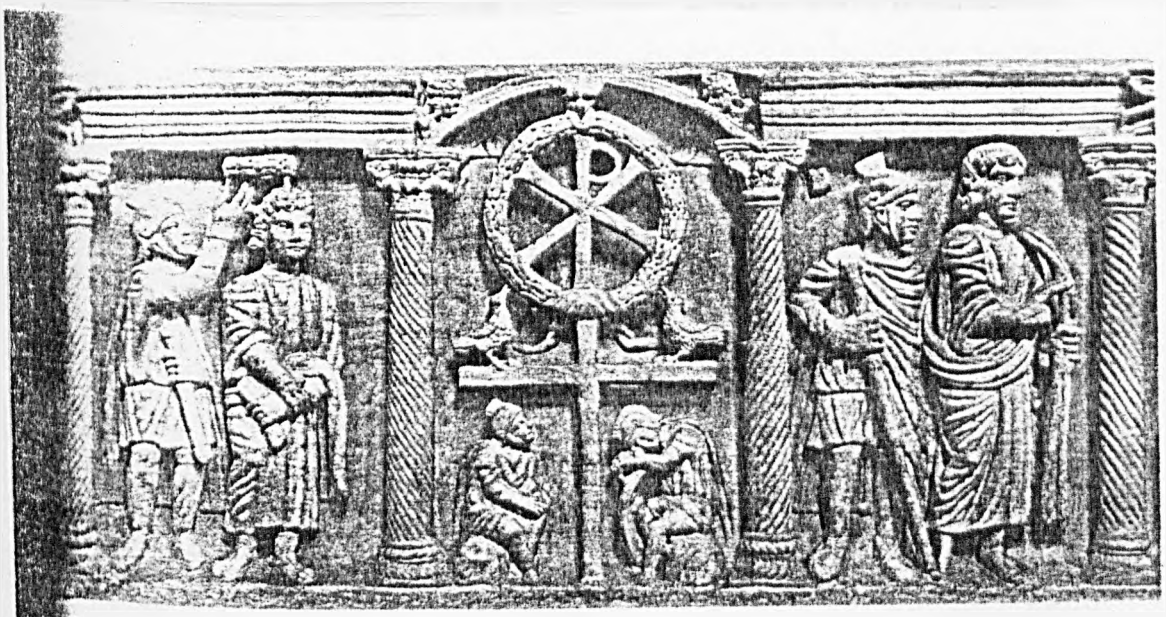


(b)

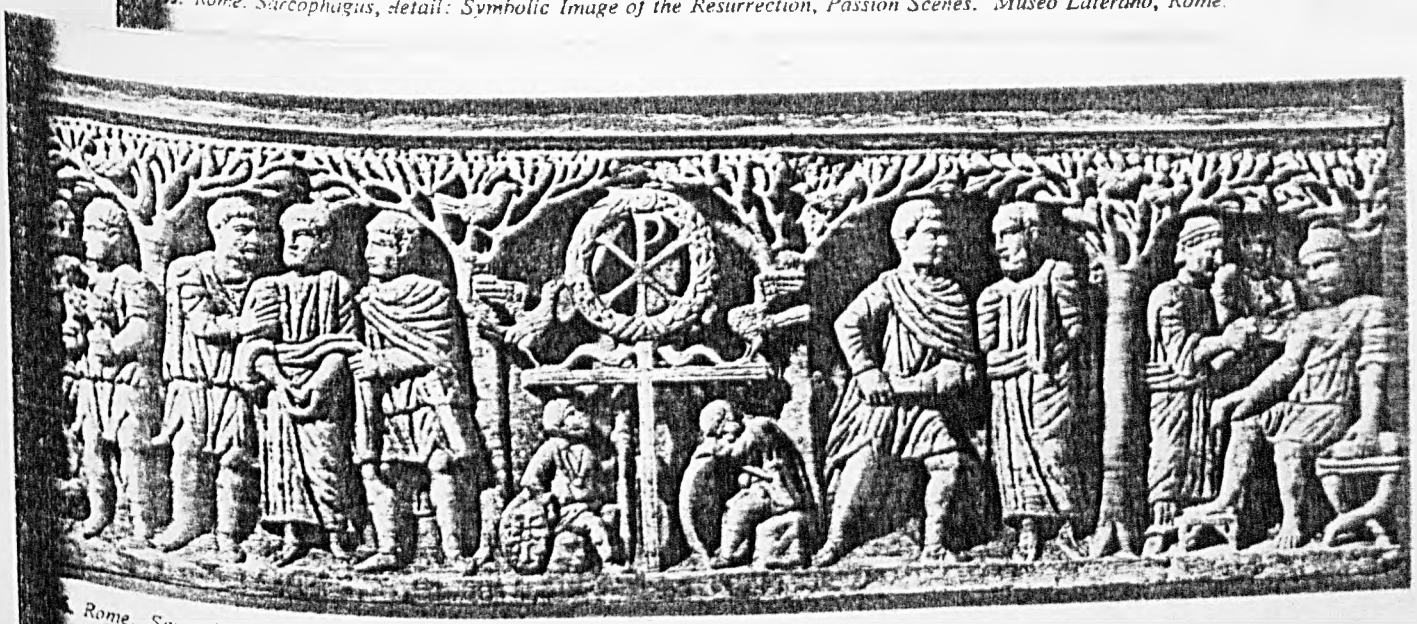
(Drawing [illegible])

Fig. 200. S. Pietro in Vincoli, Church A, conjectural reconstruction

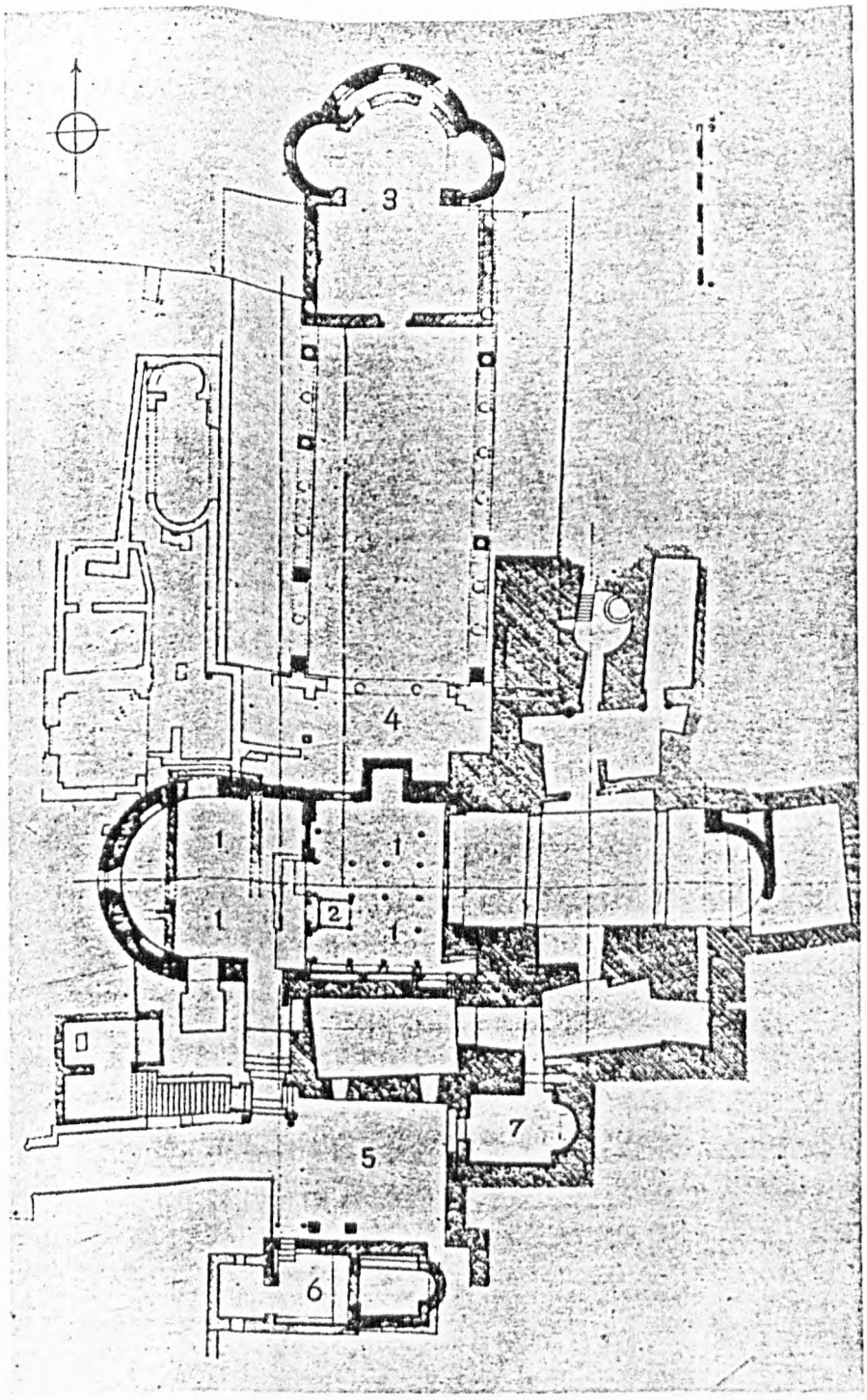
(c)



[illegible]5. *Rome. Sarcophagus, detail: Symbolic Image of the Resurrection, Passion Scenes. Museo Laterano, Rome.*



[illegible] *Rome. Sarcophagus: Passion Scenes. Museo Laterano, Rome.*

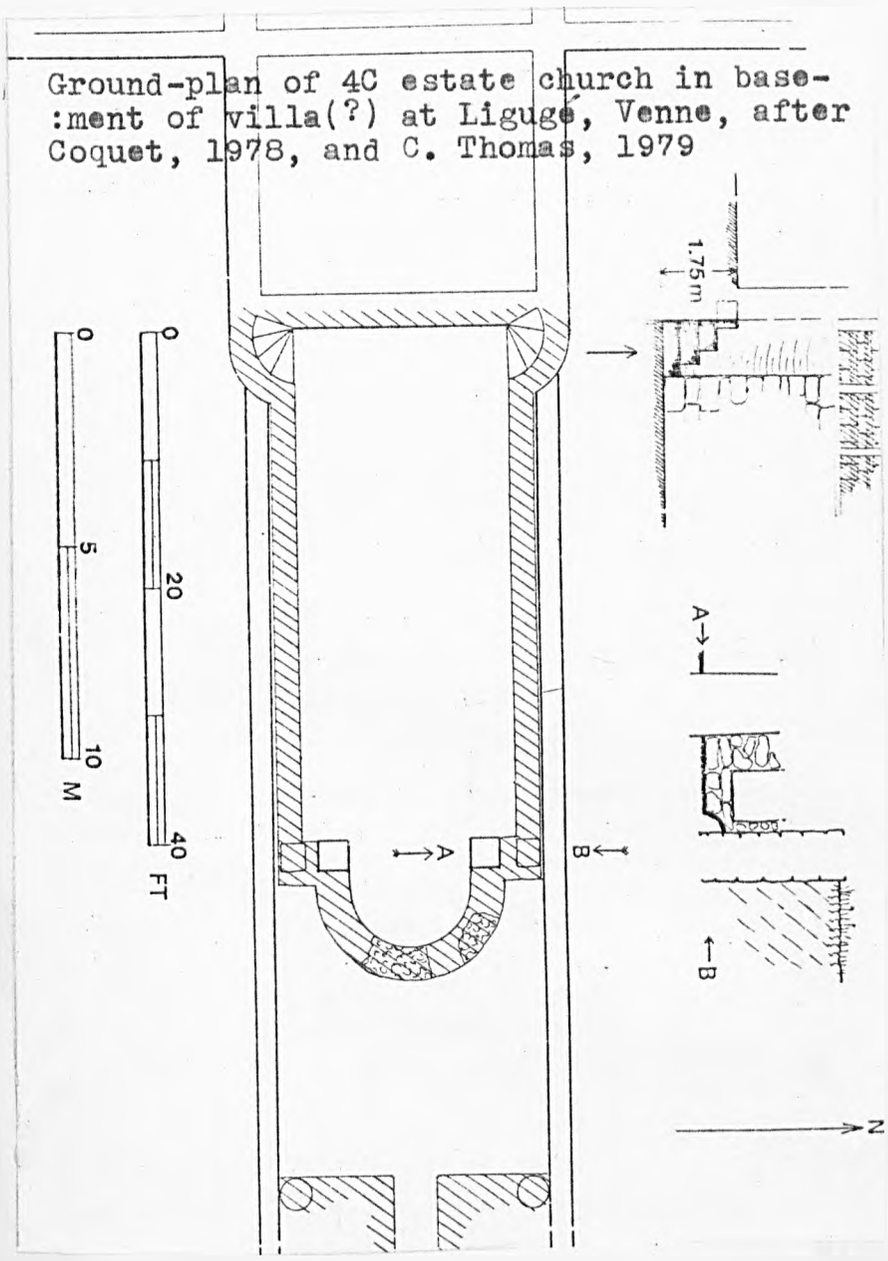


Map of the excavations at Cimitile
(Rivista di archeologia cristiana XVI (1939) Fig. 5)
1. Felix' Church. 2. Aedicula with Felix tomb. 3 (New) Apostles' Church.
4. Inner court (the court with the fountains?). 5. Outer court(?). 6. S.S. Martiri.
7. S. Calonio.
(Numbers and orientation by R. G.)

GAUL

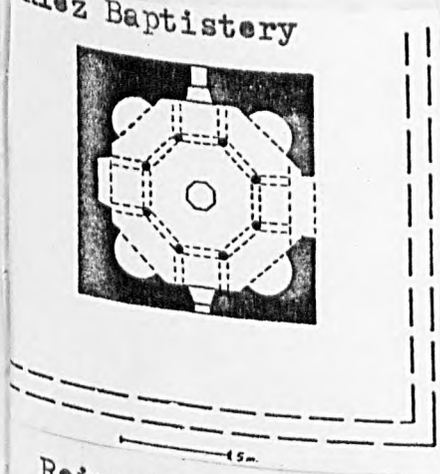
Ground-plan of 4C estate church in base-
:ment of villa(?) at Liguge, Venne, after
Coquet, 1978, and C. Thomas, 1979

(a)

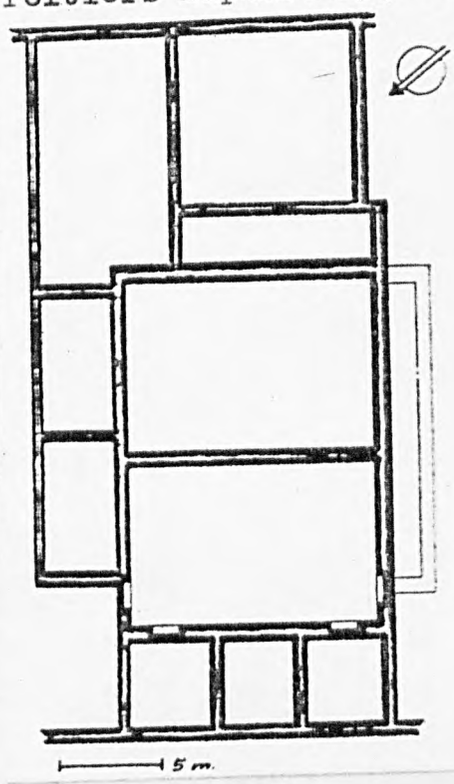


(b)

Riez Baptistery

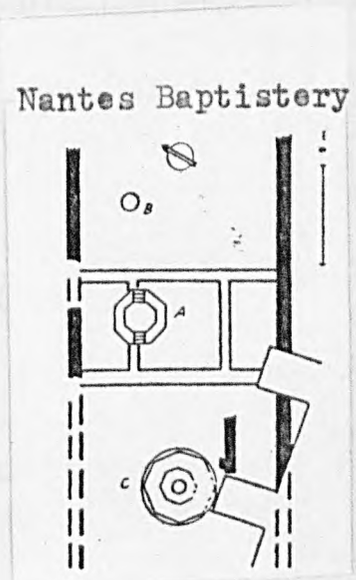


Poitiers Baptistery, 4C



(d)

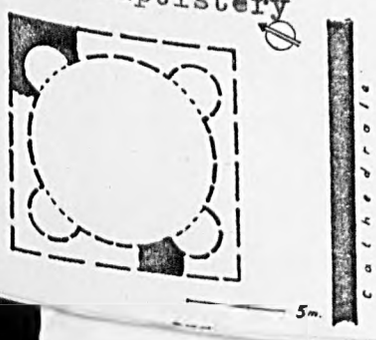
Nantes Baptistery



(e)

Reims Baptistery

(c)



AQUILEIA

(a)

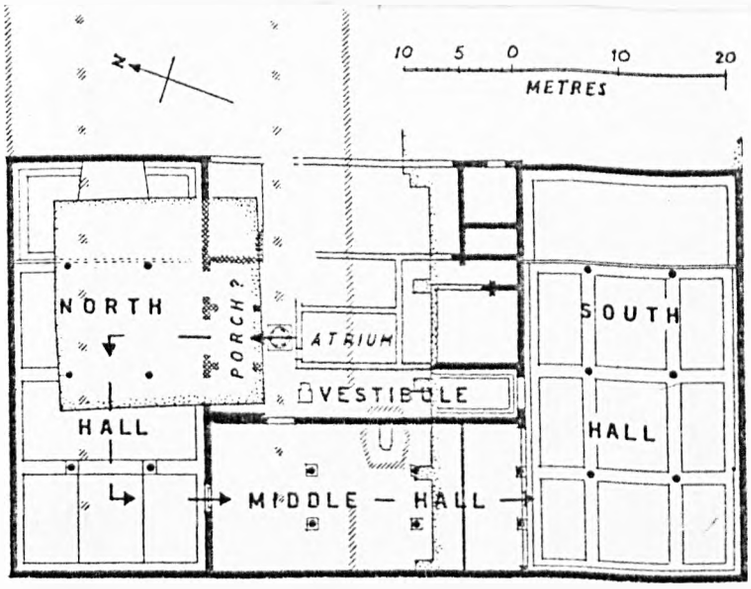
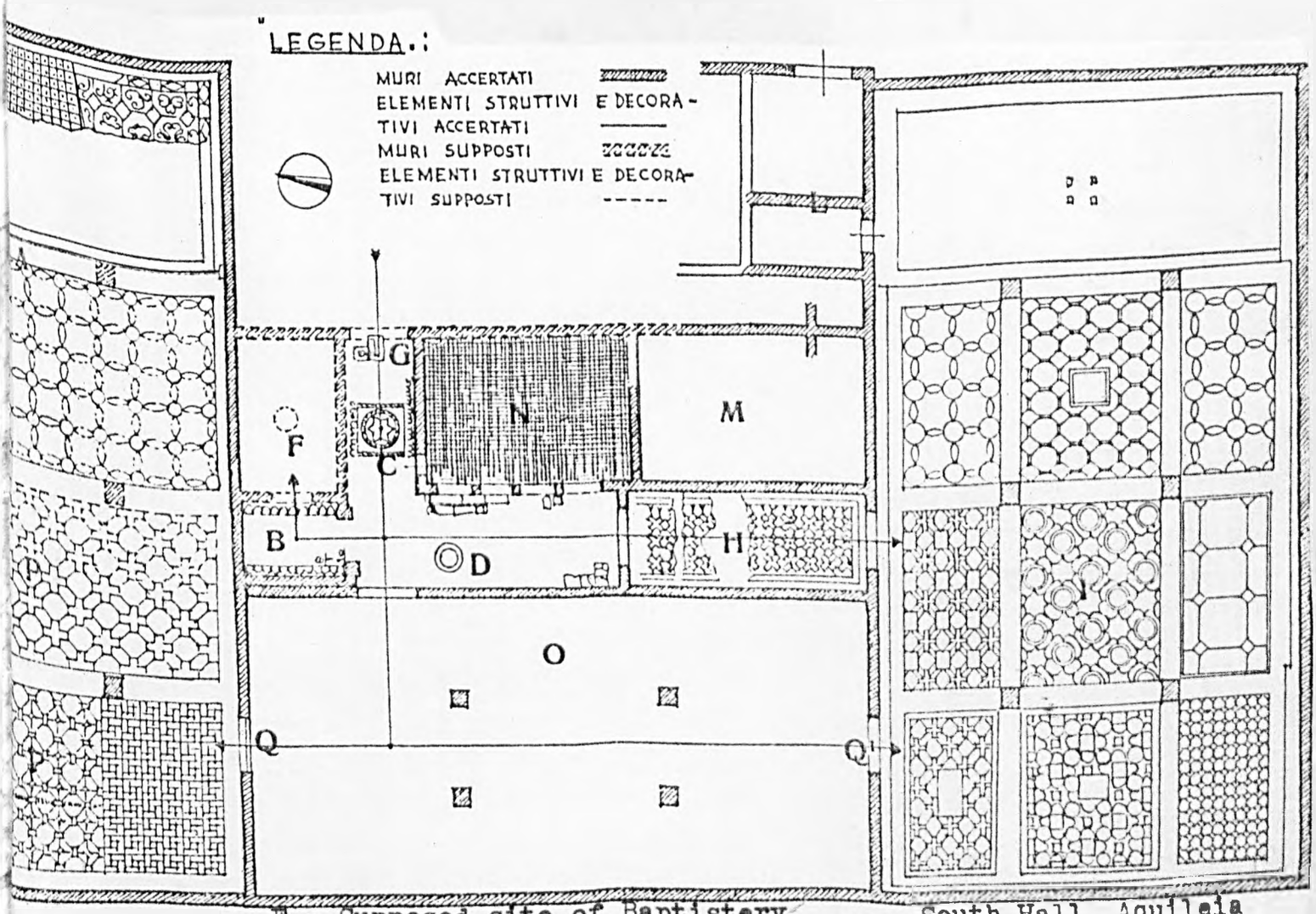


Fig. 63. Aquileia, Double Cathedral, plan, reconstruction by Corbett



F - Supposed site of Baptistery

South Hall, Aquileia

GABRIELLA GABRIELLI

(b)

(a)

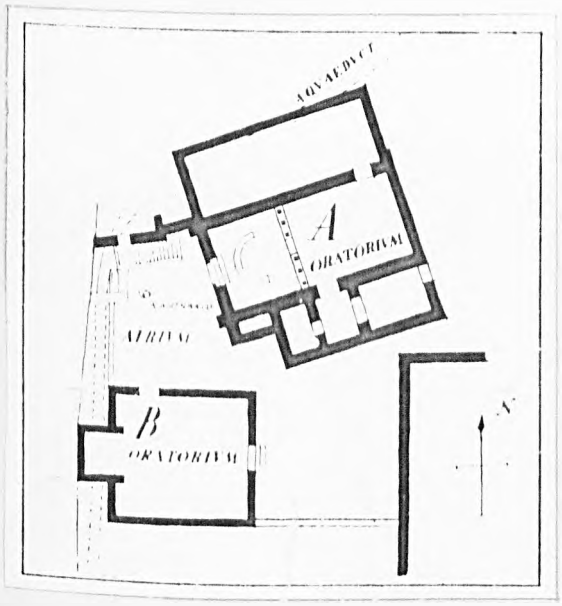
Fig. 41 - La zona di mezzo della 3ª campata con gli offerenti e con la Vittoria Eucaristica.

138 Aquileia, Basilica of Theodore. *Emblema*: 'Eucharistic Victory'

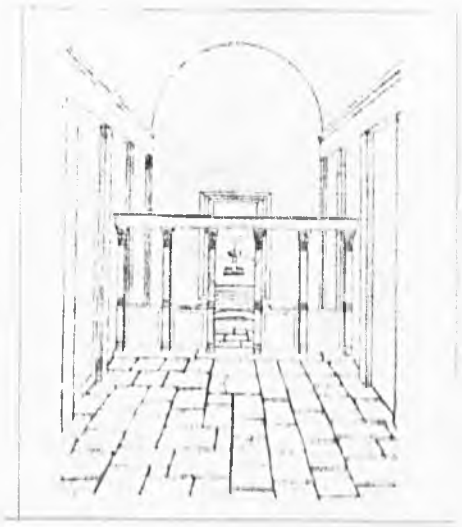
(c)

139 Aquileia, Basilica of Theodore. *Emblema*: Offertory'

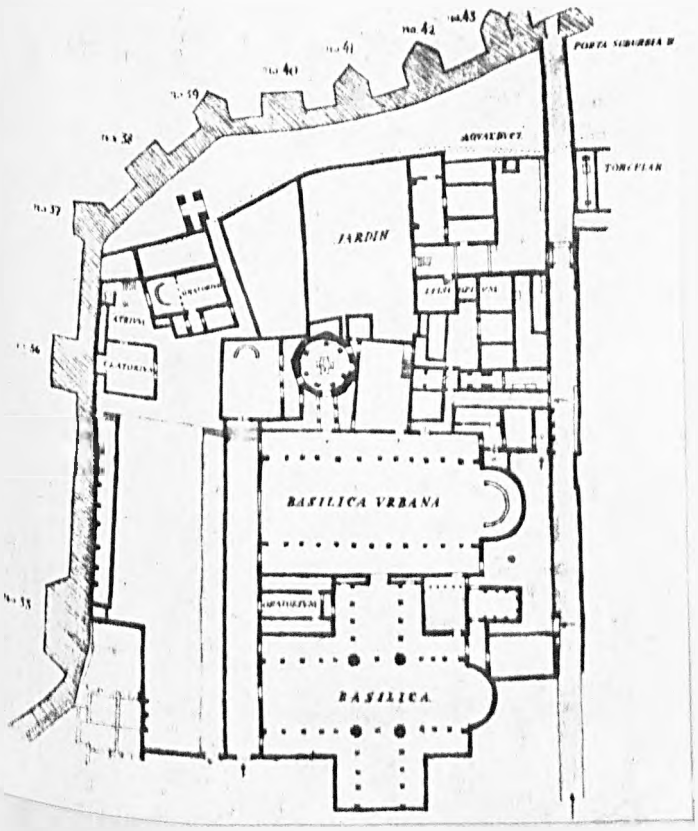
(a)



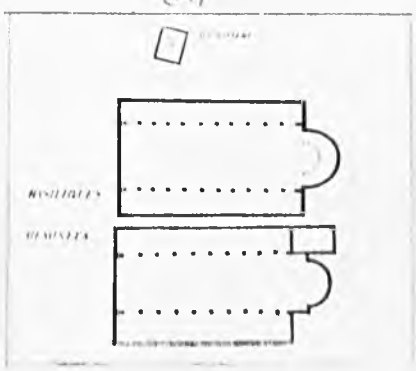
(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

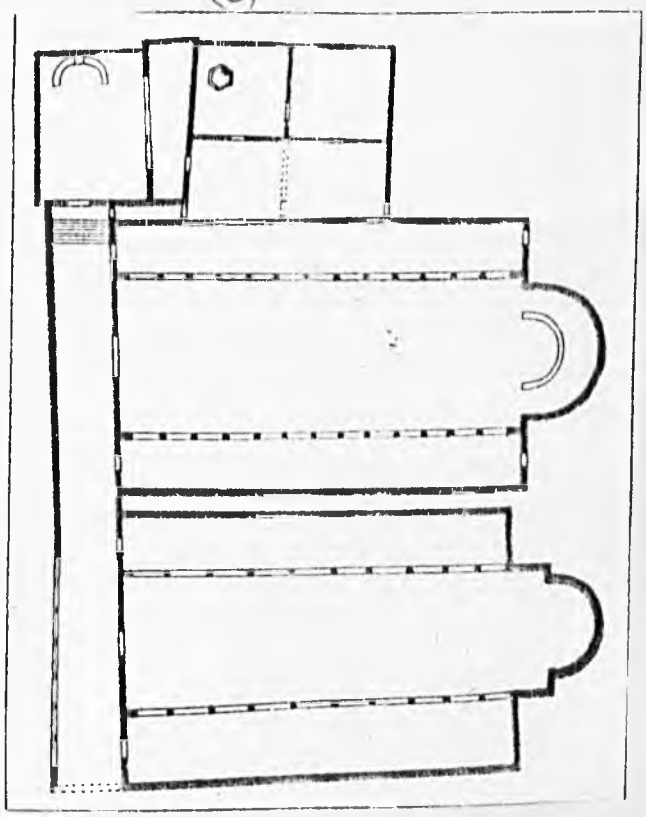
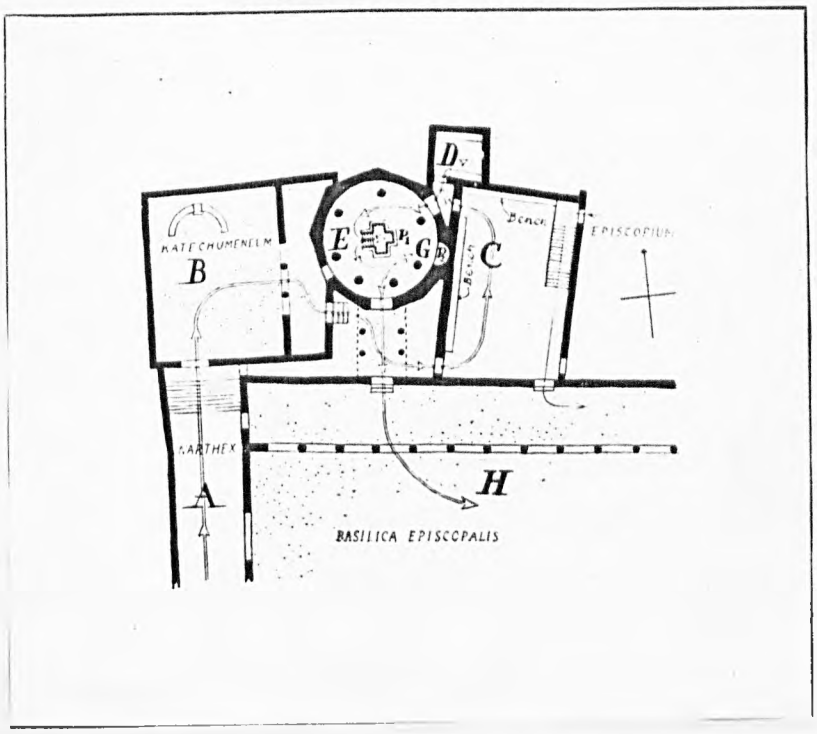
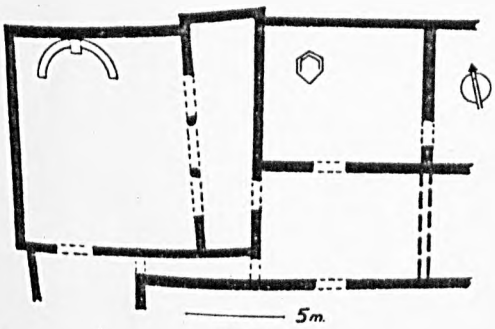


FIG. 64. Salona. Double Cathedral, plan, reconstruction by Dyggve

SALONA

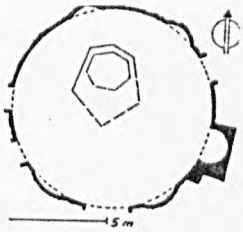
(a)



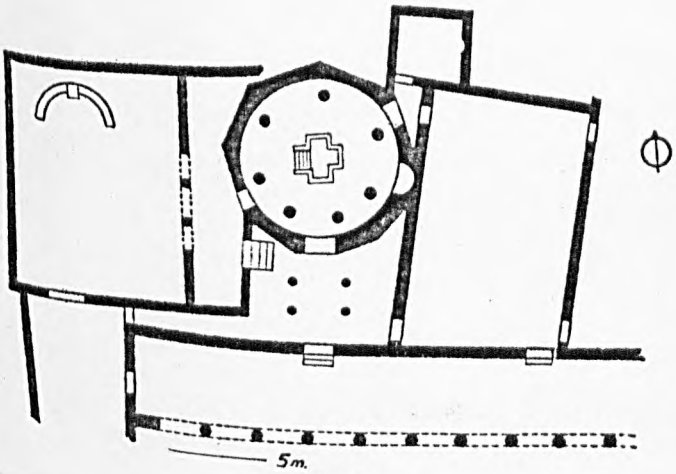


359a

(c)



359b

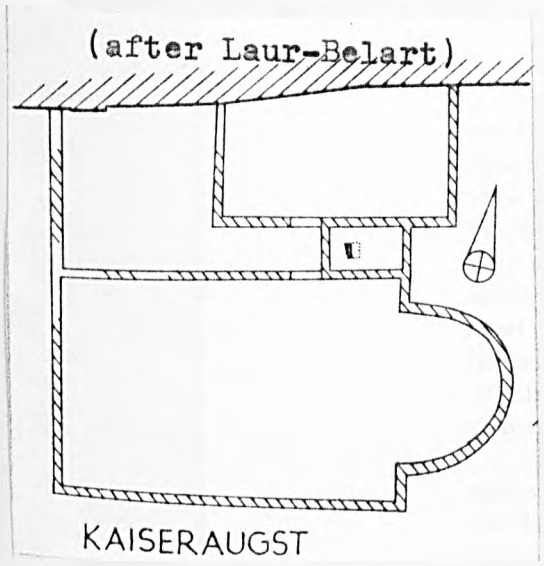


359c

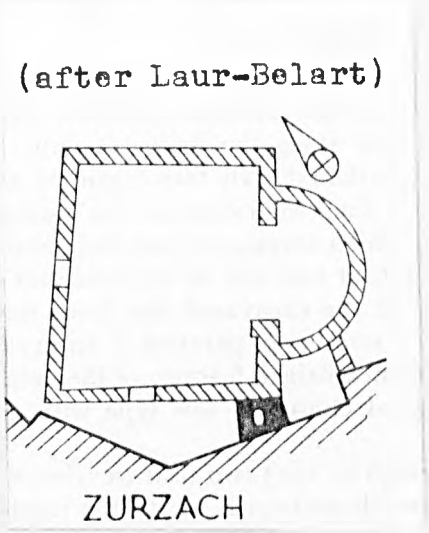
(e)

GERMANY

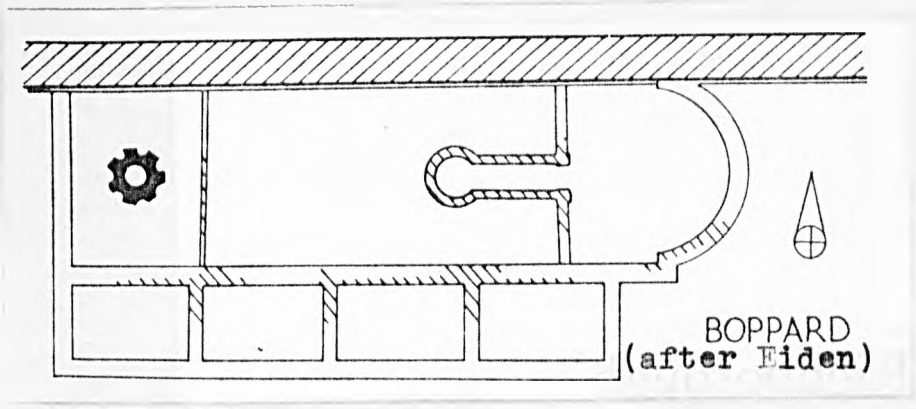
(a)


(after Laur-Belart)
KAISERAUGST

(b)

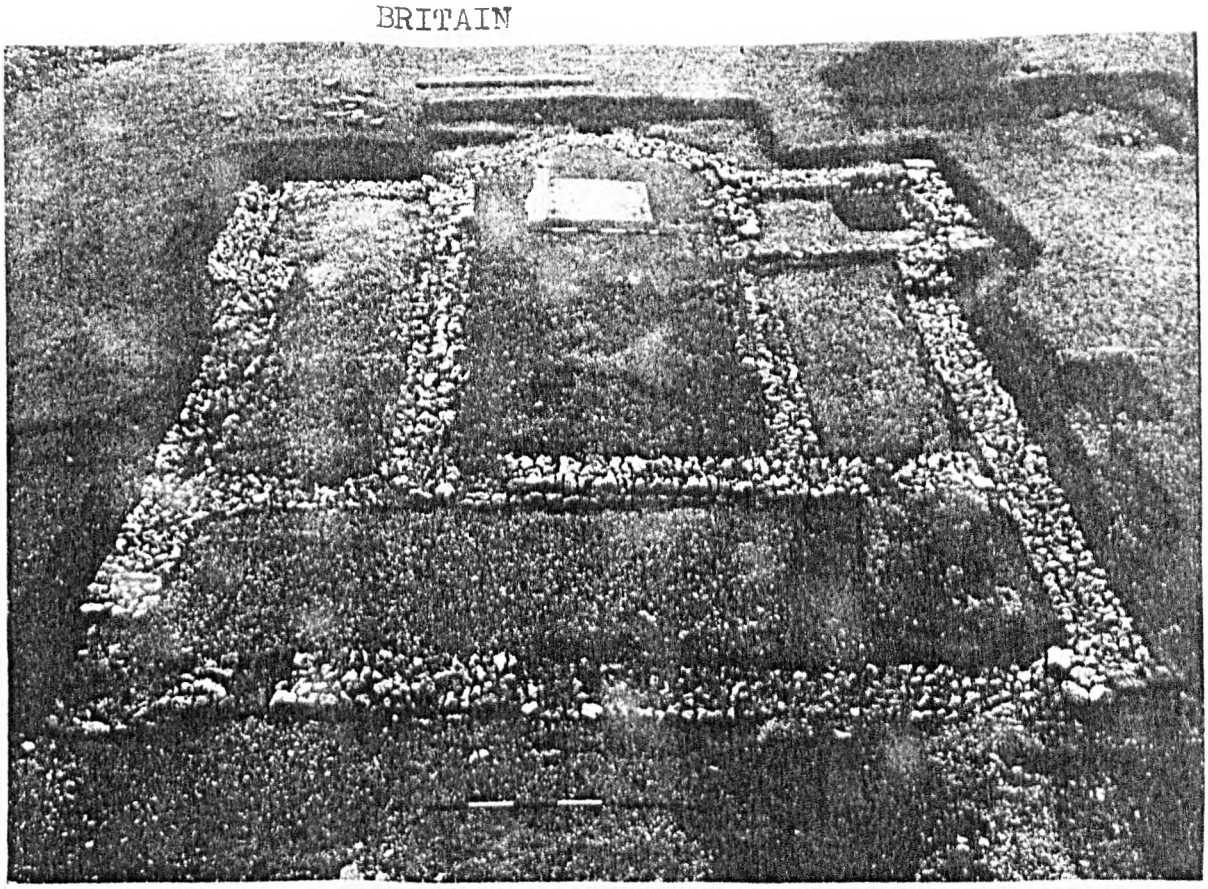

(after Laur-Belart)
ZURZACH

(c)


BOPPARD
(after Eiden)

BRITAIN

(a)



a. The church from the east and its relationship with the earlier timber building and drain (top right)

(b)

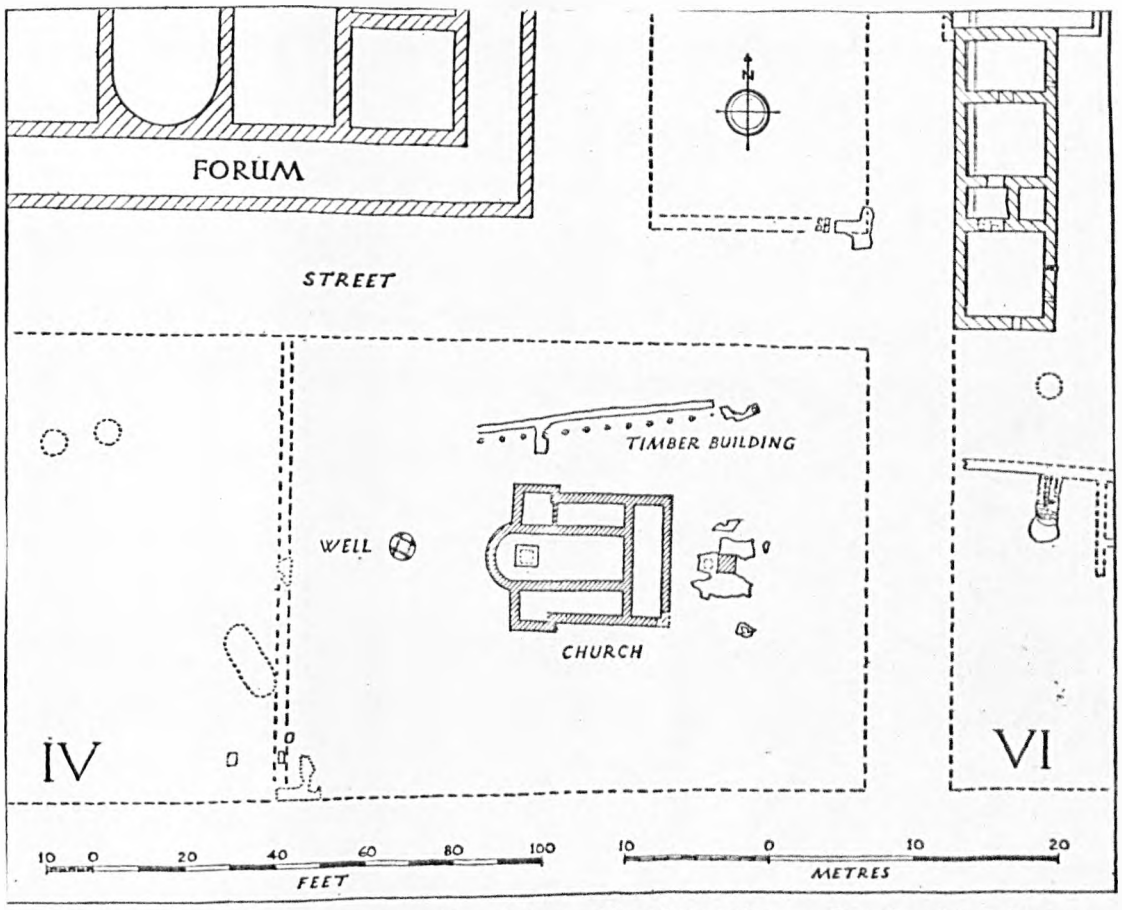


FIG. 1. Part of Insulae IV and VI showing position of church. After a large-scale survey from the original 1892 excavations.

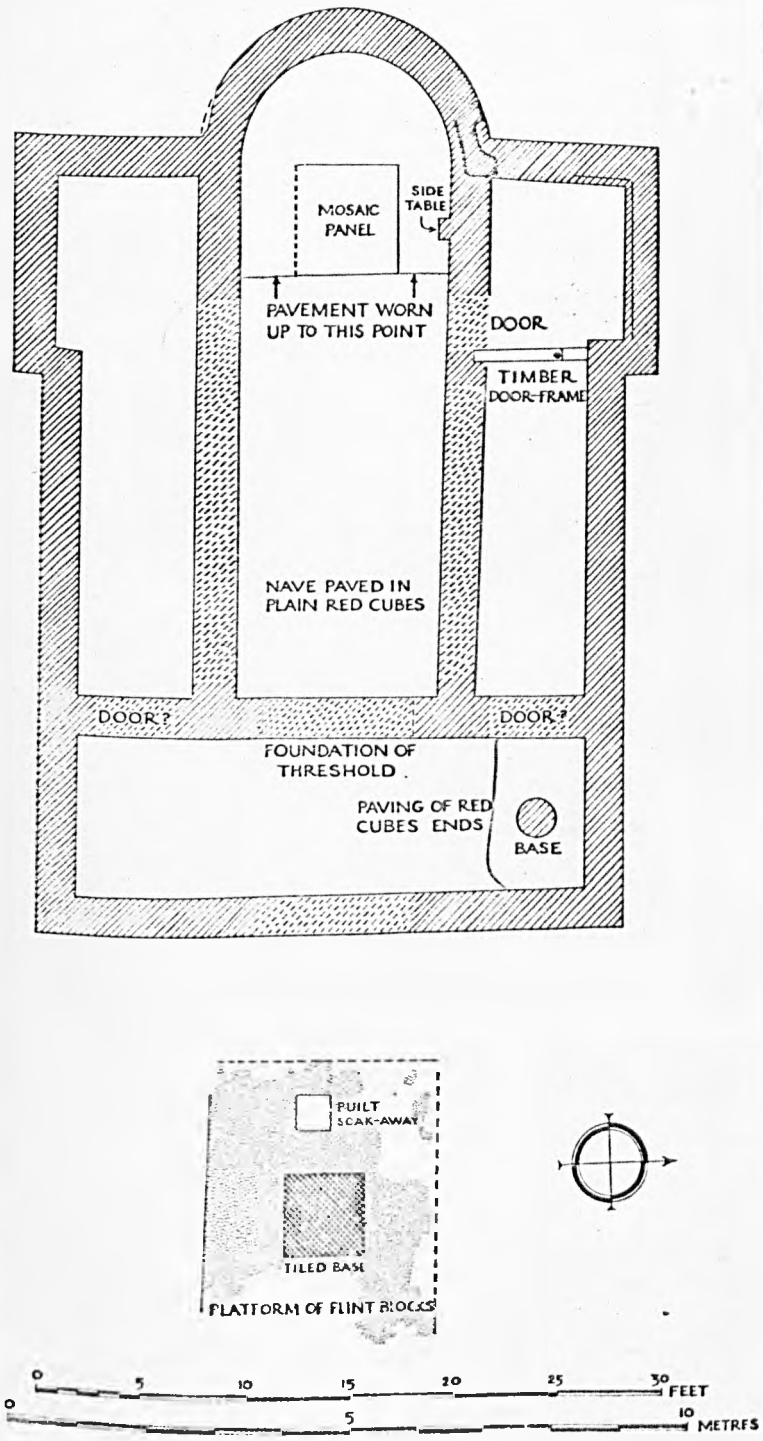


FIG. 3. The Silchester church: simplified interpretative plan, showing first phase of door in north room (drawn by I. A. Richmond).

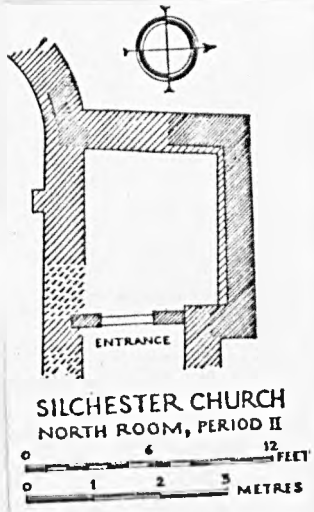


FIG. 5. The doorway into the north room in its second period (drawn by I. A. Richmond).

BRITAIN

(a)

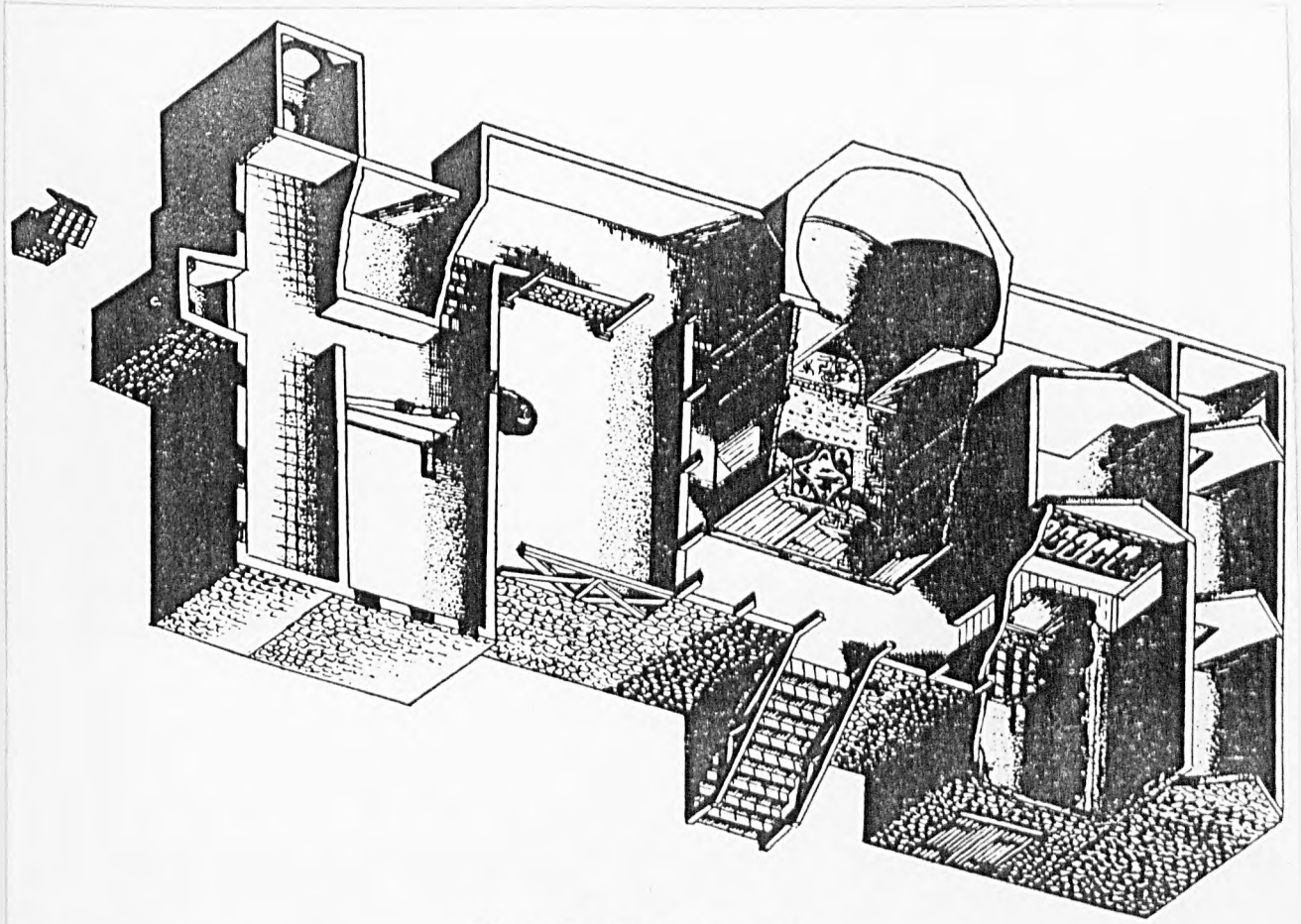


FIG. 3. The villa, *c.* A.D. 330–380.

(b)

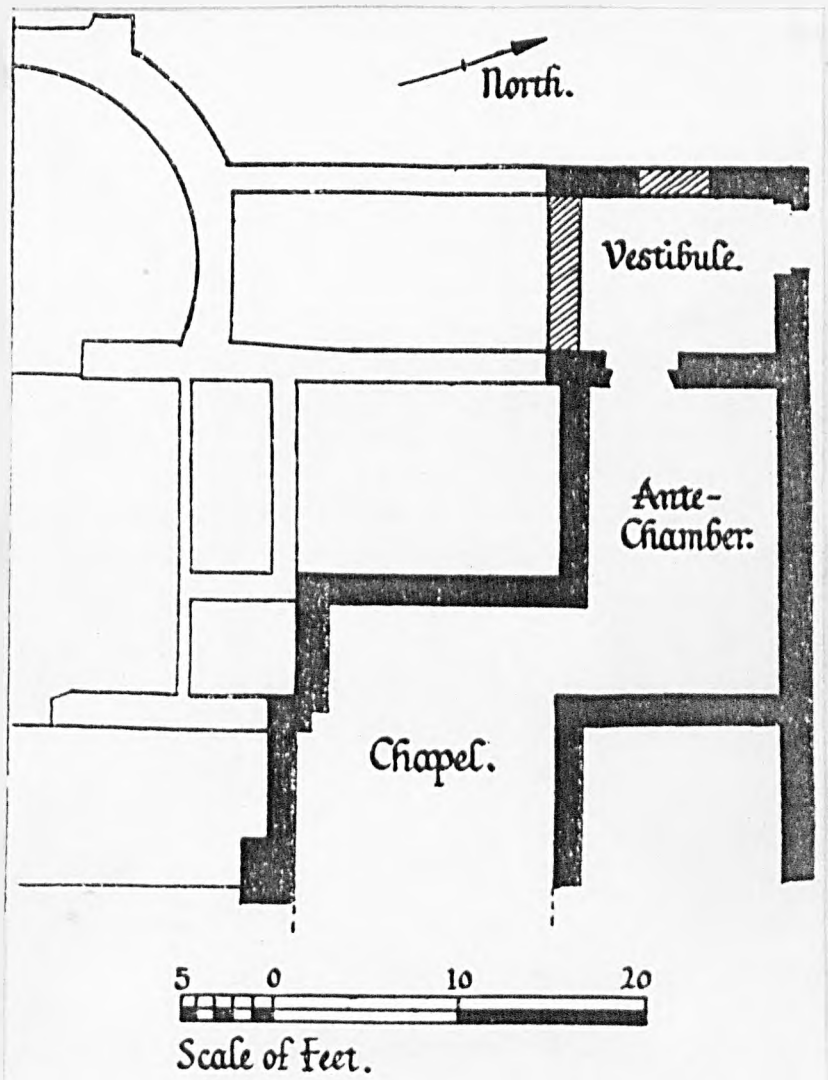


FIG. 5. Plan of the Christian rooms, *c.* A.D. 350–400.

(a)

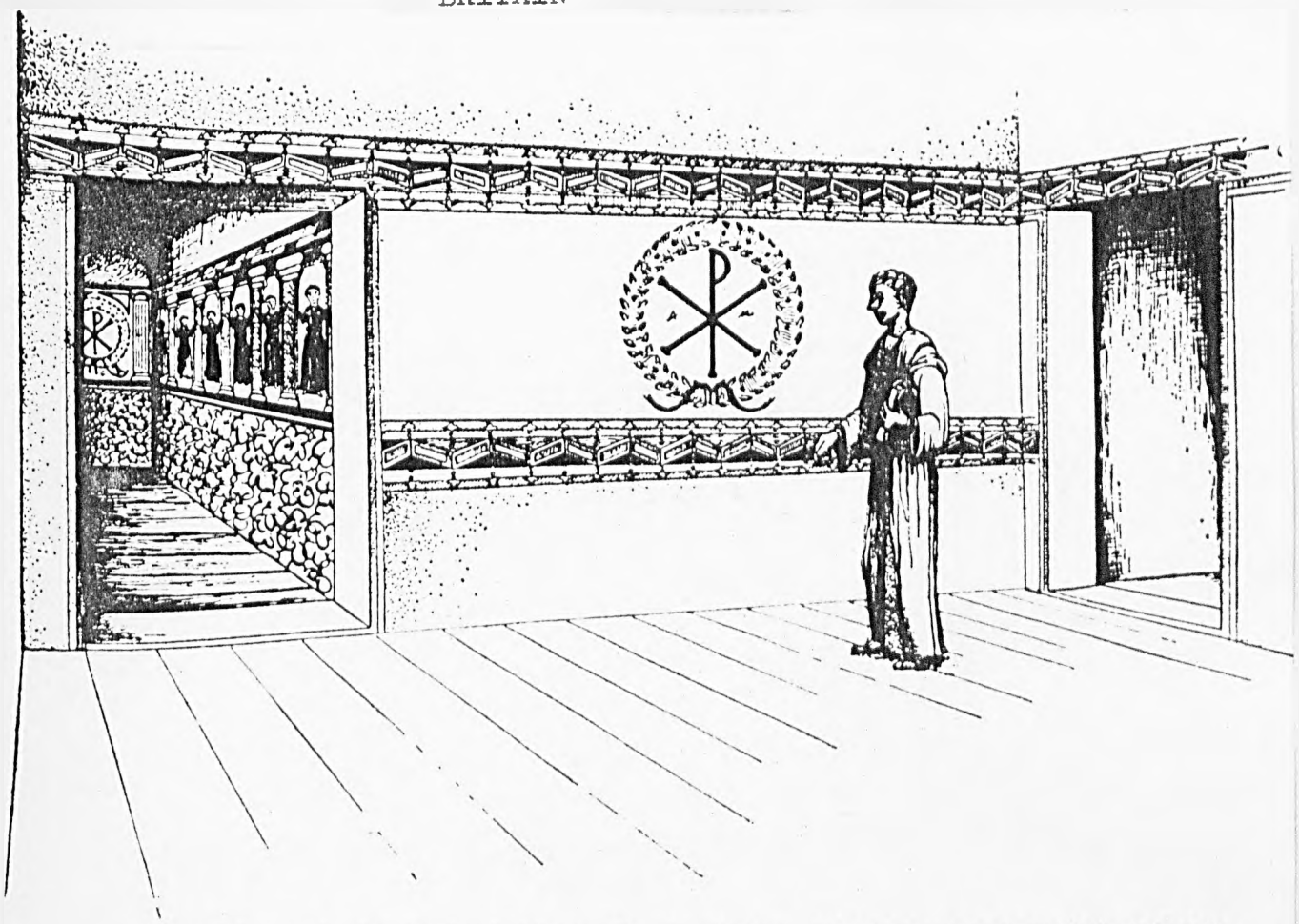


FIG. 7. The ante-chamber, showing the Christian Chapel on the left, and the entrance from the vestibule on the right.

(b)

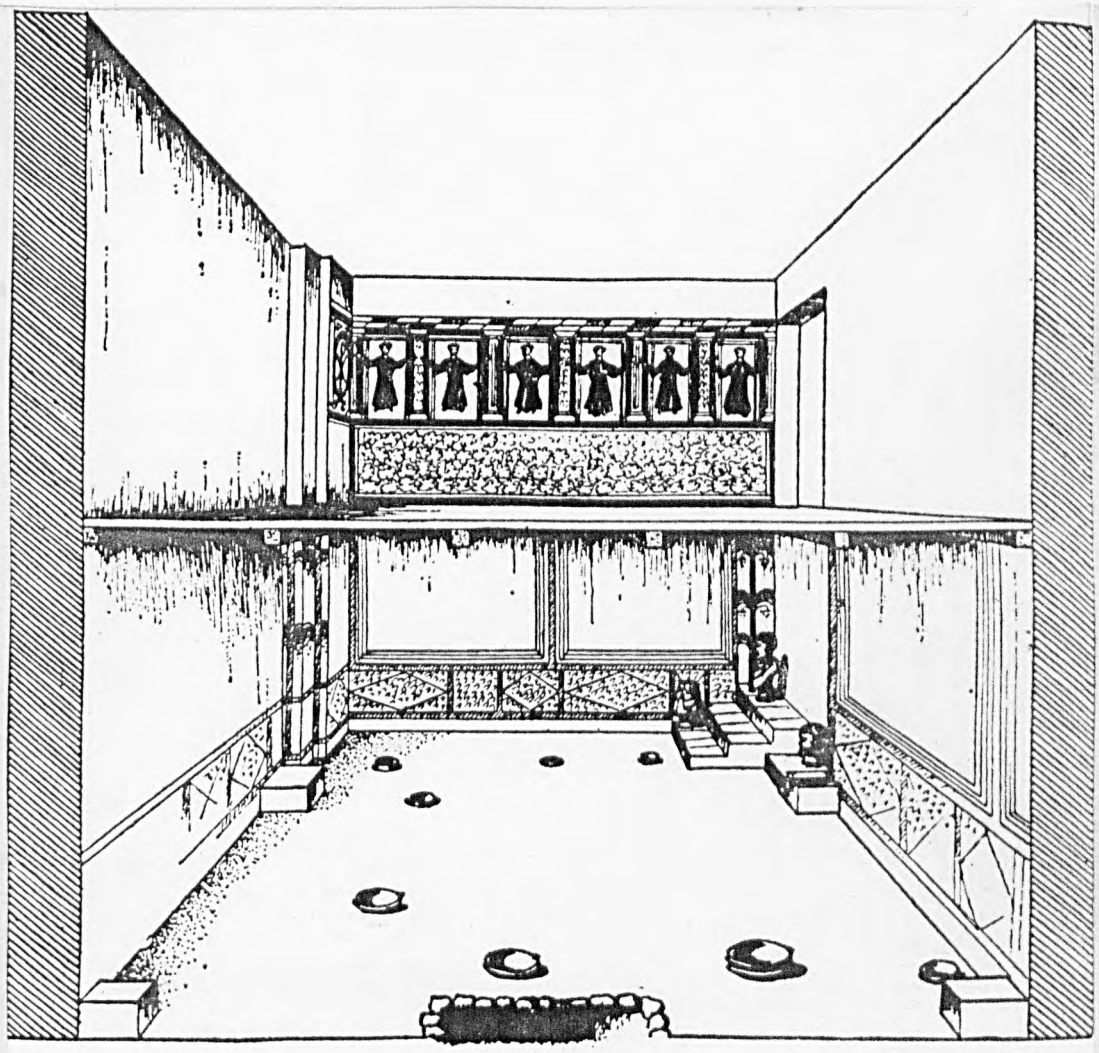
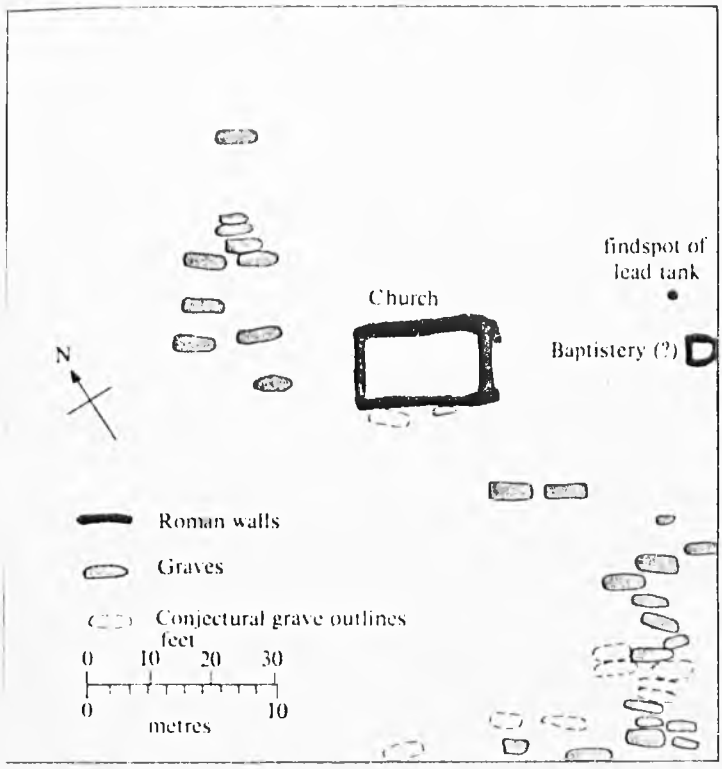


FIG. 6. The Deep Room, with the Christian Chapel above, shortly before the final fire.

BRITAIN - ICKLINGHAM

(a)



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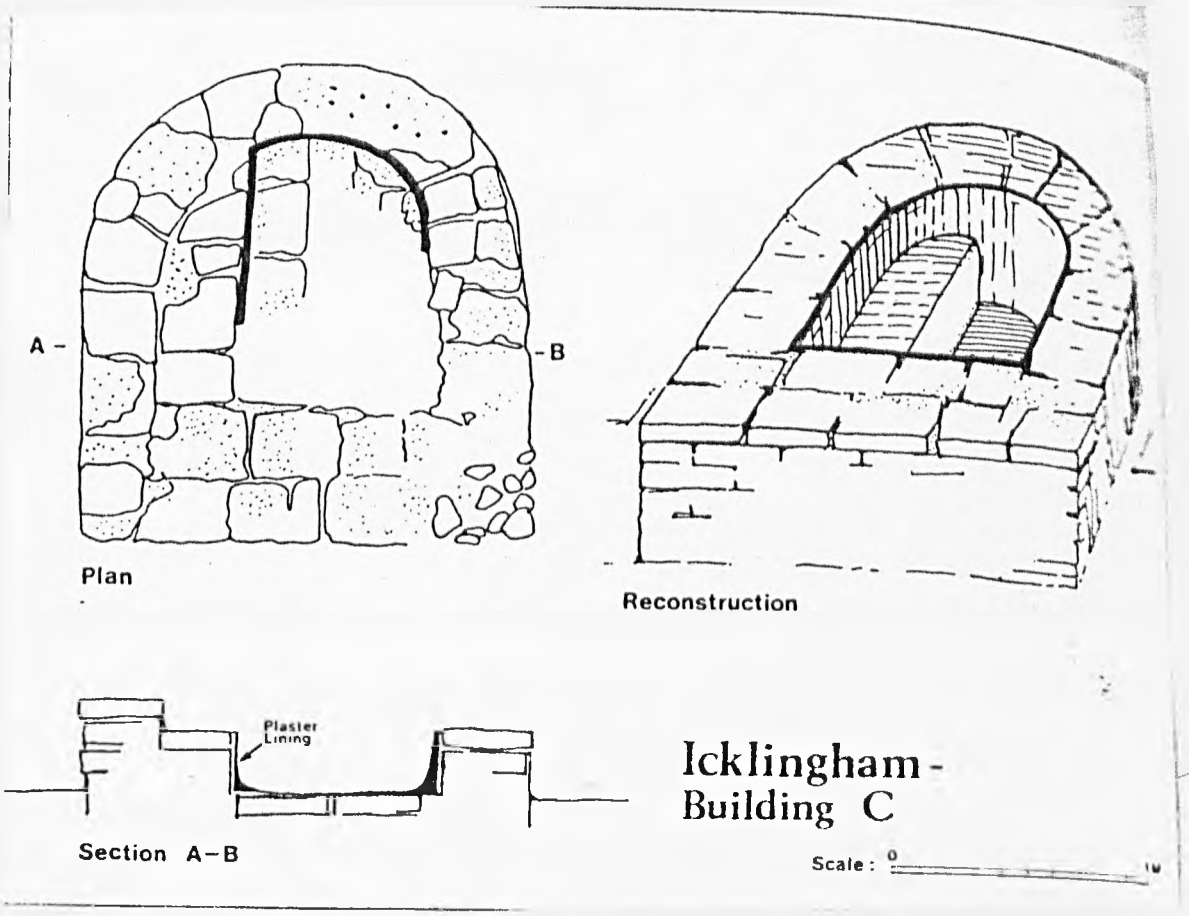
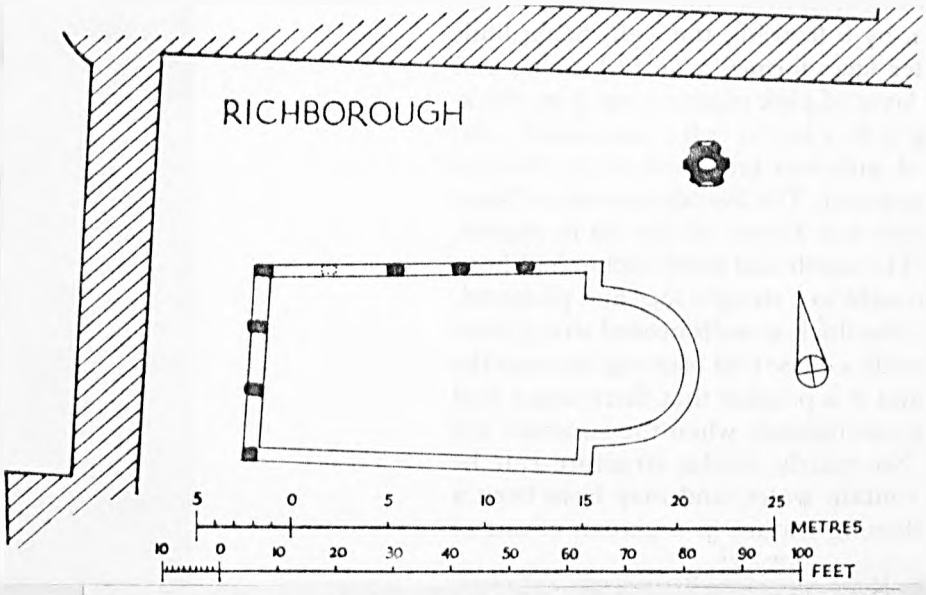


BRITAIN

(a)



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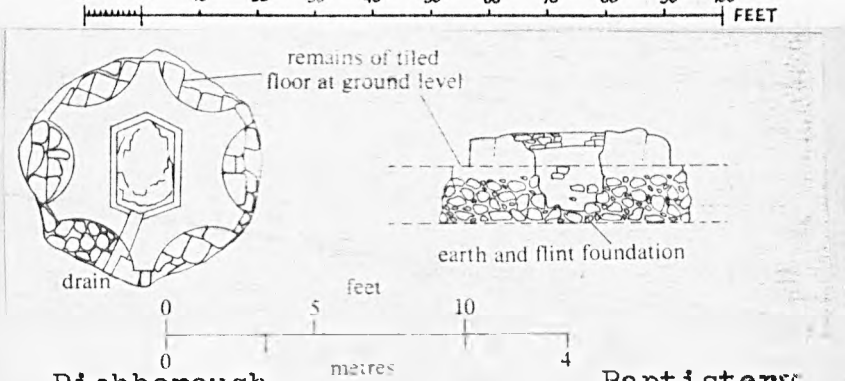
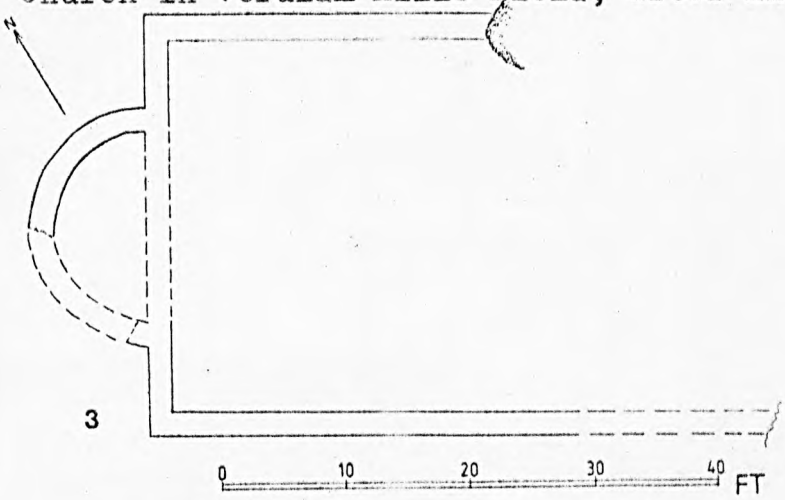


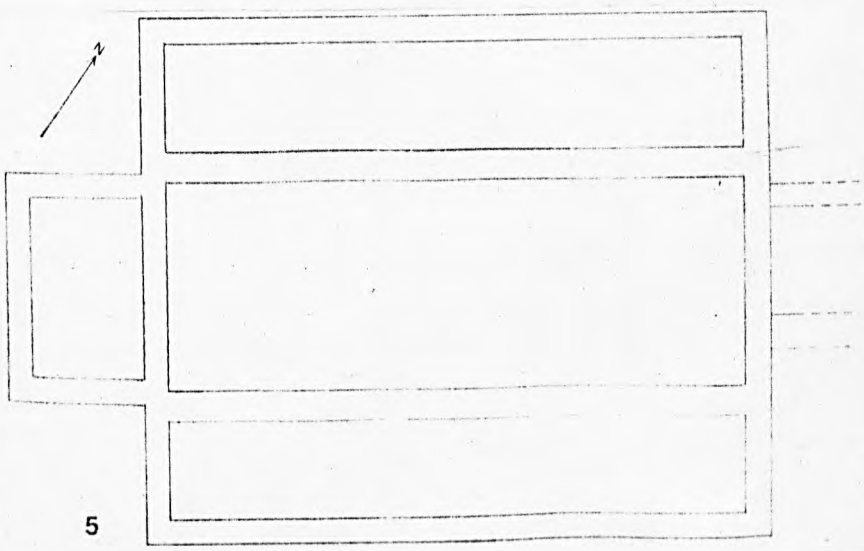
Richborough Baptistery

Church in Verulam Hills Field, after Anthony

(c)



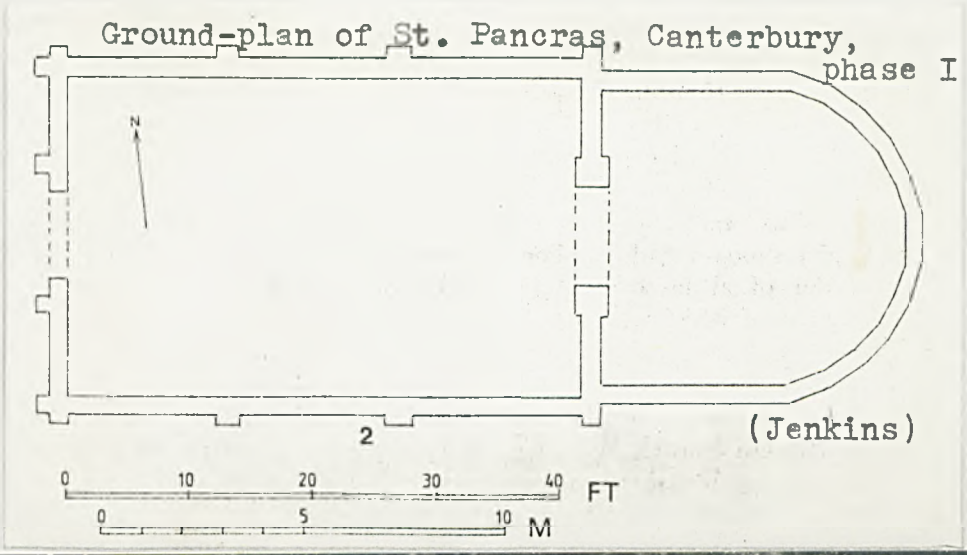
(d)



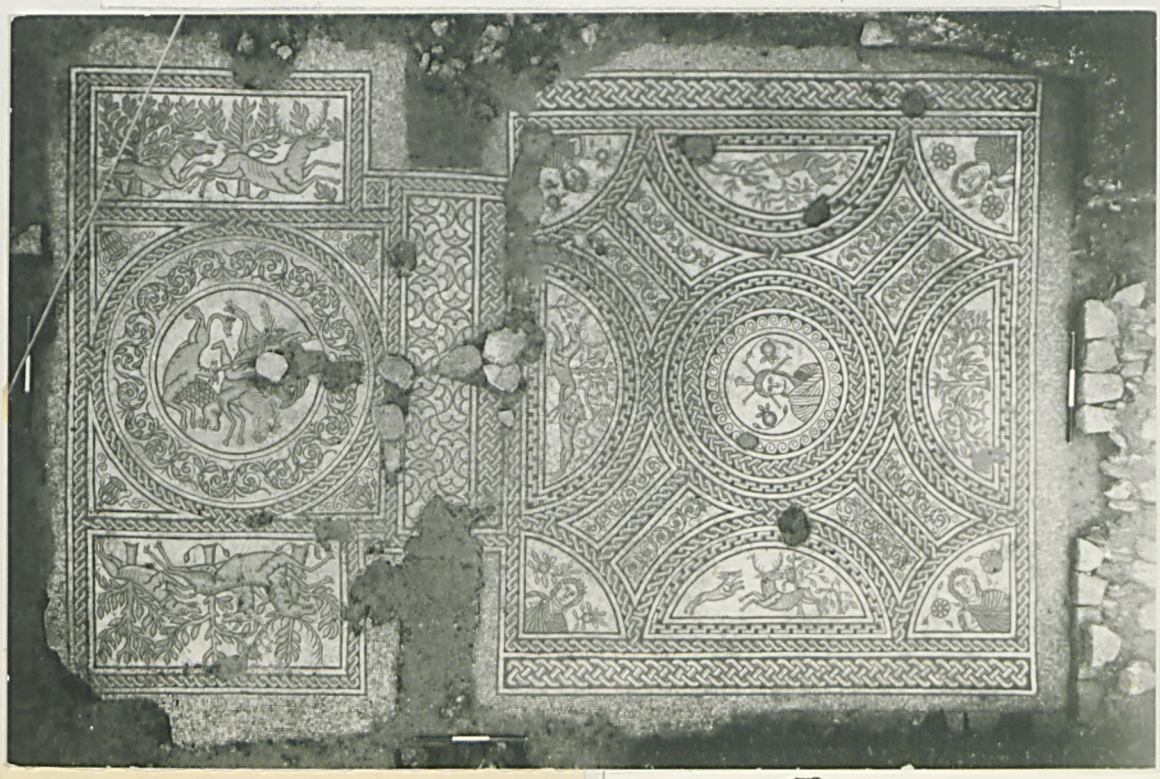
Church in Verulamium (S.E.), Wheeler and Wheeler.

BRITAIN

(a)

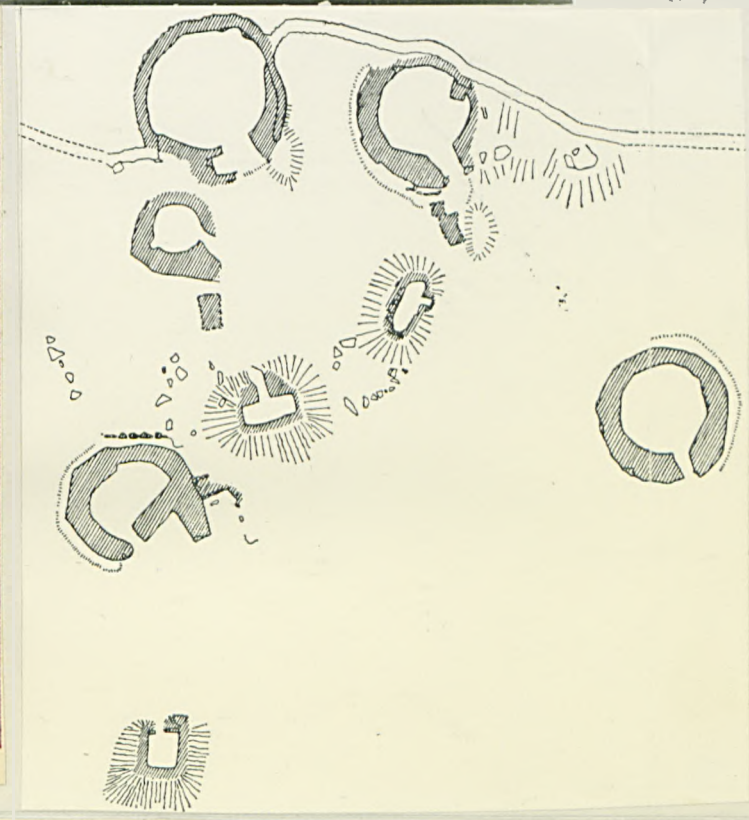


(b)



(c)

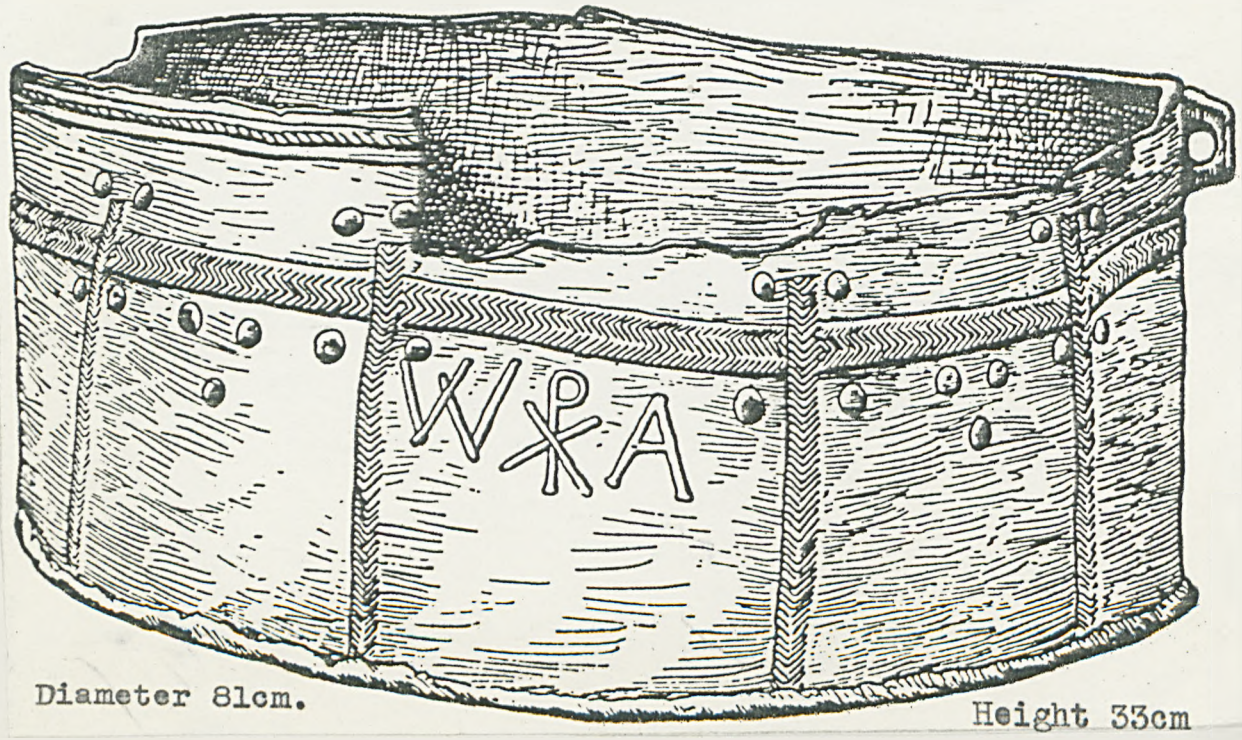
(d)



BRITAIN

Lead Tank found at Icklingham in 1939

(a)

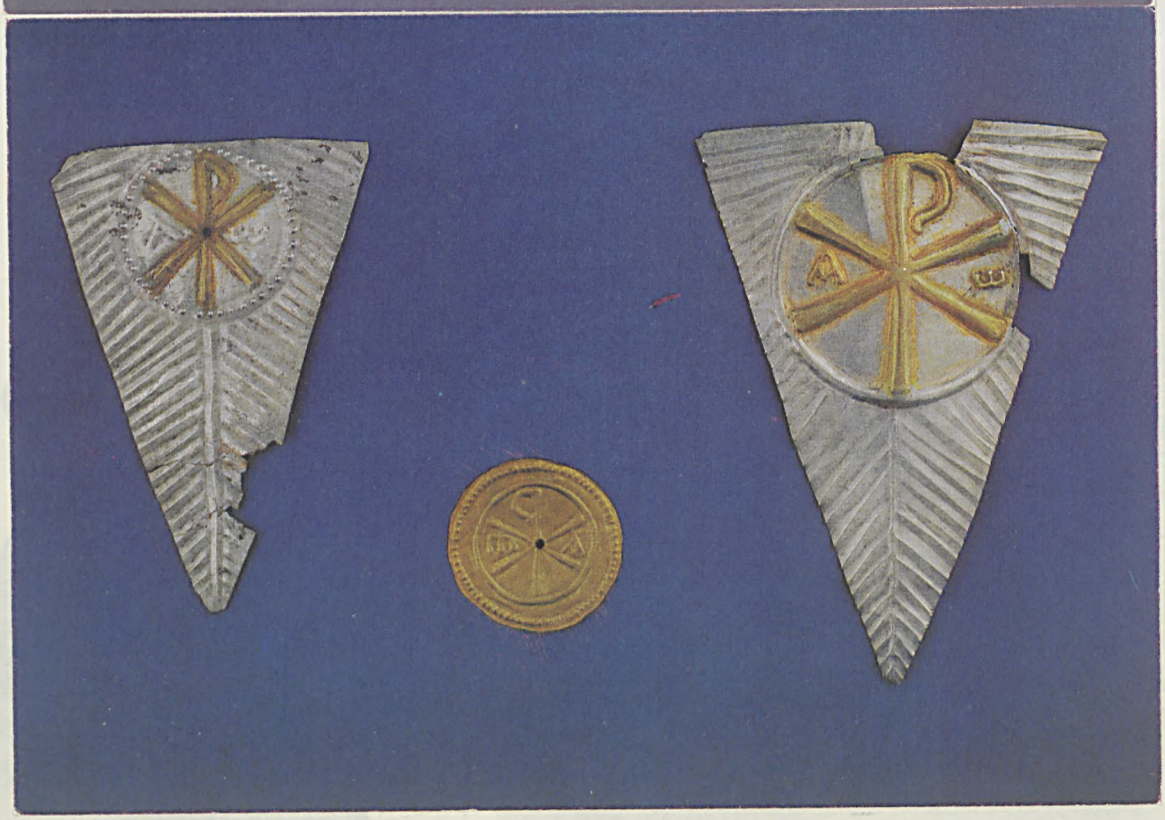


(b)

BRITAIN

(a)

(b)



Grave-stone of a child, Innocentius (Aquileia Museum)

(a)

Fig. 119 - La lastra marmorea del Battesimo.

(b)

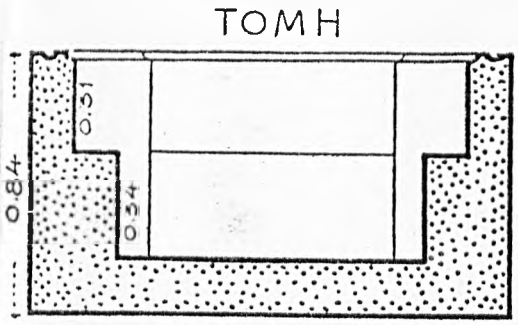
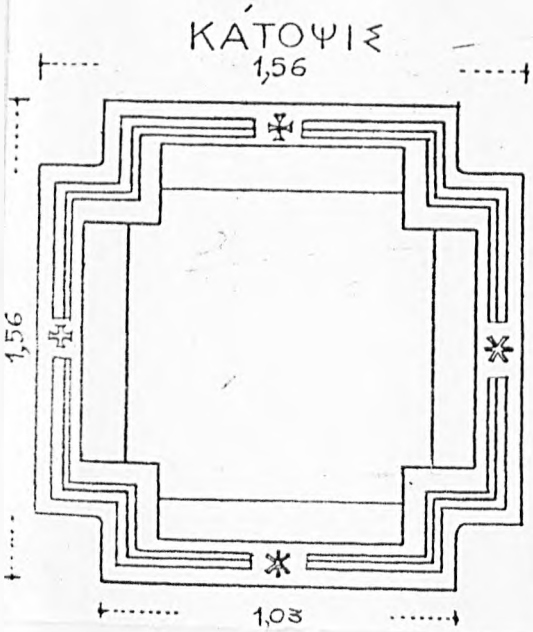


Fig. 15 – Cuve baptismale en marbre rose veiné du baptistère d'Arnitha de Rhodes

(c)



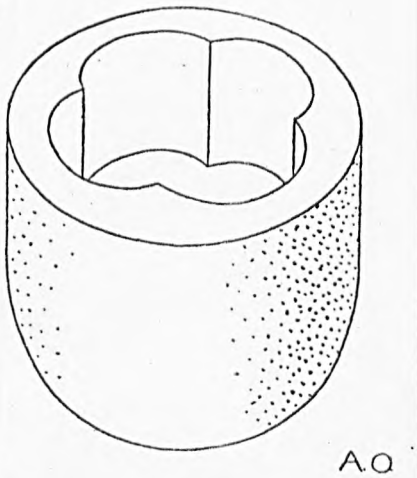


Fig. 16 – Cuve baptismale en marbre blanc trouvée à Lachania de Rhodes

(d)

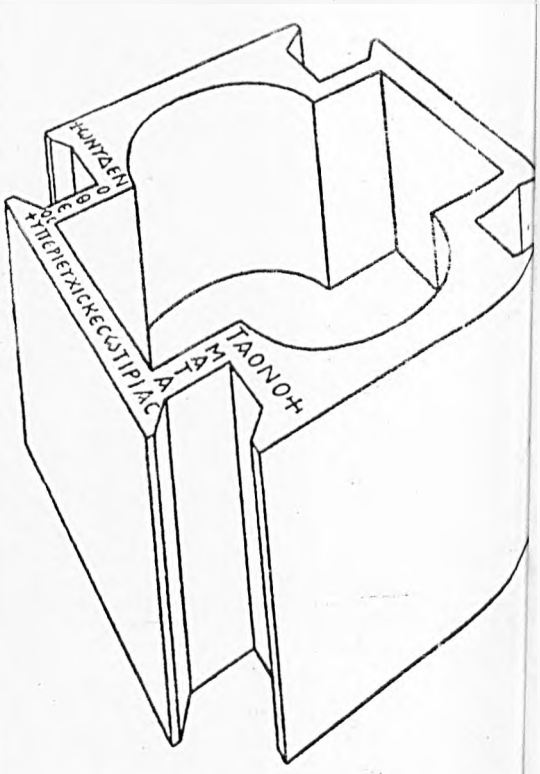


Fig. 14 – Cuve baptismale en marbre blanc tr
Mesanagros de Rhodes

(a)

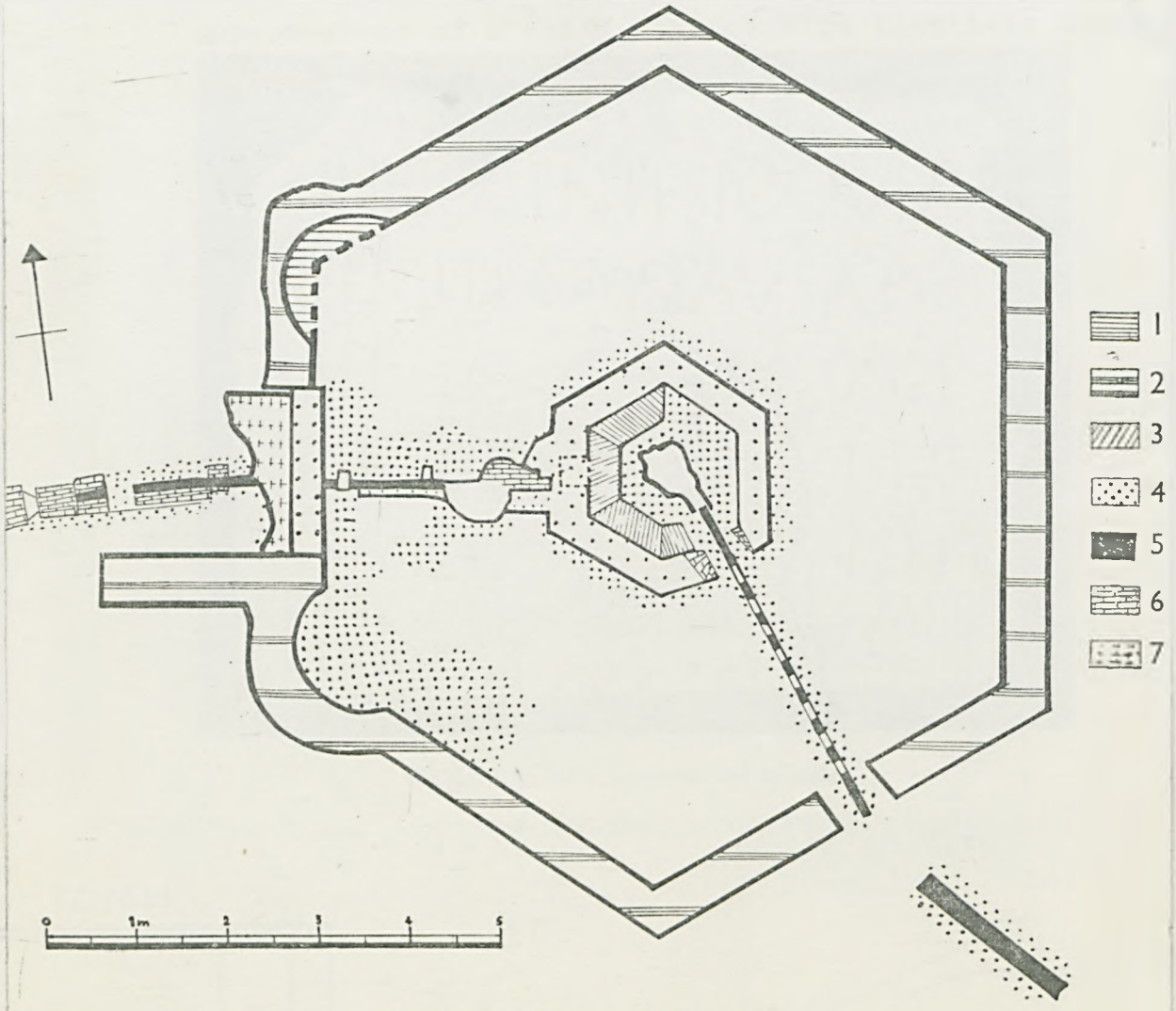
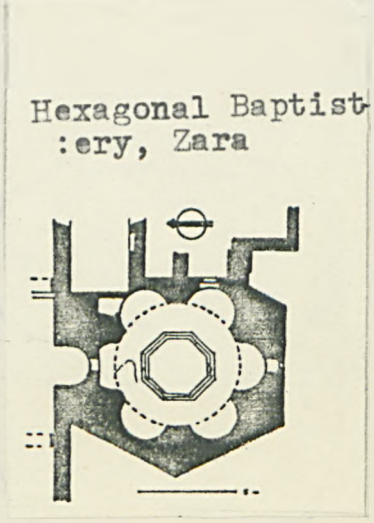


Fig. 2. — Port-Bail. Plan du baptistère.

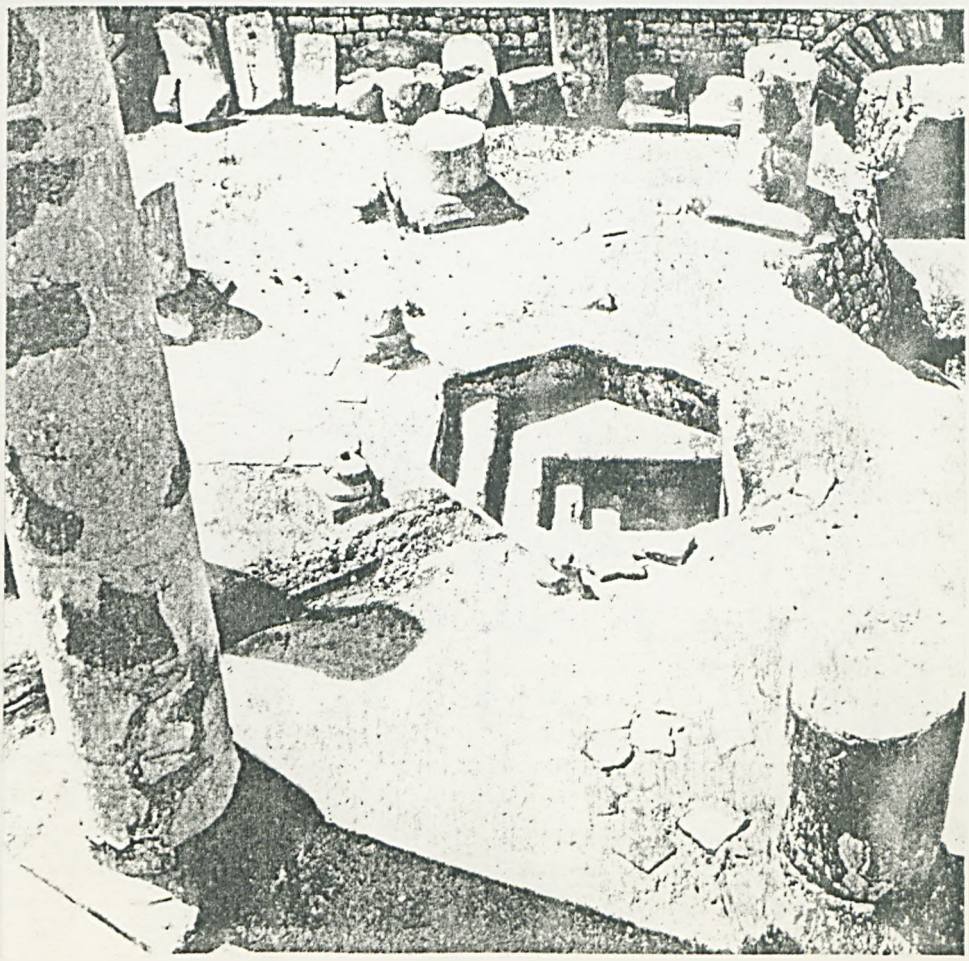
1 Fondations du mur. — 2. Mur. — 3. Dalle de schiste. — 4. Béton rouge. — 5. Canalisation. 6. Briques ou tuiles. — 7. Béton blanc.

(b)



BAPTISMAL FONTS - HEXAGONAL

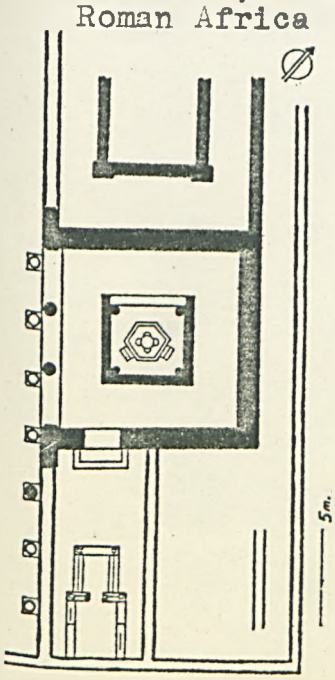
(a)



Le baptistère, Cimiez

(b)

Baptistery with hexagon-
:al font, Sbeitla,
Roman Africa



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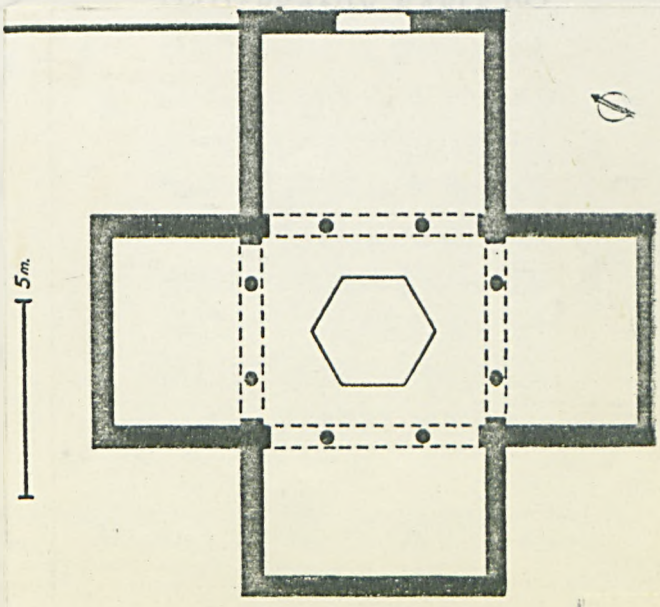
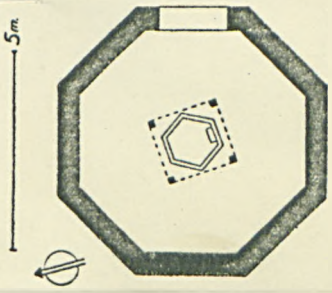
(c)



Pola. ~~[illegible]~~ Istria

Hemmaberge

(d)



(a)

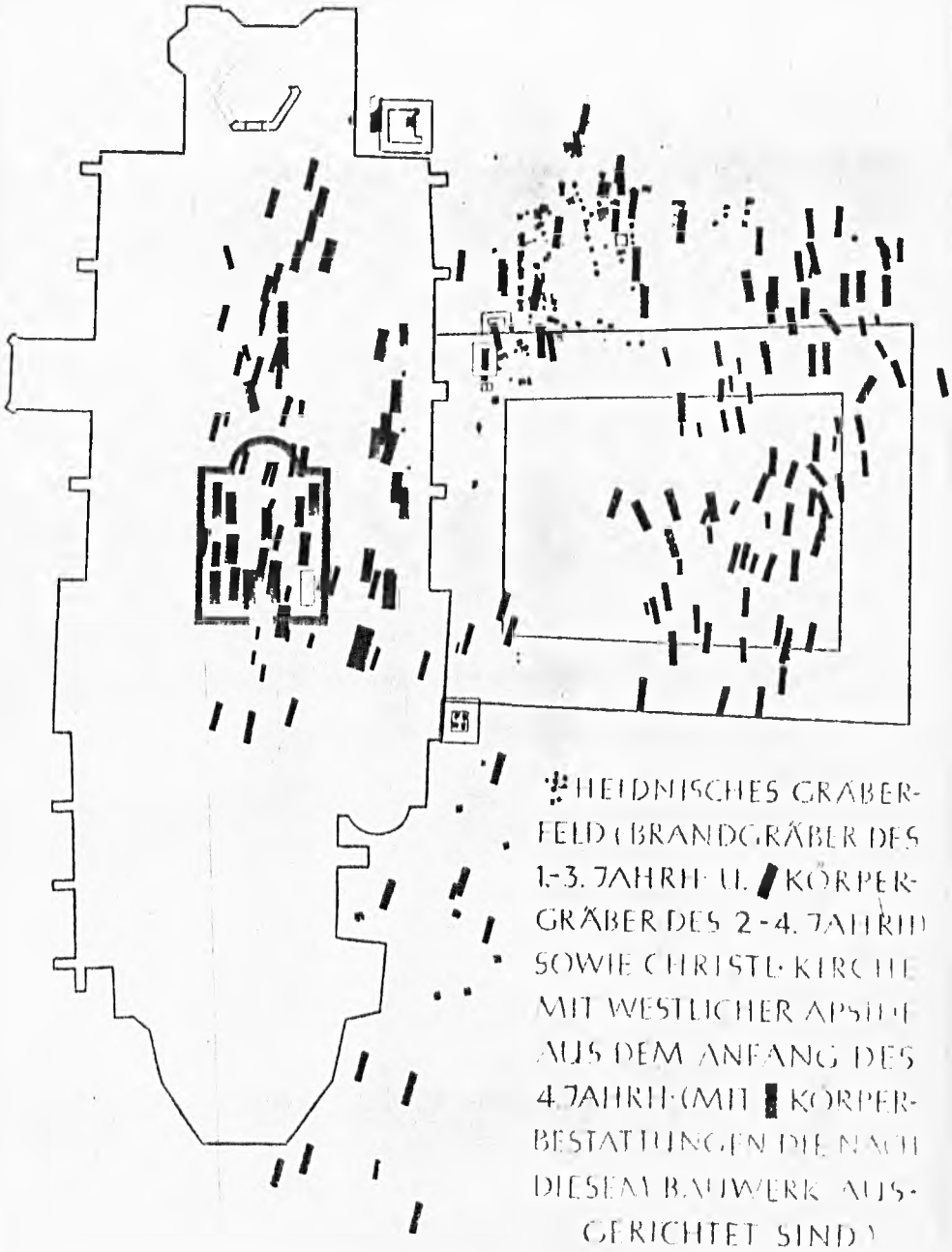


Abb. 2. Köln, St. Severin. Hell = römische Brandgräber. Schwarz = frühe Skelettgräber ohne Beigaben, in genauer Ost-West-Richtung. Grau = der älteste Kultbau von etwa 520 n. Chr., dessen Orientierung die späteren Skelettgräber folgen.

(b)

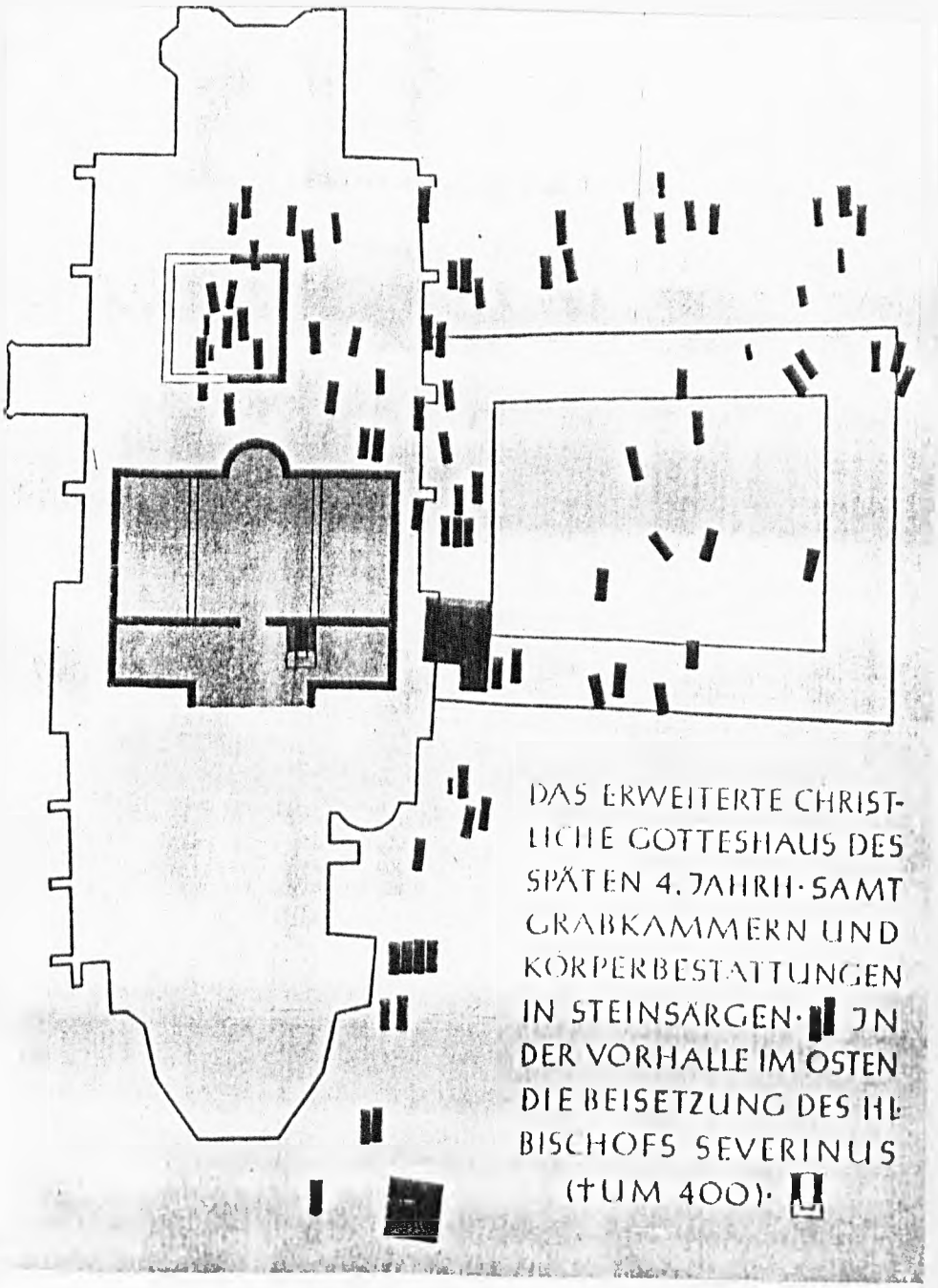


Abb. 5. Köln, St. Severin. Der vergrößerte römische Kultbau vom Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts, umgeben von Gräbern und Grabkammern.